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# *Work and industry through staff registers: the sugar factory of Bottrighe (1974 and 1977)*

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## INTRODUCTION

My thesis discusses about the situation of the world of work during the period right after the *Autunno Caldo* in the area of Polesine, in the region of Veneto. Since the world of work is an exceedingly broad field, made up of grey areas and particular cases that need to be brought to light, my thesis sees the need to face the history of work considering and respecting the concepts of Global Labour History that allow a more accurate analysis that explores the particular. In this specific case, the aim is to find new information that can give a new perspective on the labour situation of this period by looking at the specific case of the Bottrighe sugar factory. It must be added, however, that not always when doing research of this kind does the data bring new aspects, there are also chances in which the known picture is confirmed.

As I have already mentioned, to study this particular period in this particular area, I used a specific case: the sugar factory of Bottrighe. More specifically, I used the information gathered by the examination of its staff registers, which are available in the Archivio di Stato of Padua. Reading the staff registers, some questions about what these data could mean arose spontaneously, just as some aspects that seemed to be more neglected from the story of the development of the Italian and Veneto economies and industry. The questions concerned the working period, salary and the origin of the workers that in the registers are divided into “*operai*” (labourers), who handle manual labour and lower tasks and “*impiegati*” (employees), who manage office and supervisory work. Another division found in the registers is the division between temporary and permanent workers, so, the data taken into consideration in the thesis, concern just permanent labourers and employees of 1974 and both temporary and permanent labourers and employees of 1977.

The path of the thesis follows the known and tries to explore the unknown to solve the above-mentioned questions arising from the information in the registers asking papers and essays for interpretation concerning working periods and their duration intersected with the age of workers and their type of tasks, salary and the fluctuation of these according to the role of the worker in the factory and to seniority and origins, so the connection with mobility and migration. When the papers and essays do not seem to have the answers sought, the data are read taking into account the historical period and studies carried out in similar periods or places that could reflect a similar phenomenology. The purpose is to explore a new direction and try to find new perspectives that allow an improved look at the development of the industrial world of Veneto in the 1970s, in line with the idea of Global Labour History of not limiting the focus to the known and to what is universally defined as a classic path of developing. The idea at the end of this path is to give a clear perspective and image of the “*modello Veneto*”, which is a rhetoric spread during the Eighties according to which the industrial and economic upswing that followed the crisis of the post Second World War and the Fifties was due to the efforts of venetians people. In particular, this rhetoric of industriousness is very much about the idea of being able to overcome difficult situations through one's own resourcefulness and hard work, which is what has made the idea of *operosità veneta* (venetian industriousness) famous.

Returning to the discussion mentioned above concerning Global Labour History, the thesis proposes to try to overcome those rigidities and beliefs by trying to show that trends do not always fit every possible scenario. In terms of what has just been said about Veneto and its industriousness, the idea is to examine if these belief is also visible

in smaller context and concerning the questions and discussions that rise reading data from registers.

Studying the Global Labour History handbooks, I had the opportunity to understand how to open the mind and the point of view of the research using, as already said, studies made by other academics but always keeping in mind that they are tools to understand and not a rule to follow or a universal truth that applies to every situation. The work of this thesis was structured with an initial collection of information in the Archivio di Stato of Padua. All the matriculation books were consulted, and then it was decided which ones to focus on. The choice fell on the two years 1974 and 1977 for various reasons, including the quality of the sample and the importance of those two specific years. 1974 is the year in which all the consequences of the economic crisis that started in 1973 are visible, while 1977 is close to the end of a particular decade and could give a different view of the period. Another reason related to the quality of the sample is the heterogeneity of the staff registers, as registers of all types of workers are not available for each year, so it was necessary to look for a combination of years that would provide the most complete data possible.

After choosing the registers to take into consideration, the data were gathered, and thanks to the use of Excel they were analysed and observed to understand if there was some information to add to the questions previously asked. Together with the collection of data, some research about the social-cultural and historical context of the period from the beginning of the Autunno Caldo to almost the end of the Seventies has been done. At the beginning, some general history sources have been consulted both for the history of Italy (Colarinzi, 2021; Ginsborg, 1989; Bevilacqua, 1991) and for the history of Veneto (Jori, 2108) and to these have been added other books and papers concerning the

history of trade unions and workers' councils (Turone, 1981; Accornero, 1992; Zazzara, 2014, Boschiero, Favero, Zazzara, 2011) and the Italian and Venetian economic history (Zamagna, 1993; Zamagna, 2019; Roverato, 1996). These were some of the sources used to delineate a general image of this period, and they were then enriched with sources about Italian working history, used to depict how work and workers were considered during the period taken into consideration (Musso, 2002; Musso, 2015; Bartolini, Causarano and Gallo, 2020). Along with the general context, there are sources used to analyse the question raised during the gathering of data but to study them from a global labour history perspective. It was also necessary to use handbooks (Hofmeester and Van der Linden ed., 2018; Eckert ed., 2016). The other sources helped with some topics that, as already mentioned, arose during the examination of registers, which have been introduced thanks to the article of Lungonelli (1990).

First of all, the concept of pluriactivity has been faced using the essay of SISLAV edited by Niccolò Mignemi, Claudio Lorenzini and Luca Mocarrelli in 2020. Also, speaking about pluriactivity, the research performed by Piva and Tattara is one of the most meaningful sources found to analyse the phenomenon of pluriactivity in Veneto considering, however, its limits because the research concerns workers of the industries of Porto Marghera between the two World Wars. Although the research has the aforementioned limits, it has to be said that it has been fruitful to consider the characteristics of the "*metalmezzadro*", introduced in the second chapter and then recalled and investigated during the analysis of information concerning the duration of work and age of workers.

Another topic that needs to be addressed because of the presence of several composite sources is mobility. An entire chapter is dedicated to mobility, and at first, sources are

used to define the importance of mobility and migration and, most of all, speak about internal migrations. The book edited by Arru and Ramella claims that internal migration is a necessary aspect to take into consideration to be able to explain Italian social, economic and cultural background. They take into consideration the most crucial example of internal migration in Italy: Turin and the migrants coming from the south of Italy. This topic has been used as the basis for comparison by Anna Badino in the other two sources used to reflect on internal migration. Moreover, other papers and research have been found to evaluate the importance of internal migration according to the data that were present in registers (Gallo, 2015; Franzina, 1982; Gissi, 2018; Nani, 2016). The research performed by Michele Nani has as its subject the area of Ferrara, but the results might suit the information extrapolated by registers and, more specifically, the importance of intraregional migration.

The thesis is composed of four chapters: the first two are dedicated to an overview of the context, and the other to the analysis of the data of the registers. The first chapter aims to give a historical outline of the period between the end of the Sixties and the beginning of the Seventies, involving general history, economic history, history of trade unions and the history of industries. It is divided into two main topics: the first part concerns Italy and the main events that changed the course of Italian history, and the other part focuses on the development of Veneto, focusing on the events that made this region one of the most productive of Italy.

The second chapter is still about the context but introduces the sugar industry thanks to the contribution of some academics who studied this side of Italian production and the importance of this product on markets (Tonizzi, 2007; Faben ed., 2012; Montanari, Mantovani and Fronzoni ed., 2002). It is also mentioned Eridania, an Italian sugar

company, made its history an example of productivity and technological innovation before introducing the sugar factory of Bottrighe, explaining some of its history. The last section of this chapter concerns the leading questions of the thesis and the research, so it is a theoretical part in which some key points are introduced. The key points include an introduction of the Global Labour History approach followed by a brief explanation of concepts like pluriactivity, migration and mobility and wage according to academics of Global Labour History. This part is necessary to address the main themes that I will face during the other two chapters, most of all because these are themes that need an introduction and a theoretical contextualisation.

The third chapter is the first chapter of the analysis, and the examination is conducted by studying the trend for every category: temporary labourers, temporary employees, permanent labourers and permanent employees. Sometimes, these categories are compared and investigated together. The first topic developed concerns the duration of work, and it has been analysed along with the age of workers, especially the age they had when they were hired. Then, other aspects are analyzed concerning wages according to tasks. Speaking about wages, I looked for a connection between wages and dependents of workers to see if having a family changed something in terms of salaries.

The last chapter focuses on the study of information concerning the origins of workers and, thus, of the respective reflections and contextualisation concerning migration, in particular migration, within the region itself. The study aims to try to prove the validity of the rhetoric of Veneto industriousness reiterated by the development of the 1960s and 1970s. This chapter is divided into two main parts: an analysis of places of residence and that of places of birth. The first leads to reflections related to the spatial movements of workers, and in particular to commuting, with a focus on any differences between the



distances travelled by labourers and those travelled by employees. As far as places of birth are concerned, the analysis tried to link the mobility of the workers of the Bottrighe sugar refinery to the better-known case of Turin to try and assess the presence of workers who came from outside the Veneto region. Within these examinations, there was also a space for the town of Bottrighe itself as understanding how the workers who lived in Bottrighe were positioned about the sugar factory could have been interesting and a starting point for future further studies.

# 1. The background: Italy and Veneto in the late Sixties and the Seventies.

## 1.1. Italy: late 1960s and the “*Autunno Caldo*”.

During the Seventies Italy was going through one of its most revolutionary periods in terms of work, rights and equality but the beginning of this period can be seen in the late Sixties, more specifically in the 1969, with what will be later defined “*Autunno Caldo*”. However, the first signs of this period of fights came out during the second half of Sixties, with the student movement (1967-1968) guided by students that started to resent not having equal possibilities in terms of university education because although anyone could enrol, it was still obvious that being richer increased the opportunity of succeeding.<sup>1</sup>

Before moving forward it is better to clarify that Italy was coming off a period of great economic prosperity defined as “*miracolo economico*” (economic miracle) that characterizes the late Fifties and the first half of Sixties. During these years Italian people came to be aware of the consumerism also because every family could count on a wage and so in Italian houses it was possible to notice the presence of final goods such as washing machines and fridges.<sup>2</sup> What encouraged these people to demonstrate and fight despite an ostensible season of economic upturn was certainly the fact that the increasing of the industrial productivity did not go hand in hand with the respect of workers’ rights. The period of the “*miracolo economico*” came indeed after the World War II and the employers took advantage of the fact that the effectiveness of trade

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<sup>1</sup> Colarizi, 2021, 399-408 and Ginsborg, 1989, 404-419.

<sup>2</sup> Bonomo, 2015, 3-31.

unions had been severely undermined during these ages so they were now the only power on the workplace. This particular circumstance was therefore a fertile ground for exploitative situations but at the same time it made Italian industries internationally competitive creating so a tension between rights and wealthy.<sup>3</sup>

This tension reached a breaking point at the end of Sixties, after the Italian government and the Centre-Left Parties in particular showed how unprepared they were to the needs of a country which was rapidly and constantly changing. They always promised and talked about reforms but then they disappointed the expectations so people decided to take the lead on the issue also following the example of France. As mentioned above, this movement spread at first in the universities and schools, then workers in factories followed it and at the end the whole society was invested in this process<sup>4</sup>. One of the facts that contributed to industrial unrest was the criticism against “Scientific Management”, also known as Taylorism, which is theorized by Frederick Winslow Taylor to improve economic efficiency and labour productivity and against one of its application methods: the Fordism. Fordism consisted of the idea of the assembly line in order to optimize the labour force in factories and it is the key point of mass production. Therefore, as also mentioned by Stefano Musso<sup>5</sup>, a kind of explosive combination was created due to the hard working condition of fordist factories, the lack of houses and public services in the industrial centres of the North of Italy and the new wave of immigrants from the South of the country. Pietro Causarano also adds that Fordism overcame economic borders and involved also social and institutional dynamics. During

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<sup>3</sup> Ginsborg, 1989, 286-293.

<sup>4</sup>Ginsborg, 1989, 419-436.

<sup>5</sup> Musso, 2002.

the end of Sixties, these dynamics were broken by the fact that employers started to become heterogeneous and they were younger and more educated. They claimed that they wanted to produce and that they did not want to be exploited anymore (“*da sfruttati a produttori*”), they wanted to become the focus of the action and they refused to accept that their working conditions were still solely based on factories' profit<sup>6</sup>.

Early workers' battles did not take place among the biggest factories but in the suburbs, and one of these was in the textile company Marzotto in Valdagno (Veneto). The company was managed with paternalistic and Catholic ideals and when fordists innovations were introduced, workers had to confront themselves with tighter work paces and lower real wages, so they spontaneously started to protest. During the demonstration, 4000 protesters took down the statue of the founder of the company, Gaetano Marzotto, and the police arrested 42 of them. Valdagno was an isolated case, but it can be seen as an example of what was spreading during the end of the Sixties in Italy. As a matter of fact, a general strike was called in the same year in Milan and the response exceeded expectations, causing the workers to gain confidence in their struggle and in themselves. The activism characterized almost the whole next decade and one of the most significant moments was the strike of the FIAT workers during the summer of 1969. What led workers to manifest was the feeling of being abandoned by the government and by trade unions, so they started to defend their interests and a new set of ideological beliefs. These beliefs also came from a delicate political situation that allowed extremism to rise again, bringing a period of terror together with the fights for workers' rights. In Italy, indeed, from the late 1960s until the 1980s, we speak of *Anni di Piombo* (Years of Lead), a term used to indicate civil disorders and political violence

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<sup>6</sup> Causarano, 2015, “La fabbrica fordista e il conflitto industriale”. 59-101.

that characterised those years. It is not easy to define when the Years of Lead started. Conventionally, some historians place the beginning of these years on December 12th of 1969, when the Piazza Fontana bombing happened. But is it already possible to spot the presence of violence during 1968, more specifically during the Battle of Valle Giulia in Rome: a clash between student protesters wanting back the Faculty of Architecture and the police guarding it after they had seized it following an occupation.

Politically speaking, these uprisings of the late 1960s seemed to favour the extreme Left, which appeared to obtain new approvals because it seemed to embrace the workers' cause more than every Party or trade union had ever done before. This rapprochement with the Left led neo-fascist movements and some political sectors of the state to adopt what is known as the strategy of tension in order to distance the country from the Communist drift it seemed to have taken. The core point of the strategy was to establish a climate of terror so that the population would have asked for or justified authoritarian political turns. One of the most important elements was that the responsibility for these acts of terror should have been vague so people would not know who the danger was and would feel lost<sup>7</sup>.

The mention just done to the Years of Lead is necessary to understand that these workers' demonstrations cross the same path of a period of great instability and insecurity of Italy. It is important because of how the trade unions used this period to go from irrelevant to the beating heart and organiser of workers' demands. Aris Accornero indeed defined this period as "*la parabola dei sindacati*" (parable of trade unions) and he also wrote a book about this published in 1992<sup>8</sup>. Trade unions revealed an

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<sup>7</sup> Colarizi, 2021, 409-415.

<sup>8</sup> Accornero, 1992.

extraordinary ability to adapt to the changes they witnessed during the late Sixties. The history of Italian trade unions begins earlier than the period taken into examination in this thesis, but the period here investigated saw the trade unions at the centre stage, so much so that they risked taking away attention from workers' struggles.

These struggles put workers under the spotlight, but they also highlighted that in the late 1960s there was a significant lack of trade union activity and in this climate Workers' Councils rose and they had a key role during the last two years of 1960s. Workers' Councils are representative organisms of an industry in which delegates are elected by workers. They were spontaneously constituted during 1969 in order to bypass trade unions and their internal commissions which were too tangled to bureaucracy and were not able to approach with the actual labourers problems. The delegate of Workers' Council instead worked in factories and had a direct contact with other labourers and their struggles. At a superficial glance Workers' Councils might appear as antagonists of trade unions but, according to Sergio Turone (1981)<sup>9</sup>, their relationship was more complicated than this. They were not just counterparts but it was like Workers' Councils rose to contrast trade unions and they could only do this finding place in them and changing them from the inside. CGIL was therefore concerned that this attitude of excluding and condemning trade unions from activism would have lead to the end of the existence of the trade union itself, so it started to think about how to renovate itself in order to be involved in workers' plans again. This plan of action was shared with other trade unions like, for example, CISL and is the first step to trade union unity. Trade unions and the PCI (Italian Communist Party) started a period of social reforms following the "blame avoidance", which is a strategy thanks to which measures are

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<sup>9</sup> Turone, 1981, 392-395.

taken to direct social tension<sup>10</sup>. It is indeed necessary to highlight that at the end of 1969 90% of delegates of Workers' Councils were also registered in trade unions and the 80% of them declare themselves as activists so is it possible to say that trade unions regained success they previously lost. However, Workers' Councils have not been useless but they exposed a long-ignored problem of industries: the fact that they had common problems to solve but also personal interests and particular issues to care about that were underestimated for a long period.

Trade unions took into account some key points in terms of reforms asked during the period in which they managed workers' protests and these were an equal pay rise, an increase of wages, an increase in employment and an enhancement of labour contracts. Moreover, trade unions between the 1960s and 1970s connected political struggles with social ones, so they also gave voice to ordinary labourers who in the past were obscured by qualified labourers. Common labourers now needed to be represented and protected by trade unions and the importance they started to have forced the entire world of work to revise its traditions in favour of a kind of modern labourism and of the autonomous affirmation of common work and worker<sup>11</sup>.

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<sup>10</sup> Mattera, 2015, "Legislazione sociale e welfare,." 378-415.

<sup>11</sup> Accornero, 1992, 47-82

## 1.2. The Seventies in Italy

The Seventies opened with the *Statuto dei Lavoratori* (The Workers' Statute) of May 1970, a set of rules that rewrote the Italian Labour Law. The *Statuto* modified the current law concerning working conditions, changed the relationship between employers and workers and redefined the role of trade unions. It revolutionised workplaces and working relationships, although, initially, its birth was obstructed by industrialists who had strong influences in Parliament and in the DC (Christian Democracy). The Minister of Labour, Carlo Donat-Cattin, pushed for the statute to become law and refused the critics that arose against it, saying that they were inspired by a mentality according to which labour relations had to be private (*"I rilievi [...] circa la scarsa importanza che avrebbe il provvedimento in esame, mi pare risentano di una mentalità privatistica [...] soprattutto nel campo sindacale"*)<sup>12</sup> because one of the most debated issues was the idea of an improved presence of trade unions in workplaces.

The *Statuto* opened this decade by regulating the legal obligations of employers, defending workers and dealing with the issue of working conditions, but the period of demonstrations and conflicts did not stop. In fact, after having characterised above all the metalworking sector, struggles took place in other production sectors and, between 1970 and 1971, it was the turn of chemists, construction and railway workers and others, even in the public sector. In this period of uprisings, it is still possible to see the constant growth of the level of trust in trade unions also given by Workers' Councils, which rose, as it has already been said, as a kind of alternative to trade unions, but at the beginning of 1970s those started to work intersecting and influencing each other. The increase of confidence in trade unions is clearly expressed in the numbers of people

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<sup>12</sup> Aimetti, 2006, 597-605.



registered to CGIL and CISL, which in 1968 were 4 million and in 1975 exceeded 6.5 million<sup>13</sup>.

Back at the beginning of the 1970s, it can be said that the Labour Movement, during the years between 1971 and 1973, aimed substantially at a sort of maintenance of what had been accomplished due to the arrival of the first signs of a vast economic crisis that characterised the years following 1974. The two-year period 1972-1973 showed a new increase in violence, particularly with the expiration of the steelworkers' contract that employers refused to keep negotiating, causing a significant upswing of trade union activity that culminated with the occupation of FIAT Mirafiori for two days (29<sup>th</sup> – 31<sup>st</sup> of March). The sit-in blocked production and resulted in a victory for trade unions, therefore contracts were soon negotiated again with new features like a change of working hours with the addition of some hours (150 hours annually) to attend courses organised by trade unions to obtain higher job positions.<sup>14</sup> This period of fluctuations hit society but also economy. As mentioned above, in 1971, there already was the feeling of an economic crisis, and the years 1972-1973 only gave false hopes of a recovery before the period of recession that came in 1974 and 1975. Italy went through actual ups and downs for most of the 1970s. The high inflation rate was the only constant that accompanied these continuous economic changes, along with civil disorders due to workers' struggles and the Years of Least mentioned in the previous section.

As a matter of fact, the 1973 oil crisis hit Italy only a year later, in 1974, causing national income to fall by 3,6 % and an increase in the price of oil. To all this was added the difficulty of the exchange rate regime following the cancellation of the Bretton Woods Agreements (1971) and, thus, the replacement of the gold standard with floating

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<sup>13</sup> Ginsborg, 1989, 441-455.

<sup>14</sup> Castronovo, 2005, 581-596.

exchange rates (1973). At first, Italy tried to obtain profit margins with an inflation policy and then, in 1979, it joined the EMS (European Monetary System) to keep fixed exchange rates.<sup>15</sup> During 1974 and then during 1976 Italians saw the effect of what has been called “*stangata*” (blow). The *stangata* was a set of austerity measures that went from an increase of the property taxes until the abolition of some public and religious holidays.

How did Italy react to these changes and to these new balances? It must be said that this period of economic instability damaged larger industries because the demand for standardized consumer goods decreased in favour of small-scale production and consequently in favour of small businesses. Smaller businesses, indeed, could manage the capital and labour force better also because of the vast presence of the informal sector in the economy. This new interest in small industries also changed the geographic asset of the Italian economy, adding to the North, with its large industries, and to the South, with agriculture, the Third Italy, in the East, with its flourishing small businesses. Third Italy went from Veneto to Puglia and, among the peculiarities of the place, there was the importance given to tradition and a solid presence of family-run businesses that could use a flexible workforce at relatively low cost.<sup>16</sup> The importance of the strong sense of community that characterised these areas should not be underestimated, as well as, according to Vera Zamagni (1993)<sup>17</sup>, the valorisation of the family and the intersection of their production and daily activities. Moreover, Zamagni

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<sup>15</sup> Zamagni, 1993, 430-435.

<sup>16</sup> Colarizi, 2021, 439-444 and Boschiero, Favero and Zazzara, 2010, 7-17.

<sup>17</sup> Zamagni, 1993, 445-456.

(1993)<sup>18</sup> mentions other causes for which small businesses emerged during the 1970s in Italy, like, for example, the fact that large industries were going through a period of conflicting industrial relations as a result of the “*Autunno Caldo*”. Another cause could be financial; in particular the scarcity of intentions to give credit that impacted more on larger businesses favouring smaller ones. There will be a further discussion about small businesses of the *Terza Italia*, more specifically about the ones in the region of Veneto. Back to the situation of Italy during the 1970s, the second half of the decade is characterised by a climate of terror represented by the frequency of conflicts between extreme left groups and neo-fascist groups. As a matter of fact, there were three points to take into consideration that explain why terrorism spread during the second half of the 1970s, and these concern the crisis of revolutionary groups that prevented violent explosions, the break between PCI and young people and Communists political actions that aimed to contain violence but what they obtained was quite the opposite, creating an environment in which terrorists could act<sup>19</sup>.

Moreover, in 1975, it is possible to see how trade unions were still quite influential, speaking about labour rights, but this is the period in which their influence started to lose that previously acquired power mainly due to the new balances that were formed following the 1973-1974 crisis. However, the reform drive was not yet exhausted; on the contrary, it had been extended into other areas. 1975 is also crucial for feminist movements, which became relevant this year mainly due to the growth of women's awareness of their rights. They were not aiming for equality with men but rather for a set of laws that recognised women as such: women's rights. For the avoidance of doubt,

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<sup>18</sup> Zamagni, 1993, 445-456.

<sup>19</sup> Ginsborg, 1989, 511-513.

it is necessary to highlight that trade unions had discriminatory behaviour too, and it is evident in the *Statuto dei Lavoratori* of 1973, a text in which every kind of discrimination was forbidden except the ones based on gender.<sup>20</sup> Trade unions were not taking into account women and their situation, but they were instead concerned about the unemployment situation generated by the economic crisis and about the new politics of compromise and collaboration between DC and PCI (“compromesso storico”). These two issues characterised the end of the 1970s and the end of the ascendancy of trade unions. A turning point came in 1977, a year in which there was a decrease in labour unrest in the factories and simultaneously a new revolutionary wave among the young students. The student movement of 1977 was motivated by the fact that they had no job prospects and no certainty concerning the future, but also by a deep mistrust towards institutions, politics and trade unions. Leading of these movements were those extra-parliamentary left-wing groups that refused to have any relationship with left-wing parties and trade unions, calling instead for direct action consisting of, for example, self-reduction of prices, tariffs, rents, occupation of houses or public premises. Rome, Bologna and Turin were the most important theatres where violent conflicts happened. Along with concrete action done by the movement of 1977, there was also a solid culture that influenced the people involved: the alternative culture. It can be said then that the 1977 movement was divided into two main currents: one that was cultural, creative and, more importantly, non-violent, and the other one that was subversive and militarist. This more combative side of the movement was the one who risked the most to be caught and used to reinvigorate the ranks of terroristic groups that wanted to use

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<sup>20</sup> Ginsborg, 1989, 494-499.

the subversive intention of the 1977 rebels to be a dangerous annoyance. The preponderant advance of the terrorist mould was precisely because, between 1976 and 1979, what remained of the labour movement fell increasingly apart. Terrorism can be seen as one of the reasons why social protest and collective goals were abandoned in favour of revolutionary violence, which, however, gradually became more and more isolated as people changed their attitude towards its use. Italian economic and social problems were not solved yet but it had been abandoned the idea of solving them using violence. After 1978, a transitional year marked by dramatic events such as the kidnapping and murder of Aldo Moro, 1979-1980 were the two years that ended the turmoil of the 1970s and opened the consumerist 1980s. First of all, 1979 was characterised by the abandonment of the politics of compromise pursued by Enrico Berlinguer, who tried to make the DC converge with PCI in order to find a shared moral and ethical code that could save Italian society and politics<sup>21</sup>. At the beginning of the year, indeed, PCI joined the ranks of the opposition. Meanwhile, trade unions and employers are about to dispute one of their crucial battles about the contract renewal of 1979. Employers were now more confident about themselves and especially knew that trade unions were weaker due to the “EUR strategy”<sup>22</sup>, which hinged on wage moderation and on an investment programme that would guarantee employment and, so on, control of claims to allow the economy to recover. It was precisely the renewal of the contract in the winter of 1979 that allowed the “EUR strategy” to show its fragility and thus its failure, as the unions were nevertheless pushed to demand wage

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<sup>21</sup> Colarizi, 2021, 444-452.

<sup>22</sup> for further information: Turone, 1981, 507-509.

improvements so the social drive did not calm down but it reached one of its higher points. In October 1979, FIAT fired 61 labourers accusing them of using or threatening to use violence in factories. The support for them from trade unions was cold, so a year later, on September 1980, FIAT decided to put 24000 labourers on a Wage Guarantee Fund for fifteen months. It is crucial to note that those 24000 labourers were at the forefront of the trade union struggles, and as if that were not enough, FIAT then changed the deal and decided to dismiss 14,000 of them directly. This change of direction caused a strike to the bitter end, and FIAT factories were blocked, so FIAT decided to interrupt redundancies and shorten the period of the Wage Guarantee Fund to three months. At this point, protesters started to be uncertain because the new deal was tempting and good timing because they needed to regain some money after the summer holidays. Therefore, labourers were not so sure about protesting anymore. As a matter of fact, 34 days after the beginning of the strike, a demonstration of 30000-40000 people, including employers, employees and labourers, crossed Turin asking for the strike to end and for the right to return to work<sup>23</sup>. It was a defeat for trade unions and an event that influenced industrial relations of the next decade.

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<sup>23</sup> Ginsborg, 1989, 540-545.

### 1.3. Veneto after the Second World War: from the ruins to “*una fabbrica per ogni campanile*”.

This thesis has a focus on the area of Veneto, more specifically on the territory called Polesine, a region in the south of Veneto that corresponds to the area near the province of Rovigo, so before going through the case study, it is better to look at the situation in this area during the period taken into consideration. It has to be said that, after the Second World War, Veneto was one of the poorest areas of the North of Italy. It was a place that needed to be rebuilt from its ruins. The period of recovery that characterised this area was explained by the fact that people from Veneto (Venetians) had always been famous for their ability to get by with their strength. In this case, their force has to be found in small businesses and in the fact that they fabricated everything that was necessary. This mindset brought Veneto to incredible growth in terms of economy and work, so there was a surprising “economic boom” in the one that Jori (2018) defines as “*Terra dei Miracoli*” (Veneto of Miracles)<sup>24</sup>.

One of the reasons for this economic growth has to be found in the abilities and in the desire Venetians had to come back to recover from a period in which they suffered. Veneto wanted to adequate the growth of the rest of the country and for this reason, it used its traditions as an advantage so that, in the Seventies, their national income was more than double. Between 1947 and 1951, business strength started to rise spontaneously, so small and medium enterprises flourished.<sup>25</sup> It also has to be claimed that the economic recovery of Veneto has also been influenced by the government. Speaking about how Italy contributed to the restoration of this area, it is crucial to note

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<sup>24</sup> Jori, 2018, 371-389.

<sup>25</sup> Jori, 2018, 371-389.

that at the beginning of the Fifties, Veneto was economically considered in the same way as the other regions situated in the North of the country. Roverato<sup>26</sup> writes about Sabatin, a leading personality of Veneto, and his theory of the “economic depression of Veneto”. Sabatin affirmed that the distinction between the North and the South, was perceived as too clear, and every region in the North did not need support in contrast to the entire South area. He asked that the government start to consider the idea of establishing subsidies and exemptions similar to the “*Cassa del Mezzogiorno*”<sup>27</sup> also to Veneto. At the end of the Fifties, these measures were granted and added to the well-known diligence, motivation and moderation of Venetians, which influenced the subsequent economic changes. The government launched acts that would have helped the areas denominated as “*economicamente depresso*” (economically depressed) with tax reliefs and the concession of certain lands so that industries could settle and develop. The result was that, in Veneto, a bunch of small businesses worked in sectors that did not have high technologies, like textiles, shoes, steelwork and hot and cold pressing of plastics. In this context, the slogan “*una fabbrica per ogni campanile*” (a factory for every bell tower) spread. It represents the union of some circumstances like the already mentioned acquisition of lands with low prices, the low labour costs and the chance to acquire labour from the countryside.

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<sup>26</sup> Roverato, 1996.

<sup>27</sup> The “*Cassa per il Mezzogiorno*” was a public effort by the Italian government to stimulate the growth of South Italy, which was considered less developed. It was established in 1950 and provided credit subsidies and tax advantages to promote investments. Further information: [https://siusa.archivi.beniculturali.it/cgi-bin/siusa/pagina.pl?TipoPag=prodente&Chiave=59569#:~:text=La%20Cassa%20del%20Mezzogiorno%20\(abbreviata,divario%20con%20l'Italia%20settentrionale.](https://siusa.archivi.beniculturali.it/cgi-bin/siusa/pagina.pl?TipoPag=prodente&Chiave=59569#:~:text=La%20Cassa%20del%20Mezzogiorno%20(abbreviata,divario%20con%20l'Italia%20settentrionale.)



