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*Women's work and industry in the 19th
century Padua: a reappraisal*

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*Ai miei nonni,
la mia fonte inesauribile d'amore.*

*Quando il vostro sguardo dolce si posa su di me,
il mio cuore comincia a battere un po' più forte,
per Voi.*

Per te, nonno Mimmo.

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Introduction

The aim of this study is to represent the participation of women in the labour market, analysing it in all its facets, including the issue of gender, and above all proposing an analysis of the census carried out in the census conducted in every Italian province, focusing only on the province of Padua, and of a study carried out in the province of Padua too, and published in 1878; these analyses are followed and concluded by a comparison of the two works.

Through the in-depth study of bibliographic sources, it emerged how little consideration is given to the presence of women in the world of work until, at least, the end of the twentieth century. Although there are many women employed, for example in industry, their presence is always ignored and the importance their work brings to the family economy downplayed. There was a tendency to uphold an idea that is highly prevalent during the nineteenth century, according to which women are better suited to looking after the home and children, while men have to take care of the family's sustenance, all this according to the male breadwinner model that every nineteenth century family reflected.

Proof of this, is the census conducted at the beginning of the last two decades of the nineteenth century, which shows significantly fewer women than men in every labour category. However, contradicting the census data, is a study conducted a few years later, which instead shows strong female participation in the labour market, particularly in the industrial sector. The comparison of the two works thus led to show how strong the female presence in the labour market is and how substantial her contribution to the household economy is. A more truthful picture of the working reality of the late nineteenth century is thus painted.

The first chapter opens with a definition taken from Collins dictionary of what work is, which tends to be associated with the concept of money. This conception is not entirely wrong; however, it is shown to be a completely traditionalist and outdated perspective. In this regard, since the 1990s, a new consideration of work has begun to develop, which explains how other fundamental aspects of work, such as gender, migration, technology and slavery, are part of it. The chapter aims to emphasise the undeniable importance of

work in the life of every individual. In analysing each aspect of it, authors including Engels, Adam Smith, Sombart are inevitably mentioned. In doing so, another important connection with work stands out, which is that with capitalism and class, two aspects that cannot be separated from each other. Of the two concepts, the opinions of the most eminent thinkers on the subject are presented in their works, including Karl Marx's "The Capital", where the famous author's ideas about the capitalist system and the meaning of class, and how these influence the labour market, emerge. The chapter then proceeds with a focused analysis of the gender issue as it relates to work, presenting the most influential studies of recent years.

The second chapter focuses on the census. An analysis is made of the purpose, instruments and methods used to carry out this statistical survey; the history of the census is retraced, paying more attention to the censuses carried out in Italy from 1861 onwards. All the changes that have taken place over the centuries and led the survey to become more and more specific and to what we know today, are presented; the different censuses related to agriculture, industry, commerce and manufactured goods are presented; and the National Institute of Statistics, established in 1926 and dedicated to data collection, is introduced. Finally, the important census-related variables are examined, most notably unemployment and, of course, gender.

The chapter then focuses on one of the two most relevant works for the purposes of this thesis, namely the census conducted in Padua in 1871, with reference to the second volume in which there is a classification of the Paduan population based on occupations. Thanks to a careful analysis of the source, the elements that make up the census are reported, such as the division into occupational categories, the division of the provincial area under analysis into districts and the distinction between men and women, with a further differentiation between minors and those over 15 years of age. The focus of the present work is placed on the province of Padua and, thus, the most salient data on the presence of women in work establishments is reported. The result that emerges is that women were scarcely employed, in fact the highest number of women is recorded within the last category, which included the personnel in the employ of others or without occupation.

Finally, the third chapter focuses on the second key source for the realisation of this thesis, entitled "The industrial work of children and women: in the province of Padua"

(“Il lavoro industriale dei fanciulli e delle donne: nella provincia di Padova”), published on the “Giornale degli Economisti”, which is the most suitable place to discuss an economic and gender issue. Therefore, the chapter opens with an accurate description of the context in which the report is set, then a situation in which the question arises as to whether there is a need for laws to protect the work of women and children, with a presentation of the authors involved in the drafting and of the economics magazine in which the report appears. The core of the chapter concerns the careful examination of the survey the authors carried out in 1875 in no less than 68 factories in the province of Padua; the questions posed to each factory owner regarding wages, working conditions, the feeding of employees and, of course, the number of women and the number of men employed in each factory, are then reported.

The last part of this thesis is dedicated to the comparison of the two previously analysed works. The comparison shows a strong difference in the numbers of women present within the industrial sector, almost in the same years: the 1875 report in fact shows a strong presence of women within the vast majority of the factories analysed in the Paduan study.

The comparison, thus leads, to the conclusion that female participation in the labour market in the last two decades of the nineteenth century is much higher than the data collected by ISTAT in 1871.

CHAPTER 1

WHAT IS WORK?

1.1 Work, Capitalism and Class

Work is: “an activity, such as a job, that a person uses physical or mental effort to do, usually for money”¹. When we think of work, there is always this connection to money and effort that clicks in our mind: as a matter of fact, official English dictionaries give the definition above, as that of work. Nonetheless, speaking of work, there is a lot more than this to think about.

First of all, work is strictly related to capitalism and class.

On the one hand, labour is fundamental to the capitalistic system, where commodities and their exchange value are based on socially necessary labour time. Capitalism, as described by Karl Marx, centers on capital accumulation through surplus value generated by labour.² Max Weber, on the other hand, connects capitalism to Calvinist theology and emphasises the separation of work from family and rationality from emotions.³ Marx’s opinion on capitalism, awakens another famous economist’s interest: Sombart. He merely represents another vision of capitalism, a modern capitalism, emphasising the free contract, a contract established between the parties in which each, freely, engages to regulate the principles of capitalism: maximum profit for the capitalist and maximum wage for the proletarian.⁴ The results of capitalism, which are the consequences of the processes of commodification and proletarianization, are twofold: the emergence of class consciousness in proletarians, which will lead them to clash with capitalists, triggering a class struggle, and the spread of greater freedom, which will then lead to economic and social development in much of the world.

¹ Collins Dictionaries, [Online Version], <https://dictionary.cambridge.org/dictionary/english/work>

² K. Marx. 1867. *Das Kapital*. Book I.

³ M. Weber. 1930. *The Protestant Ethic and The Spirit of Capitalism*. New York: Charles Scribner’s Sons, p. 3.

⁴ W. Sombart. 2014. *Il capitalismo moderno*. Milano: Ledizioni Ledipublishing.

On the other hand, the term *class* is used to distinguish between productive and unproductive classes. In the eighteenth century, it is associated with a social hierarchy using the term "ceto". Karl Marx sees class as an economic division arising from the division of labour and means of production in capitalism, giving rise to class consciousness. In the twentieth century, the idea of class becomes more complex, defined by profession, social prestige, education, and lifestyle. Class struggle remains significant, leading to the dictatorship of the proletariat and the suppression of classes, according to Marx and Engels.

Hence, as Marx talks about "production", in capitalism, this term leads to the work "productive", which is a key word in the world of work, and it is often opposed to "unproductive"; these are both adjectives used to describe two different facets of work. Nonetheless, that between productive and unproductive work is not the only difference to be made: as a matter of fact, reproductive work should also be considered. Indeed:

The idea of reproductive labor comes originally from the work of Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels, who differentiated between the production of goods in the economy and the reproduction of the labor power necessary to the maintenance of that productive economy. The concept was further developed in the 1970s largely with the goal of naming and analyzing a category of work that had previously remained virtually invisible within sociology and economics: women's unpaid work in the home.⁵

Reproductive work includes tasks performed at home by women, from cleaning the bathroom to feeding the children, and its importance to family economy is invaluable.

Here Lise Vogel's discussion (1983), as well as the work of Michelle Barrett (1980) and an article by Edholm, Harris, and Young (1977), suggests that it is useful to distinguish three kinds of reproductive labor under capitalism: (1) the necessary labor in the form of wages, which supports those who are not direct producers and which can purchase various commodities necessary for subsistence: housing, clothing, food, and so forth; (2) the labor that transforms purchased commodities (such as food and cloth) into consumable items (meals, clothing) or that refurbishes those items (for example, through washing and cleaning), and (3) the labor expended in raising children. Labor of the second category is often thought of as housework, while labor expended in the third category of activities is thought of as child care.⁶

⁵ M. Duffy. 2007. "Doing the Dirty Work: Gender, Race, and Reproductive Labor in Historical Perspective", *Gender and Society*, Vol. 21, No. 3. Sage Publications Inc., p. 315.

⁶ L. Lamphere. 1986. "From Working Daughters to Working Mothers: Production and Reproduction in an Industrial Community", *American Ethnologist*, Vol. 13, No. 1. Wiley on behalf of the American Anthropological Association, p. 119.

It appears to be assumed that capitalism's production occurs exclusively in the workplace, and reproduction solely within the family. However, in using the terms "production" and "reproduction" we move beyond rigid concepts of work and family, as well as the idea of two distinct "spheres". Instead, "production" and "reproduction" are analytical concepts that highlight significant relationships and changes in either context.

It is crucial to avoid considering "production" and "reproduction" as mere substitutes for "workplace" and "family." Instead, we should use them to explore essential connections and dynamics in both realms. In the factory and household, both productive labour and reproductive labour coexist. For instance, when women operate spinning frames or looms, they engage in production within capitalistic social relations. Yet, even in the factory or mill, elements of reproduction are present. This involves maintaining and replacing the means of production, such as repairing machinery, refurbishing buildings, or acquiring new technology. Furthermore, the social relations of production, including divisions between owners, managers, and workers, require continuous reproduction through replacing individuals in these roles and socialising workers and managers to accept the system's legitimacy.

Likewise, aspects of "production" influence the household, despite most productive work taking place outside under capitalism. Firstly, work organisation and scheduling impact the family's daily routines for eating, sleeping, and leisure. Secondly, the wages earned by male workers determine whether other family members must seek employment to sustain the household. Finally, the family status of working household members may necessitate the redistribution of reproductive labour within the home, depending on who participates in the labour force.⁷

Various economic theorists, though different from one another, share the belief that unpaid care work and domestic tasks are unproductive. They collectively introduce the concept of "delaborization" for such work, often defining it as reproductive work. Alessandra Pescarolo explains that classical economists disregard these activities and do not recognise the concept of reproductive work in their theories.

Pescarolo's contribution focuses on the reproductive-productive work dichotomy, examining its development and meanings, and exploring its potential in assigning value

⁷ L. Lamphere, *op. cit.*, p. 119.

to domestic and care work. The term "reproductive work" is initially introduced by Marxist feminists in the 1960s, aiming to incorporate domestic activities into the Marxist theoretical framework and establish their connection with wage labor. Its success is attributed, in part, to its close association with the concept of social reproduction, a notion by Marx and widely prevalent in sociological literature. Initially, the category of reproductive work pertains to the reproduction of labour capacity, but over time, both Marxist and non-Marxist scholars and activists employ it with varying interpretations. At times, it refers solely to unpaid domestic and care work, while in other instances, it encompasses paid domestic work and paid extra-domestic personal services as well.

Eileen Boris defines "reproductive labours" as activities that exist as a counterpart or precursors to employment or income generation, which are typically perceived as productive. Also known as social reproduction, these tasks involve the daily activities necessary for the development and maintenance of labour power. These activities include material aspects like feeding, emotional aspects like providing love, and assimilative aspects like transmitting norms and values, occurring within the family, school, church, or community. More recently, theorists have extended this concept to the global level, denouncing the global division of reproductive labour. This division involves the "extraction" of such labour from economically disadvantaged regions in the South by wealthier regions in the North. Millions of people, especially women, emigrate from impoverished countries to serve as domestic workers and caregivers in affluent nations.⁸

However, speaking of class again, criticism of the mechanistic view of class leads to a crisis in sociological thought, with Giddens arguing for the disappearance of classes and the emergence of multiple affiliations.⁹ Nowadays, it is common to be wondering whether classes still exist or not. There is not a certain answer to this question since there is not a certain definition of class; it is, indeed, sure that an accurate analysis of the past and of the differences between paid work and slavery would be useful to full distinguish between individuals and classes, if necessary.

