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MIGRATION AND SETTLEMENT IN ITALY

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Preface

To promote international scientific cooperation and to disseminate research results, the Migration and Settlement Task of the Human Settlements and Services Area at IIASA initiated a comparative analysis of patterns of interregional migration and spatial population growth in National Member Organization Countries. To carry out the study, a network of national scholars was established, an integrated methodology for multiregional demographic analysis was developed and a package of computer programs to implement this methodology was written. The contributors were invited to prepare reports on migration and settlement in their respective countries. An outline was provided and computer analysis was done by IIASA. The results of the various case studies will be discussed at a Conference to be held at IIASA in September, 1978.

This is a preliminary report on migration and settlement in Italy, examining synthetically the demographic evolution of the country from 1900 to 1975. The lack of official data about the age profile of migrants has made impossible up to now the application of the multi-regional demographic techniques for studying the spatial population dynamics; however, a technique for estimating that profile using census data, life tables and mathematical programming methods has been developed by the authors of this paper, and is currently being applied to the Italian case. The Italian case study will therefore be completed in the near future, as soon as the estimated age profile becomes available.

Frans Willekens
Leader
Migration and
Settlement Task
July 1978

Abstract

This paper examines synthetically the demographic evolution of Italy from 1900 until 1975. It is concerned with the analysis of fertility, mortality and internal migration patterns in the twenty regions which constitute the territorial administrative disaggregation of the Italian Republic. The paper is part of IIASA's comparative study of migration and settlement patterns in its member nations.

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MIGRATION AND SETTLEMENT IN ITALY

1. INTRODUCTION

In this paper a short review of the evolution of the population in Italy during the period of 1900-1975 is presented as an introduction to the more detailed analysis of the regional demographic dynamics, which will be performed using the models and programs developed at IIASA in the framework of the comparative study of migration and settlement patterns in its member nations.

In the following section we present a synthetic overview of the demographic national history. In section 3, we introduce the regional administrative disaggregation of the Italian Republic. In section 4, we show the regional patterns of fertility, mortality and migration. In section 5, the resulting demographic structure at the regional level is analyzed, and in section 6, the population policies which have been implemented during the period under consideration are shortly described.

2. NATIONAL ANALYSIS

Historical series of crude birth and death rates from 1900-1975 are shown in Table 1 and Figure 1 respectively.

It is common practice in demography (Federici, 1965; Keyfitz and Flieger, 1971) to characterize populations in three classes according to their level of natural movement:

1. high fertility and mortality
2. high fertility and low mortality
3. low fertility and mortality.

According to the above classification, we can see from Table 1 and Figure 1 that at the beginning of this century, Italy was in the middle of a demographic transition from the first to the second type of population. In fact, it was characterized by a high level of fertility, and by a lower and decreasing level of mortality (even if still relatively high).

During the century, with the exception of the two world-war periods, both crude birth and death rates regularly decreased to the levels which are characteristic of the third type of population.

The periods of 1915-1918 and 1940-1945, were characterized by a strongly anomalous behavior, with low fertility and high mortality, as the other European countries involved in the two world-wars. Those drastic reductions in mortality have given rise to limited but persistent consequences on the age structure of the population; in fact, the age pyramid for the census years show accentuated indentations for the groups born during the conflict years.

Table 1. Crude Birth and Death Rates by Year in Italy: 1900-1950
(per thousand)

Source: Historical Statistics Outline for Italy, 1958
Historical Statistics Outline for Italy, 1976

Year	CBR	CDR	Year	CBR	CDR
1900	33.0	23.8	1938	23.8	14.0
1901	32.5	22.0	1939	23.6	13.4
1902	33.4	22.2	1940	23.5	13.6
1903	31.7	22.4	1941	20.9	13.9
1904	32.9	21.2	1942	20.5	14.3
1905	32.7	22.0	1943	19.9	15.2
1906	32.1	20.9	1944	18.3	15.3
1907	31.7	20.9	1945	18.3	13.6
1908	33.7	22.8	1946	23.0	12.1
1909	32.8	21.7	1947	22.3	11.5
1910	33.3	19.9	1948	22.0	10.6
1911	31.5	21.4	1949	20.4	10.5
1912	32.4	18.2	1950	19.6	9.8
1913	31.7	18.7	1951	18.4	10.3
1914	31.0	17.9	1952	17.8	10.0
1915	30.5	22.3	1953	17.6	9.9
1916	24.1	23.3	1954	18.0	9.1
1917	19.5	26.0	1955	17.7	9.1
1918	18.2	35.1	1956	17.7	10.1
1919	21.5	18.9	1957	17.7	9.7
1920	32.2	19.0	1958	17.4	9.1
1921	30.7	17.7	1959	17.8	9.0
1922	30.8	18.1	1960	17.9	9.4
1923	30.0	17.0	1961	18.4	9.3
1924	29.0	17.1	1962	18.4	10.0
1925	28.4	17.1	1963	18.6	10.0
1926	27.7	17.2	1964	19.5	9.4
1927	27.5	16.1	1965	18.6	9.8
1928	26.7	16.1	1966	18.4	9.3
1929	25.6	16.5	1967	17.7	9.5
1930	26.7	14.1	1968	17.3	9.9
1931	24.9	14.8	1969	17.2	10.0
1932	23.8	14.7	1970	16.5	9.6
1933	23.8	13.7	1971	16.8	9.7
1934	23.5	13.3	1972	16.3	9.6
1935	23.4	13.9	1973	15.9	9.9
1936	22.4	13.7	1974	15.7	9.5
1937	22.9	14.2	1975	14.8	9.9

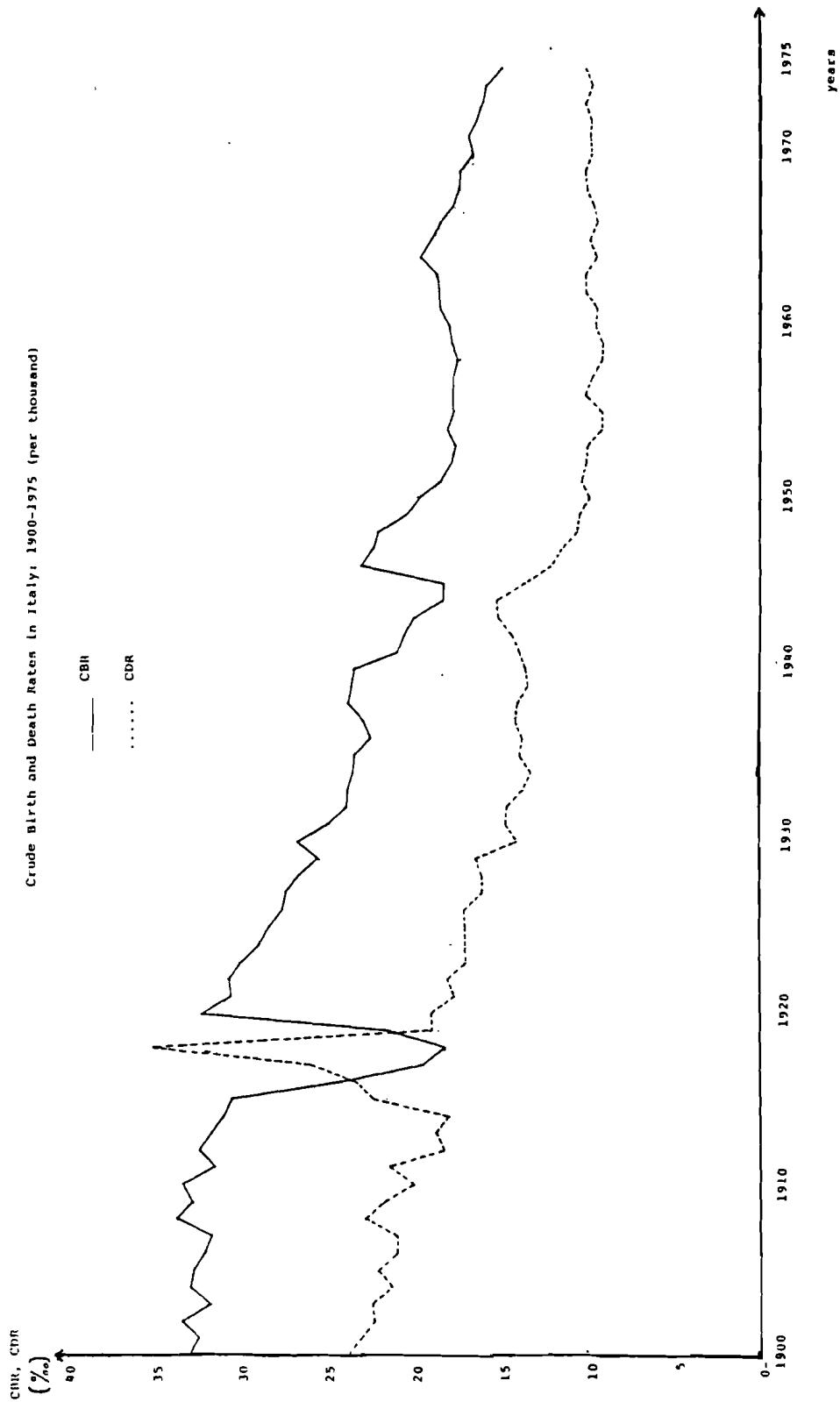


Figure 1.

