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**THE MARKET, THE STATE AND THE MIGRANTS:
PORTUGUESE EMIGRATION UNDER
THE CORPORATIVE REGIME**

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The Market the State and the Migrants: Portuguese Emigration under the Corporative Regime

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Introduction

Political sanctioning of immigration may foster open door policies, in order to maximise the sending country labour supply, or it may induce the adoption of quota systems to help preserve cultural and political integrity, or to promote the incorporation of special skills and intellectual capital. In turn, political sanctioning of emigration may lead to selection, promotion, or restriction of emigrants' departures, which can and usually do distort the composition of the migratory flow, directly affecting the level of remittances it produces, and thus the impact of emigration on the sending economy. The adoption of one of these main types of policy by a receiving or a sending state have varied historically in accordance with the state own perception of domestic collective interests.

That sending and receiving states are an integral part of the migratory process have long been recognised (e.g. Zolberg, 1983). That this distinctive feature of international migration has to be built into the conceptual frameworks constructed to explain these processes has proven less consensual, and, particularly, the role played by the sending state is more often than not overlooked (e.g. Bohning, 1984).

The Portuguese case is no exception to this rule. In fact the main available explanations for Portuguese emigration after the Second World War stress either the duality of the Portuguese society and the imbalances of the country's economic structure (¹), or the wage differential between Portugal and the receiving countries, as the main factors driving a growing number of migrants out of the country (²). I am not denying the importance of any of these factors, in fact the consideration of home conditions are extremely

¹ Sedas Nunes, 1964; Almeida and Barreto, 1976; Serrão, 1977; Godinho, 1978.

² Ferreira, 1976; Barosa and Pereira, 1988; Pereira, 1989.

relevant to explain why migratory pressure was endemic in Portugal, while higher rewards for labour abroad are essential to understand why at a given moment migratory pressure became emigration. What I am trying to say is that both approaches are lacking on several aspects of the Portuguese migratory process. Just consider for instance the timing of the Portuguese emigration to Western Europe.

Only from the 1960's onwards, is Portugal substantially involved in the intra-european massive transference of labour that occurred after the Second World War (³). The analysis of foreign arrivals, from 1950 to 1974, to France, a major receiving country during this period, and the preferred destination for Portuguese emigrants, clearly exemplifies this point. Only in 1961 did Portuguese arrivals surpass 10 thousand migrants, representing 10.5 percent of all foreign arrivals (that year numbering 160 thousand persons) to France. Previously, immigration to that country was mainly composed of Italians and Spaniards (⁴).

From 1962 onwards, Portugal contributed with a constantly growing share of the influx of foreign labour to France. In 1970 and 1971 this contribution reached its peak. Total arrivals numbered 255 thousand in 1970, and 218 thousand in 1971, the Portuguese represented 53 percent and 51 percent respectively of the total foreign in-flow (⁵). The Portuguese were not simply replacing the Italians and the Spaniards numerically, they were also taking up the job vacancies left or unfilled by them, namely in public works, construction, domestic and personal services and agriculture (⁶).

An obvious question that the schedule of the Portuguese emigration to France raises is why the Portuguese didn't compete from the start with the Italians and the Spaniards? And the answer has to be, if by no other reason by exclusion of possibilities, that neither channels of information and support nor political sanctioning were sufficiently open for such competition to occur.

³This point can be clearly inferred by a simple chronology of the Portuguese emigration to Europe. Between 1958 and 1973, for example, the six EEC countries enacted 8 million of first work permits to foreign migrants in a process, essentially European, of massive transference of labour from the peripheral South to the industrialised North.

⁴Between 1950 and 1959 the Italians represented more than half of the total foreign inflow. In 1960, Spaniards equalled the number of Italians entering France, each nationality contributing 30 thousand migrants to a total of 72.6 thousand arrivals. The Spaniards replaced the Italians as the main suppliers of foreign labour to France from 1961 to 1965. From 1966 to 1972, Portugal replaced Spain as France's first supplier of immigrant labour. 5 Office National d' Immigration for the given years, in Antunes, 1973, 73 and 109.

⁶ See Seruya, in Stahl et al., 1982, Kritz et al., 1983, BÖhning, 1984, and Branco, 1986.

In this paper, I intent to discuss one of these disregarded factors, namely, the role of the Estado Novo, the corporative regime that formally begun on April of 1933 and abruptly ended on April of 1974 (7), on Portuguese emigration (8). I am particularly interested in showing that the distorted composition of the Portuguese migratory flow and the high level of remittances it generated were the direct result of the interference of the state on emigration. More generally speaking, I want to exemplify, by considering the Portuguese case, how a non-democratic regime, that in its fundamental law submitted the individual freedom right of movement to its own definition of collective interest-- be it the composition of the domestic labour market, or the state colonial aims in Africa- - changed from an anti-emigration policy, to a quota system policy, to end up subscribing to an open door policy, according to its own changes in economic policy. Moreover, in the process using to its own advantage the openness that characterised the Western-European labour market, from the Second World War to the oil-crisis of 1973 -1974.

Portuguese emigration policy

Portuguese emigration policy during the "Estado Novo" is, as in many other aspects, one of disruption with the past. In fact, while until 1933 the liberal freedom rights of movement were formally respected, after that date they became legally submitted to the economic and imperial interests of the state. Article 31 of the 1933 Constitution reads: "The state has the right and the obligation of co-ordinating and regulating the economic and social life of the Nation with the objective of populating the national territories, protecting the emigrants and disciplining emigration".

Within these objectives the Estado Novo will try to articulate three main aspects: the country labour needs, its interests in Africa and the extra financial capabilities that came from remittances promoted by the supervised export of labour in the international labour market. The consideration of these aspects

⁷ It is not possible to dissociate the formal beginning of the Corporative Regime from the preceding Militar Dictatorship that begun in May 28 of 1926, particularly after António Salazar re-entered the government in 1928 as the Finance Secretary of State, because the legal framework that supports and gives coherence to the doctrinaire foundations of the Estado Novo begun to be enacted during this period.

