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State Expansion, Changing Aspirations and Migration: The Case of Cisternino, Southern Italy

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Abstract

This paper examines the social transformation processes that led to a mobility transition in Cisternino, a small agricultural town in Southern Italy. This transition entailed a shift from seasonal regional mobility in the 1940s to migration towards long-distance national and international destinations from the 1950s and to regional commuting and return migration from the 1970s. Building on mobility transition theories and the social transformation framework, the analysis examines the relation between the profound social change that affected this small agricultural town in the post-World War II period and shifts in migration. A combination of three broad processes explains the changing migration patterns: the expansion and consolidation of the state, the reshaping of the local economy and cultural transitions. By analysing the interplay and sequencing of these processes, we observe that, firstly, long-distance migration initially increased largely in reaction to deep cultural and political-economic shifts that altered local livelihoods; however, long-distance migration subsequently decreased as it was substituted by commuting in association with local economic growth and the expansion of state-driven sectors and safety net provisions that bore fruit in the 1960s. The article reveals the powerful and varied ways in which, in crucial moments of transition, the state affects local livelihoods and the population's decision to either adapt locally or migrate.

Keywords: state formation, agricultural economy, economic restructuring, social transformation, cultural transformation, migration aspirations, internal migration, international migration

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1 Introduction

This paper examines the social transformation processes that led to a mobility transition in Cisternino, a small agricultural town in southern Italy. Until the 1940s, the town was home to many small landholders and artisans, who primarily migrated seasonally within the region. From the early 1950s, the population began to migrate to faraway national and international destinations; this outflow ceased from the 1970s, when regional commuting and return migration became noticeable. What explains these rapid shifts in migratory and non-migratory mobility? This paper answers this question by presenting insights from an in-depth study that analysed the profound social transformation that took place in Cisternino between the 1940s and the 1980s and its relation to shifts in mobility patterns.

Migration transition theories provide a valuable approach to studying changing migration patterns such as those observed in Cisternino. Zelinsky's mobility transition model suggested that mobility responds to demographic transition which is, in turn, linked to phases of economic development (Zelinsky 1971). The idea is that when societies have high fertility and declining mortality, they experience the highest degree of migration, particularly rural-urban, but also urban-urban, and international migrations. As a society transitions towards being a mature industrial economy with low mortality and fertility, migration stagnates, then declines and ultimately gives way to higher circulatory patterns rather than migration (Zelinsky 1971).

Building upon this model, Skeldon (1997) observed that world regions with similar economic development – which he called development tiers – experience comparable migration patterns. In his model, Skeldon (1997) suggested that labour reserve areas (the *labour frontier*) are located near highly industrialised regions and function as labour suppliers to these industrial hubs. As industries move to more peripheral areas, the boundaries of the *labour frontier* move outwards towards even more peripheral areas, gradually bringing all world regions into global migration systems. In this global overview of migration systems, regions with lower development levels display short-distance and less-complex migration systems than highly developed industrial and commercial centres (Skeldon 1997). Thus, development triggers greater connectedness and more voluminous and diverse migration patterns. However, the question remains: what specific processes of development take a peripheral rural area from a less to a more complex migration system? After all, not all rural peripheral areas become integrated into a highly diverse and complex migration system.

Skeldon (1997) also suggested that state formation may be central to explaining migration patterns. In addition to being the main promoter of planned development, such as the construction of infrastructure and the establishment of institutions, the state also has a central interest in controlling its territory and people. It does so with a broad range of policies, such as taxation, military conscription and public service provision, which may have an indirect but powerful influence on migration (de Haas and Vezzoli 2011; Massey 1999; Skeldon 1997: 50–52; Vezzoli 2015). State formation processes are accompanied by technological advancements in, for example, war machinery and the establishment of industrial complexes to support the war industry while, in the cultural area, the consolidation of the state entails the promotion of national symbols, a centralised educational system and a national identity (Tilly 1975a, 1975b). Some of these shifts – such as the rise in education and industrial work – may increase migration aspirations, while others – such as loyalty to the state – may increase people's desire to find local solutions and reduce their desire to migrate (Hirschman 1970). To understand migration transitions we must move beyond the demographic and economic dimensions and explore the broader role of the state in influencing the various dimensions of people's livelihoods.

To do this, I adopt here a social transformation approach, which aims to unveil the mechanisms associated with long-term deep structural shifts and their influence on migration (Castles 2003, 2010; Castles, Cubas, Kim *et al.* 2011; Castles, Ozkul and Cubas 2015; IMI 2006). De Haas *et al.* (2020) further developed this approach into a framework which makes use of the mobility transition model (Zelinsky 1971) and Skeldon's (1997) development tiers. A social transformation is defined as a 'fundamental change in the way that societies are organized and resources are distributed that goes beyond the continual, incremental processes of social change that are always at work' (de Haas *et al.* 2020: in press). Through a social transformation framework, I examine the relationship between the profound social change that

affected this small agricultural micro-economic system in the post-World War II period and the observed mobility transitions. This paper seeks to answer the following questions:

- How did the profound social changes of the postwar period affect Cisternino and the livelihoods of its people?
- What specific social mechanisms shaped the observed mobility transitions? And, more specifically,
- How did the town's pre-existing social composition of artisans and small landowning peasants influence migration patterns?

This paper is based on seven weeks of field research conducted in Cisternino in 2018, including interviews, field observations and archival research in the municipal library and archives. I first provide an overview of the socio-economic structures that shaped local livelihoods and migration in the town from the early-twentieth century up to World War II. Secondly, I examine how the social transformations between the mid-1940s and the late 1980s altered local livelihoods. I then analyse the changing migration patterns, paying attention to the timing, composition and direction of migration as well as to the motives underlying migration, non-migration and return. Lastly, I present the way in which the timing, interplay and sequencing of social transitions shaped the diversification of migration patterns in this rural society.

This Southern Italian case shows how macro-level social transformations undermine pre-existing socio-economic structures and how this initially encourages the migration of increasing numbers of residents across various classes and sectors. However, it also shows that emigration does not need to become a structural feature of a community if new opportunities emerge which can retain local populations – for instance, when artisans become retailers. The presence of the state and its local, regional and national interventions – such as the establishment of a benefits system and public employment – helps to explain the growing sense of security experienced by Cisternino's population from the 1970s. Together, local adaptations, the economic effects of migration on the community and state interventions created dynamics leading to the reduction of migration. Ultimately, this case warns us that, even in a region of high emigration like Southern Italy, long-term high emigration should not be taken for granted.

2 Explaining migration transitions: a theoretical perspective

To understand Cisternino's rapid shifts in migration patterns, this paper relies on three strands of migration theory and conceptual models:

- migration transition theories;
- theories and models on rural–rural/rural–urban migrations; and
- conceptual insights emerging from the connections between landownership and migration.

Migration transition theories suggest that migration is an integral part of the development process and that this latter tends to initially encourage and diversify migration patterns. As economic structures evolve from primary to secondary and tertiary sectors, people whose financial constraints are released by economic growth are able to seek jobs in more-distant locations, either internally or internationally (de Haas 2010a). These theories invite the exploration of the association between macro-level processes of change and specific migration outcomes, such as that which impacts on the volumes of migration, the choice of destinations, its duration and its composition.

While valuable, these theories also have important drawbacks. Aside from the well-known critique that they seem rather deterministic, unidirectional and irreversible (Castles, de Haas and Miller 2013), it is unclear what the duration of the phases of mobility transitions may be (Zelinsky 1971). While the long-term processes of development suggest extended timelines, the rapid succession of migration phases in Cisternino raise doubts about this assumption and invite us to ask whether this might be a reflection of this particular location or this type of rural setting or whether it may, in fact, reflect a faster pace of change since the post-WWII period.

Another critique is the conceptualisation of development as a largely economic factor. Although economic factors are often key migration drivers, these theories neglect other critical processes associated with development. For instance, the establishment or expansion of an education system may influence people's life aspirations (Schewel and Fransen 2018), while the arrival of mass communication technologies, such as the radio, in peripheral areas may raise awareness of different lifestyles and opportunities elsewhere (de Haas 2014). Thus, we must expand from this narrow view of development as a stimulant for economic-related migration. Despite these critiques and limitations, migration transition theories are still helpful by placing Cisternino within the post-WWII historical context, which saw a rapid transformation of rural agricultural areas as the Italian state expanded its reach and functions to peripheral areas of the country.

A second strand of relevant insights is provided by migration theories that focus on explaining rural–rural and rural–urban migration patterns. Historical-structural theories suggest that migration may be the outcome of the infiltration of capitalist forces in rural areas, where land is sequestered for infrastructural projects or for large cash-crop agriculture, leading to the demise of traditional farming and the unemployment of traditional farmers. Peasants would then seek employment in urban settings, where they join the ranks of the new proletariat in the industrial sector (Massey, Arango, Hugo *et al.* 1998). The neoclassical economic theories see rural workers as economic agents who engage in both internal and international migration as they seek to exploit rural–urban and international wage differentials (Harris and Todaro 1970). Historical-structural and neoclassical theories suggest that the increase of migration from Cisternino may be linked to capitalist production and better employment opportunities in internal and international destinations. However, they do not explain the rapid decrease of migration starting in the 1970s as internal (between South and North Italy) and international (between Southern Italy and destinations in Europe and North America) wage differentials persisted over the years.

The New Economics of Labour Migration (NELM) model may offer a more fitting explanation. This model suggests that, in poor rural areas where there are few safety nets, households use migration as a strategy to reduce the risk and uncertainties embedded in agricultural production. Some family members leave the rural area, seasonally or permanently, to find work in other locations, whether rural or urban, where they earn an income that serves as insurance for the family in difficult times (Stark and Bloom 1985). NELM also sees migration as a response to relative deprivation compared to other families in origin communities rather than primarily as a response to international wage gaps. Within this model a rural community which lacks safety nets might initially generate migration as a risk-diversification strategy but, from this perspective, migration may also subside once state-provided insurance, credit and other safety nets become available locally and feelings of relative deprivation decrease.

The work of Mabogunje (1970) adds to our understanding of rural–urban migration patterns in an African context. Migration patterns follow a patterned system of exchange parallel to that of goods, capital and ideas, which together bring rural areas into urban capitalism. Through a process of colonisation and state expansion, African rural populations became exposed to urban livelihoods to which they began to aspire. In Mabogunje's own words,

the stimulus to migrate is related to the extent of the integration of rural activities into the national economy, to the degree of awareness of opportunities outside of rural areas, and to the nature of the social and economic expectations held by the rural population not only for themselves but also for their children. Indeed, the notion of 'expectations' and 'aspirations' is central to an understanding of the ways in which the stimulus from the environment is transmitted to individuals, and for that reason it is a crucial variable in the theory of rural-urban migration (Mabogunje 1970: 11).

Mabogunje (1970) made a systemic connection between macro-level processes – such as colonialism, commercial ties and state taxation – and migration motivations at the micro level, such as people's desires and aspirations, which bring the rural space into urban processes. However, this cannot explain the decline of the exchange of people after a short 40-year period in Cisternino, while the exchange of goods, capital and ideas continued.

A third set of relevant and valuable concepts comes from the literature on the relationship between land-ownership and migration patterns. To start, these studies caution us against representing rural societies

as homogeneous, made up of an egalitarian group of subsistence farmers. Instead, rural communities tend to include elites, professionals, public servants, artisans and peasants (Bell 1979; Kertzer 1984). For instance, in the post-WWII period in Southern Italy, peasants owned land from dwarf sizes to small, medium and large plots. Some were landless and rented land or their labour – the so-called day labourers (*braccianti*) – while others could support themselves on their land and even hire day labourers (Franklin 1961; Kertzer 1984). Differences also existed among day labourers: some had annual contracts, others provided *ad hoc* labour and resided in the countryside, while yet others provided *ad hoc* labour but lived in the town. In Apulian agro-towns, this last group was the most destitute, without savings and with minimal knowledge of farming techniques, no equipment and no experience managing land (Franklin 1961). Thus, it is vital to understand the social structure of a rural town in order to analyse how processes such as land reform or the introduction of mechanisation in agriculture may impact on the living conditions of various segments of the population and potentially engender migration aspirations in differentiated ways among different social strata.

In an insightful analysis of migration in Italian rural societies, MacDonald (1963) found that the division of land into increasingly smaller plots was associated with high emigration in some areas of Southern Italy. However, landlessness and cultivating others' land did not necessarily lead to higher emigration. Rather, it created the conditions for the mobilisation of a strong labour movement, the emergence of a 'class struggle' and low emigration. In a comparative study of small Italian communities in distinct areas of Italy, Bell (1979) provided additional evidence of the impact of landholding on migration: in the mountain town of Albareto, in Central Italy, inheritance patterns aimed at keeping family land undivided resulted in the emigration of older siblings who had no right to land. In Rogliano, a town in the southern region of Calabria, landless peasants did not migrate because they perceived that, as low-skilled farm workers, migration would provide few benefits (Bell 1979). In a study of Bertalia, an area of Bologna, landlessness was offset by sharecropping and was connected with short-distance residential moves (Kertzer 1984). The evidence suggests that landholding patterns are crucial to understanding migration patterns but that they alone do not determine migration outcomes. It also shows the dangers of deterministic, neo-Malthusian reasoning according to which 'population pressure' would automatically lead to more migration.

These three strands of migration theories and concepts provide partial explanations but, overall, fail to analyse the interplay of various factors, from the economic to the cultural, their change over time and their impact on migration patterns. For instance, the restructuring from agriculture to industry and services should not be understood solely as an economic process; rather, it also entails deep political, demographic, technological and cultural shifts (de Haas *et al.* 2020). To acknowledge this, I adopt a social transformation framework, as it allows me, simultaneously, to account for a variety of factors and mechanisms associated with long-term deep structural shifts and to analyse how they influence migration. De Haas *et al.* (2020) elaborated on and operationalised social transformation and suggested that it can be disaggregated into five main dimensions – political, economic, demographic, technological and cultural – which affect each other and change over time. Change across these dimensions reveals societal shifts that affect people's livelihoods and migration patterns. For example, a move towards authoritarianism associated with populist rhetoric, the nationalisation of industry and the disinvestment in technology may prompt some segments of society, particularly the skilled and managerial sectors, to depart; many, however, may gain a sense of loyalty and a new set of economic opportunities in the nationalised economy (see Vezzoli 2014). The ensuing question thus concerns not only how many people migrate but also which segments of society move and which stay.

The social transformation framework enables the analysis of the interplay of change among political, cultural, economic, technological and demographic dimensions and the sequencing of shifts of one dimension in relation to the others. For example: how *quickly* do career aspirations arise in a community when public education is introduced? How does an increase in career aspirations *interplay* with a slowly changing economy which provides jobs only in agriculture? Finally, what are the migratory effects of the specific *sequencing* of economic restructuring, growing career aspirations and the state provision of a social safety net? This framework enable us to examine how social transformation affects livelihoods and, ultimately, migration. While the social transformation perspective serves as an overarching conceptual and

methodological framework, the analysis in this paper continues to rely on the above-mentioned theoretical models to explain the observed migration dynamics in this rural community.

3 Methodology

This study brings together the macro and micro levels so as to capture the role of structure and agency in migration processes. At the macro level, I explore in depth the social history of Cisternino in order to map migration changes over the second part of the twentieth century and to understand the way in which important shifts such as economic restructuring, state consolidation processes, the demographic transition and technological and cultural shifts are associated with migration. The data collection included longitudinal datasets from population (1931, 1936 and 1971), agricultural (1961, 1970 and 1979) and industrial censuses (1951, 1961 and 1971); secondary literature on the political, economic and even architectural history of Cisternino written by local scholars; and autobiographies of men from Cisternino who recorded their life and long-term changes in Cisternino and its rural territories. Quantitative data are inconsistent over time but are sufficient to provide insights into the town's social and economic structure at varying points in time.

