THE POLITICAL ECOLOGY OF ETHNICITY: THE CASE OF THE SOUTH TYROL

by

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B.A., University Of British Columbia, 1984

A THESIS SUBMITTED IN PARTIAL FULFILMENT OF
THE REQUIREMENTS FOR THE DEGREE OF
MASTER OF ARTS

in
THE FACULTY OF GRADUATE STUDIES
Political Science Department

We accept this thesis as conforming
to the required standard

THE UNIVERSITY OF BRITISH COLUMBIA
August 1990

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Date August 1990
Abstract

Unlike ethnies defined by genotype, religion or socio-cultural traits, ethno-linguistic groups require a structural basis that is territorial. Only in such a context can they exist and survive. The coexistence of three distinct ethno-linguistic groups - indigenous Germanophones and Ladin and recently-settled Italophones - in the South Tyrol is proof of this. This structural imperative stems from the societal changes of the last few centuries which made capitalist relations of production and statist institutions the dominant structural bases of social organization. The changes reshaped infrastructural mechanisms of social organization, their structured properties and the superstructural knowledge that guides human agency in instantiating such properties.

The consequences for the South Tyrol and its peoples were their subordination to external centres. Under fascist rule this subordination created a bifurcated spatio-functional order which, under conditions of democratic rule and political autonomy, enabled the indigenous periphery or complementary region to assert its centrality vis-a-vis the territory's Italophone-controlled vital centre by using autonomous political institutions located in the same vital centre.
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Acknowledgement

I shall like to thank Professor Jean Laponce for his suggestions and guidance in the writing of this dissertation. I shall also like to thank Dr. W. Stuflesser of ASTAT, Dr. W. Aufschnaiter and B. Leiter of the 'Amt fuer Sprach Angelegenheiten', Dr. G. Silvestro of the 'Assessorato Istruzione Pubblica in Lingua Italiana', Dr. I. Ghirigato of the CISL-SGB, the Director of the 'Circolo Culturale-Kulturverein O.Griesstaetter' of Salorno-Salurn, the Director of the 'Istitut Ladin Micura' de Rui' of Urtijei, Ms. Elisabetta Berti of the 'Circolo Leonardo da Vinci' of Laives-Leifers, Dr. A. Strobl of the Andere Suedtirol-Altro Sudtirolo, Ms. Eva Klotz of the WHB and the Press Office of the MSI-DN. Their material help and cooperation were essential.
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I. GENERAL INTRODUCTION

The South Tyrol or Upper Adige is an alpine territory located in north-eastern Italy on the border with Austria. Prior to 1919 it belonged, along with the Trentino, to the Habsburg empire. The boundary change and the waxing and waning of history made it into an ethnically-mixed area where three distinct ethno-linguistic groups - indigenous Germanophones and Ladins and recently-settled Italophones - uneasily coexist. The South Tyrol confirms the appearance, and in many cases the reappearance, of centrifugal pressures within established nation-states and the incomplete process of national integration (see Aarebrot, 1982; Alcock, 1979; Allardt, 1979; Gourevitch, 1979; Sussi, 1982). This trend contradicts earlier predictions of integration and of the general application of the western-styled nation-state as the dominant form of socio-political organization (Almond and Verba, 1966; Geertz, 1963).

In historical terms the comparative value of the South Tyrolean case lies in the fact that it was one of the first European ethno-linguistic peripheries to experience the full weight of central state policies (during the fascist era) designed to eliminate ethno-linguistic differences and political dissonance, and the first one to successfully resist and counteract their effects. In analytic terms the South Tyrol is a significant case study because it enables us to shed some light on the conceptual differences that ethnic phenomena entail, and on the particular characteristics of linguistically-defined ethnic collectivities and the underlying societal
changes that have structured the existence and evolution of such
groups in the last two centuries.

Ethnic collectivities or ethnies are empirically-defined by
ascriptive criteria, usually some variant or combination of four
characteristics (genotype, religion, socially-significant
collective origin, language) that determine collective identity
(Geertz, 1963: 108; Jackson, 1984: 222, Laponce, 1984: 24), but
analytically they possess important differences. Whereas the
first three features, which we might call type A, perform a
functional role in the shaping of ethnic identity and the
reproduction of ethnies, the latter also performs a structural
role. The essential functional principles for type A ethnies
are limited to one or few institutional domains and social
mechanisms of reproduction, namely the family and endogamy for
racial groups, religious institutions and observance for
religious communities and socio-cultural institutions and
practices for ethno-cultural groups (not primarily defined by
race, religion or language, e.g. immigrant groups). By
contrast, the reproduction of type B groups depends on language
acquisition, use and retention and on the institutional fora
where these functional principles can be performed. Both these
principles and institutions require a spatial context that is
structurally enclosed and exclusive (Kahane, 1986; De Marchi,
1982). Consequently, where language is the dominant definiens
of ethnic collectivities different propositional perspectives
are applicable.

Type A ethnies need only institutional autonomy and can
exist within larger, multi-ethnic social systems structured by any politico-territorial arrangement that at least tolerates this autonomy; type B ethnies need some form of spatio-functional secession from wider heteroglossic social systems. This can take the form of a single independent state (e.g. France), a single sub-state politico-territorial unit (e.g. post-1970 Belgium) or at least a set of constitutional and administrative measures that maintain stable linguistic boundaries at the state-level (e.g. pre-1970 Belgium or sub-state level (e.g. Swiss Canton of Valais-Wallis).

However arranged, spatio-functional separation entails certain structural (demographic, economic, cultural, political) conditions that guarantee a language group a territory, i.e. a spatial framework with a vital centre or central place and a surrounding complementary region (Christaller, 1966: 14-80; Laponce, 1980: 149-59) in which a sliding scale of spatio-functionally dense communication transactions and socio-economically relevant activities and institutions exist. It is in such a spatio-functional context that transactions, activities and institutions create an integrated communication field in which language groups operate and reproduce.

The abovementioned analytical observation makes the South Tyrol (and the historic land of Tyrol) a privileged location to observe the contradictory arrangement and rearrangement of spatio-functional structures. This requires an historical and analytical scope that takes into account local and supralocal spatio-functional structures and the underlying societal
phenomena that shaped their evolution. In the first instance, we shall see how the lack of spatio-functional control, especially of political institutions, destabilized non-spatially-segregated ethnies, territorialized the ethno-linguistic identities of spatially-segregated ethnies and produced strategies of territorial control that both confirm and modify the analytical observation that ethno-linguistic groups need spatio-functional separation. In fact, the combination of an externally-created vital centre under Italophone control and of a complementary region still under Germanophone control enabled the indigenous group to use autonomous politico-administrative institutions, physically located in the vital centre, to assert the centrality of the complementary region and marginalize the same vital centre. In the second instance, the rise of capitalist relations of production and of modern statist institutions (Gellner, 1983: 1-7) entailed a more rigid spatio-functional organization and intellectual definition of social life. Heretofore fragmented social systems, cultures, economies and polities were brought within a single, all-encompassing global world-economy and interstate order.

How are we to analyze such phenomena as they apply to the spatio-functional structuration of language groups in the (South) Tyrol? We must begin by recognizing that the basis of all life is matter and the organization of social life cannot escape from this fact. For Marvin Harris (1979) at the heart of materialist approaches are several premises. First, human bio-
psychological givens mean that social systems possess two infrastructural components, namely, a mode of reproduction and a mode of production. Hence a dual sex, multi age and self-reproducing collection of humans that satisfies its minimal subsistence needs possesses a distinct mode of reproduction and production on which its existence rests. Both modes require minimal security and order as a way of guaranteeing the least internal and external interference, but the built-in instability that stems from resource allocation produces two main organizational relationships, one that is domestic and another that is political, which entail some form of sustainable social organization (Harris, 1979: 46-76).

The sustainability of social systems rests on communication. Unlike other primates, human communication entails unique speech acts that rely on and instantiate symbolic processes. The human brain produces behavioural phenotypes that are recurrent and stem from both recursive and discoursive thinking. Humans engage in ritual behaviour, form aesthetic judgements, formalize speech acts in oral and/or written storytelling, participate in valued recreational activity and above

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1 Eating, least energy expenditure for activity, sexual urges, emotional satisfaction/security.
2 Reproduction mechanisms like natality, fertility, natality, mortality, child-rearing, birth control.
3 Production mechanisms like subsistence production, technology, techno-environmental relationships, ecosystems, work-systems.
4 Family structure, age and sex roles, sexual division of labour, socialization, gender and social hierarchies.
5 Political organization, economic division of labour, political socialization, stratification, institutional control, conflict resolution mechanisms.
all are absorbed in self-analysis and external observation. Hence human communication plays a crucial role in instantiating superstructural processes, but in so doing, it plays a vital role in shaping the structural and infrastructural bases of social organization.

A simpler triangular scheme summates socio-environmental phenomena under infrastructure, structure and superstructure. The modes of reproduction and production are thus infrastructural in nature, domestic and political economies are structural because they organize production and reproduction, while language-based intellectual and symbolic activity is superstructural. The infrastructure has strategic primacy because humans are bound by natural laws, but infrastructural mechanisms rely on the domestic and political economies to function, and both infrastructure and structure operate thanks to the cooperative and cost-minimizing behaviour of humans, mediated by socially-valued ideological and ideational patterns (Harris, 1979: 70-5). This is made possible by one coordinating mechanism: language. As a genetically predisposed human faculty it becomes a structured property of human societies in the form of structured, albeit semiconsciously held, sets of rules and codes that enable humans to comprehend, know and signify reality.

Since both infrastructural mechanisms and structured properties rely on human agency as their instantiating mode, human recursive (Giddens, 1981; ibid, 1986) and discoursive (Delle Fave, 1986) knowledge inform individual and collective
identities and through a feedback mechanism shape individual and collective behaviour as it creates, recreates and modifies structured properties. Such interactive behaviour and the knowledge that informs it are never random, but are shaped by personal, family and collective histories as well as social hierarchies and relations of power so that individual existence and agency reflects collective structures (Habermas, 1981: 269-70; Pradelles de Latour, 1983: 79-80).

This theoretical model enables us to consider the regularities underlying social phenomena, the (dis)continuities of their structural circumstances as well as the role played by human agency in instantiating such circumstances. In this sense we can see that ethnic collectivities possess certain infrastructural (dualsex, multiage, self-reproduction), structural (ascription, social organization, plurality) and superstructural (social identity) attributes (see Jackson, 1984), and that the difference between type A and type B ethnies is structural since the different ascriptive factors require different organizational forms, functional autonomy for the former and structural for the latter.

Similarly, we can see that in the modern period infrastructural mechanisms and structured properties came to be defined by capitalist relations of production and statist institutions. At an infrastructural level, the rise of the first rests on the expansion of oligopolistic pressures from their traditional pre-modern niche of long-distance trade into primary and secondary economic activities within a widening
spatio-functional framework (Braudel, 1982: 229-47), so that it could transform prevailing techno-environmental and demographic relationships in the old world. The arrival of American specie revolutionized monetary circulation (volume and velocity) and averted the structural implosion typical of pre-modern economies (Braudel, 1981: 466-8; Weatherford, 1988: 14-6). American foodcrops (e.g. potato and corn) launched European populations on an upward demographic spiral by relaxing demographic patterns (Braudel, 1981: 31-102; de Vries, 1984: 213-38), shifting locational concentration of population to the cities, and reshaping human-domesticated animal complementarity (Weatherford, 1988: 59-73). The ensuing restructuring provoked technical, managerial and technological innovations in all sectors and branches of the economy and created modern industrial and financial systems within globally-linked national markets (Braudel, 1982: 297-329; de Vries, 1984: 213-31; Weatherford, 1988: 21-57). This change realigned primary, secondary and tertiary sectors in the new world-economy, and for the first time in human history, secondary and tertiary activities could dominate survival strategies and free agriculture from its environmental constraints and from the hegemony of subsistence and command mechanisms (Braudel, 1984: 589-92; Good, 1984: 42-4, 108-11).

At a structural level, European political organization, social hierarchies and spatio-functional divisions of labour were strengthened and from their marginal niche capitalist relations colonized all branches and sectors of the economy
and spread to include in a wider spatio-functional universe far away regions and disparate labour systems, social orders, ethno-cultural groups and political orders. The transformations of socio-environmental structures gave rise to a new urban and statist order in Europe (Hohenberg and Hollen Lees, 1985: 79-96) centred in the Atlantic seabord where cities organized the trading network and controlled primary and secondary activities under the benevolent eye of the state (de Vries, 1984: 241-6).

The rise of the statist order resulted from the universal application of centrally-located institutions that were internally-differentiated according to the functions of its various components and externally distinct from those social objects - agents, collectivities, processes, relationships, structures - that pertained to civil society (Nettle, 1968: 566-77). This was made possible by its monopoly over command mechanisms and security functions (Whittlesey, 1935: 85-97) and by its alignment with those social groups that best served its interests and whose interests it best served. Its activism spread to include economic activities and its performance stimulated and was stimulated by the same changes that pushed capitalist relations to the fore (Braudel, 1982: 515-32).

The unfolding of such structural processes required the regimentation of linguistic structures, i.e. the closure of the communication field (where language is speech and code) and of the semantic field (where language is speech and content) (MacKay, 1985: 12-3), and a superstructural treatment of
language variety as unnatural, dysfunctional and in need of corrective measures (Salvi, 1978: 543-57). This was made necessary by the growing density of communication transactions and intensity of economic and politico-bureaucratic operations (Braudel, 1981: 385-429; Stewart Sweet, 1984) and led to greater language variability in the form of specific subcodes and lower language variety (Laponce, 1988: 36).

This transformed the communication field by replacing heretofore functionally irrelevant language asymmetry with short- and medium-term functional specialization and stratification of languages and longterm language homogenization (Laponce, 1984: 21-38). However, this process of linguistic simplification was conditioned by geographic and socio-cultural distance and by the (in)adequacy of economic and politico-bureaucratic integration. Typically, the consolidating economic and political orders encompassed a variety of ethnies, but while type A ethnies could be integrated in the new social system within a single homoglossic spatio-functional system, ethno-linguistic groups could not be so easily accomodated. Where the abovementioned distance was low and integration adequate linguistic variance could be reduced by the functional specialization and stratification of subordinate languages. Where distance was high and integration inadequate centralizing orders and peripheral groups engaged in a tug-of-war over the latter's spatio-functional separation.

The same process of spatio-functional closure of linguistic boundaries also transformed the system of meanings carried by
language, i.e. the semantic field. Putative ascription was translated into a juridical category and ethnicity was treated as the basis for a total view of reality (Smith, 1986: 129-34), one in which the individual and collective outlooks were reconstructed and given a new transhistorical quality that could serve as a civic (Hobsbawm, 1972) or ersatz (McNeil, 1986) religion. Ascriptively-defined population groups could realize themselves as a nation and establish a supralocal, i.e. 'national' identity and sense of solidarity (Nairn, 1983). Furthermore, this reconstruction and associated behaviour defined and shaped the geographic limits and ethno-linguistic definition of countries and regions to reflect the intellectual arguments of those directly engaged in the formation and implementation of territorial strategies.

With this scheme in mind we shall first analyze the unfolding of the aforementioned structural processes as they applied to the Tyrol and its Austrian context. Second, we shall describe the superstructural responses of the various parties to such processes as they developed into distinct spatial orientations and strategies of territorial control of the (South) Tyrol. Finally, we shall analyze the politico-territorial strategies pursued in post-1945 South Tyrol and their structural and superstructural causes and consequences. It will thus be possible to see that, given the underlying structural processes and behavioural responses, conflict will ensue should peripheral areas fail to enforce political control over ethno-linguistic boundaries and socio-economic processes in
local central place systems. In Austrian Tyrol and during the first phase of Italian rule in the South Tyrol national and local superordinate centres prevented such structural adjustments and were the root cause of political conflict between ethno-linguistic groups. In the present phase (since 1945) in the South Tyrol, conflict obtains because the recently-created Italophone group failed to create and control a separate spatio-functional framework, and has instead become subordinated to the centralizing pressures of the indigenous periphery.
II. THE TYROL IN THE AGE OF CAPITALISM AND NATIONALISM

The rise of capitalist relations of production finds its temporal origin in the sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries when a structural crisis in the dominant mode of production was overcome by the gradual geographic expansion of the European economy and by its functional restructuring. However, the semiperipherality of Austria and the peripherality of regions like the Tyrol delayed their full application. Once felt these infra- and structural changes were met by haphazard responses.

Attempts by the Austrian Crown to modernize the structures of the empire (Liebel, 1979: 355-53; Taylor, 1985: 33-9) were conditioned by a patchwork of social hierarchies and territorial units (Good, 1984: 347; Taylor, 1985: 33-5), but on the long run, resistance was overcome (Good, 1984: 29-31) and in the Tyrol change gave new life to the old crossroad that had linked the Mediterranean region to central and Western Europe since Roman times (Guderzo in Bergier et al., 1975: 86-7; Lane, 1973: 423-5).

The gradual integration of Habsburg domains into this world-economy produced technical innovation, population growth, the reversal in the relative terms of trade of agriculture and modern industrial growth (Good, 1984: 20-4). The main stimulus for the transition from proto-industry to industry was the revolution in agriculture. Government-sponsored land reclamation and improved land use had increased agricultural productivity, but the real qualitative change was the introduction of new crops like the potato and a system of crop
rotation in lieu of the old three-field system. This improved the fertility of non-fallow soil and served as the first largescale processed cash crop that linked the primary sector more closely to the total economy (Good, 1984: 69-72).

Modern industrialization and mechanized factory production appeared in the 1820s, and by the 1850s the industrial sector had freed itself from agriculture. The new technology of production (steam and fossil fuels) increased the proportion of fixed capital by means of higher volumes of output and investments. The production and distribution of mass-produced goods was possible, and the replacement of fluvial navigation and slow overland transportation with rail links gave inland centres the opportunity to catch up with the dominant centres of the Atlantic seabord (de Vries, 1984: 171-2).

By the mid-century greater administrative efforts were necessary and the result was the organizational consolidation of Austrian corporate structures in the form of large companies and cartels, and the expansion of joint-stock banking. The alliance of financial institutions to industrial firms reinforced the managerial hierarchy but since transformation was reactive and not pristine traditional command mechanisms assisted the process of change (Good, 1984: 188-218; Rudolph, 1975: 11-8).

By the 1880s economic complementarity, political imperatives and production innovations had transformed the Austrian economy. Alongside traditional industries like mining, textiles and food processing, modern metallurgy, electrical utilities, chemicals and machine tool industries grew around the

Integrative pressures spread from the economic heartland on the southern shore of the Middle Danube northward towards the Bohemian lands, eastward into the Magyar plains and the Carpathian mountains linking factories, fuel and food and further stimulating the expansion of industry (Good, 1984: 125-33). The abolition in 1848 of the 'Robot' system in Austria finally eliminated the last vestiges of feudal relations and established for the first time an open labour market that penalized small farmers, landless peasants and some members of the rural gentry. The result was largescale emigration to the cities to strengthen the ranks of the socially mobile (Taylor, 1985: 108-9).

This long process of development was not evenly felt throughout Austria, but by the early part of the twentieth century backwash effects had declined (Good in Bairoch and Levy-Leboyer, 1981: 141-6; Good, 1984: 150-5). Nevertheless, for a long time these backwash effects created significant regional disparities and politicised ethno-cultural markers. The protracted uneven distribution of benefits, especially in latecomer regions, combined with the partial success of some 'spread' impact had grave political consequences for this multi-ethnic society.

The onset of modern economic growth in the Habsburg lands found Austro-Germans in privileged business, professional,
technical and political positions, and the redistribution of capital and labour favoured Austro-Germans both at the centre and in the peripheries (Zoellner, 1967: 223). This antagonized peripheral elites and populations, even though economic growth was swelling the ranks of the modern sectors of the economy with members from the smaller ethnic groups. The severe economic crisis that lasted from 1873 to 1896 accentuated inter-ethnic competition and political confrontation since its impact affected Austro-Germans more seriously than the other groups and discredited the hitherto dominant liberal economic theory and political ideology, but also forced ruling groups to open up to other ethno-cultural groups, compelling such groups to seek difficult accommodation (Good, 1984: 162-3).

The deterioration of inter-ethnic relations affected the empire as a whole but the impact varied according to regional circumstances. In the Tyrol, this process had begun in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries when empire-wide political centralization, uniformization (read: Germanization) of the administrative language and eventually French conquest transformed political and socio-economic structures (Stella, 1979: 556-71). The reimposition of Habsburg rule in 1814 did not restore the status quo ante and paved the way for considerable changes. Under greater market pressures agricultural output grew, but as in the past, the different
tenurial systems conditioned the process. Where impartibility prevailed farmers were protected from the worst effects of commercial pressures, while in areas of partible ownership, the transition to greater cash crop production was achieved at the expense of food production. This transition also removed reproductive restraints and the population expanded (Cole and Wolf, 1974: 151-2) beyond local absorptive capacity. This meant that the Italian Tyrol was very vulnerable to the fluctuation of commodity prices and forced to rely on food imports. Drop in prices or imports could have an immediate negative impact since imperial grain policies gave preferential treatment to Magyar production and penalized Lombardy and Venetia, the Italian Tyrol's nearest suppliers.

Transition to greater market involvement and partible inheritance promoted the fragmentation of farm estates and weakened farmers' ability to manage their land. External competition and poor financing forced many off the land. The expansion of local proto-industrial activities and the appearance of the first modern industrial plants, significant

Over time, those estates that could support a single peasant family were closed off and placed outside the land market, i.e. the so-called 'Closed Estates' (Ger. Geschlossene Hof, Ita. Maso Chiuso); only the very small or very large estates could be portioned and exchanged. By the early fifteenth century ad hoc arrangements were codified into customary law (Hoefrecht) (Wolf, 1970: 105-7) whereby individual estates could provide the peasant household and collateral family members the necessary access to a wide range of resources. A set of exclusive and partial rights to privately and communally held land developed placing the main factors of production under peasant control.
compared to adjacent areas - 49 plants in the Italian Tyrol versus 26 in the transalpine Tyrol, 30 in Vorarlberg and none in the cisalpine section of the German Tyrol (Pristinger, 1978: 13) - was still insufficient to reemploy redundant rural labour because it was too closely tied to processing agricultural commodities (Great Britain, 1920: 22-37; Stella, 1979: 570-6). When plant diseases struck, the economy was devastated (Greenfield, 1967: 496). The loss of Lombardy (1859) and Venetia (1866) further aggravated the economic crisis (Rusinow, 1969: 32), and mass emigration to other parts of the empire (Rudolph, 1975: 17), to Italy and overseas followed (Great Britain, 1920: 22; Martinelli, 1919: 141; Stella, 1979: 581-2).