As it has already been mentioned, this period that brought modernization hit Veneto later than the rest of Italy, and it also seems to be faster and full of contradictions. Therefore, it challenges the belief of the importance and the superiority of the “*modello veneto*”. On the one hand, indeed, Venetians have to be admired for their way of managing the situation with their abilities, but on the other hand, the “*modello*” can also be seen as a whole of self-exploitation, frenetic pace, illiteracy or lack of education and tax evasion<sup>28</sup>. These are some of the most crucial issues that lead to the labour movement at the end of the Sixties.

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<sup>28</sup> Boschiero, Favero, Zazzara, 2010, 7-19.

#### 1.4. The *Autunno Caldo* and the Seventies in Veneto.

At the beginning of the period of the *Autunno Caldo*, Veneto had already had some experiences with labour struggles that dated back to the beginning of the decade, when a factory enquiry critically investigated labourers' work. However, it was in 1968 that started to become clear that capitalistic modernization had triggered some contradictions, so workers started to break standard power relationships, for example, in Valdagno or Marghera. CGIL and CISL showed support and stood beside the workers so that, as previously explained, they could regain trust and power. The case of Valdagno opened a period of workers' intolerance in which strikes doubled, also motivated by the renewal of contracts. Between 1968-1971, Veneto assisted in a season of serious and violent episodes that had as the most decisive purpose the contracts<sup>29</sup>.

Another reason for the unrest that defined these years has to be found in decentralization, which is an approach that concerns the relocation of industries in the regional territory of Veneto. Roverato<sup>30</sup> defines the idea of decentralization with two different concepts: the first involves the division of a business resulting in separate entities, and the other regards the enlargement of an industry, creating smaller parts with distinct jurisdictions. According to Roverato and other scholars<sup>31</sup>, Veneto used decentralization as a business strategy to shift from a situation where the focus was on agriculture to a condition in which industries became the target. Small businesses in small centres and in the countryside would have led people to be part of industrialization without abandoning small towns avoiding uncontrolled urbanisation.

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<sup>29</sup> Casellato, Zazzara. 2022.

<sup>30</sup> Roverato, 1996.

<sup>31</sup> Further information: Boschiero, Favero, Zazzara, 2010, 7-19 and Sbordone, 2006, 19-45.

The strategy of decentralization hit also the area of Polesine that had also been protagonist of a exodus from rural areas motivated by the search for a higher income and the attraction of industrialisation<sup>32</sup>. Moreover, this situation would have made more vivid and romantic the idea of the Venetian people that spontaneously and gradually provoked their “*miracolo economico*”. But analysing decentralisation in depth, it is easy to realise that the one described above is only one side of the coin because, along with the increasing of industries and with the development of the figure of the “*metalmezzadro*” (farmer-labourer), who worked in the factory during the week and in the fields during the weekend, some other contradictions came out.

It has to be said that decentralisation did not imply the end of every conflict. As a matter of fact, labour in decentralised businesses drew the attention of the trade unions, which also interfered in industries with less than 15 workers and would, therefore, not fall under the legislation of the Statuto dei Lavoratori (1970). Along with the trade unions, the late Sixties saw the rise of Workers’ Councils. In Veneto, the Workers’ Councils worked on a local and social scale and became a meeting point for CISL and CGIL and also, socially speaking, for Catholicism and the Left. The delegates of Workers’ Councils started to “take the stage” after the events in Valdagno (19/04/1968). Between 1970 and 1971, they began to be acknowledged in those small industries that sprung up in rural areas that were reluctant to whatever interference in their affairs. In 1973, Veneto counted around 903 Workers’ Councils. They became relevant in small and medium-sized industries because it was the first kind of representation by a hitherto marginalised working class of women and young people. Workers’ Councils took advantage also of the fact that there was a concern that extended beyond the workers’

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<sup>32</sup> Scalco, 2004.

interests and also involved the productive choices of the industry. A good example is the case of PERMEC in Musile di Piave, where the Workers' Council not only acted in terms of working rights and contracts but also in business strategy<sup>33</sup>.

During the Seventies, the wave of workers' struggles hit Veneto as the rest of Italy and the gates of the industries were full of protesters. The presence of activists from the larger factories at the gates of the smaller ones was a recurring element. They were driven more by a cultural and emotional connection with the less protected workers because some of their wives, brothers and compatriots worked in the smaller factories. Along with the demands for more rights for workers, including fair wages and sustainable working hours, the gates were also shouting for health protection in factories. These were the years when people also looked for guarantees for workers' safety in the workplace. In 1972, Veneto contributed actively with its experience to the conference *Fabbrica e Salute*<sup>34</sup> (Factory and Health) that took place in Rimini.

With a tendency which is the same for the majority of Italy, in Veneto during these years, trade unions gained power and so members thanks to their ability to take the lead during these periods of unrest. Between 1970 and 1976, CISL members increased by 36.5%, CGIL members by 49%, and the union density reached similar heights as in regions such as Lombardy and Piedmont<sup>35</sup>. Throughout the 1970s, trade unions and protestants collaborated: the latter organised picket lines, and the former denounced using disputes. The second half of the decade was characterised by contrasting

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<sup>33</sup> Zazzara, 2014, 85-102.

<sup>34</sup>for further information: *Fabbrica e salute: atti della Conferenza nazionale CGIL-CISL-UIL "La tutela della salute nell'ambiente di lavoro"*: Rimini, 27-30 marzo 1972.

<sup>35</sup>Cesellato, Zazzara, 2015.

circumstances: larger industries experienced a moment of crisis due to the economic crisis that was hitting Italy, smaller industries were becoming more and more relevant to the economy of Veneto, and the Venetians had the desire to maintain their newly discovered well-being. The latter aspect allowed for the continuation of “casual, flexible, undeclared, double or triple, partly salaried and partly self-employed work”<sup>36</sup>. Thus also the continuation of struggles and demonstrations that took place at least until 1979. It was precisely in 1979, with the fall of a good part of the old generation of bosses, that a new layer of entrepreneurs advanced. This sort of new managerial wave, together with the period of great tension of the years of lead, brought out questions and put trade unions in crisis. Indeed, in this period in Veneto, as in the rest of Italy, economic dynamism intersects with the violence and the fear caused by the atmosphere created by the strategy of tension. More specifically, between the end of the Seventies and the beginning of the Eighties, both the Red Brigades and the Neofascist groups chose the territory of Veneto as a place where they committed more than thousands of subversive, violent acts<sup>37</sup>.

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<sup>36</sup> “*Il lavoro saltuario, flessibile, sommerso, doppiato o triplo, un po' salariato e un po' autonomo è la risposta alla paura che il benessere conquistato da poco e a caro prezzo stia per finire*” (Cesellato, Zazzara, 2015.)

<sup>37</sup>Jori, 2018, 371-389.

## 2. The case study of Bottrighe: context and questions.

### 2.1. The importance of sugar industry in Italy: a brief history and the case of Eridania.

Sugar has always been a social and economic asset despite being a substance initially spread as medicine or spice. During the 17th century, people used sugar to flaunt their social class, for example in Great Britain, where only the aristocracy consumed sugar. It became more popular with the Industrial Revolution, thanks to its energy properties that were essential for workers in factories and replaced honey because, compared to the latter, it had a production process more suited to high demand<sup>38</sup>.

In Italy, the sugar industry should thank Napoleon for its development, who needed to provide for the lack of sugar due to the interruption of English importations. Napoleon decided, indeed, to suspend the procurement of cane sugar that came from England and had to plan a solution so that people would not suffer a shortage of it. The solution was found in sugar beet cultivation, and he made every effort he could to spread this kind of cultivation in order not to depend on English. Napoleon realised that sugar was a wealth that influenced various sectors of the economy and social life. He wanted the British to be deprived of this dominance and aimed to make Italy and France autonomous in production. Despite Napoleon's efforts and funding, Italy was still very reluctant to make this change in cultivation due to general poverty and the belief that sugar beet was

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<sup>38</sup> Mintz, 2002, 35-52.

not suitable for Italian fields.<sup>39</sup> Only in the late 19th and early 20th centuries, the first factories to process sugar beet started to spread. During the beginning of the 20th century, sugar beet also arrived in the Po plain to substitute corn and hemp, which were more expensive, and some factories rose in the cities of Ferrara, Rovigo, Bologna, Forlì and Ravenna. These were the leading provinces during the first half of the 20th century, more specifically, the area named Polesine, between the Po and Adige rivers, in which some factors, including soil and climate, facilitated the growth of sugar beet cultivation.<sup>40</sup>

Fig. 1: Italian Sugar Industry (1901)



Source: Faben, 2012, 59.

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<sup>39</sup> Tonizzi, 2007, 56-58.

<sup>40</sup> Robertson, 1938, 1-15.

In 1949, the Italian sugar needs were almost entirely covered by internal production, also helped by the fact that this sector was also legally protected by laws in terms of importation.<sup>41</sup>

Ten years later, Italy was preparing itself to join the European Single Market with competitive costs and consumer protection, but primarily the problem of overproduction, since the cultivation of sugar beets increased consistently between 1957 and 1959, needed to be solved.<sup>42</sup>

Fig. 1: Italian Sugar Industry (1960)



Source: Faben, 2012, 65.

The government decided to contain the cultivated area and to activate a policy to revive consumption that, between 1960 and 1967, increased while remaining below the

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<sup>41</sup> Faben, 2012, 5-54.

<sup>42</sup> Faben, 2012, 5-54.



European average, also because of different eating habits. Moreover, the government began to progressively lower import duties on sugar from abroad. At the end of the 1960s, the Italian food industry was also strengthened by the increase in domestic demand and the potential of the foreign market. Italian food industry during the Sixties was delineated by changes regarding food consumption by Italians. An increase in pro-capita income indeed caused an increase in the consumption of protein-based or industrial elements. According to the ISTAT statistics shown in the paper of Raspadori (2018), in 1967, more than 15000 quintals of sugar were produced in Italy. Along with the increment of consumption, there also was an increment of presence in the foreign market for products like pasta, whose exports doubled between 1951 and 1980.<sup>43</sup> This strengthening was also due to the processes implemented in the 1960s of rationalisation and concentration that could guarantee good competitiveness. In the seventies, the results included an increase in the confectionery sector of 16% and, consequently, also in the sugar sector.<sup>44</sup> When the Italian sugar industry joined the European Single Market (1968), it was clear that it needed a process of rationalisation, concentration and technological modernisation and that the export apparatus was negligible.<sup>45</sup> The entrance of Italy into the European Single Market highlighted that sugar influenced both business and political strategies that intersected and affected each other. The launch of the Common Agricultural Policy (CAP), which aimed to harmonize national support and supranational policies in order to increase productivity, standard of living and stabilise market, was the reason of the beginning of single market with a preference for

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<sup>43</sup> Raspadori, 2018, 179-198.

<sup>44</sup> Data form: Chiapparino, Corvino, 2002, 99-108.

<sup>45</sup> Tonizzi, 2007, 158-162.

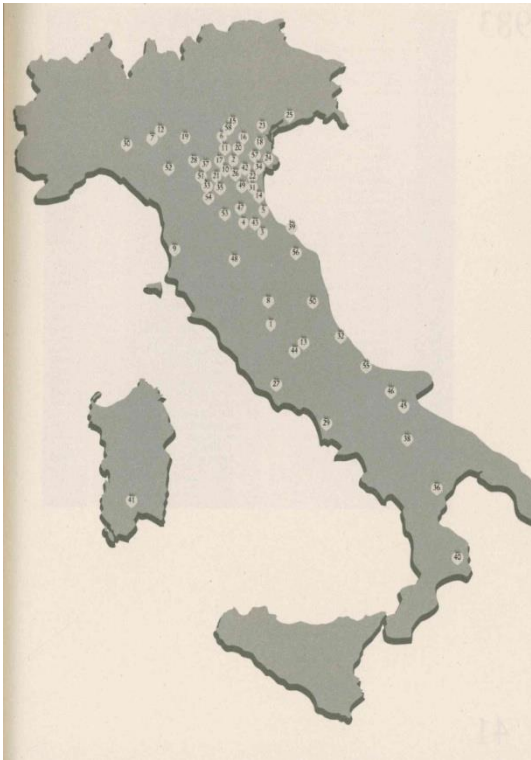
products produced in EU.<sup>46</sup> The most crucial duty Italy had to withstand was the production limit according to how the country had been committed to sugar production before. These new rules had different reactions over time: between 1968 and 1974 the surface area for sugar beet cultivation decreased because new regulations wanted purity regarding raw materials, which therefore made sugar beet no longer as competitive as it had been in the 19th century. The sugar yield, however, analysing the same time frame, appears to have increased from 5 to almost 6 tonnes per hectare, and this was due to an increase in the quality levels of national agriculture. Particularly in the early seventies, there was a commitment from beet growers' organisations to better seeds and pest control, as intense pressure for the mechanisation of cultivation operations. This commitment contributes to the excess of sugar produced during Seventies that was handled with destruction or exportations supported by European finances.<sup>47</sup>

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<sup>46</sup> De Filippis and Salvatici, 1991 "L'Italia e la politica agricola del Mercato Comune Europeo", 543-592.

<sup>47</sup> De Filippis and Salvatici, 1991 "L'Italia e la politica agricola del Mercato Comune Europeo", 543-592.

Fig. 2: Italian sugar industry (1974)



Source: Faben, 2012, 67.

Between 1975 and 1984, the sugar beet area returned to growing after some policies revived sugar beet cultivation. At the end of the 20th century, Italian sugar production was still below average. Moreover, Italy was in a state of backwardness compared to the other European countries, and, nowadays, it is still trying to develop a restructuring project in terms of technologies and research, which is not yet activated. This project is crucial given the latest developments in the European economy that could also lead to a reallocation of the productive areas, and this could mean that Italy could stay out of the European sugar production sphere.<sup>48</sup>

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<sup>48</sup> Tonizzi, 2007, 158-162 and Faben, 2012, 5-54.

Fig. 3: Italian sugar industry (2006).



Source: Faben, 2012, 75.

The social relevance of the Italian sugar industry needs to be added to the economic influence. Near sugar factories, there were housing and service units built by sugar companies along the roads leading to the factory and subsequently granted to employees and collaborators. Factories were a point of reference for entire communities in small towns because they influenced not only the employment situation but also city planning, together with the collective imagination and local history. There were small towns, for example, in the Pianura Padana, which developed around sugar factories with houses, schools, services and road structures.<sup>49</sup>

Before analysing the situation of the sugar industry in Veneto and introducing the case study of the sugar factory of Bottrighe, it is meaningful to briefly mention the most

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<sup>49</sup> Faben, 2012, 5-54 and Gambi, 2002, 35-52.

important sugar company in Italy: Eridania. The story from the foundation to the present day is told in the storybook published in 2019 during a conference to celebrate 120 years of activity.<sup>50</sup> Eridania was founded in 1899 in Genoa, and its history is studded with technological innovations and care for tradition. This thesis focuses on the 1960s and 1970s, and, during that period, Eridania mirrors the situation of the Italian sugar industry. After the entry into the European Single Market, the climate in the sugar industry became increasingly competitive, and it became necessary to increase the potential of some factories to the detriment of others. This period corresponded to the first closures of the less productive factories and those less inclined to technological innovation and lasted until the 1980s. While many factories are therefore forced to close, Eridania manages to cover up to 35% of the Italian market, giving the first signs that it would become a leader in the sector.<sup>51</sup> During the second half of the seventies, in fact, in addition to having the largest share of the domestic market, Eridania had numerous corporate alliances, also on an international scale, thanks to the leadership of Raul Gardini of the Ferruzzi Group, which would lead Eridania to the conquest of Béghin-Say, the historical company founded in the nineteenth century by Napoleon.<sup>52</sup> To this day, Eridania is not only Italy's largest sugar retailer, but in the 2000s, it has stabilised its corporate position and revolutionised its aesthetics by creating a brand that also works from a marketing point of view by also increasing the availability of cane sugar and Zefiro products. Nowadays, it remains the only sugar company to renew itself periodically in terms of product and technology.

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<sup>50</sup> Torelli, 2019.

<sup>51</sup> Numbers form: Torelli, 2019, 30-32

<sup>52</sup> See also: Tonizzi, 2007, 188-193.

## 2.2. Sugar industry in Veneto and the case of Bottrighe

Veneto and the area of the Pianura Padana are crucial areas in which the sugar industry developed and became a source of richness and wealth. The beginning of the sugar industry here is chronologically placed between the end of the 19th century and the beginning of the 20th due to a new and dynamic scenario that led this area to become the principal producer of sugar beet in Italy. Sugar beet, as has already been said, replaced hemp both for economic and conservation of the cultivated land. Moreover, the position of the areas like the Polesine was also decisive because it was near water networks that facilitated not only farming but also the transportation of sugar beets. There also were some social causes, like the fact that, in that area, some capitalist companies led to the development of a rural proletariat of day labourers who were willing to work at low wages both for farming and the industrial sector. The peculiarity of these day labourers, which gradually guided the figure of the casual labourer, was that they came from places that were near the industry, so their hiring avoided the seasonal migration of labourers that came from far away. The connection of these causes increased the presence of sugar production, especially in the Bassa Padania.<sup>53</sup> Another aspect not to forget concerns the considerable number of investments that started the development of sugar production thanks to the fact that they helped the technological improvement in agriculture and industry. These investments often also came from foreign countries like Germany or Belgium and, in addition, brought cultural, social and economic progress. In the farmlands where sugar beet was harvested

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<sup>53</sup> Tonizzi, 2002, 99-160.

and in industries where it was processed, new knowledge about better and faster working came.<sup>54</sup>

For more information about the development of the sugar industry in Veneto and in Polesine in particular, it is necessary to mention the conference, "Le Radici della Dolcezza", that took place in Rovigo in December 2005. This conference highlighted how essential Polesine was for the sugar industry because it represented a reference point nationally and internationally. For example, in Rovigo in 1901, the "Primo Congresso Nazionale dei Bieticoltori" took place, and in 1914, the "Regia Stazione Sperimentale di Bieticoltura" rose, always in Rovigo. It is so possible to say that the sugar industry brought progress in the area of the Polesine. This thesis focuses on the sugar factory located in Bottrighe, and more information will be given later, but it is already possible to reveal that this factory operates no longer and that the only factory which is still in action in the whole region is in Pontelongo, in the province of Padua. The conference mentioned above tried to retrace some stages of the sugar history of the Polesine, and it is profitable to cite some here too.

Polesine has often been neglected by historians because it was defined as one of the weakest areas of Veneto, so attention has been caught by areas in which economic and industrial growth seemed to be more relevant, like, for example, Marghera and its industrial port, ignoring the fact that Polesine has been the major Italian sugar producer. During the conference, Lino Scalco tried to draw attention to Polesine, telling the events and the situation of the area during the Twenties until the beginning of the Thirties, a period in which Italy was still recovering from the First World War and Fascism started to spread. The period considered in the thesis is subsequent to this one, so I will not go

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<sup>54</sup> Bertuzzi, 2011, 13-14.

into the specifics of the analysis made by Scalco. In general, it can be said that he used sugar factories and their productivity to show how Fascism was unable to bring the Polesine out of its rural condition and that its land reclamation was inefficient.<sup>55</sup>

As already mentioned, this thesis will analyse exactly the sugar factory in the small frazione of Bottrighe. More specifically, it focuses on the analysis of data found in the registers in which workers were registered when they were hired. Bottrighe is in the Polesine area, in the province of Rovigo, and it is a frazione, a hamlet outside the main town of Adria.

Fig. 5: Map of Polesine Area



Source: [https://upload.wikimedia.org/wikipedia/commons/b/be/Territori\\_del\\_Polesine.png](https://upload.wikimedia.org/wikipedia/commons/b/be/Territori_del_Polesine.png)

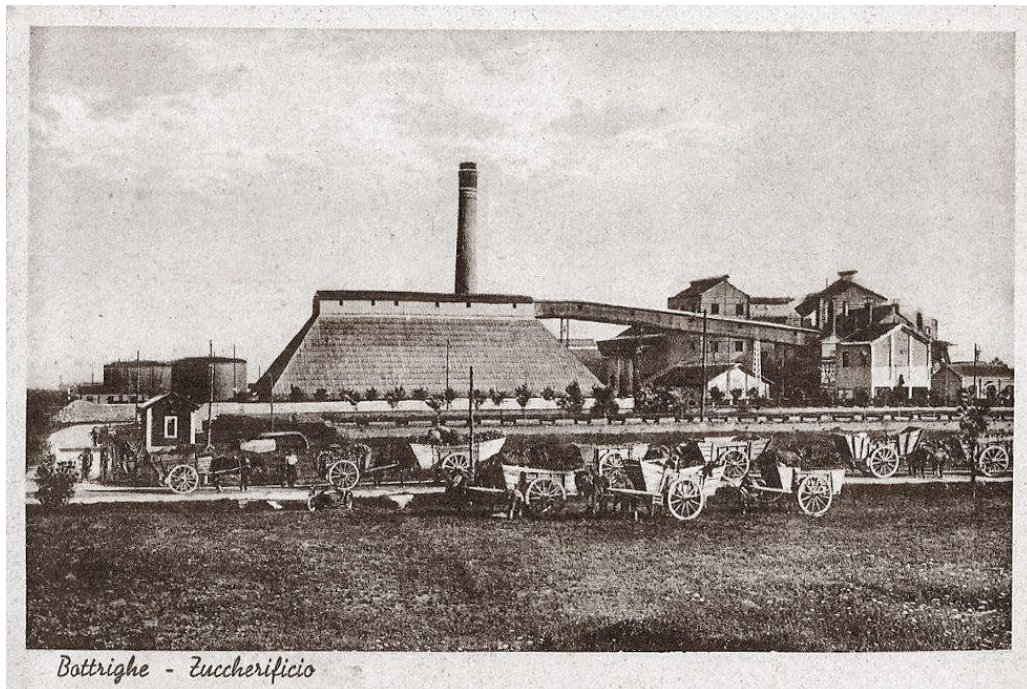
The sugar factory opened in 1913 thanks to the “Sucrierie et Raffinerie” of Brussels, a Belgian society already holder of a factory in Pontelongo. The factory in Bottrighe was active until 1991, and in 1931 it switched to the Group Montesi.

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<sup>55</sup> Scalco, 2007, 123-166.



Fig. 6: Sugar factory of Bottrighe.



Source: Marangoni, 2015, 89-91

Group Montesi was a society that was part of the leading Italian sugar groups, together with the Group of Eridania and with the Società Italiana per l'Industria degli Zuccheri (Italian Society of Sugar Industry).<sup>56</sup> More specifically, the Montesi Group belonged to the entrepreneur Ilario Montesi and became relevant during the Twenties. It praised five factories that produced 10% of the Italian sugar requirement. From the 1950s, the Group took part in the Unione Zuccheri, a trade association that aimed to protect the sugar sector.<sup>57</sup> In Bottrighe, Ilario Montesi also created the Alba Sementi, which later became Aurora, a plant in which pellet seeds were produced and selected. The sugar factory was also provided with an intern railway line to the Po River, where the train was loaded

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<sup>56</sup> For further information: Confederazione Generale Italiana del Lavoro (CGIL) Ufficio Stampa, 1949, 335-359.

<sup>57</sup> For further information: Tonizzi, 2007, 97-100.

with sugar seeds, coal and other stuff which came from the river. During the Seventies, the factory was one of the Italian sugar excellences in terms of quality and productivity and between 1986 and 1989, some renovations and extensions were made but, unfortunately, in 1991, the factory closed after a few years under the management of the Group Eridania-Ferruzzi.<sup>58</sup>

The sugar factory of Bottrighe is just one of the factories in the Polesine that, during the Seventies, contributed to making Veneto one of the most influential economic and productive centres in Italy. Schools, meeting places, churches, streets and other essential elements of a community were built around what could be called the beating heart of it: the factory. The data analysed in this thesis have the purpose of considering a particular case and seeing if its data can be traced back to a more general situation as far as labour history is concerned because what a more global approach tries to communicate is that one should not stop at the general but go digging deeper and deeper into the particular to look if there are exceptions, peculiarities or if, on the contrary, the trend is respected. Before moving on, it would be appropriate to spend a few words on the questions of the case study, what we are looking for in this data, and the general issues addressed.

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<sup>58</sup> Marangoni, 2015, 89-91.

### 2.3. Archive, data and questions.

This thesis aims to use the data gathered in the registers of the sugar factory of Bottrighe to try to open new perspectives regarding the Italian economic, historical and social situation of the Seventies. The approach of Global Labour History towards the themes just mentioned is an approach that could give another perspective to the analysis of the data because it is more open and willing to investigate every aspect going beyond the typical historical gaze influenced by a narrow view of the corners of society to which we are accustomed. The purpose would be to detach from the image of the world internalized by studying, not considering some categories and some factors. In other words, as van der Linden affirms, “*researchers should not be bold in their inquiry and dare to venture outside their own familiar terrain*”.<sup>59</sup> There are, therefore, some aspects and considerations on which this thesis focuses, and here they will be summarized so that it will be clearer what to look for.

As probably anticipated by the historical framework of the previous sections, resistance is not to be underestimated. The data should be looked at with the historical period in which we find ourselves, which has already been extensively described, in mind, because it bears consequences due to the effects that resistance of workers, strikes and, of course, the influence of trade unions undoubtedly have on the world of work. Since strikes generally end with an agreement, it would be interesting to find out if there were agreements in this case and if there were in whose favour they went because, having previously established that nothing should be taken for granted, it should not be taken for granted either that the end of a strike comes because the workers got what they wanted. It also has to be added that the Italian history of work seems to be tied to

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<sup>59</sup> Van der Linden, 2016, 25-48.

actions and the history of trade unions and delegations. It means that the history of workers is revealed to be almost just about movements and mobilisations. Therefore, working conditions are taken into consideration as the premise to explain contests and uprisings.<sup>60</sup> In this thesis, I would like to use data to overcome this concept of analysing working conditions, chiefly to explain how workers' struggles have been managed, or at least the trade unions and conflicts aspect are inevitably present, but, here there will be some questions that will try to go aside with movements but, they will also try to overcome the borders marked by them.

The thesis will then research evidence speaking of the topic of mobility of workers, which is relevant because it does not just involve the worker himself but also the social context from which he comes and the one into which he is entering. Mobility is not intended just as migration but also as moving.<sup>61</sup> This is important because of the concept of commuting, confronted by Marie Thirion in a paper.<sup>62</sup> The idea of moving is often related to conflicts, and even if it is temporary, it can modify balances and connections. The fact that some workers come from different towns raises questions and reflections about, for example, the distance, the means of transportation, and the reason why the factory needs workers that live in other towns. Moreover, the thesis tries to investigate the world of wage labour by looking at it through a specific case. Wage labour has always been a controversial concept because it doesn't cover all the thinkable experiences in terms of work. Giving labour in exchange for money or goods is not the

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<sup>60</sup> Passaniti, 2016. "Per una storia del lavoro senza frontiere: Lavori, storie e diritti.", 191-208. and Musso, 2015. "Dalla maturità industriale alla terziarizzazione", 9-24.

<sup>61</sup> More on this subject: Lucassen, Lucassen, 2005.

<sup>62</sup> Thirion, 2020, "Trasporti e pendolarismo in Veneto: una nuova risorsa nell'agire collettivo", 171-187

only example of wage labour that can be known and, frequently, even in these hypothetical ideal situations, the wage is not well-defined and the worker is not entirely free to do with it whatever he wants, like, for example, the case of the truck system.<sup>63</sup> The general idea is to look at this data with a gaze that eventually could go beyond the typical conception of work that people acquired living in a part of the world, which can be generally defined as standard. The closer someone looks, the more details can be discovered and sometimes these details have been underestimated for a long time. As introduced before, commuting is quite crucial to the landscape of the industry in the area of Veneto also because of the fact that labour was obtained from the region itself and at a low cost, so workers were more likely to travel. The idea of finding a labour force in the region introduces another main topic which will be discussed later in this paragraph: the farmer who alternated between agricultural and industrial work and thus the concept of pluriactivity. But back to commuting, the importance that it assumed between the Sixties and Seventies not only stemmed from the season of workers' battles that also affected this field, especially during 1970, but also created something to think about concerning the organisation of the working day and also the importance of transport hubs. The mobility protests officially took workers' struggles outside the factories and introduced them into environments related to their everyday life. They were followed by demonstrations on topics such as kindergartens, housing, and cost of living, but, in any case, commuters were the first to express work-related discomfort outside the workplace. The streets are defined as strategic places of pressure, expression and dissemination as well as the nerve centre of the life of a worker who inevitably has

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<sup>63</sup> Lucassen, Jan. 2018. „Wage Labour“, 395-410.

to deal with them.<sup>64</sup> The concept of commuting can be connected with the data collected because, considering that data on residence are available, it will be interesting to look at the kilometres from the plant and try to hypothesise how travelling these kilometres daily by public or private transport might have influenced the worker.

Speaking about mobility, migration is as interesting as commuting, and this analysis, considering information about birthplace and residence, might try to figure out how workers in that specific contest spatially moved. The migration does not concern workers but also their families and the society in which they arrive because migration changes the balance in social conflicts: it can mitigate or accentuate them. Both Europe and Italy have plenty of input in terms of migration and how they change economies and societies because they generally create tensions concerning responsibilities, wages and working conditions.<sup>65</sup> However, it is also meaningful to consider the influence that migrations could have on the families of people who move. Family is indeed one of the main reasons for mobility, and it is often possible to witness a chain reaction or, to use a more proper term, a chain migration.<sup>66</sup> In chain migrations, families join the migrants after a certain period, and it might mean that every new migrant may start a new wave

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<sup>64</sup> Thirion, Marie. 2020, “Trasporti e pendolarismo in Veneto: una nuova risorsa nell’agire collettivo”, 171-187.

