

SPATIAL ASPECTS OF THE ITALIAN
MIGRATION TO SWITZERLAND:
IMPACT OF THE LABOR PUSH-AND-PULL

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ABSTRACT

SPATIAL ASPECTS OF THE ITALIAN MIGRATION TO SWITZERLAND: IMPACT OF THE LABOR PUSH-AND-PULL

By

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The Italian migration to Switzerland played a significant role in the economic advance of Italy and Switzerland. Manpower surplus and manpower shortage constituted the push-and-pull factor which generated the movements of Italians between their homeland and Switzerland and resulted in the settlement of a large number of these people in Swiss rural and urban areas. The analysis of the significance of the emigration and return movements of Italians and the impact of their settlement on Switzerland is the objective of this study.

The Italian migration to Switzerland is discussed in three stages: 1) Railroad construction and Italian rural settlement in Switzerland, 2) Post-World War II

Italian settlement in Swiss urban areas, and 3) Labor demand reversal and stabilization of the Italian migration to Switzerland.

From the late 1850's to World War II, the majority of Italian immigrants worked on Swiss railroads or settled as farmers in the mountain valleys of southern cantons, especially in Ticino. During this long period, the high point of the Italian migratory movement was reached in 1913.

The post-World War II movement was more important. The huge labor shortage resulting from the Swiss postwar industrial boom gave rise to a massive wave of Italian workers rushing to Switzerland. This spectacular mass migration, starting from the immediate postwar years, grew steadily in the 1960's and reached its peak in 1963. The growing number of Italian workers in Swiss urban areas became an important factor in the labor supply for different kinds of industrialization.

However, after the 1963 apogee the Italian migration to Switzerland stabilized. As Switzerland faced the problem of an over-supply of aliens, the Swiss government

imposed a stringent quota policy, and the 1964 Rome agreement was reached with Italy on new restrictive immigration regulations. Meantime Italy recovered its full economic prosperity and offered new employment opportunities. This established a labor demand reversal between the two countries. The shrinking number of Italian workers in Swiss cities was due in large part to the flow of Italian returnees as a result of the industrialization and urbanization of their home country.

Thus the labor push-and-pull was the major factor governing the migration of Italians to Switzerland, their settlement in Swiss rural and urban areas, and the return movement of these people to their homeland. The impact of Italians was important in the progress of Switzerland and continues to be important in the spatial character of this country in many ways.

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INTRODUCTION

Emigratory movement is the manifestation of a problem of particular importance in Italy. This country, nurturing the Eternal City in its heart and growing under the splendid sky of its culture, has to struggle against natural adversities such as topography, aridity, soils, and lack of industrial raw materials such as iron and coal. The victory has never been complete. Misery and backwardness climb up the hills and throw the greatest problem into The Mezzogiorno, the most overpopulated and the least developed section of the country. The surplus population incessantly flows from the countryside toward the cities or seeks livelihoods in foreign countries.

But large cities represent another serious aspect of the struggle. Being in the Mediterranean backyard of Europe, Italy lags behind most of Western European countries in education, social organization, and economic development. The size of the large Italian cities is not a true indicator of their actual industrial and commercial

strength. Capital accumulation, urban growth, and modernization have not succeeded to support the surplus population. Italians have long turned to foreign horizons.

Overseas migration offered a temporary solution to the problems of rural exodus. Between 1876 and the second world war the current of emigration carried about 9,585,000 Italians overseas, chiefly to the United States and Latin America.¹ A General Emigration Agency was established in 1901 in order to sponsor and assist emigrants. Their number steadily increased each year. But after the American Immigration Acts of 1921 and 1924 Italian policy changed. The abolition of the Emigration Agency symbolized the tendency to discourage emigration to overseas countries. The Italian government suspended its activities in the field of migration and worked rather to protect national communities already existing abroad and make them aware of their origin. Moreover, the world economic depression of the 1930's and the second world war came to paralyze the Italian overseas emigration. This movement was resumed after World War II. Between

¹G. Parenti, "Italy," Economics of International Migration (New York: St. Martin Press, 1958), p. 86.

1946 and 1967, 1,498,309 Italians emigrated overseas.²

Italian immigrants continued to enter Latin America, and also the United States within the limit imposed by the legislation of this country; emigration to Canada and Australia also became significant after 1960; however, the overseas emigration trend as a whole was downward.

By contrast, continental migration grew more attractive. The Italian going to overseas countries was practically uprooted and had little chance to come home; but those who moved on a temporary basis to another European nation believed that they could accumulate capital and then return to their home country to start out as self-employed persons. In fact, continental migrants usually came back to vote and to enjoy their vacation. In this way the Italian emigrants working in Europe felt that they were still participating in the events that influenced their homeland. This psychological and sentimental factor was reinforced by changes and restrictions of immigration policy in foreign countries, and the Italian emigratory movement quickly shifted from overseas to Europe.

²The Intergovernmental Committee for European Migration, International Migration, VI, 3 (1968), p. 181.

Switzerland is the European country preferred by Italian migrants. Germany, France, and several other countries also receive Italians; but there are few Italian quarters in Germany or in France comparable to Italian Switzerland. The number of Italian immigrants in Switzerland surpasses that found in any other European nation. Migration to Switzerland is facilitated by the fact that Northern Italy has common boundaries with southern Switzerland (Figure 1). Before World War I when freedom of international migration prevailed all over Western and Central Europe, movements through boundaries were as easy as those within Italy or Switzerland. Moreover, distance challenged the migrant with problems of transportation cost. Even in the last few years costs to travel from North Italy to Germany were greater than those to Switzerland especially to the Cantons adjacent to the boundaries. The cultural kinship also played a significant role. The Italian who entered the Canton of Ticino could speak his mother tongue, practice his religion, observe the same customs, and hence felt more at home there than in other European countries.

Figure 1

Switzerland: Location Map

However, Italian migration to Switzerland was primarily governed by the labor problems, which generated push-and-pull forces between the two countries and resulting movements. Italy and Switzerland both faced serious labor problems. Before the second world war unemployment was a chronic problem in Italy. The Italian labor force rapidly increased with population growth. People left the countryside for urban areas or rushed from the South to the North to seek employment opportunities; but Italian industries were not strong enough to absorb huge numbers of unskilled workers. Meanwhile labor shortages emerged in Switzerland as a result of the construction of railroads. There was only a short period between two Wars when labor problems created minor difficulties. On one hand, the Swiss economy reached relative stability, and the Swiss government began to control the immigration of aliens; on the other hand, the Fascist Italian government undertook large programs of modernization, established several Confederations of Labor, stimulated national sentiments, and succeeded in lowering the emigration of Italian workers.

The most enigmatic point of the labor problems lay in the unprecedented manpower demand caused by the industrial boom in Switzerland after World War II, contrasting to the slow economic recovery in Italy. Mass immigration of Italians gave Switzerland both opportunity and torment. However, the economy of Italy was catching up, and when a manpower equilibrium was established, Switzerland revised its policy to restrict immigration, and the current of Italian migrants strongly flowed back to their homeland.

Thus spatial and temporal aspects of this migration are interwoven through three principal stages:

Stage 1: The rural settlement of Italian migrants in Switzerland began with the construction of Swiss railroad in the late 1850's. The number of migrants gradually increased until the eve of the first world war. Italian agriculturists and construction workers settled on agricultural lands and along the railroads. The migratory movements during the period between two wars

were negligible, and the spatial pattern remained almost unchanged.

Stage 2: The spread of Italian laborers into Swiss cities resulted from Swiss industrial boom after World War II. Between 1946 and 1964 the influx of Italian workers pervaded Swiss urban areas not only through Italian- but also German- and French-speaking zones. This constituted the most spectacular growth of the Italian migration to Switzerland.

Stage 3: The return movement culminated in 1964 which marks the beginning of a period of stabilization. In the early 1960's when the Italian economic development approached that of Switzerland, and the labor problems reached easier solutions in both countries, emigration and return movements competed in importance; but in 1964 when Switzerland imposed rigorous immigration limitations, and Italy recovered its full prosperity, the Italian migratory movements turned to the stage of

stabilization and seemed to perform at home its urban expansion previously recognized in Switzerland.

It becomes obvious that the Italian migration to Switzerland has played an important role in Swiss economic advance, which would have been much less without the contribution of Italian labor. In fact, labor was the push-and-pull factor which generated the emigration and return movements of Italians and their settlement in Switzerland along the railroads, in the rural areas, and in cities.

The stages mentioned above will be analyzed in three chapters. The analysis is based primarily on library research, and attempts will be made to summarize the problem and its solution. Information from M.S.U. library will be coupled with data communicated by the Embassy of Italy in Switzerland, and some case studies will be made possible by maps and figures received from the Mayor's Office of Bellinzona and Bern.

The analysis of the significance of the movements forth and back of Italians between their homeland and Switzerland and the impact of the settlement of these

people on Switzerland is the objective of this study. Selected aspects of this Italian migration to Switzerland will be emphasized. The first element of this problem will be found in the earlier days of Italian laborers coming to Switzerland to participate in railroad construction. Most of these people settled in rural areas, and the nature of this movement will be discussed in Chapter I.

CHAPTER I
RAILROAD CONSTRUCTION AND ITALIAN RURAL
SETTLEMENT IN SWITZERLAND

Italian migration to Switzerland began in the late 1850's, when Swiss railroad building created a huge demand for construction labor that Switzerland itself could not supply. Before the middle of the nineteenth century only a few travelers and refugees entered Switzerland. At the opening of the railroad era Swiss companies recruited large numbers of Italian construction workers on a seasonal basis. Swiss citizens attached little interest to heavy work; many actually dreamed of a better life and emigrated overseas. The result was that Swiss railroad building faced labor shortages, and Swiss agricultural lands in the mountainous southern Cantons lay ready for cultivation.

Italians were skilled construction workers and hard working agriculturists. Many had participated in building their own railways. One of the earliest of

their achievements was the cutting of the Mont Cenis tunnel connecting Italy and France, begun in 1857 and completed fourteen years later. Many others had long struggled against poverty on their infertile soils. But skill and hard work did not succeed in overcoming unemployment and adversities in Italy. When railroad construction began in Switzerland, thousands of Italian workers and farmers left their homeland; they toiled on Swiss railroads or settled in the mountain valleys of Ticino. Certainly, economic development and urbanization in Switzerland advanced with the progress of railroad, but this advancement was so hesitant that the general character of the Italian settlement from the late 1850's to World War II remained predominantly rural.

Italian Emigratory Movement to Switzerland

During this long period the Italian emigratory movement was subjected to several changes. A treaty was concluded in 1868 between Italy and Switzerland guaranteeing mutual freedom of movement and trade. This agreement greatly enhanced the first influx of Italian

workers. Official statistics on emigration, which have existed in Italy only since 1876, registered 18,655 emigrants that year. The emigratory movement fluctuated during six years, then gradually declined until the end of the decade. From 1886 to 1895 the numbers were low; but between 1896 and 1905 emigration grew quickly, and an average of 39,737 Italians left their homeland each year (Table 1). This movement was caused by the large-scale construction works undertaken in Switzerland, and also to the fact that Italian labor was highly valued by Swiss railroad companies.

TABLE 1
ITALIAN MIGRATION TO SWITZERLAND BEFORE AND
DURING WORLD WAR I

Year	Emigrants	Year	Emigrants
Annual Average 1876-1885	10,157	1911	88,777
Annual Average 1886-1895	9,684	1912	89,258
Annual Average 1896-1905	39,737	1913	90,019
1906	80,019	1914	62,404
1907	83,026	1915	27,519
1908	70,708	1916	17,565
1909	66,931	1917	7,783
1910	79,843	1918	5,062

Source: Istituto Centrale di Statistica, Annuario Statistico della Emigrazione Italiana (Rome: Istituto Centrale di Statistica, 1926), p. 86.

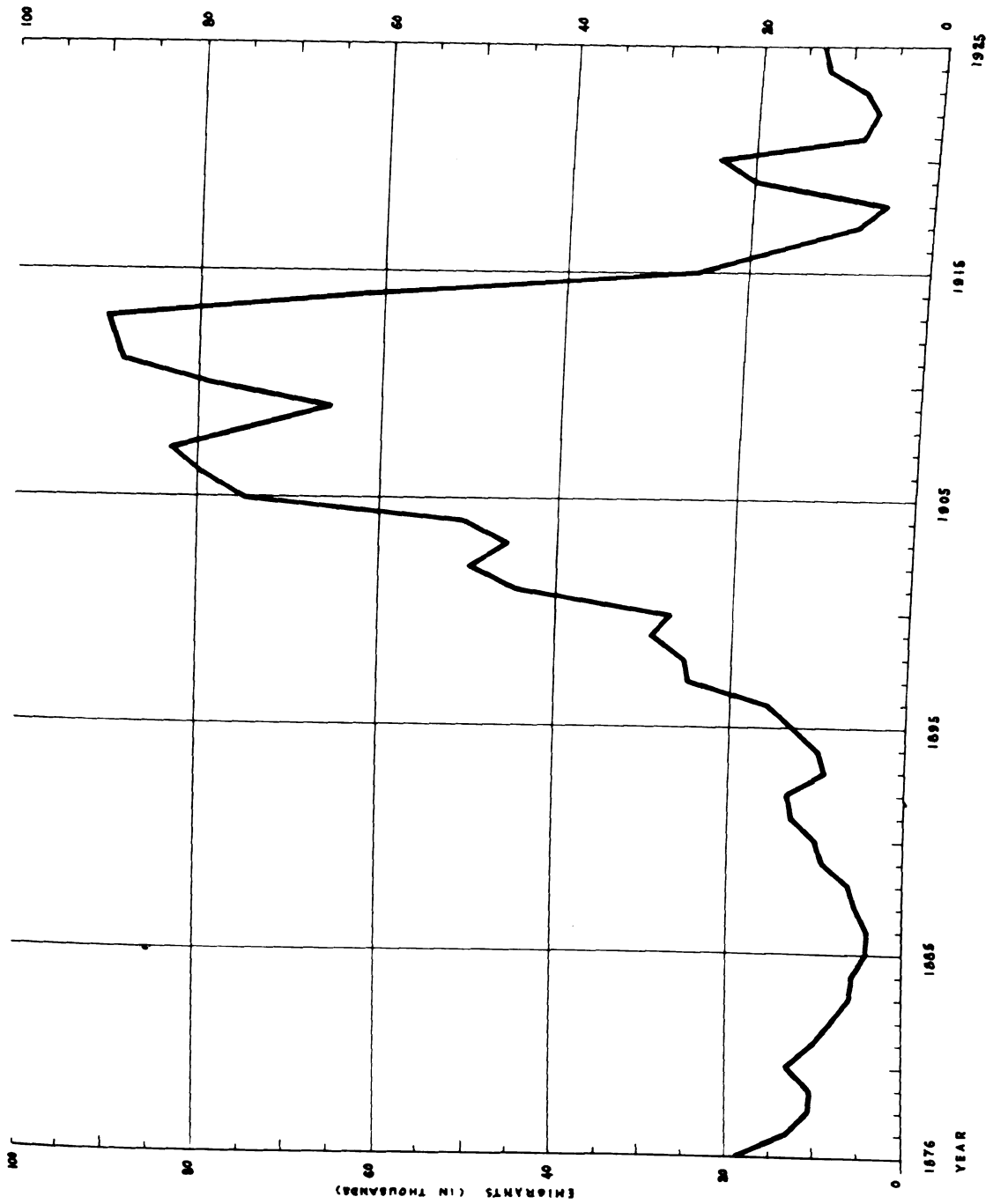
However, the most important phase of the Italian migration to Switzerland before World War I began in 1906 with 80,019 emigrants. The movement declined slightly in 1909 and then reached a high point in 1913. At the beginning of the war 62,404 Italians annually continued to enter Switzerland; but their number dropped suddenly in 1915 and totaled only 5,062 at the end of the war.