Emigration itself had been a traditional option for Tyroleans but a fundamental difference existed between the German and Italian Tyrol. Under conditions of impartible inheritance, the effects of commercial pressures and of proto-industrial activity on fertility and natality were kept within tolerable limits; consequently, when the former became stronger local economic structures could resist and population growth be limited. By contrast, where partibility prevailed rural workers could more easily and rapidly adapt to commercial pressures, seek employment in proto-industrial and later industrial activity, and abandon traditional demographic restraints.

At the turn of the century natality in the German Tyrol was 8x1000 with zero migration balance compared to 11x1000 and a negative emigration rate of 6x1000 in the Italian Tyrol (Wallis, 1918: 58).
These demographic trends transformed the internal demographic balance in the Tyrol. Because of its geographic location and more developed central place system, market and capitalist pressures favoured the transalpine section of the German Tyrol where high natality and immigration caused the highest population increase (+37.84%) in this 75-year period compared to (+32.28%) for the Trentino (high natality and emigration) and (+0.87%) for the cisalpine part of the German Tyrol (low natality and high emigration).

Unlike the transalpine and Italian Tyrol modern economic pressures reached the cisalpine part of the German Tyrol late, but by the last decade of the nineteenth century land reclamation, railway construction and textile production transformed the local labour market and work system. In the upper reaches of the Adige/Etsch river, long stretches of marshland were reclaimed and flooding overcome by river controls. Land reclamation during the 1860s stimulated the arrival of more desperate Italophone peasants, and in some villages like Bronzolo/Branzoll and Vadena/Pfatten Italophones became a majority (Alcock, 1970: 15). In the subsequent decades other migrants from the Italian Tyrol arrived to work in fluvial transportation along the Adige/Etsch and played an important role in the building of the Verona-Kufstein and Bolzano/Bozen-Merano/Meran railways (Paoli in Goglio, 1979: 53-4), so that by
the 1890s Italophones represented a substantial segment of the resident population of the Bassa Atesina/Suedtiroler Unterland, the city of Bolzano/Bozen and the Burgraviato/Burgrafenamt (see Appendix C, map D) (Caragata in Battisti, 1946: 47-8; Cole and Wolf, 1974: 112).

Table 2: South Tyrolean Population per Language Group and Year 1880-1910 (in Absolute Numbers and Percentiles)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Total</th>
<th>German</th>
<th>Italian</th>
<th>Ladin</th>
<th>Other</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1880</td>
<td>19 32 49</td>
<td>92.0%</td>
<td>8.0%</td>
<td>N/A</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1890</td>
<td>19 73 23</td>
<td>90.4%</td>
<td>9.6%</td>
<td>N/A</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1900</td>
<td>2 0 7 9 8 3</td>
<td>91.5%</td>
<td>4.1%</td>
<td>4.3%</td>
<td>0.1%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1910</td>
<td>2 3 3 4 5 9</td>
<td>92.2%</td>
<td>3.0%</td>
<td>4.1%</td>
<td>0.7%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Notes: N/A = not available; figures based on spoken, not mother language; 1910 figures exclude foreigners and military.


The activities that had prompted the arrival of Italophone immigrants also stimulated the migration of Germanophones towards the reclaimed valley bottoms. Italophones were thus unable to form a compact spatial settlement in which they could occupy all functional domains. Gradually, assimilatory pressures were reasserted and the Italophone proportion of the total population declined (see table 2).

The economy of the Italian Tyrol had also recovered from its depression once the demand for leading cashcrop, emigrants' remittances, the constitution of provincial mortgage banks and of rural Credit Unions pulled the economy out of its slump and reduced the stimulus to leave. The new railways and paved roads facilitated exports and opened up the region to the new, leisure- and recreation-seeking urban middle classes, hence Italophone immigration towards the German Tyrol did not transform ethno-linguistic structures. Nonetheless, immigration left a lasting mark.
The arrival of Italophone immigrants from limittrophic areas altered the prevailing social relations in the German Tyrol since workers in the few large companies like the railways and the construction industries or the larger farms organized the first Mutual Aid Societies and trade unions. In some sectors like construction Italophones held a quasi-monopoly, which, despite efforts by Austrian unions, made them easy targets of ethnic and social prejudices (Ghirigato, 1986: 19-25). Fear of Italian immigration accentuated social tensions and gradually carved a deep fissure. The linguistic borderline became the battleground between increasingly militant elites in both the Italian and German Tyrol.

The Tyrolean battleground was but one of many in the empire and each reinforced and/or defused the others. Economic transformation was the main cause but the forum where inter-ethnic confrontation played itself out was political. The original post-Napoleonic political arrangement of the empire had combined political centralization with bureaucratic decentralization, and throughout Austria regional governments were created under appointed governors.

The liberal reforms of 1848 did not survive the counter-revolution of 1849, but they set in motion a contradictory process in which centrifugal and centripetal tendencies countered each other. At a political level, the conflict threatened the integrity of the state. The Magyar landed nobility, which had been muzzled in the post-1848 period by greater centralized control, found an unexpected ally in the
Austro-German middle classes, the partisans of the 1848 liberal revolutions, against the neo-absolutist regime. The same regime had negotiated the transformation of the empire into a centralized bureaucracy with a common body of laws, fiscal regime and economic structures, but its social base was too narrow to incorporate and coopt all hostile forces and was forced to accommodate the most powerful groups.

The 1867 'Ausgleich' or historical compromise between Austro-Germans and Magyars decoupled the empire into two halves and established a confederal relationship between the two countries and set each on separate constitutional roads (Taylor, 1985: 106-52; Whiteside, 1967). In Austria internal decentralization followed historic and not ethno-linguistic lines so that only six of its seventeen provinces were ethnically homogenous, or internally segregated along ethno-linguistic lines. Consequently, decentralization and cooptation into the imperial and/or provincial civil service did not reduce inter-ethnic tensions (Kahn, 1979: 87-8).

At a practical level, the institutional rearrangement of the empire accentuated the use of German as an official and customary language in both central and provincial levels of

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7 Vienna and Budapest were still linked by a common currency, financial and fiscal arrangements, foreign policy and defence force, but all other areas of jurisdiction were divided.
8 Hungary increasingly developed along centralistic and autocratic lines in which local autonomies were suppressed and peripheral ethinies and provinces subjected to policies of Magyarization. Austria went the other way and accentuated the federal nature of its political institutions.
government (Burian, 1970-1: 82-100; Whiteside, 1967: 160-1). In all multi-lingual Crownlands, German was never used alone, but official bilingualism was never satisfactory for either dominant Austro-Germans or subordinated ethnies. The practicality of German unilingualism was always challenged by peripheral language groups and neither side was strong enough to impose itself or feel secure. Imperial and Provincial authorities in mixed provinces were thus pulled by socially-ascending bilingual minority elites and well-entrenched unilingual Austro-German elites (Zoellner, 1967: 228-9).

The socio-economic transformations and demographic shifts of the second half of the nineteenth century forced the authorities to adopt legal and statutory vagueness and specific administrative interventions. Complaints and legal recourses routinely ended up in the Imperial Court of Justice and the Administrative Court but divergent views prevailed, and in the end the imperial government simply muddled through and instituted ad hoc measures that satisfied no-one (Whiteside, 1967: 190-4; Goldinger, 1967: 136-54; Taylor, 1985: 234-5).

The conflict in the Tyrol was one of the most serious because, alone among Crownlands, it found itself enroiled in interstate rivalries and irredentist claims. The loss of Lombardy in 1856 and Venetia in 1866 to the Piedmontese-Italian kingdom led to the re-incorporation of the Italian Tyrol. Official status meant use in external and internal communication with the public by all government institutions and agencies. Customary status meant use in external communication alone. In 1877 the Administrative Court concluded that all languages, including those spoken only in a few districts, were customary and had to be treated equally, but the Imperial Court of Justice upheld the principle of non-transferability of language rights.
(since 1848 the Imperial Regency of the Italian Tyrol) into the Tyrol. This left Italophones underrepresented in Crownland institutions at a time of persistent economic difficulties. The presence of bilingual Germanophone civil servants, military personnel and their families in Italophone districts, the lack of control over educational institutions and the loss of the only Italian language universities in Lombardy and Venetia accentuated this sense of deprivation and alienation (Greenfield, 1967: 520-2; Stella, 1979: 572-3).

As the economic and the political crises worsened, the positions of Italophone autonomists, increasingly identifying themselves with the Italian Tyrol or Trentino, and Imperial and Provincial authorities polarized. Austrians and German-Tyroleans viewed local demands as part of an overall irredentist movement that threatened the region as well as the symbolic raison d'etre of the empire, i.e. the dynastic loyalty of its various peoples. On the other hand, opposition to Trentine autonomy exacerbated Trentine anxieties and led many to reconsider their territory's relationship to and place in the empire. For decades the endless flow of popular petitions, parliamentary motions and political boycotts of the provincial diet were met by intransigence, ignorance and often repression, while the few concessions like the institution of a separate Italian language school Council in 1892 were seen as too little too late (Greenfield, 1967: 501-3).

Given the relative backwardness of the province inter-ethnic confrontation was for the most part limited to small,
usually urban, segments of the population. The ad hoc concessions made by Tyrolean authorities and the general apathy of a largely peasant population meant that political activity was delegated to dominant social elites or appropriated by self-appointed groups with limited appeal in a political system still defined by restricted franchise. Furthermore, despite the weaknesses and the negative impact of Imperial and Provincial policies, the complementarity of the Trentine economy and its close integration with that of the empire, so painfully achieved after repeated changes in boundaries, dictated prudence. Serious attempts \(^1\) were made (Furlani and Wandruszka, 1974: 212-4), but nationalist sentiments and forces had become too strong and moderates were swept aside. Such groups successfully monopolized the public debate and defined its discourses. A panoply of cultural associations appeared, seemingly dedicated to educational activities and economic aid, but more often engaged in nationalist agitation and propaganda (Alcock, 1970: 16; Cole and Wolf, 1974: 55).

Wherever pan-Germanist organizations brought their propaganda a potent Italian response was elicited. The presence

\(^1\) In 1901 their efforts almost succeeded. The old Imperial Regency was to be reestablished and some legislative powers devolved from the Provincial Diet to two Regional Assemblies dominated by members of either major Tyrolean ethny (Ladins were not considered). When in joint session these assemblies would act as a single Provincial Diet; separately they would legislate in their own areas of jurisdiction. In order to compensate Italophone numerical inferiority, a minimal Italophone representation was reserved in the Provincial Executive Council. This compromise could thus guarantee Trentine autonomy and maintain the territorial integrity of the Tyrol.
of such organizations in border villages and Trentine towns where small Germanophone enclaves existed raised concerns and made calls for a German Tyrol from Kufstein to Ala seem a real danger (Greenfield, 1967: 514; Rusinow, 1969: 33-6). However, inter-ethnic tensions never degenerated into open civil strife, and most Tyrolean Italophones remained passive and ambivalent, still sure of the Austrian status quo and weary about a possible Italian future (Rusinow, 1969: 33).
III. THE LANGUAGE OF NATIONAL TERRITORIES AND THE RESTRUCTURATION OF TYROLEAN SPACES

The Great War consummated an historical break with the past, but its fate lay not with the military fortunes of the contending parties, but in the discoursive and recursive knowledge that informed the territorial demands and strategies of local populations and external elites.

It is essential to distinguish discoursive and recursive thinking since they affect differently the semantic field that defines social action. The former refers primarily to systems of thought, ideologies, belief- and value-systems that serve as repertories whose contents reflect ad hoc and deliberate intellectualizations, whereas the latter identifies the attitudes, gestures and words that express both our conscious and unconscious, personal and impersonal knowledge. The sources of creation and dissemination are intellectual and more readily identifiable in the case of discoursive thinking and social and relatively anonymous in the case of recursive thinking.

The interaction of these two forms of knowledge dictated the orientations of both resident populations and respective ethno-cultural heartlands and elites towards the Tyrol and its cisalpine section. The former developed a concrete identification with the territory in which they lived, and where they sought sociopsychological solace. Natural bonds united them to their places of birth/burial and created a unison of body and environment. Conversely, the latter tended to abstract and produce intellectual argumentations often divorced from
first-hand experiences and estranged people from the immediate contact with the environment. Yet, if natives formulated moral validation for their presence and hold over a territory and expressed it through symbolic and emotional appeals, only the intervention of self-appointed elites could translate this yearning for identity into clearly-defined instrumental and territorial orientations and legitimate a program for action (see Cohen, 1976). This intervention enabled indigenous populations to internalize action-driven orientations and offered them the necessary intellectual plausibility for territorial control.

In the southern Tyrol the intervention of competing elites politicized the separate existential experiences and led to inter-ethnic confrontation over the territory. In the Trentino Italophones were inspired primarily by practical considerations over provincial autonomy and sought separation from the overbearing Innsbruck administration in order to control those functional domains and institutions that would ensure their existence. The memory of a separate Trentine administration both in the recent and more remote past, albeit linked at some level to the rest of the Tyrol and the empire, was the driving force behind their activism. By contrast, among Tyrolean Germanophones provincial unity was an important economic and political asset for it would preserve their control over a wider spatio-functional region; but it too had an important emotional and symbolic appeal, whose echoes dated from medieval times.

Among scholars and publicists the festering political
conflict between Tyrolean Germanophones and Italophones was caught up in opposing intellectual views. Among German scholars organicist analogues led to the description of the Tyrol as a single, natural orographic unit, a 'Passland' or 'Passstaat', a country of transit that linked two separate hydrographic basins (Weilenmann, 1963). As a crossroad dating from the eighth century, the Tyrol had become an inner alpine region that could sustain and coordinate a middle level urban-commercial network within the context of an essentially agrarian economy (Kinzl in Huter, 1965: 247-52). The memory of conflict and wars also suggested that the Tyrol was a defensive bulwark or an offensive wedge going as far back as Roman times. These notions of crossroad and military borderland merged with the idea that the Tyrol like other Alpine territories was a 'landschaft', i.e. a single cultural landscape and a cohesive geographic unit (see Appendix C, map A), structured by ancient ties and symbolic and material relations.

In Italy the orographic theories of Swiss and German scholars found little support. Instead, the work of geographers like Giovanni and Olindo Marinelli shifted the emphasis from mountains to rivers and argued that Italy's natural borders were based on hydrographic criteria (Marinelli, 1919: 132-3). The alpine watershed (see Appendix C, Maps A and D) that separated the rivers flowing southward towards the Adriatic sea were

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12 This theory had originally been articulated by the Swiss historian Aloys Schulte in his studies of Switzerland and its place in the wider European state system (Bergier, 1975: 4-5).
'naturally' Italian (Nice in Battisti, 1946: 12-4), hence all lands within the alpine crest were geographically Italian. The support of German scholars like Ratzel, Ritter and Daniel lent intellectual credence to the hydrographic pretentions of Italian geography (Montecchini in Battisti, 1946: 19-22), for as Ratzel wrote the "Southern Alps, where they stand out as an independent group, are wholly Italian" (quoted in Freshfield, 1915: 415). This intellectual debate and relative epistemic orientations had a bearing on the discourse surrounding the 'just boundaries' of the Italian state. Not only were ethno-cultural commonalities used to justify an Italian nation-state but geography became the ideological tool that delineated the state's territorial domain. The shape of the country encouraged this opinion and the development of geopolitics (Douglas, 1973: 160; Portinaro, 1982: 1-7) as a specialized discipline with scientific pretensions gave intellectual comfort, scientific plausibility and empirical verification to its exponents. When unity was established in 1861 the question of who was Italian and where Italy's limits stood was not solved because not all Italo-Romance areas had been incorporated, even though some non-Italo-Romance areas had (see Appendix C, map B). But if Italian patriots of the Risorgimento had sought the liberation of all nations, big and small, coexisting in a world of independent nation-states, their successors were raised in an intellectual climate filled with positivist and social darwinist ideas and arguments. Instead of the Mazzinian doctrine of self-determination Italian nationalism shifted towards national
aggrandizement and colonial aggression. The old liberal nationalism gave way to a new, belligerant and chauvinistic imperialism (Segre, 1979: 178), and the geography of natural borders and living space entered the Italian political debate.

Austria too did not escape these passionate debates over the spatial characteristics of nationhood. Austrian geographers came to view the empire as a geographic unit, not merely the byproduct of centuries of history, with a central basin lying in the Viennese heartland that was linked to its various peripheral regions by an outer mountainous ring going from the eastern Alps to the Carpathians and the Dinaric Alps. This ring surrounded the Middle Danube whose hydrographic projection flowed from North-West to the South-East and linked Western Europe to the Balkans and beyond (Hoffman, 1967: 121-6).

The effect of intellectual claim and counterclaim was to draw the local populace and their external supporters into the debate. People from different backgrounds raced to print, publish or utter the latest and highest nationalist hyperbole. Match boxes carried nationalist slogans and sport activities redeemed the individual body and the collective soul. In the Tyrol, civic leaders engaged in competition with monumental works in Bolzano-Bozen (1889), on the Bergisel (1893), and in Trent (1896) (Cole and Wolf, 1974: 55; Greenfield, 1967: 514).

Of all participants and players, great and small, one stands out as the main Italian architect of the Tyrolean saga: Ettore Tolomei. Steeped in the animosities of old Austria and cognizant of the political frustrations of post-unitary Italian
intellectuals, he almost single-handedly set out to make the cisalpine or southern German Tyrol a national issue. (Gatterer in Agostini, 1985: 178). As an experienced journalist he used his remarkable skills to coax, cajole and probe the powerful and the not-so powerful by means of selective historiographic and ethnographic research and in time he was able to offer Italian public opinion ready-made terms, ideas, concepts about the southern Tyrol and its role in the 'millenary' history of the Italian nation (Lill, 1982: 115; Stadlmayer in Huter, 1965), while the presence of a large and compactly-settled Germanophone population in this 'Italian' territory was proof, if any was necessary, of the need to redeem these 'Germanized Italians' (see Morandini in Battisti, 1946: 70-80; Barduzzi, 1962) and to make political and ethnic boundaries consonant.

Till the Great War Tolomei's activities were limited to small, albeit powerful, intellectual and political circles. Without the war, it would have been difficult for him or any of his adepts to translate their aspirations into deeds, but the experiences on the battlefield inflamed passions so that people like Tolomei could reap the benefits. Even then, the political claim for the South Tyrol emerged only as the expression of a strategic orientation.

With Italy's victory the interplay of competing territorial orientations found an operational forum. At the peace table Italians and Austrians articulated their respective claims (for
the Brenner watershed) \(^\text{13}\) and counterclaims (for the unity of the German Tyrol); \(^\text{14}\) however, the failure to fulfill Italian territorial demands on the eastern border (Rusinow, 1969: 41-52) and the indefatigable action of Ettore Tolomei \(^\text{15}\) tipped the balance.

In the early stage, Italian objectives were limited to the assertion of Italy's sovereignty, the appeasement of a hostile population and the administrative integration of the province into the state. Strong German-Tyrolean identity had convinced Italian political and military leaders (Rizzi, 1962) that the hitherto centralistic state apparatus could not work in the South Tyrol. As part of their strategy of accomodation, Italian occupation authorities sought to appease the new autonomy-minded subjects, now organized in a united German League that sought the largest degree of political autonomy possible (Toscano, 1967: 71-83), and pledged a special arrangement for all new provinces (Lill, 1982: 117-8). The ruling conservative elites

\(^{13}\) Socialists and some liberals were contrary to the Brenner border and the military was prepared to accept the Salorno-Salurn gap along the language divide.

\(^{14}\) Austrians sought to allay Italian strategic concerns by pledging Tyrolean demilitarization and Swiss military guarantees (Alcock, 1970: 21). German-Tyrolean leaders offered to become independent, join Switzerland, or even become part of Italy so long as the territorial integrity of the German Tyrol was maintained (Rusinow, 1969: 55-66; Toscano, 1967: 33-43).

\(^{15}\) He was appointed head of a 'Commissariat for the Language and Culture of the Upper Adige', closely tied to governmental and non-governmental elites (Rusinow, 1969: 57), and became the 'expert' on 'Upper Atesin' affairs to the Italian delegation at Versailles.
were ready to reform the system built over the previous fifty years and address the latent regionalism of many parts of the country, and to this effect instituted a Royal Commission on Administrative Reform to formulate recommendations about the future structures of the state (Weibel, 1971: 25-6). This did not happen.

The war had unleashed a tidal wave of social change that the old liberal regime could not manage. The transformation of the economy and the rise of new, generally younger, politically-conscious groups doomed institutional reform. One of the contributing factors to Italy's intervention on the side of the western allies was the growing antagonism between those economic circles in heavy industry and mixed banks that were not tied to German capital and sought to free the country's economy from Germany and those groups still tied to the central European power. The former successfully used heightened nationalist and irredentist sentiments to force Italy to join the Entente powers but in doing so they divided their own ranks. This limited the ability of Italian economic planners to manage economic reconversion (Mori in Bairoch and Levy-Leboyer, 1981: 158-9) at a time of workers' militancy, inflation, structural adjustments in all sectors of the economy and growing unemployment (Cohen, 1979: 78-86). These factors weakened the steering capacity of a narrowly-based and culturally-remote ruling class, against whom stood a radicalized nationalist camp that included frustrated war veterans, a good number of intellectuals, class-conscious industrialists and agrarian groups, and downward mobile civil
servants.

Soon this composite group rallied around a fledgling political movement that wanted political centralization, repression of all political opponents and organized social forces and its integration into the state. By exploiting the fears of fractious ruling groups the fascist movement was able to obtain the support of some of its segments and acquire sufficient political resources to gain power (Mori in Bairoch and Levy-Leboyer, 1981: 158), to reorganize itself into a mass organization of the middle classes and to regiment industrial and agricultural workers. The lack of ideological coherence did not impede their action, but instead allowed them to merge in 1923 with the Italian nationalist party and incorporate their cadres and well-defined political discourse (Cunsolo, 1985: 47-63; Ragionieri, 1976: 2126-32).