The second component of the study collected data through interviews with migrants,¹ returnees and non-migrants with the objective of identifying associations between migration and non-migration decisions and macro-level social change. Interviewees were selected to represent migration, non-migration and return in the 1940s-1980s, but they were not selected for their specific background characteristics such as class, education levels or land ownership. Through a narrative recollection of their personal history and their experience of social life, the interviews sought to understand people's expectations of life in Cisternino before migration, their aspirations and constraints in Cisternino, how the idea of migration emerged and what opportunities it opened for them. In other words, the objective was to understand how people reached the decision to migrate or to stay, within the set of structural constraints and opportunities at critical points in the town's recent history.

I conducted a total of 31 formal, semi-structured interviews which captured the lives, the migration/non-migration motives and the processes and reflections on social transformations in the municipality of Cisternino of 48 individuals.² Among these, the youngest was 44 years old and the oldest 94, 28 were male and 20 female, 39 were either internal or international migrants or returnees from internal or international migration, while nine were non-migrants.³ All qualitative data and excerpts from the autobiographical texts were coded using a binary coding structure: one part used pre-established codes, based on the conceptualisation of social transformation, which included five dimensions – i.e. demography, politics, economics, technology and culture – and 25 sub-dimensions – e.g. bureaucratisation and changing gender and family roles;⁴ a second part relied on migration-specific codes that emerged inductively from the data and traced, *inter alia*, the migration motives, processes, networks and migration of siblings. The paper uses direct quotes from interviewees as well as information and concepts extracted from the interviews; in both cases the source is cited using I6 for interview 6, I12 for interview 12, O3 for Observation 3 and so on.

¹ These migrants were sojourning temporarily in Cisternino.

² The 48 individuals include the 31 initial interviewees plus additional participants – generally the spouse who was present or who arrived during the interview. On some occasions, the interviewee/s received a visitor during the interview who shared their own story and provided personal details.

³ See Table A1 in the Annex for additional details.

⁴ The dimensions and sub-dimensions provide a framework in which to observe and analyse social transformations and have been developed as part of the conceptual framework of the Migration as Development (MADE) project at the University of Amsterdam (de Haas *et al.* 2020).

4 Cisternino, a brief social and migration history up to the 1940s

Cisternino is a small rural town in the Itria Valley in the centre of Apulia in Southern Italy (Figure 1). Until the 1940s, the town's local economy was based on the cultivation of olive trees, vineyards, fruit orchards and vegetable gardens as well as on the production of olive oil, wine and the preservation of fruits and vegetables. The population included peasants and artisans and a small professional sector – i.e. lawyers, notaries – and the clergy. Cisternino's population formed a fairly egalitarian society that offered limited social mobility and living standards at subsistence levels for most residents .

Figure 1. Cisternino, Italy



Source: Map data ©2019 Google

Many families owned land ranging from very small to medium-sized plots⁵ – on average between 2.1 and 2.7 hectares.⁶ Farming families often lived on the land, resulting in a population distributed across the countryside. By the early-twentieth century, urbanisation was well under way. Between 1862 and 1931 Cisternino's population increased from 6,000 to 10,500 inhabitants, with the proportion of people living in

⁵ This area of Apulia did not have large landholdings as in other areas of the region. This was the result of various factors, including the area's topography, with its rocky hills and confined patches of fertile land and the strategic behaviour of the peasants who were able to secure ownership of land from the absentee land *barons*. To learn more about these historical developments, see Curtis (2013).

⁶ Data from First General Agricultural Census of 15 April 1961.

the countryside decreasing from 60 per cent in 1862 to 48 per cent in 1931 (Semeraro 1998, 2008);⁷ more people clustered in small rural hamlets (see Figure A1 in the Annex).

Most people worked directly in agriculture, while a variety of artisans produced tools for agriculture and basic transport, manufactured materials for house construction and engaged in small-scale food processing and the custom-based production of clothing and shoes. These economic functions were interrelated and even the functions of professionals, notaries and retailers were tied to rural activities – such as legalising livestock sales. However, the composition of Cisternino’s population underwent change in the late-nineteenth century so that, by 1931, peasant farmers and small landlords comprised 75 per cent of the population, while artisans made up most of the remaining 20 per cent (Figure A2). The growth in the number of small landlords seems to be associated with some farmers’ ability to acquire land with the profits gained through local wine production, which was an important part of the 1870–1880s agricultural boom (Macina 2010).

The peasants and artisan groups were diverse. A few landowners who had very fertile, high-value, medium-to-large land holding existed alongside peasants who owned very small rocky plots or no land at all and who worked as land renters, sharecroppers or day labourers. The prevalence of small landholdings meant that the majority of the population engaged in pluri-activities to ensure the family’s sustenance. The size and quality of the land as well as the size of the family influenced household living standards, as described in Table 1.

Artisans also varied in their socio-economic level and landholding circumstances (Table 1). Master artisans with workshops in the centre of Cisternino were seemingly more affluent than small artisans in the surrounding hamlets, where peasants generally paid them in-kind at harvest time (I9). Nonetheless, compared to peasants, artisans generally had the possibility to improve their position in society through their children’s education and, eventually, their possible entry into the professions. Many artisans, however, were not landowners, which made them more vulnerable to food scarcity. When they owned land, artisans hired day labourers to cultivate it as they no longer possessed any agricultural knowledge (I1, I20). The lack of agricultural skills greatly reduced the artisans’ opportunities to supplement their income through pluri-activity.

These living conditions were accompanied by high seasonal migrations that were primarily circumscribed within the region and to nearby Basilicata. According to census data, in 1931 temporary mobility was particularly important, involving about 21 per cent of the population in the urban centre and about 11 per cent of the municipal population (Table 2). Some 1.7 per cent of the population was permanently abroad, with most people from the urban centre and from Caranna, a hamlet of 1,690 people, where 2.6 per cent of the population was permanently abroad, suggesting strong migration network effects.⁸

The collected family histories suggested that long-term overseas migration was occasional before World War II, displaying a striking difference with the high levels of overseas migration from other Italian regions. The child of an artisan emigrated to the United States in 1919 to escape a future as a shoemaker (I27) while a medium-sized landowner emigrated to the United States in 1922 (I14). Most mobility, however, was tied to regional agriculture. Men and women went towards Foggia, Bari and Metaponto (see Figure 2) to work in agriculture (I12, I21), while 11–12-year-old boys went to estates in the Valley to do agricultural work (I21; Punzi 2003) or to be shepherds (Loconte 2005). From November to January, young and adult women went to the large estates along the Adriatic coast for the olive harvest (I10). Within this regional economic system marked by agriculture’s seasons, many inhabitants commuted on foot, their only means of transport. When the fields could not be reached daily on foot, they would spend a few months a year away from home. Artisans would also travel and spend days in the countryside where they provided

⁷ Cisternino largely followed the population growth at the national level (population at census, ISTAT) but was concentrating in urban areas at a faster pace since, at the national level, 35 per cent of the population resided in urban areas in 1931, reaching just under 48 per cent in 1961 (Malanima 2005).

⁸ While official records do not report the destinations of these permanent migrations, one of the interviewees (I23) referred to people who had migrated in earlier times from Caranna to New York and Canada.

their services, staying on farms a few days at a time while they made the clothes or shoes needed by the farming family (I4).

Table 1. Traditional living conditions of peasants and artisans in relation to landholding, up to the immediate post-WWII period

		Occupation	
		Farm workers (broader than peasant)	Artisans
Landholding size	Landless	Considered peasants, often day labourers (<i>braccianti</i>), they worked on other people's land generally for in-kind payment, sometimes for cash. Precarious conditions, often without food security and living in basic rural dwellings in overcrowded conditions.	Artisans who did not have land lived in very precarious conditions. This was worse for artisans in smaller hamlets, where the clientele was almost exclusively peasants who could only pay in-kind at harvest time. Without land, the small artisan and his family had difficulties accessing food.
	Small landowners	Considered peasants, they often cultivated their own land and either rented land, provided day labour on others' land or provided their services for odd jobs. Generally, access to food was not a problem for small landowners, although this depended on land size and quality and the size of the family.	Artisans were known to buy plots of land to secure the family and have access to food. First-generation artisans would have inherited a small plot of land. Generally, artisans did not have farming skills; thus they employed peasants to farm their land.
	Medium-large landowners	Medium-large landowners were called farm workers rather than peasants to indicate that they managed the land and hired day labourers to farm it. Their function was that of an entrepreneur. They easily accessed food and cash.	A limited number of artisans had a higher social status as <i>trullai</i> – master builders of local stone houses. They owned land, perhaps not very large, but they also owned a house in the countryside and one in town. They easily accessed food and cash.

Table 2. Resident population of Cisternino, disaggregated by main urban centre, with % population temporarily or permanently absent, 1931

	Resident population	Temporarily absent, internal and abroad	Temporarily absent, abroad only	Permanently abroad
Urban centre	5,501	21.21	0.85	2.09
Hamlet 1: Casalini	1,895	0.26	0.00	0.63
Hamlet 2: Caranna	1,690	1.54	0.00	2.66
Hamlet 3: Calabrese	1,506	0.46	0.20	1.06
Total	10,592	11.38	0.47	1.77

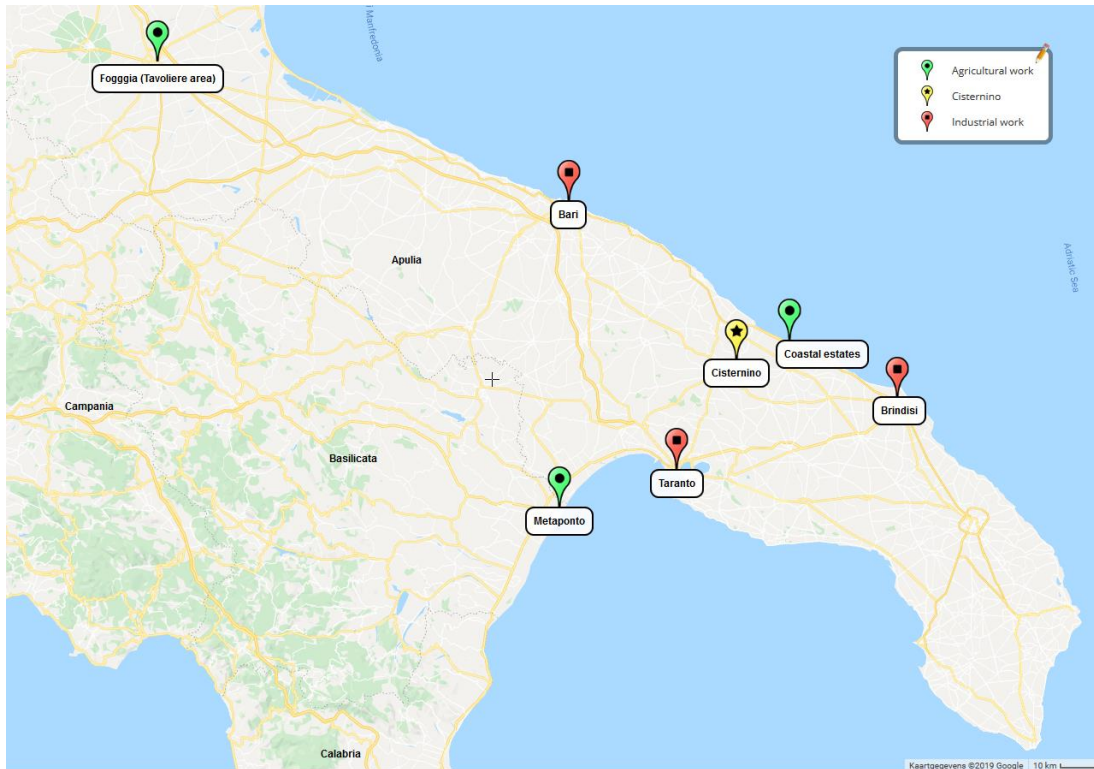
Source: Censimento Generale Della Popolazione, 21 April 1931, Anno IX by Istituto Centrale di Statistica del Regno D'Italia. Prospetto Riassuntivo Definitivo.

Note: In the census, the houses spread around the countryside would be administratively allocated to a hamlet. The wheat season started in April, which might explain the high number (21.21 per

cent) of urban residents without land who were temporarily away as day labourers on the large estates.

In sum, pre-war Cisternino offered limited opportunities for social and geographical mobility largely tied to land and skills. After the war, a deep political and economic transformation upset this regional economic system, its social structure and people's livelihoods, with important migration consequences. These dynamics are explored in the next sections, first with a focus on the shifts in migration, return and non-migration and then on the essence of this social transformation and its social ramifications).

Figure 2. Cisternino and the main (cross-)regional destinations, by type of work



Source: Author's own⁹

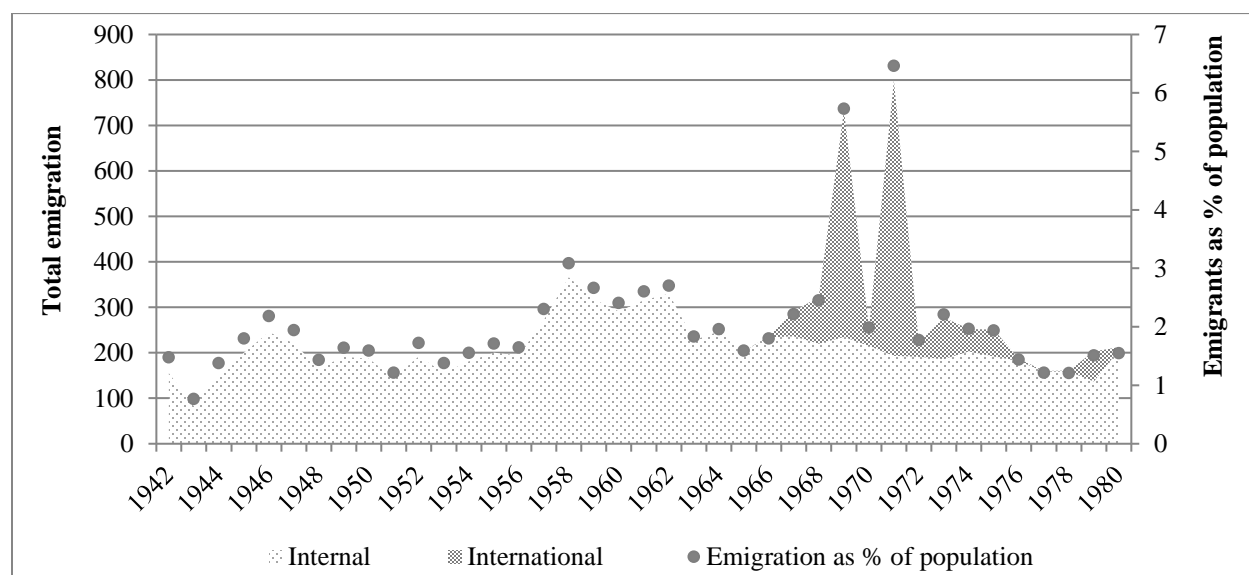
5 Migration diversification after World War II: 1940s–1980s

World War II and the postwar period saw a rapid diffusion of migration among the population and an increase in migration volume alongside a diversification of destinations. Official data show that internal migration peaked in the late 1950s and early 1960s, while international emigration appeared late and peaked in the mid-60s to mid-1970s, with two large spikes in 1969 and 1971 (Figure 3). However, interview data suggest inaccuracies in the official statistics, reflecting a well-known problem: international emigration is often invisible in public records because many emigrants do not deregister from population registers when they leave (Vezzoli, Villares-Varela and de Haas 2014). Hence, the decision to use the interview data, which are the basis for the descriptive graphs in Figures 4 and A3–A4. Although these data are not representative

⁹ The map was created using the site scribblemaps.com.

of the population, the collected histories reveal complex migration dynamics and trajectories which the official records seem to conceal.