After 1950, the crude death rate has been relatively constant at a level between 9‰ and 10‰, with some cyclical functions. Obviously the ageing process of the population has been partially compensated by the continuous decrease in age specific mortality rates, induced by the improvement of the health care system and the spreading of social and economic welfare. Figure 1 shows that in the same period the crude birth rate had two different behaviors: the first was an increase between 1952 and 1964, and a subsequent decrease from 1965 on. The first increase was probably a consequence of the remarkable expansion of the Italian economy in those years, and particularly of the improvements in employment opportunities which caused an increase in the number of marriages.

The comparison of the age structure of the population at the census years of 1901 and 1971 (Table 2 and Figure 2) synthetically shows the demographic transition which took place between those two years. The age pyramid for 1901 shows the large base and the regular slope characteristic of the first and second types of population. The pyramid for 1971 shows, the large contrary, a reduced base and a stronger and irregular slope characteristic of the third type of population (Keyfitz and Flieger, 1971).

Table 3 and Figure 3 illustrate the series of internal migration rate, defined as the ratio between the number of persons changing their residence and the mid-year population. Also in this case, the behavior is strongly disturbed during the two world-war periods, which had a clear depressive influence on population mobility. For the remaining periods, we can see a noticeable change from the migration level during 1902-1914 to

Table 2. Population by Age-Group in Italy: 1901-1971 (per cent)

Source: Social Yearbook for Italy, 1975

Age-Group	1901	1931	1951	1961	1971
0-4	13.0	11.1	7.2	6.7	8.2
5-9	11.0	10.9	8.4	7.9	8.5
10-14	10.4	7.7	8.8	8.2	7.7
15-19	9.3	9.8	8.5	7.7	7.1
20-24	8.1	9.3	8.6	8.0	7.6
25-29	6.8	7.8	8.4	7.5	6.5
30-34	6.3	7.0	6.8	7.6	7.1
35-39	6.0	6.1	6.7	7.5	6.7
40-44	5.6	5.7	7.3	6.1	6.9
45-49	5.0	5.2	6.2	6.0	6.7
50-54	4.8	4.6	5.4	6.5	4.8
55-59	4.1	4.0	4.6	5.4	5.5
60-64	3.5	3.5	4.1	4.6	5.4
65-69	2.6	3.0	3.5	3.7	4.3
70-74	1.8	2.2	2.5	2.9	3.1
75-79	1.1	1.3	1.7	2.0	2.1
80-∞	0.6	0.8	1.3	1.7	1.8
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

Population by Age-Group and Sex in Italy: 1901-1971

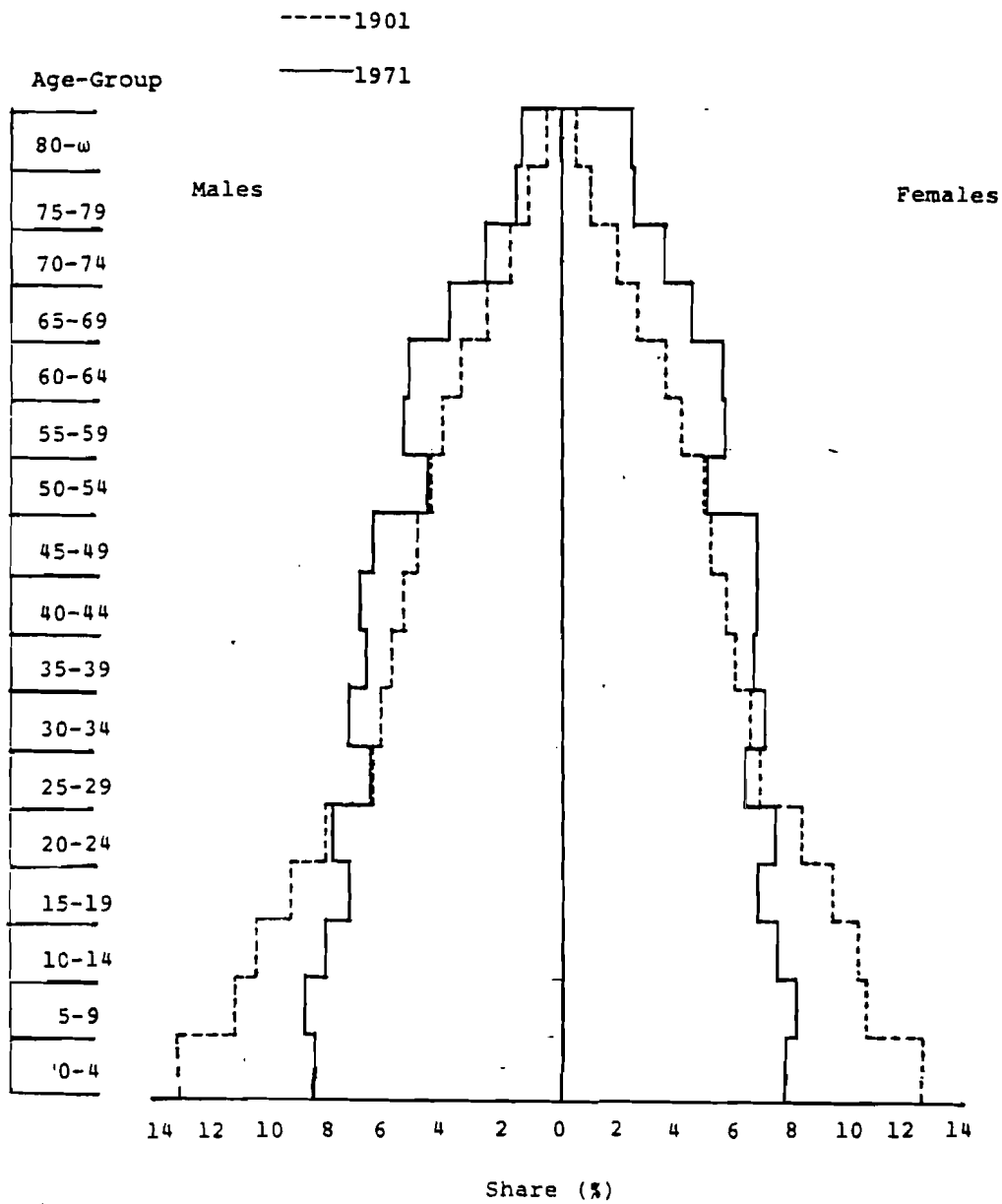


Figure 2.

Table 3. Intensity of Internal Migration in Italy: Number of Migrants per 1,000 persons at Mid-Year

Source: Treves (1976) - for the period of 1902-1970
Statistical Yearbook for Italy, 1971/76 -
for the period of 1971-1975

Year	Intensity	Year	Intensity	Year	Intensity
1902	14.3	1928	24.4	1954	25.5
1903	15.8	1929	24.4	1955	26.4
1904	15.2	1930	27.1	1956	27.4
1905	16.9	1931	25.2	1957	28.1
1906	17.1	1932	27.1	1958	28.4
1907	17.7	1933	29.3	1959	29.3
1908	17.1	1934	30.3	1960	30.4
1909	17.8	1935	32.3	1961	35.2
1910	17.1	1936	23.2	1962	43.6
1911	18.2	1937	34.2	1963	36.1
1912	18.2	1938	32.2	1964	32.4
1913	19.3	1939	30.2	1965	29.6
1914	18.2	1940	30.8	1966	26.5
1915	16.4	1941	24.3	1967	29.5
1916	14.5	1942	25.3	1968	30.2
1917	14.2	1943	17.3	1969	30.2
1918	10.2	1944	15.1	1970	30.3
1919	14.3	1945	20.2	1971	28.4
1920	16.3	1946	27.3	1972	30.2
1921	15.9	1947	22.4	1973	27.7
1922	14.9	1948	21.6	1974	24.9
1923	17.3	1949	20.1	1975	21.9
1924	19.4	1950	19.4		
1925	21.2	1951	20.4		
1926	24.2	1952	23.1		
1927	25.3	1953	24.2		