It was in the newly-acquired provinces like the southern Tyrol that the organizational and ideological convergence of different political and social movements was sanctioned since it was here that the nationalist appeal could be fulfilled. The fascist party used its power in the South Tyrol to rehearse its conquest of the country. Under its rule the national government asserted central control over the country, transformed local administrative units into a bureaucratic chain of spatio-functionally diffused regions, provinces and municipalities under close central supervision (Ragionieri, 1976: 2163-71,
In the South Tyrol, the first stage of fascist administrative reorganization entailed the wholesale replacement of local functionaries with outsiders, the immediate application of Italian laws, the abolition of the German school system, and the creation in 1923 of a single, Trent-dominated provincial administration and the transfer of two Ladin valleys (Fodom and Ampez) to neighbouring Belluno province, followed in 1927 by the creation of a separate Bolzano-Bozen province and the separation of several ethnically-mixed rural municipalities south of the homonymous provincial capital (Gruber, 1979: 115; Rusinow, 1969: 173).

The ever-vigilant Tolomei opposed this last change on the grounds that

To assimilate the Upper Adige ... we must become the national masters of the [provincial] capital. In truth we cannot see how the removal of all Italians in neighbouring Adige valley can profit the rapid assimilation of Bolzano (quoted in Gruber, 1978: 118).

For him denationalization had to be accomplished by transforming the South Tyrol into an auxiliary region of a

\[\text{16 The transformation of the state along more authoritarian lines did not represent a break with the past; instead it accentuated long-standing centripetal tendencies of the old liberal regime (Ragionieri, 1976: 1687-1719). The monarchical state embodied the principle of sovereignty inherited from the ancien regime in which the state was seen as an organic whole with full authority vested in the centre alone. The division of power and the geographic distribution of functions did not recognize any independent existence to local government, but treated them as local administrative branches of central institutions (Dente, 1985b: 22-7).}\]
Trent-dominated central place system. However, his views were not heeded.

The new political arrangement based on highly pyramidal intergovernmental relations was accompanied by a new political discourse and a new set of social practices designed to rapidly incorporate the indigenous population. However, the eagerness to fully implement such a discourse and practices was wrought with contradictions. The 'redemption' of 'Germanized' Italians could not be accomplished overnight, but fascist authorities failed to institute an intermediate phase in which a Standard Italian-Low German diglossia could develop and link a functionally bilingual and somewhat enculturated generation of indigenous South Tyroleans to their conquerors (Egger, 1978: 19-20, 45). Instead the fascists promoted the immigration of Italophones to occupy all positions of social control and political mediation between state and population and effectively barred access by local elites \footnote{This was despite the reluctant but forthcoming adherence of at least some notables and white collar workers frightened by political instability and economic chaos in Italy and Austria (Gatterer in Agostini, 1985: 179-85).} to subordinate positions of responsibility (Ghirigato, 1986: 28-9).

As part of this strategy of denationalization and political incorporation fascist policy also entailed the superstructural reconstruction of the South Tyrolean landscape. Through official iconography and epigraphy the Italiananness of the province had to be asserted and reflect the new fascist rigour. A wave of initiatives designed to stamp out the indigenous
character followed, ranging from neo-classic architecture and scholarly work (Pasetti and Mazzei in Battisti, 1946) to the Italianization of streets, toponyms and family names (Da Massa in Battisti, 1946: 41-2; Gruber, 1979: 48-9).

Against this project stood a hapless, bitter and hostile indigenous population, leaderless since the desolution of independent political parties and the repression of autonomous political activities. However, the brutal attacks against the indigenous population were not successful in the short term, largely because of its organizational autonomy. Under the leadership of the local clergy, tacitly supported by the Vatican and of some of the leaders of the disbanded German League, the indigenous population was able to carve a certain degree of social autonomy by means of an illegal and underground school network - the Catacomb schools - and a few theological colleges (Volgger, 1985: 19-33).

Autonomous social organization was based on a high degree of economic self-sufficiency. Italian conquest and the new border had seriously affected the local economy, but estate management and day-to-day farming operations had remained in indigenous hands. Economic recovery in Italy, especially of the primary sector (Cohen, 1979: 71-7), helped them because the South Tyrol was in a better economic position than neighbouring Trentino thanks to its larger and more efficient farms to make the transition and compete in the north-Italian market (Gruber, 1979: 142-3), and through diversification and quality improvements regain their traditional markets in Central Europe.
The onset of inflationary pressures and a weak financial situation in the mid-twenties led the fascist government to implement tight fiscal monetary and tariff policies in combination with an agricultural policy designed to raise prices and investment (Cohen, 1972: 642-53). The overall effect was to protect inefficient industries (Castronovo, 1984: 83-6), maintain industrial wages near subsistence levels, increase unemployment (Cohen, 1972: 649-53) and reduce agricultural productivity. In the South Tyrol agricultural modernization was thus stifled, but many South Tyrolean farmers were able to revert back to a mixture of limited market involvement and subsistence farming (Cole and Wolf, 1974: 88-9; Rusinow, 1969: 175). However, with the onset of the 1929 depression international trade and labour movements declined and South Tyrolean labour became underutilized and commercial crops overexploited (Cole and Wolf, 1974: 88-9; Toniolo, 1937: 476). On the long run, this situation would be untenable.

This period of crisis coincided with the second stage of fascist policy of denationalization and spatio-functional incorporation. After the political system they turned their attention to the local economy. The government pursued a policy of rural settlement in expropriated and reclaimed farmland (abolition of Closed Estate Legislation in 1929) (see page 17. footnote 6) but, despite a growing number of insolvencies, only 5% were taken over and assigned to Italophones (Gruber, 1979: ...
The fascists were more successful in exploiting the province's rich hydroelectric potential and use it as an instrument of colonization. Beginning in 1924 a number of hydroelectric projects under the aegis of Italian companies were built and by 1939-40 the South Tyrol boasted a production of two billion Kwtt or about 12-14% of Italy's total energy production (Castellani in Battisti, 1946: 108-13; Leidlmair in Huter, 1965: 376).

Hydro-power was crucial to fascist economic policy. It was part of ad hoc initiatives taken to overcome some of the problems caused by the growing isolation and structural rigidities of the Italian economy. The increasing inefficiency of its industrial and banking sectors had already forced the government to rescue several private concerns and assist the process of capital accumulation more directly (Castronovo, 1984: 83-6; Mori in Bairoch and Levy-Leboyer, 1981: 160-1), and the presence of this plentiful and relatively cheap domestic hydroelectric power was essential to support private oligopolies and state monopolies.

This energy source and the accessibility to local and foreign raw materials were also essential for the industrialization of the province. This would mobilize capital and labour from other parts of Italy, reduce national unemployment and, above all, accelerate Italianization (Alcock, 1970: 41-2). The result would be the transformation of the

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18 Those Italophone colonists who managed to settle in the province did so by accepting indigenous ascendancy.
prevailing techno-environmental relationships, technology of production and work-system, now based on an urban-industrial structural hierarchy and set the stage for the spatio-functional incorporation of the capital's complementary region.

At a demographic level the effect of these policies was to transform the province from a compact German province into a mixed German-Italian area.

Table 3: South Tyrolean Population, 1910-1943 (in Absolute Numbers and Percentiles)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Total</th>
<th>Germanophone</th>
<th>Italophone</th>
<th>Ladin</th>
<th>Other</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1910</td>
<td>233459</td>
<td>223,24%</td>
<td>9,24%</td>
<td>4,05%</td>
<td>0,69%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1921</td>
<td>252092</td>
<td>75,71%</td>
<td>10,65%</td>
<td>3,93%</td>
<td>9,71%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1939</td>
<td>334331</td>
<td>70,15%</td>
<td>34,17%</td>
<td>3,43%</td>
<td>2,29%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1943</td>
<td>293700</td>
<td>60,03%</td>
<td>35,66%</td>
<td>3,62%</td>
<td>0,70%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Notes: 1910 figures based on Spoken Language; 1921 figures based on Mother Tongue. Other includes Germanophone born in North Tyrol and Austria or about 6,600 with Italian surnames.


Table 4: South Tyrolean Workforce per Language Group, 1939 (in Percentiles)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Group</th>
<th>Total</th>
<th>German</th>
<th>Italian</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Agriculture</td>
<td>44.5%</td>
<td>60.5%</td>
<td>6.0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Industry/Crafts</td>
<td>29.0%</td>
<td>14.6%</td>
<td>23.0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Commerce</td>
<td>12.0%</td>
<td>11.6%</td>
<td>21.6%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Public Admin</td>
<td>14.0%</td>
<td>0.5%</td>
<td>17.1%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other Activities</td>
<td>12.8%</td>
<td>31.5%</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TOTAL</td>
<td>100.0%</td>
<td>100.0%</td>
<td>100.0%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


Table 3 shows a dramatic change in the ethno-linguistic character of the South Tyrolean population. The Italophone population increased by over 1000% compared to only 43% for the entire population. The main beneficiaries were the two urban centres of Bolzano-Bozen (+3143%) and Merano-Meran (+4708%) where the Italophone population rose from 1682 and 392 in 1900 respectively to 54544 and 18849 in 1939 (Caragata in Battisti, 1946: 46-7). As table 4 shows Italophones came to dominate the civil service and the new industrial sector while the indigenous population was relegated to the primary sector and the more traditional secondary and tertiary activities.

This ethnic and spatio-functional division of labour was designed to isolate the indigenous population geographically and socially as a prelude to its assimilation and/or marginalization. However, the indigenous population remained
steadfastly attached to its identity and unwilling to cooperate with the new masters. The apparent failure to redeem these 'Germanized' Italians convinced the fascists to accept a nazi proposal of population transfer (De Felice, 1973: 23-31). Altogether 90% of Germanophones and 61% of Ladins opted for Germany (Huter, 1965: 341) and in the next three years 80% of those employed in the transportation industry, 67% in crafts, 40% in tourism, but only 9% of those working in agriculture trekked across the Brenner Pass and left their native land (Latour, 1965: 107-9; Leidlmaier in Huter, 1965: 367).

Had the new industrial economy become firmly rooted in the province and the rural crisis run its course as was already happening in other mountain areas of Italy (Toniolo, 1937), the seed of disintegration so brutally sown by the fascists would have caused the collapse of the indigenous community. The anacronistic and self-defeating agricultural policies of the fascist government had delayed this phenomenon in the South Tyrol, but on the long run, any attempt to modernize agriculture within an Italophone-controlled urban-industrial economy and political arrangement would have achieved this objective. At this point Italian territorial hold over the South Tyrol would have included sovereignty, complete administrative subordination to external political centres, full control over its economic resources and demographic preponderance.  

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19 In 1943 Italophones were 72% of the all Italian citizens (37% of the resident population) compared to 24% for Germanophones and 4% for Ladins (Alcock, 1970: 496).
The new political organization would correspond to a new, highly centralized statist order and would reinforce the new economy and division of labour in which urban-industrial activities dominated the province's economic life. These structural changes would have altered the mode of production by shifting the centre of techno-environmental relationships away from agriculture and the countryside to industry and the cities. The tragic denouement would have guaranteed the indigenization of the settler population and its ascendancy in the new spatio-functional framework. New generations of 'Upper Atesins' would have developed their own sentimental and symbolic attachment to the province, and the selective and often fraudulent use of archaeological, ethnographic, artistic and historical data would not be challenged by the presence of an indigenous population. This would weld the province to the Italian cultural area by means of new superstructural expressions (art, music, literature) that reflected Italian and not German standards, and the remaining indigenous South Tyroleans would be in no position to pose a threat to the new society because their geographic dispersal and social isolation would facilitate their integration into the dominant division of labour and cultural networks.
IV. POST-1945 STRATEGIES OF TERRITORIAL CONTROL AND THEIR STRUCTURAL BASES

The radical solution did not pass because the war undermined the fascist regime and stopped the flow of optants towards Germany, and the two years of nazi occupation placed the twenty years of fascist policy in jeopardy. In preparation for peace negotiations Italy and Austria reformulated traditional arguments about the strategic, economic and historical importance of the South Tyrol. Austria emphasized the ethnocultural homogeneity of the Tyrol on both sides of the Alps and called for a referendum to decide the fate of the contested province and, as a sign of good will towards the erstwhile foe, pledged to protect Italian economic interests (hydro power) and security concerns as well as guarantee the rights of the newly-created Italophone minority. 20 Italy put forth the watershed theory and Tolomei's ethnological claims and argued that the changes that had taken place in the province had become irreversible since the South Tyrol was firmly integrated into the Italian economy and local resources were essential for Italy's economic reconstruction. 21

20 Short of complete annexation, Austria was willing to partition the South Tyrol and reestablish a direct geographic link between northern and eastern Tyrol (Alcock, 1970: 102-5).

21 Lombard and Venetian industrial and financial groups had heavily invested in the province and built the most modern industrial infrastructure the country possessed (Weibel, 1971: 288) and were unwilling to give up this prized possession. Hydroelectric power (90% exported to northern Italy), forest products and some mineral ores were crucial factors of production for the northern Italian economy (Alcock, 1970: 102-4).
At the peace conference, Italian economic arguments and the promise to protect the Germanophone minority were successful. As part of the peace settlement Italy signed an accord with the Austrian delegation that pledged to

the populations of the ... zones [Bolzano-Bozen province and neighbouring bilingual townships of the Trento province] ... the exercise of an autonomous legislative and executive regional power. The framework within which the said provisions of autonomy will apply, will be drafted in consultation also with local representative German-speaking elements (Provincia Autonoma, 1985: 47)

Despite this pledge a tragic legacy weighted heavily on the South Tyrol. The partial exodus was the culmination of a brutal twenty-five year encounter. After the short-lived liberal experiment the South Tyrol had served as a laboratory and an instrument for an authoritarian and totalitarian response to the profound transformations that had begun in late nineteenth century Italy. Fascist strategy sought to undermine the indigenous socioeconomic and political institutions in order to incorporate the territory and its population into the Italian body politic. Consequently, drastic actions had to be taken to reverse its effects, especially at a time when the development of South Tyrolean resources, the creation of an industrial zone, the largescale immigration of Italophones and the partial exodus of indigenous South Tyroleans had left both population groups hanging on precarious structural foundations, neither in full control of the province nor adequately integrated in a single spatio-functional system.
By the end of the war the South Tyrol had become a segmented society made up of two main ethnic clusters that were visibly distinct, geographically and socially separate and to a considerable degree, functionally segregated. The creation of an ethnically-segmented society and the transformation of political and economic structures were an inheritance against which the indigenous population had to fight. In the subsequent years the interaction of local demographic and socio-economic processes and external pressures shaped the political strategies pursued by each ethnicity and their ruling elites as they adapted to wider socio-economic changes.

1. THE EVOLUTION OF POLITICAL STRUCTURES

Political structures are an important variable for they mediate socio-economic processes, they accentuate or reduce the intensity of their impact and condition their orientation. Political power also shapes individual and collective behaviour, organizes social networks and enforces given forms of conformity by sanctioning given beliefs and attitudes about the collective I and the individually-held collective identity. Consequently, the evolution of political institutions and culture and of power relations reflect but also affect all other processes of socio-economic structuration. It is in this sense that we can see that the postwar political evolution of the South Tyrol, and of the political strategies of its resident populations, was
closely linked to the evolution of Italian and Austrian political practices, culture and institutions as well as of prevailing socio-cultural structures economic processes. The effect was to give the indigenous population the means to assert greater spatio-functional control over the province and marginalize the settler community.

1.1 The Evolution Of Italian Political Structures

When the Constituent Assembly convened to write a new democratic constitution to replace the old 1848 Albertine Statute three separate committees were established to formulate the principles that would govern citizen-state relations, state organization and the state's economic organization. While the first and third committees elaborated constitutional texts that were inspired by notions of social rights and mixed economy, the second formulated a more traditional and restrictive set of constitutional provisions (Dente, 1985b: 81-92; Zariski, 1972: 26-33) governing the spatio-functional organization of the state apparatus (Pinzani, 1976: 2472-80). Consequently, the attempt to decentralize the administration of government was defeated by the doctrinal rigidities of the constitution and the centralistic practices of the bureaucracy and political elites.

Local branches of the state received juridical status to exercise autonomy in specific matters but remained under the ultimate authority of the national parliament and the supervision of its peripheral agencies. Regional statutes

Constitutional debates were also entangled in cold war politics. In the postwar years the Italian left opposed decentralization because it expected to win political power at the centre and feared that local autonomist governments could become fiefs of conservative and 'reactionary' forces. When victory went to the Christian Democrats (DC) both communists (PCI) and socialists (PSI) became ardent supporters of decentralization but found the road blocked by the newly centralist DC (Katzenstein in Esman, 1977: 306-9).

The implementation of regional devolution had to wait another quarter century. Socio-economic transformations at the national and continental levels restructured the economy, mobilized rural masses for urban residence and industrial employment, and set in motion a process of socio-cultural homogenization. This event made centre-left coalition governments possible and broke down some of the ideological walls that had split the country. The leftwing intellectual critique of centralism transcended its Marxian sources and penetrated other intellectual traditions and reinforced those

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22 At a legislative level parliament would have jurisdiction over most primary (exclusive) powers while Regional legislatures would exercise jurisdiction over secondary (regulatory-administrative) and tertiary (complementary) powers under the supervision of central agencies, see Graziano in Borst et al., 1975: 109-10 and Dente, 1985a: 134-5).
discourses that had advocated devolution (Compagna and Muscara, 1980: 104-7; Zariski, 1972: 111-3).

Under the aegis of the Centre-Left national coalition a program of regional decentralization, of economic planning and social welfare was launched (Gourevitch in Tarrow, 1978: 34-50), but despite high hopes these plans floundered and instead of efficient economic planning, state-wide delivery of social services and institutional decentralization, a pervasive system of mass patronage developed that used existing political parties as the mediatory vehicle between state institutions and the population and for the distribution of public goods.

Clientelism was nothing new in Italy. Compagna and Muscara write:

Those who unified the young and frail Kingdom of Italy had ... no illusions. Popular participation had been limited to a small class of young intellectuals and enlightened bourgeoisie. They were aware that there was no corresponding economic, social or cultural unity [of the country] in the anthropological sense (1980: 103)

Italian state-builders and post-unitary political leaders were forced to rely on more informal channels of integration, i.e. through individual political leaders controlling social forces whose power was guaranteed by restricted franchise in the first fifties years of the state, and through political parties in both the fascist and democratic periods because of greater scale of social organization, bureaucratic intervention and government assistance (Tarrow, 1977: 2-3).

This party-based system or 'partitocrazia' stifled
institutional decentralization and made all major parties the channel through which middlemen, go-betweens and brokers could press personal and group claims. By coopting leftwing parties and many interest groups, it became entrenched and social stability was bought at the price of inefficiency (Dente, 1985b: 98-111; Zariski, 1972: 140-200).

Emprisoned by this inefficiency-producing system, the new functional and bureaucratic agencies became fora of political arbitration between the various parties and the interest groups they purported to represent. Because decentralization occurred over a fourteen year period (1963-1977), political parties reconstructed locally the system that had emerged at the centre. (Benvenuti in Borst et al., 1975: 230-6; Dente, 1985b: 92-7).

With the onset of the energy crisis and hyper-inflation in the seventies the central government was able to use its primary fiscal and financial powers \(^{23}\) to exercise stringent control over the Regions. Consequently, with the exception of the South Tyrol (and the Trentino), decentralization was largely emasculated (Gourevitch in Tarrow, 1978: 28-63). \(^{24}\)

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\(^{23}\) With these powers the Italian central government proportionately collects more taxes (99%) than unitary states like France (93%), Great Britain (90%), Japan (75%) or Sweden (69%), see Rose, 1985: 27-8).

\(^{24}\) Some observers have predicted that Italian regions could become alternative loci of political power and loyalty (Bartole, 1979: 178-80), and in the last few years latent centrifugal pressures among northern Italo-Romance populations have emerged and taken the form of autonomist and federalist parties.
1.2 The SVP, The Politics Of Hegemony And Spatio-functional Disengagement

The South Tyrol (and the Trentino) was the only Italian territory that evaded centralistic pressures, but this was not achieved immediately. The ambiguities of the 1946 Italo-Austrian accord surfaced when the new constituent assembly convened to write a new constitution and failed to separate the South Tyrol from the Trentino (Volgger, 1985: 177). Trentine financial and commercial groups outweighted South Tyrolean concerns and obtained a single, Trent-dominated autonomous Region in which they would be dominant. Fascist industrialization had had little impact in the Trentino and had left the province poor, backward and a permanently depressed area. With regional autonomy Trentines could use the regional territory for the benefit of its Trentine section, develop their economy, build up the local infrastructure, help agriculture and modernize industry and tourism-oriented services (Bianco, 1971: 369-70). Regional autonomy could also appease reviving Trentine autonomism (Chiocchetti in Alto Adige, 1986: 34-5; Corposanto, 1979: 400-8), and for the national government a Trent-dominated Region would contain South Tyrolean irredentism without threatening Italian sovereignty and Roman centralism.

The intervention of the Trentine-born Prime Minister - Alcide de Gasperi - was crucial. As a former member of the Austrian parliament in the last years of the empire he had been familiar with the political diatribes of the old Tyrolean Crownland. The text of the new statute closely resembled the
aborted institutional accommodation of 1901 in which legislative and executive powers were to be divided between a single regional government and two provincial assemblies (Furlani and Wandruszka, 1974: 210-5), assigning a certain degree of autonomy to the South Tyrol but within an institutional framework dominated by Trentines.

Regional powers and direct political access to the national centre redressed Trentine atavistic problems. Emigration was stopped, the province's economy was developed and the transition to modern capitalist structures in agriculture, industry and service sectors was successfully negotiated so that its residents achieved average incomes higher than their South Tyrolean neighbours (Bianco, 1971: 369-70). This successful transition also benefitted the modern sectors of the South Tyrolean economy, i.e. those sectors dominated by Italophones, but not the whole province (Fiorot, 1982: 122-3), and the economic gap between indigenous and immigrant populations increased (Salvi, 1975: 241).

For indigenous South Tyroleans the division of power between regional and provincial levels of government offered at least an institutional basis that could be used to overcome some of the distortions brought about by twenty years of fascist rule (Bartole, 1979: 372-3). South Tyrolean leaders, now organized in a South Tyrolean People's Party (SVP), were keenly aware of the ethnically segmented nature of the provincial economy and control of the Provincial government was the only means at their disposal to reassert control over economic processes and
reconstruct a more balanced social system and division of labour.

Their views soon proved illusory because the central government failed to speedily implement the Statute and sought to minimize its effectiveness (Pristinger, 1978: 47-8), and the Region refused to delegate administrative powers to the provinces as prescribed by article 14 of the Statute (Bartole, 1979: 372-5) so that routine administration was left to the Region under Trentine Christian Democrats.