⁸ For a different interpretation of the impact of the Estado Novo on emigration see Leeds, 1984 .

varied over time, and have a direct bearing on the changes on emigration policy followed by the government.

The legal framework to control and discipline emigration begun to be constructed quite early, in fact well before 1933. But, most part of the legislation enacted before 1933, with an exception that will be referred later, was intended to control and protect the emigrant not to restrain departures. The same can not be said of the Law adopted in 1944 (Decreto-Lei Nº 33:918 of September 5) that interdicted the issuing of ordinary passport to any industrial worker or rural labourer. This law in conjunction with the Law of 1929 (Decreto-Lei Nº16:782 of April 27) that interdicted emigration to any person over 14 and under 45 years of age that couldn't prove to have completed successfully the elementary school examination of third grade, barred from legal emigration the majority of the population, at the time overwhelmingly illeterate, and launched the bases for discretionary decisions by emigration services.

Such legal provisions would have been of reduced effect if a co-ordinating system didn't come into existence. In 1947, after a temporary total ban on emigration, a special government agency, simultaneously dependent from the Foreign and the Interior ministries, is created to regulate and supervise emigration (Decreto-Lei Nº36:558 of October 28). This service was called Junta da Emigração, and it had the specific strategic goal of implementing a quota system that would define the maximum number of departures by region and occupation after taking into account the regional labour needs and the structure of the active population.

If we think that annual average departures didn't exceed 11 000 a year during the 1930's and drop to 9 000 during the 1940's such interest in controlling migration is at first amazing, furthermore when emigration was no longer a viable option due to international events. It obeyed, however, to the rationale of the corporative regime, of submitting individual rights to the collective interest, and later on to the need of using the safety valve mechanism to ease the existing demographic excess, frequently recognised in official statements during the 1950's (e.g. Diário do Governo, 1958:550-887).

Within this same logic, during the 1960's several bilateral treaties were signed, namely with the Netherlands, France and Federal Republic of

Germany. These treaties, openly done to ensure a better control of emigration as well as the maximisation of economic returns from emigration to these countries, must be considered side by side with internal legislation adopted during this period (e.g. Decreto-Lei N° 44:422 of June 29, 1962). This legislation further eased the articulation of the state control of emigration with information on the domestic labour needs, and government economic targets. To the text of the law the government seem to have added some subtle practices, namely by transmitting directions to the Emigration Services to allow a maximum of 30 000 departures a year, to interdict legal departures of some specific occupations, even when such measures were in disregard with the text of the bilateral treaties signed (Cassola Ribeiro, 1987:75).

The compound effect of the bilateral treaties and the domestic measures taken during the 1960's was to ensure a migratory flow that the state considered unharmed for the country labour supply and beneficial to the country economic growth. Different ideas seem to have subscribed the traditional industrial and rural elite of the time both claiming, as in the past, that legal and above all illegal emigration were producing significant labour shortages and skyrocketing wages.

To these complaints the government replied with apparently paradoxical measures. In 1965 illegal emigration ceased to be a crime punished by law and proof of literacy was suppressed. These measures are puzzling particularly since they came in a period where war in Africa was at its peak and the complaints from the traditional economic elites were becoming louder and louder.

The government rationale was based on two different assumptions: first there was in fact an excess labour supply that could be profitably exported without endangering the country labour needs; secondly, since the 1950's government economic policy abandoned the initial strategy of promoting, by state intervention, the high labour intensive traditional industries of northern Portugal and rural landowners interests, in favour of supporting the creation of a leading modern industrial sector in the Lisbon area. This industrial sector will absorb the majority of the existent labour supply of skilled, high skilled workers and professionals, types of labour that never showed particular attraction by emigration.

Accordingly, in the eve of the 1974 Revolution, the Corporative state was about to promulgate the most liberal law of this period, that the legislator justified by the benefits emigration promoted, namely gains in productivity and rationalisation of the production methods, concluding with the following statement: "emigration acting as a positive factor to modernisation and the rationalisation of labour, has given a powerful contribution to the progress and development of the country".

With such an understanding ⁹(), it is no surprise that the government opted by a liberal emigration policy, such liberalisation came however, in a period when the receiving countries were taking the opposite path. This is, the Estado Novo was about to open its doors when the others were closing theirs.

Emigration and Economic Policies

As we have just seen, Portuguese emigration policy, may be divided, during the Estado Novo, into three main periods. The first period runs from 1933 to 1946. During this period emigration was controlled and disciplined not because the occurring departures were seen as dangerous to the country's labour supply nor because the Portuguese were massively answering to an international demand that in fact didn't exist, but because such legal measures were an undeniable obligation of the government, an integral part of the doctrinaire nationalist and authoritarian principles of the regime: the subordination of individual rights to the collective interests, the advocacy of the country auto-sufficiency, and the defence of a certain isolation from the exterior ⁽¹⁰⁾. In order to implement these principles, social conflict and competition had to be suppressed or at least tightly regulated.

⁹ A little earlier, Murteira and Branquinho's analysis of the country's economic performance lead them to the a similar conclusion: 'The relatively slow growth of employment (naturally along with the fast productivity increase) leads us to believe that the [positive] evolution on industrial productivity may have somehow been, a consequence of emigration,... Both wages and productivity are well beneath European levels, but while the second rose faster than its European counterparts, the first went the other way. One can then conclude that, in matters of labour costs the evolution favoured the Portuguese employers.' A. Murteira e Branquinho, 1969:581

¹⁰ For a detailed analysis of the ideological bases of the regime see Braga da Cruz, 1984:773-794 and for its economic policy see Marques, 1988.