The only way is to consider a broad thematic scope, including gender, class, ethnicity, generation, formal and informal organisations, use a bottom-up approach, starting with

⁸ R. Sarti, A. Bellavitis, M. Martini. 2018. *What Is Work?: Gender at the Crossroads of Home, Family, and Business from the Early Modern Era to the Present*. Berghahn Books, pp. 18-19.

⁹ A. Giddens. 1973. *The class structure of the advanced societies*. London: Hutchinson University Library.

workers and their histories; we need to go beyond wage labour, as there are various relations in the process of commodification, which also includes slavery, self-employment, VAT Number...; we need to deconstruct the capitalism – proletarianization – class - consciousness nexus and the capitalism-progress-modernity nexus. And this can only happen starting from a profound re-discussion of the free/unfree labour dichotomy.¹⁰

1.2 A historical overview of work

Secondly, it is important to trace the history behind the word *work*, which will lead, later, to another fundamental connection.

For starters, in the various cultures in which it is used, it can take on both positive and negative meanings: for example, in the monastic sphere, work is a method of redemption; in the Christian sphere, work is what allows one to get away from the less dignified ways of living, e.g. stealing; in modern times, however, Stoic philosophy influences the idea of work, bringing it closer to what is needed to avoid poverty and its dangers; in medieval and modern times, work is well seen and associated with urban crafts and it is, thus, then, that the idea of a single society made up of many individuals working together, begins to spread. At the same time, in Europe, the aristocracy keeps away from manual labour, as it is considered only a task suitable for slaves and in general for the lowest spheres of society. In Roman society, to make another example, the idea of *otium*, as opposed to *negotium*, which is linked to work, spreads. In any case:

In the light of these statements, one could conclude that in medieval and early modern European societies the clergy, the aristocracy, and the third state all had their own concept of work. Yet this would be too simplistic, since those societies—despite their efforts to distinguish, separate, and rank social groups—were actually complex, interrelated, chaotic. Our statements are schematic generalizations that, however, help us to stress the presence of several concurrent concepts of work in those societies.¹¹

With respect to the concept of work, it is impossible not to mention the thought of Karl Marx and Max Weber. The latter believes that Reformation Ethics is what sustained

¹⁰ M. Van der Linden. 2012. Chi sono i lavoratori? In C. De Vito, *Global labour history: la storia del lavoro al tempo della "globalizzazione"*. Verona Ombre Corte, pp. 45-69.

¹¹ R. Sarti, A. Bellavitis, M. Martini, *op. cit.*, p. 7.

the growth of capitalism, nevertheless work should be seen not only as a way to improve one's status or as a source of income but, by looking more at the positive sides of work, it can give people dignity, moving away from the idea that associates work with suffering and degradation. According to a positive perspective, work is what determines the shaping of society, of which individuals who know their worth and nobility are part, thanks to the work they do and which encapsulates all their virtues and duties.¹²

Marx's perspective, conversely, tends to associate work with alienation, which leads to the individual living in inhuman conditions, i.e. within a capitalistic system from which the worker receives his wages:

he argued that “it is just in the working-up” of the world that “man first really proves himself to be a species being”: “through and because of this production, nature appears as his work and his reality.” As a consequence, alienated, estranged labor, “in tearing away from man the object of his production . . . tears from him his species life.” This also means “that man is estranged from the other, as each of them is from man’s essential nature.”¹³

According to Marx, only through communism, the elimination of private property and reduction of necessary labour time, would alienation be overcome.

However, the concept of labour has always been very controversial and has changed over the years. Although different meanings of labour coexist, from the seventeenth century onwards, labour becomes an activity aimed at the production of value. Thus, in the next two centuries, value is defined “as the amount of labor necessary to produce a marketable commodity”¹⁴ which leads one to see labour as a commodity. It is from here, therefore, that comes the typical association of work, not only with value, but above all with money.

The definition of work therefore comes very close to the idea of an activity performed for the purpose of satisfying a need. However, a distinction arises between, precisely, work performed for one's own sustenance and work aimed at earning money. The distinction, as mentioned before, is between productive and unproductive work, and it is introduced by the father of political economy, Adam Smith. The former refers to work that produces value and for which remuneration is received; the latter refers to work that adds no value. Nevertheless, for Smith, an activity cannot be judged solely on the basis

¹² R. Sarti, A. Bellavitis, M. Martini, *op. cit.*, p. 8.

¹³ Ivi, p. 9.

¹⁴ Ivi, p. 15.

of its productivity; indeed, even the work of a servant, like that of a manufacturer, has a value for which it deserves reward. This distinction, however, inevitably entails a devaluation of activities that are considered unproductive. In fact, Nancy Folbre, emphasises the importance of, for example, unpaid family care work, considered unproductive, for the labour market.¹⁵

Furthermore, as Adam Smith tend to separate work and rationality from family and emotions, individuals all begin to effectively consider the working and personal dimensions as two separate and distinct things. From this distinction, then comes the separation of roles attributed to women and men. The former are considered more suited to the domestic sphere, and therefore urged to leave their employment, if they have one, and the latter are more suited to work outside their household and leave the care of the home and children to their wives. Obviously, this separation of careers only takes place in families living in acceptable economic conditions, as those living in poverty need every member of their family to work and contribute a financial benefit to the family economy. Deconstructing this conception becomes one of the aims of women's and gender history in reconstructing women's history, also within work. How this process takes place will be explained later in this thesis.¹⁶

Nevertheless, work is always represented according to a traditional and chronological scheme: a division before and after the eighteenth century, between unfree and free labour, which are distinguished by physical coercion. This is the most traditional point of view, widely promoted by scholars; it develops between the nineteenth and the twentieth century only to find a way to explain the progress which Western Europe and the USA experienced at that time. However, it is time now to start to understand how wrong and outdated this way of thinking of work is in the present.

Scholars start to broaden their horizons, thanks to several research of the last century on how workers spend their days at work and at home, and on their connections throughout different parts of the world; thanks to the lack of satisfaction about the evident “Eurocentrism combined with methodological nationalism”¹⁷, which is quite visible in many works. These Eurocentrism and methodological nationalism offer three variants:

¹⁵ R. Sarti, A. Bellavitis, M. Martini, *op. cit.*, pp. 17-19.

¹⁶ Ivi, p. 23.

¹⁷ M. Van Der Linden. 2008. *Workers of the world. Essays toward a global Labor History*, Studies in Social Global History, Vol. I, p. 3.

neglect, prejudice and implicit assumptions. This means ignoring any part of the world apart from Western Europe and the USA, considering their superiority and simply assuming on other countries rather than deeply analysing.¹⁸

For these reasons, in the Nineties the motto becomes “rethinking concepts, widening the net”¹⁹, which means that we should reconsider work, in light of aspects hitherto totally overlooked.

This starts as a process to rethink the foundations of social history and work, that means “to reformulate, therefore, the idea of society as a 'world society', rejecting its traditional association with the nation state; and, in confirming the centrality of production relations in the definition of capitalism, to extend the concept of the 'working class' beyond wage labour”.²⁰

In order to acquire, with a modern twist, a complete vision of what work is, it is essential to overcome this Eurocentric and occidental way of thinking, so that any connection and comparison can be done. We should see work as made up of, to make a few examples, gender, status, remuneration, domestic tasks, inequalities, unpaid work.

Simultaneously to this awakening, another idea starts to rise, which is totally related to its traditional view: the end of work. The Nineties are characterised by the myth of the self-made man, entrepreneurship, and full employment, but with the advent of the twenty-first century, we see the decline of cutting-edge protectionist systems and thus widespread welfare; industrial labour declines and whole segments of industry are liquidated; machines start to replace people; service economy develops; flexibility increases and so does precariousness; part-time, intermittent, casual, and temporary work develops; and fixed-term contracts take hold. These changes lead to consequences which Jeremy Rifkin tries to represent in his study “The end of work”, because “global unemployment has now reached its highest level since the Great Depression of the 1930s.”²¹

¹⁸ M. Van Der Linden, *op. cit.*, pp. 3-9.

¹⁹ “ripensare i concetti, allargare la rete” in C. G. De. Vito “La Storia Del Lavoro Al Tempo Della ‘Globalizzazione’. La Proposta Della Global Labour History.”, *Past & Present*, 2012, p. 180.

²⁰ “riformulare, dunque, l’idea di società come ‘società mondiale’, rifiutando la sua tradizionale associazione allo Stato nazionale; e, nel confermare la centralità dei rapporti di produzione nella definizione del capitalismo, di estendere il concetto di ‘classe lavoratrice’ oltre il lavoro salariato”. In *ivi*, p. 180.

²¹ J. Rifkin. 1995. “The end of work. The Decline of the Global Labor Force and the Dawn of the Post-Market Era”. New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons, p. XV.

According to him, as machines are introduced, the pool of unemployed increases, yet those who keep their jobs are forced to speed up their pace and increase productivity in order to keep up with new technologies. To sum up, there is less labour supply but workers work harder, under these conditions.²²

This end, however, refers to a kind of work quite different from what is imagined today. Until the 1940s, work does not include female activities, precisely not activities carried out in the home and without pay, and, when calculating the GDP of a country, it clearly does not include the aforementioned activities, or prostitution, the production and trafficking of drugs, as well as the smuggling of alcohol and tobacco. The substantial change occurs, circa 70 years ago, when, thanks to female and feminist scholars and activists, the importance of women for economic growth and the weight that their work in caring for the home and children has on a country's economy begins to be assessed. Therefore:

the scholars who have elaborated the so-called “new home economics,” have called for a more complex and inclusive notion of work. As a consequence, today there is large consent on the need for such a revision and “complexification” of that very notion. Not only feminist scholars but also official statistics agencies produce statistics that include unpaid domestic and care work and calculate its economic value, though generally in “satellite accounts.”²³

This “complexification” can be understood, starting with an analysis of the household. Within the household each member of the family performs different activities, very often differentiated for women and men, which may represent any form of home-based productive work, which is distinguished into unpaid, paid, hybrid, and intermediate. The notion of family non-market work is thus introduced as “a wide range of care work activities can be measured according to their market value”²⁴, in the words of Nancy Folbre. Precisely the activities carried out within the household represent, in pre-modern times, what the term “economy” refers to, in ancient Greek, the “household management”.

Of course, medieval and modern society is quite diverse, which is why there are different types of households. Some represent productive units, as the household presents itself as a cooperating working team; others do not, as the same activities are not carried

²² J. Rifkin, *op. cit.*, p. XV.

²³ R. Sarti, A. Bellavitis, M. Martini, *op. cit.*, p. 3

²⁴ Ivi, p. 4.

out in every household. Moreover, it should be emphasised that not every household has a house and that, due to poverty, not everyone actually has a family to rely on. In any case, where there is a family running a household, each member of the household plays his or her part; certainly, tasks are divided among the members of the household and the division of labour is also quite rigid and this depends on one's status, which in turn is defined by a number of factors, as gender, generation, marital status, age and others.²⁵

The household management is a quite complex task, of which women are the ones who take care. In order to better handle the household management, women need to improve their education, also to deal with customers, when there is a family enterprise to maintain, especially for wives. As a matter of fact, the household is also the place where children are given their education, of which organisation women are in charge.

Another important aspect of the household management is how different the approach of women is, depending on their marital status. It seems that, especially in northern Europe, marriage represents a moment of change for women who acquire a certain authority. As long as a woman remains unmarried, she also remains under her father's authority, unless there is a document stating otherwise; but, after marriage, a woman needs more self-confidence to take care of household management, especially where there are servants to be governed.

the paramount importance of marriage in early modern society. Marriage was important to both women and men because it provided them with possibilities of supporting themselves through their own work and through the work of those that they could govern": "early modern women did not get married to be supported by their husbands. They got married to be better able to support themselves. The same was true for men: marriage improved their chances of supporting themselves too."²⁶

However, the situation differs in different European regions. For instance, in the case of poverty, each family member has to provide for his or her own livelihood: there are, for instance, sharecroppers' households, considered work units, where the man is the family head and the children work in another household to earn a little money. Another example is that of households whose members work outside them: just think of sailors who spend, admittedly, very little time inside their households.

