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Migration in Southern Europe since 1945: The Entanglement of many Mobilities

Migrations en Europe du Sud depuis 1945 : l'enchevêtrement de nombreuses mobilités

Migración en Europa del Sur desde 1945: el enredo de muchas movilidades

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Migration in Southern Europe since 1945: The Entanglement of many Mobilities

Michele Colucci¹ and Stefano Gallo²

The traditional distinction between overseas emigration, internal migration and immigration from abroad has been for a long time the main organizational criterion of research on migration. Seen from the perspective of political history, it can be useful to separate these phenomena. However, the opinion is growing among social science scholars that different perspectives have to proceed together. This distinction is based exclusively on the notion of State boundaries, and if empirically analysed it does not seem to hold water: societies are not homogenous entities within a border determined by national frontiers, just as much as the migration paths which cross the frontiers are not different from those that occur within a national territory. It stands to reason therefore that even international migrations have local origins, exactly as is the case with migrations which occur within one country (Feldman, 2003).

If one adopts the perspective of social and economic history, the State's compact geographical surface is shattered into a heterogeneous multitude of social configurations, consisting of contacts and relationships, family networks, contexts and real spaces, formal and informal institutions, social practices and repertoires.

Only by considering this, is it possible to understand how the migratory dynamics function, namely, by gathering analytically the concrete mechanisms that bring people and groups to move. Migration scholars talk about a meso-level, which represents a specific ambit of analysis that finds itself between – and with clear links to – the compulsions and the needs of the individuals and the major economic, political and cultural forces at play (de Haas, 2010).

Once this default position has been adopted, the crossing – or not as the case may be – of a border – be it governmental, regional or sub-regional – becomes a further factor to add to many others in a complex dynamic of migration: this engagement with the various institutions is not always a decisive element,

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certainly never the only aspect to consider. It is obvious that national borders are central to the registration of the movement of people: the statistical and documentary sources with which scholars are able to work in order to quantify mobility come, for the most part, from the control mechanisms put in place by institutions. Nonetheless, the availability of information must not determine the research in a one-sided manner and especially not our perception of the way people move. Migrations occur also when they leave no trace when there is no authority to register them: we must force ourselves not to borrow uncritically categories that have been historically determined by political and administrative interests.

These considerations, put forward by the most advanced studies on migration, still have not yet been made part of the daily fare of scholars, except for some laudable and important exceptions (for the Italian historiography, see at least Sori, 1979 and Bonifazi, 2013). State boundaries continue to be formidable determinants of research, ordering and defining the analytical limitations which scholars impose on themselves. In the perspective of an overall repositioning of the categories through which to interpret the movement of peoples, "space" – in which the phenomenon of migration takes place – is not the only category to be rethought and relocated. Another key issue is "time"; or rather "periodisation." For a long time, the academic debate on Europe's Mediterranean countries has been dominated by a claim that has been more or less taken as given, namely, the historical succession of emigration and immigration. Italy, Spain, Greece and Portugal are supposed to have followed, according to this evidence, a cyclical model of migration that was around up until the 1970s, the emigration beyond national borders being seen as a predominant movement followed by massive foreign immigration which is said to have supplanted the centrality of expatriation. This clear-cut substitution of emigration and immigration has attracted criticism over time from some observers, but it has remained at the centre of the view held on migration in a manner that has been more or less constant and untarnished (Pugliese, 2002).

At the end of the first decade of the new millennium, the picture has become more uncertain and nuanced when the effects of the international economic crisis made themselves felt in a decisive manner in Mediterranean Europe. One of the most glaring consequences has been the growth in emigration abroad from Italy, Spain, Greece and Portugal. A considerable growth in emigration has taken place, and it has occurred alongside the persistent flow of foreign immigration, flows that have been transformed and in some cases slightly diminished but not interrupted at all. Therefore, the various types of migration can coexist on the same territory and they can assume extremely different guises and directions. In Mediterranean Europe emigration, immigration and internal migrations cohabit alongside each other and entangled in one another. One should also add the flows of returning migrants (decisive in the context of the economic crisis) and emigration of foreigners or new citizens of the European Union.

From welfare to the reception systems, from the job market to citizenship, from school to health services, the political contexts of Mediterranean Europe are nowadays dominated by the continual reference to the migration question. Moreover, the question does not only present itself as an issue of immigration but is also increasingly presented as an issue of emigration, of the lack of opportunities, the loss of human capital and unemployment.

The present contribution will attempt to make a first step towards integrating the various perspectives, by proposing a strategy of articulated analysis both on the level of typologies of territorial mobility as well as on the geographical areas under consideration. As regards the first point, it has been decided to place the emphasis on internal migration. This choice, which at first glance might appear to be in conflict with what has been said thus far, has been motivated by an experience of research and reflection consolidated by the authors (Colucci, 2012; Gallo, 2012; Colucci and Gallo, 2014, 2015, 2016 and 2017). The internal movements of people allow us to identify with a certain clarity the evolution of primary social contexts, geographical environments and job and productivity arrangements and to see them in relationship to the political choices implemented by central and local authorities. As regards the second point, we have decided to multiply the analysis of domestic mobility by four different national situations in the form of a comparative interpretation. We shall attempt to take into consideration Italy, Spain, Portugal and Greece, countries which generally speaking are labelled as "Southern Europe" (Baumeister and Sala, 2015) or "Mediterranean Europe" (Borutta and Gekas, 2012). These countries represent the outer limits of the European continent which are more closely in contact with Mediterranean Africa and the Middle East. In this case, as well, we shall concentrate on Italy among these countries, for obvious reasons such as proximity and mastery of the relevant historical material, but always keeping an eye on the commonalities and dissimilarities as regards issues affecting the other countries.

Theoretical Backgrounds

What becomes immediately clear is that once one has taken this step, the possible ties between internal migrations, movements aimed at going abroad or coming from abroad are multiplied: also, because all these mobilities take place from concrete situations and go towards other concrete situations. At the same time, the push areas of the internal migrants are the same as the emigrants leaving the country, and often the pull areas for internal migration are the same as migrants from abroad. More, certain modes of migration behaviour of the "native" migrants within the territorial confines may be adopted and replicated by foreign citizens, although this statement cannot be taken as a rule: foreign migrants in Italy represent the most mobile part of the population, those who illustrate the highest rate of internal movement, even if with peculiar patterns (Bonifazi, Heins and Tucci, 2012).

Internal movements therefore can be looked as a point of departure and support to consider all the forms of movement concerning the national territory, *i.e.*, those who enter the national territory from beyond in order to subsequently follow their goals within the national territory, and those who move from the same national territory to undertake a voyage that will take them beyond the national borders, and those who instead never cross the frontiers. All these types of migrations share the same social, economic, political and cultural backgrounds even though they occupy diverse positions and cleavages that are often distant depending on the subjective conditions of individuals. The activities of institutions and social stakeholders nonetheless favour specific models of mobility across a series of varied choices. These are accompanied by consequences both for the internal migrants and for those who come from abroad (King and Skeldon, 2010).