The whole picture of a half century of Italian emigration shows the lowest point around 1885 (Figure 2). The number of migrants to Switzerland particularly dwindled from 1880 to 1890. This decade marked a period of trouble in Italian labor history. Peasants and workmen rose in repeated riots and demonstrations. Peasants of North Italy, once organized into mutual benefit societies and cooperatives, protested against the degrading lives they led. Peasants in South Italy, suffering harsh reverses from the bankruptcy of their small farms, also attempted to improve their position by forming mutual aid societies. Workers turned toward Marxism and social democracy. The League of Peasants, the Sons of Labor took shape, and protest, revolt, demonstrations, and clashes with the police continued. Peasants and workers

Figure 2

Italian Emigratory Movement to Switzerland,
1876-1925

Based on Statistics from: Istituto Centrale di Statistica,
Annuario Statistico Della Emigrazione (Rome: Istituto Cen-
trale di Statistica, 1926), p. 86.



erupted in particularly violent and desperate strikes in the Spring of 1885. This social chaos, worsened by malaria which infected the marshy countryside in the province of Rovigo, slowed Italian emigration.

Moreover, the development of Italian railroads and steel works offered new opportunities at home. The State aided in the establishment of extensive steel works at Terni in 1884. Parliament decreed in 1885 that the state railroads would be let out in concession to three private companies for six years. These governmental measures created an unprecedented expansion of railroad system. No part of Italy remained untouched. An expansion of 400 percent had been achieved by 1891 with a total of 13,964 kilometers of railroad in comparison with 2,773 thirty years earlier.³ Thus the need for workers in the development of Italian railroads, added to social trouble and disease, resulted in reducing the migratory movement to Switzerland to its lowest point.

³Maurice F. Neufeld, Italy: School of Awakening Countries; The Italian Labor Movement in Its Political, Social, and Economic Setting From 1800 to 1960 (New York: Cornell University, 1961), pp. 150-94.

This depression, however, was only temporary. Opportunity in Italy was still limited. Italian workers continued to stream to Switzerland after 1890. The upward trend of the Italian emigration coincided with the growth of Swiss railroads from a privately-owned to a national system. In 1898 Switzerland voted for the passing of a "Redemption Law" and decided that

The Swiss Confederation is legally empowered and commissioned to purchase any railway which, in its opinion, serves from a military defence or economic point of view the interests of the Confederation or a major part of it, and to operate it under the name of Swiss Federal Railways.⁴

Nationalization of the principal Swiss railroads took place on January 1, 1902. This stimulated Swiss economic development, and greatly encouraged the influx of Italian migrants.

World War I suddenly put an end to the freedom of international migratory movements which had prevailed all over Western and Central Europe for more than half a century. It also disrupted the Italian migration to Switzerland. In 1917 Switzerland imposed rigorous

⁴Cecil J. Allen, Switzerland: Its Railways and Cableways, Mountain Roads and Lake Steamers (London: Ian Allan, 1967), p. 9.

immigration controls and required work permits from seasonal migrants leaving Italy. Italian emigration declined sharply to the same level as in 1885.

After World War I the Italian migration to Switzerland experienced much irregularity, and collapsed under the triumph of patriotism. The March on Rome opened the Fascist era and a dream of a Roman Empire. Certainly, compared with other contemporary leaders and experts of the United States and Western Europe, Mussolini and his associates exhibited no unusual success in contriving devices to answer the world economic depression seriously affecting Italy in the 1930's, or to manipulate population growth and unemployment. The Italian leader, however, fully succeeded in consolidating his political strength at home and abroad, in restoring social order to the country, and especially in giving the Italians new self-confidence. Tight organization of peasants and workers into Unions, the Battle of Wheat, the Battle of Births, industrial and commercial improvements, all contributed to rekindle national pride. The Fascist regime frowned upon emigration as a loss of manpower and soldiers were unworthy of an ascendant world power. Although the

economic depression forced Mussolini to modify slightly his policy, Italian emigration to Switzerland remained relatively insignificant between two Wars.

In spite of government policy changes, Italians entering Switzerland did not seem to diverge from their main purpose, which consisted of seeking new employment opportunities. Many of them were engaged in forestry; others in manufacturing, trade, housebuilding, or hotel services. However, Swiss railroads and agriculture were the principal generators of the first movement of the Italians to Switzerland.

Swiss Railroad Construction

The first railroad came into operation on Swiss territory in June, 1844. It was not Swiss, but the termination at Saint Louis of a French line. The first completely Swiss railroad started in August, 1847. This late start was for three reasons. First, the terrain was difficult from the engineering point of view. Second, Switzerland lacked the necessary funds, for in those early days this country was far from being prosperous as it has

since become. The third reason was political, for until the Confederation came into existence in 1848 with a central government at Berne, Switzerland was a somewhat loose association of cantons, so that it was almost impossible to co-ordinate all the local interests and create a common basis for national projects.

Soon after the Confederation had come into being, the Swiss government asked the British engineer Robert Stephenson, son of the famous George Stephenson, to visit Switzerland and to prepare a scheme for a Swiss railroad system which would not merely link the largest towns, but would also have strategic importance to the country. Stephenson's plan provided for one main trunk line from southwest to northeast, starting at Geneva and ending at Brugg and Baden. Railroad construction then began in earnest in Switzerland. Various lines were built by numerous privately-owned companies, which by 1872 had amalgamated into four fairly large groups: the Northeastern, Central, United Swiss Railways, and Jura-Simplon Railway.

Meantime another important company which would attract a great number of Italian migrants had been formed. Even as early as the first days of Swiss Confederation

there had been dreams of a direct north-south line through the Alps. A conference at Berne in 1869 had decided that a lengthy tunnel linking the Reuss and Ticino valleys would provide the most suitable course of this line. France was opposed to such a scheme, because she considered it a serious traffic competition to her new Mont-Cenis tunnel; but German and Italian support was sufficient to encourage the formation of the Gotthard Railway Company in 1871. The construction work started a year later. The Swiss, German, and Italian governments all contributed handsomely to the capital required; and after engineering difficulties had been overcome, this principal north-south rail traffic artery was opened in 1882.

In the construction of Swiss railroads, Italian immigrants played a significant role. During the decade following 1870 they numbered 65,000 in a total of 85,000 foreigners, and were actually one-third of all the workers employed, including the Swiss.⁵ Italians were employed on railways, on roads and bridges, and also on elevated and underground structures. Thousands of them toiled on

⁵Robert F. Foerster, The Italian Emigration of Our Times (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1924), pp. 174-77.

the tunnel of St. Gotthard, more than nine miles long, and on the railroad approaches which make a line totaling one hundred and fifty miles (Figure 3). Near the end of the century they worked on the Albula tunnel through three and a half miles of Rhetian Alps granite.

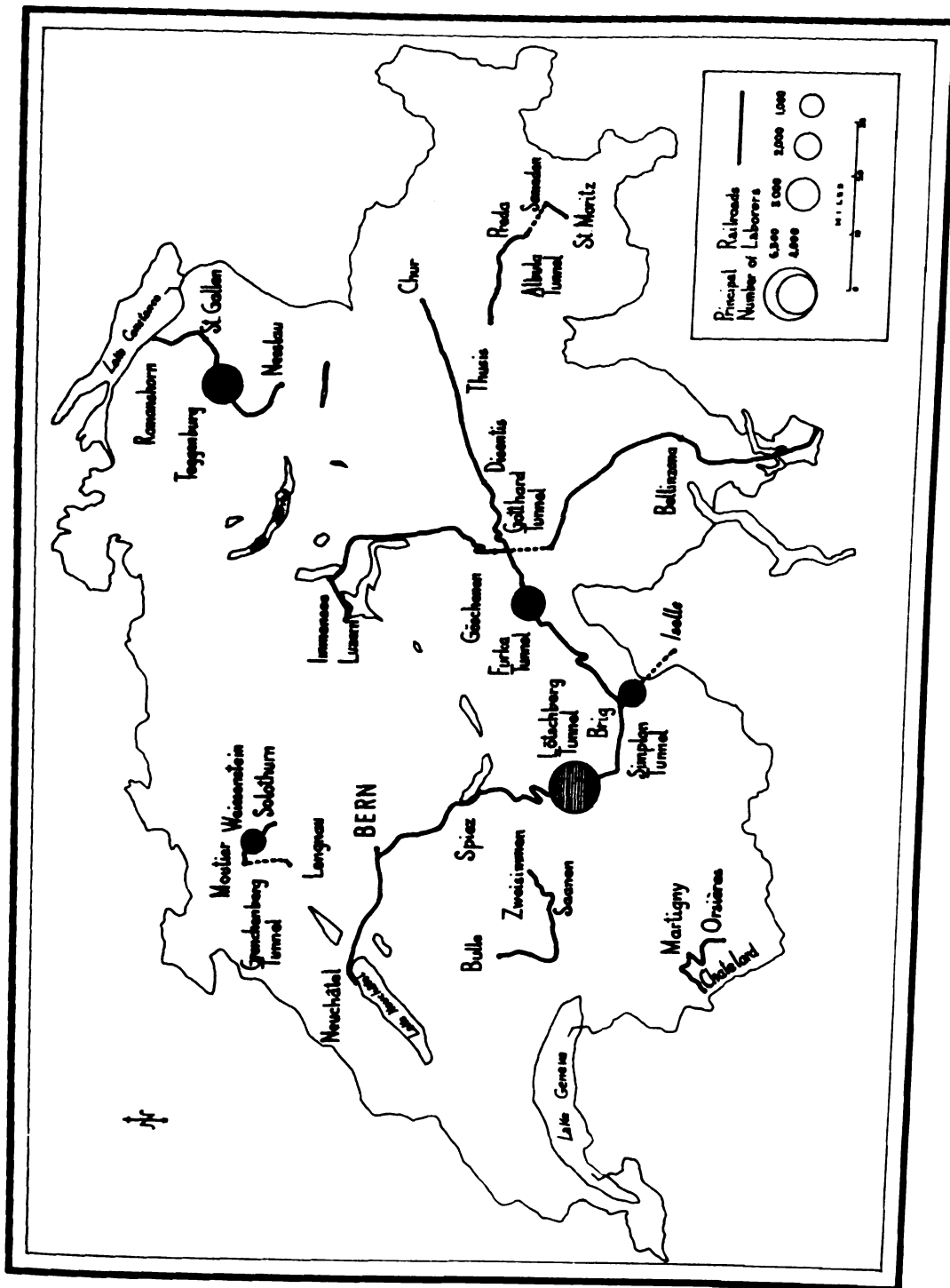
The tunneling of the Simplon began in 1898. Manifests in Sicily, Calabria, Romagna, and other parts of Italy had heralded the enterprise, and the first contingent of Italians enrolled in it numbered about 1900, including many Piedmontese and Venetians. During a period of seven years these workers and their successors cut away the crystalline rock to shape the world's longest tunnel stretching over more than twelve miles. They worked much of the time more than a mile below the surface in rock temperature reaching 130°F, and were often forced to cease their work due to voluminous streams of hot water.

Italians also were employed in the construction of the Lötschberg railway. This line began about the time the Simplon tunnel was completed. In the most active period around 6,500 Italians were engaged, including men who had worked in the Simplon, and even some veterans

Figure 3

Switzerland: Participation of Italians in
Railroad Construction, 1850-1914

Based on data from: Robert F. Foerster, The Italian Emi-
gration of Our Times (Cambridge: Harvard University Press,
1924), pp. 174-77.



of the St. Gotthard. At the end of four years, there were still more than 3,000 of them at work upon it. The Lötschberg line, when finished, measured nearly ten miles of tunnel and more than twenty-five of approaches.

Several other construction works in Switzerland were achieved largely by Italian immigrants. About the beginning of the present century, many of the latter, largely from the south, helped build the Thusis-St. Moritz railroad. Others worked on the Zweisimmen-Saanen-Bulle line in the canton of Berne. According to the Department of Public Works of Ticino, 90 percent of the laborers employed on cantonal and communal public works were Italians. Many worked on the Martigny-Châtelard railroad in the Valais. Nearly 1000 Italians were engaged in tunnelling a five-mile portion of the Weissenstein on the Solette-Moutier railroad in 1903, and saw it completed four years later. In 1908, 4000 Italians were completing the Bodensee-Toggenburg road connecting lakes Zurich and Constance. In 1909, Italians were working on a short railroad linking Martigny and Orsieres, and on another running from Spiez to Brig. Italian immigrants were also engaged in tunnelling the Grenchenberg

for a distance of five miles. They began the first track of the Brig-Furka-Disentis line in 1914, and toiled several years on an extraordinary series of bridges, tunnels, embankments to connect the Simplon and St. Gotthard routes and the Graubünden railway net. Almost all the workers were Italian; sometimes more than 3,000.

Undeniably a tremendous amount of work was performed by the Italians. Their labor was completely satisfactory. At one time on the Simplon a troop of Macedonian Turks was substituted for Italians, but the experiment failed. The role of the Italian labor in the development of Swiss railroad was particularly important.

Italian Agricultural Settlement in Rural Switzerland

The Italian immigrants also played a considerable role in Swiss agriculture. In the late 1870's and early 1880's a severe agricultural crisis affected Switzerland like other Western European countries. The perfection of railroad and steamship transportation caused the flooding of Western markets with cheap grains from Eastern

Europe and from overseas. Agricultural prices declined sharply. Tens of thousands of Swiss farmers abandoned their farms and emigrated to the United States. Some 92,000 Swiss citizens emigrated between 1880 and 1888.⁶ The Italians immigrated to take places of the emigrated Swiss, so that they saved Swiss agriculture, and particularly the agriculture of Ticino Canton. The movements of Swiss emigration and Italian immigration ran parallel for decades. By 1910, many of the "Swiss" agriculturists of Ticino were really descendants of Italian immigrants. Many Italian farmers entered the cantons of Graubünden and Valais, but the majority of them settled in Ticino. The influx of Italians into Ticino was so important that it became a stimulating factor of Swiss emigration. Foerster quoted A. Marazzi that "the Italian citizens immigrate into the canton because the Ticinese emigrate, and that the Ticinese citizens emigrate because the Italians immigrate."