²⁵ R. Sarti, A. Bellavitis, M. Martini, *op. cit.*, pp. 10-11.

²⁶ Ivi, p. 14.

Finally, it should be noted, again, that women and men carry out different activities and therefore constitute two different sources of income. On the other hand, this is an era in which the multiplicity of activities carried out within one's own household represent what is now considered production, reproduction or care and are indeed forms of work. However, even though it is still work, the valuation of the activity and the subsequent reward is as yet unbalanced in favour of men.²⁷

1.3 Work and gender

Gender and work are intertwined aspects that have received significant attention and undergone transformations over the years. Traditionally, work roles are highly gendered, with men and women being assigned specific occupations based on societal expectations and stereotypes. Today, gender inequalities in employment have not disappeared or diminished; on the contrary, they are becoming more so. For example, there are large differences in wages by job and assignment, as women's wages are lower for the same job or assignment; there are differences within the work hierarchy, as the female population is greater within the workforce but at a certain point in the hierarchy, men become more than women; and finally, smart working, today, seems to affect women the most as most of them have to balance work and home life.

It is important to understand that work is not asexual, gender diversity affects work since workers are not all the same; therefore, the struggle in work is not common to men and women. Hence, it is necessary to include gender analysis in the analysis of work in order to know work through a gender perspective. Labour history begins in the late 1700s, with the first surveys of working-class conditions. Gender history, on the other hand, is something more recent, covering the late 1970s with the first Women Studies, following the first women's movements in the United States.

Since that time, the need to "engendering" labour history has developed as gender history has totally renewed it. Women's work has gained great visibility, thanks to the use

²⁷ R. Sarti, A. Bellavitis, M. Martini, *op. cit.*, pp. 14-15.

of new methodologies and to begin to look at history by giving it a new interpretation: women's work is marginal and complementary in the period of the Industrial Revolution.

This new perspective spreads across Europe in patches, not in a unified manner, and certainly "Women, Work & Family" by Louise A. Tilly and Joan W. Scott, played a pivotal role in the evolution of capitalistic society since it emphasises precisely the role capitalism plays in the dynamics of gender and work.²⁸ However, there are many differences in national historiographies, often influenced by the scientific, cultural and academic environment of the nation in which they are developed.

In Italy, a distinction should be made between contemporary and modern ages. Here, the focus has been more on social institutions and practices and less on theoretical aspects. In the US, the impact is certainly stronger. A very strong feminist movement has emerged within the university. The US is known for Women studies first and Polygender studies later. As a matter of fact, the diffusion of gender issues within work has also occurred outside Europe, and again it has been very differentiated and influenced by the cultural and scientific context.

At this point, we need to understand what impact these studies have had by starting with an analysis of the concepts. We begin with a deconstruction of neoclassical economics by emphasising the role of the categories of masculinity and femininity: the labour market is a place where there is a demand and a supply. According to neoclassical economics, the price of labour, that is the wage, is determined by the meeting of supply and demand. The greater the demand, the higher the price. The neoclassical idea is that we are atoms, individuals detached from each other, who meet each other. We are all equal, labour force is equal, wages are equal, skills are equal. However, each individual is different, has different propensities and therefore different skills, mainly because gender is different. Femininity and masculinity permeate knowledge, skills, workplace rights, social policy and popular culture. And power asymmetries are also permeated by gender relations. Sexual and gender differences also have consequences for work and conflict.

Secondly, a reformulation of the concept of work must be made: from productive work for the market to unpaid and care work, intimate, in that, to understand the economy

²⁸ C. Borderías, M. Martini. 2016. "Introduzione. Per una nuova storia del lavoro: genere, economie, soggetti". *Genesis*, pp. 1-13.

it is necessary to analyse both works done for the market and, for example, the work of prostitutes for the reproduction of the working class. Finally, one must consider that much of the assessment of a nation's wealth is based on biased estimates because they do not take women into account, so this is yet another demonstration that women's work has a big impact on the wealth of an economy.²⁹

Speaking of gender bias, in “Introduction: What Is Work?: Gender at the Crossroads of Home, Family, and Business from the Early Modern Era to the Present”, it is mentioned that women are seen as part of “the allegedly immutable realm of nature”³⁰, thus they are not associated with history and change. Conversely, when they are seen as a part of a history, it is a male history. Women are always represented as wives, widows, mothers but never, simply as women, and more specifically, not as workers independent from their men.

Italian historians, to quote but one example, were quick to document illegitimate mothers; women active in “public,” from prostitutes to saints; and women who did not live in households headed by a man but in not-kin, all-female households, in institutions, and in convents.¹⁹⁰ Many sources also allowed historians to show that women had always worked, performing both paid and unpaid activities, both domestic and extra-domestic: their roles had changed over time, but paid extra-domestic work was not a novelty brought about by industrialization and/or modernization.

In spite of these sources being important tools, as well as statistics and census, they seem quite unprecise, or better, they are gender biased. It turns out, in fact, that women are always described as 'wives of' or housewives, so they are always defined according to their marital status. In early modern times, it is not considered disqualifying to be defined as a housewife or to be represented in relation to a man, as the wife or the housewife plays a fundamental role in the sustenance of the family, so theirs is also seen as work. On the contrary, in contemporary times, the meaning of work does not include domestic and childcare, so that the mere definition of housewife or 'wife of' is insufficient and needs

²⁹ R. Sarti, A. Bellavitis, M. Martini. 2018. “Introduction: What Is Work? Gender at the Crossroads of Home, Family, and Business from the Early Modern Era to the Present.” In *What Is Work?: Gender at the Crossroads of Home, Family, and Business from the Early Modern Era to the Present*, Berghahn Books, pp. 1-84.

³⁰ Ivi, p. 31.

to be deepened. In fact, “in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, women were often statistically constructed as dependent and unproductive”.³¹

To give the first example of a census that undervalues women's work, which will be followed by other examples in later chapters, Nancy Folbre shows how “in the 1851 Census for England and Wales wives, mothers and mistresses who did not work for pay were placed in a category for themselves, different from that of ‘dependents’ (children, the sick, vagrants, etc.), whereas in 1881 housewives were classified as ‘unoccupied’ and in 1891 as ‘dependents’ ”.³²

Analysing the gender issue in the world of work, one of the predominant theories brought forth is that by Claudia Goldin, which is related to the idea that an increase in women's labour participation is a cause or consequence of economic growth and has as its object the theorisation of the U-Curve.

Speaking of women's unemployment, Clark and Pinchbeck already speak of a decline in employment opportunities for women in the 18th century. In particular, within the London textile crafts, women begin to move out of the industry, to concentrate more on taking care of the home and children, considering that a clearer separation between the workplace and the family house begins to emerge at this time, due to the capitalist development in which seventeenth century English industries are protagonists. In spite of this situation, Pinchbeck believes that the consequences of the development of capitalism are also positive for women:

the Industrial Revolution has on the whole proved beneficial to women. It has resulted in greater leisure for women in the home and has relieved them from the drudgery and monotony that characterized much of the hand labor previously performed in connection with industrial work under the domestic system. For the women workers outside the home, it has resulted in better conditions, a greater variety of openings and an improved status.³³

With respect to the effects capitalism has on women's work, there are different opinions. Howell and Wiesner believe that the decline in employment opportunities for women is due to cultural issues. The former argues that women's exit from the labour market was due to men's fear that women's economic contribution would affect their role as breadwinners; the latter, on the other hand, believes that with the Protestant

³¹ R. Sarti, A. Bellavitis, M. Martini, *op. cit.*, p. 33.

³² Ivi, p. 33.

³³ Ivi, p. 25.

Reformation, new family models are created and competition between men and women within industries increases. Conversely, Sheilagh Ogilvie, believes that women are victims of guilds, i.e. societies formed by men who tend to exclude women, or relegate them to less significant activities. In support of this thesis, there is the guild founded in France, made up exclusively of women, which probably arose in contrast to the male-only guilds. Not supporting this thesis, however, is the fact that women often do not want to be part of guilds, due to the numerous obligations that membership entails: tax impositions and strict control.³⁴

Anyways, speaking of Goldin's theory, in her opinion, the higher the income, the more women decide to exit the labour market, and only after a certain period of time, when the level of education has reached that of men, women decide to return to the labour market. So, men's wages are raised, women leave the market and then return at lower prices. This thesis is then applied to all economic models and is the result of studies of U.S. censuses and comparisons with other censuses in the rest of the world. Of course, there is a criticism to be made of this theory, which concerns the under-recording of population censuses. There has always been under-recording of population censuses. First, there are major biases regarding women's work in the past and present. For example, if women state that they are working in the house or in the fields or taking produce to the market, they are considered attendants to domestic care, while men who go to the fields are classified as workers in the fields. In "Off The Record" it is stated that:

Goldin (1995) appealed to a theoretical model, which suggested how, as household incomes increased, women's choices would rationally involve first a retreat from the labor force and only much later, when their educational levels had caught up to men's, reengagement in market work. In explicating the downward phase of the U, Goldin cited the pioneering work of Ester Boserup (1970), which had argued that the structural changes associated with economic growth reduced women's participation rates – an idea that had become a standard of development economics.² In addition, Goldin used her historical analysis of the evolution of US women's educational levels and labor force attachment to substantiate the evidence for the recovery of women's involvement in the economy and its explanation in terms of their choices and endowments.³⁵

Goldin's U-shaped curve is a statistical mirage. Women have always worked but have not been recorded. Also, because most censuses are done for military purposes and

³⁴ R. Sarti, A. Bellavitis, M. Martini, *op. cit.*, p. 26.

³⁵ J. Humphries and C. Sarasúa. 2012. "Off The Record: Reconstructing Women's Labor Force Participation In The European Past", *Feminist Economics*, Vol. 18, Issue 4, p. 41.

women have nothing to do with it. Therefore, alternative sources should have been used before developing the above thesis.³⁶

As a matter of fact, even women's regular, skilled and stable work is underestimated and this is not due to the industrialisation or to the rise of the breadwinner family. One of the most significant mistakes is, also, the over-recording of working men: the number of male workers is constantly increased in census or reports, so that women have always appeared as a minority. However, according to the journal "Off The Record", "the U-shaped curve is not entirely a statistical artefact but is detectable in the evidence assembled for different times and places representing different levels of economic development."³⁷ But what has led to this?

A determining factor for women's work is the Industrial Revolution, which strongly influences the division of labour between women and men. Particular attention is given to:

"the industrialization before the industrialization," i.e. proto-industry,¹⁵⁸ and what has been called the "industrious revolution."¹⁵⁹ The term "rural proto-industry" has been coined to describe nonagricultural activities for the interregional and international markets performed, at home, by the rural population to supplement their earnings from agricultural work by producing items, generally textiles, for merchants who provided them with the raw materials. These activities often represented the start of industrialization, even though the areas in which they were highly developed did not always turn into industrialized areas and sometimes even experienced de-industrialization.³⁸

Therefore, it is as if the Industrial Revolution appears less incisive than what has always been believed, considering that it is the proto-industry that leads to a very strong increase in production, even more remarkable if one considers the absence of the technological innovations that characterise the Industrial Revolution. But this is not the only positive side: in fact, the proto-industry manages to give visibility to women's work. In essence, women and children are employed especially in market-oriented work, at the same time there is a demographic growth within the proto-industrial populations, which is due to the fact that this new conformation of work leads to early marriages and thus high fertility rates.³⁹

Indeed, as already mentioned, the participation of women is not always well represented in censuses. Speaking of which, Raffaella Sarti's article, "Toiling Women,

³⁶ J. Humphries and C. Sarasúa, *op. cit.*, p. 35.

³⁷ Ivi, p. 44.

³⁸ R. Sarti, A. Bellavitis, M. Martini, *op. cit.*, pp. 26-27.

³⁹ Ivi, p. 27.