Historical studies on Italian migration have for a long time conflated domestic migration and international migration, placing the emphasis on a period in history which is not what we will be referring to in this discussion (Sanfilippo, 2015). The Fascist and the later post-war period, have been studied for the most part from the vantage point of there being a separation between the various migrant experiences. As far as previous historical periods are concerned, from the middle of the nineteenth century until the First World War, we have a traditional historiographic stratification that has shed light upon the numerous and varied continuities between domestic mobility, locally and regionally and international migration. Until the late modern era, there were mobile jobs, and migratory systems linked to the cyclical nature of harvests. It was exactly in these contexts where the tradition of mobility was more immediate thus initiating in a systematic manner large international migrations, including those of the second half of the nineteenth century (Audenino and Tirabassi, 2008).

As far as Portugal, Spain, Italy and Greece are concerned, it has been suggested more than once to speak in terms of the "Southern Europe model of migration" (King and Rybczuk, 1993; King, 2000; for criticism to the model see Baldwin-Edwards, 2004). Is it possible therefore to presuppose that there is a parallel Southern Europe model of internal or domestic migration? An initial glance at the literature does not allow one to give an immediate response, because of the disparate treatment that has been given to domestic migration in the countries under discussion for different historical periods. The comparative interpretation for the Euro-Mediterranean region has generally been used to examine emigration in the classic sense (Venturini, 2004) with little room given to internal or domestic migration (with the partial exceptions being Sapelli, 1996 and Giovannelli, 1999).

Until the 1960s the argument has been at the centre of academic attention, only to then exhaust itself in the 1980s. The explanatory model which prevailed at the time was the paradigm of "rural exodus". Mediterranean rural spaces were points of departure for flows of people who had as their goal other European countries or the major cities within the country, mostly with the aim of working in the industry. This model was successful – even if in a very schematic and simplistic way – in keeping internal migration and international migration together, highlighting the role of either one. Rural depopulation and urbanisation were the common key concepts for understanding types of migration with different goals: the countryside became depopulated so as to enlarge the industrial cities, be they either foreign (emigration) or national (internal migration). In the second case, the country also became a destination, rendering the analysis all the more complex and engaging.

The most recent phase, on the other hand, of the 1980s until today, has been characterised by increasing inward flows into Mediterranean Europe, with a prevalence of foreign immigrants being employed in the service industries

and in construction. The studies focused on this period have not produced an explanatory model that includes the different typologies of mobility. Internal migration – at least until recent years – seems to have been detached from the ever-persistent issues of emigration and immigration. The result is paradoxical: in the boom years for migration studies – when we assist at an important increase in complexity of analytical tools for studying Mediterranean migratory regimes – scholars have simply cancelled from their analyses the question of migration within a country, *i.e.* that which actually involves more people.

The objective is therefore not simple and we do not want to exhaust the argument in these few pages, but only to advance a first research proposal: it is worth analyzing in more detail the internal migration regimes in a group of countries with common characteristics, linking them with migration to and from abroad.

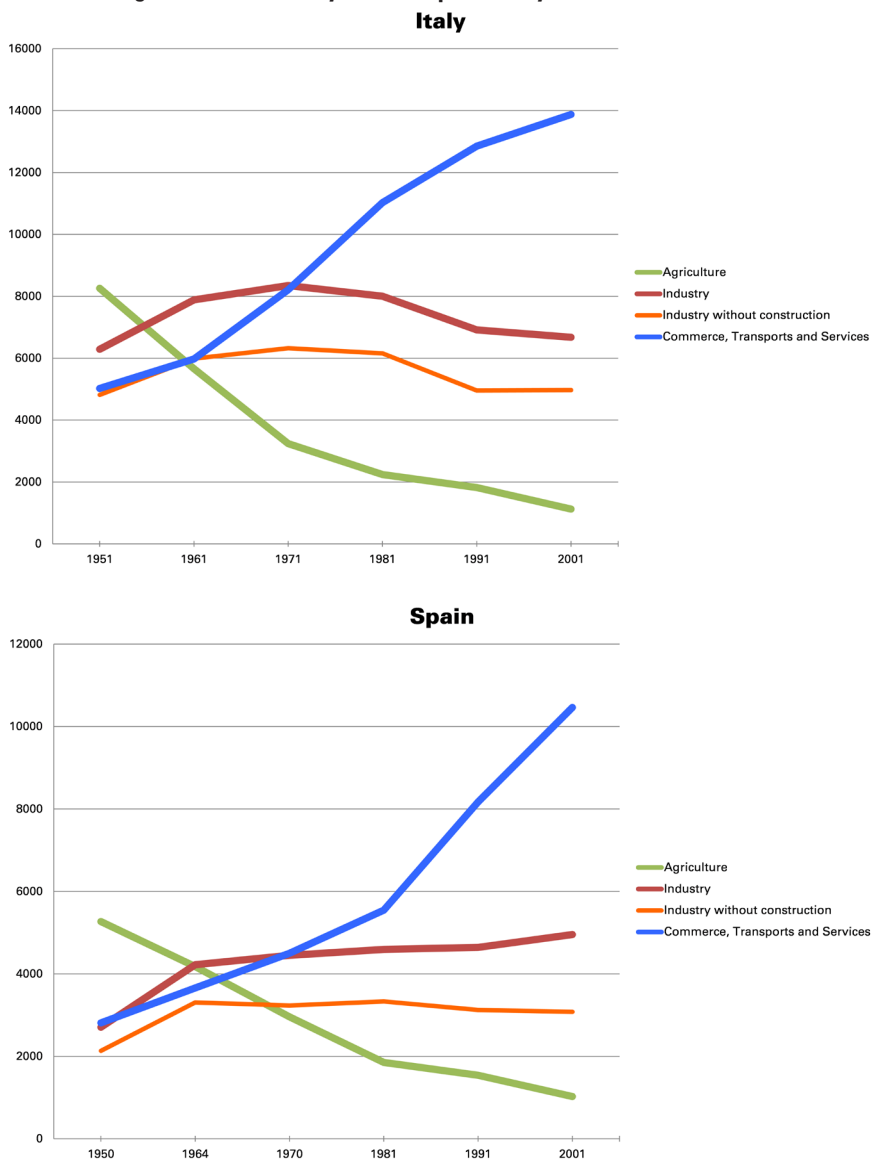
It is not possible here to attempt a strictly demographic approach to the issue, because of the extreme difficulty in using comparative key national migration statistics. For this reason, it is best to refer to the work of Martin Bell and the project research team IMAGE³. The treatment of data from censuses that document internal stocks available at a given time would, in fact, be the only viable route due to the heterogeneity of sources available on motion flows, in as much as these sources contain a greater wealth of information: population registers in Spain – *padrón municipal* – and Italy – *anagrafe della popolazione* –, civil registry in Greece – *dimotologio* –, none for Portugal (Poulain and Herm, 2013).