The economy was legally framed within these new principles. The industrial sector became, since 1931, regulated and disciplined, particularly in three aspects-- output growth, creation and localisation of new or existing industries, and spatial transference of productive units (11). Protective tariffs were adopted to protect the domestic industry from external competition, and the national economy was defended from financial internationalisation by the law on 'Nationalisation of Capitals' adopted in 1943. This law, in Salazar words, was enacted because

all economic factors belonging or acting within the Portuguese Nation must be integrated in the domestic economy, and must serve first of all the domestic economy, they must follow its directives, and obeying its dictatum.

Salazar, *Discursos*, in Marques, 1988:38

The agricultural sector suffered a similar intervention. In this sector, the main government action is known as the 'Wheat Campaign' and was particularly active between 1929 and 1938. It took primarily the form of direct subsidies, low credit, and major irrigation projects.

Finally, the Estado Novo launched with the law of the 'Economic Reconstitution' of 1935 several major projects of public works for the period. These projects were carried out between 1937-1950, and affected several infrastructures, namely: communications; harbours; energy; water supply; road network; and merchant navy (12).

The results of all this direct state intervention and control over the economy were that, at least for a while, the country's grain production increased significantly, public works greatly improved the country's infra-structures, generating a significant amount of state sponsored employment. But, as Marques (1988) stressed the first and main result of the Estado Novo intervention on the economy was that competition was replaced by state action. As we may expected, Salazar judged this results quite differently:

...although the biggest projects are not yet contributing for the general well being, the progress achieved during these last couple of years, are in fact remarkable... And no single sign of progress is more revelling that

11 Law N° 19 354 of January of 1931 (Lei do Condicionamento Industrial). The Law N° 1956 of May 1937 changed the character of the measures adopted in 1931 from temporary to permanent.

12 For a detailed appraisal of the economic policy of this period see Marques, 1988.

to have ensured work and food for the population, that grows, doesn't emigrate and enjoys growing standards of living. Salazar, *Discursos*, 1961:XXII-XXIII

The second period corresponds roughly to the 1950's. During this period, the Estado Novo changed progressively its previous economic discourse to a discourse favouring the country's industrialisation in a path of progress and modernisation. It is Salazar, who when the First Plan of Development was launched in 1953, stated:

It is known that industry has higher returns than agriculture and that only through industrialisation can the standards of living of the population be decidedly improved, only with industrialisation is possible to attain without serious dangers high demographic densities. Without a given level of industrialisation, we will have no internal market for some rural productions, nor can we restrain an excessive emigration, that is already occurring, in some cases, in conditions we deem unsatisfactory. ... Industrialisation has to be done and promoted, for the above mentioned reasons.... *Discursos*, 1959:103, 104.

Conscious that the existent demographic surplus in the countryside couldn't be significantly channeled to Africa, and convinced that the country's progress had to be achieved by industrialisation, the government tolerated the formation and development of a new migratory current to Europe, and the spread of channels of information and of support, within the parameters legally defined in the previous period.

The third period covers the remaining years of the regime, this is until 1974. It is a period of change marked by the internationalisation of the economy ⁽¹³⁾, and a substantial economic growth. The rationale for the changes taking place, can be found in the Economy Secretary of State, Correia de Oliveira, who in 1966, attributed the country's loss of ground relatively to the other European economies to the long lasting protection of the domestic industry from competition, innovation, modern technology, as well as to the sacrifice of the agricultural sector to the development of industry (Marques, 1983:93). On this last point he wrote:

We based our industrial development on low wages, and these on low food prices, these were in turn based on fixed and frozen prices of agricultural products, that maintained for so long have discouraged investment in the agricultural sector. (quoted in Marques, 1988: 93)

¹³ In 1959 a much less protective tariff was adopted and in 1961 Portugal joined the EFTA.

During this period the interests of the traditional economic elites (northern textiles and consumer goods industries and rural landowners) lost ground in favour of the leading economic financial and industrial groups, based in the Lisbon area much less dependent of the rural and unskilled population than the traditional elites. Faced with a war in Africa, that absorbed 50 percent of the public revenues, conscious that emigration could effectively absorb a great part of the rural exodus essential to the country's modernisation, the Estado Novo entered a progressive path of liberalisation of emigration. Notice for example that while the 'Plano Intercalar de Fomento' (1964) assumed the creation of 20 thousand new jobs between 1965 to 1967 (Rocha, 1965:48), the emigration services were by that time receiving directions to allow 30 thousand annual departures, what seems to indicate that the state considered that the majority of the rural exodus was to be absorb abroad, not domestically.

The analysis of the main legislative documents enacted during the corporative regime, and the discourse of the several economic actors affected by emigration raise a central question: Was the state making a correct assessment of the domestic situation when it based the liberalisation of emigration on the assumption that emigration was unharmed to the country's labour needs, and judged emigration to be beneficial because it helped foster the country's modernisation by easing its transformation from an economic structure heavily marked by the weight of the agricultural sector to a more balanced one?

To answer this question I will consider briefly the socio-demographic characteristics of the migrants; some indicators on the evolution of the economic and demographic impact of emigration; and finally the evolution of the labour market.

Some main characteristics of the Portuguese Emigration

Between 1933 and 1974 approximately 1.98 million Portuguese left the country, 32 percent of the departures were done clandestinely. Close to

three-quarters of this exodus occurred between 1961 and 1974 (see Table I and Graph 1).