<sup>65</sup> Colucci, and Nani, 2015, “Introduzione. La mobilità delle classi subalterne come problema: le organizzazioni e i conflitti sociali”, III-VIII

<sup>66</sup> “chain migration” : The practice where those who have settled on a family reunification basis can themselves sponsor further family members, consistent with European Convention on Human Rights (ECHR) obligations. (from European Commission. 2023. “chain migration”. Last Modified June 26, 2023. [https://home-affairs.ec.europa.eu/networks/european-migration-network-emn/emn-asylum-and-migration-glossary/glossary/chain-migration\\_en](https://home-affairs.ec.europa.eu/networks/european-migration-network-emn/emn-asylum-and-migration-glossary/glossary/chain-migration_en))

bringing into the country a new cluster. It generally happens to one migrant in three.<sup>67</sup> In this case study, it is necessary to focus on internal migration, not only in Italy but more specifically in Veneto itself, and then to analyse movement within the region, bearing in mind that it is not just a matter of moving a person to work but also of bringing into play many social and economic balances. Internal migrations are not to be underestimated because they have always plotted relationships and shifted these balances just mentioned. Although it is still an underdeveloped field of Italian historiography, it should be kept in mind that it must be a suitable approach to studying society.<sup>68</sup> Franco Ramella uses the example of Turin at the turn of the 1950s and 1960s, and he gives an excellent view of internal migration by also reflecting on the differences both in workplace and society between workers from the south and workers from Piedmont. He asserts that it is impossible to ignore the other regional groups that move because, for example, in the case of Turin, in the 1960s, they are part of that segment of the population defined in the census of the municipality of Turin as operai (workers) and manovali (labourers).<sup>69</sup> Internal migrations have also been investigated by Michele Nani (2016) that also concentrates on daily and temporary mobility in which the focus is not only on the mobility itself but also on distance and the social meaning of the mobility making the concept of mobility wide-ranging.<sup>70</sup> More specifically the author examines the case of Ferrara, a province in which the population result to be reluctant to external mobility tracing a useful image of the internal mobility that will be used to contextualize data gathered in the next chapters.

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<sup>67</sup> Statistics from: Schrover, 2018. „Labour Migration”, 433-468.

<sup>68</sup> Arru and Ramella, 2003. ”Introduzione”, IX-XXII.

<sup>69</sup> Ramella, 2003, 339-386.

<sup>70</sup> Nani, 2018, 25-42.

In this case, the data that will be shown in the next chapters may answer questions about migration concerning these concepts, so it would be interesting to understand if there are some people who work there who come from the same family and result in having changed places compared to their birthplace. It would be interesting to understand how many people moved from their place of birth and if there is a difference in this field between permanent and temporary workers and see who moves the most.

Continuing through the concepts that will be explored during this analysis, there is the already mentioned pluriactivity. Pluriactivity is related to the idea of the so-called *metalmazzadro*, which is the term used to define a worker who works both in a factory and as a farmer in fields. The pluriactivity is a consequence of the fact that the countryside is a synonym for precariousness because of some external causes like the weather and the uncertainty of the biological cycle. It means that only a minority of people who work in the countryside are actually self-sufficient and this is the context in which pluriactivity spread. The term includes a set of integrative practices so that people are able to provide for themselves. Generally, pluriactivity also includes migrants or uprooted people juggling agricultural and non-agricultural work, and it influences the underworld of work in which nothing is precise and well-defined. It is indeed significant for its hybrid nature that changed the approach to the world of work during industrialization. It was necessary for people coming from mountain areas instead, it was less common in hill and lowland areas because the population was more reluctant to move despite high seasonal unemployment.<sup>71</sup> This last statement could be one of the main topics of the analysis, considering the fact that there is a large number of

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<sup>71</sup>Mignemi, 2020. “Pluriattività rurale e lavoro agricolo: note introduttive per un cantiere (ancora) aperto”, VII-XXII.



temporary workers and also because the situation in Veneto is slightly different because of the unusual way in which industries have developed and become a dominant resource. Veneto is an area in which the farmers that worked both in the countryside and in the factory were recurrent because of the fact that the history of Veneto is full of the rhetoric of the “Veneto operoso” (hardworking Venetians) already mentioned in the previous chapter explaining the “modello Veneto”. Francesco Piva and Giuseppe Tattara dedicated to pluriactivity a chapter in their book about the labourers of Marghera in the years between 1917-1940, which is an earlier period than the one examined, but they very comprehensively faced the idea of the peasant working in the industry, although with a lens pointed at the case of Porto Marghera.<sup>72</sup> Their contribution, particularly that of Piva, helped to delineate the figure of the farmer working in the industry. Historically, he spoke of a surplus of agricultural labour that had led them to run to the gates of Marghera's factories in the hope of being able to find employment that fitted in well with their agricultural life. The problem was not so much the commitment because farmers were used to looking for extra work, but rather the fact that in factories the mindset with which work had to be approached was different from the countryside. Extra work fitted well with the seasonality of the country, but, in this case, the workers had to adapt to a rigid continuity that clashed with their irregular rhythms. In fact, the rift between rural work and the rigidity of factories remained crucial and extremely relevant.<sup>73</sup> So this study will go deeper into the idea of hard work debated when someone thinks about Veneto, and it will do this also using the concept of pluriactivity. Moreover, as already hinted, pluriactivity is related to several

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<sup>72</sup> Belotti, Carbognin, Feltrin, Mantovan, Piva, Ravanne, Tattara, 1983.

<sup>73</sup> Piva, 1983, “Il reclutamento della forza-lavoro: paesaggi sociali e politica imprenditoriale”, 325-464.

consequences that can come from working on multiple fronts and these concern, for example, the quality of work and the wellness and the health of the worker who could be affected by the fact of having multiple jobs, which can be exhausting and a reason for alienation or he may just not be suitable for factory life. The *metalmezzadro* is a figure that can be defined as controversial because, in a context like Veneto, he has the credit for being one of the figures that brought the region to wealth but, on the other hand, it could be profitable and could give awareness to examine it in depth.

The analysis performed concerns several crucial concepts of labour history, and some of them have been introduced in this paragraph with the aim of describing what questions will be asked to data and why. Together with the already mentioned mobility and pluriactivity, there is also the wage. As established before, the generally accepted idea of wage labour seems reductive in the situation examined. Having the statistics about wages and their variation through time, it is possible to see if there are some shades of the concept universally not considered even in this specific case. It has to be specified that remuneration has a direct connection with performance. It is obvious that employers know that giving some positive incentives can correspond to better results, and this is the reason why work incentives exist. Van der Linden describes a series of work incentives that permit the employer to monitor the production situation and simultaneously take care of his employees, starting from two essential components: discipline and creativity. The cooperation between these two factors is essential because exercising total control is impossible, considering that labourers should also cooperate and commit themselves voluntarily. Discipline and creativity can work thanks to the combination of three factors: compensation and so, rewards, commitment, which means engagement and coercion, which, in other words, can be defined as punishment for

attitudes that do not respect the rules.<sup>74</sup> Undoubtedly, these components can also be mixed in an ineffective and unbalanced way, and the use of these will be theorised in the case study according to the duration of the employment relationship and any reasons for its termination.

Before going through the analysis, one last concept should be pointed out: the division of labour. For the purposes of the analysis, it is important because there are different registers for labourers and employees and also because there is an additional division by category. Division of labour is an idea that encompasses social differentiation and cooperation and, in this case, refers to the different activities carried out to obtain a final product. The differences can be social not only because different skills correspond to different work tasks and, therefore, also, to different wages but also because, maybe, different ways of being seen outside.<sup>75</sup> The issue of southern migrants in Turin in the 1960s could be considered an example of social difference. Although they arrived at the same time as the migrants from Piedmont, they found themselves with time in different and generally lower-paid roles.<sup>76</sup> The division of labour is, therefore, not only a question of skills or knowledge in a particular sector but also affects other areas that work has always touched and that have already been mentioned countless times in this section: social and economic. Badino (2012) analyses these aspects, focusing on women and noticing that the differences between migrants from the south and Piedmont are reiterated over generations. These differences concern education and future life

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<sup>74</sup> Van der Linden, 2018, "Overseeing", 475-479

<sup>75</sup> Van der Linden, 2018, "Division of Labour", 472-475

<sup>76</sup> Statistics can be found in: Ramella, 2003, "Immigrati e destini sociali: solo una questione di capitale umano?", 339-346.

prospects since a son of a southern labourer is very unlikely to obtain medium-high positions, and, vice versa, it is improbable that a son of a Piedmontese employee will not achieve an office position.<sup>77</sup>

The examples brought by scholars such as those of Marghera and Turin and the topics that have been touched upon in the previous pages are elements from which a reflection can be started that interweaves what is known with what still needs to be discovered without being afraid of discovering anew what is known and thus confirming a hypothesis or a scenario.

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<sup>77</sup> Badino, 2012, 11-29.

## 3. Examining data: duration of employment, age and wage.

### 3.1. Staff registers: how to learn about the Italian working class

Before answering all the questions that the data collected can raise, it is necessary to define what a register is and why it is so worthwhile taking it into account. It was precisely during the Seventies that that historiography has begun to study the registers, and reflections about what was written there began to be made, opening new investigations. Lungonelli reflected on this new way of obtaining information in a paper published in 1990 and stated that it has been crucial to have the possibility to source from documents that were so reliable that the statistics were not hypothetical anymore but proven. The establishment of registers corresponds to the introduction of an accident prevention law in 1898 that said that registers of workers needed to exist when were used heavy and dangerous machines. In these books, some personal information was written, and some information related to the work done, like, for example, the date of hiring or the date of termination of employment. Not every register has all the fields filled, but every field present can be fruitful and, more specifically, if they are intersected and analysed, they can give significant and profitable results.<sup>78</sup>

Registers opened several new perspectives that wrote a new history in Italian work. The idea of having an instrument that allows one to analyse the working situation surpassing the known and the predictable is innovative, and this is one of the reasons why registers are not a field that has been haunted. Another reason is that registers are part of

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<sup>78</sup> Lungonelli 1990, 20-26.

company archives, and it is not easy to come into possession of them. Once obtained, the registers should be read critically and with a view open to the possibility of unexpected or never considered answers. The intersection between general personal information and specific statistics about the job could result in stimulating aspects to examine, like, for example, the duration of employment or mobility rates influenced by the provenance of a worker and its social and economic attributes. Having different ways of categorizing different registers of distinct companies makes the generalization of data problematic. In this thesis, data from a single factory will be observed, and the aim is to find new angles in a specific context. Speaking of the analysis of data collected from registers, Francesco Piva draws attention to the concept of labour mobility, which is related to the shifting of the labour force between agriculture and industry, and, in addition, it also raises a reflection upon the relationship between factories and countries<sup>79</sup>. The studies of the historian revealed some key factors that are profitable to mention before looking at the data. First, the link between factories and labourers is not limited to the ancient period but can also be recent. Then the idea that job rotation is also present in urban contexts, and it is not limited to the agricultural world and, most importantly, the reflection of precariousness. Precariousness is not only limited to lower workplaces and categories but crosses almost all categories and professions, so stability is no longer a privilege that only specific sections can have.<sup>80</sup> The idea of not having stability challenges the well-known assumption according to which qualified workers are stable and non-qualified ones are floating. According to Piva, the distinction between job stability and instability, where instability is associated with precariousness

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<sup>79</sup> Piva and Tattara ed., 1983.

<sup>80</sup> Piva, 1986, 245-263.

and disadvantage, results in being inefficient considering the new information that appears from registers. This information opens many questions about the studies made during these years about the idea of class. Along with the class, the classic conception of qualification is also questioned because of the fact that some qualified categories experience instability too.<sup>81</sup>

As already mentioned, in addition to precariousness, the analysis of the registers also reveals a close contact between the factory and the countryside and thus an integration of agricultural and workers' incomes.

In this regard, Lungonelli refers to a study carried out by a group of researchers from the Corazzin Foundation in Mestre who performed an investigation on the subject of Porto Marghera that showed the coexistence of agricultural and industrial work, which was named in the last chapter precisely as a starting point to talk about the intermingling of farm and factory work.<sup>82</sup>

The investigation of the Corazzin Foundation brought out the relevance of working time together with seasonality and mixed occupations and tried to understand what are the variables that influence the working class, like, for example, age. Age is an element that can enrich the descriptive overview of the workforce, especially examining how working relations change in different stages of workers' lives. Another aspect to consider is the duration of employment and, so, the period spent in the factory, which is an element that can be intersected with, for example, gender, age, residence and job position.<sup>83</sup>

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<sup>81</sup> Piva 1986, 245-263.

<sup>82</sup> Piva and Tattara ed., 1983.

<sup>83</sup> Belotti, Carboognin, Feltrin and Mantovan 1983, 165-177.

This thesis has been taken into consideration because scholars had quite a little information about the production process and the organization of the work of the three factories involved, and this is a situation which is similar to the one of Bottrighe, in which there was not much to know other than what staff registers and some minutes of some members' meetings. The information available, similar to the Porto Marghera study, could allow a reconstruction of the characteristics of the labour force and its variations. Among the elements sought could be employment volume and seasonality, personal information on workers, information on dismissals and recruitment, and reflections on categories and qualifications. All this by examining the registers in 1974 and 1977. These years have been repeatedly stated to have been fundamental and crucial for the history of Italian labour.

Fig. 7: Staff register

NUMERO DI ISCRIZIONE	GENERALITÀ					INIZIO DEL RAPPORTO DI LAVORO			LIVELLO PROFESSIONALE
	COGNOME E NOME	PATERNITÀ	MATERNITÀ	DATA E LUOGO DI NASCITA	RESIDENZA	GIORNO	MESE	ANNO	
61	<del>Morrongoni Quincato</del>	Leone		NATO IL 14. 11. 1938 A. Adria	Bottrighe via Dante, 111	2	Gennaio	1970 2.1.80	Cat. 4 <sup>a</sup>
62	<del>Bertini Faolino</del>	Pietro		NATO IL 28. 6. 1943 A. Adria	Adria via F. Turati, 6	28	Dicembre	1970	Cat. 4 <sup>a</sup>
63	<del>Berto Agostino</del>	Adolfo		NATO IL 4. 1. 1941 A. Adria	Adria via Fegolini, 1	28	Dicembre	1970	Cat. 4 <sup>a</sup>
64	<del>Ingegneri Carlo</del>	Guido		NATO IL 5. 7. 1932 A. Adria	Bottrighe via Modolese	28	Dicembre	1970 2.8.18.78	Cat. 4 <sup>a</sup>
65	<del>Morigianni Fernando</del>	Luigi		NATO IL 7. 5. 1938 A. Adria	Bottrighe via Vitt. Veneto, 113	28	Dicembre	1970 1.8.18.78	Cat. 4 <sup>a</sup> LIV. 3 <sup>o</sup>
66	<del>Bira Quincato</del>	Natale		NATO IL 16. 11. 1930 A. S. Vito di Cadore	Adria via B. Bereng. masto, 16	28	Dicembre	1970 8.8.18.78	Cat. 4 <sup>a</sup> LIV. 3 <sup>o</sup>
67	<del>Spinello Giuseppe</del>	Egidio Cassari Adele		NATO IL 18. 3. 1934 A. Aricchio nel Pollenzo	Bottrighe via Vitt. Veneto, 89 bis	28	Dicembre	1970 2.8.18.78	Cat. 4 <sup>a</sup>

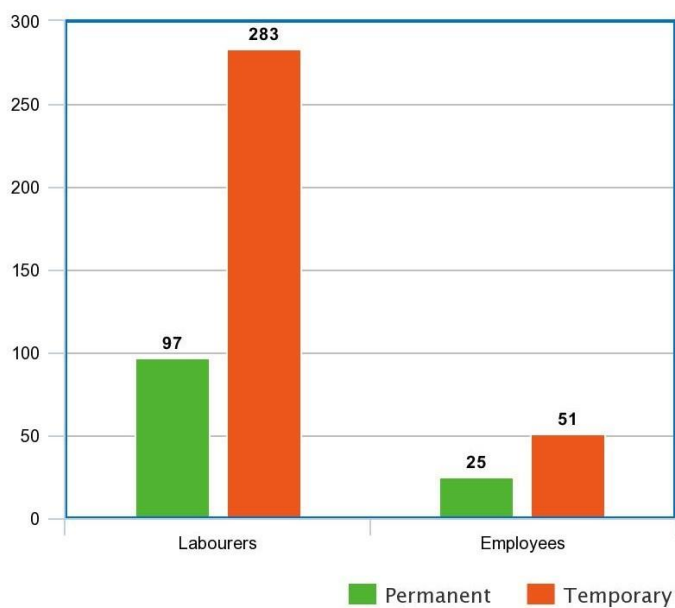
Source: Archivio di Stato di Padova, inventario 91, busta 66.



### 3.2. Data and considerations: the duration of employment and age.

Here in this paragraph, there will be data about the duration of employment and wages. In the registers where I collected data, there is the date of start of employment and the date of the end for each worker. The examination will involve permanent and temporary labourers and permanent and temporary employees registered in 1974 and 1977. Before going through specific data, it is better to anticipate how big the cross-section analyzed is. The data include 97 permanent labourers, 25 permanent employees, 283 temporary labourers and 51 temporary employees.

Fig. 8: Cross-section



Source: Archivio di Stato di Padova, inventario 91, busta 66. Re-elaboration of data by the author.

At first glance at these numbers, it is already possible to notice something: the consistent numerical difference between the employees and the labourers. It is immediate to ask why, and in this case, it is easy to deduce, especially when thinking of

the fact that the employee had office responsibilities and there was less need for people to work in the office than for those who did physical work in the factory and with the machines. The question of qualifications should also not be underestimated as it is natural that labourers require limited specific scientific skills, and this will be seen later when looking at the categories specified in the registers of permanent employees. Moreover it has to be said that of all the workers in the registers, only four are women and they are all found among the temporary employees. They have heterogeneous categories as well as their salaries. It is possible to think that the absence of women among the labourers is due to the heavy tasks that a labourer has to perform, but why is the number so small among the employees as well? Why are they only hired for a limited time, and is there no trace of women among the permanent employees?

Is it not easy to properly answer to these questions but, also looking at Anna Badino (2008) research, is it possible to reflect upon how women lived the world of work.<sup>84</sup> Badino identifies how women worked intermittently and how the rhythm of their working period was marked by their family life cycle. This is confirmed by a strong female workforce in the younger age group, up to 25 years. This is confirmed by a more intense female workforce in the younger age group, up to 25. The three temporary employees in Bottrighe help strengthen the hypothesis, being respectively 18, 24 and 25 years old at the time of their employment. Despite Badino's assertion that only from the 1960s to the first half of the 1970s did female employment fall sharply<sup>85</sup>, the fact that only three women can be found in all the staff registers analysed (1974 and 1977)

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<sup>84</sup> Badino, 2008, 35-43.

<sup>85</sup> Badino, 2008, 35-43.

reinforces the idea that perhaps in some cases general considerations are not enough and it is necessary to look at each case individually.

Back to the analysis of data gathered from registers, the area of focus is, for now, the duration of employment and, at first, the data for labourers will be displayed.

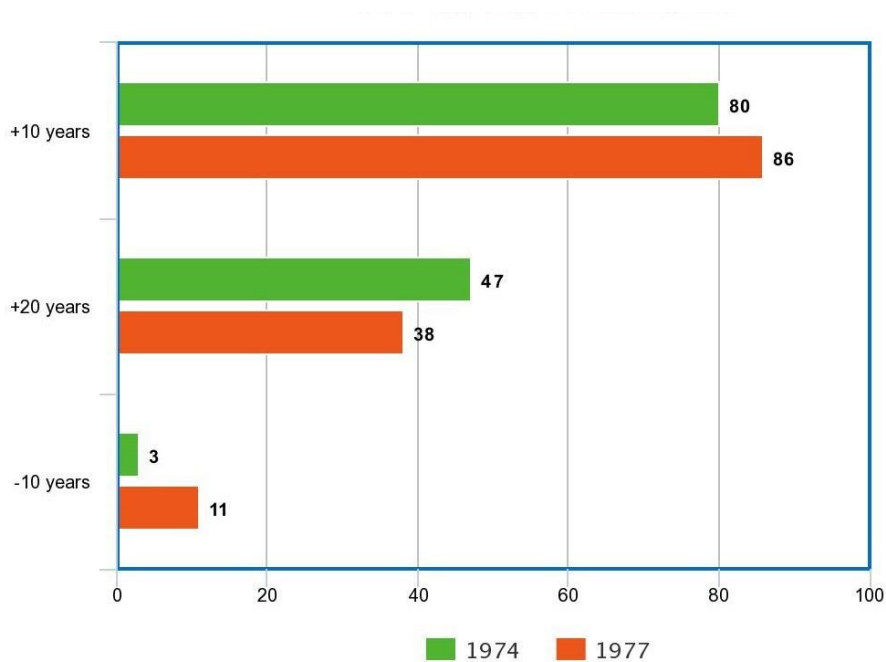
Tab. 1: Duration of permanent labourers employment (1974-1977)

Duration of employment of permanent labourers (years) 1977	Percentage of people (1974)	Percentage of people (1977)
2	0,00%	4,12%
3	0,00%	1,03%
4	1,20%	0,00%
7	1,20%	3,09%
8	1,20%	2,06%
9	0,00%	1,03%
10	0,00%	13,40%
11	1,20%	5,15%
12	2,41%	2,06%
13	6,02%	4,12%
14	1,20%	0,00%
15	13,25%	11,34%
16	8,43%	7,22%
17	2,41%	2,06%
18	1,20%	1,03%
19	3,61%	3,09%
20	3,61%	3,09%
21	4,82%	4,12%
22	2,41%	2,06%
23	4,82%	4,12%
24	4,82%	4,12%
25	1,20%	1,03%
26	4,82%	3,09%
27	4,82%	3,09%
29	7,23%	4,12%
30	3,61%	2,06%
31	1,20%	0,00%
32	7,23%	5,15%
33	2,41%	1,03%
34	1,20%	1,03%
39	2,41%	1,03%

Source: Archivio di Stato di Padova, inventario 91, busta 66. Re-elaboration of data by the author.

The table above shows the percentage of labourers with a definite duration of employment. For example, in 1974, 13% of labourers had a period of employment of fifteen years, while in 1977, the percentage was reduced to 11%. In 1974, 13% was the highest percentage, and in 1977 it was reached by people whose employment lasted ten years. It is visible that the duration of employment is mixed and that there is a trend in which more or less half of the labourers worked for a period that goes from 10 to 20 years, as also displayed by the diagram below.

Fig. 9: Duration of employment of permanent labourers (1974-1977)

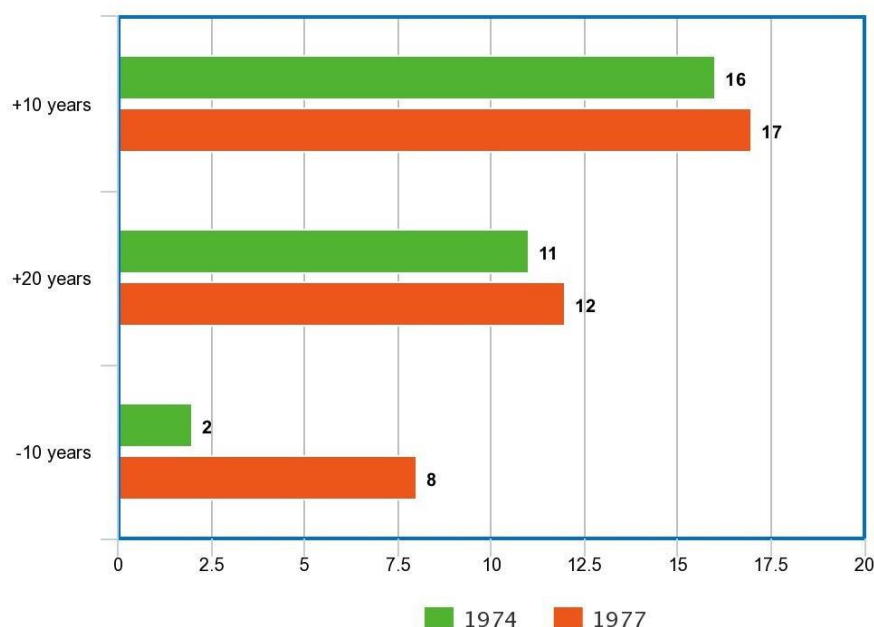


Source: Archivio di Stato di Padova, inventario 91, busta 66. Re-elaboration of data by the author.

Duration of employment is connected to several situations that may involve how the factory manages its workers, and it also may be related to the segment of temporary workers that also influences the necessity of permanent workers. Moreover, I believe that the duration of employment is mainly between 10 and 19 years also because of the

type of work. It is essential to remember that work, in some departments of sugar factories, as described by Maria Cristina Giusti in an essay published on the periodical *Venetica*, was in close contact with machines, high temperatures, and it had hectic rhythms, which could be exhausting.<sup>86</sup> Looking at the same diagram with the employee data, it is possible to see that the difference between those hired for more than ten years and those for more than twenty years is minor.

Fig. 10: Duration of employment of permanent employees (1974-1977)



Source: Archivio di Stato di Padova, inventario 91, busta 66. Re-elaboration of data by the author.

These data show that leaving a job as an employee was less common than leaving a labourer's job and, among the reasons why this happens, could very well be those mentioned above. The table showing the duration of employment of all employees in 1974 and 1977 does not mark any particularities apart from a peak of 20% in the nine

<sup>86</sup> Giusti, 2017, 41-56.

years of employment in 1974. Otherwise, it is very regular also because of the very reduced sample.

Tab. 2: Duration of employment for permanent employees (1974-1977)

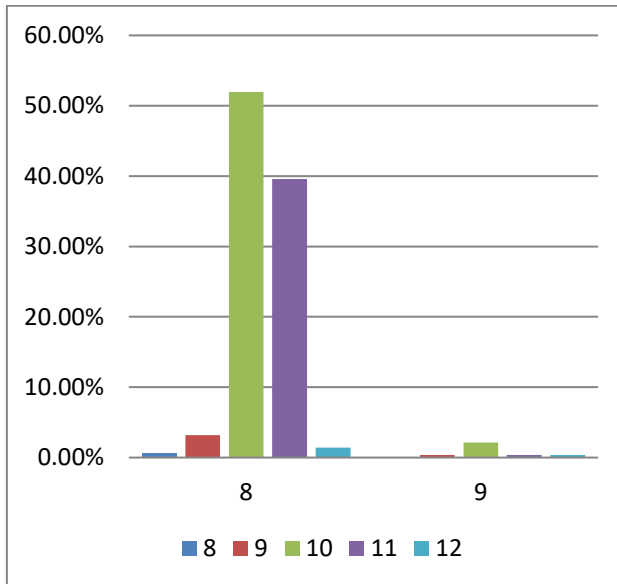
Duration of employment of permanent employees (years)	Percentage of people employed (1974)	Percentage of people employed (1977)
3	4,00%	0,00%
8	8,00%	11,11%
9	20,00%	0,00%
10	4,00%	5,56%
11	4,00%	0,00%
13	0,00%	5,56%
16	8,00%	11,11%
17	4,00%	5,56%
21	0,00%	5,56%
22	0,00%	5,56%
23	8,00%	5,56%
24	8,00%	5,56%
29	4,00%	5,56%
30	4,00%	5,56%
32	4,00%	5,56%
33	8,00%	11,11%
34	4,00%	0,00%
35	4,00%	5,56%
36	4,00%	5,56%

Source: Archivio di Stato di Padova, inventario 91, busta 66. Re-elaboration of data by the author.

After considering permanent workers, it is better to look at information about the duration of employment of temporary workers. In this case, the data available is only for the year 1977, and the counting of the period was done in days because the workers were not employed for more than four months, with a few exceptions that will be specified later. The statistics show that 78% of the employees and 96% of the labourers were employed in August. For the end of employment, the percentages are somewhat

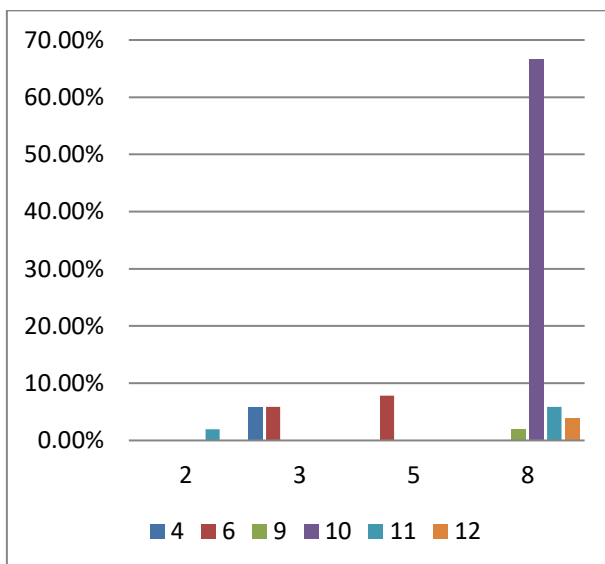
more heterogeneous, but in any case, they agree that the month in which most working relationships ended was October (66% for employees and 51% for labourers).

Fig. 11: Duration of employment of temporary labourers (1977)



Source: Archivio di Stato di Padova, inventario 91, busta 66. Re-elaboration of data by the author.

Fig. 12: Duration of employment of temporary employees (1977)



Source: Archivio di Stato di Padova, inventario 91, busta 66. Re-elaboration of data by the author.

The diagrams show what has just been stated, but it is also possible to notice that almost 40% of labourers worked until November. The working period of labourers is justified by the sugar production process. It is the period between August and October that the beets are harvested and taken to the factories for processing. The article about Bottrighe written by Marangoni claims that, during the mornings of August, it was possible to smell the acrid scent of processed sugar beet. It also says that during that period of the year, the small centre of Bottrighe looked alive with colours, noise and lights and considering the fact that during those months, more than 300 additional people crowded the area, what Marangoni wrote is more than convincing.<sup>87</sup> The diagrams also show the exception mentioned above regarding the duration of the employment of temporary workers. First, it has to be noticed that almost 3% of labourers and 4% of employees worked until December. It is meaningful because, in registers, these workers result in being hired permanently after December. The same names are indeed found on the registers of permanent workers registered on the same date. It can be seen from this that it was possible to be hired permanently and that, although cases were rare, the factory allowed contracts to become permanent. Other exceptions concern working durations that differ from what would be expected if looking at the production criteria, such as the series number 118 of the temporary employees hired for nine months or some other workers for a few days (1% of the temporary workers). These exceptions are too rare to be relevant, but it is good to remember that they are there.