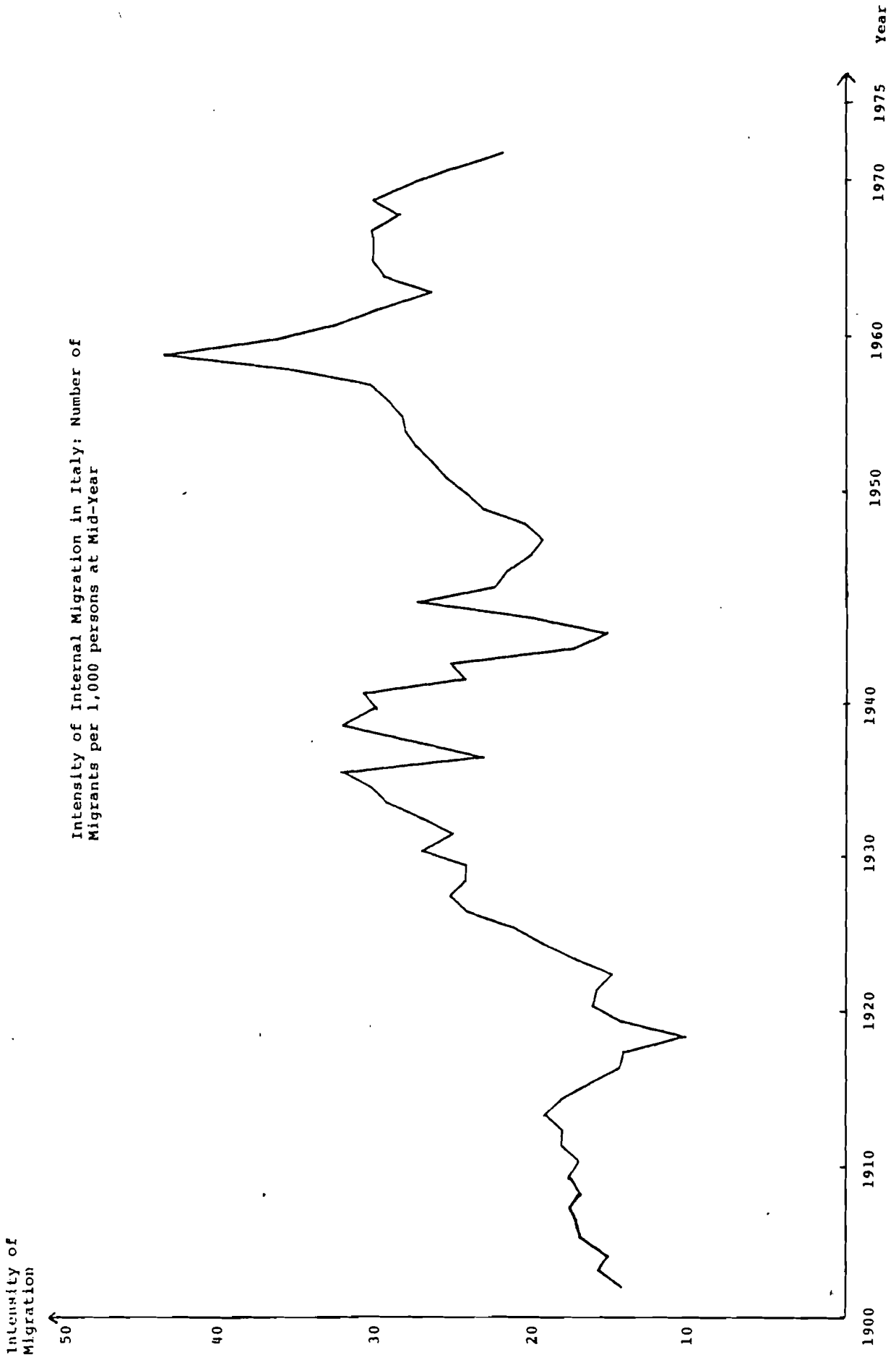


Figure 3.

the migration level during 1920-1940. In fact in the latter period there was a very strong increase of the migration rate usually explained (Treves, 1976) with the simultaneous drastic reduction of migration out of the national boundaries. This drastic reduction is due to the barriers imposed on in-migration by traditional destination countries of Italian emigrants (i.e., U.S.A. and South American Countries).

After World War II and until 1960, we note a fast growth of the internal migration rate. This is caused by the different economic evolution of the various parts of the country: in fact, territorial differences in growth rates and mainly in the patterns of socio-economic development gave rise to strong disparities in income and in employment opportunities, to which migration flows are deeply related. The growth period ends in the years 1962-1964 with a very high peak, due in addition to the intensification of economic stimuli, to the repeal of some pre-world-war laws essentially aimed to reduce migration flows within Italy.

Starting from 1965, the internal mobility was at a constant level (with some cyclical fluctuations) until the last few years, in which it began to decrease sharply. That decrease is due to the worsening of the economic situation: in fact in Italy, like in many other western countries, the growing unemployment rate in all the regions appears to have restrained the process of territorial redistribution of the population.

3. TERRITORIAL DISAGGREGATION

The Italian Republic is divided into twenty administrative regions; the regional administrations have noticeable fiscal and financial resources, and a wide autonomy in the matter of territorial policies.

In geographical order, from North to South and from West to East, the regions are the following (Map 1): Piemonte, Valle d'Aosta, Lombardia, Trentino Alto Adige, Veneto, Friuli Venezia Giulia, Liguria, Emilia-Romagna, Toscana, Umbria, Marche, Lazio, Abruzzi, Molise, Campania, Puglia, Basilicata, Calabria, Sicilia, Sardegna.

The regions are divided in "Provincie"--whose number is about 100--and these are in turn divided into more than 8000 "Comuni".

The Provincie, which are based on the model of the french "départements", have very narrow political and administrative autonomy, since they constitute only territorial articulation of highly centralized governing bodies.

The Comuni are the lower administrative level; they are in close contact with citizens, and are in charge of providing a number of administrative and social services.

The Central Statistical Office, ISTAT (Istituto Centrale di Statistica), is in charge of coordination and implementation of statistical surveys. It collects and publishes a noticeable amount of economic, demographic and social data for all the administrative units previously described. Obviously, the

availability of data, in terms of both their disaggregation and their frequency of publication, decreases from the national level to the lower levels.*

In the sequel, the present paper will deal with data at the regional level. This disaggregation level has been chosen for the following reasons:

1. the regions offer a sufficient level of territorial disaggregation;
2. each region presents a fairly homogeneous internal structure;
3. they meet the requirement of data availability both from the socio-economic and demographic points of view; and
4. they are politically active units, ruled by governments, directly elected by the population, which must design their own regional development policies.

*It should be noted that starting from the 1950's, the ISTAT provides a considerably complete data base at a disaggregated level, intermediate between the national and regional ones, used only for statistical purposes. This fourth type of division of the national territory is obtained aggregating the regions, according to criteria of adjacency and socio-economical homogeneity, in four "Ripartizioni".

- I. Ripartizione: Piemonte, Valle d'Aosta, Lombardia, Liguria
- II. Ripartizione: Trentino Alto Adige, Veneto, Friuli-Venezia Giulia, Emilia Romagna
- III. Ripartizione: Toscana, Umbria, Marche, Lazio
- IV. Ripartizione: Abruzzi, Molise, Campania, Puglia, Basilicata, Calabria, Sicilia, Sardegna

At the Ripartizione level, the data availability, particularly from the economic point of view, is comparable with that at the national level.



1. Valle D'Aosta
2. Piemonte
3. Lombardia
4. Trentino Alto Adige
5. Veneto
6. Friuli Venezia Giulia
7. Liguria
8. Emilia Romagna
9. Toscana
10. Umbria
11. Marche
12. Lazio
13. Abruzzi
14. Molise
15. Campania
16. Puglia
17. Basilicata
18. Calabria
19. Sicilia
20. Sardegna

Map 1.

4. REGIONAL ANALYSIS

In the section we review the regional patterns of fertility, mortality and migration rates from the beginning of the century until 1975.

4.1. Fertility

The demographic transition process, described for the nation as a whole in section 2, has not been uniform over the region. It started earlier in the northern regions, more developed from the social and economical point of view, and then spread all over the country. The difference between the regional behaviors was particularly evident for the fertility of the population.

Table 4 and Figure 4 show the crude birth rates for the twenty regions. It is easy to see that from 1900-1902 to 1930-1932 the national rate decreased from 32.5‰ to 24.9‰. That decrease is usually due to the drastic reduction of the rates for the northern regions, which in some cases practically halved their initial values (i.e., Piemonte's rate decreased from 28.4‰ to 16.4‰; Liguria's rate from 27.6‰ to 16.1‰). In the central regions that reduction was by far less sensible, and in the southern ones practically absent (i.e., Basilicata's rate went from 35.8‰ to 35.3‰; the Campania's rate went from 31.7‰ to 31.8‰). Such a disparity is synthesized by the standard deviation of the regional rates, which increased from 2.5‰ in 1900-1902 to 5.5‰ in 1930-1932. Moreover, from Figure 4, we can observe the increase in the dispersion of the regional rates distribution.