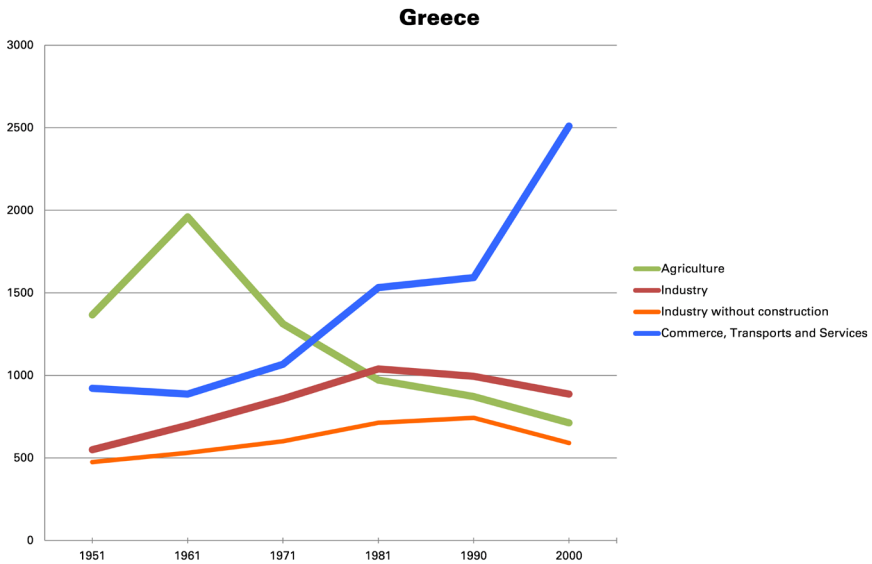
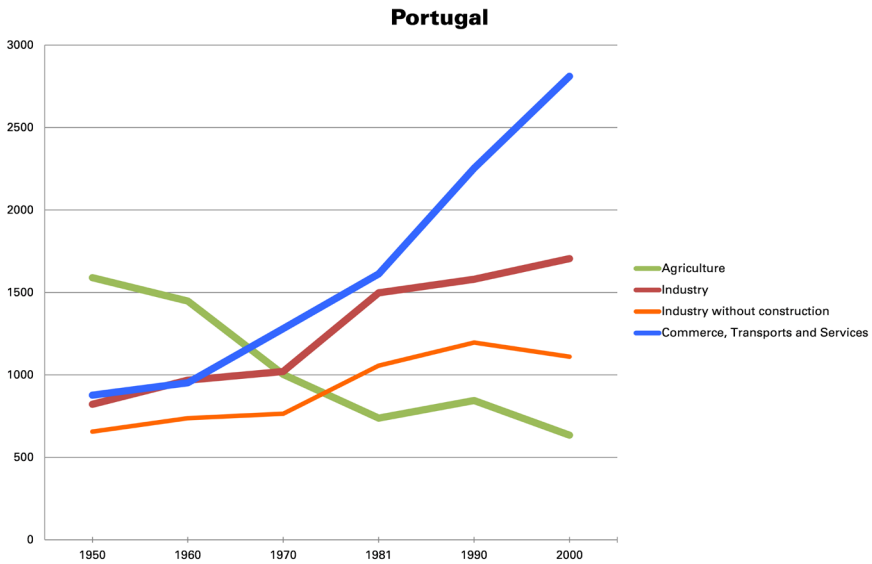
Flux sources may also suffer from strong autonomous problems, as has been highlighted in the case of Spain, where in the 1990s the discrepancy between the two main official statistical sources for measuring internal migration, the *Encuesta de Migraciones* and the *Estadística de Variaciones Residenciales*, both published by the *Instituto Nacional de Estadística*, reached a point that would suggest the suppression of the first, judged as less reliable (Ródenas and Martí, 2005; Arbucias, 2011). For this reason, the approach adopted merely reports and links empirical evidences emerging in some studies, trying to focus on the overall geographical mobility of the countries considered and focusing on the different social contexts within them. This is a procedure that allows one to look at these countries as differentiated and dynamic realities within themselves, with a regional or local rather than a national point of view.

The call for a public debate is necessary. In fact, we find ourselves in a phase of powerful push for the creation of new regional entities that put in crisis the traditional state apparatus (until a few years ago considered monolithic, unchangeable) and new nationalisms built against immigration: introducing in this context the population displacement variable of internal migration can be another element in understanding the ongoing transformation.

³ See <https://imageproject.com.au>

Figure 1: Economically Active Population by Sector (in Thousands)





Note: "Agriculture" includes Agriculture Forestry & Fishing; "Industry" includes Extractive Industry, Manufacturing Industry and Construction; "Industry without Construction" includes Extractive Industry and Manufacturing Industry; "Commerce, Transport and Services" includes Commerce, Finance, etc., Transport & Communications, Services and Others Occupied.

Source: International Historical Statistics; Istat.

Emigration

The demographic and migratory evolution of the four countries considered at first presents some strong common traits. For all, in fact, the period from the end of the war up to today can be divided into two phases with different characteristics. The former was accompanied by a strong demographic growth due to an increase in the birth rate and a simultaneous drop in mortality rates; this exuberance was accompanied by a resurgence of migratory flows abroad, particularly towards the most economically strong areas of Europe (Germany, Switzerland, France and Belgium). A slightly different appraisal is to be made for Portugal, due to the commitment of large troop contingents in the repression of liberation movements in their colonies, which has an obvious impact on population trends between the mid-1960s and the first half of the 1970s.

From the economic point of view, at the end of the war, these countries were predominantly agricultural and had an important peasant component whose destiny was a fundamental point of debate in the political arena. The juxtaposition in the public sphere between the countryside and the city, typical of the previous decades, is still very clear in this first phase, in the context of major socio-economic transformation. In the two major Latin countries, in fact, after a long period of crisis, one sees the end of the dominant traditional landowner regimes in the southern regions, albeit in different ways. In Italy, agrarian reform was promoted politically during the first decades of the post-war period, and the reforms helped to strengthen a network of small- and medium-sized market-oriented companies, even if with major differences in land-use. In Spain, however, the characteristic trait was that of a strong continuity between traditional land management and new productive investments, with a capacity for renewal and endogenous transformation that led to rapid mechanisation of Iberian farming.

In southern Portugal, great landowners faced the risk of collectivization and expropriation, in the wake of the *Revolução dos Cravos*. However, at the end of a long and torturous process – of which the country's entry into the European Community was the last act – Portugal has been able to retain traditional proprietary arrangements by adapting to new times (Sapelli, 1996). In Greece, the spread of small rural property has, on the contrary, played a conservative role, ensuring a high use of manpower for cultivated land. From a technological point of view, family management has not favoured the use of cultivation techniques resulting in higher profitability. In Greece (as in the North of Portugal) we assist at a more gradual decline of traditional family business which produces mainly for its own needs, while elsewhere full-market integration conversion took place at a more accelerated pace.

The times when the numbers of emigrants were greater overlap with periods of intense internal economic growth: this is true for Italy between the late 1950s and the beginning of the 1960s; for Greece, this happened during the 1960s, while for Spain and Portugal it straddled the 1960s and 1970s. The European dimension of migration flows is a fundamental issue and it is worth remembering that in the years following the Second World War when talking about emigration from the Southern European, we are talking mainly about emigration to Central and Northern Europe. The transoceanic destinations that had copiously received migrant flows in the previous decades entered into a crisis due to the closure of

US borders and the failure of colonization projects in Central and South America launched after 1945 but soon abandoned for their unfortunate outcomes. For Greece, however, one has to take note that significant migration was registered in Australia, determined by the country's commitment to the expatriate assistance program promoted by international organizations (Venturas, 2015).