The duration of employment is the only available element in terms of time because other information like shifts or the weekly amount of hours is unavailable. Another

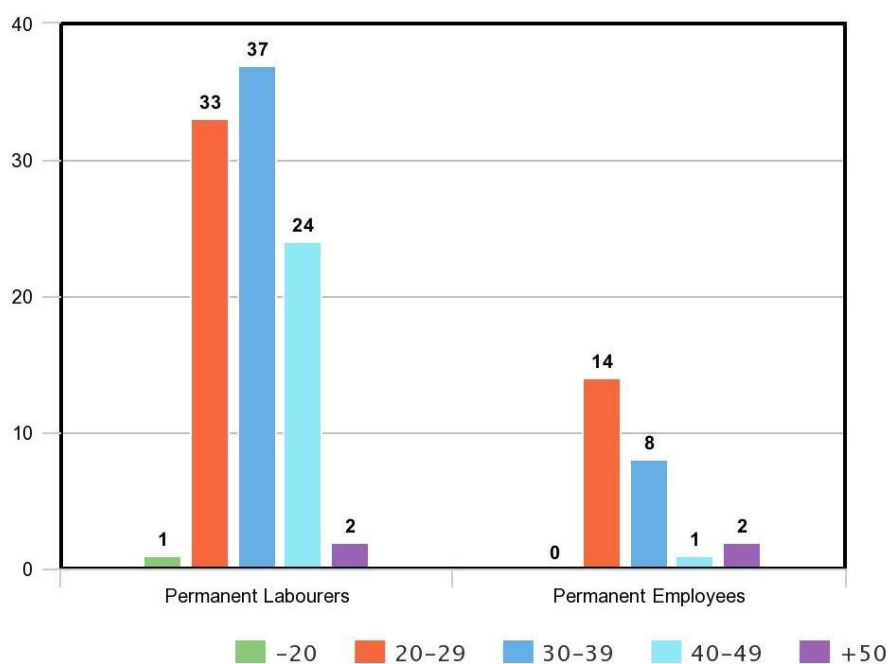
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<sup>87</sup> Marangoni, 2015, 89-91.



piece of information that can be deduced from the data gathered is the age of workers, and it involves their age when they were hired and when they stopped working in the factory. First, a brief reflection on the age of workers as they finish their employment should be made. This information only concerns permanent workers, and the reason has already been explained. It is faced rapidly because it approximately mirrors the expectations. Both for employees and labourers, more than 60% had more than 50 years at the end of employment. That was predictable, but the percentage of people who ended their working relationship with the sugar factory before having 50 years was higher than expected.

Fig. 13: Age of permanent workers 1977 (hiring)



Source: Archivio di Stato di Padova, inventario 91, busta 66. Re-elaboration of data by the author.

The graphic above shows the age of permanent workers in 1977, and it is clear that the age groups 20-29 and 30-39 are the most hired. Looking at the diagram, it is possible to notice that the number of employees hired is inferior, but even on a smaller scale, the

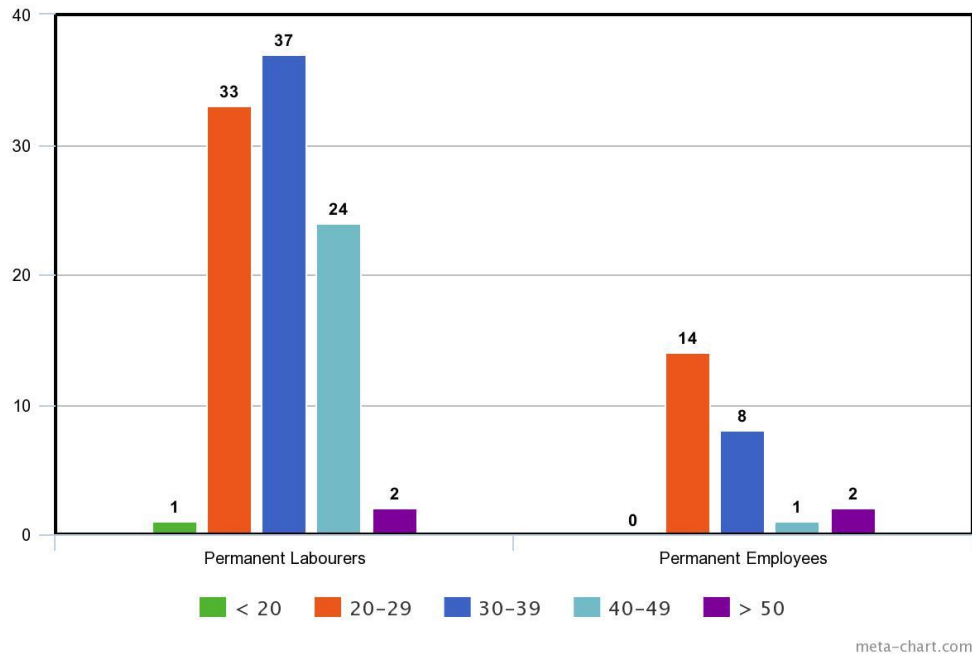
trend is the same between labourers and employees. The big difference is in the age group 40-49 and, about this, some supposition can be made, like, for example, the fact that younger people may result in having more competencies so that they can do office work more proficiently. It has to be stated that the age group 40-49 were born between the 1920s and 1930s, and they could have had fewer opportunities to study. It is due to a school system that became more selective and closed in the Fascist years because it aimed at repressing the education of the masses.<sup>88</sup>

The situation is different looking at the age of workers hired temporarily because the age gap < 20 increases significantly for temporary labourers and shifts from 1% to 10%, and for both labourers and employees, the presence of the age group > 50 increases. It results in having the second largest percentage for both categories and about these two age groups just mentioned it could be worthwhile to discuss and try to suppose the reason of this increase.

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<sup>88</sup> Dal Passo, 2017, 15-37.

Fig. 14: Age of temporary workers 1977 (hiring)



Source: Archivio di Stato di Padova, inventario 91, busta 66. Re-elaboration of data by the author.

It must be borne in mind that these are two categories at the antipodes, but they can have more in common than one would think, like, for example, the fact that these are the more unstable groups in terms of working. The age range 18-20 is precarious because they have just entered the world of work and still have to obtain experience, and seasonal work is one of the easiest and more proficient ways to acquire it. In the same way, the group > 50 may have ended their previous job, or they might have reduced working hours due to their age, so they will decide to add seasonal work to the work they already have. In the last chapter, the concept of pluriactivity has been introduced, and here it might be an example of pluriactivity. There is no accurate information on the lives of the workers, so with the information available, it is possible to assume scenarios that come close to the reality of things also thanks to studies about multi-activity that describe a context that suits the one examined, like, for example, the

one made by Tattara and Piva on Porto Marghera.<sup>89</sup> Seasonal work in sugar factories has been repeatedly described as an ideal component of a multi-activity situation because it has an almost definite duration (from August to October), and, in the case of Veneto, it is a considerably widespread type of industry.<sup>90</sup> The hypothesis is that people from these two age groups use seasonal work to make up their wages and, for people who are under 20, to acquire some additive experience. The other age groups are not to be forgotten, especially the strong presence of the group 20-29 in both categories. This age group has another particularity already mentioned because some of them have been hired permanently after their period of temporary work.

What has been revealed by this initial data that concerns most time and duration? First, it is possible to reflect on the duration of the employment relationship, from which a similar trend emerged for both types of workers. However, some reflections were made on the differences between labourer and employee jobs, which can be seen from the divergent number of workers and salaries, a topic that will be addressed in the next paragraph. The duration of the employment relationship was also crucial in the analysis of temporary workers, especially when talking about labourers, because the statistics gave a very representative picture of the production process and how the factory works. Age, finally, was used for considerations regarding multi-activity, especially for the age categories at the extremes, but it is not the only element considered. Other factors have also been examined, like categories and qualifications on which assumptions have been made. Regarding the categories, additional information will be discussed in the next section on wages. Speaking of qualifications, it is not possible to know the specific

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<sup>89</sup> Piva and Tattara ed., 1983.

<sup>90</sup> Robertson, 1938, 1-15.

skills of the workers, but the hypothesis of the under-40s who are better prepared to be employees because they had more access to education seems quite convincing.

### 3.3. Data and considerations: wages and categories of job.

This section will be analysed data concerning wages and categories, but before examining in-depth numbers and percentages, it is better to briefly explain how these data are displayed in the staff registers examined.

Fig. 15 and 16: Pages of staff registers.

NUMERO DI ISCRIZIONE	GENERALITÀ					INIZIO DEL RAPPORTO DI LAVORO		LIVELLO CATEGORIA PROFESSIONALE
	COGNOME E NOME	PATERNITÀ	MATERNITÀ	DATA E LUOGO DI NASCITA	RESIDENZA	MESE	ANNO	
61	<del>Maranzoni Quaresimo</del>	Leone		NATO il 14. 11. 1918 A. Adria	in Bottrighe via Dante, 131	2	Genne 970	cat. 4 <sup>a</sup>
62	<del>Bertini Faolino</del>	Pietro		NATO il 28. 6. 1913 A. Adria	in Adria via F. Turati, 6	28	Dicemb 970	cat. 4 <sup>a</sup>
63	<del>Berto Agostino</del>	Adolfo		NATO il 4. 1. 1941 A. Adria	in Adria via Fegolini, 1	28	Dicemb 970	cat. 4 <sup>a</sup>
64	<del>Ingegnari Carlo</del>	Guido		NATO il 5. 7. 1932 A. Adria	in Bottrighe via Modularena	28	Dicemb 970	cat. 4 <sup>a</sup>
65	<del>Maffiorini Fernando</del>	Luigi		NATO il 7. 5. 1938 A. Adria	in Bottrighe via vite, 112-113	28	Dicemb 970	cat. 4 <sup>a</sup> LIV. 3°
66	<del>Tira Quaresimo</del>	Natale		NATO il 16. 11. 1930 A. Tiro di Cadore	in Adria via Accoripada, 16	28	Dicemb 970	cat. 4 <sup>a</sup> LIV. 3°
67	<del>Pinello Giuseppe</del>	Egidio Passari Adela		NATO il 18. 3. 1934 A. Anicò nel Telenice	in Bottrighe via vite, 112-113	28	Dicemb 970	cat. 4 <sup>a</sup>

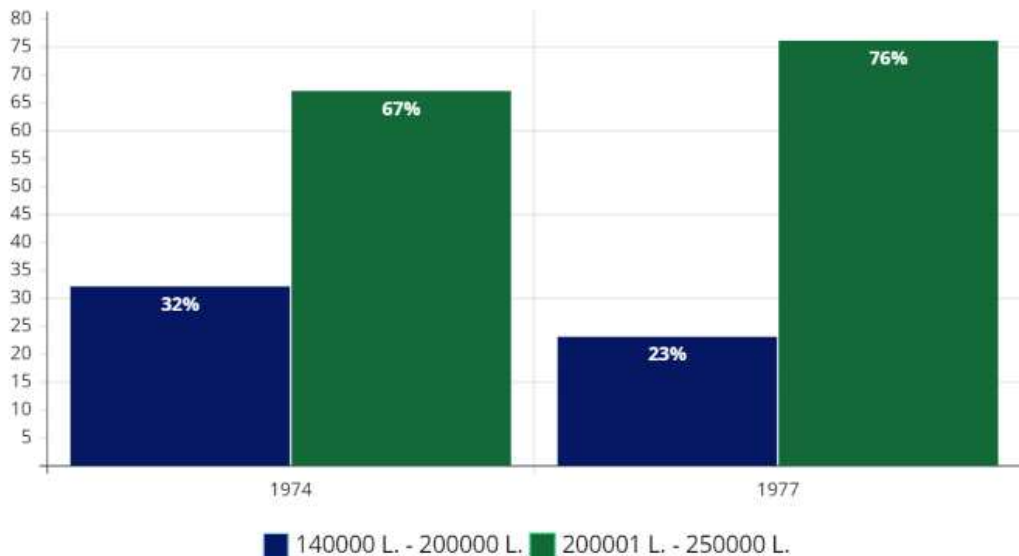
VARIAZIONI	STIPENDIO O PAGA										TERMINI DEL RAPPORTO DI LAVORO	ESONERAZIONE	ASSI N. FAMILIARI	CATEGORIA PROFESSIONALE	NOTE		
	MESE	ANNO	VAL. IN MONETA LIT.	VAL. IN MONETA LIT.	VAL. IN MONETA LIT.	VAL. IN MONETA LIT.	VAL. IN MONETA LIT.	VAL. IN MONETA LIT.	VAL. IN MONETA LIT.	VAL. IN MONETA LIT.							
			74	177.200	77	198.075	78	221.550	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	J.L. 1.9.74
			74	177.022	77	253.645	78	303.104	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	
			76	181.157	77	253.645	78	303.104	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	
			76	175.400	77	221.894	78	271.353	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	
			76	175.087	77	221.894	78	271.353	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	
			76	175.000	77	221.894	78	271.353	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	
			76	175.016	77	221.894	78	271.353	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	
			76	175.016	77	221.894	78	271.353	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	

Source: Archivio di Stato di Padova, inventario 91, busta 66.

The page shown in figures 8 and 9 are pages of staff registered and, as it is possible to see, there is different information, especially all the variations of wages until the end of employment and all the positions held over the years under the heading of “*categorie*” (categories), which is the same name used in the analysis performed in this paragraph.

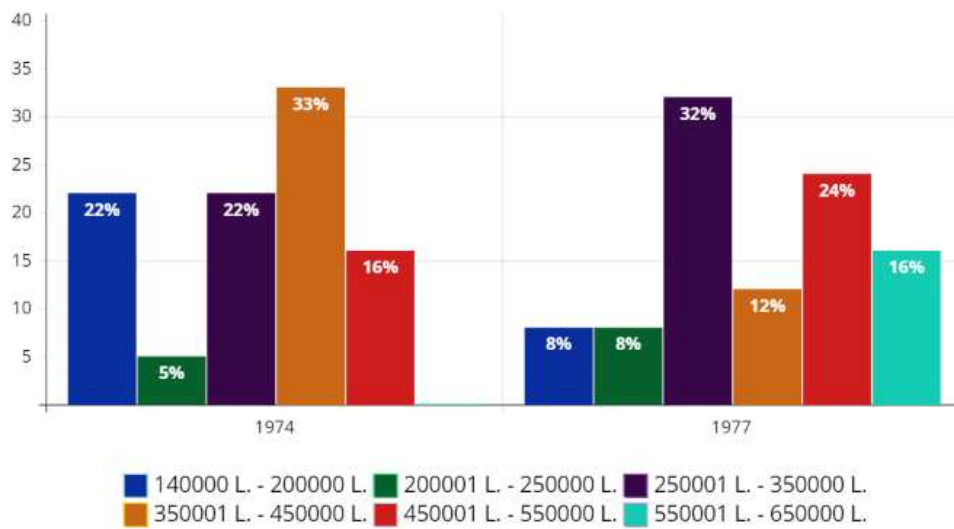
Wages of permanent workers are the first to look at and comment on, and before, it is important to say that working in the factory for years means having several variations of wage at least once a year, but sometimes it will be shown that there are even more variations in the same year. Sometimes the variations may correspond to a change of category and thus a promotion, other times, it is a salary increment due to the length of service. However, before going through the topic of variations, it is meaningful to review these graphics of wages of both permanent employees and labourers in 1974 and 1977.

Fig. 17: Percentage of wages earned by permanent labourers (1974 and 1977)



Source: Archivio di Stato di Padova, inventario 91, busta 66. Re-elaboration of data by the author.

Fig. 18: Percentage of wages earned by permanent employees (1974 and 1977)



Source: Archivio di Stato di Padova, inventario 91, busta 66. Re-elaboration of data by the author.

In the graphs above, the difference between the wages of labourers and employees immediately emerges, but, before talking about that, the two histograms need to be briefly observed separately. The first one shows the wages of permanent labourers, and it follows a trend which is approximately ordinary because, as already suggested, wages increase with time, as is the norm. The percentage of salaries above 20,000 lire increased, from 67.5% to 77.3%, from 1974 to 1977, and this is always considering that those employed also increased by about 15%. In the other graph, you can see the big difference in wages because some even exceed 60000 lire (16%), again in 1977, which still has the highest wages and an increase in recruitment of almost 30%. Looking at the data, we realise that those with the highest wages are always those with the longest period of employment, while the last to arrive start with a lower wage that can then increase. Even in this case, there are exceptions, such as, for example, employee no. 23, who was hired in 1976 and already received a salary of more than lire 60000 in 1977. It



has to be reported that this exception is more common in speaking about employees than labourers, and an explanation could be that the skills they have when they are hired are specific and make them more valuable in terms of work. In this case, categories of jobs become relevant, and also the intersection between them and wages could help to understand one of the reasons for the differences in wages together with possible dependents and supplemental income for families.

To these considerations about wages and experience, other information about categories needs to be added. Starting from permanent labourers, the lowest category is “Cat. 5”, and it corresponds to the lowest salaries, always not forgetting to intersect the category with years of service. The higher seems to be “Cat. 3” but sometimes “Liv. 3” is present too and, considering that sometimes there are both “Cat. 3” and “Liv. 3” for the same person, it is deducible that they are different moments of a worker work life. Permanent employees have higher categories, and in their registers, the specific job is stated, like, for example, “Cat. 1 Capo fabbrica” (Category 1. Supervisor of the factory). Sometimes employees and labourers have some categories in common, like “Cat.3” or even “Cat. 4”, but wages are different.

Tab. 3: Wages and year of hiring of Cat. 3° permanent employees (1977)

Wage	No.	Year of hiring	Seniority	Category
179000	25	1977	0	Cat 3°
209450	24	1977	0	Cat 3°
257556	9	1970	7	Cat 3°
284232	26	1977	0	Cat 3°
292022	21	1962	15	Cat 3°

Source: Archivio di Stato di Padova, inventario 91, busta 66. Re-elaboration of data by the author.

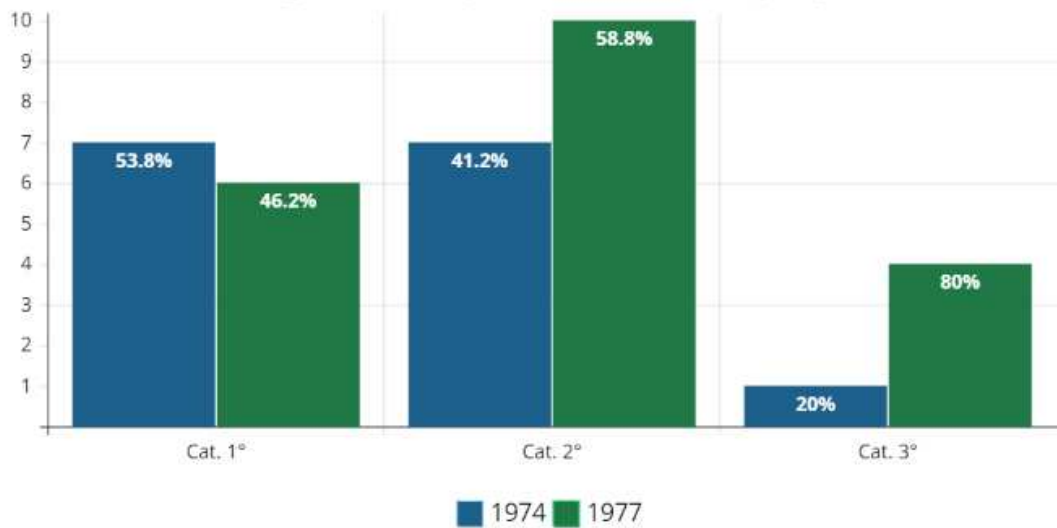
Tab. 4: Wages and year of hiring of Cat. 3° permanent labourers (1977)

Wage	No.	Year of hiring	Seniority	Category
259541	107	1977	0	Cat. 3°
265276	39	1962	15	Cat. 3°
284232	34	1960	17	Cat. 3°
284323	46	1962	15	Cat. 3°
285365	38	1961	16	Cat. 3°
285732	10	1945	32	Cat. 3°
285732	16	1950	27	Cat. 3°
285732	20	1951	26	Cat. 3°
286111	24	1954	23	Cat. 3°
286111	41	1962	15	Cat. 3°
286496	4	1944	33	Cat. 3°
286496	7	1944	33	Cat. 3°
286496	8	1945	32	Cat. 3°
286496	17	1950	27	Cat. 3°
286496	19	1951	26	Cat. 3°
286496	27	1954	23	Cat. 3°
287409	9	1955	22	Cat. 3°

Source: Archivio di Stato di Padova, inventario 91, busta 66. Re-elaboration of data by the author.

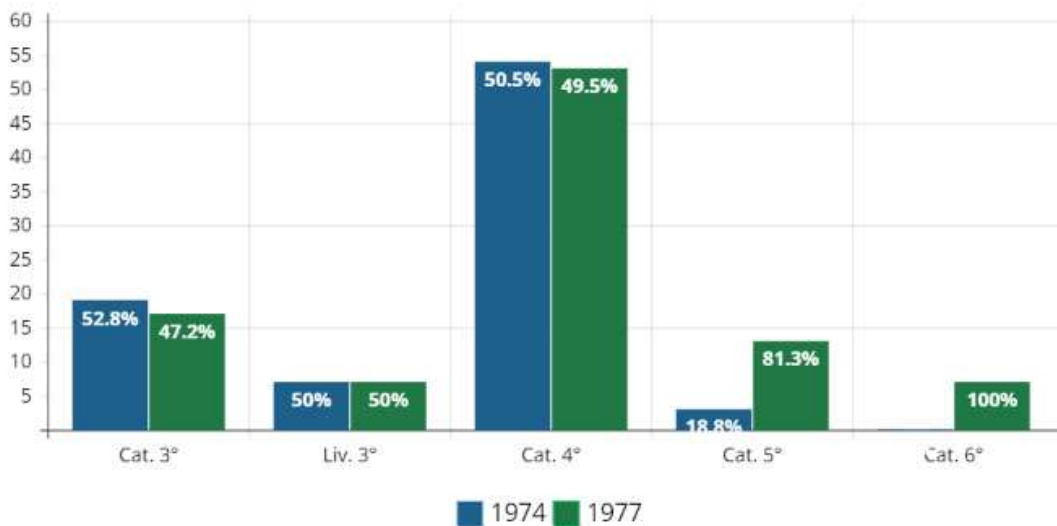
The tables above present the example of permanent workers registered as “Cat. 3°” in both labourers and employees registers. As already said, wages are influenced by experience because the higher wages correspond to the longest service, but, comparing data, it can also be said that “Cat. 3°” was not equal for labourers and employees, and it seems as if it was less valuable for employees. Just by comparing the salaries in the two tables, it is possible to see that those of the employees are lower, despite the peak of over 290000 lire, because they start from a lower quota and on average grow less.

Fig. 19: Categories of permanent employees



Source: Archivio di Stato di Padova, inventario 91, busta 66. Re-elaboration of data by the author.

Fig. 20: Categories of permanent labourers



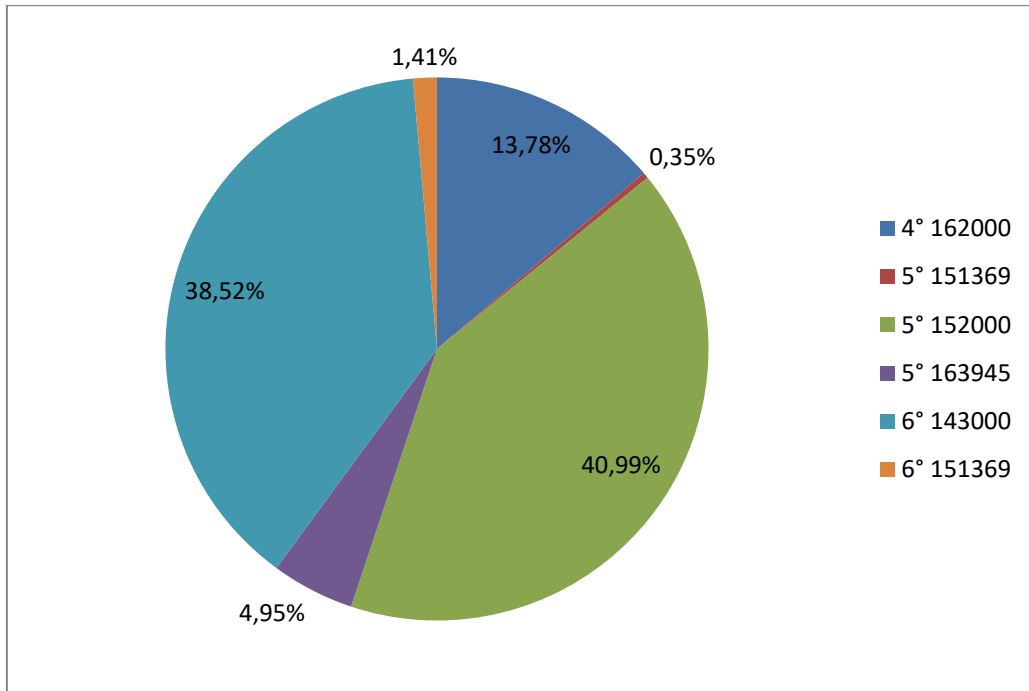
Source: Archivio di Stato di Padova, inventario 91, busta 66. Re-elaboration of data by the author.

The graphs on the previous page show the percentages of the categories in the registers and show that the lowest category for labourers is "Cat. 6°" while the highest category is

"Cat. 3°" which is also the most common along with "Cat. 4°". The lowest category for employees, instead, is "Cat. 3°" which was often changed to "Cat. 2°" the most common category, within a few years. Finally, "Cat. 1°" always corresponds to management positions such as the already mentioned, "capo fabbrica" (factory manager) or "capo chimico" (chief chemist). Reflecting on wages is difficult for permanent workers because they are very different. It is sufficient to consider that none of the 25 workers in 1977 had the same salary, while for the 97 workers, there are situations of the same wage but not more than 12% and do not always correspond to the same category.

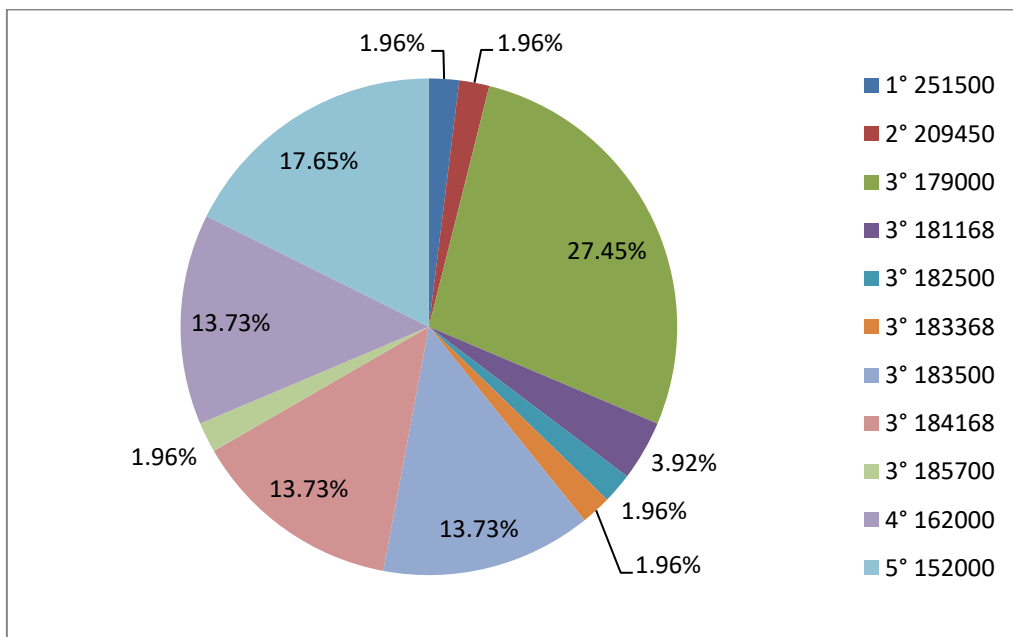
Moving to the temporary workers the situation results to be more regular and fixed because there are some categories which have the same wages. Temporary workers do not change category because they work for a limited period of time and they do not have time for career advancement. The following graphs will show the wage and category situation of temporary employees and labourers.

Fig. 21: Categories and wages (in Lira) of temporary labourers (1977)



Source: Archivio di Stato di Padova, inventario 91, busta 66. Re-elaboration of data by the author.

Fig. 22: Categories and wages (in Lira) of temporary employees (1977)



Source: Archivio di Stato di Padova, inventario 91, busta 66. Re-elaboration of data by the author.

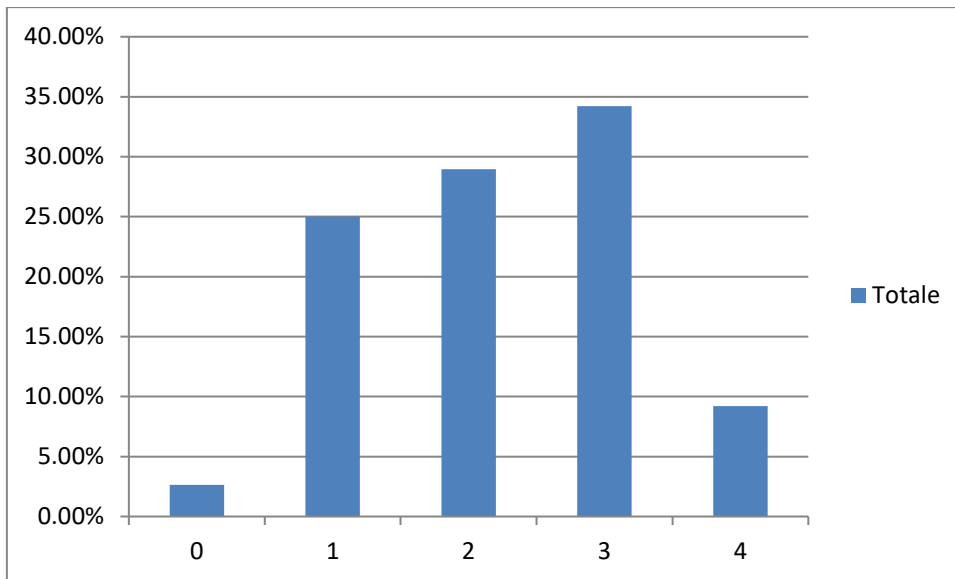
The situation of temporary labourers appears to be more systematic. There are, indeed, three primary wage groups which are 143000 lire, 152000 lire and 162000 lire, and they correspond respectively to categories 6°, 5° and 4° and have the highest percentage (38%, 41% and 13%). The other wage groups correspond to variations of the wage for categories 5° and 6° are exceptions, and explaining why these exist is not easy because registers do not justify the mutations. A hypothesis could be a supplemental income for families for people who have children or have to take care of a parent but looking at the data, is it possible to see that the wages of people who have this supplemental income do not change. On rare occasions, there is a change of category, but as mentioned above, it is very unusual in general, these changes remain unjustified in the personnel registers, and not having factory contracts and regulations available, it is only possible to make assumptions such as an increase in hours or responsibilities that did not lead to a change of category. As shown in the diagram above, the situation of temporary employees' wages is more heterogeneous also because there are more categories involved. Here is possible to see the only evidence of female workers' wages because, as already mentioned, there are only three women registered in all the data examined. In this case, it is important to notice that wages do not change according to gender, and the three women, which respectively belong to category 5°, 3° and 4°, earn the same amount as their male colleagues. The equality in terms of wage is meaningful considering the fact that Badino's (2008) statistics reveal that between the Sixties and the Seventies, men earned more than 60% more than women.<sup>91</sup>

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<sup>91</sup> Badino, 2008, 35-43.

