

Internal and International Migration in Friuli Venezia Giulia after the Second World War

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Abstract. Demographic behaviour tends to change only gradually, unless it is influenced by external shocks. The Second World War was certainly one such shock. The war led to a drop in the number of births and marriages. Naturally, on the contrary, the mortality rate increased. Once the war was over, the resumption of the usual demographic dynamics was preceded by a series of adjustments: after the decrease there was a recovery in births and marriages. As far as Friuli and Venezia Giulia were concerned, the return to normal conditions also marked a resumption of both internal and international migration. The aim of this work is to propose an estimate of the migratory flows originating in Friuli Venezia Giulia after the Second World War and to place them within the demographic context of the period.

Key words. Friuli Venezia Giulia, 20th century, internal migrations, international migrations.

1. Introduction. Demographic behaviour tends to change only gradually, unless it is influenced by external shocks. The Second World War was certainly one such shock and its effects were felt for several years

after its end. The war led to a drop in the number of births as a result of the distance from their families of many of the men involved in the fighting, both in the 'regular' battles and in the long period of the Resistance¹. For the

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¹ I have dealt with a number of demographic aspects of the Friuli Venezia Giulia population during this same period, in Alessio Fornasin, *La popolazione del Friuli dal 1943 al 1964*, in Alberto Buvoli (Ed.), *Il Friuli. Storia e società*, vol. V, 1943-1964. *Dalla guerra di Liberazione alla ricostruzione. Un nuovo Friuli*, Udine, Istituto friulano per la Storia del Movimento di liberazione, 2012, pp. 389-407, and emigration in particular, in Alessio Fornasin, *Migrazioni e modernizzazione: la popolazione del Friuli Venezia Giulia nel secondo dopoguerra*, in Monica Emmanuelli, Andrea Zannini (Eds.), *La Ricostruzione della Società*

same reasons, there was also a drop in marriages. Naturally, the mortality rate also increased, especially among the men in arms, but also for the rest of the population due to the exceptional circumstances of the conflict and the consequent overall deterioration in living conditions. Once the war was over, the resumption of the usual demographic dynamics was preceded by a series of adjustments: after the decrease there was a recovery in births and marriages. As far as Friuli and Venezia Giulia were concerned, the return to normal conditions also marked a resumption of both internal and international migration. The former, as we know, had experienced a strong growth during the period of fascism, while the latter, also because of the crisis of 1929, had been considerably reduced. The aim of this work is to propose an estimate of the migratory flows originating in Friuli Venezia Giulia after the Second World War and to place them within the demographic context of the period. To this end, it seems useful to explore the demography of Friuli Venezia Giulia from a comparative point of view, comparing it not only between its main administrative divisions, but also with the country as a whole.

2. A summary of the demography of Friuli Venezia Giulia after the Second World War. The history of the Friuli and Venezia Giulia population, from the Unification to the present

day, has been covered in a large number of contributions. Among the most important are the works of Paolo Fortunati (1932) and Giovanni Ferrari (1963), which trace the main demographic events of this territory from a centuries-old perspective. Then there is the volume by Gaetano Panizzon (1967) in which the focus is particularly on the first hundred years after Unification, while Piero Mattioni's monograph (1963) focuses more on the 20th century. Over time, the documentary value of all these works was gradually enriched as statistics from more recent years became available or as new data emerged or were published. As well as dealing with the demographic events of Friuli as a whole, these works also investigate the different territorial contexts into which it is divided, in this case, according to the classic tripartition of plains-hills-mountains.

It has to be said that these studies also offer an in-depth view of Friulian demography for the period in question. On the basis of the available data not much can be added to what has already been said and repeated by the various authors. Unlike what has already been done, however, we would like to go into more territorial detail here.

Before moving on to the actual analysis, it is important to precisely define the geographical scope of the research. The reference is to the Friuli

friulana 1945-1955, Udine, Istituto Friulano per la Storia del Movimento di Liberazione, 2019, pp. 203-219. For the present contribution I have drawn extensive excerpts from this second work in particular.