For understanding the impact of migratory phenomena on various territories, it is imperative to examine the diversity, especially in terms of the policies, adopted by the countries from which the migrants left. Since the war, Italy had developed the tendency to favour emigration, with the declared and claimed objective – from various Democratic Christian governments – to reduce unemployment, stimulate consumption through remittances and mitigate social tensions. In the case of authoritarian countries, such as Spain and Portugal, the propensity to encourage expatriation is less strong; at the beginning of the fifties, the tendency of the two regimes appears to be a closure to emigration. The common figure in these four countries during the post-war period is, however, the rise of workers expatriation. Italy and Greece were the first to take this stance. During the 1960s, we note the rise in expatriation also in Spain and Portugal: the four countries stand out as the ones whose population in Europe has been the most peripatetic. These flows indicate a high percentage of returns, the highest being Italy (even above 80% in some phases) and very significant in the other three countries.

The question of migrants returning causes us to ponder a common field of research, still largely ignored in scholarship, especially when it comes to its comparative dimension, namely the study of the effects of emigration on the territories of departure. Taking a long-term perspective, the analysis of the consequences of emigration on the different regional areas of the four countries in question can be a common framework to understand the intensity of migration-driven changes and to understand how these changes are linked to processes of development and modernization, but also the prolonged depression of some areas.

The same dynamic of internal migration has, *inter alia*, a relationship with the impact of return migration, especially in periods of hardship. In 1973, when the international economic crisis hit Europe, emigration was already a structural presence for the four countries. The consequences of the crisis on migrant workers were very burdensome. In Germany and Switzerland, this set off a cycle of redundancies and repatriations which had a very negative effect on the social and economic equilibrium of entire regions of Southern Europe. Italy, Spain, Portugal and Greece were severely affected by this situation, and yet it was at this very moment, more than in the past, that there was a significant flow of returnees.

Immigration

Until the late 1960s, the presence of foreigners was still not yet very significant and even fewer were the working foreigners. From the 1970s, the situation changed rapidly, leading to a second stage in which emerged a backlog of unskilled labour for agriculture and industry. Already at the beginning of the

1970s, the Greek chamber of industry asked for the temporary and controlled entry into the country of 10,000 foreign workers, as a buffer measure for the lack of labourers and to be in force until the return of Greeks previously emigrated. While Greek industrialists formulated these proposals, however, foreign workers who already happened to be in the country were estimated to be at between 15,000 and 60,000, mainly from Egypt (Pteroudis, 1996). It was an initial core of immigrants that continued to grow in the 1970s, gradually and unregistered.

In Italy, the process took place before this. The first signs of a new immigration could be identified at the end of the 1960s, when in two border areas occurred inflows of foreign immigrants directed towards the local labour markets: in the Northeast, particularly in Friuli-Venezia Giulia, workers arrived coming from neighbouring Yugoslavia, and in Sicily, especially in the province of Trapani, where people arrived from Tunisia a few miles away (Einaudi, 2007; Colucci, 2016; Alvaro, 2018). In the 1970s foreign immigration to Italy provoked an increasingly widespread public debate. At the beginning of the decade, the issue aroused reactions and interventions mainly locally, in those territories where the presence of labour coming from abroad became particularly visible. At the same time, at an institutional level, interventions and initiatives dealt only with a very specific category, namely foreign students, political exiles and people from the former Italian colonies.

At the end of the 1970s, the picture was much more articulated. In the labour market, the sectors in which foreign workers were employed, were numerous and in some areas – such as in Emilia-Romagna – their presence was widely distributed in the territory and in the various productive sectors. Between 1977 and 1979 a lively debate emerged involving economists, trade unionists, journalists, political leaders, businessmen. Within this unprecedented interest in the matter, the government commits Censis – *Centro Studi Investimenti Sociali* – to publish the first Research Report on Foreign Workers in Italy, which was printed in 1979.

Often, in the countries of Mediterranean Europe, the first reflections on foreign immigration were accompanied by the conviction that these migrations were temporary, seen as an event related mainly to the change of pace in the migration policies of the European immigration countries, France and Germany in the first place, which would soon be rendered extinct with the change in the economic situation. As we have seen, the desire expressed by Greek industrialists at the beginning of the 1970s aimed at a close scrutiny of the demand for work to be met through a clever use of *Gastarbeiter*, thus replicating the German model of migration policy – and not by chance a well-known strategy in a country characterized by strong emigration to the German economy.

The process of de-industrialization and the expansion of the service sector favoured the view that foreign immigration would be temporary, not falling into the classic patterns of labour demand for a growing industrial sector. In the course of the years, it was realized that migration was a structural element, also linked to changes in the characteristic reproductive behaviour of European Mediterranean countries, where a sudden and unexpected collapse of births occurred, much more rapid than the European average. At the same time, it became clear that the accelerated development of immigration in all the produc-

tive sectors could not only be explained by the “substitution” trend of migrant labour but was linked to a deeper transformation in the demand and supply of labour. The first large wave of migrant workers in Italy – the Tunisian fishermen in Mazara del Vallo embarked on the large local fleet – followed a specific recruitment by contractors – the ship owners in this case. This is not a casual and isolated event, but must be contextualized within a precise strategy, which in fact was similar to the one already mentioned by Greek entrepreneurs of the early 1970s.

In the years between the end of the 1970s and 1980s, the scenario was particularly diverse. In some regions traditionally associated with emigration, such as Northeast Italy, departures were interrupted by elevated economic growth. In other regions, however, the occurrence of emigration remained significant, but with numbers much lower than in the past. The issue of immigration was really disruptive in the 1980s, even in Spain and Portugal, which had become part of the process of continental integration. Although Spain and Portugal are heirs of great colonial empires and were inevitably influenced since time and in a distinctive way by international immigration flows, the recent development of immigration showed interesting traits common to what was happening in Italy and Greece (Corti, 2003).

As a first point, the centrality of the agricultural labour market for the initial placement of foreign workers was common to all four countries. The link between agriculture and immigration is to remain, among other things, very close over time, up to the present, due to a heavily stratified labour market. Characteristic of this phenomenon was the presence of undeclared and irregular work – favoured by informal mediation – so large in figures to be considered as a structural and functional need of the agriculture sector. The link between agriculture and foreign immigration also led to the activation of a continuous migration flow within the countries, following the seasonal production paths (Corrado *et al.*, 2017).

Secondly, immigration to Italy, Spain, Portugal and Greece has matched a phase of extended economic transition. Foreign workers became part of the local labour market both as a complementary function and as a substitute, including among others opportunities to take root in certain sectors of the economy. The crisis of the welfare state and the aging of the population, for instance, arouse the private demand of nursing staff, need that was largely satisfied by foreigners. In a turn of phrase, it is said that immigration in these countries does not develop according to the “classic” pattern of the Fordist model as symbolized by foreign workers settling in the main cities to work at the factory. The “new” model appears to be more flexible and dynamic for the migrants, with a stronger mobility within the territory, sudden changes in work and in the geographical region and the alternation of employment and unemployment.