People who have dependants have been just nominated, and regarding them, a quick reflection should be made. Maria Cristina Giusti, in her paper about the sugar factory of Legnago, already mentioned, affirms that almost all men working in the factory had a wife, and for some of the permanent labourers of the sugar factory of Bottrighe, this could be proved because registers show dependants of some of them. More specifically, they reveal if they had a wife, how many children they had and if there were parents who depended on them. The remarkable peculiarity is that this kind of information is not systematically reported: it is available only for several permanent labourers, from serial number 1 to 88, which correspond to the workers hired up to 1975, after which this information is lost, and the fields in the registers remain empty. What are the reasons for ceasing to record this data? Registers do not give a justification, but two hypotheses could be drawn from this: either it was marked elsewhere, or it was not strictly necessary information. It is possible to justify the second hypothesis by analysing whether there are any differences between workers with 1, 2, or 3 or more dependents.

Fig. 23: Percentage of family members who are dependants of permanent labourers  
(1974-1975)

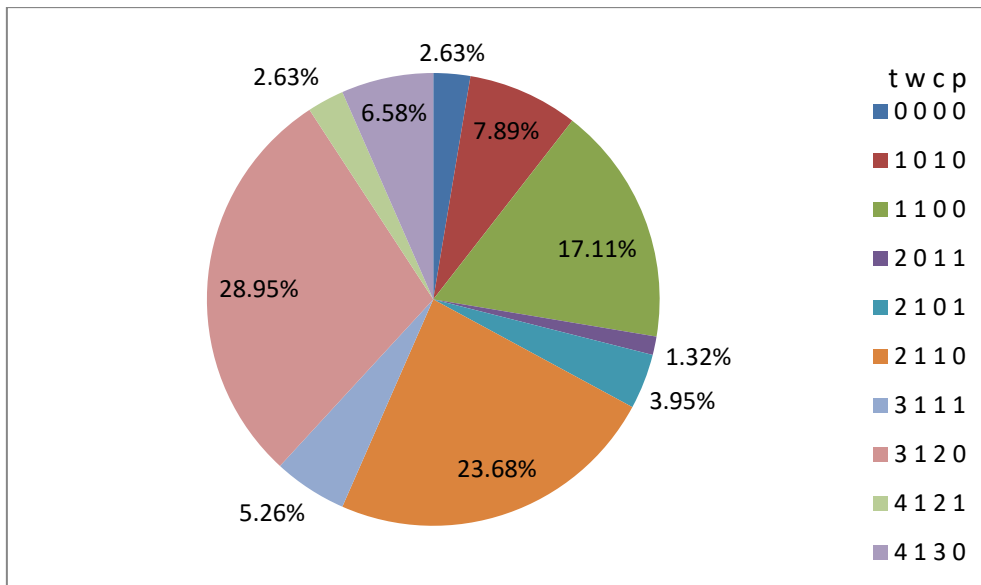


Source: Archivio di Stato di Padova, inventario 91, busta 66. Re-elaboration of data by the author.

This is a general graph of dependents, in which it is shown that most labourers had three dependents (34,2%), and the following other diagram will show that the most frequent match is two children and a wife.



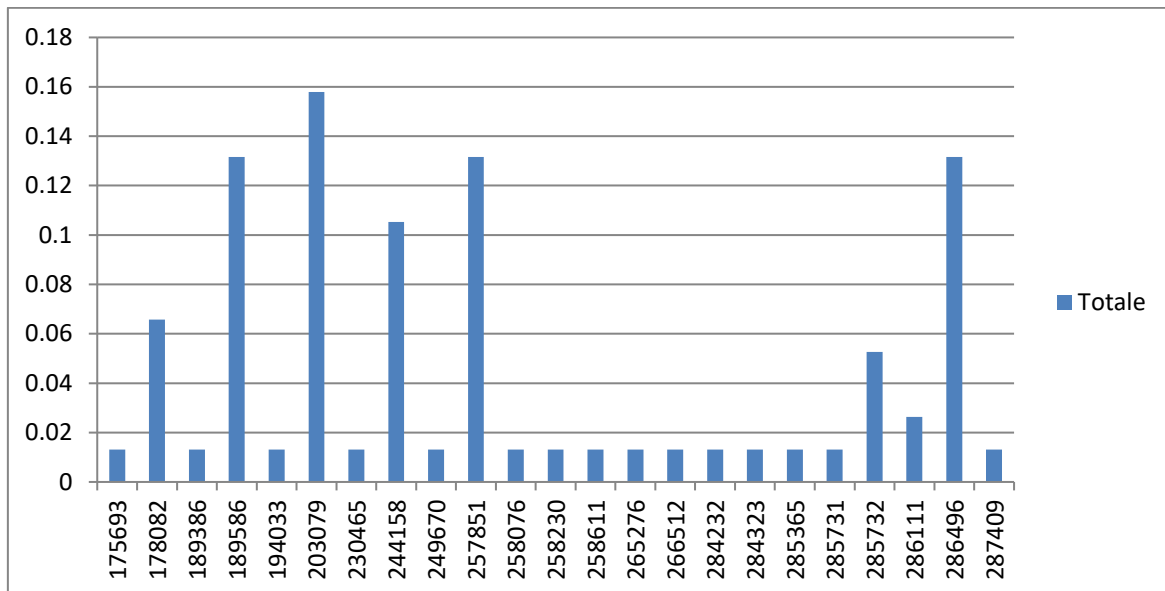
Fig. 24: Combinations of family members who are dependants of permanent labourers  
(1974-1975)



Source: Archivio di Stato di Padova, inventario 91, busta 66. Re-elaboration of data by the author.

The diagram above shows, as already said, all the possible combinations of dependents where “t” is the total of dependents, “w” is for wife, “c” for children and “p” for parents. The most common combinations are a wife and two children and a wife and a child, and, the third place, workers who had just a wife as dependent. Has not to be ignored the data about workers who have just children as dependent without a wife is the fourth percentage (7,89%). Less frequent were the workers who had a parent as a dependent (13,1%), and, more specifically, no worker takes care only of a parent. After seeing these combinations, it could be proficient to analyse if, for example, their wage is subjected to variations due to dependents.

Fig. 25: Wage of permanent labourers who have family members who are dependants  
(1977)



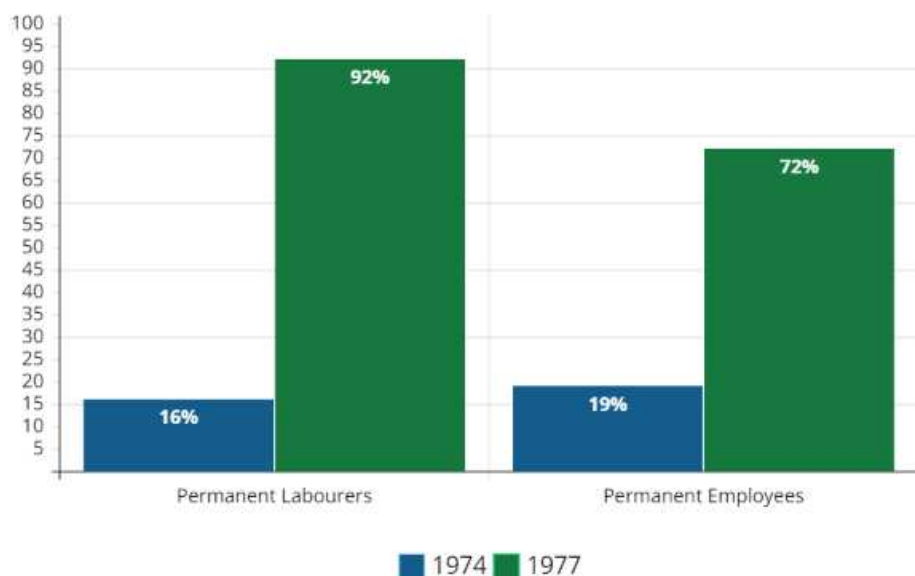
Source: Archivio di Stato di Padova, inventario 91, busta 66. Re-elaboration of data by the author.

Here are shown wages of people who had dependents in 1977 and as it is possible to wages are heterogeneous but analysed specific salaries like, for example, the one with the highest percentage (203709 - 15,7%). This wage is earned by 12 workers (serial numbers 58-70 excluded no. 62), and they have in common the category because they all belong to “Cat. 4°” but what about their dependents? The situation results are mixed because 16,6% have 1 or 4 dependents, 25% have two dependents, and 41,6% have three dependents, so it is not possible that they influence the wages of labourers. All these examinations contribute to validating the hypothesis according to which dependants were not written anymore because, in this case, they did not influence work relationships. In all the other registers investigated is noted if a worker has family allowances and if they were for children or parents, but even in that sporadic cases, their wage is not affected. Therefore, the only proven reason for different wages is a

category, and in the occurrence, it is the same, but the salary is divergent, there is no justification, and a contract should be consulted, but they are not available.

The increase and the decrease in wages is the last aspect upon which is worth dwelling. Staff registers investigated track all variations with the date in the specific column. Starting with permanent employees, the first differentiation to do is between variations of 1974 and variations of 1977 because, in 1974, just 3 out of 18 had a variation of wage, while in 1977, almost all of the employees had it (23 out of 25). In this case, all the variations were higher than the previous wage, but for almost all workers, the category remained the same, so it is possible to realize that the change was due to experience. A similar situation can be found in permanent labours because in 1974 just 16 workers out of 83 had a variation while in 1977 70 people out of 97 obtained it. The diagram will show it clearer.

Fig. 26: Percentage of workers with variation (1974 and 1977)



Source: Archivio di Stato di Padova, inventario 91, busta 66. Re-elaboration of data by the author.

It is evident that in 1977 more people had a variation in wage, but it is also because more people were hired. Comparing data gathered for permanent workers, variations are not uniform, like previous wages, so there isn't a fixed increase. However, sometimes, the same amount of variation could correspond to a passage from one category to another, but it is not reported by registers.

The last consideration before moving to other elements is the variation in the salary of temporary workers. As already said, their wage situation is steadier because they had a fixed wage for a shorter period, but, according to data, this did not mean not having variations at all. Even though with a very low percentage (almost 2.5%), there are still some workers whose salaries change, all of which see an increase compared to the initial wage.

Tab. 5: Workers whose wage changed (percentage)

Variation	Workers (percentage)
152000	1,06%
162000	0,71%
163945	0,71%
No variation	97,53%

Source: Archivio di Stato di Padova, inventario 91, busta 66. Re-elaboration of data by the author.

Tab. 6: Initial wage, changed wage and category of workers whose wage changed

Initial Wage	Changed Wage	Category
143000	152000	6°
143000	152000	6°
143000	152000	6°
143000	162000	6°
152000	162000	5°
152000	163945	5°
152000	163945	5°

Source: Archivio di Stato di Padova, inventario 91, busta 66. Re-elaboration of data by the author.

The last table (6) shows how wages that changed increased, and it is possible to see that most of the variations correspond to the salary of the following category but registers do not record changes of a category, only changes in wage. The only exception to this linearity is the wage of 163945 lire, which is present in the 0.7% of variations but also almost in the 5% of the initial wages. The singular aspect is that it corresponds to “Cat. 5°”, which is a lower category compared to “Cat 4°”, which is higher, but in those cases, the wage results are lower (162000 lire).<sup>92</sup>

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<sup>92</sup> For further clarification check Fig. 14.

## 4. Examining data: places of residence and birthplaces.

### 4.1. Studies and perspectives of Italian internal migration.

This last chapter intends to analyse where workers registered in staff registers lived and where they were born to see if data will give interesting points of view about mobility and places in which they were located. Before analysing the data concretely and trying to draw from them a picture of worker mobility in the sugar factory, however, it is good to focus, albeit briefly, on the concept of migration. Migrating, moving and being on the move have always been part of the working environment and probably always will be. It is not just about moving or changing domicile, but much more generally about the movements that workers undergo to be able to do their jobs. It is precisely for this reason that the second chapter, with the contribution of Lucassen, did not just talk about migration but more about mobility.<sup>93</sup> Assuming that there are many reasons to migrate, and they do not always stem from work, another question to ask is what this practice means. What mobility brings in terms of social, work and family relationships. It is certain that the data records alone will not be able to answer this question, but joining them with the information academics and global labour historians give could open the way to create concrete hypotheses regarding these themes. Michele Nani (2016)<sup>94</sup>, in the book in which he explores Italian migration in the area of Ferrara, defines the act of moving as something that allows people to open or close their horizons and their

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<sup>93</sup> Lucassen and Lucassen, 2005

<sup>94</sup> Nani, 2016, 25-42.

expectations due to the fact that changing place of residence changes social networks and several balances in the workplace. Italy witnessed a crucial period in which there was a lot of internal mobility, especially from the South to the North, between the Fifties and the half of the Seventies. This period has been defined “*Grande Migrazione Interna*” (great internal migration) by the historian Stefano Gallo who wrote a paper about it in 2015. Gallo faces how geographical mobility also changed Italy and its paradigms in terms of industries, mentality, resources and sociality. The paper quotes a research conducted by Nazareno Panichella in 2014<sup>95</sup> in which the scholar aimed to give an empiric point of view to the migration that characterized the period mentioned above taking into consideration the data gathered from the “*Indagine longitudinale sulle famiglie italiane*” (Longitudinal survey of Italian households), a survey that aims to trace a kind of history of Italy using everything that happened to the respondents in the sample from birth to the time of the interview. Panichella used this information to understand the dynamics of mobility from 1955. For the purposes of the research carried out in this thesis, it is interesting to see how Panichella's analysis shows that it seems reductive to think of internal migration as a phenomenon that concerns movements from the South to the North.<sup>96</sup> Both Gallo and Panichella rather state that the to contribute to the great internal mobilisation was the mobility of people that came from the same region or the same province.<sup>97</sup> This point of view is fundamental to the research carried out in this thesis and will be seen when analysing the data on provenance. Intra-regional mobility has been considered before, albeit perhaps in a

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<sup>95</sup> Further information: Panichella, 2014.

<sup>96</sup> Gallo, 2015, 155-162

<sup>97</sup> Statistics in: Sonnino, 2005, 537-538.

cursory way, or at least always in relation to movements in southern Italy. In 2003, Arru and Ramella<sup>98</sup> published a volume on internal migration, already mentioned in Chapter 2, in which they questioned the new perspective that a study of internal migration could bring. The book mainly examines the context of the Southerners who moved to Piedmont, but it also opens up some perspectives for reflection on the workers who moved from the outskirts to Turin. Arru and Ramella's analysis focuses specifically on the inequalities between the two categories, particularly in terms of longer-term job prospects. The differences relate to the type of occupation, as the registry surveys carried out by the two researchers show that immigrants from the south are increasingly employed as manual workers, while immigrants from Piedmont are more likely to be employees.<sup>99</sup> The study then moves on to FIAT in Turin, where in 1980, there was a majority of manual workers from the south, joined by a small minority of semi-skilled and skilled workers. Similarly, there is a majority of non-manual and higher-skilled workers from Piedmont. The two academics attribute this discrepancy to the different values attributed to education in the north and south of Italy, given that education in Piedmont is considered more prestigious. However, Arru and Ramella do not believe this is the only reason. They argue that it cannot be the only reason and that it is also necessary to consider that social mechanisms play a key role in defining the career path of an immigrant worker, regardless of where he or she comes from.

These analyses will not be discussed in detail here since the data on origins will be presented shortly. However, their presentation in the previous pages has been effective, above all, in understanding that the history of migration and its studies may still pay

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<sup>98</sup> Arru and Ramella, 2003.

<sup>99</sup> Arru and Ramella, 2003, 339-386



little attention to situations in which interregional migrations are deemed to be of minor importance when they are not at all. This discourse on migration and the importance of interregional migration is also related to the following results and contributes to confirming the concept of *Veneto operaio* that has been introduced in the essay at the beginning of a number of the period *Venetica*.<sup>100</sup>

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<sup>100</sup> Boschiero, Favero, Zazzara, 2010, 7-17.

## 4.2. How far do they have to go? Residences and distances from the workplace.

In this section, the data about the residence of workers will be analysed to have an overview of the towns they come from every workday. More specifically, the focus will be on the distances workers cover to reach their workplace. The distance between where a worker lives and where he or she works turns on a series of considerations about commuting already mentioned in the second chapter. The concept of commuting will be examined in depth in this section, and the data from registers will be used to make suppositions and hypotheses about the importance of mobility in terms of everyday movements. Commuting has been previously introduced using a paper from Marie Thirion, and it has also been introduced its importance during the period of the *Autunno Caldo* due to the fact that streets were places in which workers came into contact and shared doubts, fears and disappointment. It is important to specify that data do not give any information about workers' struggles or trade unions, so the thesis of Thirion (2020)<sup>101</sup>, according to which struggles of commuters influenced and were influenced by the manifestations of the period of the end of Sixties and beginning of Seventies, could be a cause for reflection but not a purpose to aspire to by extrapolating information from register data. At the beginning of this analysis, a table will be shown here in which all places of residence are marked with the percentages of workers residing there, and a brief commentary will be made on it before delving deeper by type of worker and type of contract.

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<sup>101</sup> Thirion, 2020, "Trasporti e pendolarismo in Veneto: una nuova risorsa nell'agire collettivo", 171-187.

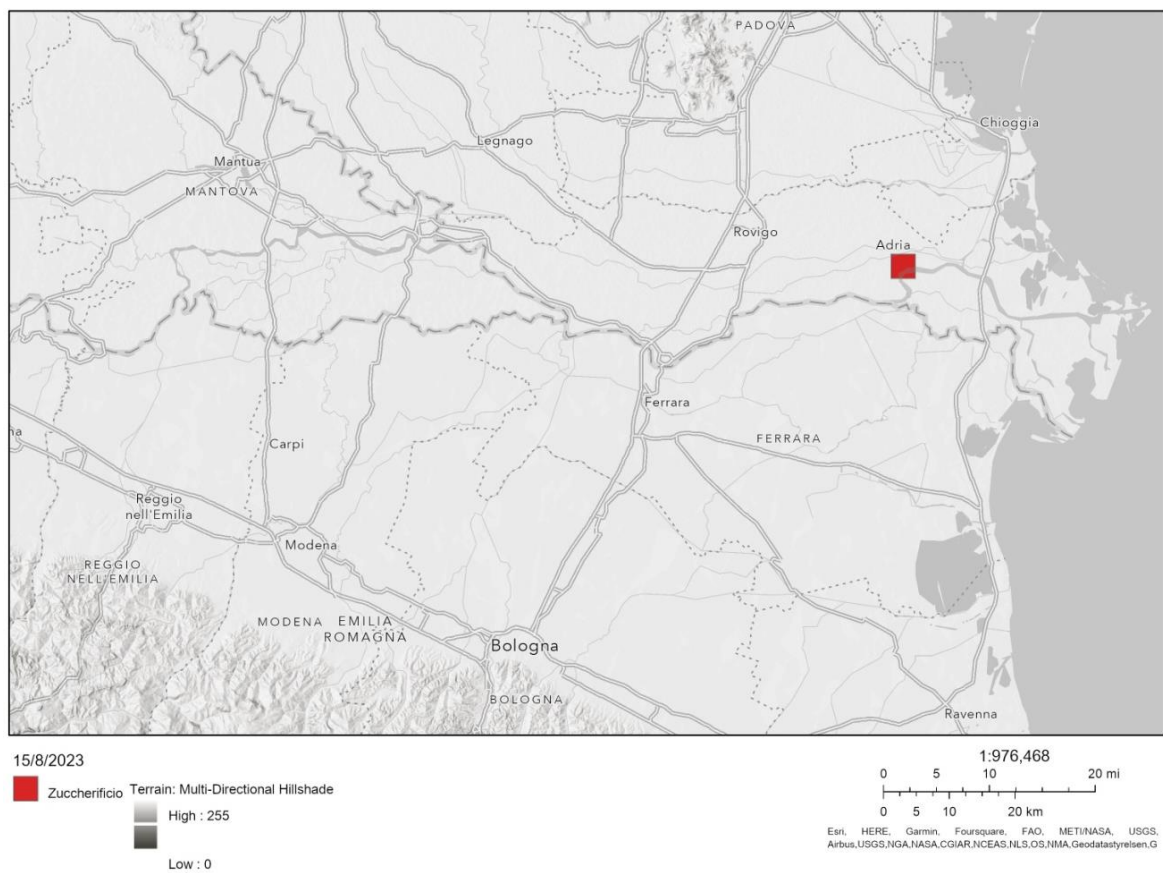
Tab. 7: Places of residence of workers (1974 and 1977)

<b>Place of residence</b>	<b>Percentage of resident workers</b>
Adria	32,46%
Ariano Ferrarese	0,22%
Ariano Polesine	4,17%
Arquà Petrarca	0,22%
Baricetta	1,32%
Bellombra	2,41%
Bologna	0,22%
Bottrighe	32,89%
Ca' Emo	2,19%
Carceri	0,66%
Cavanella Po	0,22%
Cavarzere	1,75%
Cinto Euganeo	0,22%
Corbola	5,48%
Empoli	0,22%
Este	1,54%
Fasana	1,32%
Ferrara	0,22%
Fiesso Umbertiano	0,22%
Gavello	0,44%
Granze	0,44%
Ledinara	0,22%
Legnago (Porto)	0,66%
Mazzorno Sinistro	0,22%
Mestre	0,22%
Monselice	0,22%
Padova	0,44%
Papozze	4,39%
Rivà	0,22%
Rovigo	0,66%
S. Margherita d'Adige	0,22%
S. Pietro Viminario	0,22%
S. Urbano	0,22%
Saletto	0,44%
Sottomarina	0,22%
Stanghella	0,22%
Taglio di Po	0,66%
Valliera	1,10%
Villa Bartolomea	0,22%
Villanova Marchesana	0,22%
Vo' Euganeo	0,22%

Source: Archivio di Stato di Padova, inventario 91, busta 66. Re-elaboration of data by the author.

The table shows that the places of residence are reasonably heterogeneous. Specifically, there are 40 registered settlements with percentages ranging from more than 30% to 0.22%. The places with the highest percentages are understandably Adria and Bottrighe, the closest to the sugar refinery, but some exceptions in terms of distance, such as Bologna, Empoli and Ferrara, stand out. In order to better understand the spatial indications that will be discussed from now on, I will reproduce below a map in which the area of the sugar refinery is marked to have a general idea of where the named places are located.

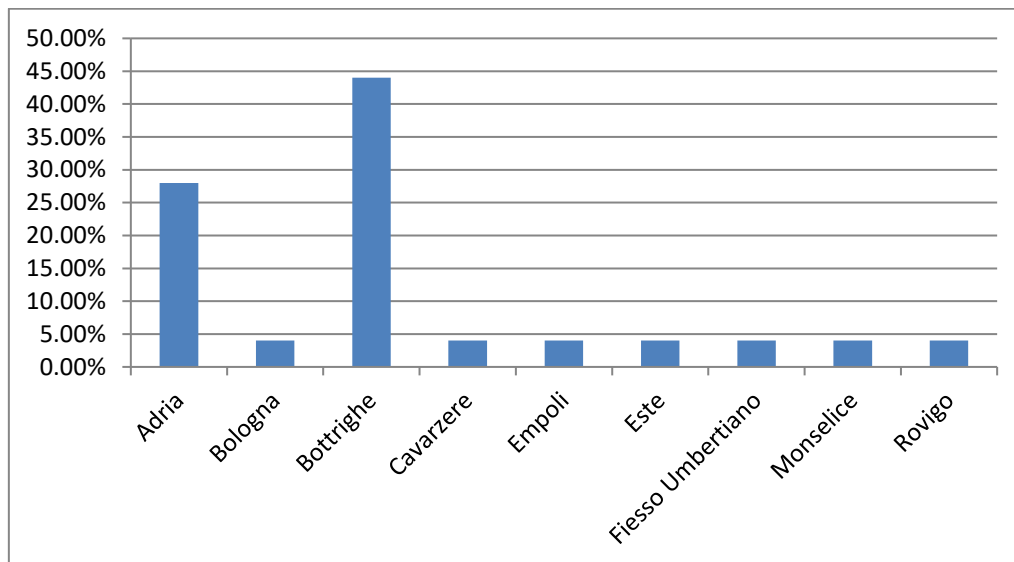
Fig. 27: Map of areas around the sugar factory.



Source: Archivio di Stato di Padova, inventario 91, busta 66. Re-elaboration of data by the author.

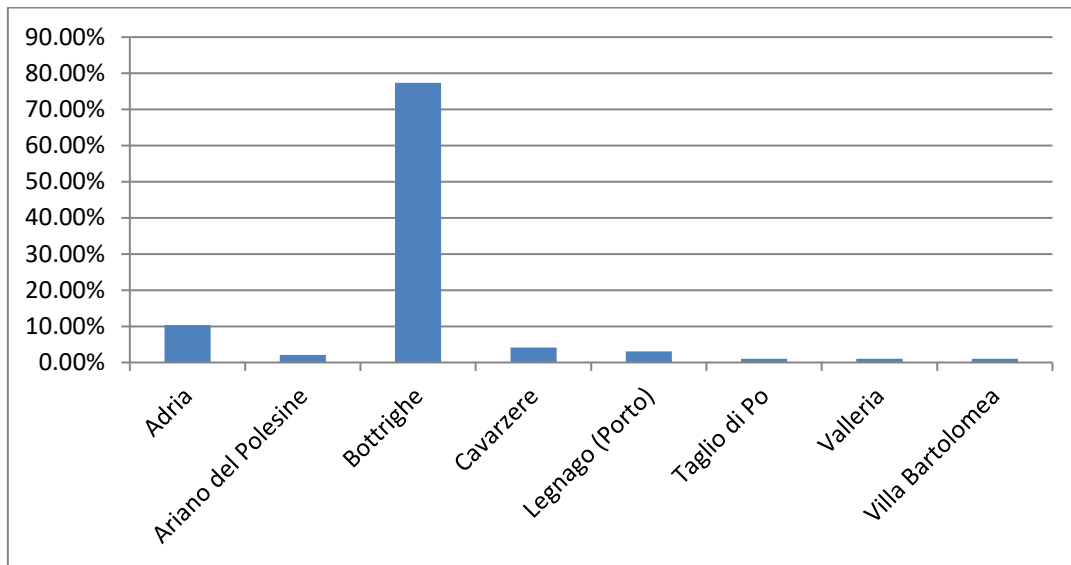
In the map, the area of the sugar factory is marked with a red square, and it is possible to see that it is near Adria. The red square also indicates the area of Bottrighe because the town is small, and it is difficult to locate it on maps. It is possible to notice that Bologna and Ferrara are relatively far from the area of the sugar factory, so workers who come from those places travel a lot in their everyday life. To get to the heart of the matter, we begin by analysing the origins of permanent workers, who are the numerically lowest type.

Fig 28: Places of residence of permanent employees.



Source: Archivio di Stato di Padova, inventario 91, busta 66. Re-elaboration of data by the author.

Fig. 29: Places of residence of permanent labourers.

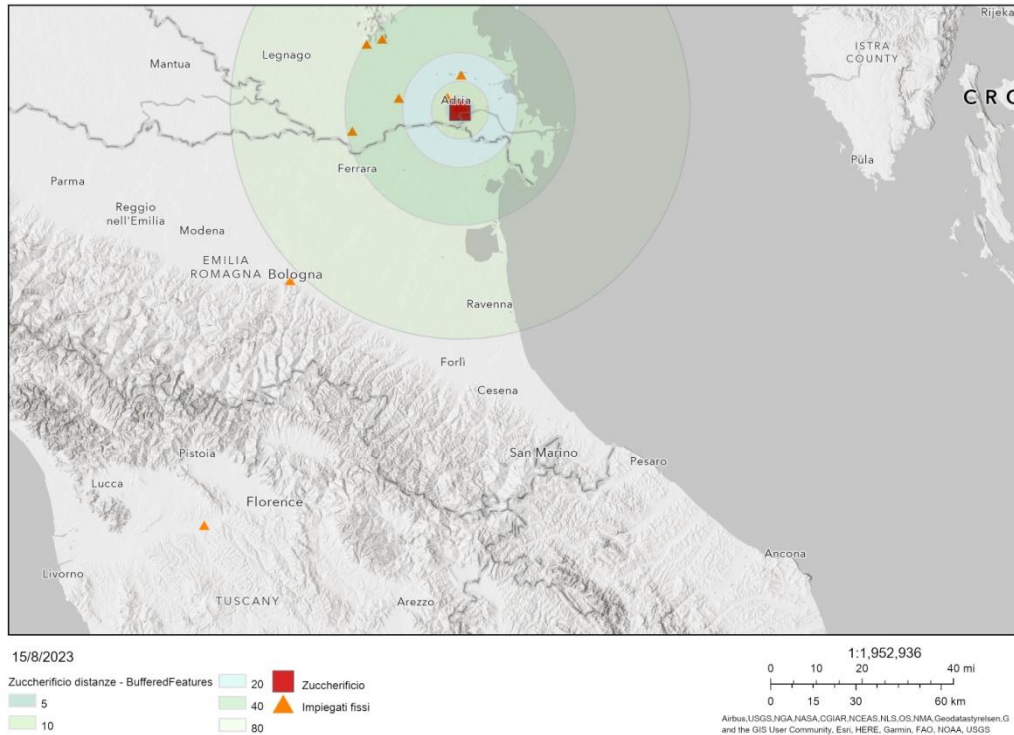


Source: Archivio di Stato di Padova, inventario 91, busta 66. Re-elaboration of data by the author.

The graphs clearly show that, for permanent workers, the most chosen residence was Bottrighe, followed immediately by Adria, as already seen in the table. The other cities are present in a very modest percentage but more than the numbers, in this case, it would be appropriate to focus on the towns themselves and the differences between the cities of residence of labourers and those of employees. It could be a coincidence, but it should be noted that the cities of residence of employees are undoubtedly larger, such as Bologna, Empoli, Este and Rovigo, especially when compared with smaller cities such as Taglio di Po or Ariano del Polesine, which are present in the graph of labourers. Possible reasons for this difference could lie in a discourse already addressed in the previous chapter concerning the possibility of access to education and training that would allow one to work as an employee. If, in the previous chapter, however, the difference was age-related, here it shifts spatially, and it is natural to hypothesise that employees lived in bigger cities because there they had the opportunity to develop the

necessary skills for office work.<sup>102</sup> It could be useful to look at the map to understand the distances between the sugar factory and the places from which employees and labourers came, and I will begin with the employees.

Fig 30: Distance between place of residence of permanent employees and the sugar factory



Source: Archivio di Stato di Padova, inventario 91, busta 66. Re-elaboration of data by the author.