In 1905 the number of Italian immigrants in agriculture totaled 10,000, more than 1 percent of all the

⁶Kurt B. Mayer, "Recent Demographic Development in Switzerland," Social Research, XXIV-3 (1957), p. 333.

agriculturists of Switzerland, and 8.6 percent of the agricultural population of Ticino. There were 4,000 farm laborers, mainly harvest hands. The Lombard haymowers of Ticino constituted an important class among the immigrants into Switzerland. The 1905 Swiss census also recorded 6,000 Italian tenants or owners of lands. Their farms, however, were rarely larger than from one to seven acres. The farming methods they adopted in Switzerland were similar to those which had been used in Italy.⁷

In 1915 the Italian agriculturists who left their homeland for Switzerland totaled 2,263. Their number decreased in 1918, but regained importance after World War I and registered 1,606 in 1920. The majority of them were male farmers (Table 2).

Many Italian farmers settled in the mountain valleys of meager resources of Valle Verzasca and Valle Maggia. Before World War II the Italian villages in these areas suffered from a loss of population by emigration. John E. Kesseli, reporting Max Schwend's writing on life

⁷Robert F. Foerster, The Italian Emigration of Our Times (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1924), p. 173.

TABLE 2

ITALIAN AGRICULTURISTS MIGRATING TO
SWITZERLAND, 1915-1920

Year	Male	Female	Total
1915	1,598	665	2,263
1916	537	463	1,000
1917	245	204	449
1918	182	82	264
1919	925	427	1,352
1920	1,217	389	1,606

Source: Istituto Centrale di Statistica, Annuario Statistico Della Emigrazione Italiana (Rome: Istituto Centrale di Statistica, 1926), p. 325.

in the Italian villages of Valle Verzasca, mentioned that 60 percent of holdings measured between 2.5 and 12.4 acres. Less than 10 percent of these holdings were tillable fields or vineyards; about 50 percent were meadowland; and the rest was forest. Most of the forest had been reduced to a degenerate oak-beech scrub after regular cutting for firewood. Italians cultivated maize, rye, potatoes, and beans. Maize was the staple food. Rye, often mixed with maize, was the dominant bread grain.

The vineyards provided table grapes sold for cash, and some wine for home use. Farmers also raised livestock on the meadows and on the alps of the valley. The herds were small, averaging three to four cattle, six to seven goats, and two to three sheep. Milk and milk products were produced for local human consumption and the finishing of calves and goats.

When Italians settled in Valle Verzasca about 1850, they practiced an extensive cutting of the fir, larch, and beech forest. This resulted in increased runoff, landslides, and disastrous floods, and led to the general depopulation of the mountain settlements. The depopulation was reinforced by the temporary winter emigration of part of the male population to the lowland of Ticino, to northern Italy, and to southern France, and also by permanent emigration overseas especially to the San Francisco Bay region of the United States. Between 1850 and 1941 the population of Valle Verzasca decreased by 45 per cent in spite of normal families with six to eight children. Some villages even decreased by 65 to 75 per cent.⁸

⁸ John E. Kesseli, "Life in an Italian Swiss Mountain Valley," The Geographical Review, XXXVIII (1948), p. 329.

Depopulation also occurred in Valle Maggia. For more than a hundred years many young people of the valley have emigrated to distant parts in search of a livelihood, and their green valley has become more sparsely populated. Yet Valle Maggia has experienced minor changes from the earlier days of Italian immigration. Today's settlement in the valley still bears the pattern of the past characterized by small clusters of rustic dwellings along the main road winding upstream. Really "it is as if the wheel of time had stopped here more than a century ago"⁹ (Figure 4).

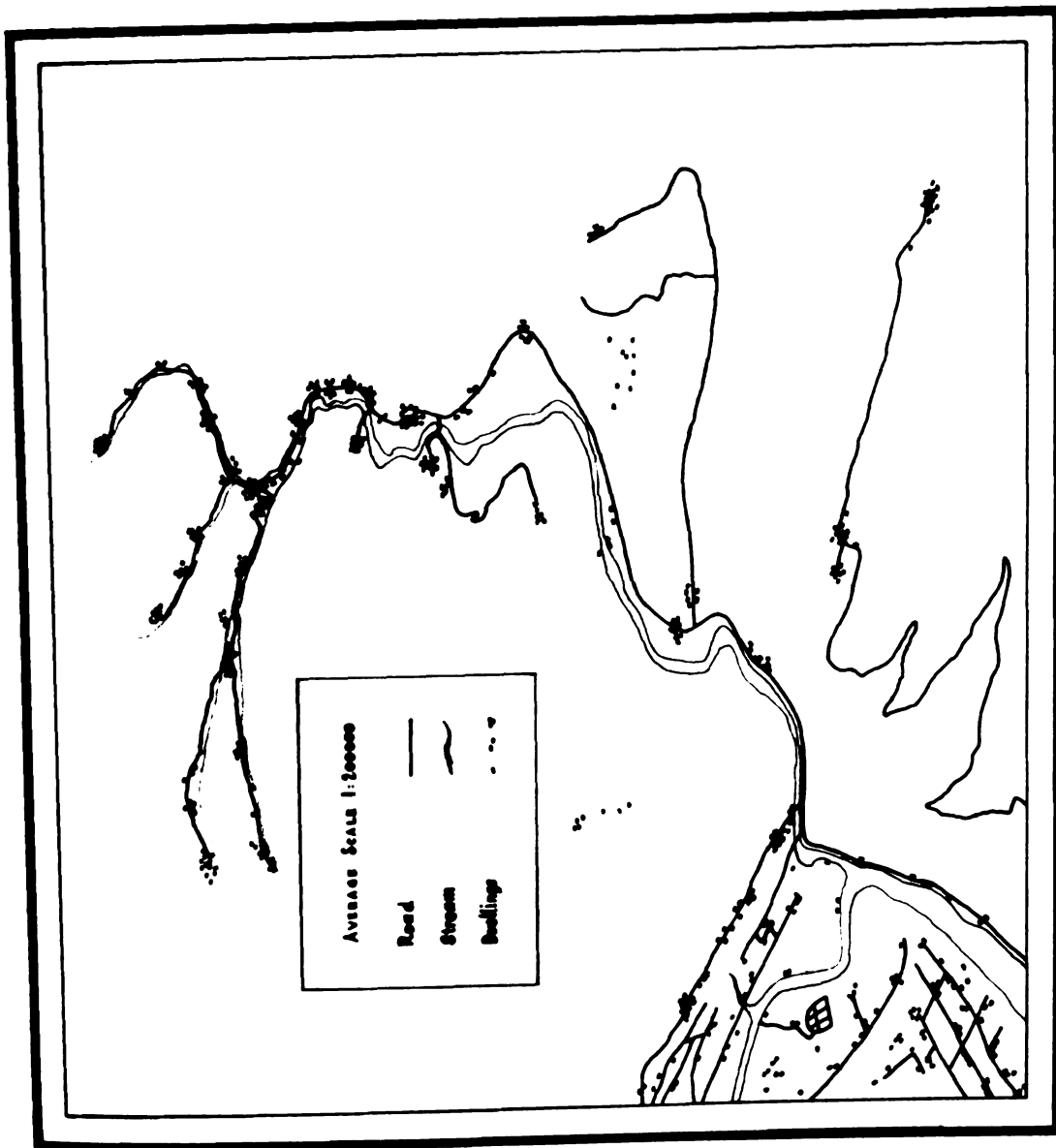
The Italian rural settlement in Switzerland has brought in three house types and different types of isolated barns. The Sonogno house was built in Ticino; its roof lay on a joist, and the hearth had no chimney; there was a milk-cellar; exterior stairs and a gallery gave access to the upper floor divided into two rooms. The Rancante house was also built in Ticino and characterized by the open galleries called Loggia. The Poschiavo house stood in Grisons; this house type was remarkable for its

⁹ Booklet Valle Maggia (Locarno, Switzerland: Ufficio Viaggi Fart, n.d.), p. 9.

Figure 4

Switzerland: Pattern of Italian Rural
Settlement in Valle Maggia

Source: Booklet Valle Maggia (Locarno, Switzerland: Ufficio Viaggi Fart, n.d.), p. 6.



ensemble of originally separate buildings and a circular milk-cellar. There were different types of isolated barns, which were used to store provision, food, linen, cattle bells, and also old books, even archives or other documents of value in order to protect them from fire. Today the barns rarely play their primitive roles, and unfortunately many of these constructions, often richly decorated, have disappeared.¹⁰

Thus the spatial impact of the first stage of the Italian migration to Switzerland was the result of laborers on the construction of Swiss railroads and the agricultural settlement in rural areas in the cantons of Graubünden, Valais, and especially Ticino. During this long period from the middle of the nineteenth century to World War II the majority of Italians entering Switzerland settled along the railroads where they worked, or clustered into villages in the mountain valleys. The availability of work, whether on construction or on farm, was the predominant factor that attracted the Italian immigrants.

¹⁰ Federal Topographic Service, Atlas of Switzerland (Wabern-Bern: Federal Topographic Service, 1967), Sheet 36.

The Italian migratory movements ran parallel to the development of Swiss railway system and the overseas emigration of Ticinese farmers. Before World War I when thousands and thousands of Europeans rushed to America and the freedom of international migration reigned in Central and Western Europe, the Italian emigration grew quickly in importance not only to Switzerland but also to several other European countries and to the New World. The world political events between two Wars, the rise of dictatorial regimes in Europe together with American immigration restrictions all created great changes in the Italian emigration, so that the number of Italians entering Switzerland considerably dwindled until the end of World War II.

However, the post-war industrial boom in Switzerland gave a new impetus to the Italian migratory movements and opened the spectacular period of Italian expansion into Swiss cities.

CHAPTER II
POST-WORLD WAR II ITALIAN SETTLEMENT IN
SWISS URBAN AREAS

The Italian post-war migrants to Switzerland shifted from being laborers on the railroads and settlers in the villages to the Swiss urban scene. The principal Swiss railroads had been constructed before World War II, and the electrification of these lines had also begun as early as 1888. After World War II railroad building in Switzerland ceased to be the predominant factor which attracted the Italian immigrants. Nor did agriculture appear promising, since many young Italians in the canton of Ticino had abandoned their farms and villages. On the contrary, Swiss industries flourished after the war and created huge labor shortages in urban areas.

The post-war economic recovery was much slower in Italy. This country had performed prodigious efforts and earnestly worked for its economic growth, its technical modernization, and a better redistribution of national income. A land reform had been made, a merchant

marine developed, a dense network of railroads and roads built; the Pontine Marshes south of Rome had been reclaimed, drained, and irrigated; industrial production had also been accelerated, social structure reformed, and large cities emerged; but the war had been so destructive that the post-war industrial development in Italy became insufficient to answer the manpower surplus. Masses of Italians continued to emigrate to Switzerland, but this time, settled in Swiss cities instead of along the railroads or in the mountain valleys. The rapid Italian expansion into Swiss urban areas from 1946 to 1964 constituted the dominant phenomenon of the Italian post-war emigration and was intimately related to the labor problems in Switzerland and Italy.

Labor Problems in Switzerland and Italy

Shortly after the end of World War II, Switzerland found itself confronted with a serious manpower shortage for industrial development. The Swiss authorities had feared that a recurrence of critical

unemployment might result from the sudden demobilization of the Swiss army; however, contrary to all expectations, the Swiss economy boomed with unprecedented prosperity. Having remained neutral and spared the ravages of war, Switzerland was in a strategic position to supply the depleted world market with its industrial products and to participate fully in the economic expansion of Western Europe. Switzerland, which had long played an important role in international migration as a sending country, became a receiving country in the post-war period and experienced a large and sustained influx of immigrants. Foreigners occupied 10.8 per cent of the total resident population in 1960 with 584,739; and Italy topped the list (Table 3).

Meantime Italy faced the problems of manpower surplus and unemployment. After the second World War the Italian population continued to increase. Before the war the average of natural increase indicated by excess of births over deaths registered 391,482; but between 1947 and 1949 it totaled 488,367.¹¹ The labor force also grew

¹¹ Istituto Centrale di Statistica, Un Secolo di Statistiche (Rome: Istituto Centrale di Statistica, 1961), p. 88.

TABLE 3

SWITZERLAND, RESIDENT POPULATION IN 1960

Country of Origin	Resident Population	Percentage
Switzerland	4,844,322	89.2
Italy	346,223	6.4
Germany	93,406	1.7
Austria	87,762	0.7
France	31,328	0.6
Liechtenstein	1,842	0.03
Others	74,178	1.4
Total	5,429,061	100.0

Source: Federal Topographic Service, Atlas of Switzerland (Wabern-Bern: Federal Topographic Service, 1967), Sheet 1a.

with population reaching 18,972,000 in 1954 and 21,024,000 six years later (Table 4). The predominance of male labor gave more weight to the Italian labor problems. In 1964, the labor force still averaged 20,130,000 of which 72 per cent was male.¹²

¹² ICS, Annuario di Statistiche del Lavoro e dell'Emigrazione (Rome: ICS, 1964), p. 25.

TABLE 4

ITALIAN LABOR FORCE, 1954-1960 (in thousands)

Year	Region	Male	Female	Total
1954	North	9,188	3,269	12,457
	Mezzogiorno	5,218	1,297	6,515
	Italy	14,406	4,566	18,972
1955	North	9,315	3,550	12,865
	Mezzogiorno	5,352	1,444	6,796
	Italy	14,667	4,994	19,661
1956	North	9,496	3,342	12,811
	Mezzogiorno	5,442	1,508	6,950
	Italy	14,911	4,850	19,761
1957	North	9,544	3,576	13,120
	Mezzogiorno	5,497	1,553	7,050
	Italy	15,041	5,129	20,170
1958	North	9,575	3,961	13,536
	Mezzogiorno	5,538	1,637	7,225
	Italy	15,113	5,648	20,761
1959	North	9,552	3,959	13,511
	Mezzogiorno	5,529	1,781	7,310
	Italy	15,081	5,740	20,821
1960	North	9,618	4,009	13,627
	Mezzogiorno	5,570	1,827	7,397
	Italy	15,188	5,836	21,024

Source: Istituto Centrale di Statistica, Un Secolo di Statistiche, Nord e Sud (Rome: ICS, 1961), pp. 660-64.