Table 4. Crude Birth Rates (‰) by Region in Italy: 1900-1975

Source: Social Yearbook for Italy, 1975
Statistical Yearbook for Italy, 1976

Regions	1900-02	1930-32	1950-52	1960-62	1975
Piemonte	} 28.4	} 16.4	11.2	13.1	12.5
Valle D'Aosta			15.6	13.5	11.1
Lombardia	34.3	22.5	15.2	16.1	14.1
Trentino A.A.	....	22.2	18.8	19.2	14.2
Veneto	36.2	25.2	18.2	18.2	14.1
Friuli-V.G.	....	20.1	11.1	12.8	11.8
Liguria	27.6	16.1	10.3	12.4	10.1
Emilia-R.	32.8	21.3	13.8	14.0	11.5
Toscana	30.3	19.2	13.1	13.5	11.9
Umbria	30.1	24.3	15.8	14.6	12.3
Marche	31.6	24.9	17.0	15.5	13.0
Lazio	30.9	26.0	18.2	19.2	15.2
Abruzzi	31.9	28.9	19.6	16.6	12.9
Molise	32.9	30.8	21.2	18.1	12.8
Campania	31.7	31.8	24.5	24.6	19.8
Puglia	36.6	32.9	25.4	23.7	19.3
Basilicata	35.8	35.3	26.5	23.1	15.1
Calabria	32.4	32.1	26.8	24.1	16.3
Sicilia	33.8	28.3	22.8	22.3	17.1
Sardegna	31.7	29.4	25.9	23.1	18.2
ITALY	32.5	24.9	18.3	18.3	14.8
Standard Deviation	2.5	5.5	5.3	4.2	2.7

Crude Birth Rates: Distribution of the 20* Regions of Italy According to the Level of Natality

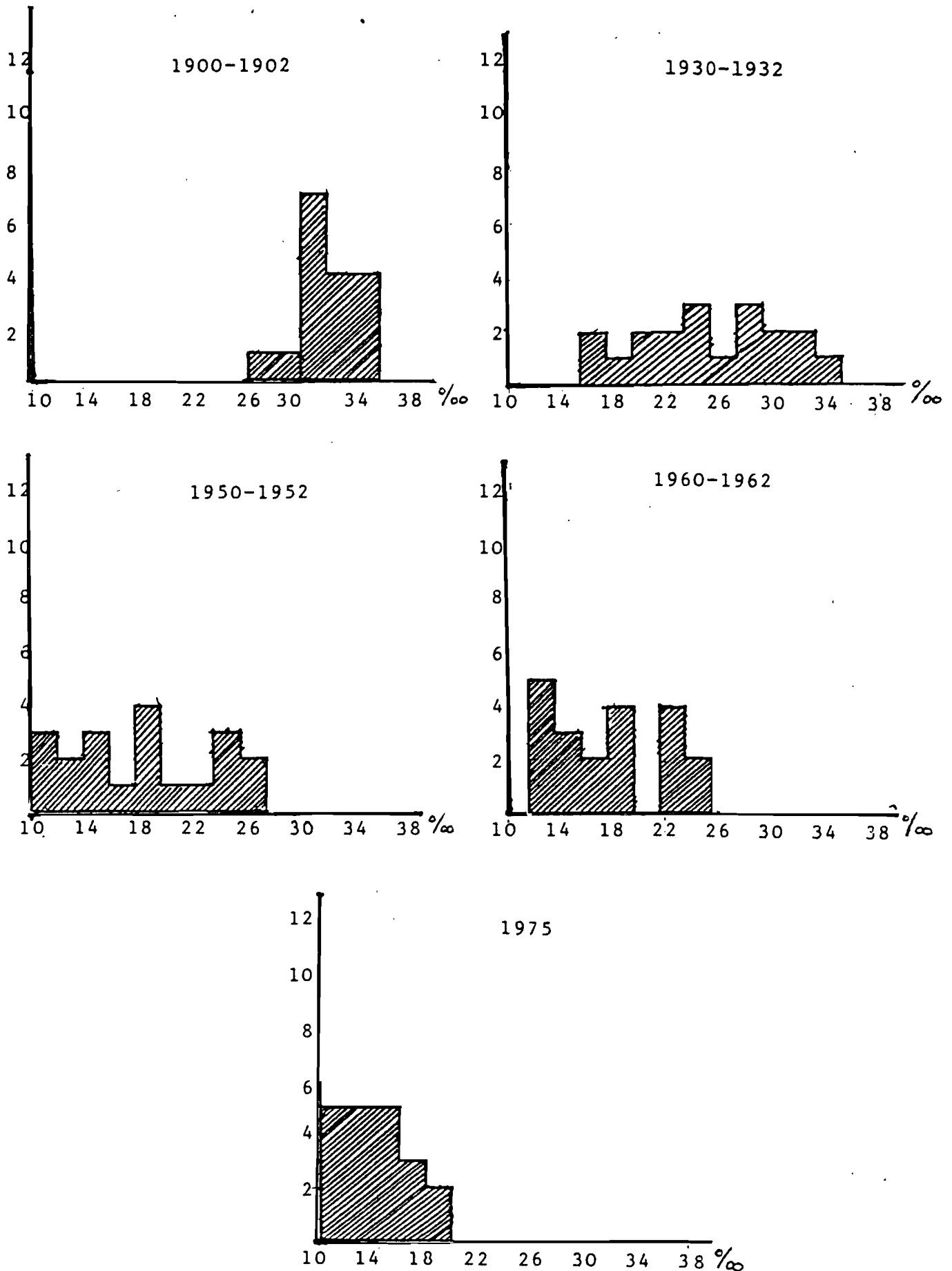


Figure 5.

* 1900-02: 17 regions; 1930-1932: 19 regions

During the period from 1930-1932 to 1950-1952 the fertility rates continued to decrease, but this time more uniformly all over the country: the standard deviation remains approximatively at the same values: (5.5‰ in 1930-1932, and 5.3‰ in 1950-1952). Figure 4 shows how the rates distribution shifts towards the origin, while maintaining its shape and dispersion constant. A greater uniformity of behavior is reached during the subsequent years, when the standard deviation falls to 4.2‰ in 1960-1962 and to 2.7‰ in 1975 still remaining, however, at a higher level than in 1900-1902. In the last years, the demographic transition process led to a strong decrease in fertility rates for the central and mainly for the southern regions: for instance, Basilicata passes from 26.5‰ in 1950-1952 to 15.1‰ in 1975; Calabria from 26.8‰ to 16.3‰.

The northern regions seem to have reached their steady-state maintaining the values previously attained, with some fluctuations. In some cases, (i.e., Piemonte which passes from 11.2‰ to 12.5‰) there was a light increase in the fertility rate, probably due to the large in-migration flows from the south.

4.2 Mortality

The decrease in mortality rates in Italy has been more uniform over the region than that of fertility rates. Table 5 and Figure 5 show the distribution of the crude death rate (CDR) over the twenty Italian regions.

In the first period, from 1900-1902 to 1930-1932, the death rate decreased remarkably for the nation as a whole. All the

Table 5. Crude Death Rates ($\frac{\circ}{\circ\circ}$) by Region in Italy: 1900-1975

Source: Social Yearbook for Italy, 1975
Statistical Yearbook for Italy, 1976

Regions	1900-02	1930-32	1950-52	1960-62	1975
Piemonte	} 20.0	} 13.6	12.2	12.1	11.9
Valle D'Aosta			11.8	11.2	10.7
Lombardia	23.0	14.4	10.5	10.3	10.0
Trentino A.A.	....	14.5	11.2	10.3	9.8
Veneto	19.6	12.1	9.4	9.6	9.9
Friuli V.G.	....	13.6	7.8	11.3	12.9
Liguria	20.0	12.2	10.6	11.1	13.2
Emilia-R.	21.7	12.7	9.4	9.8	11.0
Toscana	20.8	12.6	10.0	10.4	11.1
Umbria	20.8	13.5	9.1	9.2	10.2
Marche	21.5	13.3	9.1	8.9	9.8
Lazio	22.5	13.4	8.5	8.2	8.5
Abruzzi	21.0	15.2	9.4	9.1	9.6
Molise	24.8	18.7	10.9	9.5	10.2
Campania	24.0	16.8	9.6	8.8	8.5
Puglia	27.4	17.9	9.8	8.6	8.2
Basilicata	28.2	20.7	10.8	8.1	8.1
Calabria	23.3	15.2	9.3	7.9	7.8
Sicilia	23.8	15.9	9.9	9.0	9.4
Sardegna	22.6	15.2	9.3	7.9	8.6
Italy	22.4	14.4	9.9	9.6	9.9
Standard Deviation	2.4	2.3	1.0	1.2	1.5