As it is possible to notice from the map employees were quite scattered in the surrounding areas and in particular there were some of them who had to travel until 40 km each day to reach the sugar factory. The isolated cases of the employees from Bologna and Empoli are still to be taken into consideration because of the kilometres they had to travel each day to go to work. Several questions might arise from this data, such as whether these workers had the same hours as the others, whether they were

<sup>102</sup> Arru and Ramella, 2015, 292-331.

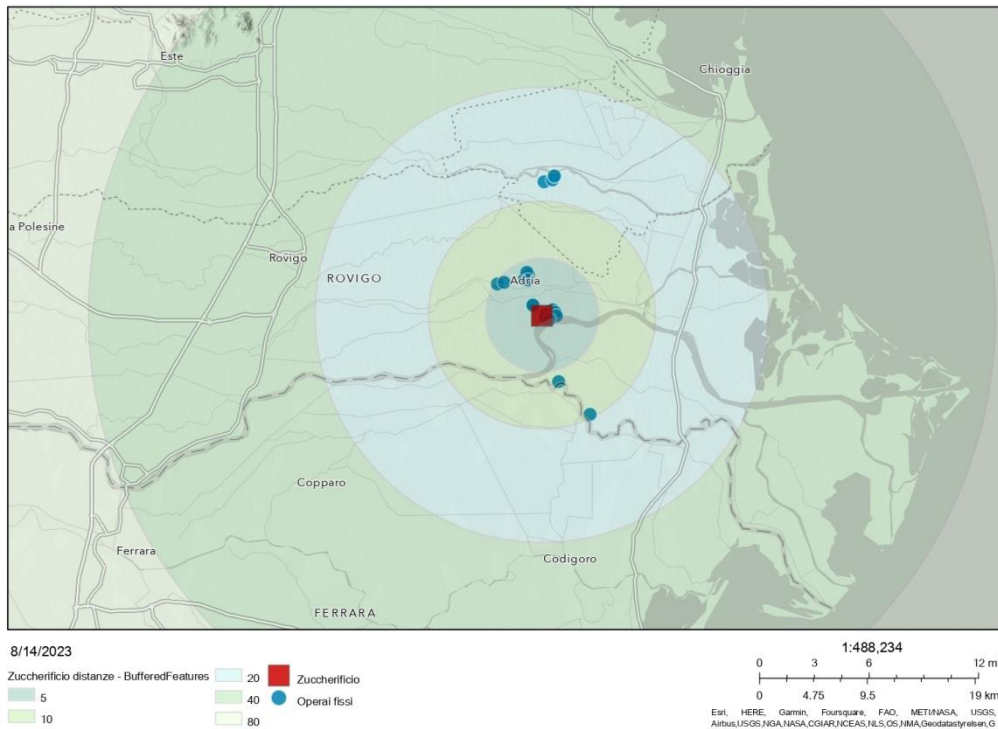
obliged to go to work every morning or whether the distance allowed for some sort of flexibility. Another topic discussed above that can be taken up from another angle is wages, and in particular, whether this is influenced by the distance between residence and place of work. In the case of the employee with residence in Bologna, there is indeed a difference in that, although he is in a category generally never paid over 200,000 lire, he receives a salary well over double that, in fact over 500,000 lire. The motivation for such a high salary for a category that generally sees much less is not specified in the records, but it could be assumed an undeclared transport reimbursement, given also the mobility struggles that, according to Thirion (2020)<sup>103</sup>, took place in the years before those under consideration. A different case remains that of the employee residing in Empoli: according to the records, this employee is marked as “Cat. 1°”, thus the highest category, and it is also specified that he is a “*capo fabbrica*” (factory manager). His is the highest job, and it is also noted by the fact that he has the highest salary of all the workers taken into consideration. In his case, such a high salary is an intersection of several factors, including category, seniority, and, at this point, distance should not be excluded.

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<sup>103</sup> Thirion, 2020, “Trasporti e pendolarismo in Veneto: una nuova risorsa nell’agire collettivo”, 171-187.



Fig. 31: Distance between place of residence of permanent labourers and the sugar factory.

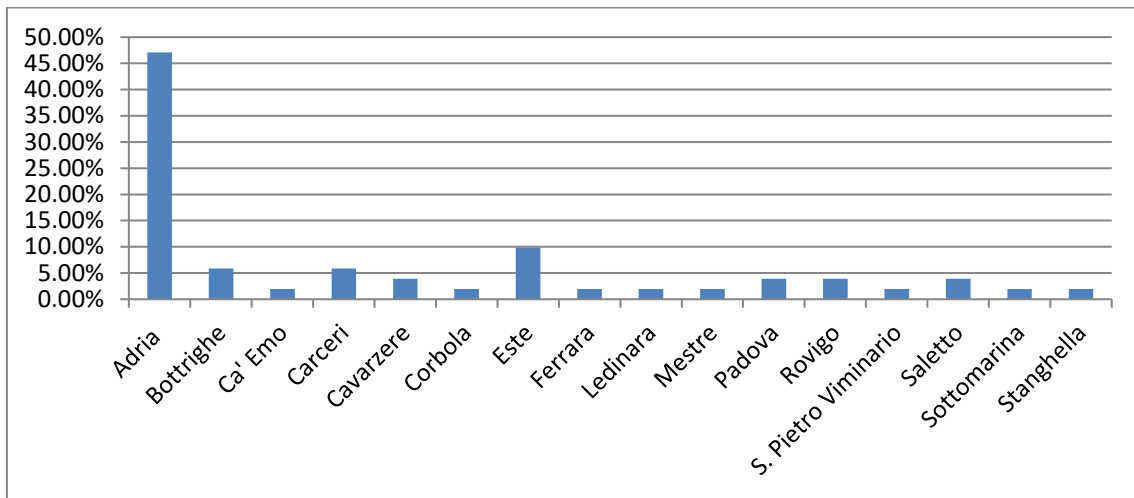


Source: Archivio di Stato di Padova, inventario 91, busta 66. Re-elaboration of data by the author.

The map shows the distance situation of permanent labourers, and it is clear that there are no cases like employees because the farthest distance reached in this instance is less than 15 km. Going back to the article on commuting quoted above, it could therefore be said that within 15 km it was easier to reach the workplace as people mostly travelled by bicycle and this did not lead to the use of transport and additional costs. Above all, the organisation of the working day is not affected too much either as the journey from home to the workplace is not longer than 30-40 minutes.

Moving on, the focus now turns to the analysis of the distances to the workplace of temporary workers, and the diagrams will be shown below.

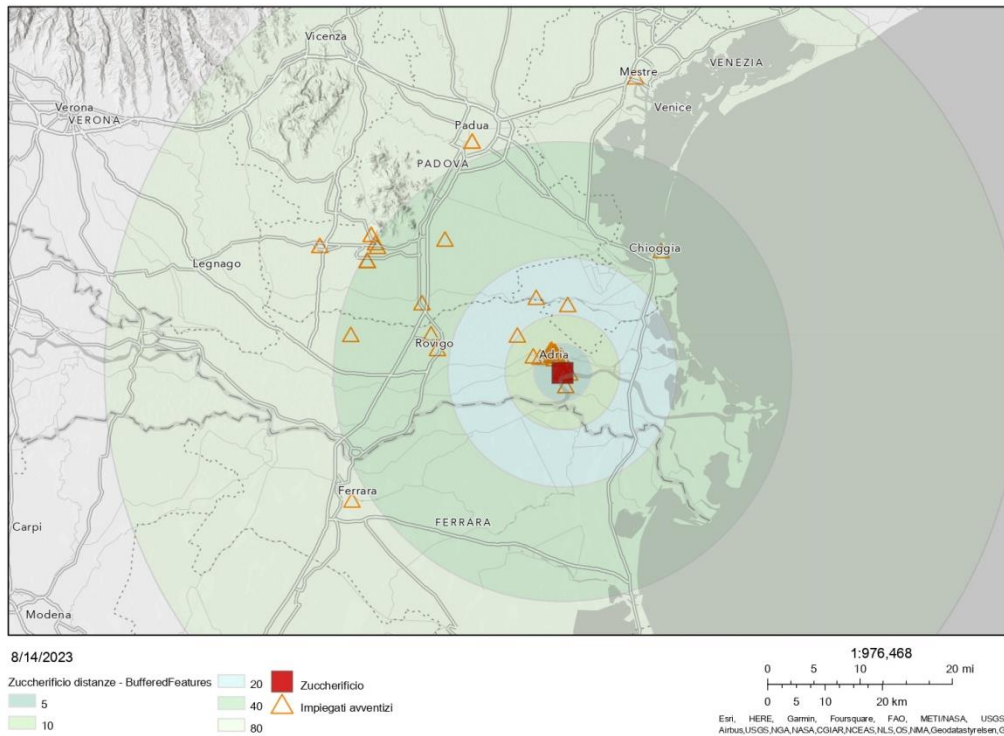
Fig. 32: Places of residence of temporary employees (1977)



Source: Archivio di Stato di Padova, inventario 91, busta 66. Re-elaboration of data by the author.

This first diagram concerns temporary employees, and one of the aspects that can be noticed is that Bottrighe, the centre in which the sugar factory is situated, is overcome by Adria. Bottrighe is not even in second place because Este has five per cent more residents than it. However, in general, there is heterogeneity in terms of residence, and the distances will be explored below by looking at the map.

Fig. 33: Distance between place of residence of temporary employees and the sugar factory

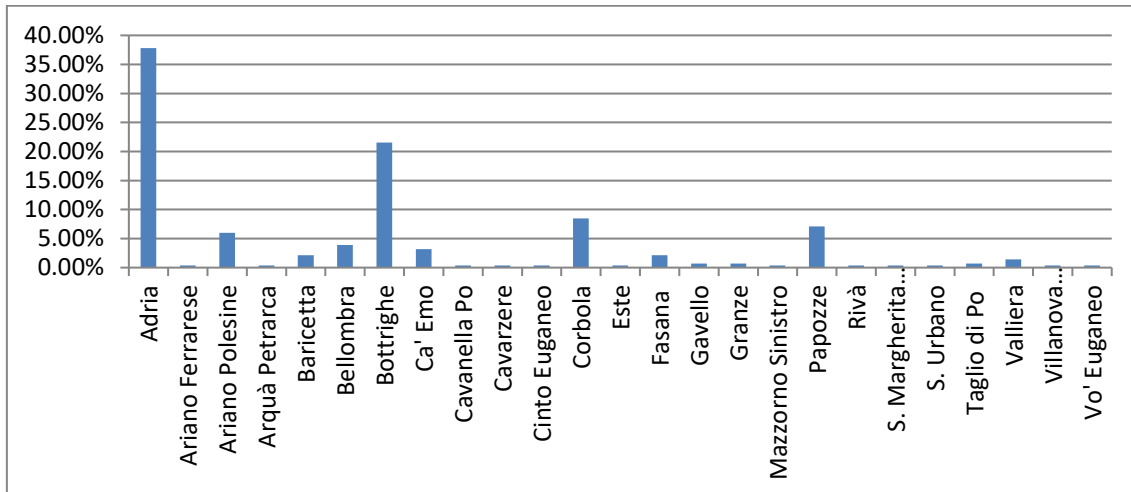


Source: Archivio di Stato di Padova, inventario 91, busta 66. Re-elaboration of data by the author.

Looking at the map, it can be seen that the greatest distances do not exceed 50-55 km, in fact the furthest employee resides in Mestre, which is about 53 km straight from Bottrighe. It can also be seen that the cities most affected are between Rovigo and Padua, while there are rarely workers who come from Venice. In this case, two workers reside nearby (Mestre and Chioggia), but, in the maps seen previously, there were no matches in the Venetian area, and it can already be anticipated that, even for temporary workers, the situation will be more or less similar. The reason for this absence could be justified by the fact that in the Venice area, most of the workforce within the factories had turned to Porto Marghera and therefore did not need to go as far as the Polesine area. Returning to the map, the last thing to point out is another presence in the Ferrara

area, which could seem further because it is in another region, but, in the end, it is at least 10 km nearer than Mestre and borders the province of Rovigo.

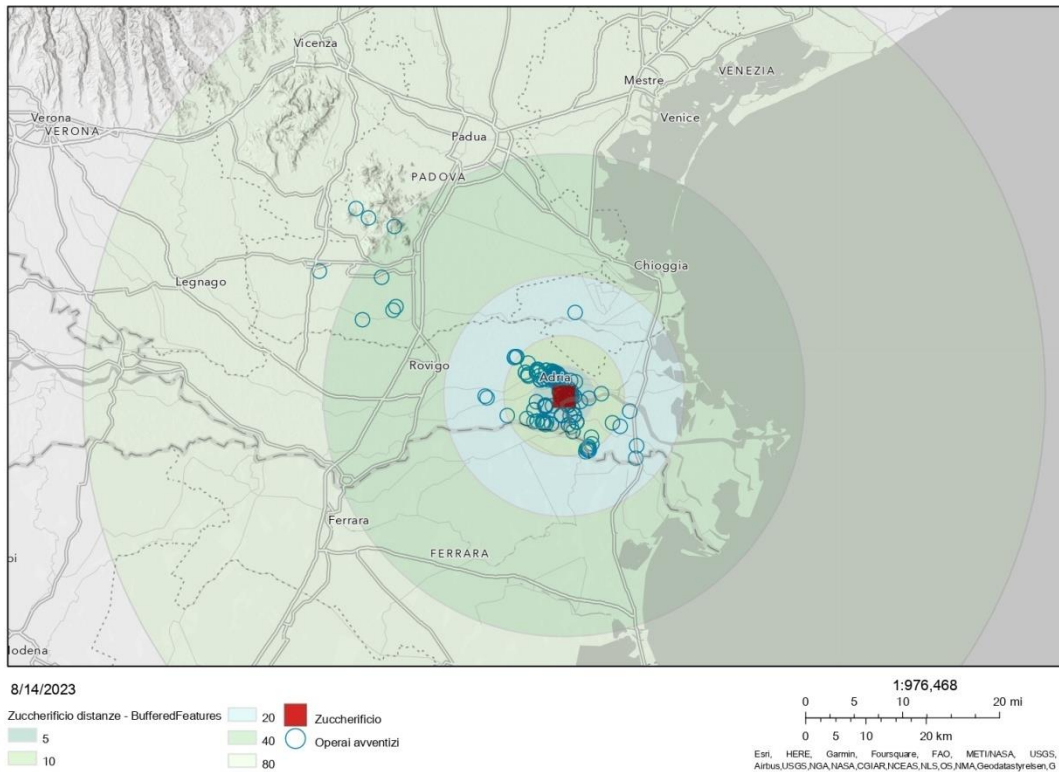
Fig. 34: Places of residence of temporary labourers (1977)



Source: Archivio di Stato di Padova, inventario 91, busta 66. Re-elaboration of data by the author.

Here above is shown the graph of the residence of temporary labourers, and, in this case, Bottrighe is in second place once again with more than 20As already noticed analysing the data of permanent workers, also here the towns are smaller and more various, and it cannot be excluded that some of them, like for example Baricetta, are fractions. There are several towns in which the presence is lower than 0,5%, but I wanted to report them in any case precisely to show this discourse of small towns that the map will prove to be quite close to Bottrighe.

Fig. 35: Distance between place of residence of permanent labourers and the sugar factory.



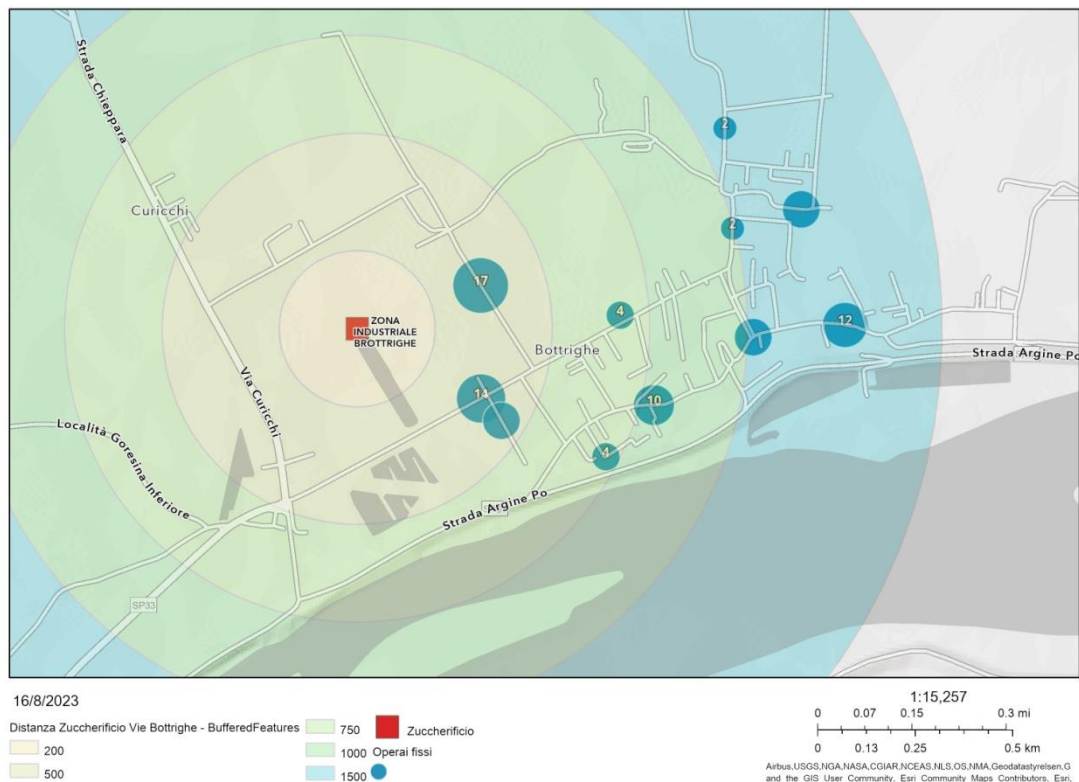
Source: Archivio di Stato di Padova, inventario 91, busta 66. Re-elaboration of data by the author.

Looking at the map, it is clear that the area in which most of the workers reside is within 20 km. Because of the fact that they are temporary, and so are hired during the period of the manufacturing of the sugar beets, it is reasonably usual to have workers who come from the proximities of the factory. There are some exceptions between Padua and Rovigo, but it is quite frequent and can be also seen on the other maps shown above.

Before analysing the last section of this chapter, I would like to focus specifically on the workers who lived in Bottrighe, considering that the data gathered also included the specific address of residence, so it is possible to see where they lived compared to the sugar factory. This examination stems from the fact that, as mentioned earlier, the sugar

factory became the hub of an entire community, and around this, the community was formed with housing, schools and many types of services.<sup>104</sup>

Fig. 36: Permanent labourers resident in Bottrighe (1977)

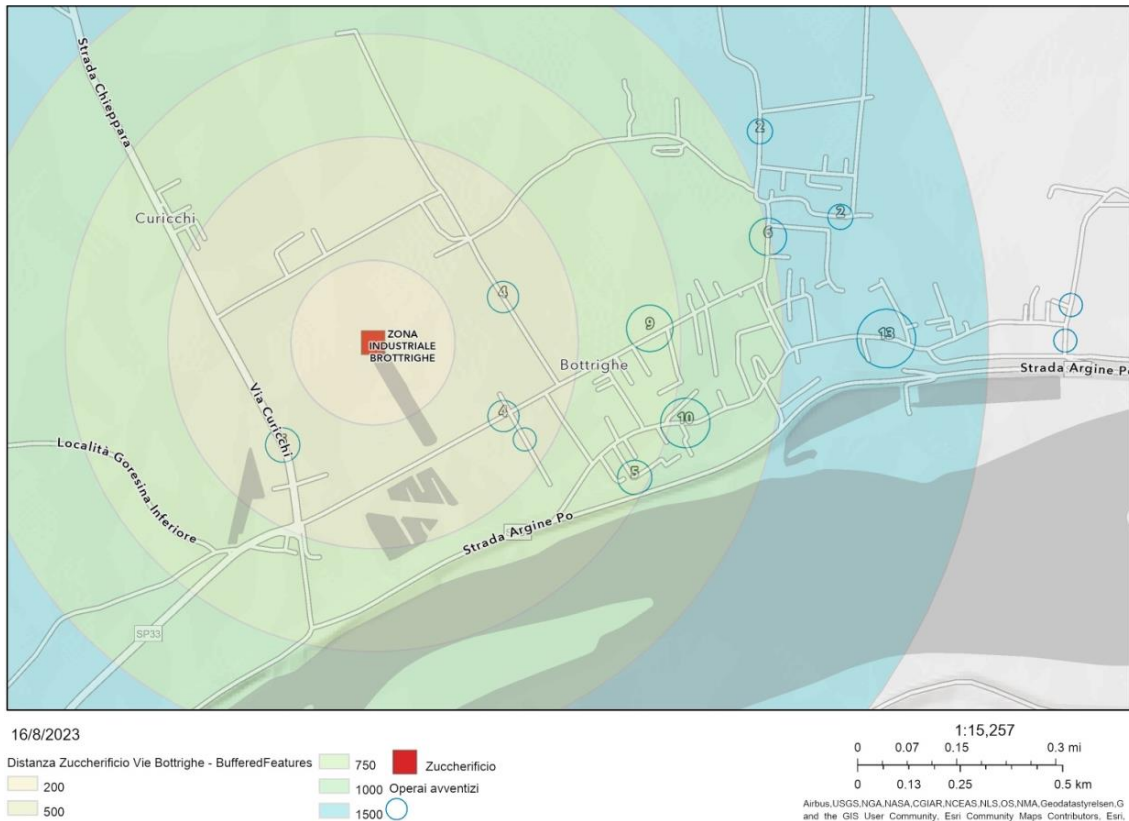


Source: Archivio di Stato di Padova, inventario 91, busta 66. Re-elaboration of data by the author.

Already in this first map, it is visible how, in this case, the workers all lived in the same areas. 17 of them lived in Via Risorgimento, 14 in Via Dante, 12 in Via Vittorio Veneto and 10 in Via Umberto Maddalena. For the groups of workers living in the proximity of the factory, the distance between the street where they live and the sugar factory is between 500 metres and 1.5 km. The one above is a map of permanent labourers only, but looking at the map of casual labourers does not change too much.

<sup>104</sup> Faben, 2012, 5-54.

Fig. 37: Temporary labourers resident in Bottrighe (1977)



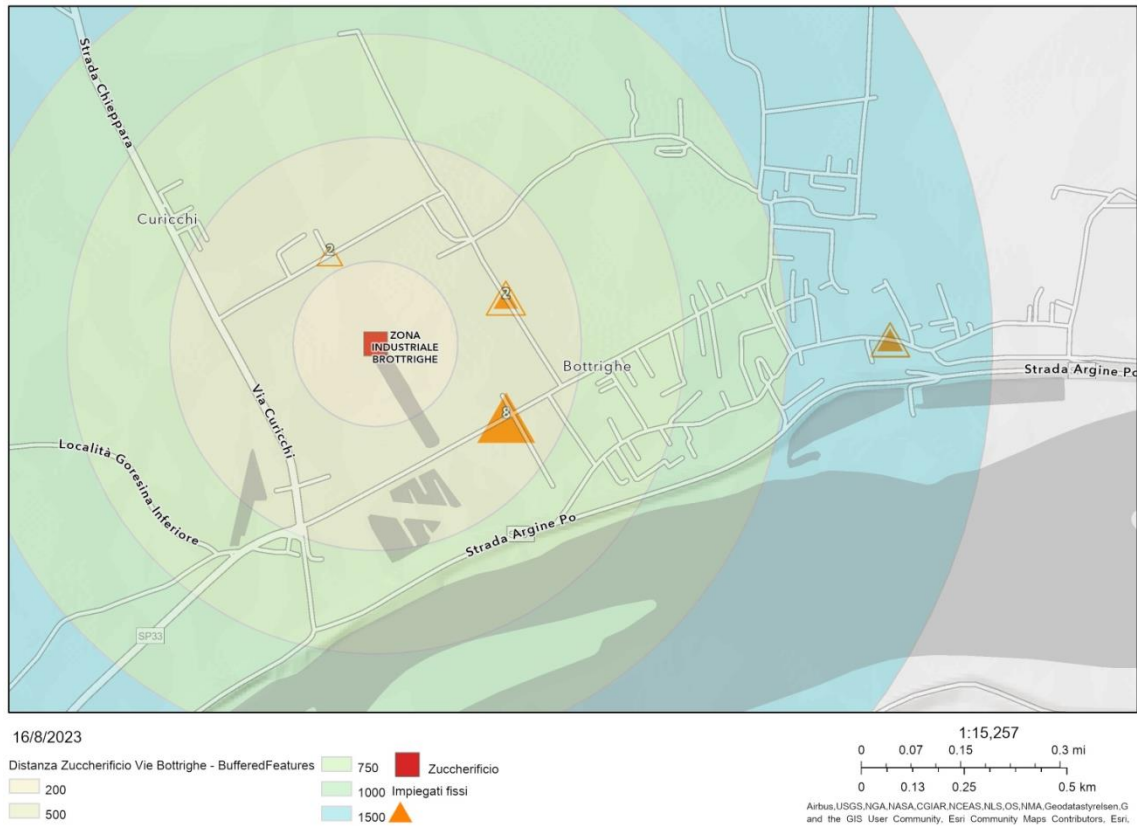
Source: Archivio di Stato di Padova, inventario 91, busta 66. Re-elaboration of data by the author.

Both maps contribute to the formation of an image previously mentioned by Marangoni when he spoke of the atmosphere of movement in the city, especially during the period of sugar beet processing.<sup>105</sup>

<sup>105</sup> Marangoni, 2015, 89-91



Fig. 38: Temporary and permanent employees resident in Bottrighe (1977)



Source: Archivio di Stato di Padova, inventario 91, busta 66. Re-elaboration of data by the author.

This is the last map of this section, and it concerns the temporary and permanent employees who reside in Bottrighe. First of all, it must be taken into account that they were outnumbered by labourers, so such a smaller number of residents is not surprising. Another thing, however, that cannot be ignored is that employees generally live further away from the factory than labourers; this may be due to several coinciding factors. These factors include the previously mentioned training that employees were able to obtain in other, larger cities, but also perhaps the timetables, which are not available, but on which it can be assumed that maybe those of the employees were more regular than those of the labourers, who were, therefore, better off closer to the factory.

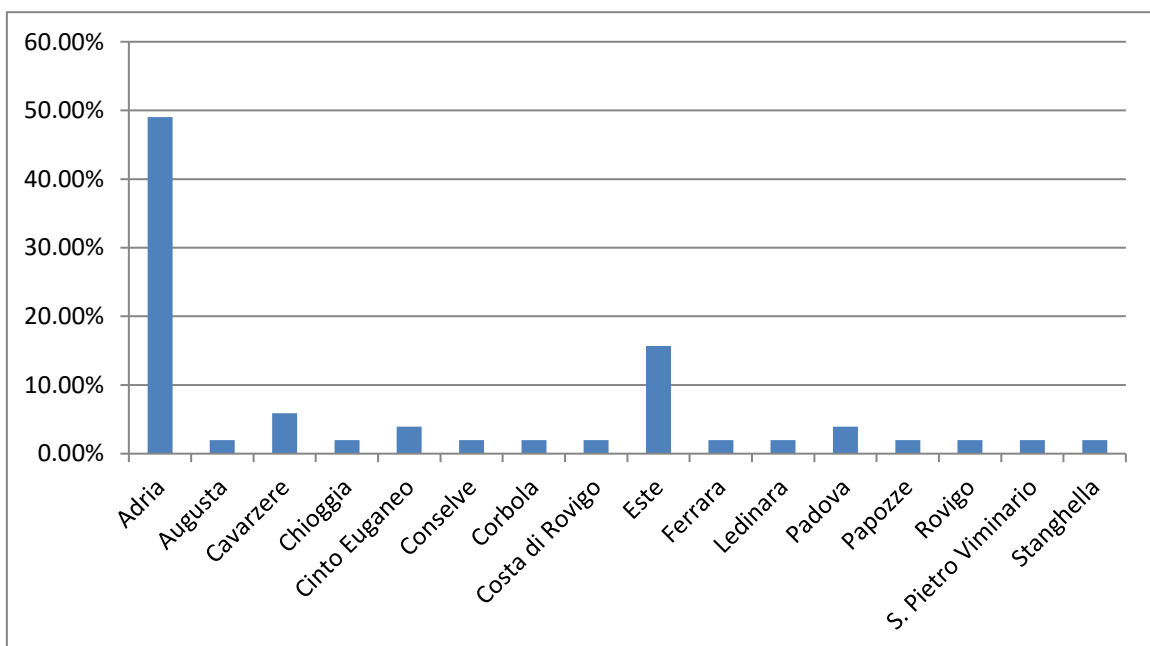


### 4.3. Analysis of places of birth: movements and mobility.

This last section focuses on the analysis of data concerning birthplaces, comparing them with the places of residence so that a potential reflection about mobility could arise. Some of the questions asked before looking at the information deduced by the registers could involve the concept of migration, and according to this, it is necessary to pay more attention to the difference between temporary and permanent labourers regarding this topic. The reason why it is crucial to reflect upon migration is that the period of the Seventies is still characterized by a consistent migration from the South of Italy, and the idea was to check if the southern migration had involved this area and, more specifically, this factory too.

The first category displayed in this section concerns temporary employees, and in the graph below, it is possible to notice how Adria is the town where most of the workers were born.

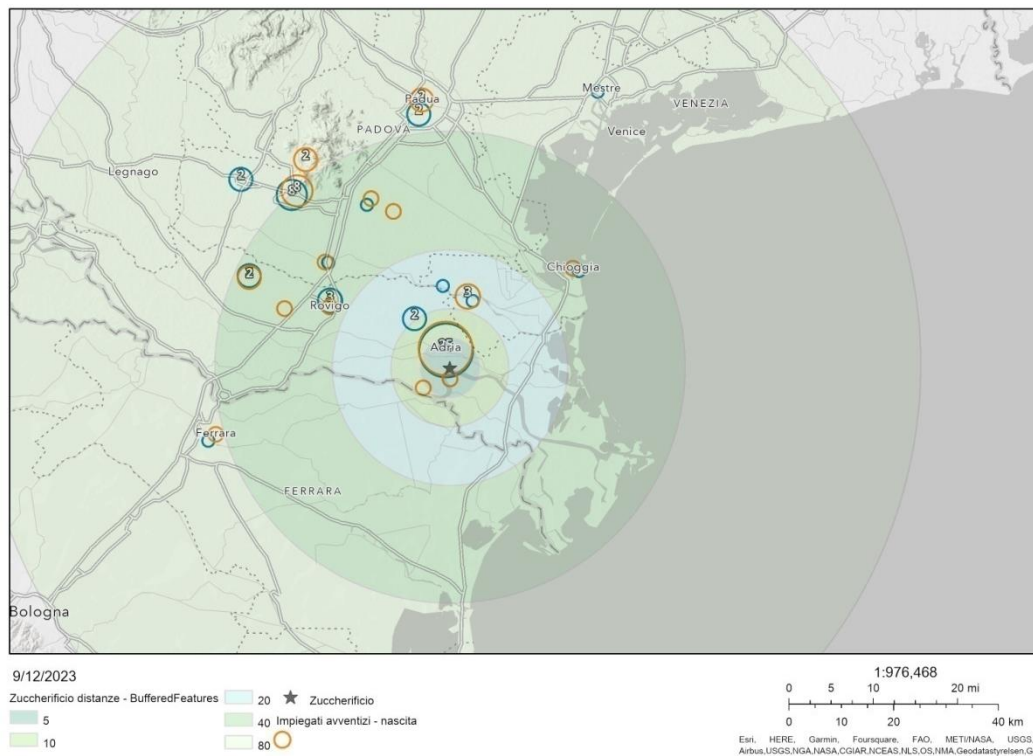
Fig 39: Percentage of birthplaces of temporary employees (1977)



Source: Archivio di Stato di Padova, inventario 91, busta 66. Re-elaboration of data by the author.