The dilemma of Italian labor and unemployment has been explained as follows by Anthony Trawick Bouscaren:

Modern Italy's economic difficulties have stemmed from three basic factors: (1) the scarcity of good soil and abundant sweet water in all but her northern regions, preventing the growth of the strong agricultural economy which is the base of a sound industrial economy; (2) the lack or scarcity of basic raw materials, inhibiting industrial growth; (3) the shortage of capital for investment What Italy has always had and continues to have is a chronic unemployment problem, due to the combination of the above basic structural weakness.¹³

Italy has made all possible attempts to reduce the perplexity of this "chronic unemployment problem." After World War II, three major confederations named the General Italian Confederation of Labor (C.G.I.L.), the Italian Confederation of Workers Unions (C.I.S.L.), and the Italian Union of Labor (U.I.L.) cooperated in organizing workers into groups to meet the unemployment problem. However, the result in the 1950's was meager. This has led Maurice F. Neufeld to conclude that

the Italian labor movement of the late 1950's continued to live, as in the past, from hand to mouth and from crisis to crisis

¹³Anthony Trawick Bouscaren, "Italy's Role in International Migration," R.E.M.P. Bulletin, X-3 (June/September 1962), p. 87.

The majority of Italian workers remained unorganized Certainly, persistent unemployment involving from 1,500,000 to 2,000,000 human beings, along with underemployment of equal dimensions, gave further edge to crisis.¹⁴

Italy has also made efforts to control the demographic movements which largely affected its economic development. The labor force estimated for five decades from 1951 to 2001 shows an upward trend during the first twenty years, then a general decline from 1971 (Figure 5).

However, emigration to Switzerland remained one of the quick solutions to the Italian labor problem. In fact, many Italians migrated to West Germany and other European countries during the post-war period; but a greater number of them preferred Switzerland. When the peak of the Italian post-war migratory movement to West Germany was reached in 1965 with 90,800 emigrants, Italy still sent 103,100 workers to Switzerland during the same year.¹⁵ Wages were higher in Switzerland than in West Germany. Between 1950 and 1954 the earnings per hour was

¹⁴Maurice F. Neufeld, Italy: School for Awakening Countries; The Italian Labor Movement in its Political, Social, and Economic Setting From 1800 to 1960 (New York: Cornell University, 1961), p. 501.

¹⁵I.C.E.M., International Migration, VI-3 (1968), p. 182.

Figure 5

Italy: Projected Labor Force, 1971-2001

Based on Statistics from: Istituto Centrale di Statistica,
Un Seculo di Statistiche, Nord e Sud (Rome: Istituto Cen-
trale di Statistica, 1961), p. 75.

1.56 Marks or 0.3881 U.S. dollars in West Germany, while the Italian workers in Switzerland obtained a rate of 2.55 Francs or 0.5905 U.S. dollars per hour. For the whole decade from 1954 to 1964 wages remained higher in Switzerland. Since Italy paid lower rates, many Italian workers, though being employed at home, attempted to find better opportunities in Switzerland, where wages were generally six times higher (Table 5).

Employment and higher wages gave the Italian workers in Switzerland a chance to accumulate capital, and Italy itself benefitted from the increase of national income and ability to pay for imports by emigrants' remittances to their homeland. The total amount of Italian emigrants' remittances was 1,181 million dollars from 1946 to 1957,¹⁶ and 812 million dollars from 1958 to 1960.¹⁷ Emigrants' remittances from Switzerland alone amounted to 128 million dollars or 23 per cent of the total remittance in 1964 (Table 6).

¹⁶International Labor Office, International Migration (Geneva: International Labor Office, 1959), p. 368.

¹⁷Italian Affairs, XI-2 (Rome, 1962), p. 3830.

TABLE 5

WAGES IN NON-AGRICULTURAL SECTORS IN
SWITZERLAND, ITALY, AND WEST GERMANY;
EARNINGS PER HOUR, 1950-1954
(IN U.S. DOLLARS)

Year	Switzerland	Italy	West Germany
1950-54	0.5905	0.1212	0.3881
1955	0.6392	0.1370	0.4553
1956	0.6646	0.1451	0.4951
1957	0.7017	0.1516	0.5398
1958	0.7434	0.1595	0.5772
1959	0.7619	0.1614	0.6070
1960	0.7990	0.1690	0.6692
1961	0.8383	0.1760	0.7364
1962	0.9125	0.1958	0.8210
1963	0.9889	0.2239	0.8832
1964	1.0792	0.2630	--

Source: Computed from data expressed in Francs, Liras, and Marks; United Nations, Compendium of Social Statistics, 1967 (New York: United Nations, 1968), p. 550.

TABLE 6

ITALIAN EMIGRANTS' REMITTANCES TO ITALY
FROM SWITZERLAND, 1963-1964 (IN
MILLION DOLLARS)

Year	From Switzerland	From Other Countries	Total
1963	104.45	417.81	522.26
1964	128.33	422.01	550.34

Source: I.C.E.M., International Migration, IV-2 (1966), p. 125.

Thus the solution of the labor problems in Switzerland and Italy was beneficial to both countries. On the one hand, Swiss industrial production was facilitated by cheap and abundant labor from Italy; on the other hand, emigration gave Italy a temporary relief from the pressure of manpower surplus. Italian workers were free to emigrate. The unemployed as well as the employed entered Switzerland. The unskilled workers expected to find a good job; the skilled to obtain higher wages; and the professionals to perform their techniques under better working and living conditions. So the post-war migration to Switzerland became the most spectacular movement in the history of the Italian continental emigration.

Italian Post-war Emigratory
Movement to Switzerland

The rhythm of the Italian post-war migration to Switzerland followed the direction of Swiss economic development and the pressure on the labor market. As early as October 1945, the Swiss government entered into negotiations with the neighboring countries about the possibilities of obtaining foreign workers. An agreement regarding Italian workers was concluded between Switzerland and Italy on June 22, 1948. The Swiss authorities assumed that the industrial boom was transitory and therefore tried to keep the influx of Italians temporary and revocable. The practice of issuing work permits to foreigners for a limited period, adopted after the end of World War I, was resumed. The Italians who entered Switzerland in search of employment were required to obtain a work permit from the police. The latter issued three categories of permits: 1) Border crossing permits for workers who maintained their residence abroad and commuted daily to a job in Switzerland; they were members of the Swiss labor force but not immigrants. 2) Seasonal permits which were issued for periods generally not

exceeding nine months; although a seasonal worker might return repeatedly to the same job, he must leave Switzerland at the end of each season and was not allowed to bring his family with him. 3) Non-seasonal permits for year-round employment; these permits were for a specified job and might be renewed and extended for longer periods. However, during the early post-war years even permits issued for stated periods of years were subject to be revoked at any time. Switzerland intended to encourage the rotation of foreign workers and to prevent permanent settlement.

This policy was far from being an obstacle to the Italian emigration. On the contrary, to a considerable extent the Swiss intentions coincided with those of many Italian post-war emigrants who did not plan a permanent stay in Switzerland, but rather wanted to work in this country only until they could find satisfactory employment opportunities at home. Moreover, in the immediate post-war period Italy was the only country in a position to supply Switzerland with foreign manpower, because the occupation forces did not permit German and Austrian nationals to leave their countries. There were 48,808

Italian nationals with Swiss work permits in 1946, and 139,271 in 1948. During the early and mid-1950's the proportion of Italians diminished while Germans, Austrians, and French reappeared on the Swiss labor market in increasing numbers. Only 57,228 Italians were recorded in 1953 (Table 7).

During the first post-war years, the Italian migration to Switzerland followed the same trend as in the past. Migrants came mainly from northern Italy; some of them also originated in central Italy; but very few came from the South. Between 1946 and 1950 the proportion of northern Italian migrants to Switzerland reached 95-96 per cent.

The traditional pattern was still recognizable in the early 1950's when sizeable groups of migrants to Switzerland came from the adjoining border region of Lombardia, from Veneto, Friuli Venezia Giulia, and Emilia Romagna (Figure 6). However, there were indications of a shift in the origin of the Italian migrants from 1950 to 1953. The general trend showed a decline in the proportion of northern Italian migrants to Switzerland and a gradual rise in the proportion of southern Italians.

TABLE 7

ITALIAN NATIONALS WITH SWISS WORK
PERMITS, 1946-1959

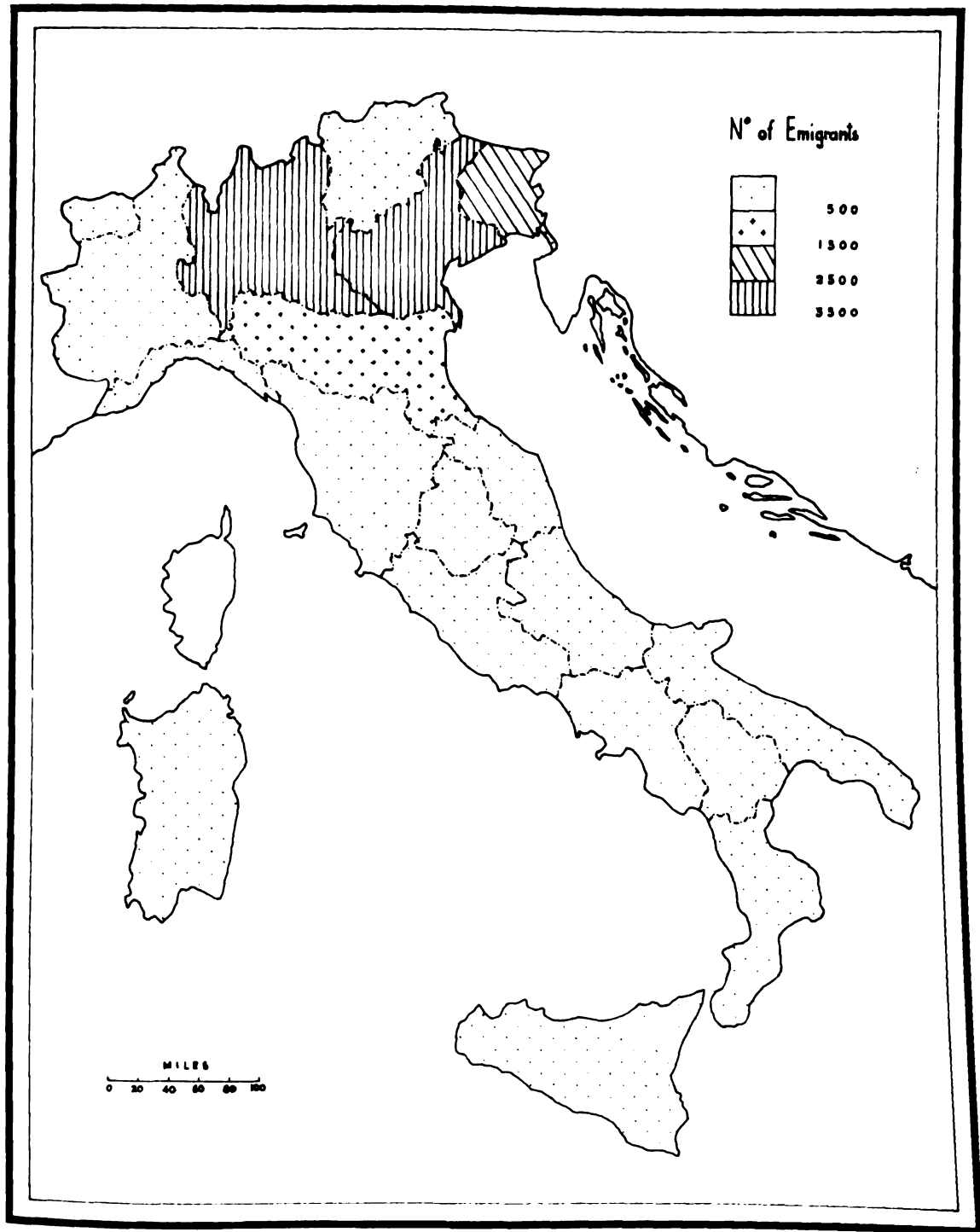
Year	Percentage			Total Number
	Northern Italy	Central Italy	Southern Italy	
1946	--	--	--	48,808
1947	96.3	3.0	0.7	105,112
1948	95.7	3.0	1.3	102,239
1949	94.7	3.7	1.6	29,726
1950	95.9	2.4	1.7	27,144
1951	93.1	3.5	3.4	66,040
1952	88.6	5.4	6.0	61,593
1953	83.7	6.3	10.0	57,228
1954	77.5	8.2	14.3	65,661
1955	69.5	10.6	19.6	84,923
1956	63.9	9.8	26.3	106,816
1957	55.8	10.5	33.7	101,626
1958	48.3	12.7	39.0	60,825
1959	47.8	12.8	39.4	79,946

Source: Kurt B. Mayer, "Postwar Migration From Italy to Switzerland," The International Migration Digest, 11-1 (Spring, 1965), p. 7; "The Impact of Postwar Immigration on the Demographic and Social Structure of Switzerland," Demography, 111-1 (1966), p. 77.

Figure 6

Italy: Distribution of Labor Migrants to
Switzerland, 1950, By Region of Origin

Based on Statistics from: Istituto Centrale di Statistica,
Annuario Statistico Dell'Emigrazione (Rome: Istituto Cen-
trale di Statistica, 1955), pp. 17-397.



Lombardia sent 12,412 workers to Switzerland in 1951, but only 7,006 in 1953. During the same period, the number of Italian emigrants also declined in Piemonte, Trentino, Veneto, Friuli Venezia Giulia, Liguria, and Emilia Romagna (Table 8).

In the early 1960's, as economic conditions continued to improve in northern Italy, the number of northern Italian migrants to Switzerland continued to decrease. Lombardia and Veneto respectively registered 15,262 and 16,462 emigrants in 1961, but only 10,343 and 10,526 respectively in 1964 (Table 9). The number of labor migrants to Switzerland lessened in all the northern provinces of Italy during the first half of the decade following 1960. Meantime the number originating in central and southern Italy increased dramatically. Basilicata, which had sent 9 workers to Switzerland in 1950, enumerated 7,300 in 1964. The same trend occurred in Calabria where the number of Italian emigrants totaled 9,801 in 1963 against 110 in 1950. Puglia and Campania supplied Switzerland with massive groups of workers. Southern Italy became a new labor reservoir (Figure 7).