Non-working Housewives, and Lesser Citizens: Statistical and Legal Constructions of Female Work and Citizenship in Italy," is certainly relevant, as it analyses the census of working women in Italy. The article addresses the relationship between work and citizenship, which is still underdeveloped, and statistically and legally reconstructs women's work and sets objectives such as: demonstrating the limits to the concept of work (from the 1900s to the present); showing the delabourisation of domestic work since there is a process during the mid-nineteenth century of emptying domestic work of the idea of work; demonstrating the risks of the current situation, in terms of the increase in precarity, inequality, with a view to an increase in servilization and feminisation.

Central to the analysis of gender issues is also the recent work of Jane Whittle, published in 2019 in the journal *Past & Present*, which deals with political and social history. The author, a noted economic and social historian of medieval and early modern English, particularly interested in gender, labour, slaves, economic development, consumption, and material culture, writes "A Critique of Approaches to 'Domestic Work': Women, Work and the Pre-industrial economy" in which she explores the problems created for women's labour history by the application of a vague definition of labour from the pre-industrial economy.

What emerges is that scholars have underestimated the contribution of women to the economy. The exclusion of housework and care work from the definitions of work and the economy paints a situation in which women consistently work more hours than men, but the situation that appears in everyone's eyes is one in which women work less and contribute less to the economy. Despite the fact that the home is the main centre of production and the focus of the economy in the pre-industrial period, men's work is very rarely described as "domestic." Current approaches have overlooked the fact that domestic and care work are highly commercialised in preindustrial economy and easily assigned a monetary value along with other labour tasks performed in the home.⁴⁰

As far as Italy is concerned, Alessandra Pescarolo's work excellently represents the condition of women, mainly in contemporary times. However, regardless of the period represented, to depict women's conditions in the contemporary era, the author finds necessary to focus on a wider historical span. As Pescarolo states:

⁴⁰ J. Whittle. 2018. "A Critique of Approaches to 'Domestic Work': Women, Work and the Pre-industrial economy", *Past & Present*, Vol. 243, Issue 1, pp. 35-70.

The value and visibility of women's work, between the 19th and 20th centuries, lies at the intersection of two powerful ideologies: the first, rooted in a centuries-old temporality, is the patriarchal one, which orders the two genders in a transparent manner, placing men on a higher plane. The second is the theoretical chorus of modern political economy, based on the market and the division of labour, which originated in Great Britain at the end of the 18th century and slowly penetrated into Italian culture; if it apparently disregards gender order, it in fact reclassifies women's dependency in a new way.

The most emblematic example of the intersection between the ancient pillar of patriarchy and the modern pillar of the market is the cultural and legal itinerary of the so-called male breadwinner model.⁴¹

The author introduces one of the terms particularly used in the past centuries in terms of family economics: breadwinner. This means “the member of a family who earns the money, or most of the money, to support the others”.⁴² The breadwinner model represents a family structure centred around a primary earner, who is responsible for earning the money to support the other family members. Traditionally, this earner would work outside the home to provide the family with income and benefits like health insurance, while the non-earner would stay at home and care for the children and elderly. The emergence of the breadwinner model can be largely attributed to industrialisation in western cultures. Prior to industrialisation, all household members, including men, women, and children, contribute to the household's productivity. Industrialisation brings about a redefinition of gender roles, establishing a division between public and private responsibilities for men and women, which do not exist before this era.

Traditionally, the breadwinner is the man whose work is considered fundamental to support his family and whose work is the only one considered in the family. However, women worked, and still do, so they should have been considered breadwinners as well.

⁴¹ “Il valore e la visibilità del lavoro femminile, fra Otto e Novecento, si collocano all'incrocio fra due potenti ideologie: la prima, radicata in una temporalità plurisecolare, è quella patriarcale, che ordina i due generi in modo trasparente, collocando gli uomini su un piano superiore. La seconda è la cornice teorica dell'economia politica moderna, fondata sul mercato e sulla divisione del lavoro, nata in Gran Bretagna a fine Settecento, e penetrata lentamente nella cultura italiana; se apparentemente essa prescinde dall'ordine di genere, di fatto riclassifica la dipendenza delle donne in modo nuovo. L'esempio più emblematico dell'incrocio fra il pilastro antico del patriarcato e quello moderno del mercato è l'itinerario culturale e giuridico del cosiddetto modello male breadwinner”. In A. Pescarolo. 2019. *Il lavoro delle donne nell'Italia contemporanea*, Roma: Viella Libreria Editrice.

⁴² Longman Dictionary of Contemporary English. Pearson ELT. 2023.
<https://www.ldoceonline.com/dictionary/breadwinner>

According to Jiping Zuo and Shengming Tang, the consistency of research findings regarding men's gender ideologies appears to be less reliable compared to those concerning women. When investigating the connection between female labour force participation and gender ideology, researchers hold differing views on whether the higher earning status of wives and lower earning status of husbands lead to similar ideological shifts in men as they do in women. The debate centres around whether men perceive their wives' employment as a threat or a benefit to their own circumstances. From one point of view, men have to seek additional sources of income, thereby depriving them of the privilege of being the sole financial providers, due to the economic recession starting from the 1980s. Conversely, sticking to the traditionally defined male provider role has resulted in men losing a portion of their involvement within the family. Recent studies have highlighted that many married men desire to actively be part of family issues as both husbands and fathers. However, they face conflicts between work and family and sometimes face job discrimination if their intention to dedicate more time to their family becomes stronger and stronger. Consequently, if women are employed too, their husbands experience a sense of relief from excessive work commitments and the primary economic responsibility for the family. Furthermore, women's earnings through employment also serve as a safeguard for men in an insecure labour market. Hence, women's involvement in paid work not only boosts their personal perception of equality but also fosters greater awareness of gender equality among their husbands.⁴³

Regardless the myth of the male breadwinner, women have always worked and always will. Nevertheless, their fundamental support to the family economy has never got the acknowledgment it should. The most representative example is the data collected by census through the course of time.

Giulia Mancini, in 2018, depicts a situation in which women's employment rate remains one of the lowest among OECD (Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development) countries and for the most part women's daily work is unpaid work.⁴⁴ Giving some data on Italian women's employment rates from 1867 to 2011, Mancini clarifies how the definition of labour force changes across the centuries, this way it is

⁴³ J. Zuo and S. Tang. 2000. "Breadwinner Status and Gender Ideologies of Men and Women regarding Family Roles", *Sociological Perspectives*, Vol. 243, No. 1, pp. 30-31.

⁴⁴ G. Mancini. 2018. "Women's Labor Force Participation in Italy, 1861- 2011", *Rivista di Storia economica*, Issue 1, pp. 3-4.

hard to completely understand who is left out of the census because considered unemployed, according to variable conditions. Mancini uses as a reference Ornello Vitali's work, which:

implemented numerous adjustments to the census labor force series, in order to make its definition consistent over time (Vitali, 1968, 1970); an updated account of these changes can be found in the labor market chapter of the 2011 *Sommario di Statistiche Storiche* (ISTAT, 2011a). Up to 1931, censuses report counts of the so-called «population holding a professional position» (popolazione in condizione professionale). It is the number of people that indicate activities seen as a «profession», «actual» work, as their occupation (even though both the occupational designations used and their inclusion or exclusion from the concept of *condizione professionale* are based on criteria that vary over time and are not explicitly stated).⁴⁵

Many other definitions follow the first one of 1881 until “both the census and the labour force survey introduce the same refinements to the definitions of employment and unemployment, in keeping with international guidelines for labour force statistics. The same framework has been maintained by the 2011 census”.⁴⁶

Regarding the rates registered, we can see a big difference among Italian regions: for example, Calabria was and still is the poorest of Italian regions, against the high rates of Lombardy. On the other hand, making a comparison with other countries, the U-shape by Goldin exists in almost every country, except countries like France, for instance. Yet, Mancini questions herself whether Italy represents “an especially gender-biased transition through industrialization, relative to other countries”.⁴⁷ What is clear is that the comparative perspective of Italy reveals the speed and extent of the decline in female participation, as well as the limited strength of its subsequent recovery. Regardless, following this path, further studies are needed to be able to answer with a yes to Mancini's question above.

The results, however, of such an underestimation of women within the labour market can vary and one representation is Alessandra Pescarolo's *The Third Italy*: “a region of small to mid-sized industrial enterprise cutting across central Italy and the Veneto that blossomed during the 1970s, 1980s, and 1990s”.⁴⁸ The author explains that this

⁴⁵ Giulia Mancini, *op. cit.*, p. 17.

⁴⁶ *Ivi*, p. 19

⁴⁷ *Ivi*, p. 25.

⁴⁸ R. Sarti, A. Bellavitis, M. Martini, *op. cit.*, p. 357.

undercounting becomes the driver of the economy, considering that women's domestic work is not taken into account when calculating the budget of small companies, so it is possible to offer lower wages and obtain higher earnings. Moreover:

Such creative accounting also allowed the female laborers' families to save, protecting their own work from the fluctuations of employment. Domestic work—that is to say, unpaid domestic production—thus became a significant, and in some ways strategic, economic variable, the basis of one typically Italian path of industrialization, and an alternative to that of the large factory. It was a strategy that rested on the complete obfuscation of married women's productive labor; their contribution to the GNP, if you will. As such, it has doubtless contributed significantly to weakening women's position in the Italian labor force today.⁴⁹

In this regard, at the birth of the *Wages for Housework movement* in the 1970s, women's unpaid productive labour becomes fundamental. This is due to the fact that the many hours women put in to ensure the well-being of the family, thus performing work, are finally paid.

In the past few decades, Italy's economic history has witnessed numerous efforts to address the many flaws associated with census-based labour force estimates. Italian economic historians have consistently turned to lots of efforts, which involve reconciling Italian census-based labour force estimates by meticulously correcting significant and minor disparities. Through this comprehensive approach, Vitali provides a coherent series of labour force aggregates categorised by sector of activity, region, and gender.

Vitali argues that the work of women contributing to productive activities in agriculture was severely underreported by population censuses. Women were engaged in what would qualify them as «contributing family workers» by today's standards, but the work they did was seen as mostly undeserving of the qualification of «occupation», and they were instead listed disproportionately as *casalinghe* (homemakers).⁵⁰

Vitali's work is followed by that of Zamagni, as the presence of discrepancies in counting women employed in the domestic textile industry leads to significant regional variations in the census-based estimates of the overall labour force aggregate and the distribution of workers across different sectors. As a result of her adjustments, the revised series portrays a lower count of women as active participants, primarily due to the

⁴⁹ R. Sarti, A. Bellavitis, M. Martini, *op. cit.*, p. 357.

⁵⁰ Giulia Mancini, *op. cit.*, p. 28.

exclusion of domestic workers in the textile sector. While this arrangement aligns with Zamagni's intention, it raises questions regarding the historical perspective on women's labour. The substantial numbers of female employment stemming from domestic manufacturing could potentially be authentic. The challenge lies in determining whether the low figures in other regions result from undercounting or genuine differences in the configuration of women's work. Zamagni acknowledges that deriving an implicit estimate of the extent of domestic work from her correction is not feasible since the degree of undercounting is likely to vary across regions and over time.⁵¹

Eventually, Federico and Martinelli make their adjustments, too; but, while they briefly discuss the disparities between the "traditional" labour force measure and the new figures derived from the agriculture census, their main focus is not solely on rectifying labour force estimates based on the population census.⁵²

Mancini, in her work, also creates a fresh series of female labour force participation for Italy after Unification by using a diverse range of sources, such as aggregate data from surveys beyond the population census, historical microdata obtained from non-probabilistic household living condition inquiries, and marriage records. This way, data are collected with a more specific method; therefore, the results will be more detailed.

The author, thereby, concludes that according to the new series, the labour supply function of Italian women exhibits a U-shaped pattern, emphasising its dynamic nature. The U-shape is more pronounced and asymmetric than previously believed, with a significant decrease in female labour force participation during the first century of Italy's history, followed by a gradual recovery. The revised series also indicates that the reversal of this trend occurred around the early 1960s, challenging the notion suggested by official reconstructions of post-war labour force statistics, which placed it a decade later. The revised series aligns the bottom of the U-shaped curve, representing the period when women begin re-entering the labour force, with Italy's structural transformation towards a service-based economy. This transformation is considered a significant factor contributing to the reversal of the trend in women's labour force participation, a phenomenon observed in other countries as well. Consequently, in an international perspective, the experience of Italian women does not appear to be particularly

⁵¹ Giulia Mancini, *op. cit.*, pp. 29-30.