Crude Death Rates: Distribution of the 20* Regions of Italy According to the Level of Mortality

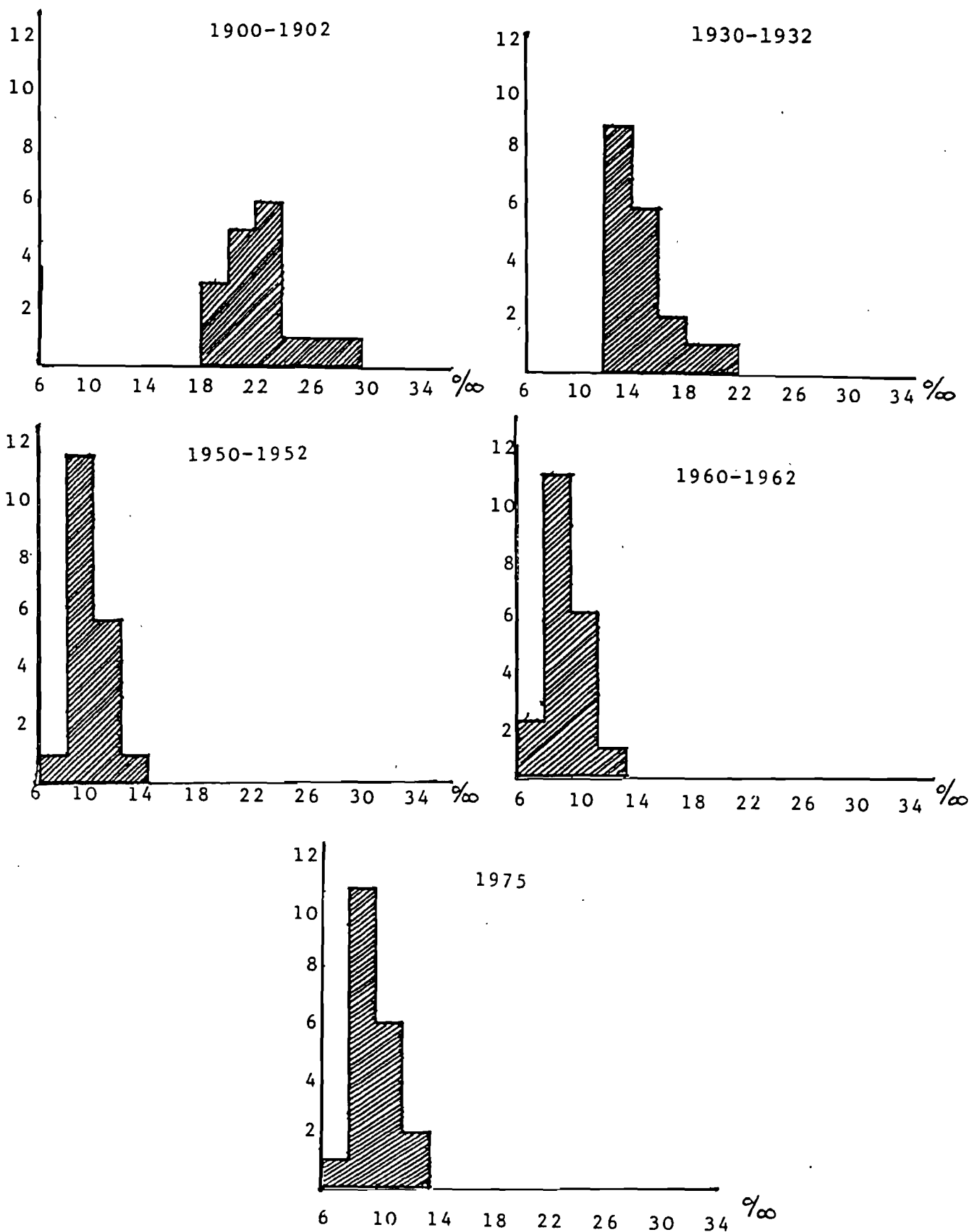


Figure 5.

* 1900-1902: 17 regions; 1930-1932: 19 regions

regions contributed uniformly to that reduction: in fact the standard deviation of the regional distribution of CDR remained practically constant, passing from 2.4 ‰ to 2.3 ‰.

During a second period the decreasing trend of CDR continued for the nation as a whole (from 14.4 ‰ in 1930-1932 to 9.9 ‰ in 1950-1952), but with noticeable differences from region to region. The greater changes took place in the central and southern regions, which had the highest rates at the beginning of the period. Smaller changes took place in the northern regions, which already had lower levels of CDR. Because of this behavior a greater uniformity of the regional distribution of CDR was reached in 1950-1952: the standard deviation at the time was 1.0 ‰, the lowest value attained during the century.

The national mortality rate was quite stable in the next period, with some small fluctuation between 9 ‰ and 10 ‰. This came as a result of two combined processes: the gradual reduction of age specific death rates, and the aging of the population. This combined effect is confirmed by the regional distribution of CDR. Starting from 1950-1952, we can note an inversion of the relative position of the regions according to their crude death rate: the CDR becomes lower in the southern regions than in the northern ones. We can also note an increase of the dispersion of the regional distribution of CDR: the standard deviation rises to 1.2 ‰ in 1960-1962 and to 1.5 ‰ in 1975.

One of the main causes of that phenomenon was the faster aging of the population in the northern regions. It can be observed from Table 6, which shows the regional distribution of the aging ratio,

Table 6. Aging Ratio (%) by Region in Italy (number of persons older than 60 years divided by the number of persons younger than 15)

Source: Social Yearbook for Italy, 1975

Regions	1901	1931	1951	1961	1971
Piemonte	} 29.7	} 58.4	92.7	102.1	97.7
Valle D'Aosta			57.2	69.6	83.3
Lombardia	23.8	33.9	53.7	65.6	69.8
Trentino A.A.	....	38.4	44.6	52.7	61.6
Veneto	27.5	29.8	40.7	54.9	64.3
Friuli-V.G.	....	38.9	54.6	87.5	106.3
Liguria	32.7	51.0	86.9	110.0	120.2
Emilia-R.	29.0	36.8	57.4	78.6	96.9
Toscana	31.8	43.6	67.3	88.9	106.2
Umbria	32.8	35.8	49.4	67.6	90.2
Marche	34.3	36.2	47.7	63.8	83.0
Lazio	23.6	32.0	40.0	48.7	56.6
Abruzzi	34.5	39.3	43.3	56.8	75.4
Molise			41.5	54.0	79.3
Campania	32.1	32.0	30.9	35.0	42.8
Puglia	24.5	31.1	31.9	36.9	46.5
Basilicata	30.7	31.6	30.5	35.4	53.9
Calabria	25.8	31.9	29.3	34.7	50.0
Sicilia	21.7	36.1	39.2	44.1	57.5
Sardegna	23.4	31.5	34.2	39.2	49.8
ITALY	27.8	36.3	46.4	56.8	68.1
Standard Deviation	4.2	7.2	17.0	22.0	22.2

defined as the ratio between the population over 60 and the population below 15. The increasing trend of that index at the national level is therefore combined with an increase in the regional dispersion: the standard deviation, in fact, rises from 4.2% in 1901 to 22.2% in 1971.

4.3 . Migration

Table 7 shows the regional distribution of net migration rates, including the national and international components for the intercensus periods from 1901 to 1971. Table 7.a shows the regional distribution of the gross migration rates for four years from 1960 to 1975, not including the international component. Italy has always had a negative net migration with remarkable fluctuations: from -1.7‰ during 1901-1911, to -4.2‰ during 1911-1931, to -1.4‰ during 1931-1951. During the period of 1951-1971 the net migration rate was at the constant level of -2.1‰: it is necessary to make more explicit, however, that such constant rates obtained as ten-years average, hide wide fluctuations. Moreover, in the last years Italy has experienced a gradual reduction of the out-migration rate, reaching a positive net rate, due mainly to a phenomenon of return of previous out-migrants.

At the regional level there has been a substantial difference between the northern regions and the central and southern regions, with the exception of Lazio. The northern regions have always had positive or slightly negative net migrations rates, whereas the southern regions have always had negative rates, often very high.