Until 1960 more than 80 percent of the migrants headed to America, with Brazil accounting for most of the flow-- 80 percent until 1949 and 68 percent during the 1950's (5). After 1960, the main region of destination of the Portuguese migratory flow was Western Europe (75 percent of the total), and specifically France and Germany (Baganha, 1990 and 1994) (6). Table 1 and Fig. 1 can be summarised very briefly as follows. Portuguese emigration grew constantly and substantially from 1950, when departures numbered 22 thousand, to 1970 when departures numbered 183 thousand. It declined from 1971 onwards, when departures numbered 158 thousand. The peak years of Portuguese emigration after the Second World War occurred between 1965 and 1974, when the annual average number of departures was 122 thousand migrants. A crude but representative image of the Portuguese emigration can thus be given by three lines: an ascendent line from 1950 to 1964 (with the following numerical limits-- 22 and 76 thousand); an horizontal line from 1965 to 1974 (at 122 thousand), and a descending line from 1975 to 1979 (dropping from 52 to 29 thousand).

The social and demographic characteristics of the emigrants are not well known after 1960 when the official register cover less than half of the occurring departures. Previous to 1960, the typical emigrant was a single male, aged 15 to 35, predominantly of rural origin. From the 1960 on, and based on the registers of the receiving countries, what we know is that the flow was predominantly composed of males in active age with poor or no skills; that departures were regarded both individually as well as socially as a temporary situation, as a stage in a life cycle; and finally when compared to other migration flows, Portuguese emigration shows a considerable financial return in the form of remittances (Sopemi, 1991, 1992). In other words, Portuguese emigration was essentially an international labour movement, mostly made up of migrants with poor or no skills which due to the volume it attained and the financial return it yielded, had an enormous economic and demographic impact on Portuguese society.

Demographic and Economic Impact of Emigration

The analysis of the natural and effective demographic growth occurring between 1931 and 1980 shows that over half of the country's natural growth was absorbed by emigration ⁽¹⁴⁾, what means that the impact of emigration on the country's demographic growth was considerably higher, given that a part of the potential growth never took place since a considerable number of the population in childbearing age left the country permanently (Nazareth,1976). It seems thus reasonable to accept that emigration acted as an efficient demographic safety valve during this period.

That the returns yield by emigration in the form of remittances were also of considerable influence on the country's economy is also undeniable. Two indicators are often referred to demonstrate the impact of emigration on Portuguese economy; the ratio of remittances on exports and the ratio of remittances on the Gross Domestic Product. Both corroborate what we just said. Table 3 and Graph 2 summarise the evolution of remittances when compared to exports from 1950 to 1979. According to the data, remittances were about 13% of exports during the 50's, 25% in the 60's, and 56% in the 70's. Table 3 and Graph 3 summarise the evolution of remittances regarding GDP from 1950 to 1979. The figures show that remittances were of ever growing importance relative to GDP - 2% in the 50's, 4% in the 60's, and 8% in the 70's.

In sum, emigration was during this period the single most valuable export, since no other good or service had such an importance in Portuguese exports (15). No matter if we consider remittances as a major safety net to the country's imports or as an addition to the country's own productive capacities, the conclusion is the same. The impact of emigration on the Portuguese economy was drastic and increased during the whole period. Point of no small importance, since as it has been successfully argued, *'to benefit fully from remittances, the sending country must be able to depend on the flow being consistent and reliable, not subject to fluctuations or secular decline'* (Heisler,

¹⁴ Between 1931 and 1970, the country's natural growth (births minus deaths) was 3839.9 million and the effective growth (difference between present population at the beginning and at the end of the period) was 1742.8 million (computed from the Boletim Anual, SEECP, 1980.

1985:472). As it was seen the evolution of the Portuguese remittances fits this optimal pattern.

In the last part of this work I shall try to assess the impact of emigration on Portuguese labour market throughout the 60's, the period when, as we have just seen, most of the exits took place. The question that I will try and answer is the following: did or did not emigration harm Portuguese economic growth? Or saying it slightly different: could those exits, had they never taken place, contribute to foster economic growth?

Emigration and Economy

The answer to the above question may be approached from different perspectives. My approach is based on economic development studies ⁽¹⁵⁾. One of the links that these studies have brought forward is the existent interdependence among the human resource structure, per capita income and the rate of development of any given economy. The strong correlation found between the percentage of professional and technical manpower in the active population and the level of employment in the industrial sector is also of great interest for the present analysis ⁽¹⁶⁾.

The analysis of the first relation, the human resources structure, per capita income and the growth rate of an economy, was done, for the early 60's, by Mário Murteira (1969). From this analysis one first result is of particular interest: countries with an average per capita income of US\$600, had on average a higher share of scientific and technical personnel than Portugal had, and the percentage of skilled, and unskilled workers was on average lower than the one observed in Portugal ⁽¹⁷⁾.

¹⁵ E.g. Murteira, et al., 1969; Carvalho, 1967.

¹⁶The analysis of the interdependence between industrial employment and scientific and technical manpower was done by Gnanasekaran (1965) who found a series of links that permit to express the interdependence between the human resources structure and the economic development, based on the structure of male active population by industry and occupations in 19 countries and for the year of 1956.

¹⁷ It can be infer from the results presented by Murteira (1969: 24, 29) that countries with a per capita income of US \$600 had on average 4.6% of scientific, technical, and artistic active individuals, and 23.13 of skilled, and unskilled active individuals. In Portugal, in 1960, such percentages were 2.8 and 27.9 respectively.

At that time, Portugal belonged to the group of countries that had a per capita income lower than US\$600, therefore Murteira's results suggest that given the country's per capita income and percentage of scientific and technical manpower on the country's active population, job opportunities for skilled, and unskilled workers, could not have been much different from the existing ones in the yearly 60's, since the percentage of the active population engaged in these type of occupations was already higher than the expected average figures.