TABLE 8

ITALIAN LABOR MIGRANTS TO SWITZERLAND,
1950-1953, BY REGION OF ORIGIN

Region	1950	1951	1952	1953
Piemonte	181	1,394	1,039	662
Valle d'Aosta	9	644	771	432
Lombardia	3,223	12,412	7,804	7,006
Trentino-A.A.	488	1,715	1,067	1,111
Veneto	2,501	11,159	8,630	7,750
Friuli-Venezia G.	1,711	4,590	3,410	3,042
Trieste	7	29	43	13
Liguria	90	481	248	176
Emilia-Romagna	637	2,490	1,957	1,781
Toscana	225	1,157	787	850
Umbria	71	378	115	161
Marche	82	524	293	370
Lazio	208	540	415	357
Abruzzi e Molise	343	2,361	613	1,154
Campania	442	1,305	1,158	2,178
Puglia	152	1,365	342	880
Basilicata	9	52	100	145
Calabria	110	273	289	510
Sicilia	324	1,254	246	444
Sardegna	15	278	32	73
Non-indicated	8	11	2	6
Italy	10,836	44,412	29,361	29,101

Source: Istituto Centrale di Statistica, Annuario Statistico Dell'Emigrazione (Rome: Istituto Centrale di Statistica, 1955), pp. 17-397.

TABLE 9

ITALIAN LABOR MIGRANTS TO SWITZERLAND,
1960-1964, BY REGION OF ORIGIN

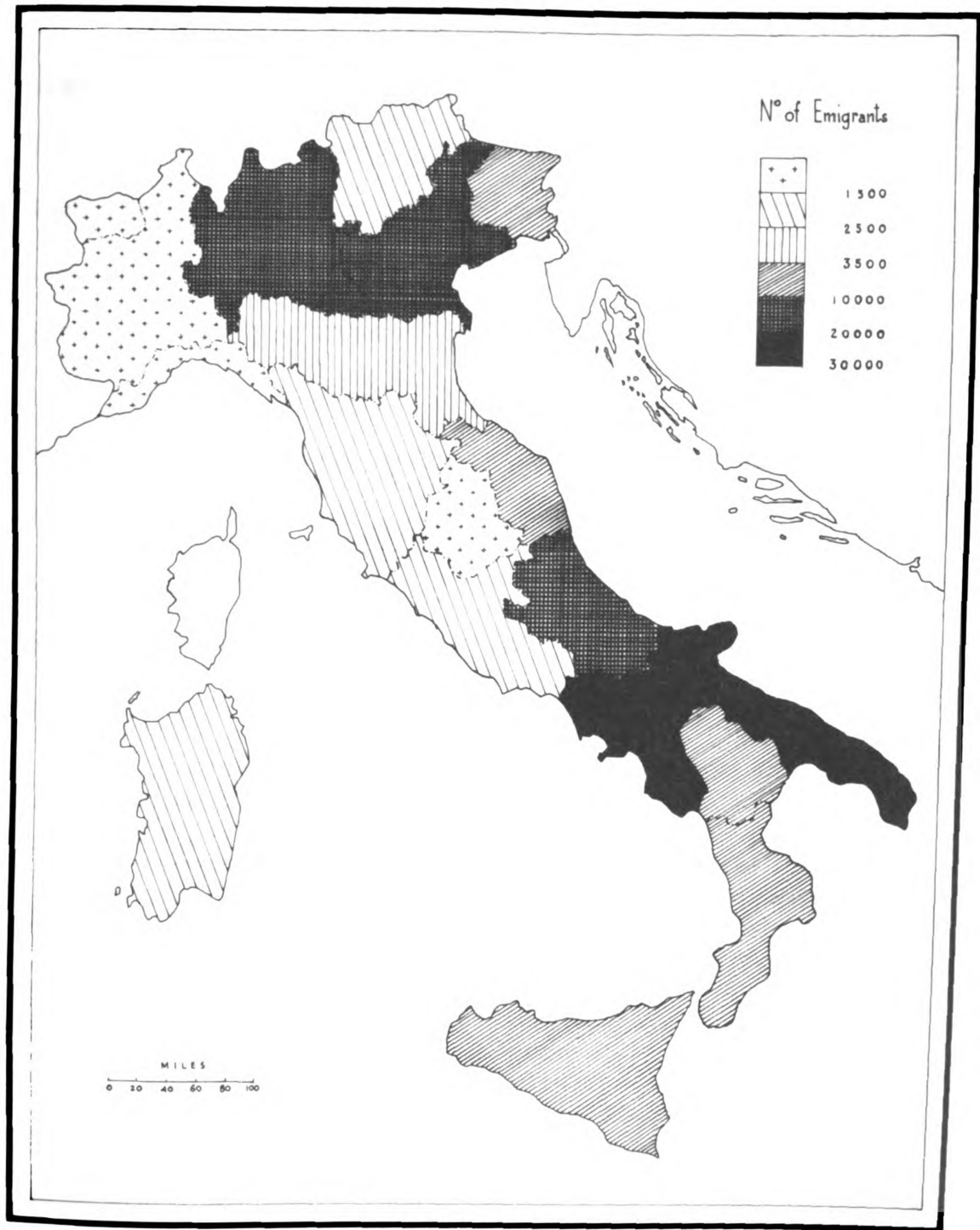
Region	1960	1961	1962	1963	1964
Piemonte	1,070	1,337	1,137	1,069	783
Valle d'Aosta	1,208	1,201	989	825	766
Liguria	290	614	542	290	208
Lombardia	12,861	15,262	14,632	13,109	10,343
Trentino-A.A.	1,420	2,006	2,205	1,977	1,425
Veneto	12,695	16,462	16,418	13,416	10,526
Friuli-V G.	4,975	7,963	6,654	6,190	4,778
Emilia-Romagna	2,491	3,896	3,814	3,012	2,179
Marche	2,649	3,935	4,455	4,618	3,766
Toscana	1,757	2,452	2,493	1,841	1,646
Umbria	265	895	812	1,120	675
Lazio	984	1,772	2,090	2,323	1,543
Campania	13,065	22,705	29,121	28,857	24,777
Abruzzi e Molise	6,632	11,034	12,542	12,419	10,258
Puglia	9,832	18,637	22,031	27,161	25,391
Basilicata	4,004	6,545	7,502	7,095	7,300
Calabria	4,574	7,224	8,176	9,801	9,283
Sicilia	1,430	3,685	5,540	6,274	5,290
Sardegna	330	572	961	1,657	1,081
Italy	82,532	128,257	142,114	143,054	122,018

Source: ICS, Annuario di Statistiche del Lavoro e Dell' Emigrazione (Rome: ICS, 1964), pp. 126-54.

Figure 7

Italy: Distribution of Labor Migrants to
Switzerland, 1963, By Region of Origin

Based on Statistics from: Istituto Centrale di Statistica,
Annuario di Statistiche del Lavoro e Dell'Emigrazione
(Rome: Istituto Centrale di Statistica, 1964), pp. 126-54.



Swiss employers tended to view these shifts in the origin of the Italian immigrants with considerable misgivings. This came from a widespread prejudice against Italians, and southern Italians in particular, which had developed in Switzerland during the early period of Italian immigration. The influx of Italian workers, who had a low standard of living and low level of education, caused much resentment and opposition in those days. The hostile prejudice exploded in demonstrations and riots in Zurich in 1896. In this social atmosphere, the Italian immigrants lived poorly, especially in comparison with other foreigners in Switzerland. Robert F. Foerster explains:

It is a fact as Homo oeconomicus and not at all as Homo Civicus, that the Italian is prized. There is no desire to assimilate him The immigrant, wherever he goes, continues to eat the imported food of his own people, bought of his fellow countrymen. And in the cities he goes into his own well-defined colonies Signs of an unfriendly or inhospitable attitude are by no means wanting. The Basel and St. Gall poor-law authorities have refused to aid Italians. Probably the people of Vallais are typical enough when, as someone has said, they regard the Italians as "guests who are necessary rather than welcome."¹⁸

¹⁸ Robert F. Foerster, The Italian Emigration of Our Times (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1924), p. 180.

Although the living conditions of the Italian immigrants had since improved, and the Italian government had repeatedly attempted to ameliorate the social situation of its nationals in Switzerland, the prejudice against southern Italians had not vanished by the 1960's, when South Italy began to send a great number of its workers to Switzerland. The prejudice against southern Italians was even shared by many of the northern Italians themselves. However, as the familiarity of Swiss employers with southern Italian workers increased, this prejudice progressively weakened and proved unfounded.

There was also a shift in Swiss immigration policy. During the immediate post-war years, Swiss work permits issued by the police could be revoked at any time. Preference was given to young single individuals. Married men, even those with non-seasonal permits, were generally not allowed to bring their families with them. But, in the 1950's it became obvious that Swiss industrial prosperity, instead of being temporary as expected by the Swiss authorities, continued and expanded year after year; and that the need for large numbers of foreign workers was becoming permanent. It also appeared evident that the

reservoir of foreign workers was not inexhaustible. In the early 1950's the number of Germans and Austrians gradually increased in Switzerland, but later began to level off as unemployment in these countries disappeared. Germany, in particular, performed its economic miracle and was faced by an increasingly serious manpower shortage. The postwar economic recovery was also absorbing the unemployed in other European countries. Therefore, Switzerland began to liberalize the stringent rules for bringing in the foreign worker's family. By 1960 highly specialized employees were permitted to bring their families as soon as they could find housing; skilled workers could also bring their families after a two-year uninterrupted residence; and all other workers could do so after three years. These measures were aimed at diminishing labor turnover and encouraging good workers to settle permanently in Switzerland.

The Swiss liberalization policy and the decline of the emigratory movement in Germany and Austria fostered the influx of Italians into Switzerland. There were 10,836 Italian workers entering Switzerland in 1950 in search of employment. They totaled 44,412 in 1951; after

which the emigratory movement fluctuated for several years. The massive wave of Italian migrants to Switzerland rose in 1960 with 82,532 and became higher year after year. The number of 128,257 Italian migrants registered in 1961 already exceeded the previous maximum of 90,019 reached in the years before World War I when Swiss immigration policy afforded complete freedom. The highest point of Italian post-war labor migration to Switzerland was marked by 143,054 emigrants in 1963 (Figure 8).

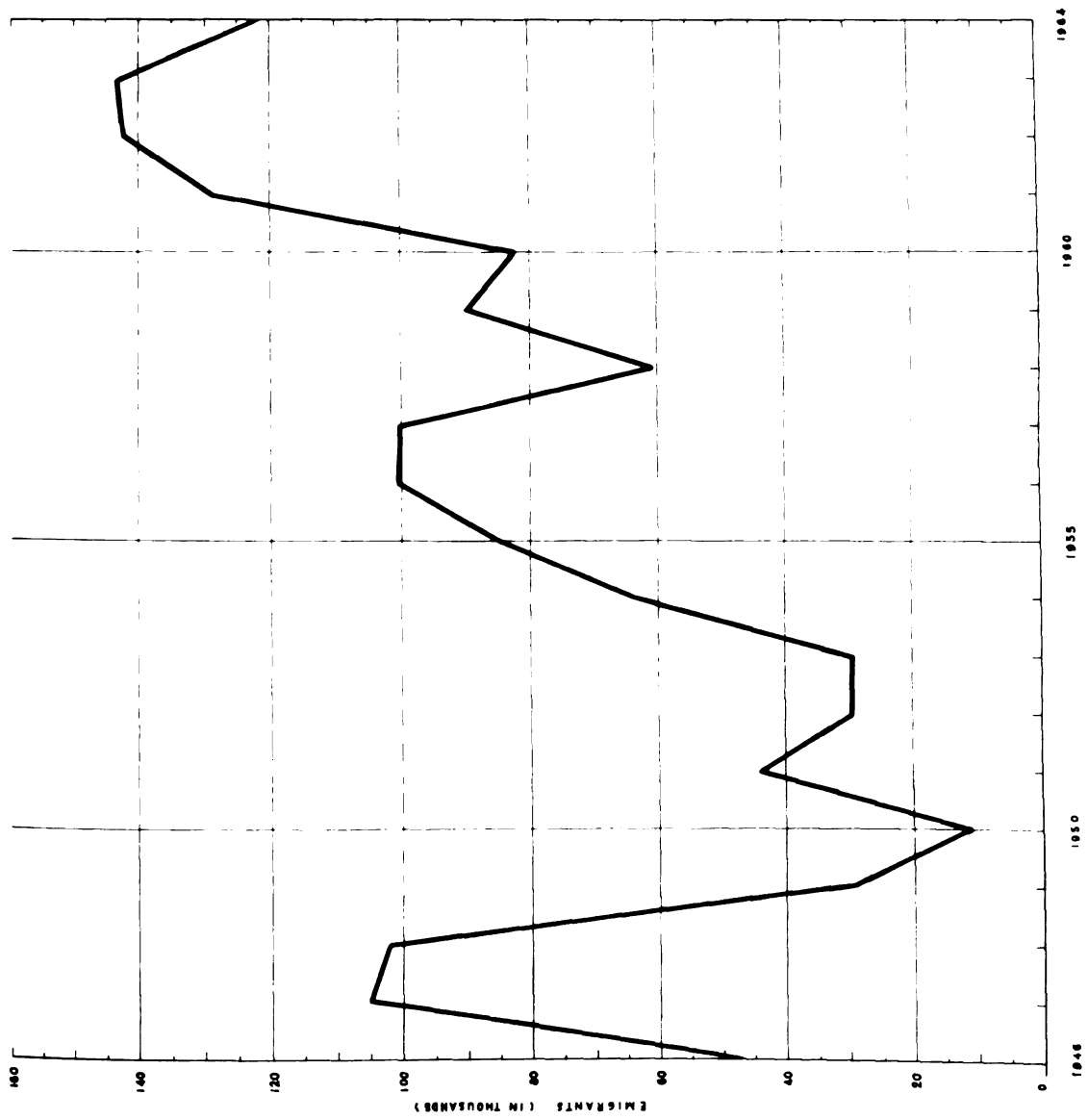
Despite this dramatic increase, the number of Italian workers proved insufficient to satisfy Swiss manpower needs. As Switzerland turned to Spain as a major new source of labor supply, the proportion of Spanish workers rose from 3-4 per cent in 1961 to 10-11 per cent in 1964. The proportion of workers from other countries, especially from Greece, Yugoslavia, and Turkey, also increased during this period.

Thus the Italian post-war mass migration to Switzerland facilitated the temporary solution of the labor problem in Italy and played a considerable part in Swiss economic prosperity. It supplied Swiss industries with abundant and reliable labor, and along with Swiss

Figure 8

Italian Postwar Emigratory Movement
to Switzerland, 1946-1964

Based on Statistics from: Istituto Centrale di Statistica, Annuario Statistico Dell'Emigrazione (Rome: Istituto Centrale di Statistica, 1955), p. 4, 17-397; Annuario di Statistiche del Lavoro e Dell'Emigrazione (Rome: ICS, 1964), pp. 126-54. Kurt B. Mayer, "Post War Migration from Italy to Switzerland," The International Migration Digest, 11-1 (Spring 1965), p. 12.



industrial growth it left strong impacts on the pattern of Italian post-war expansion.