⁵² Ivi, p. 31.

distinctive. However, the speed at which both the descending and ascending phases of the U-shaped curve occur appears exceptional when compared to available data for other countries. Given the importance of labour force participation in studying gender inequality and women's well-being, these unique characteristics warrant further explanation.⁵³

⁵³ G. Mancini, *op. cit.*, pp. 54-57.

CHAPTER 2

WOMEN'S PRESENCE IN THE STATISTICS

2.1 Census: what it is and how it works

Starting precisely from the data presented in the previous chapter, proposed by authors such as Giulia Mancini or Alessandra Pescarolo, about the presence of women in the labour market, this chapter intends to present and analyse the data collected at the end of the nineteenth century with respect to women's employment, especially by performing a comparison with the data collected on men during the same period. Before doing so, it is appropriate to introduce the concept of census, summarise the history behind it and explain how it actually took place in the last years of the nineteenth century.

A census is a: “Statistical operation of total and direct survey of the state of a collective fact at a given time. It is characterised by instantaneousness, generality and periodicity. It is characterised by instantaneousness, generality and periodicity. The c., understood as a total survey, is contrasted by partial, or sample surveys”.⁵⁴ It is a statistical operation that involves collecting and recording detailed information about the population of a specific geographic area, such as a country, region or city. The main purpose of a census is to obtain demographic, socioeconomic and cultural data on the people residing in that area. These census data are a fundamental support for decision-making at every level of government, as well as for businesses and trade associations, which use them to program, plan activities and projects, offer services to citizens and foreigners, and monitor policies and interventions in the territory. This information is very helpful and an essential element for the entire community, a public good that benefits everyone to take choices or make plans.⁵⁵

During a census, information is collected on various aspects of the population, such as age, sex, occupation, education, income, household composition and other socio-

⁵⁴ “Operazione statistica di rilevazione totale e diretta dello Stato di un fatto collettivo in un dato momento. È caratterizzato dall’istantaneità, dalla generalità e dalla periodicità. Al c., inteso come rilevazione totale, si contrappongono le rilevazioni parziali, o per campione”. In Treccani Enciclopedie. 2023. <https://www.treccani.it/enciclopedia/censimento/>

⁵⁵ Prefettura – Ufficio Territoriale del Governo di Lecco. 2011. *Che cos'è il censimento*.

demographic characteristics. These data are collected through questionnaires or interviews conducted by government organisations or statistical agencies, which are responsible for organising and carrying out the census. Censuses are often conducted at regular intervals, such as every ten years, but they may also be conducted at shorter intervals or on special occasions. Data collected during a census are used for purposes of urban planning, economic development, resource allocation, public policy evaluation, academic research, and more. In addition, census results are crucial in determining political representation in a country or region. However, it is important to note that censuses are conducted with respect for privacy and confidentiality of personal data. The information collected is generally aggregated and anonymous, but it provides a detailed and comprehensive view of the composition of the population in the target area.⁵⁶

The verb “to census” in English, which is "censire" in Italian, has the meaning of assessing and it comes directly from the Latin verb "censere". The census is a total, simultaneous and individual survey of the population residing or present in a given territory at a precise instant of time. The survey units include households, cohabitations and persons resident or present on the given date.

The first Italian census is held in 1861-1862, and censuses have been held every ten years since then, with the exception of 1891 and 1941, years in which the census is not conducted for financial reasons or due to wars; and 1936, in which the census is conducted only five years after the previous one. Most censuses have focused on the resident population in the territory, but there is also a statistical part dedicated to Italians living abroad, whose data are collected thanks to the collaboration of local authorities.

Initially, the first four censuses are carried out by means of an instantaneous survey of the population's de facto conditions, registering individuals simultaneously at their location at midnight on the date of data collection. Since the 1881 census, the legal population has been replaced with the resident population as the main purpose of counting, considering people present with habitual abode in the municipality in which they are counted, and including those temporarily absent. Thus, the resident population register was born:

⁵⁶ Treccani Enciclopedie. 2023. <https://www.treccani.it/enciclopedia/censimento/>

The resident population register has the function of registering by name, according to certain demographic and social characteristics, the inhabitants who are resident in a municipality, either as individuals or as members of a family or cohabitation, as well as the successive variations occurring in the same population, whether Italian or foreign. Registries, as they are currently arranged, are of fairly recent institution, but their history is very old and developed in close connection with censuses.⁵⁷

Over the years, the definitions and instructions for surveying households, cohabitations and de facto populations have changed and refined to make the census as accurate as possible. The population census is a fundamental tool for obtaining a complete picture of the main demographic and socio-economic characteristics of a population, providing detailed information at territorial level.⁵⁸

In Italy, there is a law regulating the population census, which is characterised by exhaustiveness, periodicity and instantaneousness. While for the second requirement, there is a law and, nevertheless, it is not always complied with; the state administration takes care of the census by ensuring that the first and third requirements are met, through the National Institute of Statistics (ISTAT).

The surveys are done by means of “foglio di famiglia”, which is a household sheet, a form that, each household of individuals living under one roof must fill out, reporting all kinds of information about them, from the number of household members to the working conditions of each. When we talk about people living under one roof, we are highlighting the difference between a family living together and people simply sharing the house. Finally, the information is collected on commuting due to work and study. This “foglio di famiglia” or “scheda di censimento” is a single sheet of paper with several pieces of information to be filled in by the head of the household or a person chosen if the head of the household is unable to write. The template includes applications structured in tabular form, sample forms and a list of the main conditions and occupations. This is then replaced by a “scheda di famiglia”: two sheets where you can find instructions on how to fill out and how important and compulsory it is to fill out the form. In 1901,

⁵⁷ “L’anagrafe della popolazione residente ha la funzione di registrare nominativamente, secondo determinati caratteri demografici e sociali, gli abitanti residenti in un comune, sia come singoli che come componenti di una famiglia o di una convivenza, nonché le successive variazioni che si verificano nella stessa popolazione, italiana o straniera. Le anagrafi, così come attualmente ordinate, sono di istituzione abbastanza recente, ma la loro storia è molto antica e si sviluppa in stretta connessione con i censimenti.” In ISTAT, Istituto Nazionale di Statistica. 2011. *L’Italia in 150 anni. Sommario di statistiche storiche 1861-2010*. Ch. 2, p. 6.

⁵⁸ Ivi, p. 3.

everybody starts to fill in their own forms, to put them in an envelope. In 1911, the form becomes made up of a sheet for the householder, an individual sheet for everyone, a “Foglio di famiglia” and an envelope. The sixth census only provides a “Foglio di famiglia”. In 1931 a “Foglio di convivenza” is added, but there are two different kinds. More forms are added for those who do not live in Italy but are Italians, i.e. servicemen. Finally, with a law, in 2011, the “Foglio di famiglia” is modified by adding some important variables while removing those which are useless: “The most important changes concerned the graphic aspects and the first pages that were to contain the instructions for the planned multi-channel return of the questionnaires. In fact, in addition to classic compilation, it was possible to fill in the form via the web.”⁵⁹

Survey unit definitions play a crucial role both because of their practical importance in data collection and because people's membership in households or cohabitations can be considered as an individual characteristic. They also affect the interpretation of numerical data and the distributions generated during censuses. In the context of the population census, there are mainly two survey units: household and cohabitation. Since 2001, the category of single persons is also added. For the most part, the definitions and concepts tend to go back to the implementing regulation of Law No. 1228 of December 24, 1954 on the organisation of the registers of the resident population, approved by Presidential Decree No. 136 of January 31, 1958. Since 1991, reference is made to the new registry regulations, approved by Presidential Decree No. 223 of 1989.

There is no clear distinction between the concept of family and cohabitation in the first two surveys. However, beginning with the 1881 census, a distinction is introduced between "households proper" and "social cohabitations," and the survey makes it possible to identify the households present. During the first censuses of the twentieth century, "census family" begins to be considered as a collection of two or more people related by kinship or affinity, living together under the same roof. People who live alone are also considered as a separate family. Beginning in 1921, subtenants, that is, those who live

⁵⁹“le modifiche più importanti hanno riguardato gli aspetti grafici e le prime pagine che dovevano contenere le istruzioni relative alla multicanalità prevista per la restituzione dei questionari. Infatti, oltre alla compilazione classica è stata possibile la compilazione del modello via web”. In I Censimenti nell’Italia Unita: le fonti di stato della popolazione tra il XIX e il XXI secolo: atti del convegno “I censimenti fra passato, presente e futuro”, Torino, 2010, edited by G. Alfani et al. 2012. Roma: ISTAT, pp. 85-107.

with a family but do not participate in the common life of the family, are also considered as economically separate family units.⁶⁰

Given that many heads of households are engaged in East Africa or the Colonies, it is decided in 1936 to consider the resident household by taking into account the members present, regardless of whether they are actually present in the household at the exact time of the survey. Shared economy and cohabitation become the criteria for the demographic unit in 1951. With the 1991 census, the condition of economic singleness of the household budget is abolished.

Nowadays, two conditions are required to consider a group of people as a family: cohabitation and the presence of one of the following ties: marriage, kinship, affinity, adoption, guardianship or emotional ties. However, there may also be aggregate members in families, who are not connected to the other members by these types of ties, such as domestic servants, domestic workers and other service personnel.

With regard to cohabitation, since 1861 there are provisions for the census registration of public institutions, collective groups, travellers, sailors, boatmen and sailors who are not in the family dwelling on the day of the census. From 1901, port offices and the Ministries of Foreign Affairs, the Navy and War begin to take charge of the census of these categories. From 1951, this task passes to the Ministries of Defence and the Interior, the harbour masters' offices, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and the prefectures. As for those staying in hotels, inns or furnished boarding houses/rooms, it is their owners or tenants themselves who are considered heads of households; the same treatment is also reserved for people in both public and private charitable or assistance establishments, and for those who are part of other households.⁶¹

2.2 The history of census in all its forms

In addition to the population census, the economic census also has its own relevance. It starts from agriculture, industry or trade. The first takes place in 1846 in Belgium, then

⁶⁰ I Censimenti nell'Italia Unita: le fonti di stato della popolazione tra il XIX e il XXI secolo: atti del convegno "I censimenti fra passato, presente e futuro", Torino, 2010, edited by G. Alfani et al., *op. cit.*, pp. 80-81.

⁶¹ Ivi, pp. 81-82.

30 years later in Germany, another 20 years later in Norway, two years later in Denmark, and finally in the early 1900s in Switzerland. In 1928 the League of Nations draws up a convention for economic statistics, which is not actually put into practice by every state that signed it, yet it is useful for the increase in countries taking advantage of the economic census between the first and second halves of the twentieth century. The only countries not interested in economic censuses remain France, Spain, the United Kingdom, and Canada. Uniformity in the classification of economic activities, the field of survey, the choice of sample units, their descriptions and their fundamental aspects is one of the intentions of international cooperation, which is promoted by organisations such as the UN, OECD and EC.⁶²

The first official survey of the conditions of Italian industry is conducted in 1876 by the Directorate of General Statistics. This study focuses on establishments related to 15 groups of industries, with special attention to textile industries and industrial processing carried out by penitentiary establishments and state-owned industrial enterprises. Each industry is surveyed by means of a specially designed questionnaire that considers the particular characteristics of the industry under study.