Venezia Giulia Region defined by the borders of the time. At the end of the war, Italy had been deprived of most of the eastern territories assigned to it after the First World War. On the border, the provinces of Gorizia and Trieste were affected, while the province of Udine was spared. The province of Gorizia was reduced to a small number of municipalities and a rather small area. After the war, moreover, the Free Territory of Trieste had been established, which only returned, in the form of the part that today constitutes the province, under Italian sovereignty in 1954. For almost the entire period of reference, therefore, the Friuli Venezia Giulia Region comprised the provinces of Udine and Gorizia. The former, which at that time also included the right bank of the Tagliamento River, covered more than 90% of the territory and comprised 86% of the population.

The most important source for the study of the Italian population in the period immediately following the Second World War was the 1951 population census. Censuses provide information on the present population and the resident population. The latter is the one always referred to in this work, as the present population can be very mobile within the territory, and its consistency can change considerably depending on the time of observation. In the specific case of Friuli Venezia Giulia, the distinction is particularly significant, since, as is well known, there was a deep-rooted temporary emigration towards foreign countries,

which kept a not insignificant part of the population, especially men of working age, away from home for periods of several months or even years.

Although the information contained in the census is crucial for this study, it suffers from the fact that it cannot be linked, except in a very uncertain way, with previous information. Not only was the closest census, that of 1936, 15 years old, but, above all, the conflict-induced action on the population's behaviour had been significant. The census, therefore, offers us a snapshot that tells us little about the historical dynamics at the turn of the war, although it does allow us to observe some of its consequences. On 4 November 1951, the population of the two provinces numbered 929,118 inhabitants, 795,568 of whom were resident in Udine and 133,550 in Gorizia. Although the regional population represented only a small fraction of the Italian population (less than 2%), its structure did not differ markedly (Fig. 1). The two population pyramids at the top are almost identical and both are marked by the deep depression corresponding to the generations born during the First World War. This almost perfect coincidence is broken with the generations born after the First World War, with a more uneven path for the region (possibly the combined impact of political circumstances and migration flows), and subsequently, especially for the younger generations, with those born immediately after the

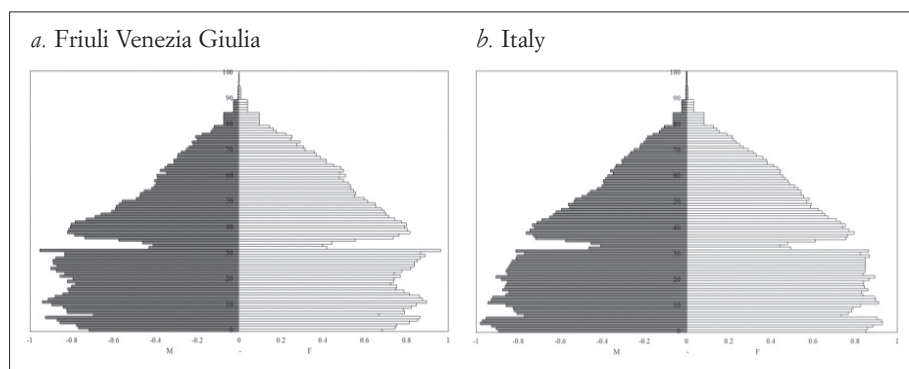


Figure 1. Population pyramid. Friuli Venezia Giulia and Italy (1951). Source: Istat (1958) *IX Censimento generale della popolazione. 4 novembre 1951*. Vol. 7 *Dati generali riassuntivi* (IX General Population Census. 4 November 1951, vol. VII, General summary data)

Table 1. Demographic indicators

	<i>Average age</i>	<i>AI</i>	<i>CWR</i>
Udine	33.1	36.5	31.3
Gorizia	33.8	36.9	24.9
Friuli Venezia Giulia	33.2	36.6	30.3
Italy	32.0	31.4	34.7

Source: Istat (1958) *IX Censimento generale della popolazione. 4 novembre 1951*. Vol. VII, *Dati generali riassuntivi*.