If we accept that the level of scientific and technical manpower in the active population constrains the level of industrial employment of an economy, then what we need is to determine its limits for Portugal during the 1960's (¹⁸). In order to do this I computed two regressions using data for the European OCDE countries. The reason for considering only Europe is that Portugal was inserted in an European economic group, EFTA, and that an important percentage of its population was working and sending remittances from another European economic block, the Common Market (¹⁹).

For each country I computed the percentage of professional and technical male individuals in the active population, that I called M_p , the percentage of employment on the industrial sector (aggregating manufacturing, construction, electricity, gas, water, and sanitary services), that I called M_i , and the percentage of skilled and unskilled workers, that I labelled M_c . Then I regressed M_p on M_i and M_p on M_c using the values of these percentages, for each country, on 1960 as a data point. This means that the parameters (coefficients of the regression equation) were estimated using 17 data points.

The results obtained are statistically significant. In both cases the R-square of the regression equations explains 70% of the variability of the respective dependent variable, and all the parameters' estimates have a significance

¹⁸The analysis of the interdependence between industrial employment and scientific and technical manpower was done by Gnanasekaran (1965) who found a series of links that permit to express the interdependence between the human resources structure and the economic development, based on the structure of male active population by industry and occupations in 19 countries and for the year of 1956.

¹⁹ The source used was the Year Book of Labour Statistics. ILO: Geneve, 1970. Two countries, Luxembour and Sweden couldn't be considered since no comparable data for 1960 was registered. Results are in annex.

level of at least 5 per cent ⁽²⁰⁾. The results may be summarised in the following expressions:

$$M_i = 4.56 M_p + 11.99$$

$$M_c = 3.97 M_p + 13.56$$

where M_p is the percentage of professional and technical manpower; M_i is the percentage of employment in the industrial sector, composing the three divisions of manufacturing, construction and electricity, gas, water and sanitary services; and M_c is the percentage of skilled and unskilled non-agricultural workers.

Given the male active population in the occupations and industry we are considering in 1960 and 1970 (see first annex at the end) we get the following percentages for:

	1960	1970
M_p	1.68%	2.64%
M_i	27.71%	30.14%
M_c	27.41%	31.78%

Using the above values of M_p in the regression equations defined earlier we have for:

	1960	1970
M_i	19.65%	24.76%
M_c	20.23%	24.68%

Given the percentage of the scientific and technical active population, the expected values of industrial employment, (M_i , percentage of the active population in manufacturing, construction, electricity, gas, water and sanitary services) should have been 19.65 in 1960 and 24.76 in 1970, values much lower than the real ones' 27.71 and 30.14% respectively. Similarly, the expected value of M_c (skilled, specialised and unskilled non-agricultural

²⁰ If we exclude Portugal the R-square will raise to 85 percent and the parameters will have a lower significance level.

workers) should have been 20.23 and 24.68 respectively and not 27.41 and 31.78 as indeed they were.

Overall these results suggest that during the 60's the structure of the Portuguese active population was highly distorted, due to a pronounced scarcity of scientific and technical manpower and to a remarkable abundance of industrial workers. It seems reasonable to conclude from these results that given the existent percentage of professional, and technical personnel the growth of the employment in the industrial sector could not have been higher (21).

The impact of emigration on the country's economic growth could have been negative if it could be proven that a significant fraction of the scientific and technical population left during this period. The existent evidence points in the opposite direction. Not only do we know that the overwhelming majority of the Portuguese who left did not belong to this group, but we know from the study on wages of Xavier Pintado there was no economic rationale for the decision to emigrate to be taken by this group, since they enjoyed identical purchasing power, and standards of living to their European counterparts (22).

Although an unknown number of Portuguese from the scientific and technical occupations did in fact left the country, during this period, as a sign of opposition to the regime or to avoid conscription, their number couldn't be large enough to have an impact on the structure of the active population. At least this is what can be inferred from the occupational structure of Portuguese emigrants entering France in 1970, where that group represented 0 percent (of the 88.634 entries, registered by the Office National d'Immigration only, only 31 persons belonged to this group, in Ferreira, 1976:165). It is true that this was not the only destination of this group of migrants, but if their number was larger, they would have been mostly noticeable in France. The figures on return migrants also confirm this point. 92% of the returning population had not gone beyond elementary school, only 1% had attended College, and 85% had not attended any training in the host

21 The shortage of professional and technical manpower may be highlighted if we regress M_p in m_i and M_c . These regressions show that M_p should have been 4% in 1960 and 5% in 1970 instead of the 1.7 and 2.6% that in fact was. The equation used to make these calculations are presented in annex.

22 Xavier Pintado stated: 'in terms of purchasing power, and standards of living, top management has higher salaries in Portugal than in other industrialised countries.' Pintado, 1967:73. See also, Carvalho, 1967.

country (Silva et al. 1984:77 and 82). Furthermore, we should note that these figures include the children of returned migrants and thus are biased on education ⁽²³⁾.

If it is not possible to attribute any responsibility to the non-economic emigration, on the country's economic growth, it is even less so to the economic emigration of poorly or unskilled actives or non-active, since given the existing distorted structure of the active population, their staying in the country would be redundant. In fact, all evidence suggests that their productive contribution could not be used in view of the shortage of scientific and technical manpower. Actually the expected average of scientific and technical personnel, adequate to the structure existing in 1960 and 1970, would fairly be twice the one Portugal had.

The Government seems to have assessed correctly the composition of the out-flow when, in the Bill on Emigration Policy of 1973 (Proceedings of the Chamber of Corporations, no.142, 23 February 1973) stated: «emigration of technical manpower is meaningless, as well as that of highly skilled workers.»

Conclusion

I have tried to point out in this work, through the description of the Portuguese emigration policy under the corporative regime that sending countries are more than by bystanders to the migratory process. I went a step further claiming that in the Portuguese case, not only did the Estado Novo controlled the migratory flows that were occurring but it used emigration to its own advantage.