It is important here to pause and consider more closely the role of the SVP. According to the Lipset-Rokkan model, political parties are essential agents of mobilization that act as communication networks in order to organize manifest and/or latent social cleavages and channel demands. They crystallize conflicting interests by giving such contrasts an expressive mode and perform instrumental/representative functions on their behalf. They transform socio-economic and political contrasts into active demands, but also serve as the institutional fora where the latter can be tested against the pressures of power. Most importantly, because social chasms are hierarchically organized but never in a static, atemporal way, they tend to vary along territorial-cultural and functional axes which emerged in the wake of nation-building and industrialization (Lipset and Rokkan, 1967: 3-15). In other words, parties are the organizational form by which new and old social groups adapt to the transformation of the economic and politico-bureaucratic order along modern capitalist and statist lines.
Typically, most political parties formed along one conflictual axis to fulfill both instrumental and representative functions, generally in response to one dominant social chasm; however, in some societies political parties have had to organize and represent interests along both axes; the South Tyrol and the SVP are such atypical examples.

In such situations external threats may suspend or interrupt the normal interplay of disparate interests and goals. Collective aspirations tend to be reorganized around a single collective goal, but whereas populations in independent states can compartmentalize short-term conflictual episodes and long-term conflictual routines and thus minimize the costs of goal-attainment, stateless or substate collectivities cannot build institutional arrangements that make compartmentalization possible; consequently, they tend to be under continuous strain and social interruption. The single goal of survival monopolizes resource allocation, centralizes decision-making, weakens the autonomy of secondary social organizations designed to organize and mediate social and political relations, reinforces collective symbols and identity markers and promotes ethnocentrism and social uniformity. In a sense such collectivities act like besieged societies (Kimmerling, 1979: 9-13), and from their earliest encounter with Italy, indigenous South Tyroleans were under siege. Since the end of the Second World War the SVP has been their rampart.

The party was founded in May 1945 by a group of anti-nazi individuals and their immediate goal was the reunification of
the province to Austria, but once this objective was thwarted by the victorious allies they transformed the party into an organization dedicated to the revival, after a generation of fascist colonialism, of the separate political, social, economic and cultural life of an indigenous population of 250,000 in a country of 45 million.

The strong peasant ethos and inter-class appeal of the Church provided the intellectual and moral catalyst for the SVP rise to hegemonic representativeness of the indigenous population. Not only was the population strongly Catholic, but many SVP leaders were themselves Church-educated in a community where the Church had been the only indigenous institution that had operated outside fascist control. Consequently, in the 1948 provincial elections almost all indigenous South Tyroleans rallied behind the SVP, sanctioned its social and political ascendency and guaranteed an institutional basis for what came to be known as the 'sammelspartei', the collection or gathering party (Agostini, 1985: 57-69).

The above table shows that support for the SVP has ranged

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**Table 5: Results of Provincial Elections by Parties Representing the Indigenous Population in Selected Areas, 1948-1983**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>SDPS</th>
<th>SVP</th>
<th>TOTAL</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1948</td>
<td>0.74%</td>
<td>99.26%</td>
<td>100.00%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1952</td>
<td>99.46%</td>
<td>0.54%</td>
<td>100.00%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1956</td>
<td>124.06%</td>
<td>79.43%</td>
<td>203.49%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1960</td>
<td>132.39%</td>
<td>78.51%</td>
<td>210.90%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1964</td>
<td>132.39%</td>
<td>78.51%</td>
<td>210.90%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1968</td>
<td>138.44%</td>
<td>77.89%</td>
<td>216.33%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1972</td>
<td>139.44%</td>
<td>79.38%</td>
<td>218.82%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1976</td>
<td>140.31%</td>
<td>76.77%</td>
<td>217.08%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1980</td>
<td>143.34%</td>
<td>76.77%</td>
<td>217.08%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Notes:** For details on Urban Areas see Appendix A; for details on Parties see Appendix B; ideological spectrum goes from top (left) to bottom (right).

from a low of 87.28% in 1983 to a high of 100% in 1956 and 1960. Despite electoral shifts the SVP has maintained its overall hegemonic hold over the indigenous population and reflected its rural basis. No party from within the indigenous population has been able to weaken this near-monopoly or, with the exception of the small Independents' Party or PDU, gather most of its support from the countryside.

The SVP has also successfully claimed Ladin representation.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Table 6: Provincial Vote per Language Group and Ethnic Political Alignment in Ladin Area, 1960-1983 (in Percentiles)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Year</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1960</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1964</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1966</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1973</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1978</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1983</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Notes: Division of Ladin Vote per Ethnic Political Alignment was calculated by subtracting estimated number of Germanophone and Italophone voters from total vote of each Alignment and dividing estimated Ladin voters by Political Alignment. Estimate based on Adult Population figures of closest census year eligible to vote. For details about Ladin Areas see Appendix A.


In the immediate postwar period Ladins had sought to organize separately and formed the 'Zent Ladina Dolomites', whose membership included half of the adult population. This experience was short-lived. The lack of a separate politico-territorial domain, the symbiotic relationship and elective affinity with Germanophones and provincial economic and cultural policies led a majority (see table 6) of them to vote for the SVP (Richebuono, 1982: 117-30). 25

SVP hegemony was reinforced by the great socio-cultural

25 The overall split in provincial electoral results reflects the ethnic division of the adult population and can be considered an accurate representation of the political split between the two major ethnies. Ladins have traditionally split their vote between the SVP and Italian Christian Democrats, till the seventies by a 2:1 ratio and since by 3:1, see table 5.
distance that separated indigenous and immigrant populations. The organizational and attitudinal differences underlined different political cultures and informed separate political strategies. Only Christian Democrats were ideologically and socially capable of breaking the gap and cooperate with the SVP (Fiorot, 1982: 121-2), but like the province itself, South Tyrolean Christian Democrats were subordinated to the Region and Trentine Christian Democrats whose economic and political interests dictated regional centralization and an economic strategy that favoured urban industrial development, infrastructural improvements and modernization of rural areas in the Trentino and the Italianized areas of the South Tyrol.

During the fifties the combination of centripetal pushes and strong indigenous resistance brought into the open the social contradictions and generational gap within the SVP. The notables who had established the party were from a middle class background and ideologically more liberal than the party's supporters, i.e. from the social milieu that had suffered from the 1940-43 exodus. The internal conflict remained latent so long as the primary goal was the achievement of political autonomy, but once the latter proved unobtainable because of Trentine and Italian resistance divisions came to the fore (Alcock, 1970: 236-42).

The rigidity of the Italian position and the insistence of the old guard to use only legal and parliamentary channels exasperated the conflict within the SVP and led to the rise of a new, younger generation, made up mostly of rural optants
educated in the fascist school system and trained in the German army (Fiorot, 1982: 123). These young Turks were very different from their elders. Instead of accommodation and negotiation they were committed to a strategy of confrontation and shifted SVP opposition from one of process to one of substance. No longer did they insist that the Statute be fully implemented, but argued that the Statute be changed so that the Province could exercise those legislative powers that the Region was unwilling to delegate.

The resolution of the Austrian question in 1955 radicalized the situation because now the indigenous population could seek support from its Austrian brethren and eschew partial solutions. Italy steadfastly rejected any Austrian role and insisted that it had fulfilled its obligations and implemented the terms of the 1946 Accord. The crisis had unexpected consequences in Austria because it crystallized displaced national frustrations and contributed to the redefinition of an Austrian national identity. In this country, the deep social and political segmentation between city and country, urban proletariat and rural peasantry and left and right that had prevailed in the interwar period and contributed to the 1930 civil war and the failed reunification with Germany, had remained latent in the decade-long allied occupation and had not been fully resolved (Katzenstein in Tarrow, 1978: 123-69). In the post-war period

26 It was in this context of rising hostilities that the South Tyrolean question reached the floor of the General Assembly of the United Nations in 1961-62 and transformed the hitherto domestic problem into an international affair.
the potential for conflict had inaugurated a consociational strategy of social control and political accomodation, and in this context, South Tyrolean matters were delegated to North Tyrolean Social Christians. This was useful in the short term because it cemented a common Austrian position and resolve, and provided needed support to indigenous South Tyroleans; however, on the long run, it stifled practical policy options in the name of Tyrolean identity and Austrian nationalism. Social fragmentation and delegation of power simply reinforced political immobilism since policy proposals remained impractical given the power and place of Italy and Austria in Cold War politics (Katzenstein in Esman, 1977: 301-2).

A similar situation of rigid political positions obtained in Italy. Both the Trentino and the central government were satisfied with the status quo since both had what they wanted, but as Strassoldo writes:

Minories find protection, freedom and rights when the social costs of their subjugation are greater than the benefits (Strassoldo in Boileau et al., 1975: 25).

And the costs were on the rise (Agostini, 1985:a: 107-22; Volgger, 1985: 205-60). ²⁷

The strategy of confrontation proved costly for the indigenous population as well. In the early sixties the SVP

²⁷ Compared to very low (e.g. Brittany) and very high intensity ethnic conflicts (e.g. Kossovo), political violence has played a role in the South Tyrolean situation, but not a dominant one. Nevertheless, in the 1961-1972 period, 22 people lost their lives and 346 terrorist acts were recorded.
leadership was increasingly aware that its intransigence was blocking meaningful negotiations and that the emphasis on extreme demands was not helpful. Italian leaders reached similar conclusions and expressed more principled and prudential considerations towards the South Tyrolean minority. Above all, both parties were being pushed by the realization that continued political crisis could compromise the gradual restructuration of the provincial and regional economies.

With international involvement, an escalating terrorist campaign and the growing evidence that the 1948 Statute was unworkable because of SVP boycott, the Italian government set up a nineteen-member 'Commission of Experts' charged with the task of reviewing the Autonomy Statute and formulating proposals for its reform. Unlike 1948 indigenous South Tyroleans were represented by eight Germanophones and one Ladin, and between 1961 and 1969 negotiations took place and a 'Package' of 137 proposed changes (text in Alcock, 1970: 434-91) to the 1948 Statute was agreed to by the parties. The old Autonomy Statute was substantially changed, albeit not to the satisfaction of all SVP leaders and the package approved in November 1969 by slim majority of SVP party members (Alcock, 1970: 450-3).

On January 20, 1972 the new Autonomy Statute was approved by parliament. Under its terms, the South Tyrol did not become a separate Region but the old Trentino-South Tyrol Region lost
most of its power. The transfer of powers in the economic, financial and cultural fields entailed a set of bureaucratic arrangements such as ethnic proportionality and bilingualism in the civil service designed to protect Germanophones and Ladins.

German was made coequal to Italian throughout the Province and in all government offices as the language of internal and external communication, except for the Armed Forces; therefore, Germanophones had both the right to use their native tongue with all government offices (a right recognized by the 1948 Statute but never implemented in State bureaucracies) and to work in it. As in 1948 South Tyrolean Ladins were not guaranteed equal treatment, but unlike their Trentine brethren, they achieved some gains. The existing bilingual immersion school system was maintained but placed under a separate Ladin School Board and Ladins were guaranteed a permanent seat in both Provincial and Regional governments and on-going financing of their cultural activities (Craffonara, 1986: 15; Egger, 1978: 110-8).

With compulsory bilingualism and proportionality the ethnic composition of the civil service was profoundly changed. This had begun at the Municipal, Provincial and Regional and had been

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28 Under the 1948 Statute the Regional government held primary jurisdiction in 17 areas and secondary jurisdiction in another 8, while the Provinces of Trent and Bolzano-Bozen had jurisdiction in 14 and 3 areas respectively. After 1972 the Provinces acquired primary jurisdiction in 29 areas and secondary jurisdiction in another 11, and the Region was left with primary jurisdiction in 10 areas and secondary jurisdiction in 3 (Provincia Autonoma, 1985).

29 Since Italophones were disproportionately represented in the civil service, current employees were protected and proportionality was to be achieved in a thirty-year period (1972-2002).
achieved by the mid-sixties; now it was the turn of state agencies (Egger, 1978:39) and from 1975 to 1986 the proportion of Italophones dropped from 86.10% to 56.14% (Amort, 1987: 24 and supplement).

The new Autonomy increased the financial power of the Province. From an average of eleven billion lire per annum during the sixties (Pan, 1979), Provincial revenues grew at annual rate of about 34% (funds assessed and committed) and 55% (funds collected and paid) between 1973 and 1983. In practical terms, this meant that the South Tyrol received greater transfer payments than neighbouring Trentino and North Tyrol even though its population is smaller, and the once dominant Region saw its proportion of combined provincial-regional revenues drop from 34.1% in 1973 to 1.9% in 1985 (Dall'O' et al., 1988: 197-8; ISTAT, 1986: 24-5).

With its new-found financial endowment the Province has been able to actively intervene in the local economy. Although agencies and branches of the central government still account for a larger share of total public expenditures (60%), most notably in the delivery of collective services and the payment of salaries, most discretionary spending (80-90%) now belongs to the Province, and almost 40% of its expenditures (for the 1983-88 period) were used in direct or indirect support of economic activities (Provincia Autonoma, 1988: 68-9).

The period of negotiations coincided with mounting

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30 Percentiles calculated by author (from ISTAT, 1986: 25).
obstacles and challenges to SVP rule and South Tyrolean society. The party had to manage the processes that were undermining traditional economic structures and prevent the marginalization of the indigenous population in an ethnically segmented division of labour. Within its ranks, business groups, farmers and workers were increasingly conscious of the potential dangers to the indigenous community and of the self-defeating effect of early SVP actions.

The boycott of Regional institutions and the loss of the influence in the distribution of Regional funding aggravated this sense of urgency since the necessary policy options that could stir economic trends and shape structural adjustments were being made without South Tyrolean input and often against South Tyrolean interests. In 1961 an inchoate fronde - the Aufbau or reconstruction manifesto - called on the SVP to abandon its sterile and incessant opposition to the Statute, the Region and the central government and demanded that Provincial economic policies address the needs of all sectors of the economy (Ghirigato, 1986: 101-2).

The Aufbau's commitment to change was hedged and partial, and ultimately failed as a form of organized opposition to the SVP leadership, but its warnings were heeded. The SVP reorganized its internal institutions to reflect social changes and the rise of new social groups - business, workers, youth, women - and adopted a more bureaucratic structure to organize such interests (Katzenstein in Esman, 1977: 316-9; Pristinger, 1978: 52-3) and deal more effectively with the growing social
differentiation of the indigenous population and still retain the support of its overwhelming majority. At a policy level, it instituted a set of programs to modernize agriculture and reemploy excess rural labour in traditional and new economic activities. Tourism, crafts and small-scale, newly-created industries received Provincial support and attracted foreign investments.

The emergence of party-based clientelism at the national level enhanced the SVP's bargaining power and facilitated this organizational transformation since the SVP could mediate the process by which the central government instituted a country-wide welfare system and use the resources made available to maintain the political cohesion of the indigenous population. Under its leadership the corporatist practices of segregated social groups, typical of Austrian politics, was adapted to Italian political practices (Katzenstein in Esman, 1977: 306-23). The SVP could thus retain its role as the defender of the indigenous minority and articulate its demands vis-a-vis local branches of national parties and the central government as well as act as the internal political broker and dispenser of rewards and influence.

SVP dominance should not be confused with complete monopoly. External cultural, educational and social organizations continued to exist, and the SVP was never a totalitarian party. Yet the siege mentality conditioned almost all social groups and organizations. As a quintessential beacon of indigenous values and attitudes the SVP has always donned the
mantel of authority, used a sharply nationalist rhetoric and shown hegemonial impulses.

The party's central role made it the privileged interlocutor of Austrian and Bavarian Social Christian parties and governments and enabled the SVP to closely supervise the process of economic transformation and favour investments from both countries. This transalpine connection opened the party to their ideological and intellectual influences; concepts like social partnership (Sozialpartnerschaft) and Co-management (Mitbestimmung) were adopted in an effort to organize the changing economic system (Pan, 1979) and reduce inevitable social tensions within the indigenous population (Pristinger, 1978: 57-61). However, the growing social and economic differentiation within the indigenous population was an important, albeit unwelcome, byproduct of modernization. It created fears that it might find a political expression and undermine the raison d'etre of the SVP as the single political block of the minority.

Greater socio-economic differentiation, the opening to the outside world and growing educational opportunities offered enabled a growing number of people to question the SVP model of society and its way of exercising power (Acquaviva and Eisermann, 1981: 84). A small but growing number of Germanophone blue collar workers subjected to new socializing experiences adopted more clearly-defined class identity and joined national and local ethnic unions at a time of greater worker militancy throughout Italy (Ghirigato, 1986: 128-41;

A 1973 survey showed that 5% of Germanophones was prepared to vote for ideological parties, irrespective of ethnicity, while another 25% (23% for rural respondents and 36% for urban respondents) indicated a preference for ideologically-oriented parties within their own ethny (Gubert, 1976: 92). Since the seventies at least half of this potential electorate has put their preference into practice and voted for inter-ethnic parties (Langer, 1986) while others have opted for parties that have challenged SVP's policy management (Pristinger, 1978: 123-4) or political compromises.

1.3 Autonomy And The Italophone Community

The new political arrangement set up in 1972 transformed the Italophone community from a national and regional majority into a provincial minority. Like other settler experiences, that of Italophones in the South Tyrol began from a position of strenght within the territory of settlement but of weakness vis-a-vis the external centre that created it. This meant that its initial political behaviour reflected national trends rather than a process of adaptation to local circumstances.

Since the Second World War the electoral behaviour of Italians has been stable and shifts of little import. The proportional system of representation has favoured inter- and intra-party fragmentation and protest voting, and ideological divisions have reinforced consociational and coalition politics
(Zariski, 1972: 140-200; ibid, 1984: 403-19). This has not prevented political realignments like the creation of centre-left coalitions in the early sixties, but the emergence of a patronage-based informal system has accentuated the rigidities of formal political institutions based on permanent majorities and minorities.

Table 7: Results in Provincial Elections by Parties Representing Italophone Population per Ideological Grouping, 1948-1983

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>YEAR</th>
<th>LEFT</th>
<th>CENTRE</th>
<th>RIGHT</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1948</td>
<td>28.08%</td>
<td>33.79%</td>
<td>38.21%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1952</td>
<td>25.77%</td>
<td>39.34%</td>
<td>40.79%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1956</td>
<td>21.90%</td>
<td>40.32%</td>
<td>41.78%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1960</td>
<td>25.01%</td>
<td>40.43%</td>
<td>41.56%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1964</td>
<td>12.98%</td>
<td>37.20%</td>
<td>50.82%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1968</td>
<td>16.14%</td>
<td>38.95%</td>
<td>45.91%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1973</td>
<td>15.99%</td>
<td>39.53%</td>
<td>46.48%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1978</td>
<td>28.75%</td>
<td>33.02%</td>
<td>38.23%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1983</td>
<td>25.65%</td>
<td>28.64%</td>
<td>42.92%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Notes: For details on Urban Centres see Appendix A; for details on Ideological Groupings see Appendix B.


Table 7 shows the relative predominance of the centrist Christian Democrats who have managed to retain a 35-40% support until the mid-seventies. Unlike other ideological groupings their support has had a strong rural base because of the party's strong Social-Christian appeal and values. In addition, political considerations and shared Social Christian values have made it the privileged interlocutor of the SVP; however, unlike other Italian political parties and the SVP, the DC has had to balance its role as the natural, albeit junior, partner of the SVP and of its Trentine counterpart and the agent of patronage distribution with the need to maintain its appeal among a fragmented Italophone electorate in which a substantial
proportion has been tempted by nationalist appeals (Delle Donne, 1984: 19) and responsive to anti-Germanophone prejudices (Ghirigato, 1986: 45-55).

Under pre- and post-1972 political arrangements Italophone votes have been of little consequence in provincial politics since power was always in the hands of others, but they closely reflect the state of inter-ethnic relations and, therefore, are a good indicator of Italophone reactions to decisions taken by others. As inter-ethnic tensions rose during the fifties and early sixties the right benefitted; in the following years, when negotiations on political reform started and political tensions abated, the left and centre-left gained. In 1983 the pendulum swung back towards the right following renewed inter-ethnic tensions.

In the atypical circumstances of the South Tyrol the Italophone population has begun to vote like a bloc. In his 1973-76 study Gubert had found that one third of Italophones was prepared to vote for a nationalist party; with the growing Italophone disenchantment with the Statute and traditional parties the neo-fascist MSI has benefitted.
Table 8 shows that Italophone now appreciate the value of brinkmanship and, for some, the full nationalist potential among Italophones has not been realized (Omnibus, 1987: 10).

Gubert correctly predicted that this shift in Italophone allegiances would depend on the nature of inter-ethnic relations. Low tensions would favour the social integration and political adjustment of the immigrant population to the life of the province as a result of growing Italophone participation in inter-ethnic or Germanophone-controlled social and cultural networks; conversely, high tensions might lead to an Italophone sammelspartei (Gubert, 1976: 92-3).

Leidlmair (1969) had observed the neighbour effect (on the concept, see Laponce, 1987) on Italophone voters during the sixties in the Bassa Atesina-Suedtiroler Unterland, a mixed area south of the provincial capital (see Appendix C, maps D, E and F). According to estimates made by this author about 25% of the Italophone electorate voted SVP during the sixties and 15% during the seventies. However, changing socio-economic structures and rising inter-ethnic tensions have made this phenomenon insignificant. Estimates achieved by subtracting the percentile of population of closest census year from percentile of electoral results and dividing by One/Hundredth of electoral results.
1.4 Recent Trends

Why did the statute fail to achieve inter-ethnic accommodation and deescalate political tensions? Some observers believed that once autonomy was implemented inter-ethnic confrontation would recede into the background and socio-economic factors govern political life. The new political arrangement would allow the dramatic socio-economic changes that had taken place within the indigenous population to take their natural course and reshape the political landscape. Multi-ethnic social groups would form around common social experiences and economic interests, and the emotional relevance of inter-ethnic confrontation would decline and be replaced by a more differentiated and pluralistic political life (Katzenstein in Esman, 1977: 288; Paoli in Goglio, 1979). Others held that the contradiction between a peripheral ethno-national minority and a potentially assimilating national area would survive. The language of symbols may lose its original resonance but in the absence of shared collective values the various ethnies would still stress their cultural differences and pursue political strategies that could aggravate other social divisions (Andreatta and Faustini, 1976: 730-1).