Second World War. In the case of Friuli Venezia Giulia there is a sharp drop in the number of children, an aspect that does not emerge with the same evidence in the pyramid for the country as a whole.

A number of summary indices make it possible to better understand the characteristics of the population,

starting with the mean age, which for Friuli Venezia Giulia was 33.2 years compared to 32.0 for Italy. Even more interesting is the comparison between the aging index (AI) and the Child-woman ratio (CWR): the respective values for the former were 36.6 and 31.4, and for the latter 30.3 and 34.7². Together, these values

² The aging index (AI) is the ratio of the population aged 65 and over to the population aged 0-14 multiplied by 100; the Child-woman ratio (CWR) is the ratio of the number of children aged 0-4 to women aged 15-49 multiplied by 100.

describe well the characteristics of the regional population, which was somewhat older overall than that of the country; this was due, especially, to the relatively small number of very young individuals. Table 1 summarises the picture of these demographic indicators for the different territorial contexts. The characteristics of the two provinces are highlighted, where it can be seen that Gorizia differed from the overall region above all in terms of number of children per woman, i.e. had particularly low fertility levels.

As far as survival is concerned, there is no information at a provincial level. The life tables for 1950-1953 were not produced in regional detail, but only for much larger statistical units (Istat 1959)³. However, there are data on infant mortality. This, with reference to 1951, was 47.2 per thousand for Friuli Venezia Giulia (47.6 Udine and 44.3 Gorizia) and 66.6 per thousand for Italy. Similar differences are also observed with regard to the probability of death measured for later ages⁴.

To supplement the structural and survival data, I have reconstructed the birth, death and marriage rates for the region in the ten years following the world conflict (Fig. 2).

The part relating to the war years has been excluded from the graph in order to better focus on the development of the demographic variables in the period of interest. As already mentioned, in the very first post-war years, rates reacted to the effects of the five-year war. The marriage rate, which had fallen sharply during the war years, recovered vigorously as early as 1946, peaked the following year and then began a slow downward trend; the mortality rate remained more or less constant; the most noticeable changes were in the birth rate. Although the 1946 figure is much higher than those recorded during the war years, the rate of decline is quite rapid and soon falls below pre-war levels. In reality, the phenomenon had already been underway for several decades and the policies of Fascism implemented to halt its decline had not been successful (Pizzetti et al. 2012, Breschi et al. 2014). Although the birth rate was not destined to fall for much longer – at the end of the series we are on the eve of the baby boom – it was a structural element of the region's⁵ demographic dynamics. Even in the age pyramid, moreover, one of the most evident aspects is the thinning of the younger age brackets within

³ See Istat (1959), Tavole di mortalità della popolazione italiana 1950-53 e 1954-57, *Annali di statistica*, s. 8, a. 88, 10:4. Friuli Venezia Giulia was included in the II statistical division which included, besides north-eastern Italy, all the regions of the centre and the northern provinces of Lazio, Rome included.

⁴ Istat (1953) *Annuario di statistiche demografiche 1951*, p. 118. Infant mortality is the ratio of deaths within the first year of life to the number of births multiplied by 1,000.

⁵ As we know, although it represents an important caesura from the demographic point of view, the increase in birth rate that took place particularly in the 1960s was part of a structural decline in fertility that was already evident in the country. See Santini, (2008).