The other birthplaces in the graph are near the sugar factory, except for Augusta, a town in Sicily. This is one of the very few examples of workers whose place of birth is in the South, and it is reasonable to think that the employee immigrated alone or with family before this temporary job. It has to be taken into consideration that this employee lives in Mestre and has been hired as a “*Cat I*” employee for less than two months, so he travelled almost 65 km every day. Looking at the map, it is possible to focus on the birthplaces in the sugar factory area and compare them with the place of residence.

Fig. 40: Map of birthplaces and places of residence of temporary employees (1977)

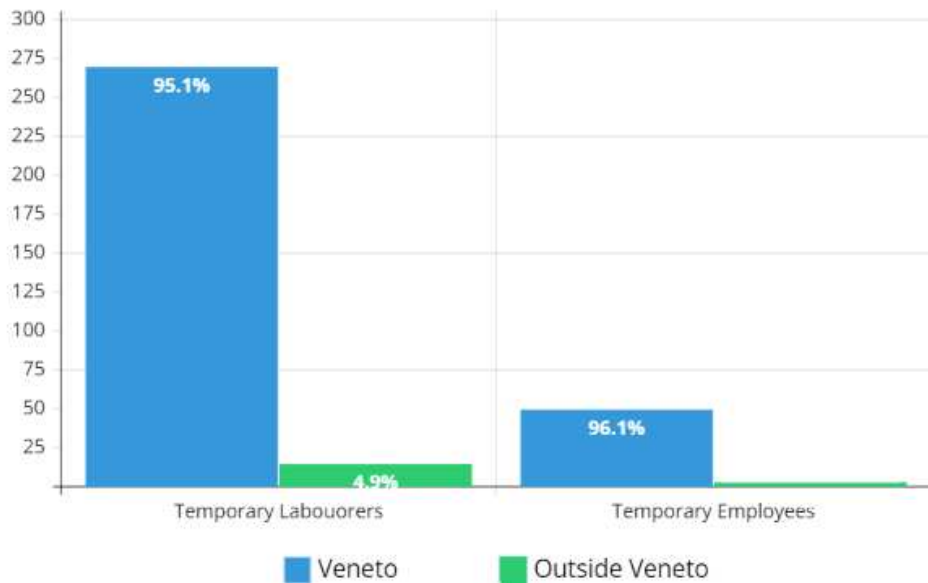


Source: Archivio di Stato di Padova, inventario 91, busta 66. Re-elaboration of data by the author.

The map above shows how temporary employees generally lived in the same area of their birth, which happens to be at most 50km from the sugar factory, except for the employees born in Sicily who inevitably moved.

Confronting now the data of temporary employees with temporary labourers, it is possible to notice how birthplaces are varied, but almost all are in the vicinity of the factory or at least in the Veneto region.

Fig. 41: Percentage of temporary labourers and temporary employees who are born in Veneto and outside Veneto (1977)

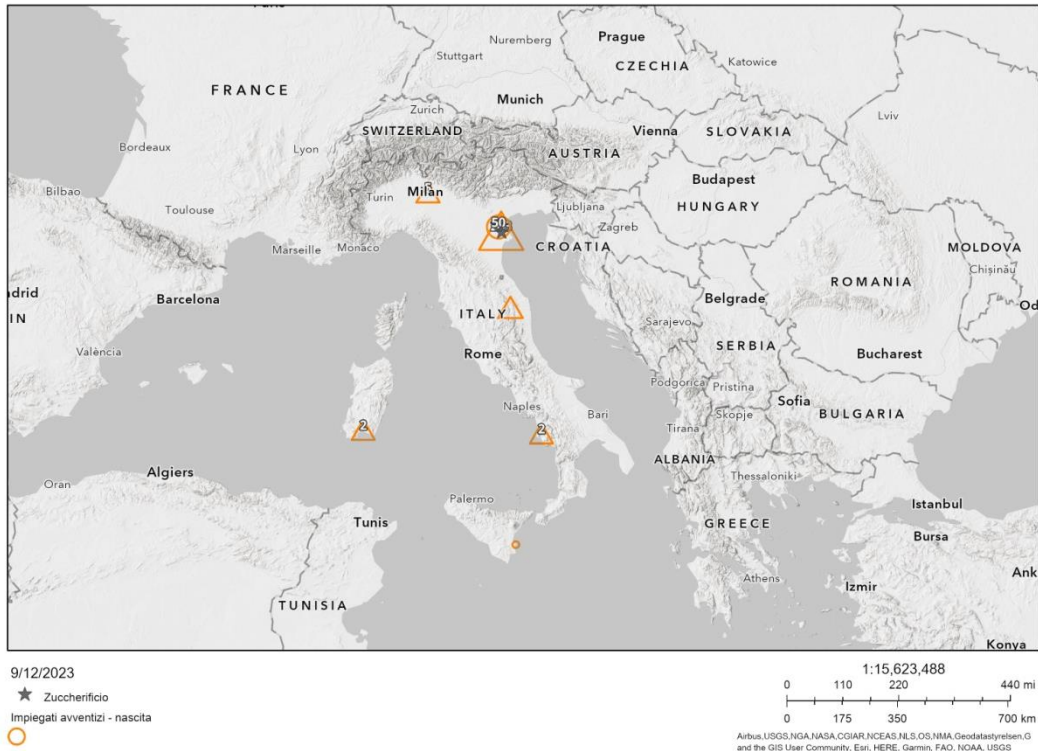


Source: Archivio di Stato di Padova, inventario 91, busta 66. Re-elaboration of data by the author.

It is just almost the 5% of labourers and the 4% of employees that were born in places outside Veneto. Most of these places are in Emilia Romagna, but there are some exceptions like, for example, Sardinia, Sicily and Campania, but also in the north with workers born in Trentino, Turin or Milan. It is reasonable to think that temporary labourers come from places near the factory as they do not commonly work for more than three months. The most plausible hypothesis would, therefore, be that all workers born outside Veneto were commuters in the Emilia Romagna cases and former immigrants in the other cases. There are some studies in favour of the theory that

mobility within the same provinces and regions is crucial for the economic development of the region itself, and Veneto could be a shining example.

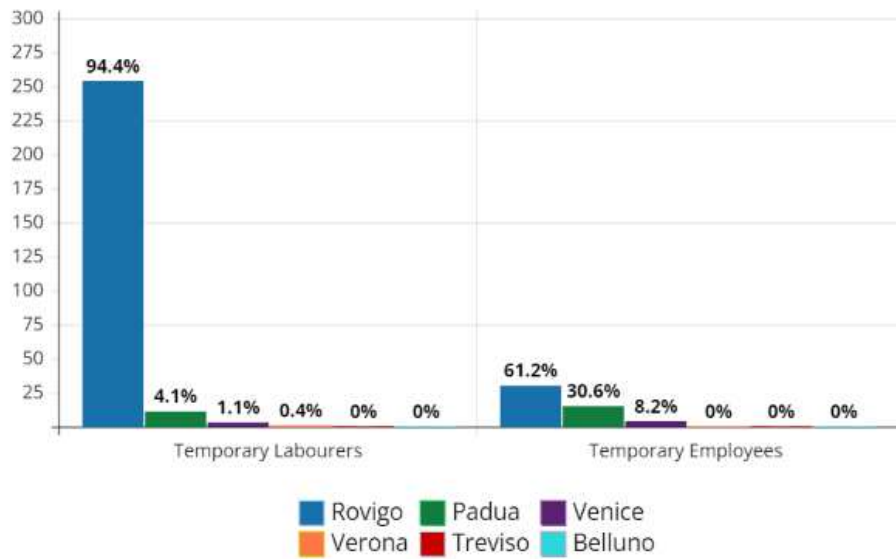
Fig. 42: Map of birthplaces of temporary employees and temporary labourers (1977)



Source: Archivio di Stato di Padova, inventario 91, busta 66. Re-elaboration of data by the author.

In the map, in which the triangle represents the labourers, and the circle represents the employees, it is possible to see an overlapping area of the sugar factory, while there are a few triangles and circles in the rest of Italy. It means that a consistent part of temporary workers come from the proximity of the factory. More specifically, looking closer, it is possible to notice that they come from Veneto itself, confirming the hypothesis previously mentioned, and that was also claimed by Stefano Gallo in his paper: the importance of intraregional mobility.

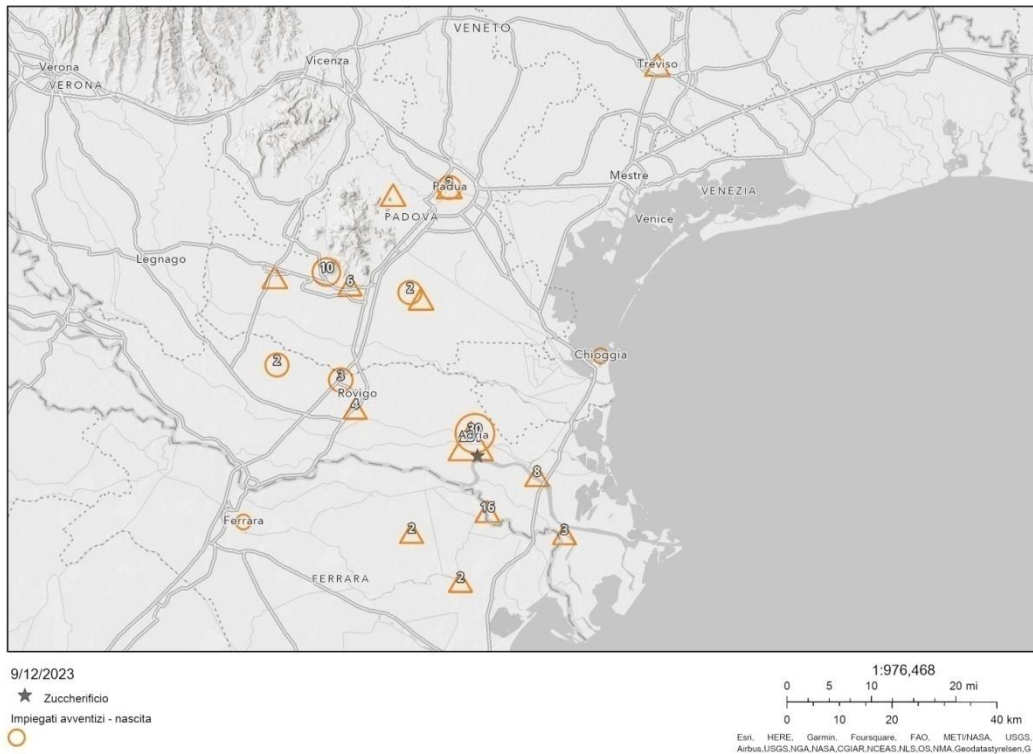
Fig. 43: Percentage of birthplaces of temporary workers who were born in Veneto.



Source: Archivio di Stato di Padova, inventario 91, busta 66. Re-elaboration of data by the author.

The graph above outlines the situation of temporary workers who were born in Veneto. It is possible to note the strong presence of workers from the province of Rovigo (more than 90% for labourers and a good 60% for employees), followed by minorities born in the province of Venice and Padua, which nevertheless has 30% of employees. In the next page these data can be seen elaborated on the map.

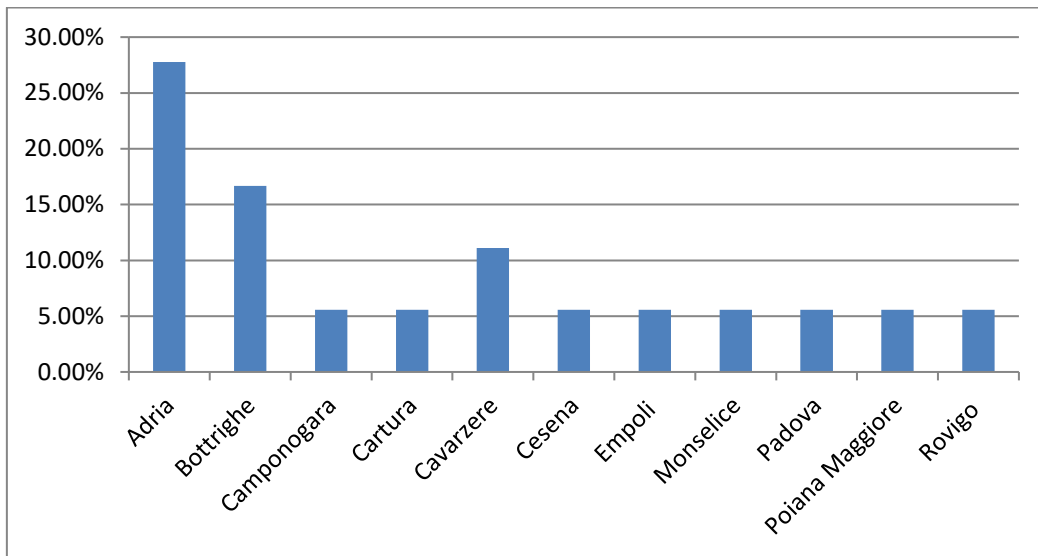
Fig. 44: Map of birthplaces of temporary labourers and temporary employees in the area of Veneto (1977)



Source: Archivio di Stato di Padova, inventario 91, busta 66. Re-elaboration of data by the author.

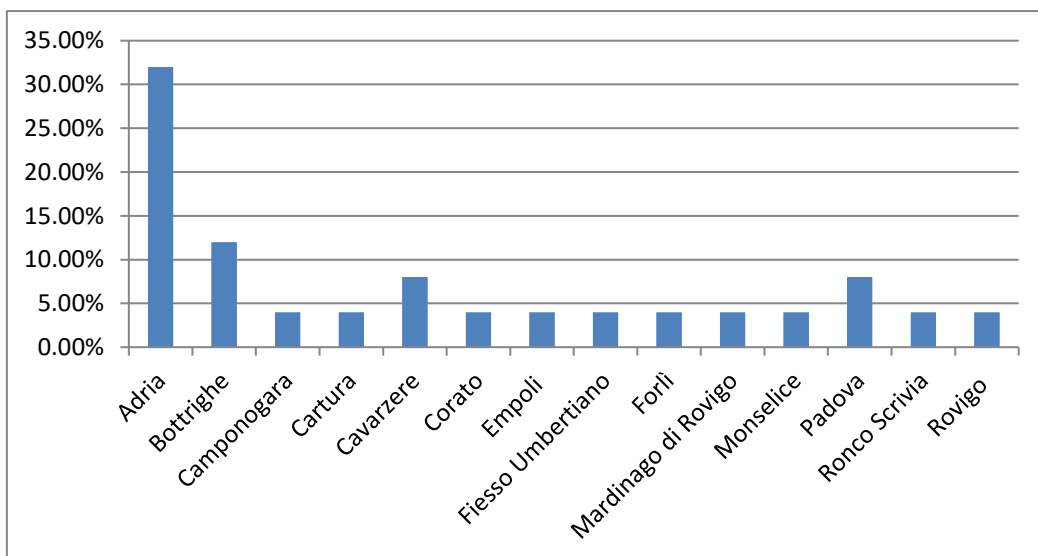
The analysis now can be focused on permanent workers starting from permanent employees, in which it is possible to examine both the situation in 1974 and 1977 as in the graphs below.

Fig. 45: Diagram of birthplace permanent employees (1974)



Source: Archivio di Stato di Padova, inventario 91, busta 66. Re-elaboration of data by the author.

Fig. 46: Diagram of birthplace permanent employees (1977)



Source: Archivio di Stato di Padova, inventario 91, busta 66. Re-elaboration of data by the author.

As it is possible to observe, in this case, the majority is born in Veneto, but there are more exceptions, and in this case, almost all of them are from the north of Italy except for the employee who is born in Corato, which is in Apulia. Considering the fact that all

the employees working during 1974 were also working during 1977, I will now compare the birthplaces and places of residence of employees in 1977.

<b>Birthplace and place of residence</b>	<b>Percentage of permanent employees (1977)</b>
<b>Adria</b>	<b>28,00%</b>
Adria	16,00%
Camponogara	4,00%
Cartura	4,00%
Cavarzere	4,00%
<b>Bologna</b>	<b>4,00%</b>
Corato	4,00%
<b>Bottrighe</b>	<b>44,00%</b>
Adria	16,00%
Bottrighe	12,00%
Forlì	4,00%
Padova	8,00%
Ronco Scrivia	4,00%
<b>Cavarzere</b>	<b>4,00%</b>
Cavarzere	4,00%
<b>Empoli</b>	<b>4,00%</b>
Empoli	4,00%
<b>Este</b>	<b>4,00%</b>
Mardinago di Rovigo	4,00%
<b>Fiesso Umbertiano</b>	<b>4,00%</b>
Fiesso Umbertiano	4,00%
<b>Monselice</b>	<b>4,00%</b>
Monselice	4,00%
<b>Rovigo</b>	<b>4,00%</b>
Rovigo	4,00%
<b>Totale complessivo</b>	<b>100,00%</b>

Source: Archivio di Stato di Padova, inventario 91, busta 66. Re-elaboration of data by the author.

The table shows how most of the employees moved to Bottrighe (32%) or Adria (12%), but it has to be noted that the employee from Corato, in the province of Bari, lives not near the factory but in Bologna and has to travel every day to reach his workplace probably with public transports like trains or buses. In the paper written by Thirion there are also testimonies of commuters whose working day actually began the moment they



took the train, despite the fact that their superiors did not feel the same way. These testimonies suggest that the percentage of commuters who took the train to work was very high or that the trains available were few, as they claim that they were forced to stay tight throughout the journey.<sup>106</sup>

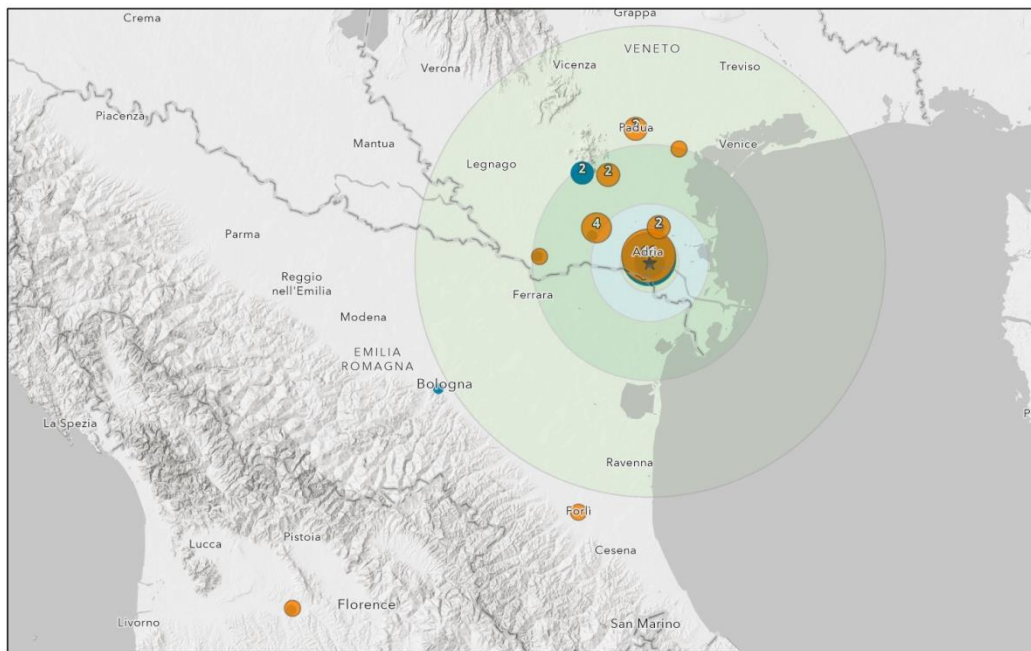
As noticed in the previous section, there is the head of the factory who comes from Empoli, and it is possible to see that he was also born in Empoli. Now it is necessary to reason with the available elements and not having any other information on this employee, but his situation being quite particular since Empoli is more than 200 kilometres from Bottrighe, it is possible to hypothesise. One of the hypotheses could be that he did not live in Veneto but lived in a rented house and perhaps maintained his residence in Empoli, but it is also possible to think about his type of job and to think that since it was a very high office job, perhaps he had the opportunity to delegate and to come to work less often than others.

Now, it is productive to visualize these data on a map to see concretely the distances from birthplace, place of residence and workplace.

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<sup>106</sup> Thirion, 2020, “Trasporti e pendolarismo in Veneto: una nuova risorsa nell’agire collettivo”, 171-187.

Fig. 47: Map of birthplace and place of residence of permanent employees (1977)

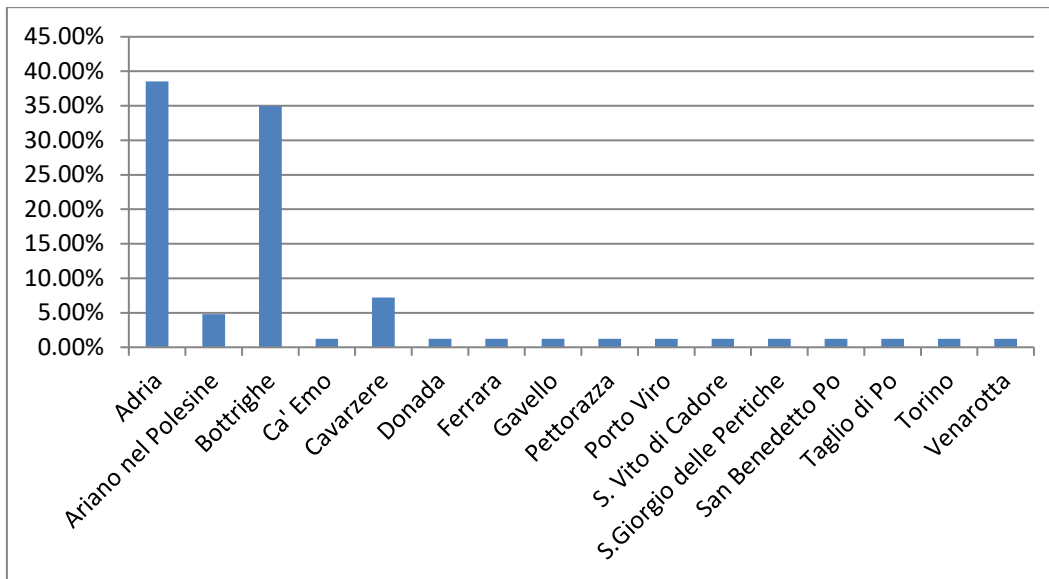


Source: Archivio di Stato di Padova, inventario 91, busta 66. Re-elaboration of data by the author.

In the map, it can be noticed how also, in this case, the majority of employees stay near the birthplace and the factory. The blue circles are indeed the place of residence of employees, and most of the time, they overlap or are close to the orange circles, which represent the birthplaces.

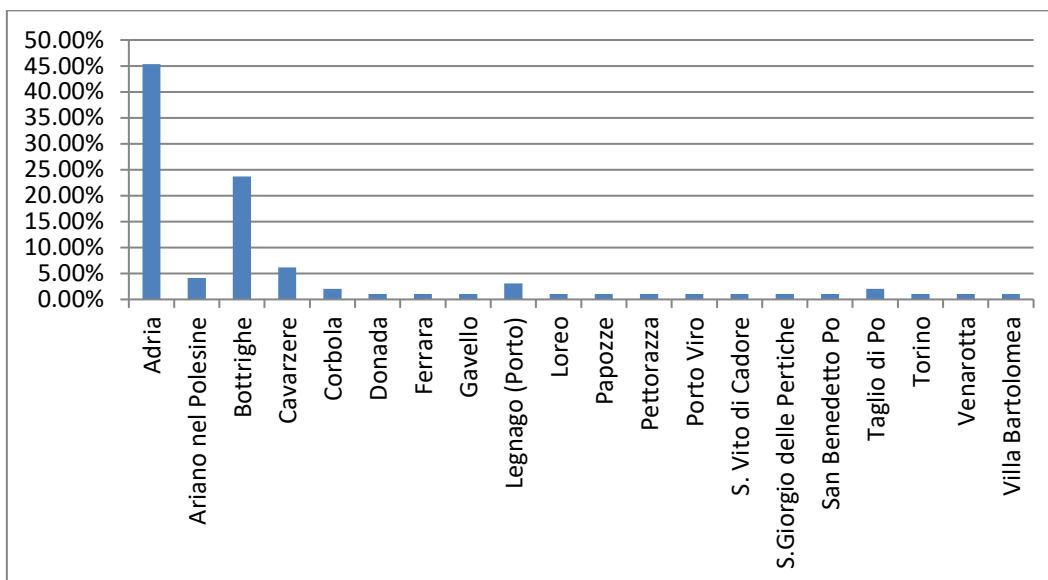
The last category examined in the section is the one of permanent labourers, as can be seen from the graphs below, there is very little presence in large cities and even towns outside the Veneto region. Only Turin, Venarotta in the Marches and S. Benedetto Po in Lombardy appear out of 110 labourers.

Fig. 48: Diagram of birthplace of permanent labourers (1974)



Source: Archivio di Stato di Padova, inventario 91, busta 66. Re-elaboration of data by the author.

Fig. 49: Diagram of birthplace of permanent labourers (1977)



Source: Archivio di Stato di Padova, inventario 91, busta 66. Re-elaboration of data by the author.

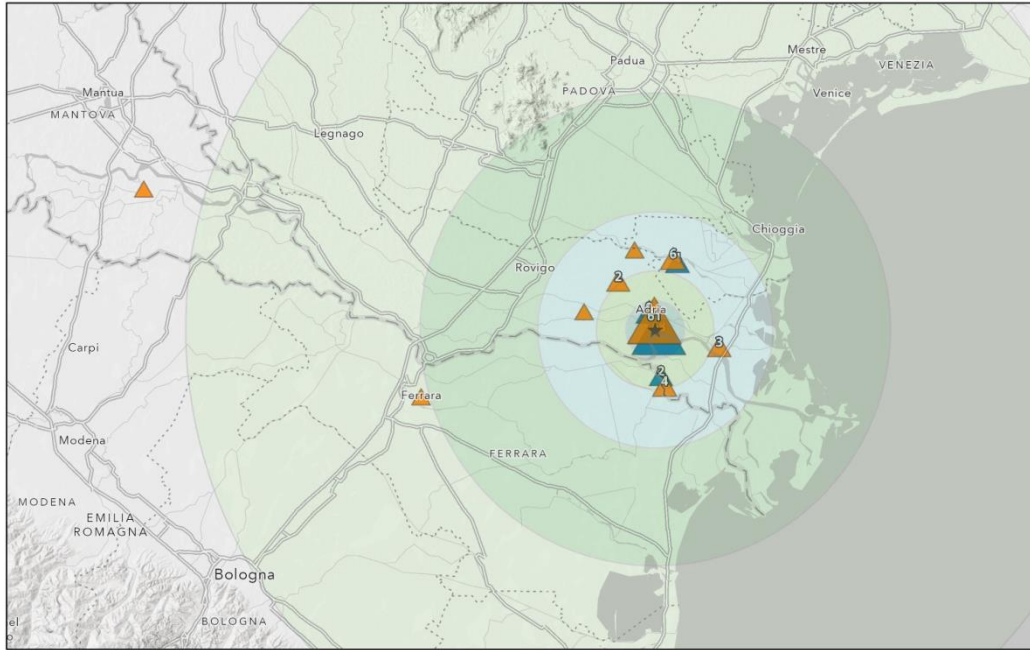
Also, in this case, it is necessary to show a comparison between birthplace and place of residence, and even here, 1977 will be taken into account because the difference is minimal.

Birthplace and place of residence	Percentage of permanent labourers (1977)
<b>Adria</b>	<b>10,31%</b>
Adria	8,25%
S. Vito di Cadore	1,03%
Venarotta	1,03%
<b>Ariano del Polesine</b>	<b>2,06%</b>
Ariano nel Polesine	1,03%
S. Giorgio delle Pertiche	1,03%
<b>Bottrighe</b>	<b>77,32%</b>
Adria	36,08%
Ariano nel Polesine	3,09%
Bottrighe	23,71%
Cavarzere	2,06%
Corbola	2,06%
Donada	1,03%
Ferrara	1,03%
Gavello	1,03%
Loreo	1,03%
Papozze	1,03%

Pettorazza	1,03%
Porto Viro	1,03%
San Benedetto Po	1,03%
Taglio di Po	1,03%
Torino	1,03%
<b>Cavarzere</b>	<b>4,12%</b>
Cavarzere	4,12%
<b>Legnago (Porto)</b>	<b>3,09%</b>
Legnago (Porto)	3,09%
<b>Taglio di Po</b>	<b>1,03%</b>
Taglio di Po	1,03%
<b>Valleria</b>	<b>1,03%</b>
Adria	1,03%
<b>Villa Bartolomea</b>	<b>1,03%</b>
Villa Bartolomea	1,03%
<b>Totale complessivo</b>	<b>100,00 %</b>

The table clarifies how also, in this case, the majority of labourers moved to Bottrighe and those who did not move to Bottrighe or Adria stayed in their birthplace save for the case of the labourer who was born in Adria and moved to Valleria, which is still a fraction of Adria.