The skeptics proved closer to the facts because, in multi-ethnic societies, ethnicity will always remain a potent, if often latent, source of emotional appeal and political power. They are not necessarily the most easily destabilized by social conflict and economic changes so long as the political and economic steering mechanisms incorporate all ethnic segments and
enable respective elites to participate in decision-making and develop common values, ranging from elite accommodation (Aunger, 1981) to different forms of consociational or federal regimes (Lijphardt, 1979). However, in multilingual societies accommodation cannot be achieved without some form of spatio-functional separation of language groups. In the South Tyrol this option was never envisaged, and even if it had, the juxtaposition of an Italophone-controlled vital centre and a Germanophone-controlled complementary region would have made it too difficult to implement. Instead, the solution was one of personal language rights within an autonomous province where the numerical majority of the Germanophone population was the key factor. This situation was compounded by the rigidities of the indigenous political culture and the inherent divisions of the Italophone community and Italian political system (Nolet, 1971: 11-2).

In the years following the 1969 Package the parties came to a tacit agreement (Nolet, 1971: 12-3) to keep negotiations above public scrutiny in order to diffuse potential mass mobilization against it, but the tactic backfired for it left South Tyroleans misinformed and unprepared (Agostini, 1985: 16-9; Ghirigato, 1986: 166). The problem was aggravated by the SVP approach to autonomy. Since its raison d'etre was the maintenance of a pervasive social consensus around traditional Social-Christian beliefs, ethnic differentiation and political cohesion of the indigenous population, its strategy dictated ethnic separation and the perpetuation of inter-ethnic divisions (Pristinger,
When it lacked the institutional instruments and economic resources to ensure the survival of the minority, this consensus was easily achieved and the 'Volkstumpfkampf' could override all other issues and considerations. However, in the seventies the material and social conditions that had sustained this monolythic consensus no longer existed and the SVP could only pursue two alternative strategies.

It could emphasize its conservative orientation and become a more distinctly rightwing party (Nolet, 1971: 9) and thus take advantage of the integration of the province in the continental economy and the rise of international and subnational institutions like the European Community, the Alpine Regions Organization and the West-European Christian Democratic Union. Through these functional links the party could institutionalize contacts with sister-parties in neighbouring Germanophone countries and rely on their support and resources, but this option had one important drawback. It would weaken the original political consensus that had ensured SVP hegemony within the indigenous population.

The other option was to maintain its appeal as the sammelpartei. Within the context of the new Autonomy Statute and improved socio-economic conditions this strategy could not rely on a real sense of deprivation; instead, it had to offer a political discourse that stressed symbols and issues that
divided the two major ethnies. This could only undermine the recently found political stability, perturb economic development and weaken the SVP bargaining position vis-a-vis the Italian government and threaten its own ability to maintain internal social consensus as well as attract foreign investment.

Unable to escape from its own contradictions the SVP responded by micro-managing political and economic problems as they arose. The financial windfall that came with the new Statute funded countless social and cultural associations and thus reinforced the organizational bases of the minority's social segregation, institutional corporatism and cultural uniformity. Past injustices were stressed and autonomy was defined as a compensatory covenant between the indigenous population and the Italian state rather than a common ideal for all South Tyroleans (Agostini, 1985: 79-105). Similarly, the SVP cultivated its conservative credentials at a time of a leftwing drift of Italian, Austrian and West German politics so as to maintain strong institutional links with sister parties in the same countries. This cooperation was essential if the South Tyrol was to exploit its geographic position as a crossroad in an increasingly integrated continental economy and a regional

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32 Some SVP leaders have called for the virtual physical separation of the two ethnies out of fear of 'eimischung' and 'Alsatianization', and demanded the penalization of citizens who objected to ethnic identification (Europeo, 1983: 27), the segregation of school populations (separate entrances, stairways, playgrounds and sport facilities in shared buildings), of rest homes (in Merano-Meran), of the Rotary Club, and the creation of a separate South Tyrolean Olympic Committee (Coletti in Europeo, 1984: 18-20; Giannelli, 1987: 82; Zucchini, 1986: 44-8).
political space dominated by conservative and moderate political forces.

The porcupine strategy of micro-management, ethnic separation and conservative alignment was reinforced by bureaucratic resistance and political disinterest in Rome. A process that was supposed to take two years bogged down in an endless game of bargaining that the SVP used to seek additional concessions (Delle Donne, 1984: 19; Giannelli, 1987: 85), and refocus the latent hostility towards the Statute.

The spate of proposals to modify the Statute were not met, but the refusals have been useful in Rome-bashing and in closing ethnic ranks (Girola and Giacomelli in Famiglia Cristiana, 1985: 63; Zucchini, 1986: 42). However, riding the tiger of inter-ethnic tensions had its occupational hazards. In a political climate that favoured tensions and confrontation terrorism has appeared once again (La Repubblica, 1987: nos. 122-125-126-220; Europeo, 1981: n.14) and fractional splintering occurred within the SVP itself (Agostini, 1986: 15-8, 66; Folgheraiter in Famiglia Cristiana, 1986). Outside the party both the right and the left have accentuated their criticism and opposition to SVP policy.

Among the issues reopened there were the demand for a federal arrangement between the South Tyrol and Italy (Bianchini in La Repubblica, 1987: n.125), the provincialization of the National Road Maintenance Agency (ANAS) (Nolet, 1984: 14), the collection of custom dues and separate fiscal powers (Zucchini, 1986: 47), the abolition of most bilingual toponyms (Bocca in La Repubblica, 1987: n.128), the de facto creation of separate Bar Associations and legal systems, one for Germanophones and one for Italophones (Rucellai, 1984: 30-6).
The strains and stresses placed on the SVP leadership have produced a certain, albeit belated, change in the party's strategy, and led to the departure of some of its most intransigent members (La Repubblica, 1988: n.92; ibid, 1989: n.97). This shift is partly the result of the inevitable generational change that is bringing younger politicians to positions of responsibility, more concerned with the impact of political instability on the province's economy. Some groups like the Workers' faction (Arbeitnehmer) now share common interests with their Italophone counterparts (Nolet, 1984: 12-4), and the business community is now in a better position to manage economic affairs (Giannelli, 1987: 20-2). The Province has implicitly recognized this by supporting the hitherto Italophone-controlled industrial sector (Provincia Autonoma, 1988: 21-1).

The SVP finally understood the need to reassure the Italophone community because the constant use and display of pan-Tyrolean sentiments and the expression of overt anti-Italian stereotypes had antagonized Italophones who find themselves increasingly isolated in the province and largely abandoned by Roman leaders. Political instability and Italophone resentment has also prompted the SVP to reach out towards the Italophone community in order to better manage economic decisions and address some of the cyclical and structural problems of the provincial economy (Nolet, 1984: 12-4). Above all, the possibility of an Italian sammelspartei was of utmost concern for it would block political dialogue, destabilize the Autonomy
regime, polarize the two ethnies and strengthen the indigenous right at a time when the economy was in a recessionary cycle. SVP leaders tried to clarify their policies and took different steps to allay Italophone fears, most notably in the areas of ethnic proportionality, public employment and social housing (Agostini, 1986: 24-6; Ansaloni in Alto Adige, 1986: 43; Provincia Autonoma, 1988: 4-6), but all these efforts have not yet overcome some of the cultural and mental schemes that inform indigenous attitudes (Magnago in Provincia Autonoma, 1988: 6).

The more moderate image and language of the SVP was for many Italophones too little too late. The turning point came with the failure of the 1979-80 petition in favour of early bilingualism signed by 16000, mostly Italophone, residents, and the publication of the 1981 census which showed a 15% drop of the Italophone population. By 1985 over 20000 people signed a MSI-sponsored petition calling for the repeal of the most important provisions of the 1972 Autonomy Statute (Giannelli, 1987: 67). However, the growing support for the MSI has not yet become a voting bloc and cannot create an Italophone sammelpartei because of the former’s ideological and political illegitimacy in post-1945 Italy, and because of the absence of a territorial base where it could exercise political power.

The other political parties are politically and/or

34 For this reason, the SVP negotiated a pre-electoral program before the 1983 Provincial Elections with the Christian Democrats and Socialists rather than accept their participation in a provincial coalition as representative of the Italophone community (Provincia Autonoma, 1988: 4-6).
ideologically unprepared or unable to organize this electorate. The Christian Democrats are caught between cooperation and confrontation with the SVP and cannot bridge the social and ideological gap on their right and left. In the seventies and early eighties some of the left and centre-left parties tried to appeal to Germanophone voters by adopting bilingual denominations and running Germanophone candidates, but their belated change lacked the credibility with and presence in the indigenous community to gain any real support and in the process lost support among Italophones.

The only new alternative has come from those South Tyroleans who grew up politically in new-left circles in Italy and/or West Germany and opposed the seeming paucity of ideas and the political discourses based on narrow views of ethnicity and class-politics (Giannelli, 1987: 57-61; Langer, 1986: 189-92). Despite stern opposition and berating by the SVP and the attempt by some Italian parties to appropriate some of their themes the New Left has carved out a certain space for itself and may represent around 4% of the Germanophone electorate and 7% of the Italophone electorate (in 1983). Nevertheless, it speaks a political language that is too new for most South Tyroleans, born and raised in another age and steeped in different values, and more concerned with the here and now than with lofty ideas about societal projects.

The rearrangement of political institutions in the South

35 Estimates by author, see Appendix B.
Tyrol has given the province of Bolzano-Bozen an extensive financial and economic autonomy and has allowed the SVP and the indigenous population to enhance their functional separation from the fascist-imposed spatio-functional hierarchy centred on the Italophone-controlled capital; but the political situation remains one of impasse.

At a socio-political level, SVP power now rested on its ability to control Provincial institutions, extract resources from central government and manage the internal contradictions of the indigenous population. The existing politico-administrative system was compatible with an internally-unified political system that maximized the use of nationally-allocated resources to compartmentalize the generation of social demands and the articulation of different interests. The paradox is that its success in doing so weakened its political base and undermined its ideological hegemony. The only way it could reconcile these two contradictory trends was to use its newfound power to maintain inter-ethnic contact at a minimum and manage relatively high inter-ethnic tensions while cultivating its conservative credentials vis-a-vis ruling groups in Italy, Tyrol and Bavaria.

At a structural level, the contradictions inherent in a bifurcated spatio-functional system have only aggravated socio-political contradictions. Political autonomy thus cannot engender longterm inter-ethnic accommodation because the Italophone community lacks the necessary spatial separation that could guarantee the autonomy of its distinct functional
institutions and domains.

It is useful at this point to turn to such institutions and domains to see how and why the lack of Italophone spatial separation plays a role in the present conflict. It will also shed some light on how and why the indigenous population was able to resist the fascist attempt to incorporate and assimilate it into a wider Italian spatio-functional order.

2. THE EVOLUTION OF SOCIO-CULTURAL STRUCTURES

The evolution of political institutions and strategies of territorial control ultimately depend on human agency, i.e. they are instantiated by the actions of humans which, in turn, depend on the self-evaluative processes that enable humans to apprehend their surrounding. It is, therefore, necessary to look at the socio-cultural attitudes, mentalities and ideas people have about ethnic identity, intra- and inter-ethnic relations and their socio-cultural bases to fully appreciate why and how certain behaviours, actions and decisions are made possible. Only by looking at them can one identify specific traits that pertain to the recursive and discoursive knowledge of people and recognize how they inform individual political behaviour and collective political strategies.

But how do we measure or identify ethnicity and its behavioural and organizational manifestations? The often used method is that of public surveys. In the South Tyrol several
survey studies have confirmed behavioural and organizational differences and identified general patterns that separate South Tyrolean ethnies. In such studies researchers have recognized that despite seventy years of Italian rule, culture, understood in its wider sense (the set of intellectual, behavioural, organizational and material expressions of social life) remains the principal factor of differentiation of South Tyrolean ethnies.

In 1976 Renzo Gubert found that ethnic identity among South Tyrolean Germanophones and Italophones was strongly felt, less so among Ladins.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Table 9: Ethnic Identification (in Absolute Numbers and Percentiles)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>GERMAN</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ITALIAN</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>LADIN</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TOTAL</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Notes: Total figures include Others and Don’t Know.

R = Rural. U = Urban. F = Fasa Valley. G = Gherdeina Valley
G > Germanophones. I > Italophones. L = Ladins.

This table shows that except for a small shift among urban Germanophones - 1 in 20 - Germanophones and Italophones retained a strong ethnic identity. The same cannot be said about Ladins. In Fasa valley (Trentino) losses represented about one third of the potential Ladin population; in Gherdeina (South Tyrol) losses were smaller - one quarter - but still significant. However, a closer look reveals another picture. A 1969 empirical study of family names showed that while two thirds of all surnames in the Bassa Atesina/Suedtiroler

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36 This sample was taken in the provincial capital alone and not from other cities; it is probable that losses in Bolzano-Bozen were compensated elsewhere.
Unterland were Italian, only one third of the population considered itself Italian; consequently, one Germanophone in two was of Italian origin.  

In the absence of more precise data, this author has used the names of municipal councillors as the indicator of ethnic origin and compared them to their declared ethnic identity. This was done by using data from those municipalities where, according to the 1981 census, a substantial Italophone population lived. Given the nature of inter-ethnic relations in the province and the strenght of ethnic identities (see table 9) the results can be seen as underlying indicators of a general, if not very precise, trend.

These tables show that there is a direct relationship

between demographic size and assimilation. From a high of almost 50% in the Burgraviato/Burgrafenamt to a low of 5.26% in the provincial capital Italophones exhibit the greatest assimilation rate. In the two largest cities and in the two municipalities of Brenner/Brennero and Sterzing/Vipiteno with their high numbers of transient military, police and custom personnel, Italophones show a low assimilation rate, but provincially one quarter of all those with an Italian surname have identified themselves as Germanophone. Conversely, Germanophones seem to be less likely to shift ethnic allegiance; only 1 in 20 seems to have done so. Even this figure is suspect since a majority of Italophones are of Trentine origin, i.e. from a region where small Germanophone enclaves existed and where some remnants of older and larger Germanophone settlements survive, hence Italianization might have preceded rather than followed settlement in the South Tyrol.

If we accept the plausibility of this hypothesis, the question is why and how members of a national majority would be assimilated by a minority? Tables 10 and 11 indicate that the areas with the highest rate of assimilation are in the Adige-Etsch Corridor and a few municipalities in the Burgrafenamt-Burgraviato, i.e. those localities (see Appendix C, Maps D, E and F) where Italophone settlement dates back to the mid-

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These data are crude indicators of assimilatory trends and ethnic shift, partly because the sample population is small (450) and also because it inevitably underrepresents those groups with the least political power, namely women and young adults.
nineteenth century and where Italophones have lived the longest in a pervasive German Tyrolean cultural milieu.

If we consider that, in the absence of territorial segregation, socio-cultural assimilation precedes linguistic and eventually shift (Danesi, 1983), then we can expect assimilation to follow. This process begins with territorial identification. Rural Italophones (in the Adige-Etsch Corridor) chose municipality above all other spatial units, while more recently settled urban Italophones chose Italy and Europe as their main geographic unit of identification. As we might expect, among Germanophones and Ladins the main geographic unit selected was province and valley respectively (Gubert, 1976: 66), although in an other survey (Acquaviva and Eisermann, 1981: 125), where respondents had to choose their country from a list that included the Tyrol, Italy and Austria, almost 60% of all Germanophone and Ladins opted for the first with Italy coming as a remote second. Consequently, through their strong territorial identification Germanophones and Ladins evince a secular process of indigenization; on the other hand, when Italophones acquire a strong sense of place in the South Tyrol, it can only indicate a gradual shift of the identity from Italo-Romance Italy to Germanic Tyrol and foreshadow ethnic crossover.

The relationship between ethnicity and space is more than a superficial link for it points to the fact that it is in a given territory that the recursive practices that define ethnicity exist. The permanence of ethnic identity and its temporal
variation are informed by the day-to-day organization of social life. In order to understand how the practical and material aspects of ethnicity are implemented one must observe people in their own environment. Attitudes towards work, family, religion, etc. are objective markers of behavioural differences and for those who observe and recognize them, the elements of identity, while the material products of social life, the visible aspects of a culture, become the symbols and embodiment of ethnicity.

These material markers possess a significant instrumental value in the affirmation of identity. Folkways that might have disappeared are resurrected not only in a staged manner to satisfy the expanding market for 'authenticity' and 'traditions' but also to integrate participants and assert group identity.

Since socio-cultural distance informs attitudes about group survival and inter-ethnic relations, the greater the distance is, the more difficult interethnic relations can expected to be. Early survey results tend to be contradictory. On the one hand, four out of every five Germanophones considered in-group rather than out-group cultural activities preferable, compared to three in four among urban Italophones and one in ten among rural Italophones. On the other hand, about 80-90% of Italophones considered inter-ethnic dialogue ideal or useful compared to only 60-70% among Germanophones. One Germanophone in ten also expressed a decidedly negative view of inter-ethnic dialogue while another 5% was favourable to terrorism as a useful means of self-defence (Gubert, 1976: 146-7).
This distance dictates personal availability for and attitudes vis-a-vis social networks like marriage, friendship and residential choices.

Table 12: Socio-cultural Distance - Approval Rate (in Percentiles)

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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Exogamy</td>
<td>50%</td>
<td>60%</td>
<td>20%</td>
<td>33%</td>
<td>19%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>23%</td>
<td>23%</td>
<td>41%</td>
<td>23%</td>
<td>26%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Friendship</td>
<td>37%</td>
<td>35%</td>
<td>69%</td>
<td>57%</td>
<td>50%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>56%</td>
<td>56%</td>
<td>34%</td>
<td>44%</td>
<td>30%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Neighbourhood</td>
<td>8%</td>
<td>5%</td>
<td>9%</td>
<td>23%</td>
<td>3%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>14%</td>
<td>12%</td>
<td>22%</td>
<td>14%</td>
<td>13%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No Relations</td>
<td>4%</td>
<td>3%</td>
<td>1%</td>
<td>8%</td>
<td>1%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>29%</td>
<td>3%</td>
<td>29%</td>
<td>3%</td>
<td>18%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>100%</td>
<td>100%</td>
<td>100%</td>
<td>100%</td>
<td>100%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Notes: see table 9.

Table 12 shows that a high proportion of Germanophones (18-29%) expressed a strong desire to remain aloof from Italophones, while a majority of rural Italophones accepted Germanophones and Ladins as potential spouses and urban Italophones showed a strong desire to befriend Germanophones (57%) and Ladins (67%). By and large Germanophones preferred Ladins to Italophones as potential spouses (39-41% versus 23-26%) and friends (34-30% versus 44-40%), a preference that was reciprocated by Ladins.

Of these variables, marriage is the most important since it reshapes all the social networks one participates in as an adult and acts as the principal, but by no means the only, institutional forum where human and cultural reproduction occur. Endogamy and exogamy can retain/move people away from their early social networks and experiences, and reproduce/transform their ethnic identity.

Since marriage is a function of available mates as well as

---

39 Respondents had to select one statement about their attitude towards the other groups among several. Computation was made using a modified Bogardus' Scale (Gubert, 1976: 136)
social mores, the evolution of exogamy reflects overall demographic and social trends. Although accurate data about mixed marriages are limited, some observers have pointed out that since the Italian conquest they have become a permanent fact of life in the city of Bolzano-Bozen and in other mixed municipalities (Egger, 1978: 53).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Table 13: Endogamy Rate among South Tyrolean Families (in Percentiles)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Gw+Gh  Gw+lh  lh+Gw  lh+Gh  Gr+Gh  Gr+lh  lh+Gr  Gr+lh</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1946-66 13.0% 16.0%  5.0%  4.0%  2.6%  8.6%  14.7%  4.6%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Notes: G = Germanophone, I = Italophone, h = husband, w = wife</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 13 shows that since the fifties when one mixed marriage in eight involved Germanophone men and Italophone women, the situation has evolved considerably making it almost a rarity, about one in thirty-eight. Conversely, intermarriage involving Italophone men and Germanophone women has risen from one in twenty to one in seven. Among women the proportion of Germanophones marrying Italophones has also dropped but not as drastically, while the proportion of Italophone women marrying Germanophone men has remained unchanged.

This evolution reflects migratory patterns. The rural exodus of the fifties and sixties meant that a large number of Germanophones, especially men, became available for marriage outside of their traditional milieu. Although they could still call upon women from their native villages, it was probably easier for some to elope with Italophone women. Among Italophones the end of immigration created a situation where men outnumbered women and exogamy became for some a necessary
The implications of such trends are not readily obvious. If exogamy creates conditions favourable to ethnic transfers, whether this phenomenon actually occurs or not depends on the immediate contexts where socialization takes place and on the social attitudes of the larger community. Since the mother remains the primary childcare-giver in traditional family structures, we might expect that the child will be closer to her set of specific ethnic markers. However, assimilation to one ethny or the other also depends on the social and affective identification to either parent, on the child's developing sex identity, on the adolescent's need to separate her/himself from and/or emulate parents, and on the social contexts in which 'maternal' language (as code and content) learning and use occur. Exogamy complicates the process of child socialization because children can draw from two sources of identity.

For Egger (1978) the prevalence of Italian in mixed families because of poor German skills on the part of the Italophone parent probably favoured the Italophone group. However, if we consider that beyond the family there are several socializing fora (school, street, electronic media) where language skills are acquired and identities formed, it is more likely that whatever assimilatory pull the Italophone group might have had, it was limited and short-lived. This is because the indigenous domestic order is characterized by segregated lineages in which social authority is concentrated in the male head of the family, while in the Italian family structure
relations are segmented in a system of generalized reciprocity (Cole and Wolf, 1974: 245-81). We find two social orders, one that is wheel-like and one is circle-like, and for this reason, we might expect exogamy to favour the Germanophone population because the domestic wheel is integrated into wider formal networks that control social activities and closely supervise members. Better knowledge and use of Italian may thus not be the appropriate indicator of ethnic shift. What matters is the aforementioned totality of socializing fora.

It is at this microlevel that ethnic identity is recognized and asserted and where underlying power structures are experienced. Ascriptive traits, be they clothing, language or physical appearance, tell people who their interlocutors are, and in such encounters underlying power structures indirectly come into play.