Italian Spread into Swiss Cities

The Italian post-war expansion in Switzerland was predominantly urban. Italian workers continued to enter Switzerland through three major gates: many of them reached the canton of Graubünden by way of Chiavenna; others entered Valais by the Simplon Tunnel; and the majority of Italians passed through the little frontier town of Domodossola and through eastern Chiasso to Bellinzona. The canton of Ticino constituted a kind of base from which Italians spread over Switzerland, and a meeting place for their return to Italy. Bellinzona, Lugano, Locarno, and Chiasso were the principal Italian centers in Ticino. Since the first massive influx before World War I, the Italian immigrants had performed a general expansion northward and westward. This pattern became more accentuated after World War II. The Italians spread out over German and French Switzerland, while Germans and

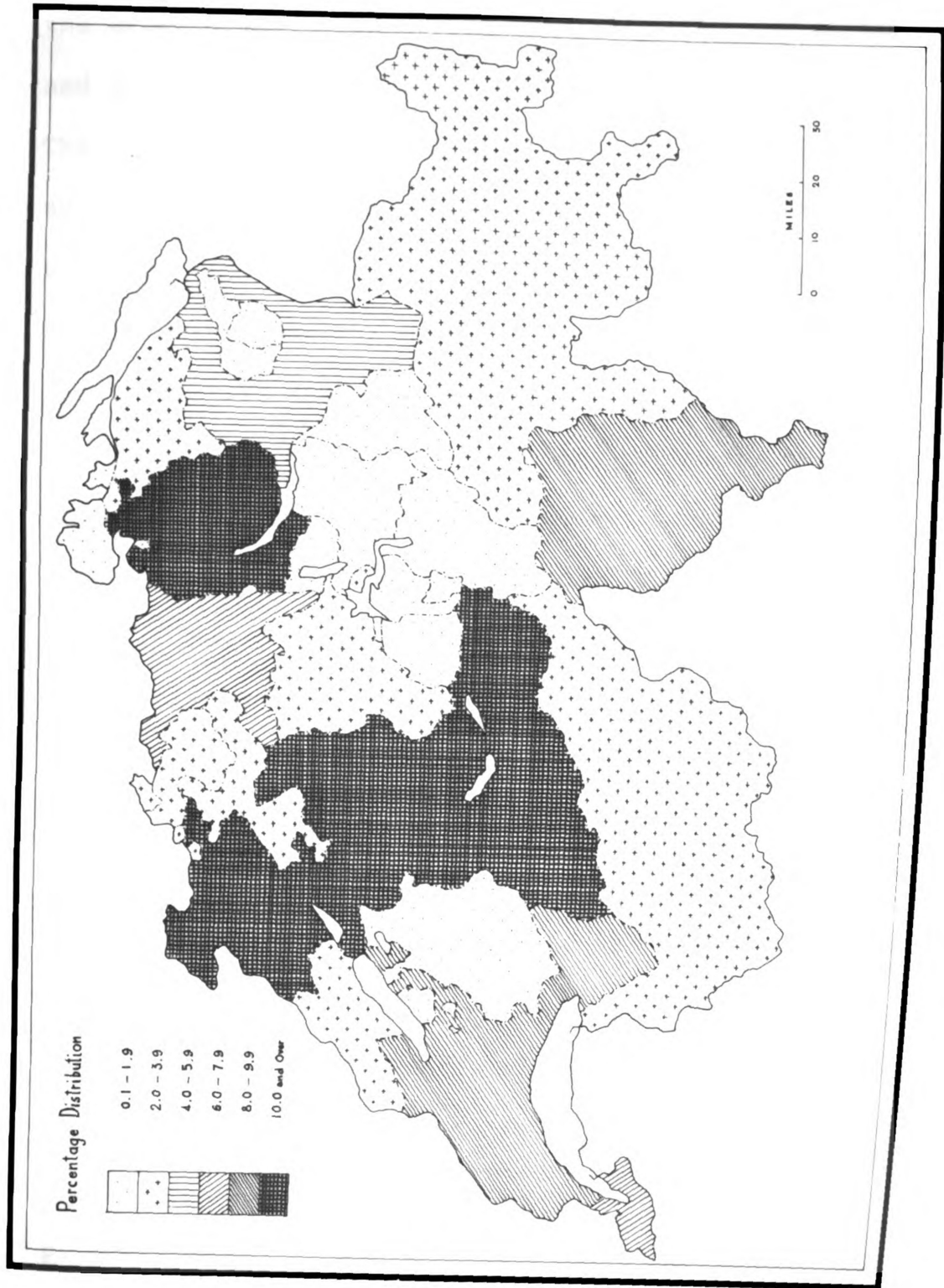
French seemed to remain in their zones. Well over one half of the Austrians and Germans resided in the four cantons of Zürich, Berne, Basel-Stadt, and St. Gallen. The French were even more highly concentrated in the French-speaking areas, especially in the cantons of Genève and Vaud. By contrast, the Italians expanded out of the Italian-speaking canton of Ticino into the German- and French-speaking zones. In 1960, of 346,223 Italians in Swiss resident population 67.4 percent was in the seven cantons of Berne, Zürich, Ticino, Vaud, Genève, Aargau, and St. Gallen (Figure 9).

The post-war Italian mass immigration put a particular stress on Swiss urban areas. The changing pattern of Italian settlement was reflected in changes in the occupational structure of the Italian work force in Switzerland. Statistics collected by the Swiss Federal Office of Labor and Industry showed a sharp decline in agricultural employment from 15 per cent of all Italian workers in February 1951 to less than 2 per cent in August 1964. By contrast, there was a rapid increase in industrial employment, especially metals and machinery which registered 8.2 per cent of all Italian workers in 1951 and

Figure 9

Switzerland: Distribution of Italians
By Canton, 1960

Based on Statistics from: Kurt B. Mayer, "Impacts of Post-war Immigration on Demographic and Social Structure of Switzerland," Demography, III-1 (1966), p. 78.



19.4 per cent in 1964. Italians who had been working in the urban areas began now to shift from the low-status and low-paying occupations to better jobs in industries. The number of Italians engaged in hotel and restaurant service sharply declined between the fifties and the sixties. Those in the construction industry stimulated by the Swiss post-war economic boom increased markedly. There were 171,898 Italians engaged in construction, stone and glass employment in 1964. Many of them were employed in building Val Maggiore hydro-electric station, which included four concrete dams and cost about 13,500 million lire.¹⁹ However, the number of Italians engaged in factory employment remained predominant. In August 1964, there were 17,140 Italian workers in food, beverages, tobacco; 28,922 in textiles; and 35,869 in apparel and clothing employment (Table 10).

During the post-war period the Italian immigrants in search of employment were mainly attracted to the industrial cities in northern and western Switzerland, and to Bellinzona. In December 1963 Basel contained 98,144

¹⁹ Italian Affairs, XV-5 (September-October, 1966), p. 401.

TABLE 10

ITALIAN NATIONALS WITH SWISS WORK PERMITS,
BY MAJOR OCCUPATION GROUP, 1951, 1964

Major Occupation Group	February, 1951		August, 1964	
	Number	Percent	Number	Percent
Mining	80	0.1	1,052	0.2
Agriculture	7,860	14.7	9,217	1.9
Forestry and Fishing	70	0.1	1,427	0.3
Food, Beverages, Tobacco	771	1.4	17,140	3.6
Apparel and clothing	2,888	5.4	35,869	7.6
Textiles	5,563	10.4	28,922	6.1
Leather and Rubber	647	1.2	3,639	0.8
Paper	130	0.2	6,657	1.4
Printing	150	0.3	3,199	0.7
Chemicals	81	0.2	6,525	1.4
Metals and Machinery	4,381	8.2	91,968	19.4
Watches and Jewelry	255	0.5	8,280	1.7
Construction, Stone and Glass	1,310	2.5	171,898	36.2
Lumber and Wood	487	0.9	18,293	3.9
Transportation	49	0.1	3,391	0.7
Hotels and Restaurants	11,662	21.8	36,021	7.6
Private Households	15,083	28.2	8,553	1.8
Commerce	481	0.9	3,504	0.7
Professions	968	1.8	4,773	1.0
Other Occupations	576	1.1	14,012	3.0
Total	53,492	100.0	474,340	100.0

Source: Kurt B. Mayer, "Postwar Migration From Italy to Switzerland," International Migration Digest, II-1 (Spring, 1965), p. 11.

Italian workers; 55,000 were concentrated in St. Gallen; 16,300 in Zürich; and 121,041 in Bellinzona. Geneva received 31,700 and became an important center of Italian concentration in Western Switzerland (Table 11).

Bern, the capital of Switzerland, also became more attractive to the Italian immigrants. The 1960 census enumerated 148,791 Swiss citizens in Bern, and 14,381 foreigners, of which 7,628 were Italian-speaking inhabitants (Table 12).

The number of Italian non-seasonal and seasonal workers in Bern totaled 66,332 in December 1963. Italians lived predominantly in the district of Bümpliz, southwest of the city, and also in the district of Ostermundigen in the northeast; but they mixed with the Bernese population of the same social class, so that there were no parts in Bern to be called "Italian Quarters." This settlement pattern was still evident in 1969 (Figure 10).

The Italian spread into Swiss cities was facilitated by the fact that, during the post-war period, Italian became the dominant language among the aliens, and that the number of Italian-speakers rapidly increased year after year. In the German- or French-speaking regions

TABLE 11

SWITZERLAND: DISTRIBUTION OF ITALIANS
FOR SELECTED CITIES. DECEMBER 1963.

City	Number of Italians
Bellinzona	121,041
Basel	98,144
Lausanne	77,000
Bern	66,332
St. Gallen	55,000
Geneva	31,700
Lugano	28,900
Luzern	26,000
Zürich	16,300
Locarno	16,000
Chur	6,597
Chiasso	4,500
Total	547,514

Source: International Migration Digest, 11-1 (Spring, 1965), p. 103.

TABLE 12

BERN: POPULATION DISTRIBUTION BY LANGUAGE, 1960

Language	Swiss	Foreigners
German	136,284	4,486
French	9,427	328
Italian	2,076	7,628
Other	1,004	1,939
Total	148,791	14,381

Source: Data communicated by the Mayor's Office of Bern, October, 1969.

where the Italian immigrants came to work, many Swiss citizens had some knowledge of Italian, and many more wanted to learn enough to communicate with Italians. In the factory, the Italian workers were assigned to the foremen who could speak their language. In the German-speaking city of Zürich all streetcar signs were translated into Italian for the benefit of Italian passengers. In many communities, Italian children had special language classes at school, and adults could take advantage of evening language courses offered not only by schools but also by many large plants which employed foreign workers.

Figure 10

Bern: Distribution of Italians, 1969

Based on data communicated by the Mayor's Office of Bern,
October, 1969.

Another fact which largely encouraged the Italian expansion into Swiss urban areas was the establishment of the Catholic Italian Missions For Italian Emigrants. In Bern, Zurich, Geneva, Basel, St. Gallen, Lugano, and all other important cities of Switzerland, such Missions had been established for the Italian workers and their families. There were ninety-two Catholic Italian Missions for Italian Emigrants in different cities in 1969, and a central Mission in Zurich.²⁰ These Missions were not only devoted to religious activities, but they were also flanked with well-organized educational, social, and recreative centers where the Italian workers and their families could find schooling, refuge, assistance, and entertainment.²¹ This promoted cooperation among Italians working in the cities, and gave the unemployed new self-confidence in their attempts to enter the cities.

Thus the manpower surplus in Italy and the labor shortage in Switzerland during the post-war period

²⁰ Commissione Episcopale Per Le Migrazione, Bollettino dell'Ufficio Centrale per l'Emigrazione Italiana, V-10-11 (October-November, 1969), pp. 44-48.

²¹ Italiani Nel Mondo, Il Lavoratore Italiano in Svizzera (Rome: Soc. A.B.E.T.E., 1965), p. 11.

constituted the push-and-pull factor which gave rise to the massive wave of Italian workers rushing to Switzerland. This spectacular mass migration, starting from the immediate post-war years, grew steadily in the 1960's and reached its climax in 1963. The rapid expansion of Italians into Swiss urban areas meant that they became a major factor in certain kinds of industrialization, a major minority group in many Swiss cities, and became a factor in the spatial character of Switzerland in many ways.

However, after the 1963 apogee, the Italian emigratory movement to Switzerland declined slightly to enter the stage of stabilization, during which the return movement became particularly important.

CHAPTER III
LABOR DEMAND REVERSAL AND STABILIZATION OF
THE ITALIAN MIGRATION TO SWITZERLAND

As the influx of foreign workers from Italy and from other countries continued to grow, Switzerland faced the problem of an oversupply of aliens. The Swiss government imposed a stringent quota policy and reached agreement with Italy on new immigration regulations. On the other hand, by 1964 Italy had fully recovered its economic prosperity and succeeded in solving the major part of the unemployment problem. This resulted in a labor demand reversal between Switzerland and Italy. The return movement of Italian workers, which had existed since the earlier period, became intensified; and the Italian migration movement to Switzerland stabilized.

Swiss Action

Immediately after World War II, the Swiss government resumed the practice of issuing work permits to

immigrants and required that they should have advance permission before entering the country; but this regulation was not adhered to as the manpower shortage increased, so that thousands of Italians first entered Switzerland ostensibly as tourists, looked for a job, and then received work permits.

During the late 1950's and early 1960's the Swiss economic boom accentuated the alien influx. The cost of living rose by more than 4 percent each year,²² and the total number of foreign workers with work permits increased from 364,778 in 1959 to 720,901 in 1964.²³ Swiss industries became drastically dependent on foreign workers.

Alarmed by the overwhelming growth of immigrants, the Swiss government appointed a committee of experts in 1961 to study the problems presented and to make policy recommendations. The committee advocated a two-pronged policy: on one hand restrictions of further admission

²²Kurt B. Mayer, "PostWar Migration From Italy to Switzerland," International Migration Digest, 11-1 (Spring 1965), p. 8.

²³De l'Office fédéral de l'industrie, des arts et métiers et du travail, Tirage à part de La Vie Économique du mois d'Octobre (fasc. No. 10), 1968, p. 1.

of aliens, and on the other hand assimilation of well-qualified workers already present in the country.

The Swiss government adopted these recommendations as part of the 1963-64 anti-inflationary measures, which imposed a ceiling on the hiring of additional foreign workers. With some exceptions, Swiss employers would be permitted to hire new foreign employees only after the total work force of their plants had been reduced to 95 percent of the total employed in March 1964.²⁴

Swiss policy was fully implemented in the new agreement with Italy. In 1964, Italy worked earnestly to strengthen the structure of bodies providing assistance to emigrants, opened new consulates and improved services in those towns and cities where Italians were employed in large numbers, and held many international discussions in order to better the conditions of the Italian workers abroad. Within the European Economic Community, the most satisfactory results were obtained with Germany and Belgium. The Italian government also continued negotiations with nations outside the E.E.C., and Switzerland in particular. After lengthy and laborious discussions, the

²⁴Mayer, p. 9.