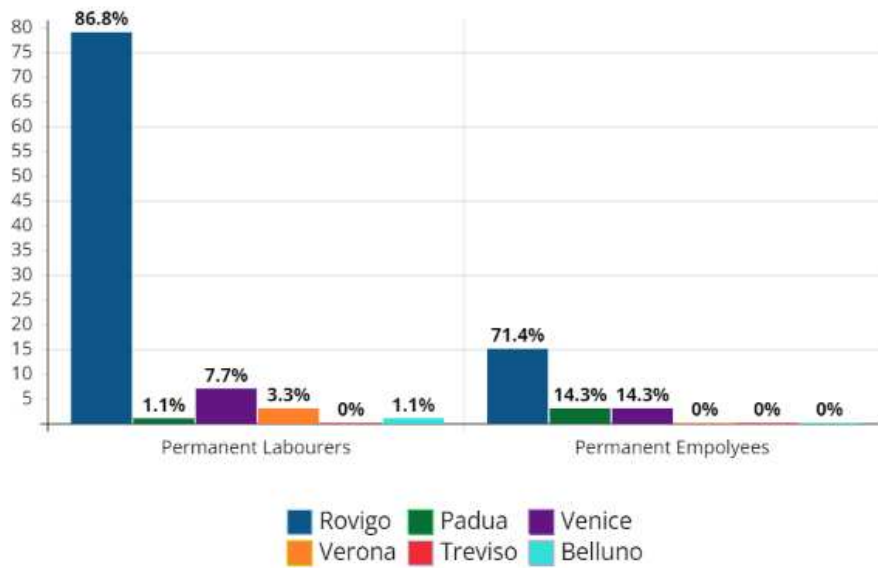
Fig. 50: Map of birthplace and place of residence of permanent labourers in the area of Veneto (1977)



Source: Archivio di Stato di Padova, inventario 91, busta 66. Re-elaboration of data by the author.

The map above visualizes what has been just explained and also shows how most of the birthplaces (orange triangles) overlap with the places of residence (blue triangles). It is also visible the distance from the sugar factory, represented by the black star and reflects again on the fact that permanent labourers were born in the areas near the factory or at least in Northern Italy.

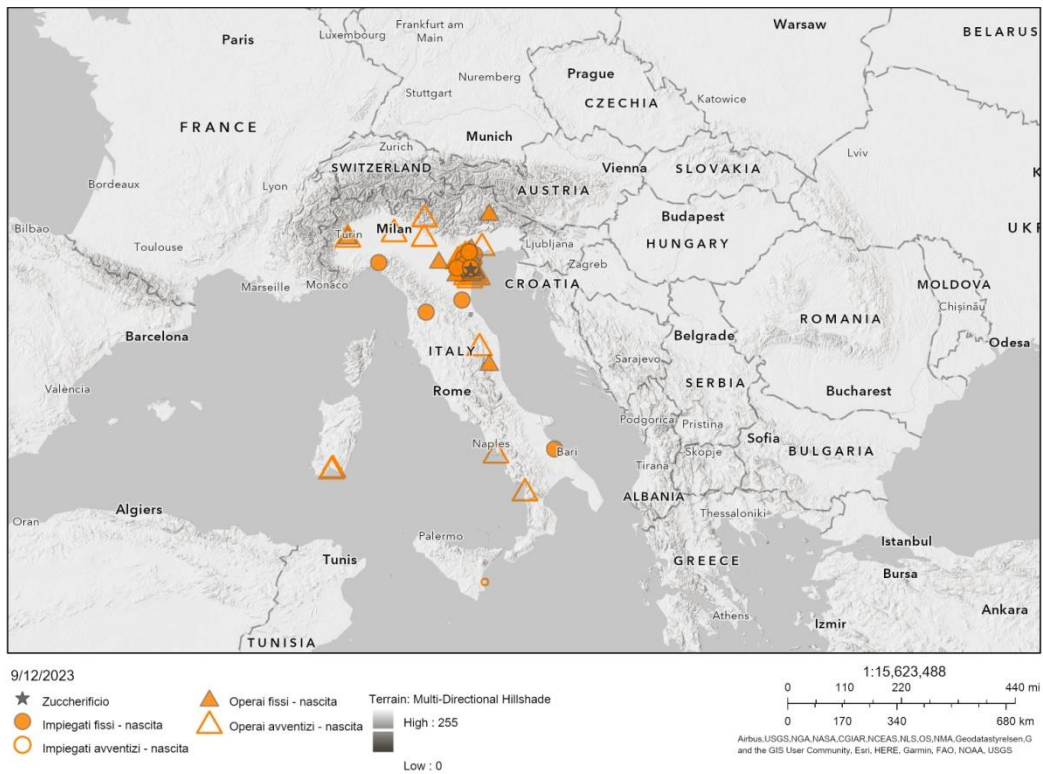
Fig. 51: Percentage of birthplaces of permanent workers who were born in Veneto.



Source: Archivio di Stato di Padova, inventario 91, busta 66. Re-elaboration of data by the author.

This graph also compares the places of birth in the various provinces of Veneto. In the case of permanent workers, although the presence of the province of Rovigo still dominates (86% and 71%), it is still possible to observe, albeit sporadically, the presence of workers born in other provinces. It should be borne in mind, however, that the percentages in this case never reach double figures.

Fig. 52: Map of birthplace of workers (1977)



Source: Archivio di Stato di Padova, inventario 91, busta 66. Re-elaboration of data by the author.

This last map is a summary of the data concerning the places of birth. All the data collected in the various registers have been put on the map to see the general trend. The strong presence of people born in the Veneto region itself and in its vicinity, such as Emilia Romagna, is reiterated here too. However, one should not underestimate origins such as those from the far north as well as those, certainly rarer, from the far south and the islands. But can we speak, at least in the case of the sugar refinery, of a *Veneto operaio* and thus of a productive effort by the Veneto population that led to the revival of the economy and industry that began in the Sixties? According to the data, more than 90 per cent of the workers in the sugar refinery are from Veneto, and this could perhaps be considered a coincidence, but there is no denying the strong presence in any field that



replaces the equally strong southern presence in contexts such as Turin.<sup>107</sup> Arru and Ramella, during their research about mobility in Turin, claimed that the migration of people from the South of Italy intersected with the one of people coming from other areas of Piedmont and that this brought consequences, creating patterns that were not easy to break. Looking at the information available from registers it could be possible to examine if the consequences were similar in this case, but the scale is too small as there are far fewer immigrants from the South, and the examination would be reduced to only five workers.

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<sup>107</sup> Arru and Ramella, 2006 and Badino, 2008.

## CONCLUSION

The thesis aimed to give a new perspective to the working situation in Veneto, looking at a specific case and analysing concrete pieces of evidence. The idea was to show that there are some aspects of the history of work that are not taken into consideration because sometimes, looking at the general situation does not allow us to see some exception that could be relevant. I analysed the registers of a sugar factory in the area of Polesine to show how a sector which has been less investigated could give important points of view, also considering the fact that the Veneto region has always been considered a particular case of Italian economic and industrial evolution. The data gathered from the registers of the sugar factory of Bottrighe and available at the Archivio di Stato of Padua have been meaningful to this purpose because it showed another side of the productive sector of Veneto that can be added to the information already possessed.

The research performed in this thesis consists of comparing the data collected in the registers and the historiography studies carried out by academics in order to find points of contact or differences to reflect on. In the third chapter, several observations can be made regarding the duration of employment, recruitment age, and wages. The first aspect, the duration of employment, highlighted the differences between the period of a labourer's job and that of an employee. With the help of papers such as that of Giusti (2017), it was possible to attribute the reason for this difference to the different amount of work that leads an employee to work for longer by having a less strenuous job. The age at the year of hiring also brought up various thoughts, including the difference of age groups between temporary and permanent workers, bringing out for the latter an undergrowth of hires in categories at the extremes ( $< 20$  and  $> 50$ ), especially for

labourers. This discovery then opened up a whole reflection concerning pluriactivity and the likelihood that these categories also had other kinds of jobs and inputs from an economic point of view. Then, when analysing wages, there is a certain regularity, including the fact of seniority, whereby more years of service correspond to higher variations in wages. Another area was devoted to a study of the family members dependent on the workers, wondering in particular whether this changes anything. Despite the limited evidence on this aspect (88 permanent labourers), a comparison was nonetheless possible, which led to see how the changes in wages were not attributable to family members who depended on the workers or supplemental income for families (*assegni familiari*).

Still, in the third chapter, tasks were discussed, and the division of the workers according to “*categorie*” (categories) has been analyzed just as the connection between “*categorie*” and wages. The majority of permanent employees belonged to the “*Cat 2*” (59%), and the majority of permanent labourers belonged to the “*Cat 4*” while the majority of temporary employees belonged to “*Cat 3*” and the majority of temporary labourers to “*Cat 5*”. Speaking about wages, it is clear that temporary workers have a more homogeneous situation because they have the same amount of salary according to the category, but for permanent workers, other factors become relevant, like, for example, the aforementioned seniority.

The reflections continued in chapter four, where all spatial component data including place of birth, residence and also address were analysed. The purpose was to outline the mobility and movements within and outside the region to understand the actual contribution of the Veneto population in the case of the sugar factory. This chapter was also realized thanks to the use of maps created on ArcGIS, which brought the collected

data into reality and also provided data regarding various distances. Speaking of mobility, however, the commuting situation was not overlooked, trying to understand the maximum distance workers were forced to travel each day. Indeed, the importance of commuting for the management of means of transport and working days should not be forgotten.

Most of the workers lived between Bottrighe and Adria, and a good portion have also moved there. Among the differences to be taken into account when speaking of spatiality was that between labourers and employees, since the former lived in and come from smaller and often closer towns than the latter, where can also be seen exceptions of office employees from Empoli or Bologna. However, the difference in places of residence was also noticeable when speaking of temporary or permanent workers, since temporary workers, whether employees or labourers lived closer to and in smaller towns than permanent workers.

Birthplaces, on the other hand, were part of another set of reflections concerning mobility and movements by workers. For this type of analysis, I have taken as a reference the great migration of the period between the 1950s and the second half of the 1970s and, in particular, the comparison with the massive current that moved towards Turin. The result was different, however, because in the case of the Bottrighe sugar factory, the percentage of workers born outside Veneto was considerably low, and that of workers born in the South of Italy was even lower. The data also showed two different trends for people born outside Veneto: living far from the factory or in proximity. An example of these two trends was the permanent employee who moved from Apulia to Bologna, which is more than 100 kilometres from Bottrighe or the permanent employee who moved from Liguria to Bottrighe. The fact that the percentage

of people born outside Veneto was so low contributes to confirming the hypothesis according to which the Venetian people commit themselves to increasing the productivity of their industries.

The data gave new points of view and confirmed visions and perceptions, but it has to be said that some other studies can be made to go deeper into the situation. First of all, addresses could be studied more to try to understand why, in the area of the sugar factory, a lot of workers lived on the same street, near the factory. A possibility could be to find out if there was a kind of agreement for permanent workers, who could be entitled to apply for accommodation near the factory. Another possible development of this thesis could be analysing the other staff registers to have a clearer image of the situation previous and subsequent to the period taken into consideration. The paths that could be followed are several, and every one of these could bring a new image but also confirm that Venetians are a population with a peculiar culture of work that helped them to gain dominance in the productive sector that is still well-known and investigated.

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## RIASSUNTO

Questa tesi si incentra sullo studio dei libri matricola di uno zuccherificio di Bottrighe, in provincia di Rovigo e soprattutto nell'analisi dei fatti che derivano dallo studio effettuato. È stato preso in considerazione un periodo cruciale per la storia del lavoro italiana, gli anni Settanta infatti sono stati anni difficili e pieni di novità, anni in cui l'Italia, la sua economia e la sua tradizione del lavoro sono state sottoposte a cambiamenti e innovazioni. Nella primissima parte di questa tesi, infatti, è stata proprio riportata una panoramica storica dal periodo dell'Autunno Caldo fino alla fine degli anni Settanta. Partendo dagli anni dei tumulti della classe operaia, passando attraverso i primi scioperi e le prime concessioni fino ad arrivare al grande ruolo dei sindacati che hanno saputo abilmente diventare rappresentanti di queste lotte è stata descritta la situazione che ha caratterizzato l'Italia in questo decennio insieme alle tensioni sociali che hanno caratterizzato quelli che sono stati poi definiti gli Anni di Piombo. In questo contesto si posiziona anche il Veneto, con la sua storia economica e industriale che ha dei tratti molto particolari. Si iniziò col dire che il Veneto, in seguito alla Seconda Guerra Mondiale, si ritrovò ad essere una delle più povere aree del nord Italia, un posto che andava ricostruito da zero ed è proprio in questo periodo che viene a formarsi una retorica che sarà ricorrente nel corso dell'elaborato in quanto si parla per la prima volta dell'operosità e della cultura del lavoro della popolazione veneta. Ovviamente va sottolineato come il Veneto sia stato aiutato dallo Stato con una serie di sovvenzioni che hanno permesso alle piccole industrie di sorgere copiosamente in ogni piccolo centro abitato della regione dando perciò più opportunità lavorative e delle prospettive interessanti, rendendo il territorio Veneto famoso per un detto che ancora oggi risuona e cioè quello di avere *“una fabbrica per un campanile”*. È facilmente visibile infatti,



andando nelle zone di periferia del Veneto, come anche un piccolo centro di poche migliaia di abitanti è molto probabile che ospiti una fabbrica e la produzione di un prodotto. Nel periodo dell'Autunno Caldo e dei successivi anni Settanta il Veneto non ha fatto eccezioni e anche in questo territorio si sono susseguite tensioni e lotte che hanno permesso ai lavoratori di iniziare ad essere il centro del pensiero produttivo, costringendo in qualche modo i datori di lavoro a tenerli fermamente in considerazione e a tenere in considerazione anche la possibilità di discutere con loro della produzione stessa. Nel caso specifico della mia tesi si tratta di produzione di zucchero e quindi risulta necessario uno sguardo d'insieme anche nei confronti di questa produzione per capire almeno per grandi linee quale fosse e quale attualmente sia il suo impatto nella nazione. Assodato che si tratta di produzione dalla barbabietola da zucchero e che si deve a Napoleone la sua seppure inizialmente forzata diffusione sul territorio italiano, bisogna dire che nel XX secolo la barbabietola sostituì consistentemente la canapa nelle coltivazioni soprattutto del nord Italia aumentando la produzione dello zucchero nel Paese ma fu in particolare il quindicennio che va dall'inizio degli anni Sessanta alla metà degli anni Settanta ad essere il periodo in cui il territorio italiano vanta più di 50 stabilimenti per la produzione saccarifera. Da notare è anche l'introduzione della normativa europea nello stesso periodo, per la precisione dal 1968 con l'ingresso dell'Italia nel Mercato europeo comune che portò a dei cambiamenti per accrescere la qualità della produzione saccarifera, anche a costo di una sensibile riduzione degli impianti. La produzione saccarifera resta significativa non solo da un punto di vista economico ma anche sociale per almeno altri 10 anni, tenendo in considerazione anche il modo in cui attorno agli zuccherifici nascevano intere comunità grazie anche all'ergersi di vari servizi e infrastrutture nelle zone limitrofe alla fabbrica. Fra i più

importanti e rappresentativi esempi di industria saccarifera troviamo l'Eridania, uno dei due zuccherifici ad oggi ancora attivo in Italia. Fondato nel 1899 lo zuccherificio Eridania è uno dei pochi zuccherifici italiani che ha resistito alle norme europee riuscendo ad innovarsi per quanto riguarda le politiche produttive grazie all'utilizzo di tecnologie all'avanguardia. Ma tornando al case study di questa tesi è bene illustrare qualcosa dello zuccherificio di Bottrighe, nell'area del Polesine. Il Polesine è il territorio che comprende la provincia di Rovigo e nello specifico 50 suoi comuni fra cui il comune di Adria, che nella frazione di Bottrighe vide il sorgere dello zuccherificio qui analizzato nel 1913 grazie alla "Sucrerie et Raffinerie" di Bruxelles, una società belga che già possedeva lo zuccherificio di Pontelongo in provincia di Padova. Lo zuccherificio è stato attivo fino agli anni Novanta e i libri matricola a disposizione risalgono agli anni Settanta e Ottanta ma per questa tesi sono stati utilizzati solo i dati dei libri matricola del 1974 e del 1977, nel periodo in cui lo zuccherificio era sotto il Gruppo Montesi, che si occupò di rinnovarlo costantemente fino a qualche anno prima della sua permanente chiusura, nel 1991. Lo zuccherificio di Bottrighe è solo una delle fabbriche del Polesine che, negli anni Settanta, hanno contribuito a fare del Veneto uno dei centri economici e produttivi più influenti d'Italia. Scuole, luoghi di aggregazione, chiese, strade e altri elementi essenziali di una comunità sono stati costruiti intorno a quello che potrebbe essere definito il suo cuore pulsante: la fabbrica. I dati analizzati in questa tesi hanno lo scopo di considerare un caso particolare e vedere se i suoi dati possono essere ricondotti a una situazione più generale per quanto riguarda la storia del lavoro, perché quello che un approccio più globale cerca di comunicare è che non bisogna fermarsi al generale ma andare a scavare sempre più a fondo nel particolare per vedere se ci sono eccezioni, particolarità o se, al contrario, la tendenza viene rispettata.

Prima di proseguire, è opportuno spendere qualche parola sulle domande del caso di studio, su ciò che viene ricercato in questi dati e sulle questioni generali affrontate. Una delle principali caratteristiche dello studio di questa tesi è un cambiamento di prospettiva e di punti di vista in quanto sono stati studiati dei periodi già ampiamente setacciati dalla storiografia però da un punto di vista completamente nuovo: quella del libro matricola di uno specifico stabilimento. L'idea di studiare un caso specifico per cercare delle risposte, anzi forse sarebbe meglio dire delle domande, che sono state ignorate o semplicemente non colte è in linea con il concetto principale della Storia Globale del Lavoro di non fermarsi alla prima interpretazione della storia a cui siamo da sempre stati abituati. Utilizzando infatti i manuali di Storia Globale del Lavoro è stato infatti possibile capire come gli studiosi di questa disciplina vengano intimati ad andare oltre ciò che gli è familiare. In questo caso la prima cosa da superare è il diretto collegamento fra la storia del lavoro italiano e i sindacati, che frequentemente vengono affiancati, i sindacati hanno infatti avuto un ruolo cruciale nella storia del lavoro in Italia ma l'attenzione su di loro spesso tende ad oscurare l'importanza dei lavoratori stessi. Sono però proprio i lavoratori la componente su cui questo elaborato si soffermerà principalmente. I dati raccolti riguarderanno i singoli lavoratori e saranno loro a costruire per intero i risultati che si delineeranno nella tesi. Ai dati verranno poste delle domande e in particolare si affronteranno due temi importanti: la pluriattività e la mobilità. Il concetto di mobilità è un concetto più ampio di quello che sembra perché non coinvolge solo la migrazione ma, soprattutto nel caso dei dipendenti di Bottrighe, implica anche il concetto di pendolarismo. Mobilità è perciò vista in una concezione più ampia come generico spostamento compiuto dai dipendenti per giungere al posto di lavoro con delle conseguenti domande che potrebbero sorgere ad esempio quali

potrebbero essere i mezzi di trasporto, quali sono le distanze percorse oppure più semplicemente cercare di capire perché lo stabilimento di Bottrighe avesse bisogno di lavoratori provenienti da altre città. La migrazione non è però da sottovalutare, in quanto nei libri matricola sono presenti anche i luoghi di nascita ed è stato quindi possibile effettuare una riflessione riguardo le migrazioni, in particolare quelle interne. C'è da tenere anche in considerazione quanto l'influenza delle migrazioni sia più estesa di quello che sembra in quanto questa non riguarda solo i lavoratori, ma anche le loro famiglie e la società in cui arrivano, poiché cambia l'equilibrio dei conflitti sociali: può attenuarli o accentuarli. Sia l'Europa che l'Italia hanno molti esempi su come le migrazioni abbiano cambiato le economie e le società, perché in genere creano tensioni riguardo alle responsabilità, ai salari e alle condizioni di lavoro. È stata anche accennata l'influenza che la migrazione ha sulla famiglia e, in questo caso, è doveroso almeno solo accennare come l'atto migratorio ricada su tutto il quadro domestico in quanto i familiari del lavoratore migrante possono scegliere di raggiungerlo o comunque in un certo qual modo si trovano costretti a mutare alcuni loro equilibri. In questo caso di studio, è comunque necessario concentrarsi sulle migrazioni interne, non solo in Italia ma più specificamente nel Veneto stesso, e poi analizzare gli spostamenti all'interno della regione, tenendo presente che non si tratta solo di spostare una persona per lavorare, ma anche di mettere in gioco molti equilibri sociali ed economici. Le migrazioni interne non sono da sottovalutare perché da sempre tracciano relazioni e spostano gli equilibri appena citati. Sebbene si tratti di un campo ancora poco sviluppato della storiografia italiana, va tenuto presente che deve essere un approccio adeguato allo studio della società e a questo proposito si ricorda lo studio di Arru e

Ramella riguardi gli spostamenti degli anni '50 e '60 verso Torino da parte del Meridione ma anche dei piemontesi stessi.

L'altro concetto su cui vale la pena fare una riflessione è la pluriattività, che viene collegata alla figura del metalmezzadro, termine utilizzato per definire una persona che lavora sia in fabbrica che nell'agricoltura. La pluriattività è collegata alla precarietà dell'attività agricola per colpa perlopiù di fattori esogeni come il clima o l'incertezza del ciclo biologico e per questo il termine include una serie di pratiche integrative che possono essere attuate per poter provvedere a se stessi. In generale, la pluriattività comprende anche i migranti o gli sradicati che si destreggiano tra lavori agricoli e non, e influenza il mondo del lavoro in cui nulla è preciso e ben definito. Utilizzando anche l'analisi condotta da Piva e Tattara sulla multiattività nella zona industriale di Marghera fra il 1917 e il 1941 è stato possibile delineare la figura della presenza dell'agricoltore nella fabbrica che ha contribuito a cristallizzare l'immagine del "Veneto operaio" precedentemente menzionata. Lo studio riporta che si parla di un'eccedenza di manodopera agricola che li aveva portati a correre ai cancelli delle fabbriche di Marghera nella speranza di poter trovare un impiego che si conciliasse con la loro vita agricola. L'impegno dei lavoratori non era messo in discussione quanto invece piuttosto il fatto che nelle fabbriche la mentalità con cui si doveva affrontare il lavoro era diversa da quella della campagna. Il lavoro extra si adattava bene alla stagionalità della campagna, ma, in questo caso, gli operai dovevano adattarsi a una rigida continuità che si scontrava con i loro ritmi irregolari. In effetti, la frattura tra il lavoro rurale e la rigidità delle fabbriche è rimasta cruciale ed estremamente attuale. Inoltre, come già accennato, la multiattività è legata a diverse conseguenze che possono derivare dall'operare su più fronti e che riguardano, ad esempio, la qualità del lavoro e il

benessere e la salute dell'operaio che potrebbe risentire del fatto di avere più mansioni, che possono essere estenuanti e motivo di alienazione o semplicemente non adatte alla vita di fabbrica.

Finiti i capitoli dedicati al contesto ci si dedica all'analisi e subito il capitolo 3, dopo una breve digressione sullo studio dei libri matricola, si apre con l'analisi di una serie di dati fra cui la durata del rapporto di lavoro, l'età che avevano i lavoratori quando sono stati assunti, i loro salari e le persone a carico. Iniziando dalla durata del rapporto di lavoro i dati hanno rivelato che la maggior parte dei lavoratori a tempo determinato hanno lavorato più di dieci anni ma meno di venti mentre la maggior parte dei lavoratori a tempo determinato hanno lavorato dai due ai tre mesi, specialmente nel periodo fra Agosto e Novembre. La riflessione, soprattutto sui lavoratori a tempo determinato, riguarda il tipo di lavoro, in particolare la gestione del lavoro nello zuccherificio, in cui proprio quei mesi sono quelli della raccolta e della lavorazione. Alla durata è stata poi affiancata una riflessione sull'età al momento dell'assunzione e della fine del rapporto di lavoro e i risultati, molto interessanti. Per l'età alla fine del rapporto, come prevedibile, ci si aggira intorno ai 50 anni ma per l'età all'inizio del rapporto i dati sono più eterogenei. Per quanto riguarda i lavoratori, sia operai che impiegati, a tempo indeterminato si assiste ad un trend simile perché il picco di assunzioni si ha nelle due fasce 20-29 e 30-39, ipotizzando come motivazioni un insieme fra un naturale periodo della vita in cui ci si avvicina alla realtà lavorativa e una generazione che ha acquisito, soprattutto per quanto riguarda il lavoro di ufficio, le giuste competenze per portare avanti delle mansioni specifiche. Nel caso dei lavoratori a tempo determinato colpisce la forte presenza delle fasce < 20 e > 50 collegata ad un ipotetico doppio lavoro che potrebbe essere uno dei motivi per cui cercano lavori stagionali o comunque precari

insieme al fatto che il mondo del lavoro potrebbe avere poco spazio per loro perché troppo giovani o viceversa perché ormai troppo anziani. In questo caso si ricorda in particolare come il tipo di lavoro come quello nella produzione dello zucchero sia ideale per la pluriattività, infatti nei mesi della raccolta del 1977 sono stati assunti più di 280 operai a tempo determinato. Nel terzo capitolo sono poi presenti altri dati riguardanti le mansioni dei lavoratori e il collegamento fra questi e il salario percepito. Il salario è poi stato ripreso anche per uno studio riguardante le persone a carico. Il libro matricola sugli operai a tempo indeterminato ha infatti, per 88 di loro, segnate le persone a carico divise in moglie, figli e genitori. I dati raccolti hanno cercato se ci fosse qualche differenza che si potesse ricondurre a questo campo specifico ma la conclusione è stata che non ci sono differenze, almeno non segnate sul libro matricola, e questo è stato anche uno dei motivi per cui si è pensato che potessero aver messo di segnarlo, perché ritenuto irrilevante ai fini di informazioni come variazioni di salario e particolarità sul rapporto di lavoro.

Il quarto capitolo si concentra sull'analisi dei dati che riguardano lo spazio e, grazie anche all'aiuto di mappe create con l'applicazione di ArcGIS è stato possibile portare nel concreto le informazioni che riguardavano i luoghi di nascita e le residenze dei lavoratori. Sono state analizzate prima di tutto le residenze, notando come gli impiegati provenissero da posti più lontani e spesso anche da città più grandi rispetto agli operai, in particolare rispetto agli operai a tempo determinato, che invece risiedevano in paesi più piccoli e spesso anche più vicini alla fabbrica. Fra le motivazioni si è pensato anche al fatto che gli impiegati provenissero da paesi più grandi, in cui c'erano più possibilità di studiare e di prepararsi per il lavoro di ufficio, cosa che invece magari sarebbe stata più difficile per gli operai dei piccoli centri. Rispetto a queste distanze è stata anche

fatta una riflessione che riguardava gli spostamenti, che fossero con mezzi pubblici o con messi propri come ad esempio la bicicletta. Riguardo i trasporti è stata anche sottolineata la situazione dei trasporti pubblici, dei treni per la precisione, con il contributo del paper di Marie Thirion, che ha riportato delle testimonianze di come la situazione dei treni in Veneto alla fine degli anni Sessanta fosse difficile da gestire a cause del sovraffollamento.

Parlando poi di distanze sono poi state fatte delle mappe che confrontavano le distanze fra le varie residenze e lo zuccherificio e anche una mappa che si concentrava sulle residenze nella città di Bottrighe stessa. C'erano infatti nei libri matricola degli indirizzi che ritornavano spesso e infatti sono stati trovati tanti lavoratori che risedevano nella stessa strada, ipotizzando perciò che potessero esistere delle convenzioni oppure degli alloggi che la fabbrica aveva disponibili per i lavoratori.

Passando poi allo studio di luoghi di nascita è stato interessante notare come una percentuale minima (meno del 10% fra impiegati e operai) fosse effettivamente nata fuori dal Veneto e questo fattore ha colpito in quanto ci troviamo ai confini del periodo della grande migrazione che, seppure non ha colpito direttamente il Veneto come può aver colpito il Piemonte, ha portato tanti sconvolgimenti negli equilibri lavorativi delle industrie, eppure nello zuccherificio di Bottrighe la percentuale di lavoratori di origini venete resta ancora schiacciante rispetto al resto. Fra i lavoratori nati fuori dalla regione poi troviamo una vaga presenza di lavoratori nati nelle isole, qualche campano e qualche pugliese ma soprattutto c'è una presenza interessante delle città del nord come Torino, Milano o comunque di regioni come la Liguria e il Trentino. I numeri però restano troppo pochi per poter parlare di un fenomeno di immigrazione, dal Nord o dal Meridione che sia, nel contesto dello zuccherificio. Gli unici spostamenti interessanti



sono proprio all'interno della regione stessa e hanno perciò fornito una visione di un fenomeno molto interessante riguardante le migrazioni interne e cioè quello delle migrazioni intraregionali, che riguardano perciò la regione stessa. Un gran numero dei lavoratori dello zuccherificio si sposta infatti verso Adria o Bottrighe da città più distanti ma pur sempre nel territorio veneto, sia per quanto riguarda gli impiegati che gli operai infatti la percentuale di coloro che si trasferiscono a Bottrighe e Adria si aggira sempre sul 30-40%. Questa grande presenza di lavoratori nati in Veneto fa tornare in mente comunque un tipo di retorica che ancora oggi il Veneto vanta e cioè quella della sua grande operosità. Studiosi come Zazzara, Favero e Roverato hanno infatti sempre parlato della crescita industriale veneta come una crescita in cui una grande parte del merito è in parte da dare anche alla popolazione stessa, che ha saputo darsi da fare e sfruttare le proprie potenzialità. In Veneto si è diffusa la figura del metalmezzandro, che è proprio un grande esempio di operosità in quanto si tratta di un lavoratore che dedica la sua giornata lavorativa a più attività, anche di tipo diverso per avere più entrate e più possibilità. Quello che la tesi ha cercato in queste pagine di dimostrare è proprio che il Veneto ha creato quello che è stato tanto dibattuto e definito "modello veneto" anche grazie al contributo umano dei lavoratori.

Per chiudere la tesi infine è stata fatta un'ipotesi su dei futuri studi che potrebbero essere effettuati con questo tipo di materiale per avere un'immagine ancora più chiara della situazione dello zuccherificio. L'Archivio di Stato di Padova ha infatti a disposizione libri matricola che vanno dal 1971 al 1986 perciò si potrebbero analizzare altri anni e metterli a confronto, cercare di capire se ci sono stati cambiamenti e in che ambito. Inoltre, un altro possibile studio che potrebbe essere fatto riguarda la città stessa di Bottrighe. È stato infatti precedentemente detto che nei registri sono state trovate

varie matricole che risiedevano nelle stesse vie accanto alla fabbrica e sarebbe comunque interessante cercare di capire, magari con il comune di Adria o la provincia di Rovigo, se ci fossero delle convenzioni per i lavoratori, come accennato in precedenza, che riguardavano anche l'utilizzo di alcuni alloggi a loro designati.