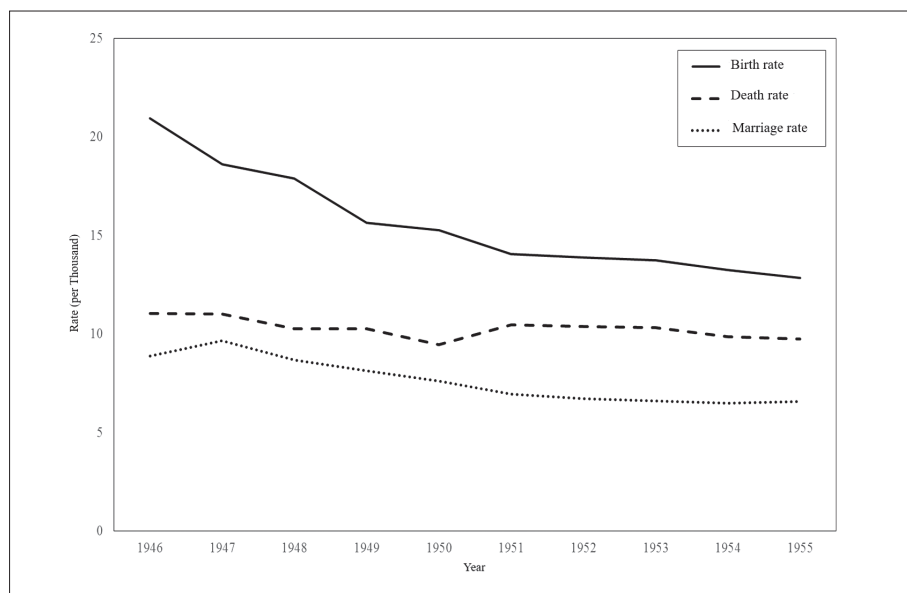


Figure 2. Birth, death and marriage rates. Friuli Venezia Giulia, 1946-1955. Source: Istat Archives, *Registri del movimento della popolazione* (see footnote 11 in the text); Istat, *Annuario di statistiche demografiche*.

the population, an indication that in Friuli Venezia Giulia, compared to the rest of Italy, the progressive decrease in fertility had accelerated more after the Second World War.

3. Emigration. A problem of numbers and sources. The theme of emigration after the Second World War, both from the province of Udine and Gorizia, has interested a large number of scholars⁶, but even though the existing works deal with the subject from different points of view, the quantitative aspects are still very uncertain. Particularly with regard

to the first five years after the end of the war, the limited data available are essentially the result of hypotheses, while the defining aspects are not always clear, that is, what is meant by the term “emigrant”. Even Gino di Caporiacco’s summary (1969), which aimed, from its very title, to quantify the population flows, fails to provide practical data on this period, offering no more than impressions. According to the data reported by this scholar, which refers solely to the Province of Udine and was taken from an estimate made by the Ente Friuli nel Mondo, annual emigration

⁶ For a bibliographic review, see Ermacora (2010). For a recent summary, see Grossutti (2012).

in the 1950s amounted to about 5,000 units for permanent emigration and 10-12,000 for temporary emigration. Gaetano Panizzon (1967) proposed similar figures for the same area. This author, again using 1950s Istat data but without distinguishing between temporary and permanent emigration, arrived at figures ranging from 12,000 to 21,000 migrants per year (Panizzon 1967, p. 101).

These are important numbers, which, even though there were more births than deaths, resulted in the negative balance for the regional population. This decrease in the number of inhabitants could not be observed from the end of the war until the 1951 census due to the lack of initial stock data, but at least as far as the province of Udine was concerned, it did occur in the two subsequent inter-census intervals. In the same time period, in contrast, the province of Gorizia experienced a growth. It is evident that, through the demographic parameters described above, the only reason for there being no population decline in this context lies in the different migration dynamics.

Today, many years after Di Caporiacco's (1969) and Panizzon's (1967) works, new statistics have become available or are much easier to find. However, the information differs considerably depending on the

sources due to the different criteria used to collect and aggregate the data. A complete series of expatriations and returns from 1876 to the present day, with the figures given in regional detail, was published a few years ago on the Istat website⁷. As a reference source from 1933 onwards, the site indicates the *Rilevazione del movimento migratorio della popolazione residente* (*Survey of the migratory movement of the resident population*); this series, however, does not cover the timespan dealt with in the present work. For these years migration statistics were published in a different series of publications, without a systematic criterion⁸. An *Annuario statistico dell'emigrazione* (*Statistical Yearbook of Emigration*) was only published for the first time in 1955 and contained data with provincial details from 1950 onwards. The information collected in the different Istat publications from the end of the war to 1950, however, differs considerably from the series published on the web. For example, with reference to Friuli Venezia Giulia, the 1949 statistics (ISTAT 1949, p. 52), divided into temporary and permanent expatriates, show a total of 7,298 events, while on the Istat web page there are 17,178 expatriates. The repatriation figures are even more divergent, at 612 and 9,226 respectively. The 1950 statistics,

⁷ This is the *Serie storiche* (*Historical Series*) page of the National Statistics Institute website: <http://seriestoriche.istat.it>.