Figure 3. Internal and international emigration from Cisternino and emigration as a percentage of the population, 1942–1980

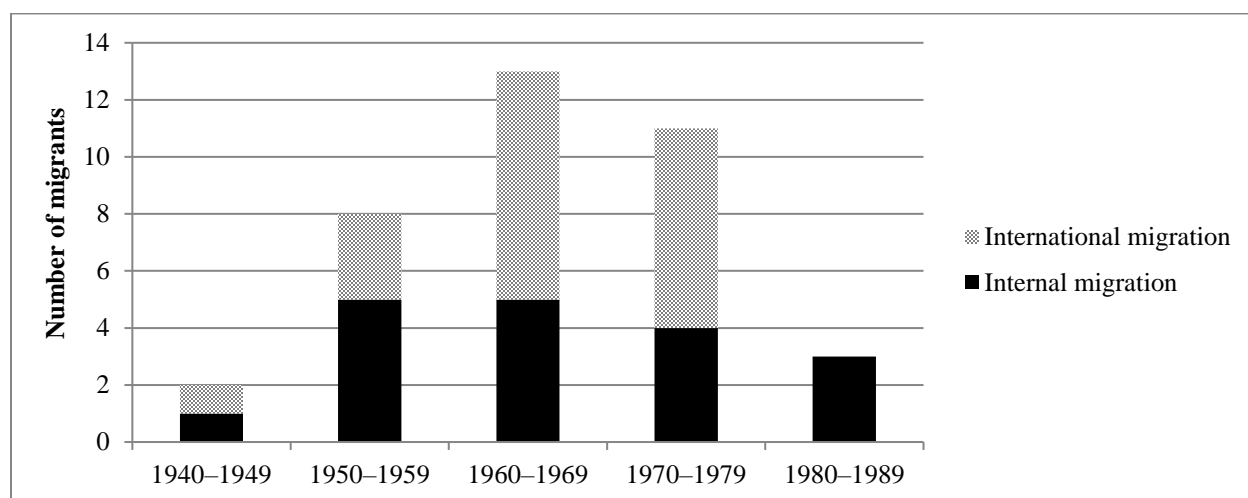


Source: Population Registers, Municipality of Cisternino, 1942–1980

To start, the interview data suggest that both internal and international migrations were taking place in the 1940s (Figure 4). Various forms of mobility developed in parallel – occasionally overlapping – while some faded over the 1940s–1980s period. We can detect seven mobility trends.

- *Seasonal regional migration*, briefly described in the previous section, continued to follow the agricultural cycles in the region and in Metaponto (see Figure 2). With the advent of motorised transport, temporary migration became daily commuting: starting in the 1960s, women were collected daily at 3 a.m. in Cisternino, transported to Metaponto and returned to Cisternino in the afternoon. This mobility faded in the late 1970s although, in 2018, a few women were still engaged in seasonal agricultural work.
- *Overseas migration* to the Americas continued after World War II with emigration to countries in South America – such as Venezuela – and to Canada. However, overseas migrations remained limited and did not evolve into important migration corridors after the war.
- *Western European migration*, directed towards the coal mines in Belgium and factories in Switzerland and, to a lesser extent, Germany, gained strength from the mid-1950s to the late 1970s. Strong communities of Cistranesi emerged on the Swiss-German border – i.e. at Kreuzlingen and Schaffhausen.
- *Northern Italian migration* began in the mid-to-late 1950s with temporary and permanent work in agriculture and permanent industrial jobs. Nichelino, in the province of Turin, hosted a concentration of migrants from Cisternino who worked for the automobile-maker FIAT and its subsidiary factories.
- *Non-migratory commuting* to the regional industrial hubs of Taranto, Brindisi and Bari (see Figure 2) started in the early-to-mid-1960s. In addition to locals, some returnees also inserted themselves in this sector.
- *Internal migration* for public sector jobs to various Italian regions, primarily to the Centre-North, also gained importance from the mid-1960s, partially overlapping with migration to the industrial areas of Northern Italy.
- *Returns*, many from Belgium, Switzerland and Germany but also from Milan, Turin and other Italian cities, became an increasingly visible part of Cisternino’s society, starting in the 1970s.

Figure 4. Migration distribution by year and type of migration, 1940–1989



Source: interview data (2018).

Up until the mid-twentieth century, the socio-economic status of Cisternino’s population was tied to the size and quality of landholdings and the occupation of the head of the family (see Table 1). In addition, household size further impacted on livelihood conditions. The analyses that follow explore the main insights that emerged from examining these three main characteristics of the interviewees and their influence on migration, return and non-migration.

5.1 Migration

In this period, migration concerned both landless people and those with ample resources who could afford to stay. In fact, by the 1960s, all segments of the population were engaged in migration. However, an interesting difference emerged in the migration pathway: while landowners and peasants alike went directly from their traditional farming activity into migration, artisans were prone to explore alternative economic ventures in Cisternino before engaging in migration. Thus, they attempted to adapt locally before deciding to migrate.

In terms of destination, migrants pursued internal and international destinations across the social spectrum, so that financial resources did not seem to greatly influence migration destinations. Moreover, family size, which could be an indication of a family’s need to engage in migration, was not strongly associated with migration. In fact, migration was taken on by about half of the siblings, regardless of household size (Figure A3).¹⁰ During the interviews, this was presented as a common strategy because the reduction of the family size through migration had greatly improved the economic situation for those who stayed behind (I4, I5, I11, I12, I23, I24 and I29).

What happens when we are 10, five go and five live better here, a little better; to eat five to a plate or to eat 10, with five you live better. With a few leaving, those who were left behind managed with what little we had (I12).¹

Women migrated almost exclusively as spouses with the exception of a few young women who migrated as domestic workers (I10, I17 and sister). Women’s options in terms of an occupation and the freedom to

¹⁰ There were three households in the sample where all siblings migrated (two households with two children and one with five children) and five households with no migration at all (three households with two children and two with four children).

pursue their own life trajectories were extremely limited at this time and only expanded towards the end of the twentieth century. Those interviewed were, on some occasions, scared of migration (I1, I10). However, most young women were excited to discover other ways of living: on arrival at their destination, most of them entered the workforce and reported having fulfilling lives as empowered women away from the strict social rules in Cisternino (I5, I6, I12, I13, I17, I19, I25b, I25d and I29).

5.2 Return migration

Returnees generally indicated that they had a home and some land upon which to rely (I1, I2, I5, I6, I10, I13, I26), often because they had invested in these assets while away. For some, return signalled the achievement of their migration objective – e.g. savings, assets and work skills which they could invest locally (I3, I5). This might explain why return took place after being away for between six and 16 years (Figure A4).

When asked to explain their decision to return to Cisternino, returnees mentioned economic prospects there and lifecycle decisions. Eight returnees returned having found a business opportunity in Cisternino, such as in retail, hospitality and trades (I1, I8, I11, I21, I26, I28, I30, I31). For example, one returnee from Switzerland learned of the possibility of taking over a tobacco shop; another returnee, also from Switzerland, took over a mechanics workshop while a couple returned from Canada and opened their own garment workshop. Entrepreneurship was not necessary, however, as the possibility of obtaining employment in Taranto's heavy industry was also seen as an excellent prospect.

Although economic factors were important in return decisions, lifecycles were also strongly influential. For migrants abroad, in particular, the moment when their children reached school age often determined the timing of their return: migrants felt that, once their children started school abroad, the family would not be able to return (I6, I7, I26 and I28). Return also took place because of a work disability (I2, I29), for health reasons (I20, I25) and after retirement (I13). Overall, the interviews showed that Cisternino's improved socio-economic conditions encouraged return as from the 1970s.

5.3 Non-migration

Most non-migrants in the sample belonged to landowning households. These were mainly the siblings of migrants, who stayed behind to cultivate the family land. Because, in Cisternino, there was no outright feeling of disaffection or hatred for agricultural rural life, as seen in other (more unequal) peasant societies (Bell 1979; MacDonald 1963), the non-migrants interviewed were generally happy to stay behind and discussed the great improvement of living conditions during the 1970s and 1980s.

The lack of basic skills was also noted as a reason for staying. In particular, no or limited literacy resulted in a low ability to migrate, as suggested here: 'The education to take a train, talk to people, look for a job...they did not have it...' (I12). However, the biggest explanation for remaining was a combination of family obligations on one the hand and, on the other, the desire to stay close to the family for love and support. For instance, migration was called off because of the distraught reaction of the mother (I16), because the fiancée refused (I23) or because the parents made explicit efforts to provide the children with local economic opportunities – such as by buying several plots of land – so that the children would not need to migrate (I14, I24). In other instances, the adult children felt that someone had to stay behind to take care of aging parents (I17) or young children. Interviewee I12 summarised these instances:

Ah yes, there were those who had parents to care for, those who had parents, those who had small children, where could they go? Only those who got married and started another life, but those who had already [settled]...where could they go? To pay for having the children cared for there...it could be that only the husband would migrate.ⁱⁱ

Lastly, some people indicated their love for Cisternino and the countryside, comments that went hand in hand with a negative perception of life away – e.g. discrimination in Turin (I16) – and feeling sorry for migrants, calling them unlucky for having to go away to work 'because nobody wanted to go and work

in Germany, in France nor even in Turin, Milan. Everybody wanted to stay here! Find a job here and stay! Working here was always considered fortunate!’ (I14).

Indeed, although emigration was a sizeable phenomenon in the 1960s and 1970s, there was a rapid switch from migration to local and regional employment and regional non-migratory mobility, once opportunities emerged. Emigration was generally a means to improve livelihoods rather than a reflection of an intrinsic aspiration to live elsewhere in itself. While non-migration certainly included some people who would have liked to migrate but could not do so as they were the caretakers of aging parents, it was mostly explained by the preference to remain (Schewel 2015). It emerges that the former group of ‘involuntary immobile’ people was more strongly represented in the 1940s–1950s, when the financial and literary ability to migrate was still very low; the latter category of the ‘voluntary immobile’ grew as the living standards and employment options increased in the 1970s. After this brief review of the main patterns of migration, return and non-migration, the next section zooms in on the social mechanisms that contributed to the shaping of the patterns just presented.

6 Explaining the social transformation of the 1940s–1980s

For this social transformation analysis, Cisternino’s social history is divided into two periods:

- *the 1940s–1950s*, the immediate postwar period when the population underwent a difficult recovery from warfare and new cultural and socio-economic models emerged; and
- *the 1960s–1980s*, a period associated with the expansion of the welfare state – precisely, the expanded state’s role as extractor and provider – alongside the diversification of the regional economy and the rapid shifts in life aspirations.

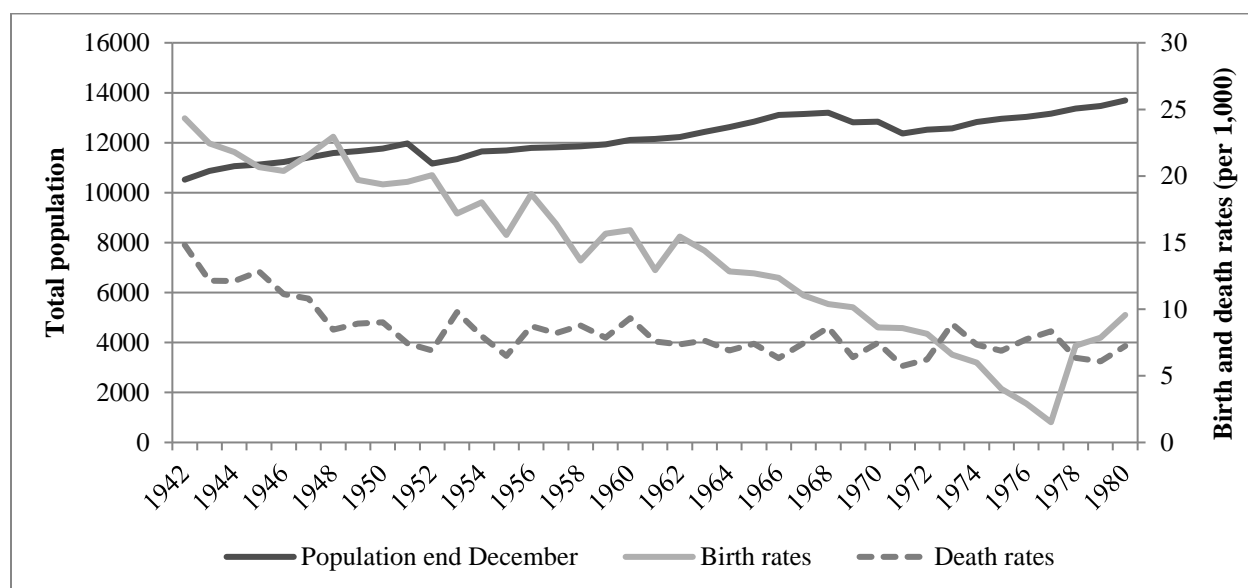
6.1 *The social and migratory aftermath of World War II: 1940s–1950s*

By the late 1950s, migration diversified towards far-flung destinations, influenced by two separate factors: the initial input of war veterans, who had become familiar with Northern Italy; and the assistance of the state which, in its pursuit of national economic growth, was eager to export its surplus labour for remittances and primary resources that could enable its industrial growth.

In the Italian peninsula, the Second World War had worsened living conditions and the high unemployment generated feelings of insecurity and instability which, together, encouraged emigration (Oblath 1947). In Cisternino, the Second World War impacted on the population in various ways. First, enlistment removed many young men and heads of family, leaving women, who often had four or five small children, to farm the land and provide for the family by themselves (I13). Contributing to the harsh conditions was the Fascist regime’s practice of food confiscation. The regime required the population to turn in agricultural output such as grain and even farm animals, and then to collect rations from a common distribution point. The population occasionally resisted or evaded the fascist controls (I21), while children resorted to stealing fruits from orchards to still their hunger (I4). These conditions were easier to sustain in the countryside, where peasants could grow some produce but the many landless artisans ‘were completely needy’ (I21). Overall, most families struggled with basic subsistence.

After the war, the population of Cisternino remained stable: although large families were still common, there was no significant postwar baby boom. In fact, demographically, Cisternino followed the national trend and was well into a demographic transition, with low death rates and fairly low and decreasing birth rates (Figure 5). Emigration-related population decreases might have been even more drastic than in Figure 6 when we consider that the data only partially reflect actual departures.

Figure 5. Population size and birth and death rates, Cisternino, 1942–1980



Source: Population Registers, Municipality of Cisternino, 1942–1980.