About 80% of all Italophones say they recognize the ethnicity of the people they meet compared to 85-90% among Germanophones (Gubert, 1976: 78),

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Table 14: Perception of Ethnic Self-Denial (in Percentiles)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Many</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Several</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Few</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>None</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Many</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Several</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Few</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>None</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>G Many</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Several</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Few</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>None</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Notes: for details see table 9.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Table 15: Frequency of Self-Denial (in Percentiles)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Very Often</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Often</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sometimes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rarely</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Never</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Notes: for details see table 9.
Source: Gubert, 1976: 82.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Table 16: Motivation for Self-Denial (in Percentiles)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Utilitarian</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>And Other</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Don't Know</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Notes: for details see table 9.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Source: Gubert, 1976: 52.
As the above tables indicate, observation and behaviour do not necessarily coincide. Rural Italophones saw self-denial among themselves (55%) as well as among Germanophones (32%) at a greater frequency than any other group, probably because the sample was taken in the Bassa Atesina-Suedtiroler Unterland where ethnic shift has been common. In this area family names and even language use cannot be absolute indicators of ethnicity. Elsewhere one might presume that the aforementioned difficulty is less important or non-existant.

Interestingly, Germanophones observed almost the same degree of self-denial among themselves (20-30%) as they did among Italophones (18-26%) whereas Italophones saw more self-denials among themselves than among Germanophones if they lived in rural areas but not if they were in the provincial capital (26%). By contrast Ladins did not observe self-denial by members of the other two ethnies as much as they and the former saw Ladins engaged in this behaviour. When it comes to actual self-denial Germanophones confessed to a substantially higher rate (10-12%) than Italophones (5-8%), but regardless of frequency most respondents in all three ethnies viewed utilitarian arguments as the most likely reason for this behaviour, and very few respondents admitted to engage in frequent self-denial.

Different motives operate and inform one's willingness to affirm/deny one's ethnic identity, but different organizational conditions determine this willingness because they condition the moments and points of interpersonal encounters. It is here that
attitudinal patterns find resonance in divergent associational behaviour.

Table 17: Associational Behaviour per Language Group (in Percentages)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Culture</th>
<th>Folklore</th>
<th>Religion</th>
<th>Sport</th>
<th>Politics</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Assn</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>Yes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>R. I.</td>
<td>27%</td>
<td>73%</td>
<td>36%</td>
<td>64%</td>
<td>42%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>G</td>
<td>13%</td>
<td>87%</td>
<td>19%</td>
<td>81%</td>
<td>14%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>U. I.</td>
<td>45%</td>
<td>55%</td>
<td>32%</td>
<td>68%</td>
<td>17%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>G</td>
<td>19%</td>
<td>81%</td>
<td>13%</td>
<td>87%</td>
<td>31%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>R. G.</td>
<td>75%</td>
<td>25%</td>
<td>73%</td>
<td>27%</td>
<td>52%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I</td>
<td>14%</td>
<td>86%</td>
<td>17%</td>
<td>83%</td>
<td>26%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>U. G.</td>
<td>81%</td>
<td>19%</td>
<td>77%</td>
<td>23%</td>
<td>57%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I</td>
<td>14%</td>
<td>86%</td>
<td>17%</td>
<td>83%</td>
<td>26%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>U. L.</td>
<td>45%</td>
<td>55%</td>
<td>32%</td>
<td>68%</td>
<td>17%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>G. L.</td>
<td>74%</td>
<td>26%</td>
<td>54%</td>
<td>46%</td>
<td>36%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I</td>
<td>36%</td>
<td>64%</td>
<td>27%</td>
<td>73%</td>
<td>17%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>U. G.</td>
<td>45%</td>
<td>55%</td>
<td>32%</td>
<td>68%</td>
<td>17%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I</td>
<td>14%</td>
<td>86%</td>
<td>17%</td>
<td>83%</td>
<td>26%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>U. L.</td>
<td>45%</td>
<td>55%</td>
<td>32%</td>
<td>68%</td>
<td>17%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>G. L.</td>
<td>74%</td>
<td>26%</td>
<td>54%</td>
<td>46%</td>
<td>36%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I</td>
<td>36%</td>
<td>64%</td>
<td>27%</td>
<td>73%</td>
<td>17%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Notes: for details see table 9; Yes = regular or occasional participation, No = No interest
Source: Gubert, 1976: 121-6

Table 17 shows that Germanophones and Ladins are more closely involved in associational activity than Italophones in almost every associational field, but Ladins participate as often in Germanophone associations as they do in their own associations. On the other hand, the lack of separate political representation explains their low interest in politics. Germanophones are the most involved, in politics above all. At the other end of the associational spectrum we find Italophones who exhibit relatively low involvement. Religion attracts some interest among rural dwellers while cultural activities draw some participation in the cities, especially in Germanophone folk associations; however, even sport-recreational pursuits attract just half of all respondents.

Associational differences are reinforced by distinct educational profiles. In the absence of a local university most Germanophones (69% in 1981) and Ladins (52%) attended foreign, mostly Austrian, universities compared to less than 4% among Italophones. Similarly, they are more likely to choose technical careers (about 85% of all students in professional
training programs in 1981-86 period) than their Italophone counterpart (15% in same period) (ASTAT, 1987a: 115-6). This institutional bifurcation creates separate professional experiences, skills and networks and promotes the gradual re-Germanization of professional and technical standards.

The associational and organizational gap among South Tyrolean ethnies enables them to transmit distinct cultural contents and maintain separate semantic fields. However, this gap is not impermeable; therefore, reproduction of those ethnic markers, traits and self-evaluated beliefs that set one group apart from another and create distinct semantic fields, depend on control over the communication field. It is in this field that such markers and traits are rehearsed and experienced, where differential self-recognition takes place and identities instantiated and substantiated.

In the South Tyrol collective segmentation and individual segregation exist because of separate school systems, relative geographic segmentation and distinct social institutions, but in the modern age this has meant the use of standard languages or koinai, and in more recent times, the access to electronic media. A koine' allows people to engage in written communication and spatio-temporally carry any desired message while the electronic media, radio and television, reconverts oral speech to a higher form of communication by bridging geographic distances, bringing the visual experience to the spoken word and forcing listeners and viewers to compare
themselves, their speech and its content to that of others. Control over the set of institutions and situations where language and communication obtain becomes vital.

The small Germanophone market has not limited Germanophones' access to a wide variety of sources of information, local and foreign. Compared to them Italophones have fewer local publications but have access to the national press and turn to ten television stations instead of the five (four foreign) German-language networks. Ladins are far behind; they have a smaller market and lack a single koine'. The few print publications that exist are in local vernacular and usually focus on local issues so that provincial, national and international news are conveyed in Italian- and German-language media. Furthermore, with the exception of a few daily radio broadcasts, they have no access to electronic media in spite of the Province's pledge to carry Rhaeto-Romansch television from the Grisons (Craffonara, 1987: 23).

The importance of the media lies in the very fact that they are both a window on the outside world and a very private means to receive one-way communication from this same external world. Being present or absent from such a window means being present or absent from the world. It allows or denies a group access to public space and exposes or conceals it from others. This window is an entry key to the world of others because it acts as an electronic mechanism of socialization. By contrast, accessible radio and television may also carry distorting messages or be inadequately filtered by listeners and viewers.
alike if their communication skills, in a multilingual society, are insufficient. The irony in the South Tyrol is that Italophones are both more visible and the least capable of seeing and listening. In a recent survey only 48% of Italophone respondents stated that they watched German-language television compared to 75% among Germanophones (Dall'O et al., 1988: 142-3), a marked improvement from the early seventies (Gubert, 1976: 129-32), but still far short.

Despite the passive role in which viewers and listeners are in, the electronic media plays another important, if less visible role, it tends to homogenize speech. Till recently local Germanic dialects served as the primary instruments of communication and cultural identity but the arrival of radio and television has slowly changed this situation. A stable High-Low German diglossia has emerged enabling Germanophones to rehearse their language skills (Egger, 1978: 11). This diglossia is reinforced by the rural location of Germanophone settlement and the reconstruction of an internal division of labour where German is used as the main language of communication. This is still not complete because in some geographic areas and social domains Italophones and Italian prevail, but the longterm trend is towards de facto re-Germanization. Hence the integration of High and Low varieties increasingly satisfies both functional and affective needs, and has led to the decline in functional role and social prestige of Italian.

Diglossia among Germanophones has also meant an additional barrier that separates Italophones and Germanophones since
Bavaro-Tyrolean dialects can be learnt only in interpersonal relations and not in second language courses; consequently, even when Italophones become bilingual their knowledge is usually limited to High German. By contrast, their immigrant condition and urban settlement has had a levelling effect on their spoken Italian (Egger, 1978: 12-3), a situation unique in a country like Italy.  

The linguistic circumstances of the Ladin community have not weakened their collective identity, but have affected their ability to prevent assimilation and caused some hybridization and lexical borrowing. They are educated in a bilingual program which forestalls immediate assimilation but favours proficiency in languages other than Ladin. The lack of separate media outlets and the massive presence of Italian- and German-speaking tourists from outside the province reinforces this trend and marginalizes the use of Ladin vernaculars. Administrative fragmentation of Ladin valleys and public neglect have complicated matters since external interference tends to be German in the South Tyrol, Italian (Trentine) in Fasa valley and Italian (Venetian) in Belluno province (Borri, 1985; Craffonara, 1986; Richebuono, 1982).

Overall, the absence of clear spatio-functional separation has made second language skills necessary. Survey data show that till the mid-seventies as one moved from the most intimate

---

40 At unification (1864) only 2.5% of the population spoke the vernacular of Florence, and today two thirds of the population remains dialectophone (Lepschy and Lepschy, 1979: 24-38; De Mauro, 1979: 349).
social context (family) to the most impersonal social situation (encounters with strangers), both Germanophones and Italophones used Italian more frequently. On the other hand, because of their size and spatio-functional marginality, Ladins did not and do not have an exclusively unilingual context and so exhibit a greater horizontal mobility in language use in all important social domains (Gubert, 1976: 111-8).

With the advent of the new Autonomy Statute in 1972 bilingualism acquired an added economic value for Italophones and became an important personal objective (Gubert, 1976: 151). However, unlike Germanophones and Ladins who viewed knowledge of Italian primarily in utilitarian terms, young Italophones tended to see second language skills as a compensatory instrument to overcome perceived psychological isolation and increasing social subordination (Gubert, 1978: 77; Gubert in Goglio et al., 1982: 214-8). Unlike their elders, still attached to older regional cultural models or indigenous South Tyroleans steeped in a century-old culture, young Italophones developed a fragile self-identity, imperfectly drawn from the ruling cultural models and social ethos of modern life (Gandini in Alto Adige, 1986: 64-5), and bilingualism was seen as an instrument to fill the gap. By contrast, leading members of the indigenous community feared greater bilingualism, especially among young Italophones, for it could dilute ethnic boundaries and act like a Trojan horse (Gubert in Goglio et al., 1982: 218-22). The gap in second language skills has thus become the source of bitter confrontation between the political leaders of the two main
ethnies and reinforced socio-cultural distance.

Despite this tug-of-war second language knowledge has improved.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Age Group</th>
<th>16-19</th>
<th>20-29</th>
<th>30-39</th>
<th>40-49</th>
<th>50-59</th>
<th>60-69</th>
<th>70</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>German</strong></td>
<td>83.2%</td>
<td>79.3%</td>
<td>71.3%</td>
<td>58.5%</td>
<td>31.5%</td>
<td>85.1%</td>
<td>44.4%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Italian</strong></td>
<td>99.9%</td>
<td>99.9%</td>
<td>98.6%</td>
<td>94.3%</td>
<td>90.4%</td>
<td>81.3%</td>
<td>95.3%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Occupation:**
- A = Farmers,
- B = Self-Employed,
- C = Unskilled Blue Collar,
- D = Skilled Blue Collar,
- E = Unskilled White Collar,
- F = Skilled White Collar,
- G = Not Employed.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Education</th>
<th>A = Compulsory School, 0 = University, with Apprenticeship,</th>
<th>C = Secondary School,</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>German</strong></td>
<td>45.7%</td>
<td>55.5%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Italian</strong></td>
<td>84.7%</td>
<td>95.8%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Notes: Occupation:
- A = Farmers,
- B = Self-Employed,
- C = Unskilled Blue Collar,
- D = Skilled Blue Collar,
- E = Unskilled White Collar,
- F = Skilled White Collar,
- G = Not Employed.

This table indicates a strong correlation between second language skills and youth, professional orientation and higher education, with the gap in second language skills dropping as we go from the older to the younger generation, from the least to the most specialized occupations and from lower to higher education. The only exception is represented by those Italophones who were born or came to the province as children in the twenties and early thirties and those Germanophones thrown into the war as young adults.

For Gubert second language knowledge in the South Tyrol has had a corrosive effect on ethnic identity, primarily because it created a pluralistic language context where interpersonal relations diffused the visibility of ethnicity (Gubert, 1976: 302-4, 351; ibid, 1978: 22-3). Unlike unilinguals who are spared this problem because they must perforce operate in unilingual language contexts, bilinguals perform in contexts where ethnic identity is less easily perceived from simple
language interaction so that ascriptive and acquired criteria of identity coexist and cannot be easily separated from one another. However, erosion does not mean the disappearance of ethnic identity, for only when isolated in an exoglossic context can the individual truly be enculturated. In the South Tyrol the dangers posed by greater individual bilingualism remain largely inoperative.

One third of all Italophone respondents stated that they were bilingual compared to only one sixth that claimed to be unilingual, but only 13.6% claimed to be able to actively participate in a conversation among Germanophones; hence very few Italophones can intervene in an unstructured, free-flowing speech encounter outside of their language community. To a lesser extent this is true for Germanophones as well. Only Ladins can easily intervene in conversations among Italophones (76.5%) and Germanophones (50.4%). In mixed situations a slightly higher proportion of Italophones (17.8%) use German and/or both languages compared to 35.2% for Germanophones. The data here substantiates the predominance of Italian as the language most commonly used in informal speech encounters (Dall'O'. et al., 1988: 146-8; Egger, 1978: 13), but also shows that more than half of all bilingual Italophones cannot or do not want to use their second language skills, and therefore cannot break the communication barrier that separates them from other South Tyroleans.

If one looks at more structured interpersonal encounters, the aforementioned trend proves even greater. About half of all
Germanophone respondents generally used German in public offices, while another 37.5% used both official languages according to the situation. Among Italophones 83.4% used Italian exclusively and only 10.6% both languages. Almost all Italophone respondents stated that they would address an unknown public servant in Italian compared to 40.1% for Germanophones and 85.7% among Ladins (Acquaviva and Eisermann, 1981: 72). Since about 60% of all Italophone civil servants in state and para-state offices are still unilingual or unable to use German adequately, the prevalence of Italian is understandable, but the significant fact is that a majority of Germanophones expect and/or demand to use German when initiating conversation with unknown civil servants.

This overview of the socio-cultural structures leads to several conclusions. First of all, ethnicity in the South Tyrol remains a strong factor in social organization and identity, but not equally for all ethnies. In declining order of significance Germanophones, Italophones and Ladins maintain strong separate identities but in mixed areas a certain assimilatory drift among Italophones has occurred. This seemed to be true for Ladins, but given the fact that Gubert's survey (see table 9) is dated 1973 and that Ladin population figures show a marked upward trend (see table 31) it is probably less important today than it was twenty years ago.

Assimilatory trends have historically favoured the Germanophone group which makes us think that even when exogamy might have favoured Italophones it was very likely countered by
the strong appeal of the Germanophone environment. This appeal is based on strong associational activities and organizational autonomy in all social domains, including modern media; under these circumstances Germanophones have been able to preserve an impermeable semantic field. This functional impermeability has reinforced but has also been reinforced by political autonomy. In this sense, the spatial hold of the Germanophone population has been premised but has also been strengthened by its functional autonomy. The relative weakness of Italophone functional institutions and domains has instead had the opposite effects.

3. THE EVOLUTION OF DEMOGRAPHIC STRUCTURES

The evolution of demographic structures is important because reproduction and all associated phenomena are basic infrastructural mechanisms and as such they underlie all structured properties of social systems and are in turn affected by them. The diachronic profile of a population group reflects and shapes that of economic structures and in a multi-ethnic context plays an important role since it conditions the functional autonomy of their socio-cultural institutions, the place of ethnies in the economy and their relative power.

The end of the Second World War brought to an end fascist colonial policies and the attempt to interrupt the social reproduction of the indigenous population.
These figures show what twenty years of fascist rule had done. From 3% of the total population Italophones were now over 30%; by contrast, Germanophones had dropped from over 90% to slightly over 60%.

During the fifties economic conditions still favoured the Italophone group (Alcock, 1970 215-6) so that a narrow corridor (see Appendix C, Maps E and F), linking the Italianized provincial capital with the Trentino, acquired an Italophone majority. By the sixties immigration no longer played a significant role in shaping local demographic patterns (ASTAT, 1987a: 83). Consequently, other factors came to play a more important role in shaping the internal balance of each ethny as well as their mutual relationship.

Under conditions of stable migratory balance, natality, mortality and fertility remain the crucial demographic variables.

Table 20: Demographic Factors in Selected Years, 1961-1987 (per thousand)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Live Births</th>
<th>Deaths</th>
<th>Natural Balance</th>
<th>Migratory Balance</th>
<th>Variation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1961</td>
<td>21.6</td>
<td>8.5</td>
<td>13.1</td>
<td>-8.6</td>
<td>-4.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1966</td>
<td>22.8</td>
<td>9.0</td>
<td>13.8</td>
<td>-9.8</td>
<td>-4.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1971</td>
<td>19.5</td>
<td>8.4</td>
<td>11.1</td>
<td>-6.6</td>
<td>-3.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1976</td>
<td>14.4</td>
<td>8.7</td>
<td>5.4</td>
<td>-2.3</td>
<td>-4.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1981</td>
<td>12.5</td>
<td>8.5</td>
<td>4.0</td>
<td>-1.6</td>
<td>-4.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1986</td>
<td>11.3</td>
<td>8.0</td>
<td>3.3</td>
<td>-1.5</td>
<td>-4.3</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


Table 21: Fertility Rates per Language Group in Selected Years, 1972-1996 (Number of Children per Woman)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>GERMANOPHONE</th>
<th>ITALOPHONE</th>
<th>LADIN</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1972</td>
<td>2.91</td>
<td>2.32</td>
<td>1.97</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1976</td>
<td>2.32</td>
<td>1.97</td>
<td>1.76</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1981</td>
<td>1.97</td>
<td>1.76</td>
<td>1.64</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1986</td>
<td>1.64</td>
<td>1.58</td>
<td>1.56</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1991</td>
<td>1.58</td>
<td>1.40</td>
<td>1.34</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1996</td>
<td>1.34</td>
<td>1.21</td>
<td>1.00</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Notes: Figures in brackets are estimates.


Table 20 shows a declining provincial birth rate, a steady
death rate and a migratory balance that has become irrelevant. The overall population growth has thus reached a low ebb in its evolutionary cycle. More significant is the decline in fertility rate for it more closely controls the reproduction of the population and is a predictive indicator of the eventual changes in the age structure. It is clear that if 2.1 offsprings per woman in fertile age is the minimum for self-reproduction (Enger et al., 1986: 127), the South Tyrolean population has already fallen below its reproductive capacity with its post-reproductive population steadily rising.

Table 21 shows that the Italophone population is the most affected by this decline. In 1982 Italophones accounted for only 18.25% of all live births, a proportion expected to drop to 16.92% by 1996. Conversely, their proportion of absolute mortality is expected to rise from 31.20% to 33.07% (Huber, 1986: 27). Germanophones and Ladins have also dropped below the limit of self-reproduction but because of the dramatic decline among Italophones they will still account for a greater proportion of live births and a lower proportion of deaths.

Although this demographic phenomenon is typical of most western societies, the great discrepancy between Italophones and the other ethnies seems unusual unless we consider the historical conditions that gave rise to the Italophone community.
Table 22 indicates a reversed sex-ratio among Italophones, while table 23 indicates a large reproductive group. As an immigrant group Italophones had a larger reproductive group and a higher male-to-female ratio because immigrant communities tend to develop along patterns in which adult males tend to move first to the point of destination where they cannot recreate the sex and age structures found in their points of departure.

Although females also migrate cultural and economic factors preclude an equivalent rate of emigration so that a certain number of males tend to form households with natives or remain single.

In table 23 we observe a general aging process of the population. A marked decline in 0-5 age group affects all three ethnicities, but while the drop among Germanophones and Ladins was by 30.5% and 15.48% respectively, it was 61.11% for Italophones. The ratio of the pre-reproductive group (0-20 years) to the elderly (over 65) among Italophones has dropped from 6 to 1 in 1961 to 2 to 1 in 1981 whereas the same ratio for both Germanophones and Ladins has dropped only from 4.7 to 3.3 to 1 in the same twenty year period.

Despite the declining birth rate the provincial population
will continue to rise and maintain a relative stable social charge index, (number of employed to non-employed people) till the turn of the century (Huber, 1986: 13-7), but even greater participation of women in paid employment and the introduction of automation might not postpone the growing longterm social index imbalance. One effect will be the transfer of part of the fiscal burden of the working population from Italophones to the other two ethnies, but the rise of the post-reproductive age group and the decline of the other two age groups might also cause declining standards of living or stimulate renewed immigration, primarily from sources outside of Italy and the European community.

In the short and medium terms, demographic stagnation is transforming the ethnic composition of the provincial population.

Table 24 shows a steady rise in the Germanophone and Ladin populations and a decline of the Italophone population in the seventies, despite predictions to the contrary. According to Lukesch and Tschurtschenthaler the combined number of Germanophones and Ladins was expected to be between 295500 and
299500 in 1982 (1979: 120) compared to the actual figure of 305293 in 1981. By contrast, the prediction for the Italophone population proved completely wrong. The two Austrian demographers had predicted a total Italophone population of about 142000 or 32.5% of the total population in 1981, dropping thereafter to 131000 or 30.2% by the year 2001 (Lukesch and Tschurtschenthaler, 1979: 120); instead, the Italophone population registered a net loss of 14064 members or 10.2%, 18305 or 13% if we consider the projected demographic increase, down to 123000 or 29% of the total population. During the eighties this decline slowed down and by 1986 the Italophone population stood at 122400, but the trend is predicted to continue and by 1996 Italophones are expected to be 26.91% of the total population (Huber, 1986: 26).

Why this decline in the Italophone population? We have already seen that Italophones have an atypical sex and age ratios, hence a lower capacity of self-reproduction, but this cannot be the sole explanation. In the 1971-81 period the province had a net emigration of 9375 people with 939 residents temporarily absent (ASTAT, 1987a: 83) in an otherwise stable migratory balance. In the early eighties this trend has continued (-3536), primarily in the 20-49 age group (ASTAT, 1987a: 88-9; ibid, 1987b: 96-7) and the two main cities (Provincia Autonoma, 1986: 165-6) where three quarters of the Italophone population lives.