⁸ "Suspended due to the war in 1943-45, the surveys on migration from and to abroad were resumed in 1946, and some summary results were published from that time in the *Bollettino mensile di statistica*, in the *Annuario statistico italiano* and in other general publications of the Institute" (*Annuario statistico dell'emigrazione* 1955, p. VII).

on the other hand, indicate 13,487 expatriates, very close to the 14,389 published on the website; however, but there are only 750 repatriations, as opposed to 4,148 (Istat 1955).

Of course, these discrepancies depend very much on the classification criteria. In the 1949 statistics, “expatriates” were considered to be those who had gone abroad “for work or to establish their residence” (Istat 1949, p.49), without making a clear distinction between permanent and temporary emigration. According to the numbers, however, only the former seem to be mentioned. The *Annuario*, in contrast, specifies the classification criteria better. Expatriates are divided between those who moved “for work or a calling” (the latter are migrations due to family reunions), and those who crossed the borders for “tourism, business, study, treatment or other”⁹. The first category, which is obviously the one that interests us most here, included: “a) citizens who permanently transfer their residence abroad to exercise a profession, art or trade, or to join relatives, or for any other reason; b) citizens who, while retaining their residence in Italy, temporarily go abroad to exercise a profession, art or trade or to join relatives employed there”.

In this regard, it is necessary to consider that in the first category, regional expatriates number 6,914, while in the second, the one that included tourism, they are almost equal in number at 6,573. From these data, therefore, it seems that the statistics published on the web also include all those expatriates who certainly cannot be considered emigrants but who were particularly numerous in Friuli Venezia Giulia and, in general, in the northern regions bordering other countries. As proof of this, expatriations for tourism and other reasons at a continental level are particularly numerous in the Free Territory of Trieste, which sees their exclusion from the calculation of real migrations.

4. The permanent migrations (1946-1951). On the basis of this evidence, it would not appear a minor task to try and quantify international migrations, especially for the five-year period 1945-1950, the one with the least information. The estimate I propose is based on the joint analysis of two different sources. The first is the population registers and the second is the 1951 population census. The rationality of the method I propose tries to limit as much as possible the

⁹ It should also be noted that “The statistics on migration to and from abroad presented in this volume concern the international movement, by land, sea and air, of Italian citizens crossing the border with individual passports. It does not therefore include: a) the movement of Italian citizens who cross the border with a collective passport, that is to say the movement of groups going abroad for tourism, pilgrimages, participation in sports competitions or other purposes; b) the movement of the so-called border crossers, that is to say people residing within the border area who habitually cross the border for work reasons, generally only holding a border card; c) the movement of foreigners”: (*Annuario statistico dell'emigrazione 1955*, pp. VII-VIII).

weaknesses of the two sources taken individually.

The demographic information is taken from the population movement registers kept by Istat covering the years 1946-1950¹⁰. The registers contain, for all Italian municipalities, the flow data on births, deaths, marriages and migrations. With these data, in the source itself, the population on 1 January of each year up to 1951 can be calculated as a balance. Before 1946, all information on migrations, namely registrations and cancellations due to change of residence, were collected without specifying whether they were internal or international migrations. This distinction was introduced from 1946 onwards and was maintained until 1950, the last year for which I consulted the paper registers.