Thirdly, from the Nineties in these countries, there was a strong influx of DPs (including people of the same nationality, mainly in Greece⁴). Political refugees arrived mainly for the geographical position of the four countries (less

⁴ While in Italy and Spain the arrival of national refugees was occurred in the previous decades (for Italy see Audenino, 2018).

for political choices: see the previous cases of Chileans or Vietnamese), even though the initial tendency of a temporary transition through Southern Europe was accompanied by the end of the 1990s by a trend towards establishing oneself permanently. This was also the result of EU policy choices which limited the mobility of refugees in the long run and incentivised their residence in the European country of the first arrival.

Fourthly, we assist at a common difficulty by the ruling classes in the developing of broad-based policies capable of creating ways of integrating the migrants. Recourse to amnesties as a structural instrument of migration policy, lack of adequate legislation on the right to asylum, the tightening up of the more restrictive rules that resulted in the spread of illegal work and residence were all signals that point to flawed policies (one of the most cited hallmark of the "South Europe model of migration"). However, this problem is accompanied by a remarkable ability of association and mobilization of the same migrants who have been actively present in the public space in the quest for rights, according to organizational forms not related to their national or religious affiliations (as happened in more countries of mature immigration, such as France or Great Britain), but to their very condition as foreigners (for Italy, see Colucci, 2018). Immigration, on the other hand, has become since the mid-1990s a space of great political contestation in all four countries.

Remittances

In the whole region, the migratory balance became positive during the 1970s: in 1972 for Italy, in 1975 for Spain and Greece. Portugal also recorded positive net migratory rates towards the middle of the decade, even though linked to other dynamics. Between 1974 and 1975, the decolonization process resulted in the return of settlers and soldiers: half a million people returned home within two years – *os retornados* –, bringing in a positive migratory balance that was to return to the negative in the 1980s.

This positive balance, however, must not shift our attention from the centrality of emigration and the expatriate community to the economies of the countries of Mediterranean Europe. The huge flow of emigrant's remittances, for instance, has been reinvested, providing support to internal incomes and consumption, but also encouraging some kind of distortion. During the 1960s, Greek remittances accounted for more than one-third of the balance of payments deficit; in 1974 10% of Portugal's national income came from remittances; in 1973, money sent home by Spanish emigrants reached \$1.4 billion, against \$150 million in 1962 (Sapelli, 1996). In Italy in the 1970s, despite the international economic crisis and the downward trend in emigration flows, remittances remained a steadily increasing item in the balance of payments. Between 1973 and 1975 there was a decrease in the annual cash flow, but in the second half of the 1970s, we assist at significant increases. Thereafter, the importance of inbound remittances was destined to diminish. There is, however, a remarkable and, in some respects, astonishing gap between the year in which the inflows of people exceeded the outflows for the first time – 1973 – and the year in which remittances leaving Italy went beyond incoming remittances – 1998. We are talking of a twenty-six year gap. The issue of remittances also forces us to rethink of periodization and

the question of different phases. The following table shows a summary for the period 1970-2007, dividing the amount of remittances in millions of dollars by beneficiary countries worldwide.

Table 1: Top 23 Countries Receiving Remittances (in Millions of Current Dollars) (1970-2007)

Country	Amount
India	250.620
Mexico	197.046
France	176.667
China	158.523
Philippines	141.802
Germany	118.733
Spain	110.347
Belgium	108.183
Egypt	107.827
Italy	105.568
Portugal	102.790
Turkey	77.155
United Kingdom	74.608
Pakistan	71.965
Marocco	66.501
Greece	54.592
Australia	54.276
United States	49.855
Lebanon	48.909
Bangladesh	48.233
Brazil	43.613
Poland	43.564
Jordan	43.335

Source: Sospiro – Scibè, 2017.

The information we can glean from this data is ample. Italy is ranked tenth in the sum of remittances received between 1970 and 2007. Data collected on a worldwide scale give some indication of the weight of remittances in the economy of Mediterranean countries. At the top twenty-three countries, in fact, ten belong to the Mediterranean basin, in the order: France, Spain, Egypt, Italy, Portugal, Turkey, Morocco, Greece, Lebanon and Jordan. In almost forty years, the weight of remittances was crucial for these countries, both on the north shore and the southern shore of the Mediterranean, confirming a common trait even among the different geographic areas and in terms of models of development.

The persistent centrality of emigration, however, has often been denied by institutions. At the end of 1991, the Portuguese foreign minister declared to the Swiss press that Portugal was no longer a country of emigration, but had become a country of immigration; a few years later in the institutional lexicon the word “emigrante” was replaced by the expression “comunidades portuguesas”⁵. The growth of migration flows of foreign nationals substantiated this view, but emigration was not a phenomenon of the past. In Portugal, data had even registered a growth in transfers abroad for work since the mid-1980s, with a significant increase in Portuguese residents in other European countries, such as Switzerland – from 16,587 in 1981 to 205,255 in 2009 – or in Spain itself – from 24,094 to 140,870 in the same period (Marques, 2010). Greece also experienced a revival in emigration that was initially classified as a qualified one in the 1980s to mark the difference from traditional migration, although the unskilled component was, in fact, significant (Pteroudis, 1996).

The new element of this second phase, which would emerge with even greater consistency in the whole region between the 1980s and the 1990s, was, in fact, the co-existence within the individual countries of different migratory typologies: traditional emigration did not disappear but was joined by others.

Internal Mobility

1945-1970

In the thirty years following the Second World War, in all four countries, there was a general and marked depopulation of mountain and rural areas. Throughout the Mediterranean, the mountain was now far from representing the braudelian “factory producing men for the use of others”; a renewable source of manpower for the cities and plain areas, featured by circular movements. The demographic transfer to the most dynamic economic regions appeared as a traumatic breakdown of the traditional demographic and social equilibrium of mountains. The countryside also ceased to be a densely inhabited and lively place and became the seats of highly mechanised companies. A strong geographical polarization occurred between the rural and urban areas, linked to the dynamics of industrialization and urban growth. This was most evident in Italy and Spain, and less so in Greece and Portugal, especially in the latter country where the profiles were even more attenuated.

Perhaps the most linear process of land abandonment by agricultural workers expelled from the large-scale mechanisation of agriculture is to be found in Spain. During the peak period of rural exodus, between the 1960s and 1970s, almost two million workers left the land (Sapelli, 1996). From the southern regions of Andalusia and the large central rural block of Extremadura, Castilla-La Mancha, Castilla y León and Aragona, the flows went to Madrid, Catalonia, the Valencia region and the Basque Country. The main goals were the two major cities: Madrid, the administrative capital, and Barcelona, the economic capital. From the latter, two further axes of attraction went along the Mediterranean

⁵ Something similar had occurred in Fascist Italy more than half a century before, with the replacement of the *Commissariato generale dell'emigrazione* with the *Direzione generale degli Italiani all'estero* in 1927.

coast to Alicante, and in direction of the Atlantic along the course of the Ebro to the Basque Country. The effects of this large shift in the population are evident: in 1991 the 29% of the Basque people, 33% Catalans and 42% of the Madrilenian population had been born in other regions (Recaño *et al.*, 2003).