From 1883 to 1903, several surveys are conducted on the main characteristics of industrial factories. The information collected during this period, relating to a significantly expanded field of observation, is later published in the Annals of Statistics between 1885 and 1903. In 1911, the Census of Industrial Factories and Enterprises is conducted. This census excludes all commercial and tertiary activities, but includes all industrial activities, even if they are carried out by transportation companies and trading firms. In 1927, the Central Statistical Institute conducts its first Census of Industry and Commerce. This census is characterised by its broad field of observation, which includes not only industrial and commercial activities, but also transportation, communication, credit, insurance and some service activities. Ten years later, the Second Industrial and Trade Census followed, which takes place in several stages between 1937 and 1940. In the post-war period, five censuses of production activities are conducted every ten years. These censuses are characterised by a gradual improvement in the techniques and methods of surveying, as well as the attention paid to integrating them into the process of

⁶² I Censimenti nell'Italia Unita: le fonti di stato della popolazione tra il XIX e il XXI secolo: atti del convegno "I censimenti fra passato, presente e futuro", Torino, 2010, edited by G. Alfani et al., *op. cit.*, pp. 84-85.

harmonising statistics among the member countries of the European Community, in accordance with the regulations of international bodies.

Until 1981, these censuses are called the "Censimento generale dell'industria, del commercio, dei servizi e dell'artigianato", which stands for General Census of Industry, Commerce, Services and Handicrafts. Later, in 1991, they take on the final name "Censimento dell'industria e dei servizi", that means, Census of Industry and Services, and is distinguished between sample units, enterprises, institutions and local units.⁶³ Enterprises are organisations of economic activities aimed at producing goods and bestowing services that can be sold. Institutions are organisations with accounting and decision-making autonomy aimed at producing goods and bestowing services that cannot be sold.

Local units are places where the production of goods or the organisation of services takes place, which may or may not be intended for sale. These places include factories, workshops, stores, management offices, schools, hospitals, etc.

The ten-year cadence of the survey is adhered to in all censuses except 1947, when it is not carried out due to post-war financial problems, and 1996, when the Intermediate Census of Industry and Services is conducted. In the questionnaire sent to enterprises in 1991, information is requested on their legal or institutional nature, classification of main and secondary activities, list of local units operated in Italy, number of employees, etc. The latter is established by a law and covers all enterprises active as of 31st December, 1996 and registered in the Business Register of the Chambers of Commerce, as well as artisans and the self-employed. However, enterprises operating in agriculture, health, education and non-profit organizations are not considered. The results of this survey are published by ISTAT in 1998.

A second questionnaire is proposed in 2001, through which a panorama of Italy's productive economic activities is outlined with 800 different activities for different municipalities. This period covers the 9th "Censimento dell'industria e dei servizi e Censimento delle istituzioni non-profit", which is the Census of Industry and Services and the Census of Non-profit Institutions. This census is characterised by important methodological, technical and organisational innovations. These innovations include the

⁶³ ISTAT, Istituto Nazionale di Statistica. 2023. <https://www4.istat.it/it/censimenti-permanenti/censimenti-precedenti>

use of statistical registers assisted by sample surveys, which allow for greater accuracy and representativeness of the data. In addition, new analytical and in-depth tools are developed for different subpopulations of enterprises and domains of analysis in order to provide a more detailed and in-depth view of the sectors examined. In addition, a multichannel system for returning questionnaires is implemented, allowing companies and institutions to use different ways of filling out and transmitting data. These innovations help improve the efficiency and accuracy of the census, providing a more complete picture of industry, services and non-profit institutions.⁶⁴

The 1st Census of Agriculture is conducted by ISTAT on 15th April, 1961, recording 4.3 million farms in the territory, with a utilised area of 26.5 million hectares (ha). Subsequent censuses, conducted in 1970 and 1982, show a decrease of about 1 million, compared to 1961, and a reduction of half of the utilised agricultural area. The predominant form of farm management is what is called "farmer-directed," in which the farmer manages the farm and also provides his own manual labour. Over the years, although the number of farm workers declines (from about 3.5 million in 1961 to about 3 million in 1982), their economic importance increases due to the increase in the agricultural area used by direct farmers (from 13.2 million ha in 1961 to 16.6 million ha in 1981).

In 1990, ISTAT conducts the 4th Census of Agriculture, followed by the 5th survey in 2000, during a period of profound transformation of the agricultural sector. Community agricultural policy reforms and the enlargement of the European Union to include Central European countries, provided for in Agenda 2000, orient agriculture toward a multifunctional role, do not limit production but also orient toward environmental and social aspects.

The 6th Census of Agriculture, launched on October 24, 2010, involves a census network of more than 20,000 operators between ISTAT and the territorial authorities. In this edition of the Census of Agriculture, for the first time, farms are given the opportunity to complete the questionnaire online, and more than 61,000 of them participate via the web. In addition, the 6th Census of Agriculture is the first to experiment with a presence on social networks, with a dedicated profile on Facebook that counts more than 7,200

⁶⁴ ISTAT, Istituto Nazionale di Statistica. 2023. <https://www4.istat.it/it/censimenti-permanenti/censimenti-precedenti>

contacts.⁶⁵ The data to be collected are many and the variables to be considered, just as many, so the job of ISTAT, indeed, assumes a certain complexity.

As well, the First Population Census is conducted in 1861, the year the Kingdom of Italy was founded. On the night between 31st December, 1861 and 1st January, 1862, nine months after the unification of Italy, Italians attempt to take a census and draw the first picture of the population, dividing it by sex, age and marital status. The choice of the last day of the year as the reference date for the census is made because it is believed that during the holiday season the Italian population is more likely to stay at home and thus it would be easier to take a census. However, it turns out to be an unfortunate choice because Italy is a mainly agricultural country, where sheep farming plays an important role in the national economy, and during the winter there are substantial population movements from the countryside to the cities and from mountainous areas to the plains. In addition, employing communal employees on holidays to do heavy work such as at the census survey is considered unbecoming. Despite this, the decision to keep the same reference date for the two successive censuses is also motivated by the need to conform to other European countries so that the results obtained could then be compared. This highlights a strong continuity between past and present and anticipates the European directives that would develop in more recent decades.⁶⁶

On 10th February 1901, is chosen as the date, as it is quite close to the previous date and is still a holiday. There is a further postponement of the date to 11th June for the previous census, but in the 1920s there is a return to the winter period. From 1951, the autumn period becomes the census period of choice because of the mild temperatures, not too high as in summer or too low as in winter.⁶⁷

The census works the following way:

The municipalities, as a first step, divided the municipal area into main centres, secondary centres, hamlets and scattered houses, and then proceeded to the formation of sections.⁹ Subsequently, the 'verification' of blocks, streets, houses and households in each section was carried out. Before starting the field survey, the mayor chose the municipal clerks who were responsible for distributing

⁶⁵ ISTAT, Istituto Nazionale di Statistica. 2023. <https://www4.istat.it/it/censimenti-permanenti/censimenti-precedenti>

⁶⁶ I Censimenti nell'Italia Unita: le fonti di stato della popolazione tra il XIX e il XXI secolo: atti del convegno "I censimenti fra passato, presente e futuro", Torino, 2010, edited by G. Alfani et al., *op. cit.*, p. 34.

⁶⁷ Censimenti e società: mutamenti sociodemografici della Sicilia in 150 anni di storia. 2014. Edited by R. Foderà, Roma: Istat, pp. 25-28.

the cards to the households. During the field survey phase, the clerks went to each inhabited house, flat, family or 'fire', distributed the census cards to the heads of households and filled in the section status. [...]

In the case of an illiterate head of household, it was the clerk who proceeded to fill out the form. The completed cards had to be collected at home by the clerks and collected at the community offices, but not before verifying the completeness and accuracy of the information given by the respondents. In the phase following the collection of the data, the Commune Offices proceeded to copy the forms onto the cards of the counting paper, which were of two colours (one for males and one for females); once completed, the cards were cut out from the counting paper and as many parcels were made as there were centres, hamlets and scattered houses with the indication of the name. The cards, once copied, were filed by the municipality. Afterwards, the Commune Offices would take back the parcels of postcards and proceed to their counting and classification.⁶⁸

The last part of the process involves the collected data being processed and sent first to the Ministry and then to the Temporary Census Bureau. Finally, the Central Bureau of Statistics is responsible for reporting the results to the Kingdom. The results show there are 22,182,377 residents (rising to about 26 million considering the areas not yet annexed), with 51 percent male. The average age is 27, while the percentage of people over 70 is extremely low. This is a much younger population than today, with a high birth rate (children under ten account for 24 percent of the total) and large families (with an average of four members). The entire census, including the publication of the results, cost 640,000 liras (29.38 liras per 1,000 inhabitants).

Since 1861, the population census is conducted every ten years, introducing novelties and innovations from time to time, with the exception of 1891, when it could not be conducted due to financial difficulties, and 1941 due to the war. In the 1881 census, the

⁶⁸ “I Comuni, come prima operazione, effettuarono la suddivisione del territorio comunale in centri principali, centri secondari, casali e case sparse, per poi procedere alla formazione delle sezioni.9 Successivamente veniva eseguita la “verifica- zione” di isolati, vie, case e famiglie di ciascuna sezione. Prima di avviare la rile- vazione sul campo, il sindaco sceglieva i commessi comunitativi che avevano il compito di distribuire alle famiglie le schede. Durante la fase di rilevazione sul campo i commessi, recandosi presso ogni ca- sa abitata, appartamento, famiglia o “fuoco”, distribuivano ai capifamiglia le sche- de nominative di censimento e compilavano lo stato di sezione. [...] In caso di capofamiglia analfabeta, era il commesso che procedeva alla compilazione della scheda. Le schede compilate dovevano essere raccolte a domicilio dai commessi e riunite negli Uffici comunitativi, tuttavia non prima di aver verificato la completezza e l’esattezza delle informazioni rilasciate dai rispondenti. Nella fase successiva alla raccolta dei dati, gli Uffici comunitativi procedevano a copiare le schede sulle cartoline della carta di spoglio che erano di due colori (una per i maschi e una per le femmine); ultimata la loro compilazione, le cartoline venivano ritagliate dalla carta di spoglio e venivano fatti tanti pacchi quanti erano i centri, i casali e le case sparse con l’indicazione del nome. Le schede, una volta copiate, venivano archiviate dal Comune. Successivamente, gli Uffici comunitativi riprendevano i pacchi di cartoline e procedevano al loro spoglio e alla loro classificazione.” In *I Censimenti nell’Italia Unita: le fonti di stato della popolazione tra il XIX e il XXI secolo: atti del convegno “I censimenti fra passato, presente e futuro”*, Torino, 2010, edited by G. Alfani et al., *op. cit.*, pp. 35-36.

method of surveying the resident population (including those present with usual residence and temporary absentees) is adopted; in 1901, the census reference date is moved to February, and individual cards for each household member are introduced. In 1910, for the first time, an age limit of 10 years is set for answering questions on labour, and in 1921 the last census is administered by municipalities before being turned over to ISTAT.

In 1931 the data collected for the census are processed for the first time with the use of punch presses, using two tabulated Hollerith tabulators. In 1936 the census operation is brought forward according to a schedule to make the surveys a five-year frequency, although this schedule is not kept. This is the last population census before the war. The next one is conducted after the advent of the Republic in 1951, along with the first housing census.

Twenty years later, in 1971, the first Census of the Trieste and Bolzano language groups is conducted, with a questionnaire also translated into German. In 1991, the questionnaire is translated into six languages in addition to Italian and is accompanied by an individual sheet for foreigners not residing in Italy. The last two census are different because of two major changes introduced: in the 2001 census, buildings are also surveyed for the first time, and in 2011, data are collected through the Internet, too.⁶⁹

2.3 Census and other important variables

2.3.1 Census and gender

In the past, there was a significant difference between the two surveys in relation to gender. At that time, in fact, the roles of the two sexes within society are widely differentiated: while men tend to leave their hometowns for study or work, women tend to stay at home to look after their children and perform domestic duties (although it is known that women are heavily involved in agricultural activities). It is not until 1881 that the legal population begins to gain increasing importance. One of the explicit objectives

⁶⁹ ISTAT, Istituto Nazionale di Statistica. 2023. <https://www4.istat.it/it/censimenti-permanenti/censimenti-precedenti>

of the third census of the Kingdom of Italy is to create a registry to be compared with census data at each individual municipal administration.