I tried next to present evidence to show that by the analysis of the individual characteristics of the migrants and of their skills their exodus couldn't have harmed the country's economic growth during the 60's, since the percentage of scientific and technical manpower was, when compared to other European countries, far too scarce to frame an industrial labour force higher than the existing one.

During my work I became aware that my findings could contribute to a long standing debate on the benefits of emigration to the Portuguese economy. In

²³ Poinard, 1963, Amaro, 1985, and Martins, 1986.

its simplest formulation this debate is grounded on the basic idea that Portugal exchange one productive factor, labour, by another productive factor, capital in the form of remittances. What is thus evaluated is if the substitution of labour by capital was beneficial or detrimental for the domestic economy (24). The implicit assumption to this reasoning being that emigration is an export of productive labour. My findings suggest that, during this period, the most likely hypothesis is that the Portuguese migratory flow was composed of migrants presenting zero marginal productivity to the domestic economy.

²⁴ In the Portuguese case, more often than not, the positive effects, the share of the remittances channelled to productive investment and the benefits derived from some new skills of the returning migrants were judge inadequate to compensate for the loss of manpower, first because when compared to the share of the remittances used for private consumption the impact of emigration on domestic capital formation is considered to be small; second because even this small effect was considered to be off-set by the inflationist tendencies that the higher power of purchase of a growing segment of the population receiving extra-income from abroad produced; and thirdly because at the level it reached after 1960 it endangered the country labour supply.

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TABLE I - PORTUGUESE EMIGRATION 1900-1988

YEAR	TOTAL LEGAL	TOTAL WITH ILLEGAL.	PRESENT POPULATION AT CENSUS
1930	23.196	24.820	6.825.883
1931	6.033		
1932	5.909		
1933	8.905		
1934	7.472		
1935	9.140		
1936	12.484		
1937	14.667		
1938	13.609		
1939	17.807		
1940	13.226		7.722.152
1941	6.260		
1942	2.214		
1943	893		
1944	2.242		
1945	5.938		
1946	8.275		
1947	12.838		
1948	12.343		
1949	17.296		
1950	21.892	21.892	8.441.312
1951	33.664	34.015	
1952	47.018	47.407	
1953	39.686	39.962	
1954	41.011	41.190	
1955	29.796	30.147	
1956	27.017	28.096	
1957	35.356	36.894	
1958	34.030	35.600	
1959	33.458	34.754	
1960	32.318	35.159	8.851.289
1961	33.526	38.572	
1962	33.539	43.002	
1963	37.829	55.218	
1964	43.320	75.576	
1965	62.752	91.488	
1966	91.607	111.995	
1967	78.515	94.712	
1968	68.981	96.227	
1969	70.165	155.672	
1970	66.360	183.205	8.568.703
1971	50.400	158.473	
1972	54.084	115.545	
1973	79.517	129.732	
1974	43.397	80.859	
1975	24.811	52.486	
1976	17.493	39.192	
1977	17.226	33.676	
1978	18.659	28.858	
1979	20.574	28.726	
1980	18.071	25.173	
1981	16.513	26.607	9.852.841

TABLE II

Portuguese Emigration by Destination 1950-1980

YEAR	BRAZIL	USA	CANADA	TOTAL AMERICA	FRANCE	GERMANY	OTHER EUROPE	TOTAL EUROPE	TOTAL
1950	14143	938		21491	319	1	81	401	21892
1951	28104	676		33341	418	2	254	674	34015
1952	41518	582		46544	650	4	209	863	47407
1953	32159	1455		39026	690		246	936	39962
1954	29943	1918		40234	747	4	205	956	41190
1955	18486	1328		28690	1336		121	1457	30147
1956	16814	1503	1612	26072	1851	6	167	2024	28096
1957	19931	1628	4158	32150	4640	5	99	4744	36894
1958	19829	1596	1619	29207	6264	2	127	6393	35600
1959	16400	4569	3961	29780	4838	6	130	4974	34754
1960	12451	5679	4895	28513	6434	54	158	6646	35159
1961	16073	3370	2635	27499	10492	277	304	11073	38572
1962	13555	2425	2739	24376	16798	1393	435	18626	43002
1963	11281	2922	3424	22420	29843	2118	837	32798	55218
1964	4929	1601	4770	17232	51668	4771	1905	58344	75576
1965	3051	1852	5197	17557	60267	12197	1467	73931	91488
1966	2607	13357	6795	33266	63611	11250	3868	78729	111995
1967	3271	11516	6615	28584	59597	4070	2461	66128	94712
1968	3512	10841	6833	27014	58741	8435	2037	69213	96227
1969	2537	13111	6502	27383	110614	15406	2269	128289	115672
1970	1669	9726	6529	22659	135667	22915	1964	160546	183205
1971	1200	8839	6983	21962	110820	24273	1418	136511	158473
1972	1158	7574	6845	20122	68692	24946	1785	95423	115545
1973	890	8160	7403	22091	63942	38444	5255	107641	129732
1974	729	9540	11650	25822	37727	13352	3958	55037	80859
1975	1553	8957	5857	19304	23436	8177	1569	33182	52486
1976	837	7499	3585	14762	17919	5913	598	24430	39192
1977	557	6748	2280	14826	13265	4835	750	18850	33676
1978	323	8171	1871	16307	7406	4509	636	12551	28858
1979	215	8181	2805	17532	5987	4400	807	11194	28726
1980	230	4999	2334	15281	5200	4000	692	9892	25173

Source: Except for France and Germany: Boletim Anual, SECP, 1980-81.

For France— 1950 to 1979 – "Statistiques de l'immigration"

ONI (in Antunes, 1973: 14 and Stahl et al., 1982:61);

For Germany— Statistisches Bundesamt" VIII - B, 182 (in Stahl et al., 1982:63)

For 1980— Sopemi, 1980, 1986.