Conditions, then, after the war, continued to be difficult for many peasants who farmed small plots of land and carved out an existence for their families. The population's limited purchasing power meant that artisans faced a decreased demand for their products. However, a combination of new technologies and techniques as well as the growth of consumerist ideas meant that people started to show displeasure with traditional ways of living. For instance, large cement houses replaced the *trulli*, traditional stone buildings with small rooms and conic roofs (Zizzi 1985) and factory-bought goods, such as bicycles and motorcars, replaced locally made products such as horse-drawn wagons and shoes. These factors had an important impact on artisans' activities.¹¹

While most people continued to live in austerity, some enjoyed the security linked to the burgeoning state benefits system. War widows had the right to a pension that guaranteed a cash income and put such families in a better economic position (I16, I20). The son of a war widow recalled:

My mother at that time, as I told you before, lost her husband at war, this and that, she received 2,000 *lira* per month and 2,000 *lira* per month was money at that time! (I16).ⁱⁱⁱ

The war had another impact on society as war veterans became promoters of change. In addition to the horrors of war, they experienced a different reality as they travelled on a nation-wide railroad network and observed living conditions in other parts of Italy; they became aware of a broader range of opportunities not available in Cisternino, which encouraged emigration (Loconte 2005):

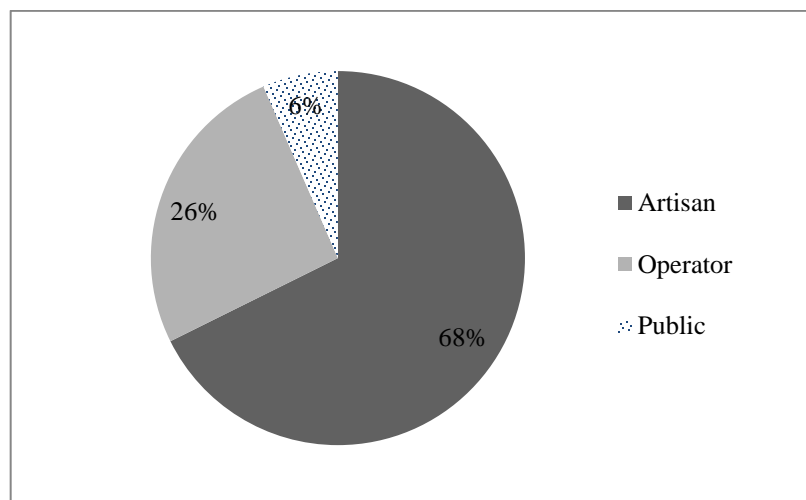
Our war veteran did not stay unless he was disabled because, after having touched the socio-economic and cultural reality of a higher standing, he could not stay here (I22).^{iv}

Thus, in this period, external influences expanded the realm of possibilities and started to change people's aspirations. As these new ideas entered the consciousness of people in Cisternino, many of the non-agricultural professions became unnecessary and began to disappear. Artisans, who comprised 68 per

¹¹ See Loconte (2005) for a description of how a blacksmith rapidly lost its relevance in a town where locally produced agricultural tools and wages were replaced by factory-produced items.

cent of the non-agricultural jobs, were severely affected (Figure 6). Among them were stonemasons, coppersmiths, blade sharpeners, saddle-makers, tailors and shoemakers while, among the operators – also a vanishing trade – were travelling salesmen, seed-sellers and wool-spinners (Figure A5 for the disaggregation of activities).

Figure 6. Distribution of workers over the 1930–1960 period (%)



Source: data from Loconte (2005), elaborated on by the author.

Although artisans and operators adapted by exploring alternative economic ventures, such as a stonemason becoming a barber or adapting from horse-drawn to motorised transport provision, migration soon became a viable solution. The following quote, by the daughter of an expert *trullaio* (a builder of *trulli* – traditional stone buildings) captures the essence of deep changes, local adaptation and migration:

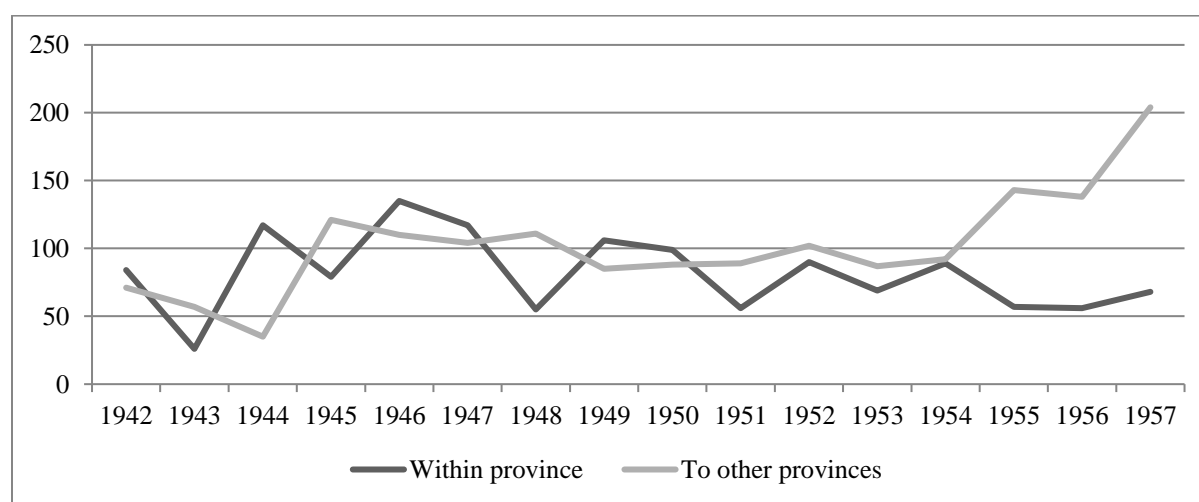
Eh yes, my father went to war. Back from the war he and his brothers found a very different economic situation because they did not build *trulli* anymore, not anymore; there was little money, the economy was terrible after the war and so their construction company could no longer develop. After all, the peasants were not building their *trulli* because they thought that the *trulli* were the houses of poor people and they wanted to build their houses in cement, ‘normal’ houses and not stone houses. And so they [the father and his brothers] found themselves without work and they had to leave. The organised migration flow from Italy to Belgium had already started, so there had already been people who left for Belgium or Germany or Switzerland and my father, he also left. He had just got married...he tried again and again to do other jobs but there was no work here in Cisternino, therefore right after getting married they left for Belgium. In 1951... (12).^v

These changing conditions were associated with three forms of migration in particular: first, internal migration towards cities in the Centre-South; second, internal migration toward northern cities; and third, international migration towards Western Europe and, to a much limited extent, South America. Population register data show fairly stable migration within the province but an increase in internal migration from Cisternino to other Italian provinces from 1954 (Figure 7), although we are unable to know if it was to southern or northern destinations. What we do know is that the three migration destinations represented diverse migrant categories and migration strategies. First, southern destinations were for regional agricultural work, reflecting older migration patterns. Moreover, women as young as 14 were sent to work as domestics in families in Bari and Rome to earn wages for their families in Cisternino.

Second, some peasants took advantage of wage differentials with Northern Italy, where they worked seasonally on farms, assisting with the harvest and other agricultural functions. Wages in Northern Italy were three times those in Cisternino (I3), allowing peasants to quickly save and invest in the region of

origin: they purchased land, mechanical agricultural tools and vehicles for work and personal transport (I16). One interviewee (I3) went to areas around Turin for seasonal work for 16 years, starting in 1959, while others (I10, I17, I18) used agricultural work in northern farms as a stepping stone before switching to other sectors such as construction, transport and factory work.

Figure 7. Internal migration from Cisternino to other Italian municipalities, within the province of Brindisi and to all other Italian provinces, 1942–1957



Source: Population Registers, Municipality of Cisternino, 1942–1957.

Third, the biggest departure from existing migration patterns was the emergence of international migration which was either organised or ‘advertised’ by the state. Italy was fully vested in its role as an emigration state. The national authorities stressed that, given the country’s limited economic growth, the best way for Italian workers to secure employment was through emigration, particularly for people in rural Southern Italy. Recruitment agreements were implemented with several countries such as Argentina, Belgium, Czechoslovakia, France, Sweden (Oblath 1947). Several men from Cisternino went to the Belgian mines (I2, I25, I29)¹² on the basis of an exchange of Italian labour for Belgian coal (Oblath 1947) and, by the early 1950s, an active migration network was operating.¹³

Moreover, the state was actively engaged in the dissemination of information about labour demand in Europe and beyond. The weekly *News for Emigrants* bulletins, meant to be posted in town halls, published job listings and information for emigrants (Figure A6). Although nobody in Cisternino had ever seen such bulletins, information circulated through the grapevine so that people had knowledge of jobs in Brazil, Venezuela and so on. While there were no organised recruitment processes to these international destinations as there were towards the Belgian mines, this state-driven information dissemination system connected Cisternino with previously unknown faraway destinations. This system did not concern migrants to Northern Italy, however, because the information was divulged through networks of friends and acquaintances who already worked there.

¹² Two of these three men died of silicosis.

¹³ Starting in 1945, migrants aspiring to work in the Belgian mines presented an application to the town hall, which would prepare and send the documents to the provincial offices. The candidate was called for a medical examination and those who passed were sent to Belgium with a contract and with assisted housing for the worker and his family (I5 and Miccoli 2017).

6.2 *The welfare state, economic diversification and changing life aspirations: 1960s–1980s*

The 1960s was a period of Italian economic miracles with the expansion of the automobile company FIAT, a GDP per capita growth of 134 per cent between 1952 and 1970 and the growing production and consumption of consumer goods (Duggan 1994). Nonetheless, unemployment was still high, particularly in the South, where it was three times that in the North (Duggan 1994). These national-level developments had reverberations at the local level. Cisternino's infrastructure and access to public services improved and aspirations rapidly changed as symbols of modernity – in the form of scooters (Loconte 2005), televisions, washing machines and cars (I3, I10) – arrived in the town. Yet, in the early 1960s, Cisternino's economy was still primarily based on small-scale agricultural production; in fact, most households produced food for family consumption. However, three transformations with ambiguous migration effects were unfolding: i) the expansion of the state as a provider and regulator; ii) the diversification of economic and employment opportunities; and iii) the transformation of life aspirations.

6.2.1 The growing presence of the state

Across the country, the Italian state expanded its presence through bureaucratic functions, the development of infrastructure, the extension of protection to its citizens, the broadening of public school provision, the extraction of taxes and the introduction of military conscription. Some of these new interventions promoted a feeling of progress and others strengthened the controlling presence of the state.

First, infrastructural developments included the arrival of water directly in homes, new roads, the paving of old roads, street lighting and motorised transport services to the railroad stations and to nearby towns. The improvement of transport connections decreased the travel time between the fairly isolated Cisternino and the coastal area, Brindisi, the provincial capital and Taranto, a major port city on the western coast of Apulia (see Figure 2).

Second, from 1957, the government enacted a policy of development intervention in the south which established large industries to promote 'underdeveloped' areas. The city of Taranto, about an hour's drive west of Cisternino, became the site of a new steel industry. During the 1960s, Taranto rapidly transitioned to the secondary and tertiary sectors: 40,000 jobs were created between 1951 and 1971 of which 25,000 in industry and 15,000 in commerce and services (Cerrito 2010). This industrial complex stopped emigration from Taranto and prompted regional immigration and commuting from nearby towns. A similar effect was found in other new industrial centres in the south (Cerrito 2010) such as Brindisi, about an hour's drive south-east of Cisternino.

Third, agriculture received a boost through the Common Agricultural Policy (CAP) created in 1962. Through the European Community's (EC) subsidies and guaranteed prices, farmers could buy machinery and increase production. Almost all interviewees mentioned the agricultural boom of the 1980s, when farmers earned high incomes, mainly through grapes and wine production. However, by the early 1990s, the CAP support no longer incentivised cultivation through production-based payments. Instead, farmers received contributions to their incomes, which decreased the incentive to produce (Frascarelli 2017). Interviewees indicated that this is when agriculture became not only unprofitable but also unsustainable as the costs were higher than the profits. Several landowners sold their land in this period and agriculture became marginal in many households.

Fourth, the state introduced labour-rights protection measures as well as the provision of pensions and welfare benefits. At the national level, the 1970s' Charter of Workers' Rights ensured that a base salary was set, that workers' health and safety were safeguarded and that employment conditions were regulated so that workers could not be dismissed for unjust reasons (Molé 2010). In Cisternino, labour unionists actively protected labour rights such as those of agricultural seasonal migrant workers and also helped local men to secure jobs in the local economy and in the large factories in Northern Italy, such as FIAT (I12, I22). By the 1970s, throughout Italy – including in Cisternino – people began to see the first signs that modernity was accessible to them through pensions, higher wages and public housing (Duggan 1994).

Fifth, the national government financed the public sector with increased access to education, and the expansion of civil servants and welfare services (Zamagni 1987). In Cisternino, we see the emergence of rural schools as well as a teachers' training school funded by Salesiani clerics. Civil servants included teachers who found employment either in rural schools or in the national education system's primary, middle and secondary schools (I18; I24) and cultural services such as librarians and promoters of cultural initiatives (I2) and public administrators (I29).¹⁴ A system of public competitions (*concorsi*) encouraged people to take public exams and place themselves in public rankings that would lead to a public job allocation.¹⁵ This was the approach taken by people in Cisternino who entered the health sector (I14) and the national railroad company (brother of I10, I15).

[...] around the 1970s...in fact, Cisternino became a municipality primarily of public employees. [...] Let's say that the social fabric changed; while before it was primarily a social fabric based on peasants, it then became one between the public employee and, I don't know how to say it, factory workers (I29).^{vi}

Among civil servants there are members of the armed forces, a sector of historical importance as the latter gave access to a secure income and a good pension after 30 years of service. It was common for families to have someone in the army, particularly the branch of the *carabinieri*, which secured a household's steady income. In many of the families interviewed, there were multiple brothers and sons in one of the security branches (I3, I7, I12, I25, I29, I30). However, going into public work or the armed forces was not always linked to a desire to serve the country, as expressed by this female interviewee: 'The only workplace that was on the horizon at this time was that in the army' (I12).^{vii}

The choice of public work also had a downside: the requirement of internal migration. Public employment was frequently in other cities, often in northern regions and only much later in their career did civil servants hope to be reassigned to locations closer to 'home'. For many, this never took place and they either moved around Italy frequently or established themselves and their families in other Italian cities (I15).

State expansion also involved greater bureaucracy, control of activities and heftier duties. Taxation was a recurrent theme across the population, which reported heavy taxes on pensions, even when the earnings were gained abroad (I6), taxes on rubbish (I7, I16), heavy regulations on keeping farm animals (I12, I23), selling produce from your land (I13), taxes on land and housing (I15, I21) and the regulations and taxes needed to employ personnel (I8, I14, I22). The increase of bureaucratic hurdles, labour laws and employment and business taxation seems to have had an important impact on previously semi-informal employment activities, such as artisans' workshops. One interviewee commented on the reason for the rapid disappearance of the previously large group of artisans,

Taxes. Taxes because until then everything was informal in reality and so they earned and they put in their pocket [...]. The bureaucracy and taxes have ruined this small...this way so easy to manage the economy. The stricter they become...the more they made the bureaucratic support stricter and the more they killed...the more they killed these areas (I2).^{viii}

¹⁴ A patron-client system clearly benefited the inhabitants of Cisternino, when a local lawyer became President of the Brindisi Province. As part of his public service, this person, who served from 1975 to 1984, helped many people get a job at the provincial level and in various other public administration posts (I29). As stated by Domenico Miccoli, 'he fed many people, through many salaries, to young people and many families. Every morning a bus chuck-full of young people went to work to Brindisi, at city hall, in the prefecture and in many other state institutions, by most of all in the province where he was the President' (Miccoli 2017: 38).

¹⁵ This is a source of grievances in the 1960s to 1970s as a patron-client system prevented many people without 'contacts' from accessing the security of public jobs (Duggan 1994). This was echoed in an interview (I14) in relation to entering the armed forces and the difficulty of doing so without a contact (*la raccomandazione*).

Loconte (2005) echoes this statement when he suggested that artisans, who had relied on informal labour – often young boys who started as apprentices and were working ‘for fun’, just to be ‘off the streets’ and were compensated with small amounts – could not be expected to offer a work contract and to respect the rights of the worker when they could barely take care of their own family (Loconte 2005: 74). Practically, the state’s aim of eliminating the black market and informal labour, which had been customary in Cisternino’s micro-economy, was a *coup de grâce* for many artisans and peasants alike, who could no longer count on these forms of informal employment.