Table 7. Net Migration Rate by Region in Italy: 1901-1971
(per thousand)

Source: Social Yearbook for Italy, 1975

Regions	1901-11	1911-31	1931-51	1951-61	1961-71
Piemonte	-4.6	-1.4	0.7	10.9	9.8
Valle D'Aosta	-4.9	-1.2	0.0	4.2	4.0
Lombardia	1.0	-0.3	2.5	7.6	7.6
Trentino A.A.	2.3	-6.9	-2.9	-0.6	-2.8
Veneto	3.5	-12.7	-6.7	-10.4	-1.9
Friuli-V.G.	7.8	-2.4	-4.6	-3.8	-1.2
Liguria	7.2	5.2	4.1	10.1	5.4
Emilia-R.	-2.4	-2.4	-2.0	-0.6	0.8
Toscana	-4.0	-3.0	-0.1	1.2	2.1
Umbria	-6.8	-5.9	-1.2	-6.9	-7.1
Marche	-5.7	-7.3	-4.4	-8.2	-5.1
Lazio	3.7	6.1	7.9	6.9	6.2
Abruzzi	} -7.2	} -9.0	} -6.4	-15.1	-11.1
Molise				-22.9	-18.8
Campania	-4.1	-6.1	-2.7	-6.7	-10.3
Puglia	-2.1	-6.0	-2.6	-10.1	-11.2
Basilicata	-11.3	-8.5	-4.8	-14.2	-21.1
Calabria	-5.8	-8.0	-8.4	-18.4	-18.1
Sicilia	-2.6	-9.3	-4.7	-8.8	-13.8
Sardegna	-2.9	-3.9	-1.3	-6.2	-11.0
ITALY	-1.7	-4.2	-1.4	-2.1	-2.1
Standard Deviation	4.9	4.7	3.9	9.3	9.1

Table 7.a. Gross Migration Rates by Region in Italy (per thousand)*

Source: Statistical Yearbook for Italy, various years

Regions	In-Migration Rates				Out-Migration Rates			
	1960	1965	1970	1975	1960	1965	1970	1975
Piemonte	51.48	42.69	45.46	29.52	34.47	41.89	36.42	29.36
Valle D'Aosta	28.70	31.26	38.84	28.83	23.02	27.61	33.04	24.32
Liguria	33.72	28.94	29.13	21.87	22.33	24.41	24.53	19.77
Lombardia	42.00	38.17	37.44	26.45	32.45	35.48	30.67	25.14
Trentino A.A.	24.76	26.01	25.93	20.58	25.07	27.17	26.77	20.09
Veneto	28.61	26.95	28.55	22.18	38.08	27.99	28.25	20.85
Friuli V.G.	25.03	27.19	28.33	23.66	26.19	27.02	26.58	21.29
Emilia R.	42.46	29.03	31.12	22.26	42.84	29.62	28.13	19.60
Marche	30.84	25.18	28.02	20.00	37.38	27.97	29.34	19.14
Toscana	32.48	29.90	31.03	21.12	30.54	28.63	27.13	18.53
Umbria	25.86	20.57	21.08	17.33	31.96	24.63	25.26	15.56
Lazio	27.77	25.63	24.99	21.10	18.61	19.76	20.52	18.97
Campania	20.94	23.26	24.18	22.81	24.53	25.25	31.01	25.13
Abruzzi		24.74	24.27	23.07		27.27	27.79	22.81
Molise	}20.93	19.81	21.52	21.14	}28.24	25.52	26.71	24.05
Puglia	17.77	20.08	18.22	17.68	27.83	22.11	25.61	19.92
Basilicata	17.54	20.38	19.22	19.22	30.79	28.37	36.83	25.11
Calabria	16.93	21.10	18.63	21.25	27.59	26.38	31.36	25.04
Sicilia	20.84	21.96	20.09	21.25	26.31	23.49	27.29	22.97
Sardegna	27.74	27.88	25.20	23.76	34.13	30.08	31.14	23.97
Italia	0.83	1.01	1.98	1.93	0.97	1.39	2.35	0.84

*The regional rates in this table do not include the international component. The gross international rates are given only for Italy as a whole.

During the whole period of 1901-1971 only Lazio and Liguria had throughout a positive net migration rate. In the case of Lazio this phenomenon is due to the presence of Rome, which, because of its role as administrative national center, went through a continuous development of the employment in services and public administration. For this reason Rome attracted migrants both from the rural areas of its region and from the central and southern regions. In the case of Liguria the attraction can be explained with the high level of economic industrial development reached since the beginning of the century. In both cases the migration flows were combined with a strong urbanization process.

From the general point of view we can note that during the period of 1951-1971 there had been interregional migration flows of exceptional intensity never before reached. A large fraction of the population of Southern Italy moved to the northern regions which were experiencing a strong and fast industrialization process requiring a supply of labor force which was impossible to satisfy with the local natural growth of the population.

The measure of the dispersion of the regional distribution of migration rates synthesizes the situation described above: the standard deviation decreased from 4.9‰ in 1901-1911, to 4.7‰ in 1911-1931, to 3.9‰ in 1931-1951, and then increased sharply to 9.3‰ in 1951-1961 reaching a stable level of 9.1‰ in 1961-1971.

Some southern regions experienced a real "escape" of the population: in Molise the net migration rate was -22.9‰ during 1951-1961, and -18.4‰ during 1961-1971; in Calabria -18.4‰ and -18.1‰; in Basilicata -14.2‰ and -21.1‰.

From the demographic, social and economical point of view it was an extremely violent process which caused the depopulation of many rural areas and an uncontrolled growth of metropolitan areas of destination. During the years of more intense migration movements, Italy assumed the characteristics of a "dual" country, split into two big and completely different parts: a dynamic north with modern industries, fast growing from the economic and demographic point of view; a stagnant south, based on a backward agricultural economy, in demographic decline, even if with a natural growth rate greater than the national average.

That process slowed down during the late '60's and definitely stopped in the '70's partially because of the effect of re-equilibrating governmental policies. But, the main cause was probably the growth of external diseconomies created by the process itself --particularly in the in-migration areas the violent and uncontrolled urban growth and the consequent increase of the social costs endangered the possibilities of further development of the modern industrial structure of the northern regions.

5. TERRITORIAL STRUCTURE

Table 8 shows the regional distribution of natural growth rate of the population from 1901 to 1971. For the whole period, only one region, and in only one time interval (Piemonte, 1951-1961), had a negative rate, even if of extremely low value.

At the national level the growth rate fell from 10.5‰ in 1910-1911 to 8.8‰ in 1911-1931, and then remained approximately constant on that level. As far as the regional distribution is concerned, during a first period the standard deviation decreased from 3.8‰ in 1901-1911 to 3.2‰ in 1911-1931. After, there was an increase to 4.3‰ in 1931-1951, and to 5.3‰ in 1951-1961. This phenomenon is due to the different behavior of the central and northern regions with respect to the southern ones. In the central and northern regions the natural rate decreased continuously between 1901 and 1961, whereas, in the southern regions there were often remarkable increases, as, for example, in Calabria (from 10.0‰ to 15.0‰).

During the last period (1961-1971) the regional distribution became more uniform because of the inversion of the previous regional trends: natural rates increased for the North and decreased for the South, reducing, as a consequence, the standard deviation from 5.3‰ to 4.3‰.

Table 9 shows the regional distribution of the population global growth rates, obtained as a sum of natural and migration movements. The negative rates shown by some regions, particularly during 1961-1971, are due to the intensity of out-migration flows.

The comparison of the standard deviations of the regional distributions of both natural and global growth rates (Tables 8 and 9 respectively) shows the effect of the interregional migration flows. The spatial dispersion is always greater in the second case, except for the period of 1911-1931. It should be noted the increase of the difference between the two standard deviations during the last decades: from 5.3 ‰ and 6.8 ‰ in 1951-1961, to 4.3 ‰ and 6.8 ‰ in 1961-1971. Therefore, one of the effects of the migration flows was that of unbalancing the regional demographic dynamics.

Table 10 and 11 show the distribution of the population over the twenty regions. The analysis of that distribution shows that two regions (Lazio and Lombardia) had a high increase in their shares, because of natural growth and immigration. Other regions (Liguria, Campania, Puglia, Sardegna) had very limited increases (less than 1%) of their shares. Liguria had strong immigration but very low natural growth; the other regions had the highest natural growth rates, but strong out-migration.

All the other regions decreased their population shares; among them, Piemonte had a decrease between 1901 and 1951, passing from 9.8% and 7.4% of the national population. After 1951, because of intense immigration, there has been a slight recovery.