As is well known, the data on cancellations from civil registries are largely underestimated and, by themselves, of little use. For outward migration the system of information exchanges, which used to work very well among the country's municipalities, could naturally not be applied. For this reason, demographers often resort to comparing data from two successive censuses in order to estimate the migration balance. There are several methods to this operation. The conceptually simplest one, despite its laborious calculations, is based on the fact that if we add and subtract,

starting from a certain census, the population inflows and outflows of the natural component only, i.e. we add births and subtract deaths, in the absence of migrations we should obtain at any subsequent date what the population size is. This, of course, is practically never the case, but if, with this procedure, the population expected at the date of a subsequent census, i.e. the calculated one, is greater than that recorded, then we are in the presence of a negative migratory balance. Conversely, if the calculated figure is smaller than that recorded we are in the presence of a positive migratory balance. In the Italian case, based only on the official statistics for this period, the operation just described cannot lead to satisfactory results, since the interval between the two useful censuses, that of 1936 and that of 1951, besides being five years longer than usual, is also characterised by the strong perturbations induced by the war.

While cancellations represent the most important limitation of the documentation, it should be stressed that the data on registrations, including those from abroad, should be fairly accurate since, as is still normal practice, those who intend to establish their residence in an Italian municipality need to present themselves at the municipal offices of the place where they intend to move to request registration at the registry

¹⁰ The series I consulted starts in 1931. The volumes, which for Friuli Venezia Giulia have been fully photocopied, were still kept at the Istat office in Viale Liegi in Rome in 2004.

office. As a rule one does not go to the offices of the municipality of departure to request cancellation, as this operation is carried out through administrative channels.

Since, as already mentioned, the flow data contribute to calculating the population at the end of each year, the data for the resident population on 31 December 1950, the last available, take into account both components of the migration balance¹¹. Of course, if registrations and cancellations, as we have seen, were all transcribed, the calculated population figure would coincide with the 'census' population figure. This, however, is not the case, but here it is still possible to calculate the difference between the census data and the population register data. Since the registrations, at least in theory, are all or almost all transcribed, the result obtained should correspond to the missing cancellations.

There are still two problems to be considered, which also represent the limitation of the estimates I have presented. The first derives from the fact that, in reality, the difference between census and population register data should also take into account the registrations and cancellations from the 1936

census to 31 December 1945 and that, moreover, this difference refers to an interval starting in 1936 and not, as I have considered here, on 1 January 1946. In fact, in the decade 1936-1945 migration abroad was rather limited. As we know, first the policies of Fascism and then the war had frozen most departures abroad with the sole exception of those to the colonies. Therefore, we can assume that most of the migratory movements abroad took place after the conflict. We therefore adopted the hypothesis that up to 1 January 1946, migrations, besides being few in number, contributed to generating a zero migratory balance.

The second problem concerns the time lapse between the registry data, i.e. 1 January 1951, and the census data: 4 November of the same year. A little more than 10 months, therefore, a period in which migration certainly did not stop. For this period, I have hypothesised that migration occurred with the same intensity as in the previous five-year period. With this rather forced hypothesis, I have not altered the total number of migrations in these 5 years and 10 months, but rather estimated how many migrations took place in the first 10 months of 1951¹².

¹¹ The population register data have been corrected for the Municipality of Gorizia which, up to and including 1947, in the source included the inhabitants of the hamlets that had already passed under Yugoslavia. The correction is equal to the number of emigrants calculated for 1947, 8,436, which does not refer to the number of people who physically moved, but those who were found to have changed residence due to changes in political borders. This figure is very close to the figure of 8,546 residents in these same hamlets at the 1936 census.

¹² Of course, with a slightly more refined procedure, starting from the distribution of the registry cancellations during the five years covered by the Istat registers, I can estimate the precise emigrations

Calculations based on this reasoning provided an estimate of the regional international migratory balance, which from 1st January 1946 to 4th November 1951 was equal to about -27,000 units. This result, however, is the sum of the negative balance for the province of Udine (-29,500) and the positive one for that of Gorizia (+2,500), most likely the result of outflows from the province's territories that had passed under Yugoslavian sovereignty. At this point, in order to calculate the number of emigrants, it was enough to add the less than 15,000 population register registrations in the same period, almost perfectly divided between the two provinces, to arrive at 42,000 emigrations on a regional scale, 37,000 for Udine and 5,000 for Gorizia. On an annual basis there were more than 7,000 for Udine and less than 1,000 for Gorizia.