As mentioned earlier, the census concept of legal population can be associated with resident population. The latter represents the population defined by the constant presence of individuals in a given municipality, a situation that is confirmed through registration in a specific register kept at the registry office of each municipality. The two characteristics that determine residency are thus the individual's willingness to establish his or her residence and habitual abode there.⁷⁰

From the first surveys immediately, we obtain registry information such as first name, last name, sex, age, place of birth, paternity marital status, relationship or cohabitation with the head of the household, and citizenship. Age is certainly a very useful variable when considering what impact this has on the birth and death rates of the population and on movement within the territory. As a matter of fact:

the comparison of demographic structures of populations belonging to different territories and different periods and the use of indicators capable of synthesising these distributions so as to quantify, and facilitate interpretation of, any similarities or differences, comparing particularly significant age groups: young people, the elderly, people of working age.⁷¹

However, in the course of time, people are asked to be more precise stating their age, as some people tend to round off the age, thus distorting the results. Slowly, as a matter of fact, questions are asked not only about age, but also about the year and month of birth. The place of birth is a useful variable, when not only the commune but also the province of birth is asked.

It is also important to follow a precise order in reporting the data of the respondents: the head of the household is recorded first and those who are considered cohabitantes but are not related to the head of the household or the rest of the household are recorded last.

⁷⁰ Censimenti e società: mutamenti sociodemografici della Sicilia in 150 anni di storia, edited by R. Foderà, *op. cit.* pp. 13-14.

⁷¹ “la comparazione tra strutture demografiche di popolazioni appartenenti a territori diversi e a periodi diversi e il ricorso a indicatori in grado di sintetizzare tali distribuzioni in modo da quantificare, agevolandone l’interpretazione, eventuali similitudini o differenze, commisurando tra loro raggruppamenti d’età particolarmente significativi: giovani, anziani, persone in età lavorativa.” In I Censimenti nell’Italia Unita: le fonti di stato della popolazione tra il XIX e il XXI secolo: atti del convegno “I censimenti fra passato, presente e futuro”, Torino, 2010, edited by G. Alfani et al., *op. cit.*, p. 92.

Marital status is a variable that is initially recorded only by distinguishing between single, married or widowed, later the definitions of de facto separated will be added. Some of the questions that used to be asked at the time of the census are now considered violations of privacy and are probably what make data collection cumbersome, so religion, infirmity, language and a few other variables have been removed from the survey.⁷² In addition to demographic variables, socio-economic variables must also be considered, i.e. level of education, professional affiliation and commuting.

After the Unification of Italy, education and schooling play a crucial role in fostering a sense of unity among citizens. However, the condition of education is extremely backward and strongly influenced by the large gap between regions and widespread poverty among the population. Consequently, a process of literacy and schooling is initiated through legislative provisions aimed at reorganising and generalising basic education. The main reforms that address these challenges include the Coppino reform of 1877 and the Gentile reform of 1923, which introduces and subsequently increases compulsory schooling to a higher age.⁷³ After the two world wars, in the 1951 and 1961 censuses, questions regarding the highest level of education attained are added for the first time. In the 1970s, a political and cultural climate of turmoil leads to a reduction in school drop-outs, the liberalisation of access to university and the modification of baccalaureate examinations. In the 1971 census, the education requirements are structured according to a more detailed classification: questions on literacy, primary school and middle school are prefixed, while a description of high school qualifications is required. In addition, a question on participation in a course of study is included.

It is important to find out who has a qualification higher than secondary school, leaving certificate, but also which achievements has been made abroad. Occupation-related variables have been the subject of census enumeration since the first census, evolving greatly in terms of both the definition and the quantity and wording of the questions. In the 1861 census, it is only required to indicate the occupation and to specify whether the occupation is 'master' or 'apprentice'. In 1881, one has to indicate in order the occupations held as main and secondary, if there are obviously more than one occupation.

⁷² M. Miglietta. 2022/2023. *Il censimento del 1881 a Costabissara: un'analisi dei dati sugli individui e sulle famiglie*, edited by G. Dalla Zuanna. Università degli Studi di Padova, pp. 12-14.

⁷³ *Censimenti e società: mutamenti sociodemografici della Sicilia in 150 anni di storia*, edited by R. Foderà, *op. cit.*, pp. 39-40.

In later years, it is then required to specify the occupational category to which one belongs or the company at which one is employed. The most significant change comes in 2001 when it stops being necessary to ask separate questions about the type of work, the main activities and the tasks performed during employment.⁷⁴

It is also important to take into account the great changes that the world of work experiences over time, which also makes it difficult to keep the comparison open between surveys, despite this being one of the main purposes of the census.

Questions about commuting represent what is new in the 1971 census. It is therefore necessary to collect information about the movements of citizens, the places reached, the times taken and the time slots involved. The importance of this variable is evident: “Commuting data were among the most eagerly awaited of the last censuses, both for the construction of the commuting matrix on inter-municipal mobility and for the definition of local labour systems”.⁷⁵

2.3.2 Census and unemployment

The study of statistical data produced in past historical epochs can respond to two different needs that are often seen as opposing and alternative to each other: on the one hand, the need to derive information on the phenomenon 'in itself' described by the source, in its 'objectivity', and on the other hand, the desire to analyse the ideologies and forms of representation of the world underlying the statistical representation.⁷⁶

Unemployment, as a matter of fact, becomes an issue towards the end of the nineteenth century, when the term appears for the first time. In France the term is *chômage*, which is widely used from the following century; in Spain, there is *paro*, that is often associated to *huelga*, whose meaning is “strike”. In English the term is

⁷⁴ I Censimenti nell'Italia Unita: le fonti di stato della popolazione tra il XIX e il XXI secolo: atti del convegno “I censimenti fra passato, presente e futuro”, Torino, 2010, edited by G. Alfani et al., *op. cit.*, pp. 103-105

⁷⁵ “I dati sul pendolarismo furono tra quelli più attesi degli ultimi censimenti, sia per la costruzione della matrice del pendolarismo sulla mobilità intercomunale sia per la definizione dei sistemi locali del lavoro”. In *ivi*, pp. 106-107.

⁷⁶ “Lo studio dei dati statistici prodotti in passate epoche storiche può rispondere a due diverse esigenze che spesso vengono viste come opposte e alternative fra loro: da un lato la necessità di ricavare informazioni sul fenomeno ‘in sé’ descritto dalla fonte, nella sua ‘oggettività’, dall’altro la volontà di analizzare le ideologie e le forme di rappresentazione del mondo sottostanti alla rappresentazione statistica.” In M. Alberti. 2013. *La ‘scoperta’ dei disoccupati, Alle origini dell’indagine statistica sulla disoccupazione nell’Italia liberale (1893-1915)*, Firenze: Firenze University Press, pp. 14.

“unemployment” that may mean “inactive” or “temporary out work”; in addition, work, in this case, is tended to be linked to “idle”, which actually means “inactive”, but it does not have any negative meaning.⁷⁷

Initially, there is no distinction between “unemployed”, “poor” or “unfit for work”. However, thanks to an awareness of the poor conditions of workers and a subsequent intervention by the state with the subsequent development of the labour movement, unemployment begins to emerge as a new burden on society.

As the census is an instrument to record the development of the working classes in Italy, it is clearly also a suitable tool to assess unemployment. Therefore, “From the beginning of the 20th century onwards, the main tools used to obtain the level of unemployment in a direct way were the general population census, the use of data provided by employment offices and information from the management of unemployment insurance.”⁷⁸

The first censuses, as mentioned above, do not take care to register also those who are not employed. The term “unemployed” is actually interpreted as “inactive”, i.e. the unemployed person is one who cannot work due to illness or old age or one who do not work on holidays; at some point the term is also given a negative connotation, becoming synonymous with “idle” or, *sfaccendato* or *ozioso*. As there is no category dedicated to unemployment in the questionnaire, a specific question about temporary unemployment is only added to the questions asked of the population in 1901 and then again in 1931.

Regardless of what is not reported in the censuses, the National Institute of Statistics actually confirms that there was an unemployment rate of around 37% in 1861 and 44% in 1871, respectively. This percentage includes mostly women, who are more concerned with the care of the home and children, and children. In this regard, the 1871 census shows that “the category of ‘personnel in the employ of others and without occupation’ is the category most populated by women”.⁷⁹

⁷⁷ M. Alberti, *op. cit.*, pp. 67-68.

⁷⁸ “A partire dall’inizio del Novecento i principali strumenti utilizzati per ricavare in modo diretto il livello della disoccupazione furono il censimento generale della popolazione, l’utilizzo dei dati forniti dagli uffici di collocamento e le informazioni ricavate dalla gestione delle assicurazioni contro la disoccupazione”. In Istituto Nazionale Di Statistica Società Italiana Di Demografia Storica. “I censimenti nell’Italia unita. Le fonti di stato della popolazione tra il XIX e il XXI secolo”, edited by G. Alfani, A. Cortese, F. Crescenzi, G. Favero, A. Micali, L. Pozzi, Atti del Convegno. 2010. “I censimenti fra passato, presente e futuro”, *Annali di statistica* anno 141, Serie XII, Vol. 2, Torino, p. 180.

⁷⁹ “personale a carico altrui e senza professione determinata’ sia la categoria maggiormente popolata da donne”. In Istituto Nazionale Di Statistica Società Italiana Di Demografia Storica, *op. cit.*, pp. 179-183.

Precisely, the first census recording data on unemployment comes in 1901. First of all, a distinction is made between temporary and chronic unemployment, as the former is part of the working population, while the latter becomes part of the “persone mantenute dalla famiglia”, that is people supported by their family. What emerges from the census is that:

In Italy there were a total of 229,117 individuals over the age of 15 who were temporarily unemployed, of whom 193,096 were men (4.73 per cent of active men) and 36,021 were women (1.83 per cent of active women). The incidence of unemployment was also higher in the older age groups, although the absolute value of the unemployed over 65 was lower than that for the 16-65 age group [...]. Excluding workers out of work due to illness, unemployed males were mainly concentrated in industry, almost 6 per cent of those employed in this sector.⁸⁰

In contrast to previous censuses, the presence of women is lower among the unemployed, this is because women appear more suited to fallback occupations and in general due to a habit of relegating women to the home, thus overestimating their inactivity.

As anticipated, unemployment is only considered again in the survey in 1931. In fact, in the 1911 census, again the temporarily unemployed are included together with the invalids and the chronically unemployed within the category of individuals in “condizioni non professionali”, that is unprofessional conditions, which includes owners, capitalists, the well-to-do, the profitable; pensioners; people looking after their homes; students, schoolchildren, seminarians, boarders; people without a profession (unemployed, invalids); inmates who do not work; convicts who do not work; beggars and prostitutes.⁸¹

The same occurs in the 1921 census. In contrast, the 1931 census presents a specific question on involuntary unemployment, which do not include the sick, the disabled, the seasonally unemployed and part-time workers. As for young people seeking their first employment and women caring for the home, there remains doubt as to which category

⁸⁰ “In Italia risultavano nel complesso 229.117 individui di età superiore ai 15 anni temporaneamente disoccupati, di cui 193.096 di sesso maschile (il 4,73 per cento degli uomini attivi) e 36.021 di sesso femminile (l’1,83 per cento delle donne attive). L’incidenza della disoccupazione risultava inoltre più elevata nelle fasce d’età più avanzate, anche se il valore assoluto dei disoccupati al di sopra dei 65 anni era inferiore a quello riferito alla fascia d’età compresa fra i 16 e i 65 anni [...]. Escludendo i lavoratori privi di impiego per malattia, i maschi disoccupati erano soprattutto concentrati nell’industria, quasi il 6 per cento degli addetti a questo settore”. In Istituto Nazionale Di Statistica Società Italiana Di Demografia Storica, *op. cit.*, pp. 185-186.