If we add permanent and temporary migrants (10314) and treat as probably made up mostly of Italophones we find that a
certain number of Italophone losses are unaccounted, 3750 if we use the actual difference between 1971 and 1981 and 7991 if we use the Lukesch and Tschurtschenthaler's prediction. One possible reason for this difference is the removal of people in reproductive age from the province. The Austrian demographers had estimated a drop in live births in the Italophone population of about 24% (1660 in 1976 to 1251 in 1982) (Lukesch and Tschurtschenthaler, 1979: 126), but the actual drop was close to 44% (931 in 1982) (Huber, 1986: 27). In addition to emigrants (10314) and live births not recorded (320) we must add the number of of South Tyroleans who spoiled (1971) or refused (740) to submit a statement of ethnic identity as required by the 1981 census law, we are left with about 5000 Italophones still unaccounted. It is obvious that this figure is probably greater since we cannot expect that all those who are in the abovementioned categories to be Italophone. If we consider the rate of Italophone-to-Germanophone shift (see tables 10 and 11), we might see the above figure as a conservative estimate of this phenomenon.

Given its sex and age ratios the Italophone community is infrastructurally weaker than its indigenous counterparts. This weakness is translated into a structural weakness of its demographic mechanisms of reproduction.
Table 25 shows that the ratio of single-family household is 1:2.5 for Italophones, 1:3.3 for Germanophones and 1:5 for Ladins, hence a smaller family structure among Italophones while table 26 shows that the largest proportion of single people and childless couples live in the two largest urban centres where most Italophones also live.

Weak household structures are compounded by a weak residential structure.

Table 27 shows that smaller Italophone families entail more households, but a number that declined during the seventies. Similarly, the gains in home-ownership made in this period have not yet made this type of residential settlement dominant. Consequently, Italophones can more easily terminate leases and relocate. Emigration and household figures confirm this.

The impact of these demographic patterns has been to de-
Italianize those areas where Italophones had become a substantial proportion of the population.

Table 28: South Tyrolean Population per Area and Language Group, 1961-1981 (in Percentile*!)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Bolzano-Urban</th>
<th>Rural</th>
<th>Adige-Bozen</th>
<th>Centres</th>
<th>Areas</th>
<th>Etsch</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1961 ITALIAN</td>
<td>56.64</td>
<td>87.82</td>
<td>31.86</td>
<td>82.64</td>
<td>30.53</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1981 ITALIAN</td>
<td>77.09</td>
<td>85.85</td>
<td>8.95</td>
<td>65.91</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>LADIN 1961</td>
<td>0.20</td>
<td>0.25</td>
<td>5.45</td>
<td>0.65</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>LADIN 1981</td>
<td>0.37</td>
<td>0.44</td>
<td>8.18</td>
<td>0.12</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>GERMAN 1961</td>
<td>22.37</td>
<td>33.50</td>
<td>84.81</td>
<td>33.69</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>GERMAN 1981</td>
<td>25.14</td>
<td>37.03</td>
<td>84.78</td>
<td>41.08</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Notes: for details see Appendix A

Table 29: Ratio of Italophones to Germanophones/Ladins in Selected Municipalities and Years, 1910-1981

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Bronzolo-Branzoll</td>
<td>116x100</td>
<td>121x100</td>
<td>347x100</td>
<td>548x100</td>
<td>253x100</td>
<td>130x100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vadena-Pfaffen</td>
<td>141x100</td>
<td>531x100</td>
<td>318x100</td>
<td>297x100</td>
<td>127x100</td>
<td>110x100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sauron-Salurn</td>
<td>24x100</td>
<td>140x100</td>
<td>185x100</td>
<td>293x100</td>
<td>323x100</td>
<td>154x100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Laives-Leifers</td>
<td>4x100</td>
<td>467x100</td>
<td>241x100</td>
<td>341x100</td>
<td>293x100</td>
<td>214x100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Brixen-Bressanone</td>
<td>N/A</td>
<td>N/A</td>
<td>N/A</td>
<td>51x100</td>
<td>52x100</td>
<td>40x100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Merano-Meran</td>
<td>N/A</td>
<td>N/A</td>
<td>N/A</td>
<td>143x100</td>
<td>312x100</td>
<td>199x100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bolzano-Bozen</td>
<td>N/A</td>
<td>N/A</td>
<td>N/A</td>
<td>370x100</td>
<td>339x100</td>
<td>279x100</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Notes: Ratio calculated by dividing the number of Italophones with the number of Germanophones/Ladins and multiplying the figure per one hundred

Table 28 shows that in rural areas Italophones have proportionately dropped by half, including the Adige-Etsch Corridor where they had become a majority. Table 29 points to the immediate effect of this shift for it has entailed a steady re-Germanization of those municipalities where Italophone numbers were considerable or in the majority. This process has not even spared those municipalities like Bronzolo/Branzoll and Vadena/Pfatten where Italophones had been the majority since the 1860s. The only exception is the provincial capital with its suburb of Laives-Leifers where the demographic ratio is still 2:1 in their favour. Among Germanophones, settlement patterns have remained relatively stable with most people residing in rural locations. This has meant that intra-provincial Germanophone migration and Italophone demographic decline have not rearranged the internal settlement hierarchy or the geographic distribution of the total population. Instead, they have set in motion a process of ethnic change of Italianized areas.
Thus far we have focused on the demographic evolution of the two main groups and only marginally dealt with Ladins. However, they deserve a closer look.

Table 30: Ladin Population per Area, 1910-1971 (in Absolute Numbers and Percentiles)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>TOTAL</th>
<th>GHERDEINA</th>
<th>TOR</th>
<th>BULSAN</th>
<th>TRENT</th>
<th>BELLUNO</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1910</td>
<td>19613</td>
<td>(22.30%)</td>
<td>48.91%</td>
<td>21.40%</td>
<td>20.73%</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1921</td>
<td>19901</td>
<td>(23.30%)</td>
<td>48.91%</td>
<td>21.40%</td>
<td>20.73%</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1939</td>
<td>20909</td>
<td>(24.11%)</td>
<td>51.42%</td>
<td>20.92%</td>
<td>27.76%</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1951</td>
<td>21049</td>
<td>(25.50%)</td>
<td>53.80%</td>
<td>25.51%</td>
<td>20.88%</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1971</td>
<td>24276</td>
<td>(30.20%)</td>
<td>59.28%</td>
<td>24.81%</td>
<td>19.11%</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Notes: 1921 figures are an estimate based on demographic decline registered in Tor and Gherdeina Valleys in 1910-1921 period. Total drop of 712 is close to the 800 casualties of war estimated by Croffonera. 1961-1971 estimates for Trent and Belluno Ladins are based on Croffonera’s estimates of the same locations for 1981.


Table 31: Proportion of Ladin Population to Total Population in Ladin Areas, 1981-1981 (in Absolute Numbers and Percentiles)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Area</th>
<th>TOTAL</th>
<th>LAOIN</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1981</td>
<td>13254</td>
<td>5640</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1971</td>
<td>10955</td>
<td>5142</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1981</td>
<td>77592</td>
<td>35294</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1971</td>
<td>69027</td>
<td>32980</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1981</td>
<td>97418</td>
<td>46943</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1971</td>
<td>87439</td>
<td>41004</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1981</td>
<td>93924</td>
<td>45769</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1971</td>
<td>83935</td>
<td>41800</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Notes: see details in Appendix A.

Table 32: Proportion of Ladin Population per Area, 1981-1981 (in Percentiles)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Ladin Area</th>
<th>Urban</th>
<th>Rural</th>
<th>VARIATION</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1981</td>
<td>68.35%</td>
<td>65.40%</td>
<td>27.29%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1971</td>
<td>84.35%</td>
<td>80.55%</td>
<td>23.79%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1981</td>
<td>85.67%</td>
<td>82.04%</td>
<td>23.79%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1971</td>
<td>81.67%</td>
<td>78.04%</td>
<td>23.79%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Notes: see details in Appendix A.

Table 30 shows the effects of administrative subdivision and the gradual concentration of the Ladin population in the South Tyrol where they enjoy some constitutional protection. Within the South Tyrol protection has meant the re-Ladinization of Dolomitic valleys. Table 31 shows that Ladins are increasing their control over their traditional area, proof of the greater absorptive capacity of the local economy and of a successful transition to a mixed market-oriented farming and service economy; however, this consolidation has been accompanied by a steady migration to other parts of the province (see table 32) of a growing number of Ladins, especially to the cities (Richebuono, 1982: 145).

Despite this longterm negative potential Ladins are still in a better situation than Italophones. Geographic concentration and separation ensure stable, albeit precarious, linguistic boundaries and the control of an auxiliary region in the provincial central place system. By contrast, Italophones
seem to be imploding as a result of assimilation and emigration. With male-dominant sex ratio, low natality, high mortality, small household structure and less-committing residential structure under conditions of urban, concentration, the Italophone community cannot withstand the pressures of the Germanophone environment and is losing ground (see Appendix C, maps E and F).

4. THE EVOLUTION OF SOCIO-ECONOMIC STRUCTURES

Changes in demographic structures were in part the responses to the transformations of techno-environmental relations and economic organization. Since socio-economic processes substantiate the material bases of human existence, any change therein can modify group survival and the strategies collectively pursued. In multilingual societies with an entrenched ethnic division of labour, changes in socio-economic processes modify the respective position and mutual relationships and can erode the functional specialization subordinate groups perform to the benefit of superordinate groups since upward mobility opens up opportunities to individuals but closes it for groups. The only way a subordinate language group can successfully negotiate the transition from one set of techno-environmental relations and division of labour to another requires the (re)creation of an internal vertical social hierarchy that reflects the
complexities of the new economy and its relative separation from the heretofore ethnic division of labour (Sussi, 1975: 70-7).

Well into the twentieth century the South Tyrolean economy was still dominated by the primary sector. Manufacturing and service activities remained marginal and external market involvement was limited. However, when modern economic growth came to the province it was externally induced and forced upon the indigenous population in order to exclude it from its benefits.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Economic Sector</th>
<th>GER/LAD</th>
<th>ITALOPHONE</th>
<th>GER/LAD</th>
<th>ITALOPHONE</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Agriculture</td>
<td>80.5%</td>
<td>8.0%</td>
<td>87.0%</td>
<td>3.0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Industry</td>
<td>14.6%</td>
<td>23.8%</td>
<td>+28.0%</td>
<td>+82.0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Services</td>
<td>24.4%</td>
<td>53.1%</td>
<td>&gt;above*</td>
<td>&gt;above*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Public Administration</td>
<td>0.5%</td>
<td>17.1%</td>
<td>5.0%</td>
<td>35.0%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The effects of fascist policies are clearly evinced in table 33. The ethnic division of labour had Italophones concentrated in the civil service, modern industry and tertiary sector. In the immediate post-war years the type of economic development set in motion by the fascists had accentuated the ethnic division of labour and further relegated the indigenous population to the primary sector, but this same period saw the erosion of an international capitalist economy centred on national, albeit interconnected, economies and the rise of a truly continental and global system that transcended political...

Where this was not possible, among Carinthian Slovenes (Barker and Moritsch, 1984), Swiss Rhaeto-Romansch (McRae, 1983), and Venetian Ladin (Ampez, Fodom) and Trentine Germanophones (Fersina, Luserna), a process of structural decomposition of peripheral ethnies has been taking place.
boundaries and forced independent states into closer cooperative behaviour. With the opening up of national markets in the second postwar period, quantitative changes reached a critical mass and new production technology and management practices unleashed a torrent of change at a time when indigenous South Tyroleans were not in full control of the political institutions needed to manage the process of change.

4.1 The Transformation Of Agriculture

During the fifties and sixties South Tyrolean agriculture was forced to change. European countries created an economic community (EEC) which adopted a Common Agricultural Policy (CAP) that favoured the consolidation of agricultural structures and the emergence of large agro-businesses that could operate along capitalist lines, mechanize production, use greater amounts of fossil fuels and chemical inputs, invest extensively in fixed capital and reduce labour inputs.

Given the three distinct eco-systems (see Cole, 1972: 170-2) that existed in the South Tyrol, market pressures exacted different costs and opportunities in each. Gains in productivity, better land management and greater capital investments in farming had to be made in order to compete with external producers, but this could be achieved only through greater specialization and the abandonment of subsistence production and marginal land. This meant the adoption of new business practices and production technologies and the creation
of new economic niches in regional and continental markets. And time was not on the side of latecomers since the transformation of the other sectors of the economy was pushing labour costs upward. Farmers were forced to introduce labour-saving devices and mechanize production, and once accomplished this shift was irreversible and marginal operations at the ecological limits of the environment could not survive (Cole and Wolf, 1974: 92-4; Pristinger, 1980: 168-9).

The looming crisis was clearly identified but change was socially undesirable and culturally unacceptable (Alcock, 1970: 254-5). Given the historical experiences of indigenous South Tyroleans the first reaction by the Provincial government to these pressures was to try to stop the erosion of traditional agrarian structures. As part of this strategy the Closed Estate laws (see page 17, footnote 6) were reintroduced in 1954, but the rural exodus was not stopped. Ad hoc investments in traditional cottage and handicraft industries were inadequate (Alcock, 1970: 256-60), and between 1951 and 1971 the agricultural workforce dropped by half, from 62366 to 31207 (ISTAT, 1955/1973), and many peasants left the province altogether.

Only in the sixties did the Province adopt a set of policies designed to support the transformation of the agricultural sector and the reemployment of excess labour in new industries and the expanded tourist-based service sector. The position of the province as a crossroad in the new continental economy linking central Europe and northern Italy facilitated
Tables 34 and 35 show the extent of farmers' dependency on mechanized farm equipment (+518%) and on fossil fuels (+250%). This means that they are sensitive to local and external markets and that South Tyrolean agriculture is now closely dependent on external capitalist pressures. This interdependence has led to managerial consolidation of farming operations (see table 35). Of the 2610 enterprises that ceased operation between 1961 and 1986 about 70% had less than one hectare of surface while another 23% had less than two.

Despite rationalization about half of all farms cannot survive without external revenues, mainly from tourism and/or government support. This is especially true for farms located in higher elevations who get only one third of their revenues from farming and another third from government transfer payments (Provincia Autonoma, 1988: 41-2). Nonetheless, government aid (ASTAT, 1984: 73) in the form of easy credit and marketing support and market conditions have produced a system of medium size farms protected by the Closed Estate laws which now offer a profitable and socially-valued professional vocation (ASTAT,
1984: 73; Pristinger, 1978: 87-8; Provincia Autonoma 1988: 42),
despite the fact that agriculture as a component of the
provincial economy has decline from 24% of the Gross Provincial
Product (GPP) in 1951 (Pristinger, 1978: 86) to 6.5% in 1983
(ASTAT, 1988b: 49).

4.2 The Development Of The Service Sector

The massive exodus from agriculture and the depopulation of
marginal areas was resolved only when such places found a new
economic niche in the continental economy. The creation of a
mass market for leisure pursuits favoured areas like the South
Tyrol because of their relative accessibility and natural
beauty. The growing demand in central Europe and northern Italy
for such services rearranged local economic structures and
public policies by subordinating agriculture and to a lesser
extent industry to a tourism-driven economy.

| Table 36: Number of Beds per Type of Operation, 1980-1984 (in
| Absolute Numbers) |
| --- | --- | --- | --- |
| TOTAL IN OTHERS VARIATION TOTAL IN OTHERS |
| BEDS HOTELS | BEDS HOTELS |
| 1980 | 41344 | N/A | 1980-1970 | N/A | + 83.8 | N/A |
| 1970 | 143385 | 75888 | 58497 | 1970-1976 | + 53.87 | + 57.25 | + 49.00 |
| 1984 | 222319 | 153308 | 69011 | 1984-1980 | + 8.12 | + 15.51 | + 18.17 |


| Table 37: Number of Guests, 1960-1985 (in Thousands and
| Percentiles) |
| --- | --- | --- | --- |
| FOREIGN ITALIAN TOTAL VARIATION FOREIGN ITALIAN TOTAL |
| 1950 | N/A | N/A | 1950-60 | N/A | N/A | + 94.38 |
| 1960 | 62.50% | 37.50% | 37.50% | 1960-61 | + 112.76 | + 15.40 | + 79.89 |
| 1966 | 73.86% | 26.14% | 67.24 | 1966-71 | + 57.91 | + 39.04 | + 53.07 |
| 1971 | 78.26% | 23.74% | 102.93 | 1971-76 | + 45.89 | + 20.16 | + 39.78 |
| 1976 | 79.59% | 20.41% | 143.88 | 1976-81 | + 35.84 | + 26.98 | + 34.03 |
| 1981 | 80.87% | 19.13% | 192.86 | 1981-85 | + 1.68 | + 51.64 | + 11.32 |
| 1985 | 73.66% | 25.34% | 214.70 | 1985-85 | + 576.97 | + 303.42 | + 474.30 |

Notes: 12 months over 1950-1951.
Sources: 1950-51 figures in Alcock, 1970: 388;
1960 figures in Acquaviva and Eisereann, 1981: 41;

These tables show that the growth of tourism has been
steady since the fifties, resisting the recession of the late
seventies and early eighties. This evolution (see table 36) has favoured the largest establishments (hotels) and since 1960 the number of guests number of guests (see table 37), especially tourists from German-speaking countries, has more than tripled and the number of overnight stays (see table 38) almost quintupled. This has contributed to the rise of the service sector which accounted for 77.5% of GPP and 46% of employment in 1981 compared to 55% and 19% in 1951 (ISTAT, 1955/1983). The tourist boom has thus made outside consumer spending essential for the local economy and now represents about a quarter of the GPP, 20% by foreigners alone.

This expansion has not been accompanied by a greater rationalization of management organization since most service sector enterprises (see table 39) remain small, usually family-run and with few employees.

<p>| Table 39: Number of Service Companies and Workforce per Size, 1951-1981 (In Absolute Numbers and Percentiles) |
|-------------------------------------------------|-------------------------------------------------|-------------------------------------------------|-------------------------------------------------|-------------------------------------------------|</p>
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>1951 Workforce</th>
<th>Companies Workforce</th>
<th>1971 Workforce</th>
<th>Companies Workforce</th>
<th>1981 Workforce</th>
<th>Companies Workforce</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>95.9%</td>
<td>74.5%</td>
<td>95.5%</td>
<td>71.7%</td>
<td>94.2%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10-49</td>
<td>2.8%</td>
<td>17.2%</td>
<td>2.3%</td>
<td>22.9%</td>
<td>1.5%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>50+</td>
<td>0.3%</td>
<td>6.3%</td>
<td>0.2%</td>
<td>5.5%</td>
<td>0.2%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TOTAL</td>
<td>5908</td>
<td>18781</td>
<td>10839</td>
<td>35390</td>
<td>25413</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Notes: 1951 figures classified according to 0-10 and 11-49 sizes</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Thus most growth has been in the small business sector, primarily in retail trade where seasonal and part-time employment prevails, and only a few companies have reached national or international stature. In 1981 two thirds of all firms had two employees or less while only one firm in twenty employed ten people or more. In the hotel and restaurant business, this skewed distribution is even greater with 71% of
all companies employing two workers or less compared to 3.5% employing ten workers or more (ASTAT, 1987a: 168). Such small scale activities produce flexible economic strategies for their operators but make them highly vulnerable to external economic trends. As marginal services they tend to offer supplementary incomes to operators and low wages to employees; consequently, external economic trends tend to compress income levels rather than jeopardize economic survival.

4.3 The Evolution Of The Industrial Sector

No modern industrial development emerged in the South Tyrol till the creation of the Bolzano/Bozen Industrial Zone. However, the Zone had developed in complementarity with northern Italian markets. Fascist industrialization reshaped spatial and functional hierarchies so as to marginalize the indigenous workforce, hence the locational bases of economic relations had to be transformed if the indigenous workforce was to avoid Italianization (Alcock, 1970: 264-7).

For a long time, the Province refused to consider industry as a potential outlet for excess rural labour; however, global changes could not be held at the province's borders. By the sixties internal dissensions in the ruling South Tyrolean People's Party (SVP) led to a shift. Provincial leaders responded by courting foreign capital and focusing on some of the province's assets like its north-south crossroad location and its largely bilingual, readily mobile and only partly
unionized workforce. This strategy had some success in drawing West German capital towards traditional manufacturing activities like food processing and handicrafts. This reinforced their complementarity with the expanding tourist economy and bypassed the Industrial Zone.

The guidelines for industrial development were decentralization, small scale operations and the avoidance of the Industrial Zone (Pristinger, 1978: 93-5) and by the early seventies about eighty new enterprises, half of which owned by foreigners, were created, employing about five thousand workers (Acquaviva and Eisermann, 1981: 46).

Table 40: Industrial Employment per Branch, 1951-1981 (in Percentiles)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Steel/Metal</th>
<th>Wood</th>
<th>Textile</th>
<th>Construction</th>
<th>Other</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1951</td>
<td>28.4%</td>
<td>15.0%</td>
<td>14.5%</td>
<td>28.9%</td>
<td>12.1%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1961</td>
<td>29.8%</td>
<td>12.0%</td>
<td>13.3%</td>
<td>28.0%</td>
<td>16.8%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1971</td>
<td>32.1%</td>
<td>11.8%</td>
<td>8.0%</td>
<td>26.5%</td>
<td>21.6%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1981</td>
<td>21.1%</td>
<td>15.4%</td>
<td>4.6%</td>
<td>32.4%</td>
<td>29.4%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


Table 41: Industrial Plants and Workforce per Plant Size, 1981 (in Absolute Numbers and Percentiles)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Plant Size</th>
<th>TOTAL</th>
<th>0-1.2</th>
<th>1-2</th>
<th>3-9</th>
<th>10-49</th>
<th>50+</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Plants</td>
<td>7873</td>
<td>0.58%</td>
<td>53.84%</td>
<td>33.57%</td>
<td>10.57%</td>
<td>1.24%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Workforce</td>
<td>4011</td>
<td>0.18%</td>
<td>57.74%</td>
<td>31.49%</td>
<td>8.87%</td>
<td>1.72%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


Table 40 shows the impact of global trends and provincial policy. Textiles have virtually disappeared while the wood industry (lumber and finished products) has instead weathered the transition and, after several years of adjustment and the introduction of modern technologies, has been able to regain a stable place in the provincial economy. The most important changes have affected consumer-oriented industries, including construction. Food processing and clothing have expanded in response to internal market demands as well as those stimulated by the tourist boom. Similarly, tourism and rising personal incomes have stimulated construction and related mining and manufacturing activities, employing in 1981 almost one third of
all industrial workers compared to only one sixth in 1951. By contrast, employment in metallurgical and mechanical industries, located in the Industrial Zone, has declined.