Table 12 shows the regional age structure of the population in 1971, and allows a comparative analysis of the combined effects of natural growth and migration on each region. An indicator of spatial dispersion is given by the standard deviations computed for each age group, and divided by the corresponding national value in order to compensate the different weights of the different age

Table 8. Natural Growth Rate by Region in Italy: 1901-1971
(per thousand)

Source: Social Yearbook for Italy, 1975

Regions	1901-11	1911-31	1931-51	1951-61	1961-71
Piemonte	7.1	2.0	0.2	-0.2	2.9
Valle D'Aosta	1.2	2.4	6.2	3.1	3.9
Lombardia	11.7	7.1	5.8	4.9	7.3
Trentino A.A.	0.7	8.6	7.0	8.1	9.5
Veneto	15.8	14.9	11.2	7.9	8.7
Friuli-V.G.	16.4	6.8	6.3	1.9	2.0
Liguria	7.7	3.4	0.8	0.1	1.3
Emilia-R.	12.1	9.5	5.8	4.0	4.1
Toscana	10.1	7.0	4.1	2.8	3.5
Umbria	11.9	11.0	8.2	5.5	4.4
Marche	10.3	10.0	8.5	6.5	5.8
Lazio	7.6	9.0	11.3	10.8	11.5
Abruzzi	} 9.8	} 8.6	} 9.6	8.3	7.0
Molise				8.4	6.4
Campania	10.0	11.0	12.8	15.0	15.0
Puglia	11.9	11.4	14.6	14.8	14.4
Basilicata	9.2	9.7	13.7	14.9	12.1
Calabria	11.1	12.3	14.8	15.8	13.1
Sicilia	9.0	9.0	10.8	12.9	11.5
Sardegna	11.3	9.5	14.1	16.0	13.4
ITALY	10.5	8.8	8.6	8.3	8.7
Standard Deviation	3.8	3.2	4.3	5.3	4.3

Table 9. Population Global Growth Rate by Region in Italy: 1901-1971
(per thousand)

Source: Social Yearbook for Italy, 1975

Regions	1901-11	1911-31	1931-51	1951-61	1961-71
Piemonte	2.8	0.6	0.9	10.7	12.5
Valle D'Aosta	-3.6	1.2	6.2	7.2	7.8
Lombardia	12.6	6.8	8.0	12.1	14.4
Trentino A.A.	2.9	2.8	4.5	7.6	6.9
Veneto	18.8	5.6	5.8	-1.8	7.0
Friuli-V.G.	23.2	4.7	2.2	-1.8	0.8
Liguria	14.4	8.3	4.8	10.2	6.6
Emilia-R.	9.9	7.5	4.1	3.4	4.8
Toscana	6.4	4.4	4.0	3.9	5.5
Umbria	5.9	6.3	7.2	-1.1	-2.4
Marche	5.0	4.0	4.8	-1.2	0.9
Lazio	11.1	14.2	17.8	17.1	17.1
Abruzzi	} 3.2	} 1.0	} 4.3	-5.7	-3.3
Molise				-12.7	-11.2
Campania	6.3	6.2	10.8	9.2	6.1
Puglia	10.0	6.7	12.6	6.0	4.6
Basilicata	-1.2	2.8	10.1	2.5	-6.6
Calabria	5.9	6.1	8.6	0.0	-2.8
Sicilia	6.6	1.2	7.0	5.1	-0.9
Sardegna	8.7	6.3	13.1	10.7	3.8
ITALY	8.9	5.3	7.3	6.4	6.7
Standard Deviation	6.3	3.2	4.1	6.8	6.8

Table 10. Population by Region in Italy: 1901-1975
(thousands)

Source: Social Yearbook for Italy, 1975
Statistical Yearbook for Italy, 1976

Regions	1901	1931	1951	1961	1971	1975
Piemonte	3,320	3,458	3,518	3,914	4,432	4,541
Valle D'Aosta	84	83	94	101	109	114
Lombardia	4,315	5,596	6,566	7,406	8,543	8,838
Trentino A.A.	612	666	729	786	842	866
Veneto	2,586	3,487	3,918	3,847	4,123	4,278
Friuli-V.G.	850	1,174	1,226	1,204	1,214	1,245
Liguria	1,046	1,423	1,567	1,735	1,854	1,867
Emilia-R.	2,547	3,268	3,544	3,667	3,847	3,936
Toscana	2,503	2,914	3,159	3,286	3,473	3,567
Umbria	579	696	804	795	776	795
Marche	1,089	1,240	1,364	1,348	1,360	1,390
Lazio	1,586	2,349	3,341	3,959	4,689	4,922
Abruzzi	1,465	1,545	1,277	1,207	1,167	1,211
Molise			407	358	320	330
Campania	2,914	3,509	4,346	4,761	5,059	5,280
Puglia	1,987	2,508	3,221	3,421	3,583	3,771
Basilicata	492	514	628	644	603	615
Calabria	1,439	1,723	2,044	2,045	1,988	2,034
Sicilia	3,568	3,906	4,487	4,721	4,681	4,861
Sardegna	796	984	1,276	1,419	1,476	1,553
ITALY	33,778	41,043	47,516	50,624	54,137	56,014

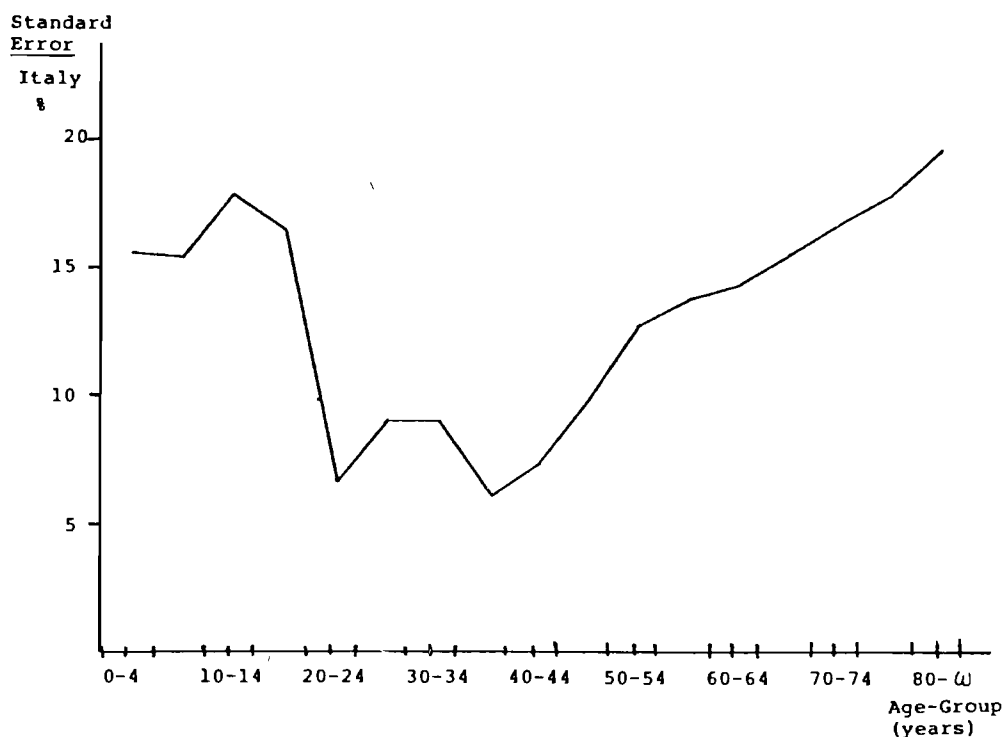
Table 12. Population by Age-Group and Region in Italy: 1971