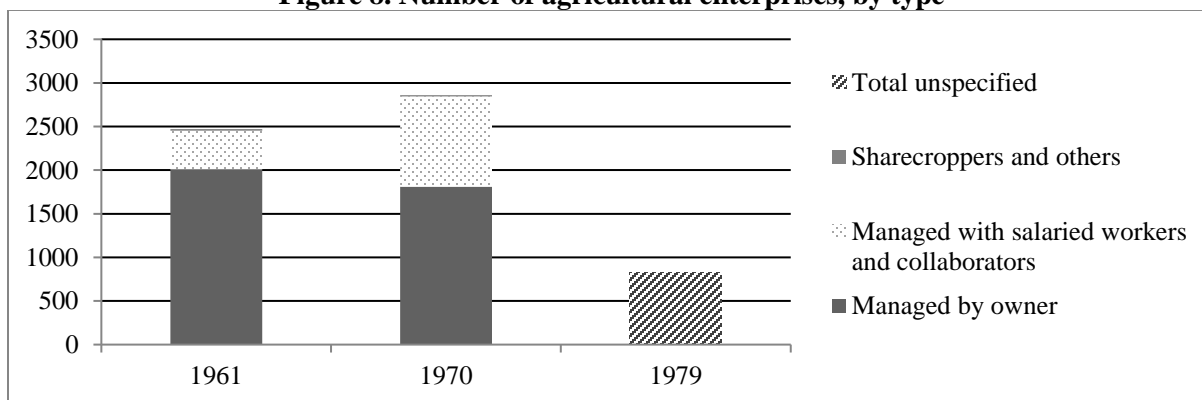
Lastly, the introduction of compulsory military service was often linked to the growth of migration aspirations. Through military service many young men gained or improved their literacy (I18) and shifted their aspirations to a life beyond that which they could have in Cisternino (I22), including getting married to women from other places (I30). This mind-opening effect was similar to that, described previously, experienced by WWII war veterans.

6.2.2 Local economic expansion

In addition to the rapid emergence of industrial jobs in nearby Taranto and Brindisi and the opening of the public sector, Cisternino saw income-generating opportunities in agriculture, construction and, starting in the early 1990s, small manufacturing. Agricultural opportunities were greatly facilitated by the price-fixing of the previously discussed CAP. From the 1960s to the 1980s, having good land suitable for vineyards meant having a very good income. In fact, the number of agricultural enterprises increased between 1961 and 1970 (Figure 8). Two interviewees who saved during their migration and bought fertile land reported having such a good income that they were able to buy a car on a year’s profit (I3), while someone with an industrial salaried job in Taranto considered resigning from it to focus on agriculture (I14). However, the management of land was changing, as more owners hired salaried workers to manage their land (Figure 8).

To some extent, this period also coincided with the expansion of mechanised agriculture, leading to a reduced demand for some agricultural labour. For example, spraying the vines could now be done in just a few hours with a simple machine (I14). Moreover, agricultural labour had become more expensive due to its formalisation, so that local agricultural jobs shrank as landowners eliminated many non-essential agricultural tasks. Thus, while this agricultural boom provided improved standards of living for landowners and generated salaried jobs to some farmers, it did not greatly increase employment opportunities. By 1979, the number of agricultural enterprises dropped from about 2,800 to just over 800,¹⁶ signaling the beginning of the demise of this agricultural boom.

Figure 8. Number of agricultural enterprises, by type



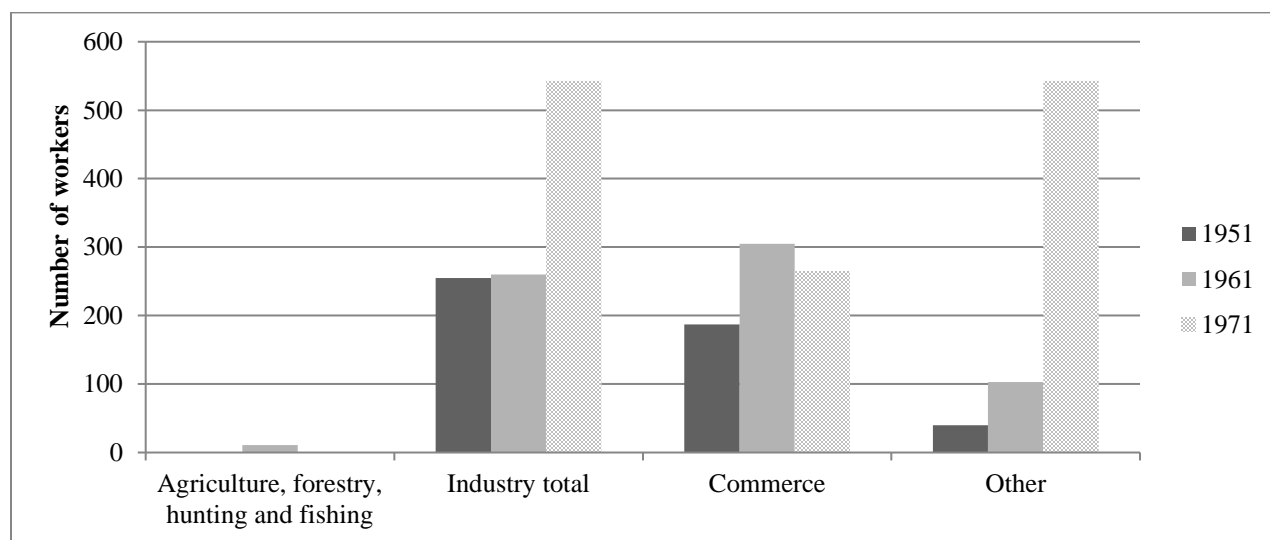
Source: Istituto Centrale di Statistica, General Census of Agriculture, 1961, 1970, 1979; Istituto Centrale di Statistica.

¹⁶ This seems to indicate that many households no longer declared agriculture to be the family’s income-generating activity.

A fallback plan for peasant farmers was construction. Such employment opportunities expanded rapidly during the construction boom. Four forces came together to spur this boom: first, a shift in a preference for modern concrete housing rather than the traditional stone housing. Second, a preference for owning a house in an urban centre rather than in the countryside. This was often a strategic plan by ageing residents who needed a smaller dwelling and wanted to have easier access to services such as the doctor, the chemist and the supermarket. Third, home-ownership was traditionally important and parents began building homes as a future dwelling for their children (I8, I18). Lastly, an important financial input came from migrants, their remittances and their desire to build a home to secure their eventual return.

Starting in the late 1980s, a small family-run garment industry emerged. These workshops cut, assembled and sewed garments for large industries in the north and abroad. There were some five or six workshops in Cisternino, employing up to 40 young women in each (I30). The level of formality of such employment is unclear but information collected seems to suggest that not all this employment was formal (I8). Eventually, rising labour costs prevented these workshops from beating off competition from Albania and Romania, leading to their closure by the mid-2000s (I30).

Figure 9. Number of workers by economic sector in Cisternino, 1951–1971



Source: Istituto Centrale di Statistica, General Census of Agriculture, 1961, 1970, 1979; Istituto Centrale di Statistica, General Census of Industry and Commerce, 1951, 1961 and 1971.

Note: Agricultural data availability differs: no data for 1951; 1971 data are, in fact, for 1970.

The agricultural and industrial censuses show that agricultural enterprises continued to dominate in Cisternino but that, over the 1951–1979 period, enterprises in other sectors grew (Figure A7). Although incomplete, employment-by-sector data show that employment shifted strongly towards non-agricultural jobs, with the rapid growth of positions in local industry (which includes food processing, textiles and leather and wood products), commerce and other unspecified sectors (Figure 9). This transition away from land-tied employment reflected a change in economic restructuring as well as a shift in the population’s lifestyle and occupation aspirations – explored next.

6.2.3 Changing ideas of desirable lifestyles and occupations

The post-WWII period ushered in important socio-cultural changes at the national level. For the lower classes, it was a period of positive change, with increasing wages and the 1971 law to promote public housing, while the glittery images in glossy magazines and on television encouraged the consumption of factory-made products (Duggan 1994). Elements of these nationwide cultural shifts were visible in Cisternino starting in the 1950s and, particularly, the 1960s. Having experienced a childhood of poverty

and entered the workforce at the age of 10 or 11, interviewees generally displayed great ambiguity about the comforts of modern life. They appreciated how they were able to buy a bicycle and, later, a car. People remembered the arrival of the first television in the hamlet of Casalini (I3, I10) and women their desire to have a washing machine (I10). However, they were also skeptical about the growth of materialistic behaviour and the turn away from hard manual work and towards non-manual work – particularly noticeable among the young generations.

However, this shift in occupational aspirations started over half a century ago, when many of the interviewees themselves – young people back then – moved away from farm work. While economic reasons certainly played an important role in leaving agricultural work, young men and women had a strong desire to change their life (I5, I11, I12, I13, I21). After all, agricultural work was hard and financially risky (Punzi 2003). It is hardly surprising that many young people wished for a life away from agriculture and that, as an alternative, they preferred or even aspired to work in a factory (I5, I12, I13, I21; Zizzi 1985).¹⁷

[Young people] wanted to do another job, not in the countryside (I12).^{ix}

Many wanted a job in a factory; they aspired to something better... (I15).^x

But why did you leave? Because I, let's say, you always had to go where you could earn. So the mentality to change, to change life, to change... (I21).^{xi}

Concurrently, the increased access to education was already noticeable among many of the interviewees who were born between 1930 and 1960. While their parents were either illiterate or had up to just two years of formal schooling, the interviewees reached between the third and the fifth grade of elementary school. These were still very low educational levels but it meant that young people in the 1950s had a basic literacy, which was regarded as important. In particular, interviewees stressed the importance of doing maths so as not to be cheated. Nonetheless, parents did not encourage the pursuit of education beyond a basic literacy. Parents' desire for their children seemed to be primarily for the latter to leave behind a life of sacrifices through a secure income and some comfort and education was valued as a way to ensure basic functionality in modern society and potentially of getting access to public service jobs, which required basic education levels (Loconte 2005). Economic constraints, however, seem to have been another important explanatory factor as, in this period, many families could not afford to have a child study and not contribute to the family's income (O3, I24).

Overall, educational achievements did not seem to lead to significant skills improvement. However, even basic literacy was sufficient to change a person's aspirations away from a life of sacrifice and adversity and towards stable work and an income. In fact, it was sufficient to shake up the limited social mobility embedded in the regional economic system. If, in the past, young adults did not think of alternatives to their parents' work, revealing an acceptance of their lot in life, basic education made dreams of a different lifestyle no longer seem extravagant. This sudden courage was observed in other transitioning rural communities – such as among rice-workers in Vercelli, Piedmont (Cinotto 2011).

One important consequence of these aims for greater financial security and non-agricultural occupations was that these frequently implied migration beyond the short-distance internal migrations for seasonal agricultural work:

I went because they accepted my application on the railways. I found a secure job, peaceful, so I accepted and we left (I15, migrant to Varese).^{xii}

¹⁷ It is important to note that, despite these benefits, not everybody accepted the working conditions in factories and preferred to look for alternatives jobs after trying a brief spell of factory work (I13, I14, I16).

Here [in Cisternino] you worked, you did not earn anything...and I was young, so I...it was another life...let's say [there] at the end of the month you were happy because your envelope was full [of cash]...you could also go and have fun, you could buy...a car. But then there were those who made sacrifices and said, 'Before the car, I am going to buy myself a house'... (I26, returnee from Switzerland).^{xiii}

Intra-family relations were also rapidly changing, specifically parent–children relationships and the role of women. Traditionally, when children became young adults they became the financial caretakers of their parents, creating an interdependency that continued even after marriage. For example, parents divided the family land between all their adult children, who started working the land for their family; in return, each of the adult children would give a portion of their agricultural products and derivatives, such as tomato sauce and dried figs, to the parents who no longer had land, produce or an income. While, on the one hand, this resulted in the strong solidarity of the family unit, it also resulted in the rebellion of some individuals, who felt that the only escape from family obligations was marriage or emigration (I1, I23, I24, I27). This suggests the important role of negative social capital, particularly in excess claims on adult children (Portes 1998) in encouraging emigration, particularly among individuals who felt constrained by family demands. Young people wanted to start their life independently without the burdens imposed on them by their family and the community (de Haas 2010b), as expressed by this interviewee:

She left for another reason; she had married, she did not get along with her mother-in-law, the husband was an only child, and she was an evil step-mother, the mother-in-law and she said I must go...she said, because, to get out of that situation. [...] it was necessary to have a change of air... (I24).^{xiv}

Young-adult males also saw migration as a means of breaking away from the rigid rules imposed by parents and exploring what life had to offer elsewhere in the world (I7, I23).

Despite young people's desire to move away from agricultural work, there was no outright hatred of the land. However, through this process, the role of the land shifted. Although it remained an asset that provided some security, even a good income for a short time, it generally became less central in local livelihoods. Over this period, farmers freed themselves from the limitations that the land had placed on their economic, social and political relevance in the community and that had confined them to the lowest social class (Semenaro 2005). Nonetheless, the land continued to hold a cultural value associated with growing and eating one's own quality produce (Punzi 2003) and to have a symbolic value for the family through its historical links (I14). Land came to represent a valuable asset that always gives something back and allows a family to live with dignity (Punzi 2003). Even today, several decades after their departure, some migrants return regularly to farm the land, harvest olives and grapes (I19) or pay day labourers to take care of the land that they can no longer farm themselves (I18). Pluri-activity is still visible among some of the interviewees who hold salaried jobs while also working the land (O3), which remains a safety net and the source of a large part of the produce consumed by many families.

7 Migration as part of post-WWII social transformation

After presenting the profound ways in which Cisternino was transformed in the post-WWII period, this section presents an analysis of the mechanisms that affected overall migration patterns and, more specifically, the evolution of the composition, volume, direction and duration of migration. In the last subsection, we draw attention to the insights gained from adopting a social transformation perspective, specifically the interaction and sequencing of particular social changes and their potential effects on long-term migration patterns.

7.1 Explaining migration processes

The processes in the previous section can be partially explained by existing theories. Migrants from Cisternino displayed an interest in obtaining high-wage jobs in agriculture and industry in Northern Italy, matching the basic tenets of neoclassical economic theory (Harris and Todaro 1970). In contrast, while some mechanisation took place, reducing the number of agricultural jobs, it was not an important factor shaping migration (Massey, Arango, Hugo *et al.* 1993). Mechanisation acted along with other processes, such as the formalisation of agricultural work – which made it difficult for landowners to hire day labourers with a formal contract – and farm workers' change in preferences for non-agricultural work.

The observed processes also showed that migration was frequently a household decision taken to diversify the risks embedded in subsistence agriculture. In the absence of safety nets and investment funds and with limited access to wage-earning jobs, families used migration to reduce the number of people who depended on small parcels of land (Stark and Bloom 1985). About half the siblings in the families interviewed had engaged in migration, which became the preferred risk-diversification strategy. This latter was not a new phenomenon though as, up until WWII, families had already been securing their situation through diversification, with pluri-activities and regional mobilities. The main change was that, in the immediate post-WWII period, families in Cisternino reached out for opportunities to decrease family uncertainties by extending pre-existing seasonal regional migrations with both new seasonal internal migration and long-term migration to Northern Italy and international migration to Belgium and Switzerland.