Italo-Swiss delegation reached agreement on new emigration regulations to replace those in force since 1948. Two copies of the agreement, one written in Italian and the other in French, were signed by Storchi and Holzer in Rome, on August 10, 1964. The restrictive aspects of Swiss policy were mainly expressed in Section II, and especially in Article 2:

II. Recruitment in Italy

Article 2

Acceptability of Applications

1. The employers who exert activities in Switzerland and desire to recruit workers in Italy will appeal to the concourse of Italian competent authorities. Applications could be numerical or nominative.
2. Swiss professional associations and public utility organisms qualified for exerting the placement in virtue of Swiss right are also admitted to file applications. On the contrary, applications filed by private agents exerting this activity for lucrative purpose are not acceptable.
3. Italian authorities will take account of the needs of Switzerland at the time of recruitment of workers disposed to emigrate.²⁵

²⁵Text: "II. Recrutement En Italie. Article 2
Recevabilité des demandes 1. Les employeurs qui exercent leur activité en Suisse et désirent recruter des travailleurs en Italie feront appel au concours des autorités italiennes compétentes. Les demandes pourront être numériques ou nominatives. 2. Sont aussi admis à présenter des demandes les associations professionnelles et les

The 1964 Rome Agreement put an end to the Italian post-war mass migration to Switzerland and opened a period of stringent restrictions in Swiss policy. This contrasted with the first decades of the railroad era, when the Italian migration to Switzerland was completely unrestricted and encouraged by both Italian and Swiss governments. Now the Swiss authorities imposed restrictions in the hiring of Italians, and the Italian authorities recruited the needed labor. Freedom of migration to Switzerland was completely abolished by both countries.

The Rome Agreement also emphasized the second part of Swiss policy encouraging the assimilation of a large part of Italian workers who had become more or less permanent members of the country. Article 23 of the agreement provided that the latter was subject to ratification by both the Italian and Swiss parliaments, but would be put into force provisionally on November 1, 1964, pending ratification. However, the publication of the agreement

organismes d'utilité publique suisses habilités à exercer le placement en vertu du droit suisse. En revanche, les demandes présentées par des agents privés exerçant cette activité à fin lucrative ne sont pas recevables. 3. Les autorités italiennes tiendront compte des besoins de la Suisse lors du recrutement de travailleurs disposés à émigrer."

aroused an uproar in Swiss public opinion and a storm of protest through mass meetings, newspaper editorials, and manifestoes by labor unions and political parties. The agreement also caused parliamentary resistance. The upper house duly ratified the agreement in the December session; but the lower house balked and postponed consideration until the March 1965 session, requesting the government to propose in the meantime further measures against the foreign influx. Pressure from Swiss public opinion and parliament resulted in much tighter immigration restrictions, designed not merely to prevent further admission of foreign workers but also to reduce the number of those who were already present in the country.

The stage of stabilization of the Italian migration to Switzerland developed under the Swiss restrictive policy. This was reinforced by economic progress and new employment opportunities in Italy as well as by the intensified return movement of Italian workers.

New Employment Opportunities in Italy

The second world war had weakened Italy, and this country was slower to recover its economic prosperity.

However, there was a steady improvement. In the early 1960's, Italy's industrial output was about 77 per cent higher than in 1953, and foreign investments grew at an annual rate of 240 million dollars.²⁶ In 1965, Italian national income totaled 45,476 million dollars, by far exceeding that of Switzerland. In 1966 the Italian income doubled that registered in 1958, and was still three times higher than Swiss income, although the latter had considerably increased (Table 13).

TABLE 13

ESTIMATE OF TOTAL AND PER CAPITA NATIONAL
INCOME EXPRESSED IN U.S.A. DOLLARS,
1958, 63, 65, 66

Country	National Income				Per Capita National Income			
	1958	1963	1965	1966	1958	1963	1965	1966
	--Millions of Dollars--				-----Dollars-----			
Italy	23443	38658	45576	49066	478	763	884	944
Switzerland	6214	9678	11467	12335	1195	1677	1929	2056

Source: United Nations, Yearbook of National Account Statistics 1967 (New York: United Nations, 1968), pp. 826-27.

²⁶Anthony T. Bouscaren, International Migrations Since 1945 (New York: Praeger, 1964), p. 78.

Certainly, the living conditions remained lower in Italy than in Switzerland. There was still a great deal that needed to be done in Italy to correct basic structural economic defects and to narrow the gap between the industrialized North and the underdeveloped South. The per capita gross domestic product estimated in 1966 for Italy was only 1040 dollars, in comparison with 2307 dollars estimated for Switzerland.²⁷ However, the average Italian lived better in the sixties than any previous time.

Moreover, unemployment in Italy was down about 1.5 million since 1952. It was evident that the chronic unemployment problem in southern Italy remained a perplex one, and sizeable groups of southern Italians migrated to Switzerland during the early 1960's; however, industries flourished rapidly in the North, and new industries were opened in the South, so that Italy's general efforts to reduce unemployment reaped encouraging results. The number of unemployed in Italy totaled 1,849,700 in 1952,

²⁷United Nations, Yearbook of National Accounts Statistics 1967 (New York: United Nations, 1968), pp. 850-55.

increased to 1,958,700 in 1954, but dropped drastically to 504,000 in 1963 (Table 14).

Swiss immigration restrictions and Italian economic progress resulted in slowing down the movement of Italian migration to Switzerland. There were 122,018 Italians entering Switzerland in 1964, 103,159 in 1965, and 95,000 in 1966.²⁸

The number of Italian workers in almost all occupation groups in Switzerland also declined after 1964. In construction work where Italians had long occupied the leading place, there were 147,010 in 1965 and 125,023 in 1969. The number of Italian workers engaged in metals and machinery, in food, beverages and tobacco, in apparel and clothing, and in textiles also lessened during this period. The total number of Italian workers was 448,547 in 1965, but decreased from year to year about 10,415 or 2.5 per cent. In 1969, there were 398,929 Italian workers with Swiss work permits (Table 15).²⁹

²⁸I.C.E. M., International Migration, V-3/4 (1967), p. 214.

²⁹Commission de Recherches Économiques, La Vie Économique, fasc. no. 11 (Bern: Le Département Fédéral de l'Économie Publique, Nov. 1969), p. 550.

TABLE 14
NUMBER OF UNEMPLOYED IN ITALY AND
SWITZERLAND, 1952-1965 (in Thousands)

Year	Italy	Switzerland
1952	1,849.7	5.3
1953	1,946.5	5.0
1954	1,958.7	4.3
1955	1,913.4	2.7
1956	1,937.5	3.0
1957	1,643.0	2.0
1958	1,322.0	3.4
1959	1,117.0	2.4
1960	836.0	1.2
1961	710.0	0.6
1962	611.0	0.6
1963	504.0	0.8
1964	549.0	0.3
1965	721.0	0.3

Source: United Nations, Statistical Yearbook (New York: United Nations, 1961), p. 57; (1966), p. 108.

TABLE 15

SWITZERLAND: ITALIAN WORKERS SUBJECT TO EMPLOYMENT
RESTRICTIONS BY OCCUPATION GROUP, 1965-1969
(IN AUGUST OF EACH YEAR)

Occupation Group	1965	1966	1967	1968	1969
Mining	1,224	1,142	794	795	784
Agriculture, horticulture	9,053	8,593	8,431	7,905	7,232
Forestry and Fishing	1,055	1,245	1,512	1,103	931
Food, Beverages, and Tobacco	16,593	16,030	16,073	15,381	14,817
Textiles	26,208	24,568	23,763	22,723	22,315
Apparel and Clothing	33,169	33,250	31,884	31,252	31,048
Leather and Rubber	3,451	3,147	3,296	3,168	2,846
Paper	6,332	6,055	6,046	6,023	5,890
Printing	3,090	3,015	2,852	2,716	2,869
Chemicals	6,383	6,117	6,131	5,845	6,186
Metals and Machinery	89,772	84,107	82,682	80,218	79,200
Watches and Jewelry	8,444	8,709	8,884	8,881	9,877
Earth, Stone, and Glass	11,597	10,633	10,549	9,908	9,883
Lumber and Wood	17,440	16,210	15,770	14,814	13,978
Building	147,010	141,414	137,095	129,744	125,023
Transport and Communication	3,189	3,671	3,835	3,845	3,961
Hotels and Restaurants	35,599	35,313	34,926	32,909	29,401
Private Households	7,786	8,417	9,071	9,404	9,156
Commerce	3,705	4,124	4,388	4,881	5,163
Professions	1,627	1,769	1,645	1,583	1,642
Health and Personal Services	2,406	2,477	2,529	3,119	3,347
Science and Arts	817	872	857	1,320	981
Other occupations	12,597	11,898	12,223	11,807	12,399
Total	448,547	432,776	425,236	409,344	398,929

Source: Data Supplied by Embassy of Italy in Bern, Switzerland; and Commission de Recherches Économiques, La Vie Économique, fasc. n^o. 11 (Bern: Le Département Fédéral de l'Économie Publique, Nov. 1969), p. 554.

Thus, during the recent years Swiss immigration restrictions was a major barrier to the influx of Italians. The movement to Switzerland declined gradually. The better living conditions in Italy attracted many of the Italian workers in Switzerland back to their homeland.

Return Movement

The return movement of Italians from Switzerland had long existed. From the earlier days of railroad construction and rural settlement to the recent industrial boom in Switzerland, this movement had been continual, although data was first collected in 1921.³⁰

From 1921 to 1925 North Italy received the greater number of workers returning from Switzerland. The small number of emigrants leaving the South returned only under exceptionally serious circumstances. The highest number of returns was 5,039 recorded in Lombardia in 1924 under the Fascist regime. Veneto registered 2,032 in the same

³⁰G. Parenti, "Italy," Economics of International Migration (New York: St. Martins Press, 1958), p. 85.

year, and Piemonte 1,078 the next year. Other provinces played minor roles.

At the end of World War II, the return movement of Italian workers from Switzerland grew considerably. There were 35,216 returns in 1947, and 81,672 in 1948. As the migration movement to Switzerland dropped sharply in 1949, the number of Italians returning from this country exceeded that of emigrants by 51,104.³¹

When the return movement slowed down in the early 1950's, central and southern provinces of Italy, particularly Lazio, Campania, and Puglia, began to receive increasing numbers of Italians returning home from Switzerland. This trend strengthened during the early 1960's. Campania alone received 18,826 returnees in 1963, and Puglia registered almost the same number.

As Switzerland imposed new immigration restrictions, and Italy fully recovered its prosperity, the flow-back current of Italian workers began to swell spectacularly. The number of 106,317 returns registered in

³¹Istituto Centrale di Statistica, Annuario Statistico Dell'Emigrazione (Rome: Istituto Centrale di Statistica, 1955), p. 4.

1964 by far exceeded the highwater mark of emigration reached at the eve of World War I, and constituted 74 percent of the maximum number of emigrants recorded in 1963.³²

In fact, emigration and return movements were closely parallel and similarly affected by the labor factor. With the only exception observed in 1949, the return movement followed the same general trend of growth and decline as emigration. When the number of Italian migrants to Switzerland increased, the number of those who returned to Italy also increased; and when Southern Italy sent larger groups of emigrants, it also received larger groups of returnees. Therefore, the distribution of returnees presented comparable patterns with that of emigrants (Figure 11).

From 1965 to 1969 there was a shrinking movement of the Italian workers in all Swiss cantons. Zürich contained 85,120 Italian workers in 1964, and 71,994 in 1969. The number of Italians in Bern also decreased from 48,259 to 42,028. This movement tended to give a higher

³²Appendix A, Tables I, II, III.

Figure 11

Italy: Distribution of Labor Migrants
Returning from Switzerland, 1964,
By Province

Based on Statistics from: Istituto Centrale di Statistica,
Annuario di Statistiche del Lavoro e Dell'Emigrazione
(Rome: Istituto Centrale di Statistica, 1960), pp. 160-62.

concentration in Ticino relative to the other cantons. As mentioned previously, the proportion of Italians in Ticino was 9.3 per cent of the total in 1960. There were 47,887 Italian workers in Ticino in 1965 (Table 16). This corresponded to 10.6 per cent of the total number. The proportion of Italian workers in this canton increased to 11.5 per cent in 1969. Thus, on one hand there was an intensified return movement of the Italian workers to their homeland, closely entwined with the general decline of their total number in Switzerland; and on the other hand there was a locational pattern change from North to South and West to East Switzerland. During the previous period of mass migration and urban expansion, Italians had started from Ticino as a base and spread into the German- and French-speaking areas. Now the location of Italian labor was reversed and became relatively more concentrated in the Italian-speaking areas, so that Ticino which had long been the meeting place of Italian migrants before they returned to Italy now played its role once again.

Thus, the over-supply of foreign workers in Switzerland and the full economic recovery in Italy established

TABLE 16

SWITZERLAND: ITALIAN WORKERS SUBJECT TO
EMPLOYMENT RESTRICTIONS BY CANTON,
1965-69 (in August of each year).

Canton	1965	1966	1967	1968	1969
Zürich	85,120	79,874	77,975	78,307	71,994
Berne	48,259	46,819	46,151	44,107	42,028
Luzern	12,857	13,113	12,851	11,943	11,018
Uri	1,796	1,921	1,694	1,689	1,789
Schwyz	5,178	5,038	4,922	4,606	4,556
Obwalden	1,166	1,129	993	852	743
Nidwalden	1,735	1,631	1,517	1,408	1,188
Glarus	4,371	4,303	4,012	3,586	3,624
Zug	4,460	4,243	4,011	4,007	3,898
Fribourg	4,154	4,561	4,387	3,947	4,119
Solothurn	16,300	16,336	15,038	14,396	14,918
Basel-Stadt	12,855	12,619	12,106	12,065	12,345
Basel-Land	16,069	15,632	15,508	14,820	14,886
Schaffhausen	5,721	5,432	4,883	4,391	4,310
Appenzel A-Rh.	2,850	2,728	2,606	2,245	2,168
Appenzel I-Rh.	586	586	558	509	477
St. Gallen	21,664	21,299	21,007	20,754	20,039
Graubünden	21,178	19,809	19,775	18,837	17,946
Aargau	38,719	37,858	36,061	34,360	32,788
Thurgau	14,530	14,123	13,581	12,683	12,588
Ticino	47,881	46,040	48,622	44,317	46,083
Vaud	29,765	29,324	28,871	29,570	28,243
Valais	16,494	14,996	15,042	14,917	15,394
Neuchâtel	11,906	11,770	11,506	10,799	11,029
Genève	22,933	21,592	21,555	20,229	20,758
Total	448,547	432,776	425,236	409,344	398,929

Source: Commission de Recherches Économiques, La Vie Économique, fasc. No. 11 (Bern: Le Département Fédéral de l'Économie Publique, Nov. 1969), p. 552; and Data Supplied by Embassy of Italy in Bern, Switzerland.

a labor demand reversal between the two countries. Switzerland imposed new immigration restrictions. Italy offered new employment opportunities. Italians at home had less freedom to emigrate, and those working in Switzerland had more chance to return.