5. Temporary International Migrations (1945-1951). In addition to permanent migrations, census records also permit an assessment of temporary migration numbers. In fact, the census reports the number of temporarily absent persons, divided into their domestic and international components. It must of course be said that estimations based on this information are affected by a number of disruptive factors. In particular, in the case of significant seasonal flows, the period of the year in which the census is carried out is

important for correctly quantifying the phenomenon. The date of 4th November was, so to speak, favourable for assessing regional emigration at its lowest. Temporary emigration from the province of Udine was traditionally based on construction. The autumn date, therefore, had found a substantial part of the seasonal migrants in their homes.

The census provides information on temporarily absent persons, divided into those absent domestically and those absent abroad. Male absentees number over 30,000, while less than half that number are women. Overall, there were more than 45,000 temporarily absent persons, about 5% of the entire population, a significant phenomenon. Most of the temporary absentees, however, were from the province of Udine, while the flows from the province of Gorizia were negligible. A rough estimate, but one that has the advantage of offering the minimum number of temporary migrations, or those considered as such, is to imagine 1) that the temporary migrants on 4th November 1951 referred to people who left the country after the war with the intention of returning and who had not yet returned from the moment of departure and 2) that no temporary migrant had ever returned from the moment of expatriation, and that therefore, at the date of the census, he or she was not simultaneously resident and present. If the two hypotheses, obviously

in 1951 before the census, which according to my calculations would be a little less than 12,000.

forced, were true, the average annual number of temporary emigrations would be equal to the number of temporarily absent emigrants divided by the number of years between the end of the war and the census, i.e. about 6.5¹³. The result, which must obviously be understood as a minimum, is about 7,000 expatriates per year. At this point, in the absence of more reliable data, a total figure of 10,000 expatriates per year due to temporary emigration seems quite reasonable.

6. Internal migration. Once the question of international migration has been quantitatively defined, the population register records also allow an estimate of internal migration to be made. At a national level, especially after the Second World War, flows from the countryside to the cities began to take on increasing importance. As is well known, this phenomenon, although hindered by the authorities, was already present during the twenty-year Fascist period, but it was only after the end of the conflict that it was able to unfold fully.

As we have seen, in the Istat documentation the information is divided between registrations and

cancellations from and to other Italian municipalities and from and to abroad. While the registry statistics on international emigration are very uncertain, those on internal migration could count on a well-established system of communication between municipalities which, although not perfect, on the whole worked well. The data, however, do not allow to distinguish between flows that found their origin and destination within the Region's borders. This is a limitation that can be easily overcome if one wants to estimate the migratory balance, regional and for the individual provinces, with the rest of the country¹⁴. Contrary to emigration from and to abroad, which is marked by rather significant imbalance, internal migration in the five-year period shows substantial balance, marked, however, by a general positive balance, equal, on the whole, to a little more than 1,000 units per year¹⁵. The question is different and more uncertain if we want to evaluate migration within the region and the provinces; however, since most of the movements took place within a rather limited radius, the information allows us to make some hypotheses on inter-municipal mobility. Figure 3 shows the study

¹³ That is, the approximately 78 months between 25 April 1945 and 4 November 1951.

¹⁴ The difference between the sum of all inflows and the sum of all outflows at municipality level gives us the migration balance of the territory considered.

¹⁵ It is difficult to say what this positive balance depends on. It is possible that these flows derive from the role assumed by the region in the geopolitical sphere and, therefore, from the concentration on its territory of most of the country's military forces. This meant not only, as the census shows, the temporary presence of a large number of males in the municipalities where the barracks were located, but also the permanent or prolonged transfer of military cadres with their families.