The case of Cisternino also reveals that important stimuli from urban and international environments affected people's life aspirations and made migration an instrumental means to achieve them (de Haas 2014; Mabogunje 1970). Starting with ex-soldiers and with emigration recruitment programmes set up by the state, information rapidly disseminated about the possibility of having a better life elsewhere. Material evidence of that 'better life' was embodied in the arrival of motorised transport and factory-made products, which made the feeling of modernity both concrete and within reach among the population. The evidence of possible alternative livelihoods generated the desire, particularly among young people, to move away from 'a life of sacrifice'. Thus, exogenous factors linked with a system of exchange intervened to generate the wish to earn higher wages and acquire modern goods (Mabogunje 1970).

In the short- to mid-term, Cisternino tells the story of a rural community characterised by a lack of safety nets but one where migration generated savings and remittance-driven development (Taylor 1999). This could have had important consequences for further migration and the development of a culture of migration. However, Cisternino shows a departure from this model, as migration rapidly lost its attractiveness. Analysis suggests that this turn of events was associated with the role of the state which, in this period, introduced safety nets. While the state had been absent throughout modern history, it increased its presence in this period. Its safety nets were provided at a time of heightened uncertainty when the old socio-economic model was disintegrating but a new economic structure was not yet in place. While many people attempted to adapt to these rapid changes, for many others migration was a less-risky alternative, particularly when the state provided the channels to emigrate. The intensity and the types of state intervention grew rapidly over this period, with some enhancing people's ability to migrate and others reducing dreams of migration by providing greater social protection (see Kureková 2011). This highlights the important role of the state in facilitating and reducing migration over a fairly short period.

These state interventions, combined with the growth of local private sectors, offered Cisternino's residents a greater range of options. All in all, the livelihoods of those who stayed behind improved greatly over this period and feelings of relative deprivation in relation to other Italian regions and international destinations subsided (Stark and Yitzhaki 1988). This led to a rapid decrease in migration and the increase of returnees who aimed to take advantage of new business opportunities (Taylor 1999), strengthening the feeling that growth was taking place in Cisternino. Land and housing were important safety nets for those who stayed behind throughout this period and for many of the returnees but were not determinants. Instead, we observe how the rapid intervention of the state can drastically alter migration patterns. Through it, the

state contributed to the decrease in international migration while encouraging specific forms of internal migration linked to public work and stimulating regional commuting, as people found suitable employment either in state-subsidised industries or in the public sector in the region's main cities.

7.2 *Migration composition, volume, direction and duration*

7.2.1 Composition

Young men returning from war were among the first to embrace migration, followed by farm workers and artisans alike, who initially embarked on state-sponsored migration to the coal mines in Northern Europe and other international destinations. These early migration flows included various segments of the population, both the landed and the landless, peasants and artisans. Thus, while Table 1 was useful for understanding the livelihoods of the population up until the immediate post-WWII period, it was less relevant for understanding migration, because early migrations were a common risk-diversification strategy in many households that sought to supplement their incomes. In other words, because this social transformation resulted in the dismantling of the micro-economic sector that had regulated this community for many decades, all social groups found themselves in uncertain socio-economic conditions, which led some to try local adaptation and others to migrate.

7.2.2 Volume

Because migration was at once a risk-diversification strategy and a way to access jobs that were more secure and modern, it is easy to understand that it was present in most households (Figure A3) and that it gained strength rapidly as levels of uncertainty grew and alternative jobs emerged elsewhere. This also explains why migration just as rapidly declined and morphed into non-migratory mobility as many residents and returnees found alternative local and regional employment opportunities. Thus, while in the 1940s–1950s risk-diversification strategies encouraged emigration, in the 1960s–1980s these strategies led to a decrease in migration and an increase in non-migratory mobility.

7.2.3 Direction

The geographical spread of migration was influenced by ex-soldiers who experienced life in other Italian regions. However, the state was of key importance as well, as it was heavily engaged in the organisation of migration to the Belgian mines as well as in the provision of information on employment opportunities as far away as Venezuela. Over the years, migration followed migrant networks as well as employment opportunities and public employment assignments. In the 1960s–1980s, state economic and social interventions engendered a 'spatial substitution effect', deflecting, in large part, potential migrations to Northern Italy, Switzerland and Germany towards regional industrial centres.

7.2.4 Duration

Migration was an effective short-term solution to shifting socio-economic conditions and their related uncertainties but, as times changed, emigration was no longer a desirable solution and return became viable: owning a home and some land provided security, while earning a salary from nearby employment allowed residents to have quite a comfortable life. This quick shift also reveals that, for many people in Cisternino, the idea of a 'good life' was not necessarily about being away from the land and rural settings but about reaching a certain level of security and a desire to move away from 'a life of sacrifice'. This made the choice of staying or returning highly likely once their desired security levels were met.

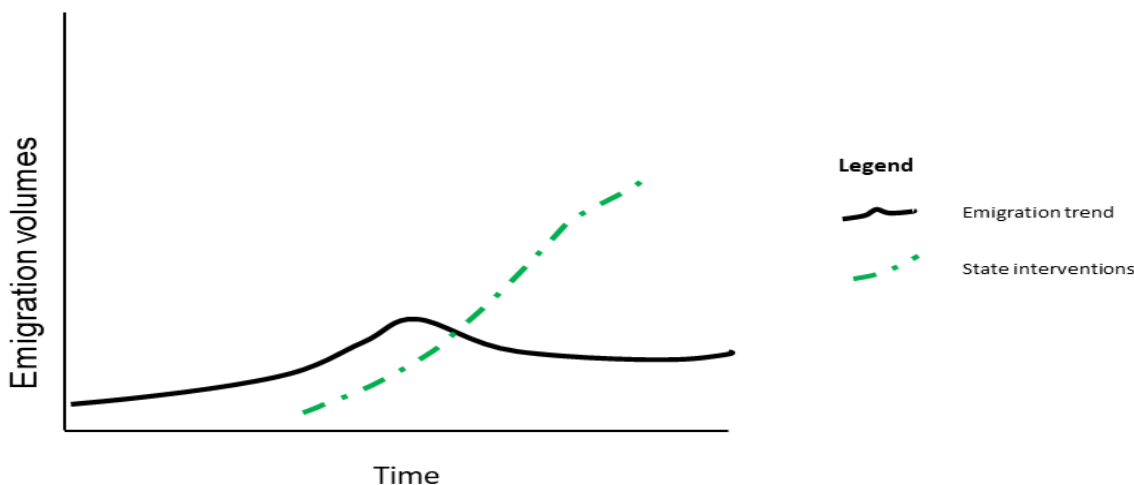
7.3 The relevance of the interplay and sequencing of changing social factors

One of the important advantages of the social transformation framework is that it enables analysis of how changes in individual dimensions interplay and follow specific sequences, influencing migration patterns. The social changes observed over the two stages of social transformation presented above provide some insights from this analysis.

In the 1940s–1950s, the implementation of national policies that aimed to convert the informal into the formal – through taxes and labour rights – affected artisans and peasants negatively, at a time when people had begun to become aware of alternative ‘modern’ livelihoods elsewhere (*interplay of dimensional transitions*). Concurrently, no society-wide safety nets were yet in place to protect those left stranded by these changes (*the sequencing of change*). This configuration of changing factors sparked both local adaptation and the emergence of migration. We can imagine two alternative scenarios with migration effects: first, had the services and goods provided by artisans not experienced a decline in this period due to a change in local tastes, then the impact of the bureaucracy on their employment capacity might have been overcome, many jobs might have been preserved and artisans and their employees might have been less prone to emigrate; second, had families not been able to rely on land, even on small plots, the volume of departures might have been higher.

In the 1960s–1980s, we observe economic restructuring and growth, the expansion of the welfare state and the reinvention of local livelihoods. In practice, we see the *interplay of this configuration of dimensional transitions*: the population’s interest in holding on to the land and continuing agricultural activities, which provided a safe base; the emergence of other sectors such as construction and the garment workshops locally; and the regional industries which offered alternatives to migration and also made return attractive for many young families (Figure 10).

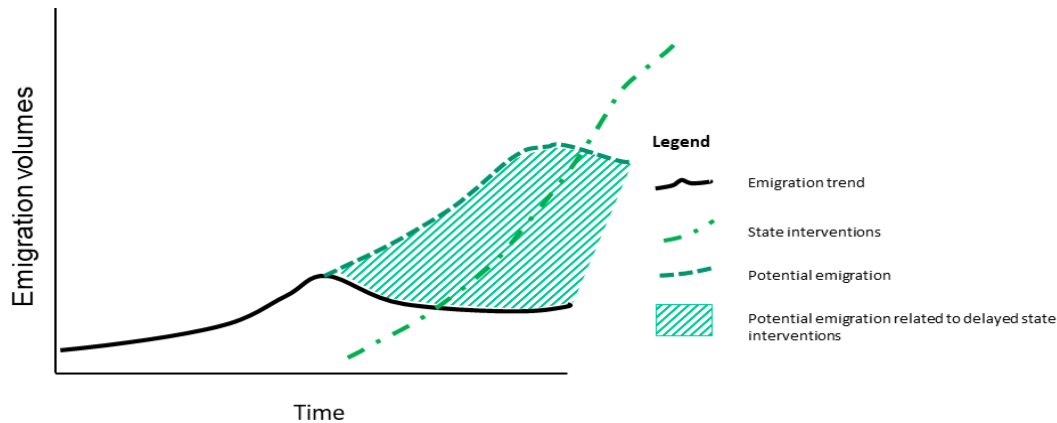
Figure 10. State interventions and emigration, actual



However, had the state not introduced or delayed a development policy for the south that created regional industrial hubs, Cisternino could have experienced a protracted period of high migration, which would have probably solidified as a proper ‘culture of migration’ – a phenomenon that only surfaced marginally in Cisternino (*the sequencing of change*) (Figure 11). Nonetheless, we must also account for the fact that, despite greater access to formal education and higher literacy, the occupational aspirations of the population remained tied to wage and salary security, which could both be satisfied locally and regionally.

Had professional aspirations grown rapidly, then we can easily imagine that the type of state interventions that created low-skilled industrial jobs would have had a limited impact on emigration.

Figure 11. State interventions and emigration, hypothetical



8 Conclusion

This paper set out to examine how post-WWII social transformation affected the traditional agricultural society of Cisternino, the living conditions of its population and its migratory and non-migratory mobility patterns. Two periods of focus emerged: the 1940s–1950s, when the impact of the war on society was still strong and emigration began to diversify; and the 1960s–1980s, when a combination of shifting life aspirations, stronger welfare provisions and wider options in the local economy first increased migration and then diverted some of it towards regional commuting to nearby industrial hubs, which ultimately reduced migration aspirations and boosted people’s ability to stay.

Migration, non-migration and return in Cisternino can be understood through the interplay of changes in different dimensions: (i) traditional skills and landholdings becoming insufficient to sustain aspired livelihoods, (ii) state expansion, (iii) changing life aspirations among the population and (iv) the economic restructuring which first dismantled the pre-existing economic-agrarian system and then introduced new economic options suitable to the population’s new ambitions (e.g. public work and garment workshops). However, landholdings and traditional skills were not as important as hypothesised in shaping migration because they lost some relevance in people’s livelihoods. Nevertheless, having an asset, such as a small plot of land, provided a safety net which allowed some family members to stay, reducing the overall volume of migration.

In general, migration proved to be an additional risk-diversification strategy that permitted households to overcome temporary economic hardship during Cisternino’s postwar social transformation. However, households had been deploying risk-diversification strategies all along, which resulted in a pluri-activity involving engagement in various agricultural activities with different forms of temporary migratory and non-migratory mobility. Thus, the change was that, in the immediate post-WWII period, internal and international migration became the dominant risk-diversification strategy.

We also observed that the development of new industrial cities in the South symbolised the incorporation of parts of Southern Italy into a higher development tier (Skeldon 1997). These new industrial centres became immigration hubs from the region and Italy overall while, for Cisternino, the proximity enabled a new form of mobility – non-migratory commuting. This confirms the value of considering macro-level development processes across geographical areas to explain shifts in mobility patterns.

In addition to economic factors, migration was also associated with marriage and the escape from strict family control. Non-migration was associated with social and family rules – often the parents’ desire

not to see their adult children emigrate. Non-migration was also tied to a lack of skills – such as illiteracy – in the 1940s–1950s while, in 1960s–1980s, non-migration was a choice linked to good living standards locally. Factors shaping return rotated around lifecycle decisions – such as the children’s starting school and the parents’ retirement – as well as to the emergence of economic opportunities in Cisternino, particularly from the 1960s onwards.

This study provides valuable evidence of how cultural transitions influence migration in their own right, confirming the argument made by Mabogunje (1970) in regards to rural–urban migration in West Africa. New ideas of a ‘good life’ entered the town and shifted people’s perceptions of their role in society as, for the first time, people there believed that they could aspire to a life outside agriculture. The origins of these new ideas are difficult to pinpoint exactly – ex-soldiers, railroad transport, early mass media, magazines – but they certainly created a feeling that the hard farm life, the ‘life of sacrifice’, that had been taken for granted for many generations, could be avoided. An awareness of what was ‘out there’, that it was no longer ‘extravagant’ to think of changing one’s life, was strengthened during the early 1950s, once migrants and early returnees showed concrete proof of their occupational and financial improvements.

Lastly, the analysis also suggests that it is essential to observe how changes in social dimensions take place and follow one another (*the sequencing of change*). Implementation of the strong state protection of workers and taxation on already vulnerable sectors weakened employers who were no longer able to employ informally, thus removing employment options at a time when safety nets were not strong enough to support the population. At this time, the state’s official solution was to encourage state-supported emigration. Attempts at local adaptation before migration showed people’s determination to stay put. The stronger intervention of the state by the 1960s resulted in people finding alternatives to migration; thus, despite the establishment of migrant networks, state economic interventions curtailed emigration from the early 1970s and also encouraged return. This reveals the dominant role of the state in shaping livelihoods and migration decisions in a rural micro-economy, both in the short and the long-term. In fact, the state’s role seems dominant at times of high uncertainty.

While we do not expect a social transformation to unfold in a similar manner in other contexts or to lead to the same migration consequences, the case of Cisternino has shown the value of studying specific transitions in the economic, political, demographic, technological and cultural dimensions when analysing their effect on various social groups and both their short- and long-term migration outcomes. These findings may be relevant to understanding both how other rural agricultural societies that have undergone rapid shifts in socio-economic structure and rapid migration transitions and how differences in such social transformations may explain different migration outcomes.