Even in Greece, the urbanization was important, though with some peculiarities. The civil war of 1946-1949 had led to the displacement of some 700,000 people, 10% of the total population, most of whom found the city to be a safe haven (Clogg, 1992). The main Greek towns are ports and the urbanization rate was historically high when taking into account the weight of the agricultural sector in employment. In 1961, while 43% of workers were employed in the countryside, 47% of the population lived in the cities – working mainly in the service sector. 70% of the urban population was concentrated between Athens, Thessaloniki and Patras: almost one Greek in three. Compared to Italy the gap between the “pulp” and the “bone” of the country – to use the metaphor of Manlio Rossi Doria – was even sharper: the mountains lost population in favour of the coastal areas, with a small portion of flat cultivable land separating the montane and coastal regions. The overwhelming part of the urban growth was due to internal migration, especially towards Athens and Thessaloniki, while smaller cities, centres with a population of between 10,000 and 100,000 people, tied to specialized agriculture, did not experience any relevant increases by migrations (Baxevanis, 1965). The trend was to be confirmed and accentuated over time. In 1981, Athens hosted 30% of Greek citizens.

In Portugal, the territorial disparity was classically a case of the North being unattractive – with the exception of Porto – and a South enjoying a certain but no widespread attraction. In the past decades the transfer of Northern folk to the southern countryside was unsuccessfully promoted by the State through internal colonization programs, similar to what had been conceived in Spain and Italy (Misiani and Sansa, 2016; Gallo, 2012). In the 1950s, the rural exodus was intensified in the Northeastern regions and expanded into the rural interior of the rest of the country. Lisbon was at this stage a centre of attraction, but also a place of departure: already in the 1950s, the net migration balance of the *concelho lisboeta* was negative, even in a context of natural demographic growth, while the metropolitan belt continued to attract immigrants. However, even the conurbation around the mouth of Tejo, the country’s first immigration pole, between 1951 and 1960 revealed a slowed pace compared with the boom of the 1920s, the only exception being Sétubal. “The Lisbon district itself does not escape the loss of the power of attraction that extends to all Portuguese territory and which benefits foreign countries alone, in demographic terms” (de Alarcão, 1964: 538). Even more obvious the situation in Porto, with a zero balance after the immigration boom of the 1930s.

Rather than a coexistence between centres of attraction and areas of expulsion, the whole country seemed to share the push abroad and participate in an all-pervasive emigration movement, though with greater capacity for the reception – as a net result between arrivals and departures – demonstrated by the main urban centres and above all by their hinterland. Even in the 1970s, only five districts of the eighteen in continental Portugal showed positive figures in terms of internal transfers: Setubal, Lisbon, Faro, Aveiro and Porto. Depopulation affected the traditionally agricultural regions: the interior of the North and the

latifundist center of the country, Alentejo. Another peculiarity of the country should be mentioned for this period: Portugal was still a colonial country, from which a significant emigration to the colonies took place. Between 1951 and 1960 122,000 Portuguese moved to Africa; in 1961 was created the *Espaço economico portugues*, in order to obtain a greater integration between the metropolis and African possessions and to increase this "internal" mobility to the detriment of the emigration abroad.

In Italy, the displacement of the population was really astounding. Historians consider the dynamics of internal migration as being one of the greatest societal and cultural upheavals in contemporary Italy: between 1951 and 1971 there were around 9 million changes of residence among Italian municipalities (Ginsborg, 2006). If we want to subdivide these types of migrations, we can use four major categories. The first was that of those leaving from the South to Central and Northern Italy, the second movement was from the montane zones to the plains and the coastal areas, the third one from the countryside to the cities, and the fourth movement was linked to the exceptional urban development of some of the large metropolitan areas such as Milan, Turin, Rome and Naples.

These four movements naturally entangled and overlapped, even though they were phenomena with a specific autonomy which can be traced back to larger types of social movements such as the depopulation of montane regions, the exodus from the countryside, urbanization, and emigration from the South. Moreover, there were also, especially during the 1950s, specific migratory movements directed towards the countryside, linked, for example, to the agrarian reform launched at the beginning of the decade, but these movements represent an exception to the prevailing trend of abandonment of the rural world.

Remains relevant, in Italy, the persistence of seasonal migration related to agricultural labour, which is more closely regulated than in the past, even at the union and institutional level. This movement is also evident in Portugal: in 1957, seasonal farming activities involved more than 100,000 people migrated domestically, even though it was no longer a case of the great mobilization of agricultural workers of the previous decades, who descended from the north-northwest to the arboricultural areas and large southwestern plains.

The fear of an excessive expansion of the cities caused a widespread anti-urban rhetoric in the countries of Mediterranean Europe, but it did not result in normative measures being implemented. In 1953, the Greek government draft a bill to reduce the urbanization of the capital, which since 1945 had witnessed inflow of more than half a million people. Popular opposition to this measure caused the proposal to drop aside. At the beginning of the 1970s, with the dictatorship of Colonels, a proposal was launched to control the direct migration to the capital, once again with no success. However, indirect measures were taken to control the construction of public buildings and to encourage industrial decentralization in the Athens area: the large urban concentration could pose a political threat as well as an element of social degradation which the urban middle classes feared.

This link between anti-urbanism and authoritarian regimes can also be found in Spain shortly after the end of the Civil War, but especially in Italy during

fascism and the early years of the Republican period. The situation is somewhat paradoxical. The anti-urban legislation that fascism had strongly wanted had found a definitive accommodation in 1939. However, the events of World War II had actually prevented its timely application. Only in 1961 did Republican Italy rule the repeal of the Fascist laws of 1939. For about fifteen years, Italy was in a very particular situation. In a country at first caught by the requirements of reconstruction and then by the fervor of the economic boom, the trend towards internal mobility became constant and permanent. However, this migration was barred at the legal level at least until 1961. Those who wanted to change their residence had to prove that they had the money or a work contract in the new municipality, despite employment offices were intended for residents only. Those who were surprised by law enforcement without proper documents could be sent back to the commune of origin. Although the rule was applied with a certain degree at the discretion in the various territorial jurisdictions, its permanence reveals to what extent institutional bias against mobility was rooted and how hard and determined the struggle of many public and private parties who wanted a reform. The criticism of the laws of 1939 during the 1950s associated unionists and public officials, municipal offices and political figures (Gallo, 2007 and 2014).

Traces of this tendency were also found in the Portuguese context, given that the constitution approved after the end of the Salazar regime established in Article 44 the right of internal movement for all citizens.