Source: Monthly Statistical Bulletin - October, 1976/Supplement

Age-Groups Regions	0-4	5-9	10-14	15-19	20-24	25-29	30-34	35-39	40-44	45-49	50-54	55-59	60-64	65-69	70-74	75-79	80+	TOTAL
Piemonte	7.0	7.1	6.2	5.9	7.1	6.7	7.7	7.2	7.3	6.9	5.0	6.0	6.1	5.1	3.9	2.5	2.3	100.0
Valle d'Aosta	7.1	7.3	6.5	6.4	7.5	7.0	7.7	7.1	7.5	7.1	5.3	6.0	5.9	4.5	3.2	2.1	1.8	100.0
Lombardia	7.9	8.1	7.0	6.5	7.5	7.1	8.1	7.4	7.2	6.8	4.8	5.5	5.5	4.3	3.0	1.8	1.5	100.0
Trentino A.A.	8.7	9.2	8.2	7.4	7.6	7.1	7.0	6.1	6.5	6.6	4.5	4.9	5.4	4.2	3.1	1.9	1.6	100.0
Veneto	8.3	8.8	7.8	7.1	7.6	6.9	7.2	6.6	6.8	6.7	4.7	5.4	5.2	4.2	3.1	1.9	1.7	100.0
Friuli-V.G.	6.6	7.0	6.3	5.8	7.0	6.7	7.3	6.3	6.5	7.2	5.6	6.4	7.0	5.5	4.0	2.5	2.3	100.0
Liguria	6.1	6.6	5.8	5.3	6.2	6.1	7.1	6.9	7.4	7.4	5.9	6.8	6.8	5.6	4.3	3.0	2.7	100.0
Emilia-R	6.5	6.9	6.4	6.0	6.9	6.5	7.3	7.0	7.3	7.6	5.7	6.6	6.3	4.9	3.6	2.4	2.1	100.0
Toscana	6.5	6.9	6.2	5.8	6.9	6.4	7.2	6.7	7.2	7.4	5.7	6.2	6.4	5.3	4.0	2.7	2.5	100.0
Umbria	6.5	7.1	6.7	6.5	7.2	6.2	7.0	6.9	7.5	7.9	5.9	6.4	5.9	4.5	3.4	2.3	2.1	100.0
Marche	7.0	7.5	7.2	6.9	7.1	6.1	7.0	6.8	7.3	7.4	5.4	6.2	5.9	4.5	3.4	2.3	2.0	100.0
Lazio	8.4	8.8	7.8	7.1	7.6	6.8	7.6	7.3	7.2	6.9	5.0	5.3	4.8	3.6	2.6	1.7	1.5	100.0
Abruzzo	7.5	8.2	7.9	7.6	7.6	5.7	6.3	6.5	7.0	6.9	5.2	5.7	5.6	4.5	3.5	2.2	2.1	100.0
Pulizie	7.5	8.3	8.2	8.1	7.4	5.0	5.8	6.4	6.8	6.7	4.9	5.9	6.0	5.0	3.7	2.2	2.1	100.0
Campania	10.1	10.6	9.6	8.6	8.2	6.4	6.3	6.2	6.3	5.9	4.2	4.5	4.3	3.4	2.5	1.5	1.4	100.0
Puglia	10.0	10.3	9.5	8.4	8.2	6.4	6.4	6.2	6.2	5.8	4.2	4.5	4.5	3.5	2.6	1.7	1.6	100.0
Basilicata	9.1	9.7	9.6	8.8	7.8	5.2	6.2	6.6	6.6	6.1	4.2	4.7	5.1	3.9	3.0	1.8	1.6	100.0
Calabria	9.4	10.1	10.0	9.1	8.2	5.6	5.9	6.2	6.1	5.8	4.2	4.7	4.7	3.7	2.8	1.8	1.7	100.0
Sicilia	9.1	9.3	9.1	8.1	7.9	6.0	6.3	6.3	6.3	6.2	4.5	5.1	5.0	4.0	3.0	1.9	1.9	100.0
Sardegna	9.6	10.2	9.7	9.0	8.0	6.5	6.4	6.0	5.9	5.5	4.1	4.4	4.5	3.6	2.7	1.9	2.0	100.0
ITALY	8.2	8.5	7.7	7.1	7.6	6.5	7.1	6.7	6.9	6.7	4.8	5.5	5.4	4.3	3.1	2.1	1.8	100.0
Standard Deviation	1.26	1.29	1.36	1.16	0.50	0.58	0.63	0.41	0.50	0.65	0.60	0.75	0.76	0.66	0.51	0.37	0.35	
Standard Deviation ITALY	15.48	15.28	17.78	16.38	6.68	8.98	8.98	6.18	7.28	9.78	12.58	11.68	14.18	15.38	16.58	17.68	19.48	

groups. The values obtained (Figure 6) are very high for the first age groups, low for the central ones, and then high again for the oldest groups, rising up to the maximum for ages over 80.

Figure 6. Dispersion of the Age-Group Distribution of the Population in the Italian regions



The behavior of the dispersion curve in Figure 6 depends on the demographic transition process which took place before in the northern regions, and later in the southern ones. That resulted in a greater aging of the population in the former regions, which gave rise to high regional dispersion for the first and last age groups. The lower dispersion in the central age groups depends partially on the usual stability of the central age groups and mainly on the population redistribution effects caused by the interregional migration flows.

6. Population Policies

During this century, both direct and indirect population policies have been experienced in Italy, according to different aims changing over time.

6.1. Direct Policies

Direct population policies have been experimented in Italy between the two world wars, in the form of a set of laws essentially aimed at reaching two fundamental goals:

- an increase in natality;
- a reduction of the internal mobility of the population.

Obviously those goals were not ultimate but instrumental for reaching other not demographic goals. In particular the policy of increasing natality should serve to raise the international political weight of Italy, according to the slogan "the number is power", synthetical expression of the ideology of the fascist dictatorship. The real goal underlying the measures for reducing the internal migration was that of stopping both the depopulation of the rural areas and the contemporary uncontrolled growth of the metropolitan areas. In fact, the urbanization process, which could have led to uncontrolled social tensions, was mostly feared by the regime.

As it is easy to see from Figures 1 and 3, those policies substantially failed: in fact, in the period ending in 1940, there was neither increase in natality, nor decrease of internal migration.

6.2. Indirect Policies

After the second world war the Italian government launched a number of measures aimed at re-equilibrating internal disparities in income, employment and rate of economic growth.

Even if, particularly at the beginning of the planning period, the redistribution of the population did not receive any special attention, it is obvious that population movements were influenced by that type of public intervention. Therefore, those measures are referred here as indirect population policies.

Those measures were not expressions of a unique and homogeneous governmental policy; at least three different phases can be distinguished in the directions of public intervention in the less developed areas.

During the first two phases, which roughly coincide respectively with the '50s and the 60's, the main problem to be faced was that of the huge social and economic gap existing between the northern and the southern parts of the country.

The first phase started with the constitution of a governmental agency - Cassa per il Mezzogiorno - designed for the realization of a consistent program of public investment in the South. In that first phase the development program did not regard the intervention in the production sectors, but only two types of investment:

- construction of buildings of public interest, such as schools, hospitals, aqueducts, sewers, etc.;
- productive infrastructures, such as roads, railways, ports, dams and irrigation canals.

This type of intervention was however insufficient. In the second phase, which goes from the '60s to the early 70's, a policy of direct industrialization of the southern regions was started, based on the "growth-poles" concept.

In spite of some evident success obtained, the policy of direct industrialization on the whole failed to reach its goals. Even if the pro-capita income in the South increased in those years at a slightly higher rate than the national average, it remained at a level far lower than that in the North. The Government's direct investments led to the construction of some of the biggest industrial complexes in Europe. However, because of their nature and size, they were more connected with the international markets than with the local ones; moreover, they were substantially independent of the preexisting economic framework of the "Mezzogiorno". All that hampered the spreading off of a developing stimulus on other branches of the local economy. From a different point of view, the policy of stimulating the private investments by means of fiscal and financial facilities, aimed at lowering the capital cost for new plants, led to the installation of capital intensive and labor saving technologies. Those were obviously the less suitable for creating that increase in employment opportunities necessary in order to stop out-migration.

During the last years the above policy has been thoroughly revised. In this third phase, still running, the growth-poles concept has been substituted by an integrated approach to the problems of the less developed areas. The public intervention is

still based on infrastructural investments, on direct investment of public firms, and on financial and fiscal aids to private enterprises in the southern regions. The main changes in the public intervention are those of: 1) an integrated use of all available instruments, and 2) a redefinition of the intervention areas, now more precisely delimited in order to avoid congestion. Some southern areas present in fact, as a consequence of past intervention policies based on the development poles concept, problems of congestion and scarcity of labor force, while adjacent areas are still underdeveloped.

The new development policy aims to re-equilibrating disparities also among the subregional areas. For this reason in the last few years a considerable intervention power has been assigned to the regional authorities, now in charge of designing integrated development plans for the internal areas: those plans are requested by law for obtaining appropriations of national funds.

7. CONCLUSIONS

In this paper a synthetic overview of the demographic history of Italy during this century is presented, paying particular attention to the regional level of analysis.

The demographic transition process which took place in that period was not spatially uniform: the noticeable differences among different regions have been analyzed. In particular, the influence of the degree of economic development on the regional demographic pattern has been stressed, focusing the attention on the interregional migration flows seen as a response of the population to economic stimuli.

Finally, it has been shown how the Government's direct and indirect policies for riequilibratic interregional disparities of economic and demographic growth were only partially successful in achieving their goals. It has also been shown how the main failure of the public development policies were taken into account for designing new approaches for the solution of the problems of the less developed areas.

This work constitutes a complete descriptive analysis of the past spatial demographic patterns in Italy. It will be followed by a multi-regional demographic analysis to be performed with the models prepared at IIASA in the framework of the Comparative Migration and Settlement Study.

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