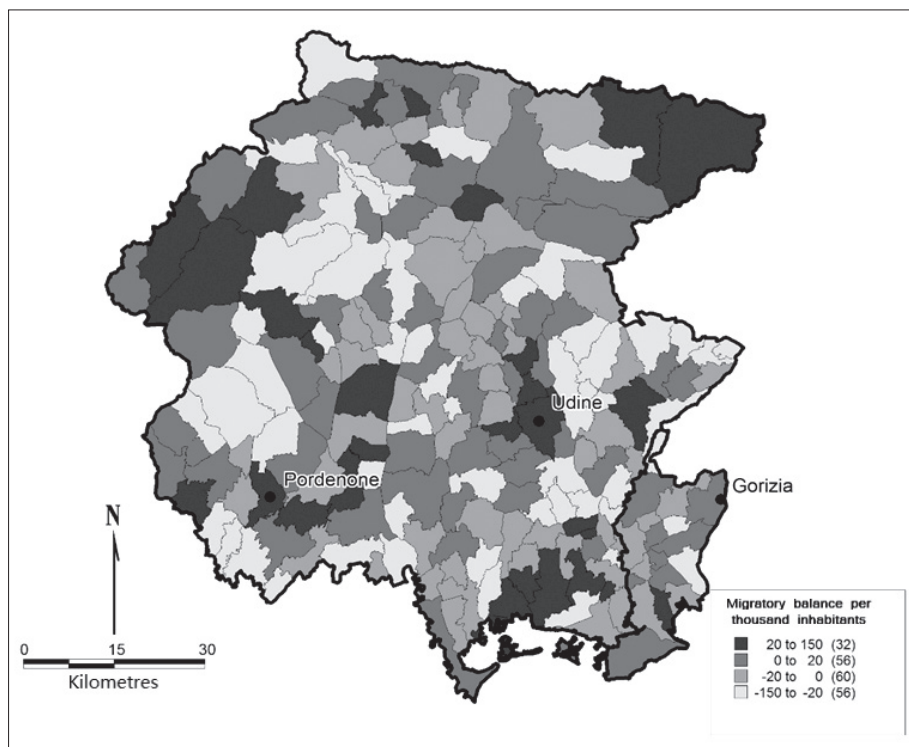


Figure 3. Demographic balance of internal migration per thousand inhabitants. Friuli Venezia Giulia 1946-1950. Source: Istat archives, *Registri del movimento della popolazione* (see footnote 11 in the text); Istat, *Annuario di statistiche demografiche*.

results on the migratory balance of individual municipalities expressed in terms of the balance of emigration and temporary immigration per 1,000 inhabitants.

The map does not show a particular territorial distribution. However, if we organise a reading by functional areas, we can glimpse at least one element that could become more relevant in the following decades. This is the clearly positive balance in Udine and Pordenone, which began to attract

new inhabitants immediately after the war. Gorizia, the second centre in inhabitant number terms, did not benefit from a positive internal migration balance. The city had already lost a significant number of residents (about 8,000) due to the border changes, which brought part of its territory under Yugoslavian sovereignty. It was unable to become an engine of population attraction like other more populous centres. Of course, the internal migration balance

combines with other demographic behaviours, which act in a composite manner on the size and structure of the population. Nevertheless, the first signs of urbanisation emerge in a phase, among other things, marked by an economic contraction in both the primary and secondary sectors (Puppini 2012).

7. Conclusions. In this work I have presented some in-depth studies on emigration from Friuli Venezia Giulia in the years immediately following the Second World War. There is no shortage of works on regional demography and emigration, so the aim I have set myself is to add a few more pieces to a fairly well-defined picture. On the one hand, I wanted to tackle the issue from a comparative perspective, firstly between the two provinces that made up the region until 1954, and secondly against Italy as a whole. The picture that has emerged is that of a region with very different demographic

characteristics at a territorial level. These differences did not only follow, as we have seen in other works, the usual division between plains, hills and mountains, but also other aspects that are well expressed by the very different characteristics of the two provinces. The province of Gorizia, in particular, was already characterised in the immediate post-war period by low fertility and ageing, which made it a precursor to the trends that would only manifest themselves at a national level several years later. Nevertheless, unlike the province of Udine, it maintained a positive population balance, mainly the result of a positive migratory balance. In the demographic history of the region, therefore, the central role played by migration dynamics clearly emerges, both in terms of the absolute numbers of movements and, an aspect obviously linked to it, in terms of the profound economic and social repercussions it entailed.

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