1970-Today

From the 1970s, the pattern of internal migration changed radically, marking a break with a tradition that had endured at least since the mid-1800s. Between the city and the countryside, a new mobility occurred, with apparently opposite directions compared to the previous period: big cities began to lose residents. The decentralization of the urban system was a shared phenomenon in all four countries, where it was evident between the 1970s and 1980s. In Greece, the demographic polarization model around Athens' and Thessaloniki's urban magnets shrinks, leaving greater importance to medium-sized cities. Lisboa and Porto recorded population losses during the 1980s, with similar characteristics: these were mainly short-distance migrations, directed towards their respective hinterlands, north of the capital along the left bank of the Tejo and southeast on the other side the estuary – Sétubal – or in the *Grande Porto* area. In Italy, the confrontation of demographic data from the 1960s to the 1970s had shown the urban decentralization of Bologna, while in 1976 a demographic decline was observed for Milan (Gallo, 2012). Initially greeted as a return to the countryside, it was actually a saturation of the historical centre of the towns – that had traditionally been attracting the migrants – and the emergence of a new model of the extended metropolitan area.

The distance traversed in domestic movements has been declining in recent decades, with inter-provincial mobility decreasing, while short-term mobility has become more important. In Spain, between 1960 and 1970, 57% of the displacement of people over ten years was from one province to another. This figure decreased to 39% in the decade between 1981 and 1991 (García Coll and Stillwell, 2000). The range of target destinations also changed, while Madrid

and Barcelona city centres marked the pace. During the 1990s, provinces with positive migratory flows because of their high attraction were no longer polarized in urban and industrial centres, but were spread around the main urban centres – Girona, Tarragona and Lérida around Barcelona, Guadalajara and Toledo near Madrid, Navarre, Alava and La Rioja south of Bilbao – and coastal areas – the islands, the Mediterranean coast between Malaga and Castellón. Some traditional areas of emigration, such as the regions of southern and central Spain, have even seen the recurrence of return immigration (Romero and Albertos, 1996).

A parallel may be drawn with Italy: the decline of some regions of classical industrialization – important portions of Italy's industrial triangle Torino-Milano-Genova and the Cantabrian area for Spain, namely, the Basque Country, Asturias and Cantabria – doesn't imply the decline of all the former industrialized areas. We can observe the persistent attractiveness of many provinces in Catalonia or in the Italian industrial triangle. In fact, one sees the growth of subregional suburban areas of Spain – Pontevedra, Victoria, Malaga – and Italy – the so-called *Terza Italia* –, with the rise of small to medium-sized cities and a balanced integration between the service sector, agriculture and industry, together with the dynamism of the small and medium-sized enterprise (Sapelli, 1996). In Portugal, much of the population and economic activities are increasingly concentrated in the coasts of the country, while the interior is characterized by low levels of natural growth and persistent emigration. Algarve was the only region that maintained a strong attraction both in the 1970s and in 1980s, thanks to the development of a robust tourism-based economy that has attracted migration flows. The country appears to be a semi-industrial area with a non-industrial future, "a nation [...] where the level of urbanization is very low compared to the more developed countries, and in the North Coast and the Centre industrial development is not carried out according to classical urbanization models. At the same time, rural and urban characteristics are very similar to those found in the central and northeastern Italy": the characteristics of "widespread urbanization" and "industrialization in rural centers" along with "semi-industrialized service industries" (Sapelli, 1996: 174) found in Portugal may recall the model of *Terza Italia*.

Internal migrations at this stage generally appear to be less intense than the preceding period but continue to play a key role. A separate discourse is to be made for Spain, where from 1987 and until at least the crisis of 2007-2008 there was an unexpected and spectacular rise in the rate of internal mobility. For a decade, this increase was not related to the presence of foreign people, who just from the new millennium have been participating in increasing quotas in the growing shared mobility, both domestically and abroad (Ròdenas and Marti, 2005). It was a mobility which mostly exhausted itself within the same province and appeared to have been more closely related to housing adjustments than to changes in employment, for the greater part occurring from larger urban centers to smaller ones.

At the beginning of the new millennium, however, researchers of territorial mobility showed a strong interest in foreign immigrants. For example, in the case of Spain, interpretative suggestions have been made on the role that internal migration of foreigners played in finding new opportunities for further

immigration from abroad (Sandell, 2011), while the presence of immigrants in a traditionally mobile profession such as that of the farm labourer occurred in all four Mediterranean countries. The model at this stage seems to coincide with the proposed model for international migration: a lower polarization of centres of attraction, greater diversification of locations of arrival and departure locations and coexistence in the same areas of emigration and immigration.

The mobility of foreigners in Southern Europe was also linked to the global transformation of international migration systems, especially in the 1990s. In addition to migration exchanges with Africa and Asia, a new dimension of migratory relations between Southern Europe and Eastern Europe emerged ever since the fall of the Iron Curtain, which significantly modified the balance of intra-European migration. Some Eastern European countries requested immediate entry into the European Union in the early nineties. The opening of the eastern borders was closely linked to the process of European integration and the endorsements of the Schengen Agreements, which in 1992 foresaw the free movement between member states. Of course, with arrivals from the east, the whole European migration system was redesigned and the first consequence was the relative drop in the movement from the southern Mediterranean countries.

The countries of Southern Europe within a few years became the top destination for migrants from Eastern Europe. Since January 2002, for example, Romanian citizens are able to enter EU countries visa-free. At this point, their migratory trajectories took them in considerable numbers to Italy and Spain. In 2003, one-fifth of the Romanian families had a foreign affiliation. This process started in 1989. In May 2006, the largest number of Romanians were in Spain – 388,400 –, followed by Italy – 270,000. Between 1991 and 2004, about two-and-a-half million people left Ukraine, most of them heading to Russia, followed by Italy, Spain, Portugal and the Czech Republic. In the 1990s in Albania, emigration assumed the proportions of a mass exodus, higher than any similar phenomenon in Central and Eastern Europe. Departures from Albania were very important also because of the isolation of the country during the socialist era when emigration did not occur at all. In 1998, about 700,000 Albanians lived outside the national borders, a figure which accounted for 20% of the entire population. According to the 2001 census, Albania lost 95,258 people compared to 1989, a decrease in population which can be explained not only by the decrease in the birth rate but overall by the increase in emigration. The boom of departures can be explained mainly by two factors. The first was the high unemployment rate and the high gap in labour remuneration between Albania and abroad. The second was the ease of travel, especially to Greece and Italy, which can be reached quickly and inexpensively. Initially, the flows to these nations were predominantly temporary – while definitive migration was mainly directed towards the United States. At a later stage, the tendency to settle permanently in Italy and Greece was strengthened and family reunions and second-generation school enrolment increased. Even in the case of Ukrainians, Albanians and Romanians in Italy, Spain, Greece and Portugal, the available research shows that in the 1990s there was a strong tendency towards high internal mobility, mainly related to the prevailing professions, namely, those in construction for men and in care-giving for women.

Conclusions

Italy, Spain, Portugal and Greece have undergone in the last sixty-seventy years a number of historical experiences in which internal migrations have entangled with international migrations, to the point of making the same separation between the two phenomena difficult, as we have tried to demonstrate in this contribution. In Italy, there was a clear continuity between the internal migration and the departures abroad due to post-war reconstruction and the economic boom, especially from the second half of the 1950s, with mass migration from Southern Italy. Those who departed from the South to Central and Northern Italy could then depart to foreign destinations. However, most of those who came from abroad hardly returned to the South because they could find employment in Central and Northern Italy, at least until the 1970s when the crisis resulted in a significant closure of this circularity of opportunities.