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Annex

Table A1. Interviewee characteristics

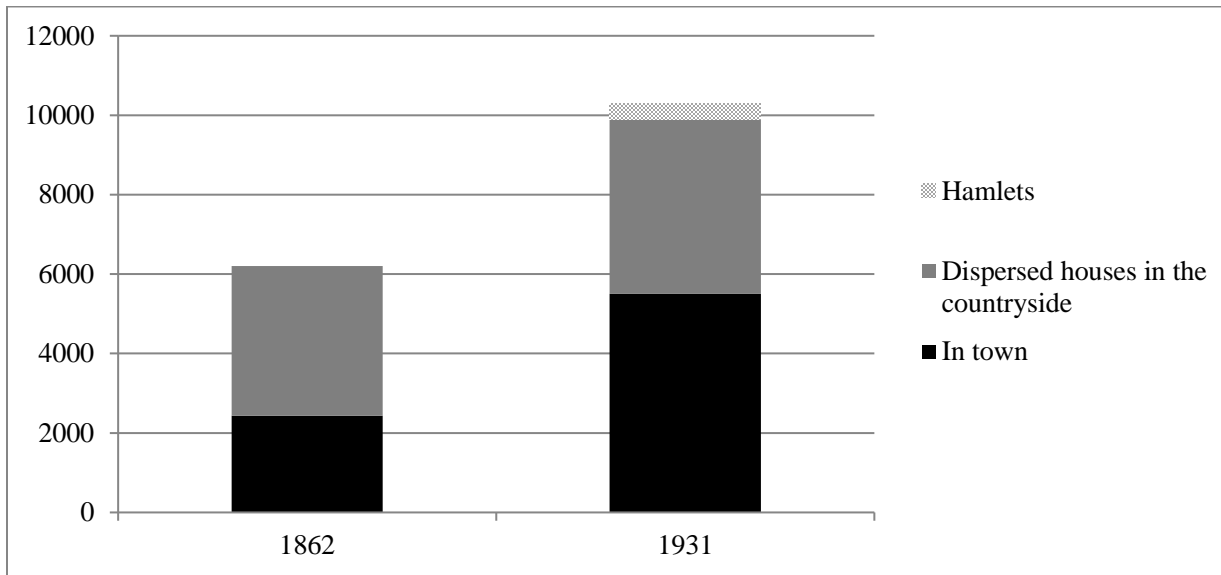
No.	Interview number	M/F	Year of birth	Migration status (standardised)	Year of migration	Destination	Choice of destination	Motive for migration	Year of subsequent migration	Destination subsequent migration	Return year	Remigration date
1	01a	M	1935	International migrant/returnee	1960	Kreuzlingen, CH	Family/friends already there	No work/ job secured elsewhere	n/a	n/a	1976	n/a
2	01b	F	1938	International migrant/returnee	1962	Kreuzlingen, CH	Husband	Marriage to migrant	n/a	n/a	1976	n/a
3	02a	F	1954	International/ internal migrant/ returnee	1962	Cisternino	n/a	Return of parents	1971	Milan	1972	n/a
4	02b	M	unknown	International migrant/returnee	1951	Belgium	Formal recruitment	No work/job secured elsewhere	n/a	n/a	1964	n/a
5	03	M	1935	Internal seasonal migrant (2–3 months a year) and returnee	1959	Turin	Family/friends already there	Higher wages, left without work	n/a	n/a	1975	n/a
6	04	M	1934	Internal migrant	1958	Varese	Family/friends already there	No work and left without work	n/a	n/a	Return considered but no return	n/a
7	05a	M	1939	Internal migrant and returnee	1962	Milan	Family/friends already there	Higher wages, left without work	n/a	n/a	1967	n/a
8	05b	F	1937	Internal migrant	1963	Milan	Family/friends already there + husband	Marriage to migrant	n/a	n/a	Return considered but no return	n/a
9	06	F	1948	International migrant/ returnee	1971	Duisburg, Germany	Husband already there	Marriage to migrant	n/a	n/a	1983	n/a
10	07	M	1945	International migrant/returnee	1963	Germany	Family/friends already there	Dissatisfied with life at home	1964	Schaffausen, CH	1974	n/a

11	08	M	1944	Internal > international > returnee > remigrant > returnee	1960	Turin	Study	Study and/or sought specialised work	1964	Taranto, Germany, Switzerland	1970, 1981	n/a
12	09	M	1934	Internal/ international migrant	1957	Varese	Family/friends already there	Higher wages, left without work	1957	Como, Schaffausen, CH	Return considered but no return	n/a
13	10	F	1938	Internal migrant and returnee	1959	Rome	Location-specific domestic work	Family needed cash	n/a	n/a	1962	n/a
14	11	M	1952	International migrant/ returnee	1970	Belgium	Family/friends already there + exploration	Experience and curiosity	n/a	n/a	1985	n/a
15	12	F	1949	International migrant/ returnee	1970	Switzerland	Husband already there	Marriage to migrant	n/a	n/a	1974	n/a
16	13a	M	1939	Internal migrant and returnee	1960	Casal Monferrato > Turin	Military/WWII	No work and left without work	n/a	n/a	1992	n/a
17	13b	F	1941	Internal migrant and returnee	1970	Turin	Family/friends already there	No work and left without work	n/a	n/a	1994	n/a
18	14a	M	1948	Non-migrant	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a
19	14b	M	1974	Non-migrant	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a
20	15a	M	1940	Internal migrant	1972	Varese	Public work	Higher wages, left with work	1980	Milan	Return considered but no return	n/a
21	15b	F	1941	Internal migrant	1972	Varese	Husband already there	Marriage to migrant	1980	Milan	Return considered but no return	n/a
22	16	M	1944	Non-migrant	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a
23	17	F	1948	Internal migrant	1961	Bari	Location-specific domestic work	Family needed cash	n/a	n/a	1969	1970
24	18	F	1949	Non-migrant	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a
25	19a	M	1954	Internal migrant	1980	Milan	Informal recruitment	Study and/or sought specialised work	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a

26	19b	F	1955	Internal migrant	1980	Milan	Husband already there	Marriage to migrant	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a
27	20a	M	1924	Internal migrant and returnee	1958	Arcore	Formal recruitment	No work/job secured elsewhere	n/a	n/a	1959	n/a
28	20b	F	1930	Non-migrant	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a
29	21	M	1924	Internal/international migrant/returnee	1943	Val d'Aosta, France	Military/WWII	No work and left without work	1945	Returned 2 years, then Val d'Aosta	1950	1950s
30	22	M	1936	Internal migrant and returnee	1989	Brianza	Public work	Study and/or sought specialised work	n/a	n/a	unknown	n/a
31	23a	M	1934	Non-migrant	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a
32	23b	F	1942	Non-migrant	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a
33	23c	M	unknown	Non-migrant	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a
34	24	F	1947	Non-migrant	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a
35	25a	M	1954	Second generation in Belgium	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a
36	25b	F	1957	International migrant	1978	Belgium	Husband already there	Marriage to migrant	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a
37	25c	M	unknown	International migrant	1949	Belgium	Formal recruitment	No work/job secured elsewhere	n/a	n/a	Return considered but no return	n/a
38	25d	F	1955	International migrant/returnee	1975	Switzerland	Husband already there	Marriage to migrant	n/a	n/a	1976	n/a
39	26a	M	1943	International migrant/returnee	1961	Germany	Family/friends already there	Higher wages, left without work	1961	Belgium	1977	1963
40	26b	F	1945	International migrant/returnee	1965	Switzerland	Husband	Marriage to migrant	n/a	n/a	1977	n/a
41	27a	M	1947	Internal migrant and returnee	1971	Varese	Public work	Study and/or sought specialised work	1972	Ghedi	1973	n/a
42	27b	M	1898	International migrant/returnee	1919	Detroit, USA	Family/friends already there	Dissatisfied with life at home	n/a	n/a	1928	n/a
43	28	M	1947	International migrant/returnee	1966	Langenthal, CH	Family/friends already there	No work/job secured elsewhere	n/a	n/a	1982	n/a

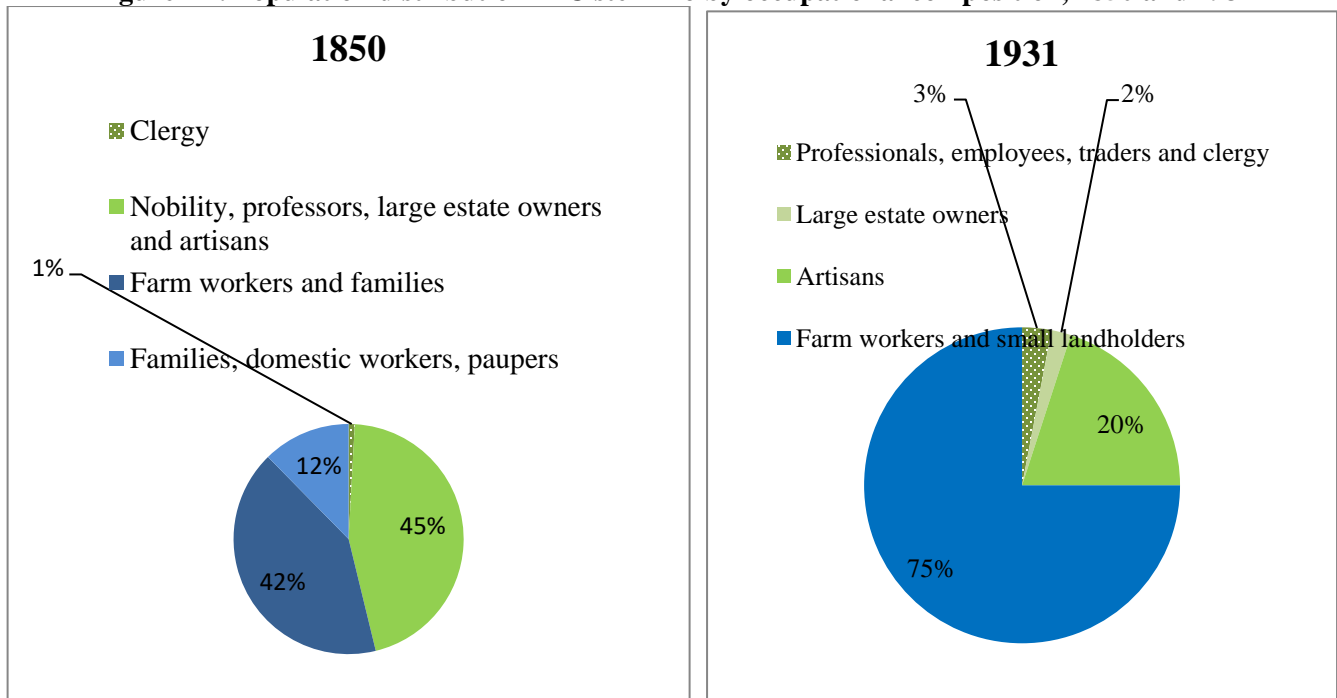
44	29a	M	1929	International migrant/returnee	1953	Belgium	Formal recruitment	No work/job secured elsewhere	n/a	n/a	1969	n/a
45	29b	F	1935	International migrant/returnee	1956	Belgium	Husband already there	Marriage to migrant	n/a	n/a	1969	n/a
46	30a	F	1955	International migrant/returnee	1974	Edmonton, Canada	Husband already there	Marriage to migrant	n/a	n/a	1989	n/a
47	30b	F	unknown	International and returnee migrant	1967	Edmonton, Canada	Family/friends already there	No work and left without work	n/a	n/a	1987	n/a
48	31	M	1960	International/internal/returnee migrant	1979	Berlin, Germany	Exploration	Experience and curiosity	1982	Toscana and Potenza	1982, 1999	1983

Figure A1. Population distribution in the Municipality of Cisternino, 1862 and 1931



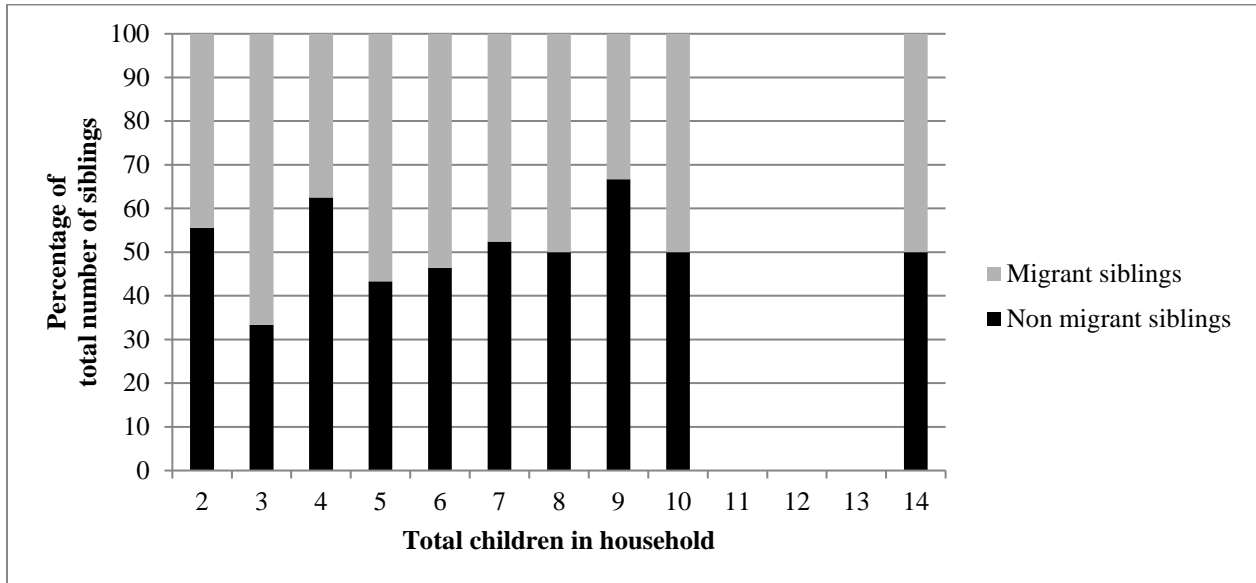
Source: author's elaboration of 1862 data from Semeraro (1998: 89) and 1931 census data published in Semeraro (2008: 70).

Figure A2. Population distribution in Cisternino by occupational composition, 1850 and 1931



Source: author's elaboration of 1850 data from Semeraro (1998: 89) and 1931 census data published in Semeraro (2008: 70).

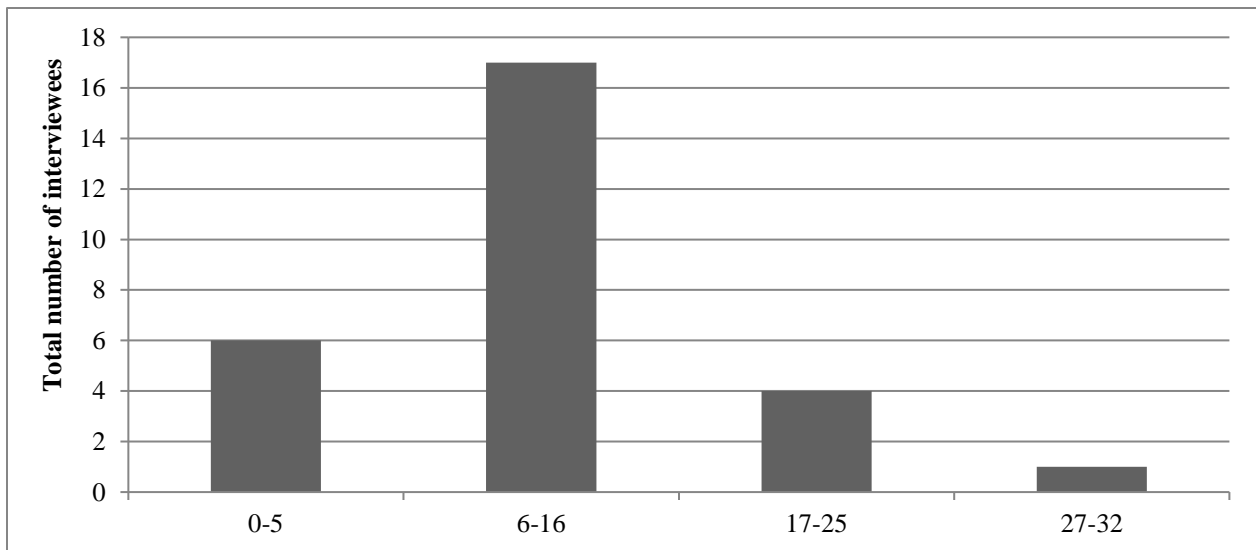
Figure A3. Distribution of migration and non-migration in households, by number of children in household



Source: interview data (2018).

Note: These data reflect migration patterns of siblings in 36 households.