Note: The special legalisation of 1963 to 1968 was deducted.

TABLE III - G.D.P., EXPORTS AND REMITTANCES, 1950 - 1989
(In Thousands of Contos)

YEAR	G.D.P.	EXPORTS	REMITTANCE
1950	42255	5334	886
1951	45798	7559	983
1952	46878	6811	382
1953	49062	6283	580
1954	50650	7297	585
1955	53597	8165	758
1956	57769	8621	1037
1957	60750	8289	1542
1958	64466	8299	1552
1959	68760	8351	1913
1960	71259	9408	1868
1961	76683	9373	1489
1962	81595	10632	1704
1963	88510	12024	2371
1964	95816	14831	2679
1965	106872	16573	3378
1966	117009	17812	4818
1967	130765	20166	6267
1968	142251	21917	7902
1969	155988	24526	11812
1970	175179	27299	14086
1971	198585	30248	18848
1972	231244	35255	22079
1973	281487	45410	26452
1974	338414	58014	26772
1975	376239	49328	20975
1976	464677	55089	27623
1977	625835	77685	44972
1978	787260	106451	74120
1979	991264	176051	120175
1980	1256051	231623	146589

SOURCE: G.D.P. 1950 to 1959: Nunes et al. 1989: 292-295;

After 1960: INE.

Exports 1950 to 1980: Nunes et al. 1989: 315-318

Remittances 1950 to 1973 : Chaney, 1986: 92;

From 1973 to 1980: INE

**Male Active Population in Some
Occupations and Industry in 1960 and 1970**

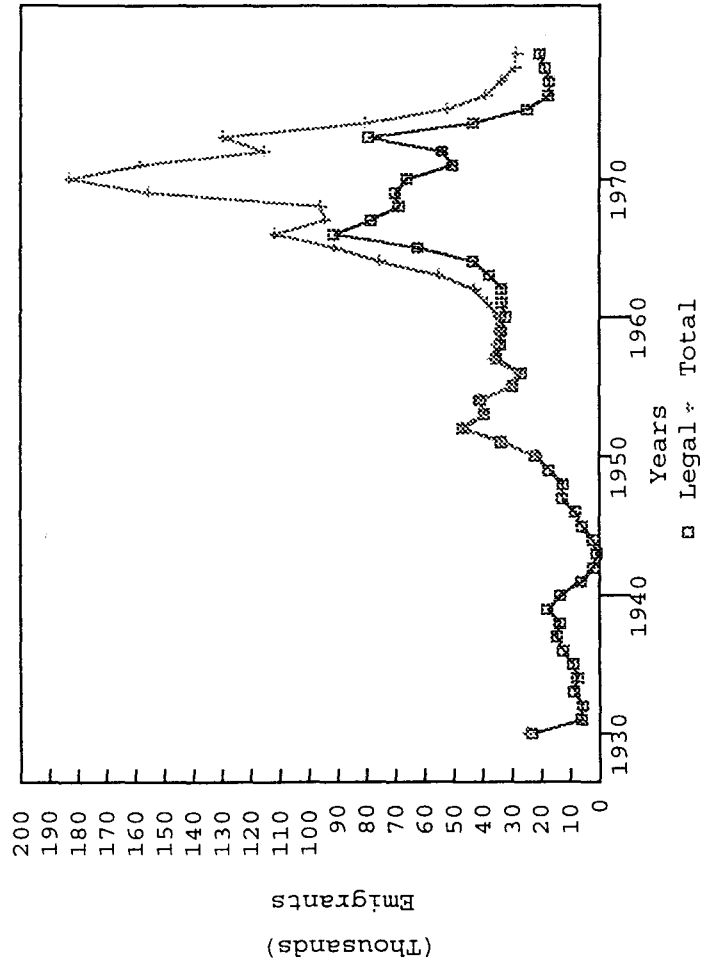
Industries	1960	1970
Manufacturing		
Construction and Public Works		
Electricity, Gas, Water and Sanitary Services		
Total Mi	765.298	746.225
Occupations		
Liberal profession, technicians and similar		
Total Mp	46.498	65.410
Skilled, Specialised and unskilled		
Total Mc	757.179	786.765
Male Active Population	2.762.131	2.475.585

Source: ILO, 1970, 1960 and 1970 Census (25).