The link between internal migration and international migration becomes even more persuasive if we extend the periodization. Take for example the rural migrations connected to the great campaigns of land reclamation and public works carried out by the Fascist regime. After the Second World War, from the areas of *bonifaca* people moved to foreign countries in order to meet the income requirements of the new economic context. In the province of Latina, for instance, the statistics on emigration abroad showed significant peaks at the end of the 1940s: most emigrants consisted of these former “pioneers in black skirt”, people who were previously immigrated to southern Lazio from the Northeast regions or their sons.

The relationship between international migration and internal migration in Italy was manifested during the season of the returnees in the 1970s. The wave of people coming to Italy following the economic crisis, especially from European countries, emphasizes once again the issue of the plurality of migratory routes, given that in the return migration routes there was often a tendency to a continuous mobility in Italy, fostered by the search of a dignified job. The 1970s were a crucial breakthrough. In fact, over the decade, we can identify a particularly continuity between internal mobility flows that came to be less significant and the new foreign immigration flows that came about. In Northern Italy, there are numerous signs that indicate the arrival of foreigners as a result of the departure of immigrants from southern Italy, who in turn were divided into other destinations or returning to their areas of origin. This “migratory relay” was typical of those areas with high informal recruitment, such as in agriculture or construction, where it is easier to bring up rapid migratory chains, linked to the success of the first arrivals.

The link becomes even more persuasive in the new configuration migratory movements have assumed in Italy in the last fifteen years, especially with regard to the foreign component. Foreigners in Italy have a tendency to be highly mobile: social scientists were already reporting on it in the 1980s and 1990s. This trend towards mobility is linked to a number of factors, such as the flexibility of the labour market in which they are included, the legislation on residence permits, the mobile dimension that increasingly characterizes many jobs in which foreigners are present – agricultural labourers, building and care-giving workers.

Foreign immigrants today are employed in the services sector, construction and agriculture: the last great emigratory experience of the four countries had as the main destination the industrial secondary sector. If we consider the internal migration during the "glorious thirty", it is true that at least in the Italian case the factory predominated. However, this was engulfed by a wider and varied migration concerning services, construction and agriculture (Panichella, 2014). The "pull sectors" for foreign immigrants today are in part the same of the "pull sectors" of internal immigrants yesterday: at the same time, today's immigration legislation has strong ties with the legislation relating to yesterday's internal migration, at least in the case of Italy. This continuous bounce between past and present is a very useful idea to be re-launched, even in the perspective of further broadening the research horizons. For example, we consider the role of political and union mobilization of internal migrants in Italy in the years of the economic miracle. Have similar movements occurred in other Mediterranean countries? Are there similarities with subsequent social movements related to foreign immigration? And what of the second-generation born from the great internal migrations in the period 1950s-1970s? What outcome did they have from the point of view of social paths? The Spanish case illustrates significant differences in the educational levels of internal migrants and in their children's educational trajectories, with significant discrepancies, depending on the areas of origin and destination. The worst performances in terms of educational attainment were recorded by those who moved from Andalusia and Extremadura to the Basque Country and Catalonia, while in the metropolitan area of Madrid the differences between native and non-native, as well as relationships between outcomes and areas of origin, were minimal (Recaño Valverde and Roig Vila, 2003). In Italy, studies are almost exclusively focused on the Turin case (Badino, 2012), but in this sense, too many perspectives have to be opened up to compare the Italian case studies with what happened in Spain, Portugal and Greece.

Countries of attraction and repulsion, first mainly of emigration then affected by important immigrations, but also countries of transit for other destinations: this is the picture that emerges strongly during the second half of the twentieth century for the Euro-Mediterranean region considered. In this regard, entry into the Schengen area has led to a demand from northern European countries for greater border control. The timing of entry into the Schengen area was very tight: Italy in 1990, Spain and Portugal in 1991, Greece in 1992. The link between the common participation in the Schengen process and the effects on the circulation of people in the Schengen area, within each country, was still all to be discovered because the studies have understandably privileged the size of migrations inside and outside the European borders and not the internal ones. There has been a lot of talk about internal migration to the Schengen area in the last years, as evidenced by the many proposals for the revision of the free movement clauses. Nevertheless, the debate mainly concerns migration between the countries of the EU and not migration within the countries, a theme that deserves more attention.

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Michele Colucci and Stefano Gallo

**Migration in Southern Europe since 1945:
The Entanglement of many Mobilities**

“Space” – in which the phenomenon of migration takes place – is not the only category to be rethought and relocated in migration studies. Another key issue is “time”, or rather a periodisation. For a long time, the academic debate on European Mediterranean countries has been dominated by a claim that has been more or less taken as given, namely, the historical succession of emigration and immigration. Italy, Spain, Greece, and Portugal are supposed to have followed, according to this evidence, a cyclical model of migration that was around up until the 1970s, the emigration beyond national borders being seen as a predominant movement following by a massive foreign immigration which is said to have supplanted the centrality of expatriation. The article proposes a new point of view about this question, incorporating emigration, immigration and internal migration in Italy, Spain, Greece, and Portugal in a convergent perspective.

**Migrations en Europe du Sud depuis 1945 :
l’enchèvement de nombreuses mobilités**

L’« espace » – dans lequel se produisent les migrations – n’est pas la seule catégorie à être repensée et relocalisée dans les études sur la migration. Le « temps », ou plutôt la périodisation, est un autre problème clé. Pendant longtemps, le débat savant sur les pays méditerranéens d’Europe a été dominé par une conviction plus ou moins partagée sur la succession historique de l’émigration et de l’immigration. Selon ces termes, l’Italie, l’Espagne, la Grèce et le Portugal auraient suivi un modèle migratoire cyclique qui a existé jusque dans les années 1970, l’émigration au-delà des frontières nationales étant perçue comme un mouvement prédominant suivi d’une immigration étrangère massive qui aurait supplanté la centralité de l’expatriation. L’article propose un nouveau point de vue sur cette question, intégrant émigration, immigration et migration interne en Italie, en Espagne, en Grèce et au Portugal dans une perspective convergente.

**Migración en Europa del Sur desde 1945:
el enredo de muchas movilidades**

El «espacio», en el que se produce el fenómeno de la migración, no es la única categoría que debe ser repensada y reubicada en los estudios migratorios. Otro tema clave es el «tiempo», o más bien la periodización. Durante mucho tiempo, el debate académico sobre los países mediterráneos europeos ha estado dominado por una afirmación que se ha considerado más o menos dada, a saber, la sucesión histórica de emigración e inmigración. Se supone que Italia, España, Grecia y Portugal han seguido, de acuerdo con esta evidencia, un modelo cíclico de migración que se extendió hasta la década de 1970, la emigración se considera un movimiento predominante seguido por una inmigración extranjera masiva que suplantó la centralidad de la expatriación. El artículo propone un nuevo punto de vista sobre esta cuestión, incorporando la emigración, la inmigración y la migración interna en Italia, España, Grecia y Portugal en una perspectiva convergente.