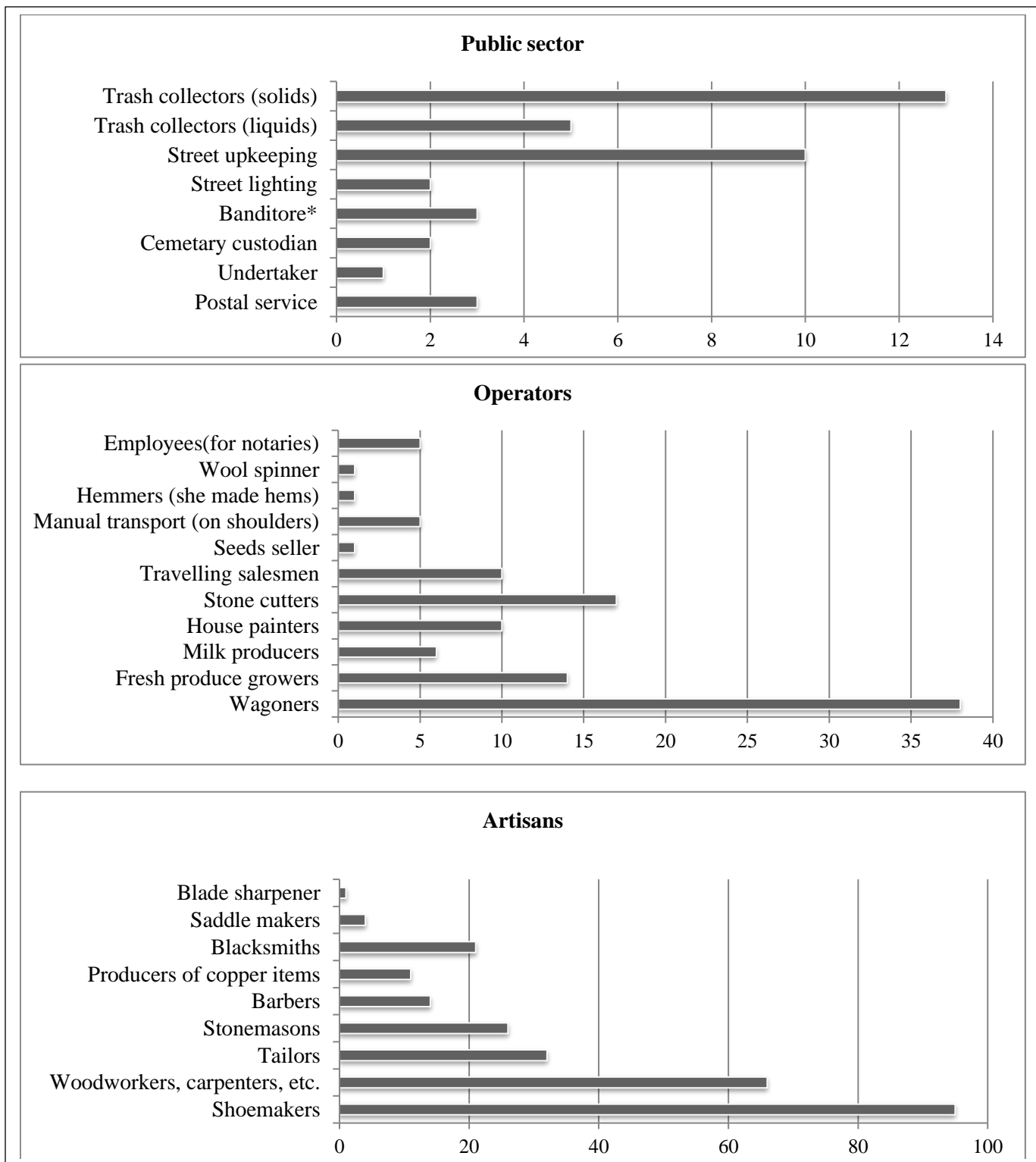
Figure A4. Duration (years) of migration before return



Source: interview data (2018).

Note: based on 28 returnees.

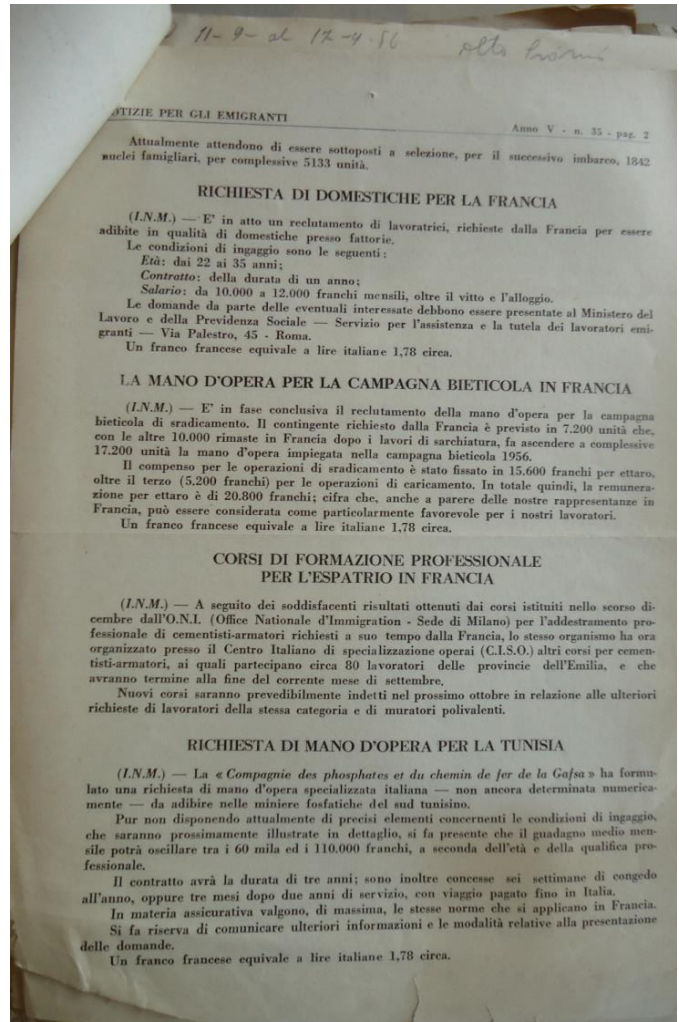
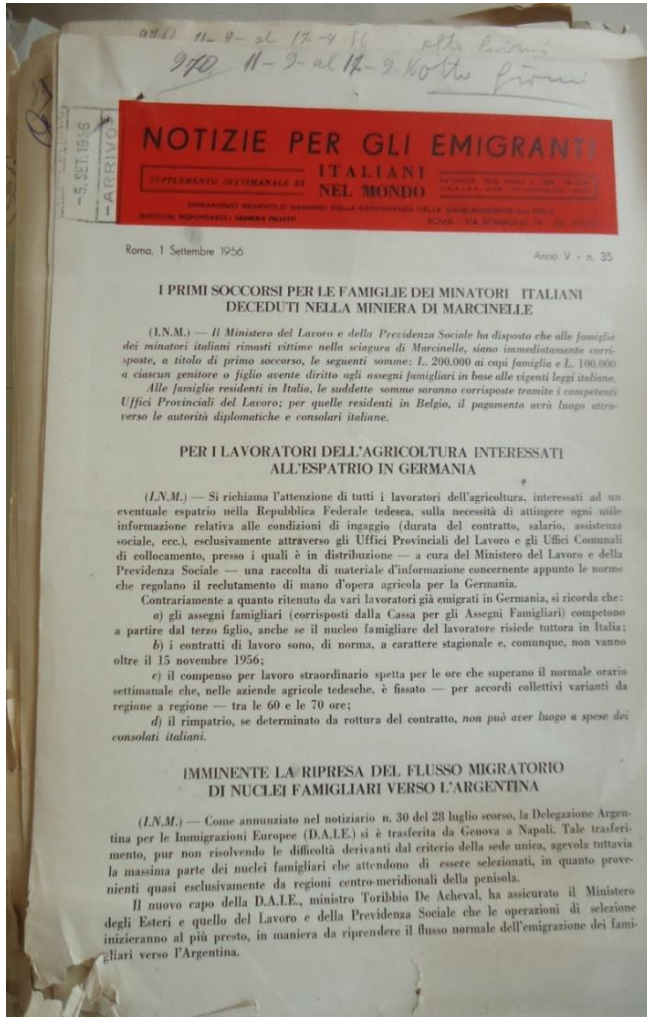
Figure A5. Distribution of employment in three sectors over the 1930–1960 period



Source: data from Loconte (2005), elaborated on by the author.

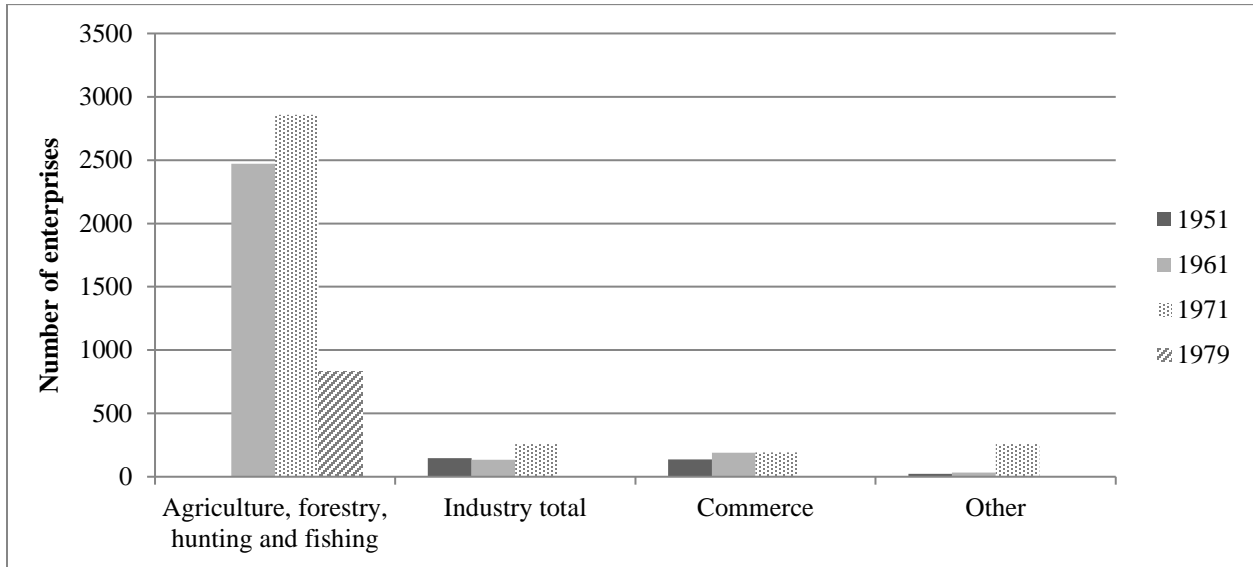
* Vocal announcer of important community events and notifications

Figure A6. News for Emigrants



Source: Supplement of the weekly *Italiani nel Mondo* (Italians in the World) magazine, 1 September 1956.

Figure A7. Number of enterprises by sector, 1951--1979



Source: Istituto Centrale di Statistica, General Census of Agriculture, 1961, 1970, 1979; Istituto Centrale di Statistica, General Census of Industry and Commerce, 1951, 1961 and 1971.

Note: Agricultural data availability differs: no data for 1951; data for 1971 actually reflect 1970; 1979 data only available for agriculture and not for other sectors.

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- ⁱ ‘Che poi che succede quando siamo in dieci, cinque ce ne andiamo quei cinque vivono meglio, un po’ meglio, mangiare 5 in un piatto o mangiarne 10 sempre con 5 ce la fai di più, perché andando un po’ via, la popolazione che rimaneva si gestiva a quel poco che stava’ (I12).
 - ⁱⁱ ‘Eh sì, c’erano quelli che avevano i genitori da accudire, quelli che avevano i genitori, quelli che avevano i figli piccoli dove andavano? Solo quelli che si sposavano e facevano, incominciavano un’altra vita, ma quelli che già erano..dove andavano? A pagare per i figli la..magari andava via solo il marito’ (I12).
 - ⁱⁱⁱ ‘Mia madre all’epoca come le ho detto prima, quella disperse il marito in guerra, questo e quest’altro, prendeva duemila lire al mese e duemila lire erano soldi all’epoca!’ (I16).
 - ^{iv} ‘Il reduce da noi, non è rimasto se non in caso di invalidità, perchè il reduce dopo aver toccato la realtà socio-economico e culturale di altra levatura, non è rimasto da noi’ (I22).
 - ^v ‘E si, perche’ mio padre e’ stato in guerra. Tornato dalla guerra lui e i suoi fratelli hanno trovato una condizione economica assolutamente diversa perche’ i trulli non si costruivano piu’, non c’erano, c’erano molto meno soldi,

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- la situazione economica era terribile dopo la guerra e quindi la loro impresa non ha potuto piu' svilupparsi. D'altronde i contadini non costruivano piu' trulli perche' ritenevano che i trulli fossero abitazioni della gente povera e volevano cominciare a costruire le case di mura, le case 'normali' (tra virgolette) e non di pietra. E quindi loro si sono trovati senza lavoro e hanno dovuto andare via. Era gia' cominciato questo flusso organizzato dall'Italia al Belgio, quindi c'era gia' gente che era partita in Belgio, o in Germania o in Svizzera e mio padre e' partito anche lui. Si era appena sposato...lui ha provato e riprovato a fare altri tipi di lavoro ma non c'era lavoro qui a Cisternino, per cui subito dopo sposati sono andati via in Belgio. Nel '51 diciamo...' (I2).
- vi '[...] intorno agli anni '70. Infatti Cisternino è diventato un comune prevalentemente impegatizio. [...] Diciamo che è cambiato il tessuto sociale, mentre prima era prevalentemente contadino il tessuto sociale di Cisternino poi è diventato tra l'impiegatizio e, non so come si dica, operaio'(I29).
- vii 'E perché l'unico posto di lavoro che c'era in programma in quel momento era questo nell'arma' (I12).
- viii 'Le tasse. Le tasse perche' fino ad allora era tutto in nero in realta' e quindi ci guadagnavano e mettevano in tasca, guadagnavano e mettevano in tasca, si lavorava si lavorava, non si lavorava non si lavorava. La burocrazia e le tasse hanno rovinato questa piccola...questa maniera cosi facile di gestire l'economia. Piu' si irrigidiscono...si e' irrigidito il supporto burocratico e piu' e' morto...sono morti questi territori' (I2).
- ix '[i ragazzi] volevano a fare un altro lavoro, non la campagna' (I12).
- x 'molti volevano un lavoro in una fabbrica, aspiravano a qualcosa di meglio..' (I5).
- xi '[...] ma tu perché sei andato? Ma perchè io, voglio dire, bisognava andare sempre dove si poteva guadagnare. Cioè la mentalità di cambiare, di cambiare la vita, di cambiare...' (I21).
- xii 'Sono andato che hanno accettato la domanda in ferrovia, trovo già un posto sicuro, tranquillo, allora ho accettato e siamo partiti' (I15).
- xiii 'qua si lavorava, non si guadagnava niente, poi ero giovane, allora avevo...un'altra vita. diciamo a fine mese era contento della tua busta che prendevi bella piena e potevi..ti potevi anche andare a divertimenti, ti potevi comprare a... la macchina, però a chi ha fatto dei sacrifici, che ha detto: prima della macchina, penso a comprarmi una casa' (I26).
- xiv 'lei se ne andò per un'altra questione, si era sposata, non andava d'accordo con la suocera, era figlio unico il marito, ed era matrigna la suocera e disse io me ne andai ...dic' perchè, per uscirmene da una situazione. [...]...fu una necessità di cambiare aria....' (I24).