The combination of external factors and local decisions has reduced the importance of the Bolzano-Bozen Industrial Zone. If in 1961 the Zone had 35% of all industrial plants and employed half of all workers (Pristinger, 1978: 92), twenty years later it accounted for under 16% of all plants and 25% of all workers. Districts like the Salto-Sciliar/Salten-Schlern (18.2% of all plants), Pusteria/Puster valley (14.8%) and the Oltradige-Bassa Atesina/Uberetsch-Suedtiroler Unterland (14%) have emerged as important industrial areas of the province (ASTAT, 1987a: 172-3).

This industrial development is not the result of an industrial strategy. Given the intellectual and cultural predisposition of indigenous South Tyrolean leaders and the strong opposition to the Bolzano-Bozen Industrial Zone, industry has been treated as an adjunct of agriculture and the service sector. Therefore, corporate and organizational structures have remained relatively backward (see table 41). Of the almost 8000 industrial plants in existence in the mid-eighties about three quarters remain simple craft- or workshops and employ about 30% of all workers (ASTAT, 1987a: 167).

With a vulnerable industrial apparatus, organizationally weak and characterized by low efficiency and productivity, South Tyrolean industry remains at the mercy of external pressures. When the first energy crisis struck in the mid-seventies,
foreign investments dried up and many of the newly-created plants had to close (Pristinger, 1978: 94-7); only in the eighties did the industrial sector recover (ASTAT, 1988b: 22-3). Provincial support was instrumental for this recovery for it enabled many plants to upgrade their equipment, financed the acquisition of new technology and the promotion of South Tyrolean goods. Overall Provincial support accounted for almost 30% of all investments in industry in the 1983-87 period, but because of the small-medium size of South Tyrolean companies almost 80% of all Provincial funding was in the form of outright grants rather than loans or bond issues (Provincia Autonoma, 1988: 20-1). The bifurcated industrial sector, weak corporate and organizational structures and inadequate government planning thus hold this sector back from its full potential.

4.4 Recent Economic Trends

The development of the South Tyrolean economy in the aforementioned direction continued in the seventies and early eighties. The contribution of agriculture to Value Added dropped from 10% in 1975 to 6.75% in 1983, but its modernization has continued since it still accounts for over 10% of all investments. Industry still accounts for about 25% of Value Added but has drawn only one sixth of all investments, the bulk

42 The Provincial government has invested considerably in professional training but the lack of a South Tyrolean university deprives local industry of the spinoffs that cooperation might produce.
of which has benefitted the service sector (8% annual growth in the seventies) (ASTAT, 1984: 122-3; ibid, 1986: 49; ibid, 1988b: 63; Regione, 1982: table 35).

The size of the service sector has made the provincial economy heavily dependent on outside resources, almost 20% of the GPP in the early eighties compared to 12% ten years earlier (ASTAT, 1984: 112; ibid, 1986: 42; Regione Trentino-Alto Adige, 1982: table 5). This dependence, especially on West Germany (ASTAT, 1987b: 260), has brought the province within the Deutschmark zone (Pan, 1979) and subjected it to imported inflationary pressures so that the province has had a relatively higher rate of inflation compared to neighbouring Trentino and Italy (ASTAT, 1987d: 189).

The impact of high inflation has been uneven. Those employed in economic activities closely tied to the tourist trade, hence tied to the Deutschmark zone, were protected as the value of the Mark rose against the Lira. Those employed in sectors directly linked to the Italian economy like manufacturing or Public Administration, where Italophones are overrepresented, seemingly suffered more despite the built-in indexation plan of the national wage scheme (Ghirigato, 1986: 152-3). However, given the income differentials among sectors and occupational categories, inflation has not been unduly discriminatory. In agriculture wages and incomes from self-employment have remained far below the 1975 100 base index by about one third to one half respectively. In comparison industrial wages remained above the index, while in the service
sector both wages and income from self-employment averaged 90-110 of the 1975 index (ASTAT, 1984: 68, 87-9).

4.5 The End Of The Ethnic Division Of Labour

The transformation of the South Tyrolean economy has ended the ethnic division of labour. From a vertically segmented economic system dominated by the Italophone population in its urban enclave, the structural relationship within and between ethnies reflects, with the exception of agriculture, overall economic and demographic structures.

Table 42: Provincial Workforce per A. Sector and Language Group

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Agriculture</td>
<td>44.78%</td>
<td>4.73%</td>
<td>37.59%</td>
<td>91.05%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Industry</td>
<td>22.93%</td>
<td>2.70%</td>
<td>20.53%</td>
<td>91.80%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Manufacturing</td>
<td>25.74%</td>
<td>29.96%</td>
<td>29.51%</td>
<td>91.20%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Services</td>
<td>34.33%</td>
<td>25.55%</td>
<td>37.85%</td>
<td>48.21%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Commerce</td>
<td>17.12%</td>
<td>16.78%</td>
<td>13.80%</td>
<td>63.06%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Credit and Insurance</td>
<td>0.54%</td>
<td>8.45%</td>
<td>0.80%</td>
<td>54.65%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Public Administration</td>
<td>0.54%</td>
<td>8.94%</td>
<td>7.46%</td>
<td>50.17%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>98826</td>
<td>54959</td>
<td>5425</td>
<td>82.27%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 42 shows a marked expansion of the total Germanophone (+16%) and Ladin (30%) workforce, compared to only a 2.6% gain among Italophones. This has enabled both groups to reestablish
a comparable presence in all those sectors and branches of the economy from which they had been excluded. Agriculture now represents a smaller component of the workforce, although among Germanophones it still accounts for about one job in five compared to one in nine for Ladins and one in fifty for Italophones. In the service sector the greatest gains were made by Ladins (+168%) compared to Germanophones (+84.5%) and Italophones (+20.2%), but in the major branches like credit and insurance all three ethnies have made substantial advances, with Germanophones and Ladins gaining in transportation and communications but only Germanophones making modest gains in the civil service (+11.67%). Except for credit and insurance and trade Italophones have lost ground both in absolute and proportional terms in all branches and sectors of the economy, especially in manufacturing (-35.61%) and public administration (-39%).

The demise of the ethnic division of labour has been achieved in less than two generation, and the transition has penalized the Italophone population and deprived it of its commanding position and has renewed Germanophone ascendancy.

It might be difficult to translate empirical data into information about subjective socio-cultural phenomena like class identity because class differentiation and consciousness are as much a self-evaluating process based on prevailing social values and cultural mores, but it is possible to extrapolate tentative explanations about the evolution of social hierarchies from the observation of data of occupational categories over a given
period of time (Pristinger, 1978: 104-7). Data of this sort can serve as indicators of social differentiation, ergo of its impact on the nature of inter-ethnic relations in the South Tyrol.

The transformation of the economy has had profound consequences for the internal social hierarchy of each ethny and for their mutual relationship in the overall social stratification.

Table 43: Workforce per Language Group and Occupational Category, 1961-1981 (in Absolute Numbers and Percentiles)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>A</th>
<th>B</th>
<th>C</th>
<th>D</th>
<th>E</th>
<th>TOTAL</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>GERMAN</td>
<td>ITALIAN</td>
<td>LADIN</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1961</td>
<td>0.97%</td>
<td>1.53%</td>
<td>0.44%</td>
<td>29.30%</td>
<td>6.63%</td>
<td>8.63%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1971</td>
<td>2.03%</td>
<td>2.00%</td>
<td>1.00%</td>
<td>19.77%</td>
<td>4.44%</td>
<td>6.64%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1981</td>
<td>3.80%</td>
<td>1.53%</td>
<td>1.17%</td>
<td>14.64%</td>
<td>3.47%</td>
<td>6.67%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>15.93%</td>
<td>58.88%</td>
<td>35.32%</td>
<td>46.64%</td>
<td>22.06%</td>
<td>115.157</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Notes: A = Entrepreneurs and Professionals; B = Managers and White Collar Workers; C = Self Employed; D = Blue Collar Workers; E = Family Hands.


Provided we keep in mind the peripherality of the South Tyrolean economy in the European context, the above table indicates a general expansion of those occupational categories that are more socially-valued in a capitalist economy. However, the rise was ten-fold among Ladin entrepreneurs/professionals but only four- and two-fold among Germanophones and Italophones respectively. Similarly, among Ladins the number of managers/white-collar workers more than tripled compared to 192% among Germanophones and 41% among Italophones. Conversely, the absolute number of self-employed people remained relatively stable among Italophones and Germanophones but increased by almost a quarter among Ladins; however, in proportional terms this occupational group has substantially declined among Germanophones and to a lesser extent among Ladins. No such
contrast exists in the family-hands category where the data show a marked decline in both proportional and absolute terms. Among blue-collar workers Italophones lost roughly one quarter in absolute numbers and were proportionately overtaken by Germanophones in the twenty-year period under consideration. Although proportionately unchanged in relation to the entire workforce the number of blue-collar Germanophones has in fact increased by about 15% compared to a slight regression among Ladins. These data show that a convergence has taken place among all three ethnies who now increasingly mirror each other.

These changes not only modified the internal social hierarchies of each ethny but also affected their place in the overall social hierarchy of the province.

Table 44 shows that the old ethnic segmentation has disappeared in the dominant occupational categories, but Germanophones retain a proportionately greater hold over self-employment and family-hands. The only category in which Italophones are still proportionately overrepresented is that of managers/white-collar work, but we can expect this situation to decline as ethnic quotas in public sector employment
redistribute job opportunities.

Table 45 confirms the final demise of the old ethnic division of labour and, with the exception of agriculture, the internal stratificational convergence of all three ethnies. In agriculture the substantial presence of Italophones in the entrepreneurs/professionals and managers/white collar categories has been reduced from 30% and 40% respectively to 10% and all dominant positions are now in the hands of Germanophones. In the industrial sector the structural realignment has not been as obvious, partly because of inadequate Provincial support. Hence among entrepreneurs/professionals the proportion of Germanophones dropped below average. Unlike local firms owned and/or managed by Germanophones and/or foreigners, many firms controlled by Italophones are branch plants or have access to national financial and marketing networks and could survive the recessions of the seventies and the early eighties. Among blue-
collar workers the realignment has instead been accomplished. Similarly, convergence and Germanophone ascendancy have been complete in the service sector.

Despite these changes the social hierarchy has not been radically transformed since there remains a large proportion of self-employed people in both agriculture and the service sector whose existence tends to stabilize the social structure and diffuse social tensions. In both sectors modernization has not weakened traditional social relations (Katzenstein in Esman, 1977: 295-6). This has meant the defusion of social tensions, especially among indigenous South Tyroleans, during the period of transition from a traditional agrarian society to a service-based economy. However, the longterm impact of socio-economic change has reduced the socio-cultural gap in the population as a whole since over two thirds of all South Tyroleans now see themselves as middle class (Dall'O' et al., 1988: 93-6), and tend to articulate personal and collective interests through professional associations (Dall'O' et al., 1988: 118). The existence of a large middle class, protective of its social autonomy, if not jealous of its social status, has thus reinforced the defusion of social conflict within the context of more personalized social relations and issue-oriented labour relations.

The spatial impact of this realignment also confirms renewed Germanophone ascendancy and converging social hierarchies.
From table 46 we can see that in Ladin municipalities, Ladins have accentuated their control of all occupational categories, especially entrepreneurial/professional and managerial/white collar positions, hence the achievement of a more balanced internal division of labour now guarantees them an auxiliary region in the provincial economy. Changes in the last twenty-five years have strengthened the Ladin community and enabled it to achieve greater internal social differentiation and maintain its geographic cohesion. They face the problem of a certain urban drift (see table 32), but they could stop and reverse it only if a stronger Ladin central place system was created, preferably guaranteed by separate politico-territorial institutions. Under these circumstances, they could retain potential migrants, especially those trained entrepreneurial, managerial and professional cadres tempted or pushed to go elsewhere in the province.

Unlike Ladins who inhabit an area of the province that does not challenge the Germanophone hold, the end of the ethnic division of labour at sectoral and occupational levels has meant
the gradual loss of Italophone control over the geographic context in which they could control socio-economic processes. In a modern capitalist economy vertical functional specialization along ethnic lines is untenable without horizontal territorial segregation. Ladins could do so because of their geographic separation and economic marginality; Italophones cannot do so because of their geographic penetration by the Germanophone milieu and the economic centrality of their places of settlement.

The reassertion of Germanophone predominance inevitably has had an uneven spatial impact. Since Bolzano-Bozen has an Italophone majority that cannot be dislodged or weakened from within the city, the Provincial government has till recently pursued policies designed to bypass it, but as the seat of government it had to locate therein its growing administrative apparati. This has ensured a steady flow of Germanophones towards the city and the erosion of the Italophone majority.

The appearance and diffusion of transportation by motor car and rail has made commuting to and from work easier and separated place of residence from that of work (Atz, 1986). The effect is that the functional region around the provincial capital and the capital itself are subjected to a process of re-Germanization that does not solely depend on residential re-Germanization but on the subordination of the vital centre to its rural periphery. In the longterm this can only be the prelude to the re-Germanization of the vital centre itself.
V. CONCLUSION

In our original observations we stated that, unlike ethnies defined by genotype, religion or socio-cultural traits, the existence and survival of ethno-linguistic groups depend on the structural autonomy of those functional institutions and domains that ensure language acquisition, use and retention, i.e. on the spatio-functional separation of language groups from exoglossic social and statist systems. This separation is essential for such groups to develop and maintain those structural (demographic, economic, cultural, political) conditions that entail control over a vital centre and its complementary region because it is in hierarchically but spatially diffused functional institutions that ethno-linguistic characteristics are reproduced.

As a social phenomenon, the structural separation of language groups has become a fact of life in the last two centuries because of the glottophagic imperatives of capitalist relations of production and statist institutions. In the South Tyrol (and the historic Tyrol) they subordinated local populations to the full weight of external politico-bureaucratic institutions and economic processes and forced them to pursue political strategies designed to achieve a certain degree of spatio-functional autonomy. Under the fascist regime this subordination produced a bifurcated spatio-functional order that, under conditions of democratic rule and political autonomy, enabled the indigenous population to reassert its control over the province, but in circumstances that reversed
the hierarchical relationship between centre and periphery.

This still proves that ethno-linguistic groups need spatio-functional separation but that in the short- and medium-term this can accomplished without control of the vital centre. If further proof was needed, the South Tyrolean case also shows that even if separation is precarious, as is the case of the Ladin population, it can still guarantee better survival opportunities than those situations were a language group is structurally integrated into a larger exoglossic system.

The structural weakness of the Italophone community has in fact been recognized and has led some observers (Acquaviva and Eisermann, 1981: 101-5; Gambino, 1988) to call for the partition of the South Tyrol, the detachment of the still Italianized area and Italian disengagement from the rest of the province. However unrealistic these proposals might be under present local, national and international circumstances, they are the only logical conclusions drawn from the South Tyrolean case.

The only alternative that might be envisaged would require the reconstitution of a single, decentralized pan-Tyrolean polity that was detached from both Italy and Austria. Under such circumstances, the city of Bolzano-Bozen would no longer be essential for Germanophone spatio-functional autonomy. As part of a much smaller provincial unit, it could preserve certain central functions for an area that would be peripheral to both Trentine and German-Tyrolean communities. Its peripherality might cause a certain demographic decline since certain central functions would move to the Trentine and North Tyrolean
capitals; however, it would likely become the area where the ethno-linguistic boundary could stabilize and where personal ethno-linguistic rights might remain operative. However, such a solution is impossible under present political conditions where the nation-state remains the dominant model of political organization. Only in the context of a united federal Europe would this solution be ever likely to prevail.
1. LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS, TOPOONYMS AND TERMS (IN ALPHABETICAL ORDER)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Abbreviation</th>
<th>Description</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Alto Adige (in Italian)</td>
<td>Geographic Area - Upper Adige (in English), Oberreich (in German), Northern part of Italian Region of Trentino-Alto Adige, province of Bolzano-Bozen.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>AS</td>
<td>Alternative List for Another South Tyrol.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A 1 3 2 0</td>
<td>Associations.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ASIAT</td>
<td>(Provincial) Bureau of Statistics.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Auflau</td>
<td>Reconstruction.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bolzano (Geographic Area)</td>
<td>Bolzano (in German), Bulaen (in Ladin), Province and city, Symbol BZ. See also Alto Adige.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>BS</td>
<td>circa.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Catsaina Tyrol (Geographic Area)</td>
<td>Southern and Central part of historic land of Tyrol, Italian Region of Trentino-Alto Adige.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Co-s</td>
<td>Companies.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CP</td>
<td>Proletarian Democracy.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ecke (Geographic Area)</td>
<td>Fassa in Italian, Ladin Valley in Trent Province.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>E (Language group)</td>
<td>German.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>E (speakers)</td>
<td>Germanophones.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>German Tyrol (Geographic Area)</td>
<td>Deutsch Tirol (in German), Tirolo tedesco (in Italian), Northern and Central part of the historic land of the Tyrol, Austrian Province (Land) of the Tyrol and Italian Province of Bolzano-Bozen.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>GRO (Language group)</td>
<td>Alto-Romanes.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gröden (Geographic Area)</td>
<td>Gröden (in Italian), Groeden (in German), Ladin Valley in Bolzano-Bozen Province.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I (speakers)</td>
<td>Italo-Romans.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IT (Language group)</td>
<td>Italo-Romanes.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IS</td>
<td>South Tyrolean Independents.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ISTAT</td>
<td>(Italian) Bureau of Statistics.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Italian Tyrol (Geographic Area)</td>
<td>Malast Tyrol (in German), Tirolo Italiano (in Italian), Southern part of Transalpine Tyrol, Province of Trent.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>L (speakers)</td>
<td>Ladines.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>LIBERALI</td>
<td>PLI, Italian Liberal Party.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Neo-Fascista</td>
<td>MSI-OM, Italian Social Movement National Right.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>N/A</td>
<td>Not available.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NL-NL</td>
<td>Neo Left.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ÖST</td>
<td>Austrian Central Bureau of Statistics.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PD</td>
<td>Independents' Party.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PSIUP</td>
<td>Italian Socialist Party of Proletarian Unity.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>R</td>
<td>Rural.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Repubblicana</td>
<td>PRI, Italian Republican Party.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>S (Language groups)</td>
<td>Rhaeto-Romanes.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>S (Language group)</td>
<td>Slovene.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SPS</td>
<td>Social Democratic Party of the South Tyrol.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SEP</td>
<td>Social Progress Party.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Socialdemocratici</td>
<td>PSDI, Italian Social Democratic Party.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Socialisti</td>
<td>PS, Italian Socialist Party.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>STP</td>
<td>South Tyrolean People’s Party.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TDP</td>
<td>Tyrolean Homeland Party.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TLA (Geographic Area)</td>
<td>Badia (in Italian), Thurn (in German), Ladin Valley.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Trento (Geographic Area)</td>
<td>Trento (in Italian), Trient (in German), Province and City, Symbol TN.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>U</td>
<td>Urban.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Urban Centres</td>
<td>2 municipalities other than Urban centres.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Urban Centres (Geographic Area)</td>
<td>Municipalities of Bolzano-Bozen, Brunico, Leives-Leifers and Merano-Meran.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>W</td>
<td>Wels.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>W (Language group)</td>
<td>Alto Adige.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>W (speakers)</td>
<td>Alto Adige.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
1. APPENDIX A

URBAN CENTRES:  ADIGE-ETSCH CORRIDOR:  LADIN AREA:
Bolzano-Bozen  Auer-Ora  Corvara
Merano-Meran  Bronzolo-Brazolla  La Pli de Mareo
Brizen-Bressanone  Laives-Leifers  La Val
Bruneck-Brunico  Neumarkt-Egna  S.Cristina
Laives-Leifers  Salorno-Salurn  San Linert
Vadena-Pfatten  S.Martin de Tor  Selva
Urtijei

PROVINCE:  RURAL AREAS:
116 Municipalities  111 Municipalities

2. APPENDIX B

GERMAN PARTIES:  ITALIAN IDEOLOGICAL GROUPINGS
South Tyrolean People's Party  Socialists (1948-1960)
SDPS (1948)  PSIUP (1964)
Social Democratic of the  DP (1978-1983)
South Tyrol  New Left (1978)
IS (1952)  Alternative List (1983)
South Tyrolean Independents  LEFT OF CENTRE:
THP (1964)  Socialists (1964-1983)
Tyrolean Homeland Party  Socialdemocrats (1948-1983)
Social Progress Party  CENTRE:
Social Democratic Party  RIGHTS:
Independents' Party  Monarchists (1956)
NS (1978)  OTHER:
New Left  Autonomist Parties
WdH (1983)  Liberals
Patriotic League
AS (1983)
Alternative List for
Another South Tyrol

Nel Left and Alternative List parties are inter-ethnic parties.
Germanophone and Italophone votes were calculated by dividing tot
party vote in each administrative district of the province accord
to 1981 and 1986 Population data per Language Group and adding
results.
4. APPENDIX C

MAPS
1. GEOGRAPHIC BOUNDARIES

Legend:
- State boundaries
- - - - - Orographic Region of the Alps
xxxxxxxxxx Hydrographic Divide

2. GEOGRAPHIC DISTRIBUTION OF LANGUAGES IN THE ALPS, 1914-1981
Legend:
GR = Gallo-Romance languages
IR = Italo-Romance languages
RR = Rhaeto-Romansch languages
G = Germanic languages
S = Slovene
3. GEOGRAPHIC DISTRIBUTION OF LANGUAGE GROUPS
IN SOUTH TYROL AND TRENTINO 1914-1981
Legend:

BZ - City of Bolzano-Bozen
TN - City of Trent

xxxxxxxxxx Hydrographic Divide

Provincial Boundaries
South Tyrolean Districts

- - - - - Old Intra-Tyrolean Boundary

G - Germanic Languages
IR - Italo-Romance Languages
RR - Rhaeto-Romansch Languages

10-20% Proportion of Italophone Population
50/90% Italophone and Ladin Majority

South Tyrolean Districts:
1. Vinschgau-Venosta
2. Burgrafenamt-Burgraviato
3. Merano-Meran
4. Suedtiroler Unterland-Bassa Atesina
5. Bolzano-Bozen
6. Salten Schlern-Salto Sciliar
7. Wipptal-Alto Isarco
8. Eisack-Isarco
9. Puster-Pusteria
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