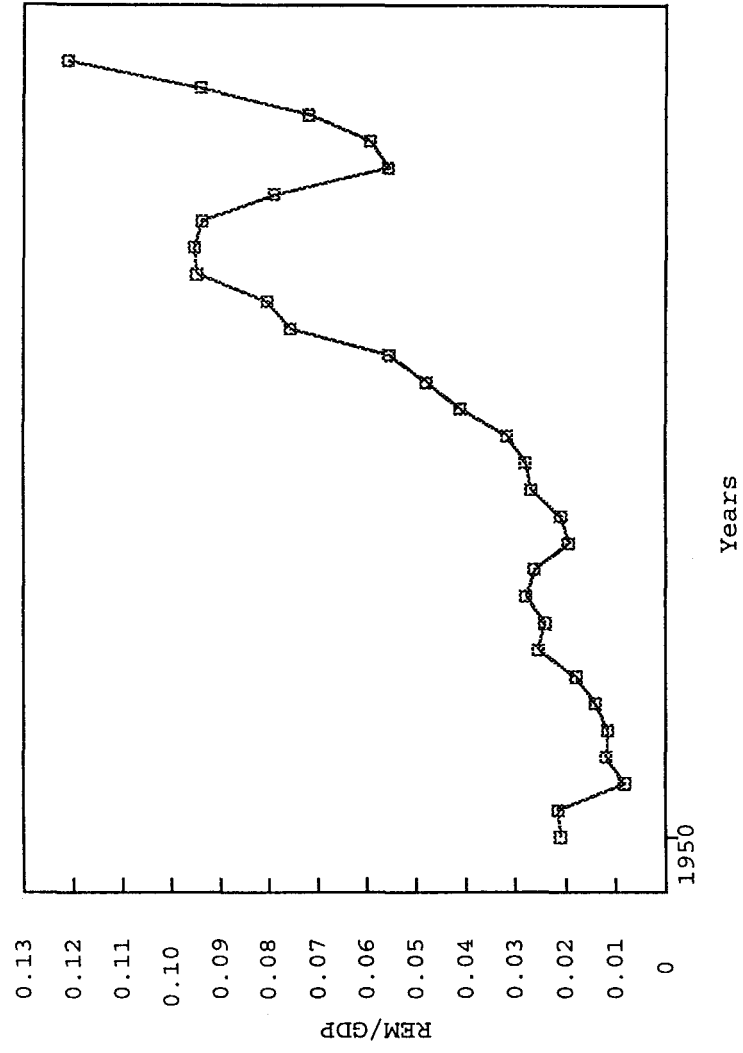
²⁵ In order to be able to maintain data comparability between the 1960 and 1970 census I performed the following re-groupings: I included 1 290 actives belonging to sanitary services, who were included in the 1970 census in Community Services, under the item Electricity, Water and Services; I excluded from the class of Non Farming Workers of the 1970 census, the sub-classes Transport Machinery Drivers and similar (88 335 actives) and Radio Station Operator (340 actives) and Miners and similar (7860 actives), which in the 1960 census were included in other classes. In the total for 1970 141 205 men, who were then on active military duty, were included, an item that was included in the total for 1960. The unemployed were withdrawn from both totals.

Graph 1 - Portuguese Emigration

1930 - 1979



Graph 3 Remittances over GDP



----- Variables in the Equation -----

Variable	B	SE B	Beta	T	Sig T
MP	4.555059	.773250	.835582	5.891	.0000
(Constant)	11.993034	4.879339		2.458	.0266

End Block Number 1 All requested variables entered.

* * * * MULTIPLE REGRESSION * * * *

Equation Number 1 Dependent Variable.. MP

Block Number 1. Method: Enter MI

Variable(s) Entered on Step Number

1.. MI

Multiple R	.83558
R Square	.69820
Adjusted R Square	.67808
Standard Error	1.18524

F = 34.70146 Signif F = .0000

* * * * MULTIPLE REGRESSION * * * *

Equation Number 1 Dependent Variable.. MP

----- Variables in the Equation -----

Variable	B	SE B	Beta	T	Sig T
MI	.153280	.026020	.835582	5.891	.0000
(Constant)	-.034755	1.060064		-.033	.9743

End Block Number 1 All requested variables entered.

* * * * MULTIPLE REGRESSION * * * *

Listwise Deletion of Missing Data

N of Cases = 17

Correlation:

	MP	MC
MP	1.000	.838
MC	.838	1.000

* * * * MULTIPLE REGRESSION * * * *

Equation Number 1 Dependent Variable.. MC

Block Number 1. Method: Enter MP

Variable(s) Entered on Step Number
1.. MP

Multiple R .83760
R Square .70157
Adjusted R Square .68168
Standard Error 5.58606

F = 35.26353 Signif F = .0000

* * * * MULTIPLE REGRESSION * * * *

Equation Number 1 Dependent Variable.. MC

----- Variables in the Equation -----

Variable	B	SE B	Beta	T	Sig T
MP	3.969899	.668523	.837599	5.938	.0000
(Constant)	13.561647	4.218494		3.215	.0058

End Block Number 1 All requested variables entered.

* * * * MULTIPLE REGRESSION * * * *

Equation Number 1 Dependent Variable.. MP

Block Number 1. Method: Enter MC

Variable(s) Entered on Step Number
1.. MC

Multiple R .83760
R Square .70157
Adjusted R Square .68168
Standard Error 1.17859

F = 35.26353 Signif F = .0000

Equation Number 1 Dependent Variable.. MP

----- Variables in the Equation -----

Variable	B	SE B	Beta	T	Sig T
MC	.176723	.029760	.837599	5.938	.0000
(Constant)	-.613291	1.145832		-.535	.6003

End Block Number 1 All requested variables entered.

ANEXO

BASE DE DADOS

COUNTRY	MP	MC	MI
AUSTRIA	6.80	45.92	48.04
BELGIUM	6.49	45.64	48.19
DENMARK	5.77	38.17	41.77
SPAIN	5.05	26.46	29.73
FINLAND	7.03	34.03	37.17
FRANCE	7.83	41.39	42.21
GERMANY	8.06	48.17	53.27
GREECE	3.45	21.90	21.58
ICELAND	5.64	38.50	37.83
IRELAND	5.21	30.73	28.85
ITALY	4.10	39.57	42.77
NORWAY	6.56	38.84	39.94
NETHERL	7.17	42.32	45.88
PORTUGAL	1.68	27.41	27.71
SUISSE	8.80	49.95	55.92
TURKEY	2.79	15.98	15.00
UK	9.16	48.87	50.77

RESULTADOS

* * * * MULTIPLE REGRESSION * * * *

N of Cases = 17

Correlation:

	MP	MI
MP	1.000	.836
MI	.836	1.000

Equation Number 1 Dependent Variable.. MI

Block Number 1. Method: Enter MP

Variable(s) Entered on Step Number
1.. MP

Multiple R .83558
R Square .69820
Adjusted R Square .67808
Standard Error 6.46114

F = 34.70146 Signif F = .0000

* * * * MULTIPLE REGRESSION * * * *

Equation Number 1 Dependent Variable.. MI

Graph 2 Remittances over Exports