This created a state of stabilization in the pattern of Italian movements to, in, and from Switzerland. No more mass migration; no rapid expansion into Swiss cities; but a slow contraction in the direction of Ticino, the central place of the return movement and an area of continuing concentration of Italians.

The Italian worker who returned from Swiss cities to Italian cities built his future on a good job at home and earnestly contributed to the industrialization and urbanization of his country, stepped the last stage of the Italian migration to Switzerland.

CONCLUSION

Through different stages of the Italian migration to Switzerland, man was the center of the problem. Manpower surplus and manpower shortage constituted the push-and-pull factor generating movement and settlement of people. Movement and settlement varied in space and changed through time.

From the middle of the nineteenth century to the second world war, the majority of Italian immigrants worked on Swiss railroads or settled as farmers in the mountain valleys of southern cantons. The movement of Italian migration to Switzerland was completely unrestricted before World War I; but after the war the Swiss authorities began to issue work permits to immigrants. During this long period of more than eighty years, the highest point of the Italian migratory movement was reached in 1913.

From the end of World War II to 1964, the Swiss industrial boom created a mass influx of Italians; and

although the Swiss government still required the foreign workers to have work permits before they entered Switzerland, this regulation was not adhered to. The peak reached in 1963 became the culminating point of the whole Italian mass migration movement to Switzerland. The wave of Italian workers rapidly spread into Swiss urban areas; several districts in Swiss cities became predominantly Italian.

From 1964 to the present, the Italian migration to Switzerland stabilized. The manpower shortage in Switzerland had been minimized by the overwhelming influx of foreign workers, and the manpower surplus in Italy had been lowered down by the economic progress. Migration to Switzerland now began to filter through the Italian government's recruitment and Swiss government's stringent policy. In 1964 the Rome Agreement coincided with an intensified return movement of Italian workers. The shrinking number of Italian workers in Swiss cities was due in large part to the flow of Italian returnees as a result of the industrialization and urbanization of their home country.

Indeed, the stages of rural settlement, urban expansion, and stabilization of the Italian migration

to Switzerland were not single and isolated facts, but constituted harmonious notes in the world economic and migratory rhythm. At the time when Italians migrated to Switzerland and built Swiss first railroads, many thousands of Swiss citizens and Europeans were also rushing to the New World, and many thousands of Americans were also migrating westward; it was also the time when "across the nation bells rang and cannon boomed with the wedding of rails at Promontory, Utah."³³ The post-World War II industrial boom in Switzerland and the Italian migration to this country was only a point in the grandiose picture of the world postwar industrial prosperity and international migration. The Rome agreement between Switzerland and Italy was also born in a period of international political difficulties.

There is no omen of a resumed massive Italian migration to Switzerland in the near future. Switzerland is facing a growing competition in the European market, and Swiss industries indicate no immediate serious manpower

³³ Steward H. Holbrook, "The Growing Giant," America's Historylands (Washington, D. C.: National Geographic Society, 1967), p. 525.

shortages. Italy is also working more successfully than ever to solve the problems of unemployment and emigration. Yet nearly 400,000 Italians still live and work in Switzerland. These people and their families are important in the present spatial character of Switzerland. The impact of Italians past and present is something we need to continue to study in any analysis of this country.

APPENDICES

APPENDIX A, TABLE I

ITALY: DISTRIBUTION OF LABOR MIGRANTS RETURNING
FROM SWITZERLAND, 1921-25, BY PROVINCE

Province	1921	1922	1923	1924	1925
Piemonte	782	480	830	1,023	1,078
Liguria	55	37	46	34	39
Lombardia	2,970	2,480	3,267	5,039	4,598
Veneto	475	431	688	2,032	1,753
Venezia Tridentina	49	61	94	111	308
Venezia G. & Z.	8	13	4	7	4
Emilia	169	100	116	202	178
Toscana	116	77	246	144	147
Marche	15	8	17	21	9
Umbria	11	8	6	5	7
Lazio	19	9	25	20	36
Abruzzie e Molise	10	4	7	3	22
Campania	18	17	18	20	25
Puglie	6	6	--	--	11
Basilicata	2	--	2	1	--
Calabrie	4	1	2	1	--
Sicilia	15	2	3	6	21
Sardegna	3	4	3	2	1
Italy	4,727	3,738	5,374	8,671	8,237

Source: Istituto Centrale di Statistica, Annuario Statistico Della Emigrazione Italiana del 1876 al 1925 (Rome: Istituto Centrale di Statistica, 1926), pp. 1368-72.

APPENDIX A, TABLE II

ITALY: DISTRIBUTION OF LABOR MIGRANTS
RETURNING FROM SWITZERLAND, 1950-53,
BY PROVINCE

Province	1950	1951	1952	1953
Piemonte	613	549	644	1,123
Valle d'Aosta	70	25	45	36
Lombardia	502	1,421	1,585	2,883
Trentino-A.A.	40	64	85	270
Veneto	149	397	429	1,018
Friuli-Venezia G.	24	127	236	609
Trieste	--	5	8	17
Liguria	14	53	37	113
Emilia-Romagna	129	212	272	507
Toscana	68	60	62	186
Umbria	7	11	21	35
Marche	19	25	23	45
Lazio	28	51	76	133
Abruzzi e Molise	3	19	19	79
Campania	18	41	48	114
Puglia	7	32	24	65
Basilicata	1	1	--	6
Calabria	8	4	13	28
Sicilia	23	32	22	46
Sardegna	1	3	1	22
Non-indicated	232	1,170	393	2,360
Italy	1,956	4,302	4,043	9,695

Source: Istituto Centrale di Statistica, Annuario Statistico Dell'Emigrazione (Rome: Istituto Centrale di Statistica, 1955), pp. 83-84, 203-04, 323-24, 443-44.

APPENDIX A, TABLE III

ITALY: DISTRIBUTION OF LABOR MIGRANTS
RETURNING FROM SWITZERLAND, 1960-64,
BY PROVINCE

Province	1960	1961	1962	1963	1964
Piemonte	852	1,100	919	905	729
Valle d'Aosta	1,154	1,133	951	783	683
Liguria	207	378	411	240	276
Lombardia	10,389	12,997	12,385	11,618	9,944
Trentino-A.A.	1,077	1,417	1,616	1,736	1,439
Veneto	9,282	12,692	13,621	12,107	10,877
Friuli-Venezia G.	3,731	6,304	5,534	5,711	4,810
Emilia-Romagna	1,848	2,708	2,826	2,734	2,177
Marche	2,305	3,006	3,385	3,871	3,344
Toscana	1,387	1,894	2,106	1,602	1,602
Umbria	154	455	507	633	612
Lazio	597	957	1,272	1,523	1,565
Campania	8,240	13,060	15,933	18,826	20,721
Abruzzi e Molise	4,453	6,905	7,493	8,954	9,370
Puglia	7,589	13,940	14,264	18,517	20,246
Basilicata	2,989	4,232	4,649	5,115	6,101
Calabria	3,387	5,109	5,898	7,070	7,130
Sicilia	789	1,566	2,477	3,161	3,870
Sardegna	191	273	453	916	821
Italy	60,621	90,207	96,700	106,022	106,317

Source: Istituto Centrale di Statistica, Annuario di Statistiche del Lavoro e Dell'Emigrazione (Rome: Istituto Centrale di Statistica, 1960), pp. 134-36 (1961); pp. 134-36 (1962); pp. 136-38 (1963); pp. 140-42 (1964); pp. 160-62.

APPENDIX B, TABLE IV

SWITZERLAND: FOREIGN WORKERS SUBJECT TO
EMPLOYMENT RESTRICTIONS BY COUNTRY OF
ORIGIN, 1965-1969 (IN AUGUST OF
EACH YEAR)

Country	1965	1966	1967	1968	1969
Italy	448,547	432,776	425,236	409,344	398,929
Spain	79,419	77,247	75,945	80,861	95,696
Germany	67,668	58,378	59,089	60,404	57,199
France	23,775	25,624	29,521	33,980	36,842
Austria	24,184	21,245	20,155	20,246	19,865
Others	32,735	33,278	38,136	43,220	50,698
Total	676,328	648,548	648,082	648,055	659,229

Source: Commission de Recherches Économiques, La Vie Économique, fasc. no. 11 (Bern: Le Département Fédéral de l'Économie Publique, Nov. 1969), p. 550.

APPENDIX B, TABLE V

SWITZERLAND: DISTRIBUTION OF ITALIANS, 1969

Region	Number
Zürich-Luzern	169,033
Basel-Baden	119,618
Berne-Neuchâtel	88,902
Lausanne-Brig	81,537
Lugano	77,596
St. Gallen	58,551
Genève	41,403
Chur	24,262
Total	660,902

Source: Data communicated by Missione Diocesana Emigrati Italiani, Lugano, Switzerland, November 1969.

APPENDIX B, TABLE VI

SWITZERLAND: ITALIAN CATHOLIC MISSIONS FOR
ITALIAN EMIGRANTS (IN OCTOBER, 1969)

Mission	Address
1. National Direction, Zürich	Balderngasse 7
2. Aarau AG	Feerstr. 2
3. Affoltern Am Albis	Breitenweg 383
4. Allschwil BL	Baslerstr. 71
5. Altdorf UR	Rathausplatz
6. Appenzell AI	Kapuzinerkloster
7. Arbon TG	Landquartstr. 34
8. Neuariesheim BL	Bahnhofstr. 14
9. Baden AG	Sonnenbergstr. 24
10. Baden AG, BBC Brisgi	Capell. alla Brown Boveri
11. Basel	Rümelinbachweg 14
12. Basel	Rheinfeldstr. 26
13. Bern	Bovetstr. 1
14. Bienne (Biel) BE	Rue Aebi 92
15. Brugg-Windisch AG	Gladiatorenweg 10
16. Burgdorf BE	Pestalozzistr. 48
17. Bulach ZH	Obergasse 15

Table VI (Cont.)

Mission	Address
18. Carouge GE	Rue J. Dalphin 34
19. Chur GR	Hof 4
20. Davos-Platz	Kath. Pfarramt
21. Delemont BE	Rue des Moulins 5
22. Dietikon ZH	Bahnhofplatz 5
23. Dubendorf ZH	Neuhausstr. 34
24. Dulliken SO	Altlandstr. 28
25. Einsiedeln SZ	Kloster
26. Emmenbrücke LU	Seetalstr. 18
27. Engelberg OW	Kloster
28. Frauenfeld TG	Staubeggstr. 13
29. Freiburg	Avenue du midi, 39
30. Geneve	Rue de la Mairie, 17
31. Glarus-Riedern	Neuheim, 6
32. Heerbrugg SG	Karl Völkerstr. 1419
33. Herisau AR	Eggstr. 17
34. Horgen ZH	Burghaldenstr.
35. Klingnau AG	Flüe 765
36. Kloten ZH	Schulstr. 16

Table VI (Cont.)

Mission	Address
37. Konolfingen BE	Grünegg
38. Kreuzlingen TG	Bruelweg, 2
39. Kussnacht/Rigi	Grepperstr. 66
40. La-Chaux-De-Fonds NE	Rue du Parc, 43
41. Langenthal BE	Hasenmattstr. 36
42. Laufen BE	Rampenweg 7
43. Lausanne VD	Rue Valentin, 9
44. Lausanne VD	Case Ville, 1096
45. Le Locle NE	Rue de la Chapelle, 5
46. Lenzburg AG	Niklausstr. 6
47. Liestal BL	Mumzachstr. 2
48. Locarno TI	Via Nessi 22
49. Lugano TI	Piazza Indipendenza 5
50. Lugano TI	Tipografia "La Buona Stampa"
51. Luzern	Rütligasse 1
52. Martigny VS	Rue de la Moya, 14
53. Matzingen TG	St. Gallerstr. 43
54. Mellingen AG	Kleinkirchgasse 26
55. Mels SG	Kapuzinerkloster

Table VI (Cont.)

Mission	Address
56. Montreux VD	Avv. des Planches 27 (Luigi Serafini)
57. Muttenez BL	Baselstr. 48
58. Naters VS	Missione Catt. Italiana
59. Neuchatel	Rue du Tertre 48
60. Olten SO	Hausmattrain 4
61. Rapperswil SG	Herrenberg, 42
62. Reinach AG	Gigerstr. 6
63. Romanshorn TG	Kirchgasse 7
64. Rorschach SG	Rosenstr. 7
65. Ruti ZH	Konsumstr. 6
66. St. Gallen	Heimatstr. 13
67. St. Imier BE	Rue Temple 7
68. Sarnen OW	Kapuzinerkloster
69. Schann FL	Spekigasse
70. Schaffhausen	Neustadt 29
71. Schönenwerd SO	Ballystr. 14
72. Siebnen SZ	Convitto Wirth
73. Sirnach TG	Winterthurerstr. 33
74. Sissach BL	Himmelrainweg 5

Table VI (Cont.)

Mission	Address
75. Stäfa ZH	Kreuzstr. 19
76. Solothurn	Rossmarktplatz 5
77. Stans NW	Saumweg 21
78. Stein AG	Schaffhauserstr. 110
79. Sursee LU	Bahnhofstr. 216
80. Thun BE	Steffisburgstr. 4
81. Tramelan BE	Grand Rue 131
82. Uster ZH	Neuwiesenstr. 19
83. Vevey VD	Rue de la Madeleine, 20
84. Watwil SG	Wilerstr. 58
85. Wil SG	Scheibenbergerstr. 14
86. Winterthur	Wartstr. 11
87. Wohlen AG	Fischerhüsliweg 3
88. Yverdon VD	Rue de la Maison rouge 7
89. Zofingen AG	Mühlethalstr. 21a
90. Zug	Oswaldsgasse 10
91. Zurich	Feldstr. 109

Table VI (Cont.)

Mission	Address
92. Zurich-Orlikon	Schwamendingerstr. 55
93. Zurich	Militärstr. 109 c/o ACLI

Source: Commissione Episcopale Per Le Migrazioni, Bollettino dell'Ufficio Centrale per l'Emigrazione Italiana, V-10/11 (October-November, 1969), pp. 44-48.

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