⁸¹ Ivi, pp. 183- 187.

to include them in. Although the phenomenon of unemployment is considered in 1931, there is still uncertainty about its actual definition, since “excluded fluctuating and precarious work and underestimated women's employment distress”.⁸²

The 1936 census again excludes unemployment; however, it reports a question about individuals “in attesa di prima occupazione”. The latter are considered to be in a transitory condition and thus become part of the active population. Thus, it appears from an analysis of the censuses conducted in Italy between 1861 and 1936 that the concept of unemployment only emerges between the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, but remains ambiguous in the following decades. The first censuses classify people without a stable job as inactive, but they are sometimes referred to as “disoccupati”, unemployed. It is not until 1901 that a distinction between temporary and chronic unemployment is introduced. The experiment conducted in 1901, however, is unsuccessful because the temporarily unemployed are only manual workers or those unable to work due to illness, so the question of unemployment is omitted from subsequent censuses, only resuming in 1931. In addition, the distinction between “activity” (attività) and “inactivity” (inattività) is also controversial due to the representation of male and female labour, which leads to an underestimation of women's work and an overestimation of men's work, and due to the inability to represent the irregularity of work, both female and male. In the censuses, no difference is reported between women assigned to domestic care and women employed in the fields, quite the contrary:

In the ISTAT surveys, women were overwhelmingly classified as 'coadjutants', i.e. helpers who did not own the profession. The category of helper, introduced in the 1930s, immediately took on a distinctly female connotation: according to the results of the 1931 census, helper workers made up 41.5 per cent of the males working in agriculture, and 84.5 per cent of the women employed in the same sector.⁸³

⁸² “escludeva il lavoro fluttuante e precario e sottostimava il disagio occupazionale delle donne “. In Istituto Nazionale Di Statistica Società Italiana Di Demografia Storica, *op. cit.*, p. 189.

⁸³ “Nelle indagini dell’Istat le donne erano massicciamente classificate come “coadiuvanti”, cioè aiutanti non titolari della professione. La categoria del coadiuvante, introdotta negli anni Trenta, assunse subito una connotazione marcatamente femminile: stando ai risultati del censimento del 1931 i coadiuvanti costituivano il 41,5 per cento dei maschi attivi in agricoltura, e l’84,5 per cento delle donne occupate nello stesso settore”. In *ivi*, p. 192.

2.4 The 1871 Italian census

This thesis aims to analyse the 1871 census carried out on the entire Italian population. The results of this census will then be published in four volumes organised as follows:

- Census of Italians abroad (31st December 1871), 1874;
- Population classified by age, sex, marital status and elementary education: census 31st December 1871, 1875;
- Population classified by main occupations, cults and infirmities: census 31st December 1871, 1876;
- Present and absent population by municipalities, towns and hamlets: census 31st December 1871, 1874.

The first volume mentioned above aims to take a census of Italians in foreign countries, but from the outset, the operation appears complicated due to its very nature and the willingness and ability of those who would be interviewed. First of all, in order for the census to take place, it is necessary for the Italian state to come to an agreement with the host states of the Italians to be counted and for a way to be found for the legislation to appear coordinated.

In fact, in Germany, the census has to take place on 1st December 1871 while in Italy a good 30 days later, thereby the Royal Minister in Berlin decides to use the German census as the outline for the Italian one. The result is indeed satisfactory and covers the entire country, with the exception of Alsace and Lorraine.

The Italian census in Switzerland is carried out using the same method adopted in Germany on 1st December 1870 by the cantonal authorities. However, the figures appear to be totally distorted, probably due to the inaccuracy of the method used to carry out the survey and the census of the Italian population in Switzerland is merely an extract of the local census.

The same collaborative spirit is also found in France and Austria. In addition, Great Britain is very precise in collecting the data requested by Italy, however the results remain disappointing; in Belgium and Argentina censuses are also carried out and it is particularly surprising the results achieved in Buenos Aires, probably thanks to the careful cooperation of the components of the *Junta* and the compatriots themselves.

There are many other states where, it has been possible to collect statistical data, because there is an Italian consulate, although the data have not always proved to be true. Regardless of this, the Italian state has been most grateful to whichever country has been so cooperative.⁸⁴

The two following volumes will be discussed later in this chapter.

The last volume mentioned, first of all, represents the total number of inhabitants of the kingdom on 31st December 1871, making a distinction between male and female, single or married, and further differentiating the inhabitants by provincial or provincial capital. By doing so, it is possible to create a table of the inhabitants of each province or provincial capital, differentiated by sex, age and marital status.

It appears that the number of single men is greater than the number of single women. The numbers of married men and women are almost equal; on the other hand, in Italy and abroad, the number of widows is greater than the number of men who have lost their partners. With regard to the distinction by age, there are many difficulties encountered due to the fact that there are errors in the registration of children, who end up being registered when they are even one year old. Therefore, making estimates of the birth rate, month by month or by place of birth, becomes a rather complicated undertaking. The mortality rate, on the other hand, seems to be less difficult to calculate. Given the uncertainty of the criteria and data collected, before these are reported in the volume, the introduction concludes as follows:

Having made these observations, which we hope will persuade us of our love for the truth, and how we do not venture to take as positive information that which still needs to be surrounded by special caution and reservations, we finally present two tables of the population by age, one based on the entire population of the kingdom, the other on that of the sixty-nine provincial capitals, adjusted to one hundred thousand inhabitants. The first is based on the hypothesis that the twelfth figure contained in the count models of the census, which is still extraordinarily high in comparison to the previous ones, should be added together to form the total number of children from birth to one year of age, and also in comparison to the results of the previous census; and the second table, relating to the provincial capitals, demonstrates the differences that result from the two hypotheses mentioned above, but only for the 1871 census.⁸⁵

⁸⁴ Ufficio centrale di statistica. - Roma: Stamperia reale, Censimento 31 dicembre 1871 / Ministero di agricoltura, industria e commercio, Relazione, pp. XVIII – XXIII.

⁸⁵ “Premesse queste osservazioni, che varranno, speriamo, a persuadere quanto sia, presso noi l'amore alla verità, e come non ci avventuriamo a dare per notizie positive quelle che hanno d'uopo tuttora di essere circondate da speciali cautele e riserve, presentiamo finalmente due tavole della popolazione per età l'una formata sull'intera popolazione del regno, l'altra su quella dei sessantanove comuni capoluoghi di provincia ragguagliate a centomila abitanti. La prima è fondata sull' ipotesi che la dodicesima cifra

However, the rest of this chapter will focus on the analysis of the population classified by main occupations, considering only data regarding the region of Veneto, in particular the province of Padua.

Before reporting the data mentioned above, it is needed to introduce the context in which the census took place. It is reported that after the Unification, women start to exit the labour market. As already stated, women contribute to the family economy by performing different activities, nevertheless their efforts are never acknowledged. According to Silvana Patriarca, the censuses of 1871 and 1881 do not show the real conditions in which women work, as it is not probable that women leave, all of a sudden, their job in peasant farms to focus on the household exclusively.

In her work, the author introduces the term of “popolazione attiva”, that is active population, and which specifically means:

The "economically active population" comprises all persons of either sex who furnish the supply of labour for the production of economic goods and services as defined by the United Nations systems of national accounts and balances, during a specified time-reference period. According to these systems, the production of economic goods and services includes all production and processing of primary products, whether for the market, for barter or for own consumption, the production of all other goods and services for the market and, in the case of households which produce such goods and services for the market, the corresponding production for own consumption.⁸⁶

However, women as part of the active population, may be found in agriculture, in the manufacturing sector and in industry.⁸⁷

Given this lack of consideration towards women, in the eighteenth century, an exhibition of women's work is organised in Florence. On this purpose, a “Comitato femminile” with Princess Antonietta Strozzi as president, is created so that something involving women would be set up by women. People think of this exhibition as a way of

contenuta nei modelli di spoglio del censimento, comunque straordinariamente elevata in confronto alle precedenti, dovesse sommarsi con queste per costituire il totale dei bambini dalla nascita ad un anno, e col confronto altresì dei risultati del censimento anteriore; e la seconda tavola, relativa ai capoluoghi, dimostra le differenze che discendono dalle due ipotesi più volte accennate, per il solo censimento però del 1871”. In Ufficio centrale di statistica. - Roma: Stamperia reale, Censimento 31 dicembre 1871 / Ministero di agricoltura, industria e commercio, Vol. 2, p. 31.

⁸⁶ Thirteenth International Conference of Labour Statisticians. 1982. “Resolution concerning statistics of the economically active population, employment, unemployment and underemployment”. Geneva. <https://www.ilo.org/ilostat-files/SSM/SSM5/E/ANNEX.html>

⁸⁷ S. Patriarca. 1998. “Gender trouble: Women and the making of Italy's ‘active population’, 1861-1936”, *Journal of Modern Italian Studies*. Department of History. Columbia University, p.145.

making amends, as women never had the opportunity to express their skills and to be properly acknowledged for their success. Demetrio Carlo Finocchietti thinks:

It was necessary to prove that nothing had escaped the feminine intelligence to make it her ornament and useful to others; that there was no art or industry that woman had not cultivated, because many of those could compete with man, especially in the area of execution. It was finally necessary to show how women, with their intelligent education, could be a valuable element of national prosperity better than anyone else.⁸⁸

Thus, in this context, the 1871 census is conducted and before reporting the data collected, it is necessary to specify how data are collected and by which means. Ten years after the first general registry survey, on 27th of June, it is demanded that a census on the population would be done. So, householders or people in charge of groups of people who share the same house have to fulfil specific forms which they are given and that would be later recollected. Before doing this and within 31st of October 1871, roads, streets, squares, numbers have to be clearly specified so that any misunderstandings would be avoided. There are some rules that must be followed, for instance:

- Wherever they are, at home or on board some means of transport, any member of the Kingdom of Italy would be counted at midnight on 31st December;
- The data is to be collected by means of “scheda di famiglia”, specifically filled in by the person in charge;
- Information such as name, surname, sex, age, place of birth and residence, profession or status, religion, etc. has to be indicated on the “scheda di famiglia”. There are two parts to the form, the upper part refers to those present at the place where the compilation took place, while the lower part lists those absent for longer or shorter than six months.

⁸⁸ “Conveniva provare che nulla era sfuggito alla intelligenza femminile per farne suo ornamento ed utile altrui; che non vi era arte o industria che la donna non avesse coltivata, perché molte di quelle gareggiare poteva coll’uomo, specialmente dal lato della esecuzione. Faceva di mestieri finalmente dimostrare come la donna colla sua intelligente istruzione, meglio di qualunque altro, avrebbe potuto essere elemento prezioso di prosperità nazionale”. In D. C. Finocchietti. 1871. *Dalla prima esposizione nazionale dei lavori femminili tenutasi in Firenze. Cenni del Conte Demetrio Carlo Finocchietti*, Wilmant, p. 9.

- The “municipio”, supervised by the municipal statistical councils, is responsible for collecting the data and reporting them.⁸⁹

The census is preceded, as mentioned above, by a division of the municipality into fractions, a numbering of houses and a numbering of households. By the term “house” is meant what is stated in the first general statistics: “every building, whether isolated or not, large or small, which has its own main and external access, and which, wherever the numbering of houses exists, usually bears a distinct number”.⁹⁰ However, for the 1871 census, the numbering of houses means that the definition of a house has become more specific and broader, and each house has been assigned a house number, next to the main entrance. Instead, a family is defined as, those who live together under the same roof and habitually or precariously warm themselves by the same fire and habitually or precariously eat meals together. Thus, it is not only kinship that makes two or more people a family, for the purposes of the 1871 census, but cohabitation under one roof.

A further distinction made in the population, for the census under analysis, is based on the quality of dwelling. The distinction arises from the fact that people present, divided into family members and strangers, and people absent are to be counted separately. This distinction, however, leads to a great deal of confusion as to who would make up the population as of right. Hence, a difference is determined between permanent and occasional dwelling, which in turn is divided into dwelling defined as “di passaggio”, that is passing through, and “per qualche tempo”, which means for some time. In any case, the census itself merely collects data, further distinctions and consequent problems to be made and solved will be left to science and public administration to deal with.

Right from the start, there are problems with the data on the number of households and the number of houses, as the data show that there are as many houses in Italy as there are households living in them. A result that seems implausible. However, whatever problems emerge in the 1871 census, they can certainly be traced back to differences with the results of the censuses of previous years. Nevertheless, it is worth pointing out the undeniable discrepancies in the methods used for the 1871 and previous years' censuses.

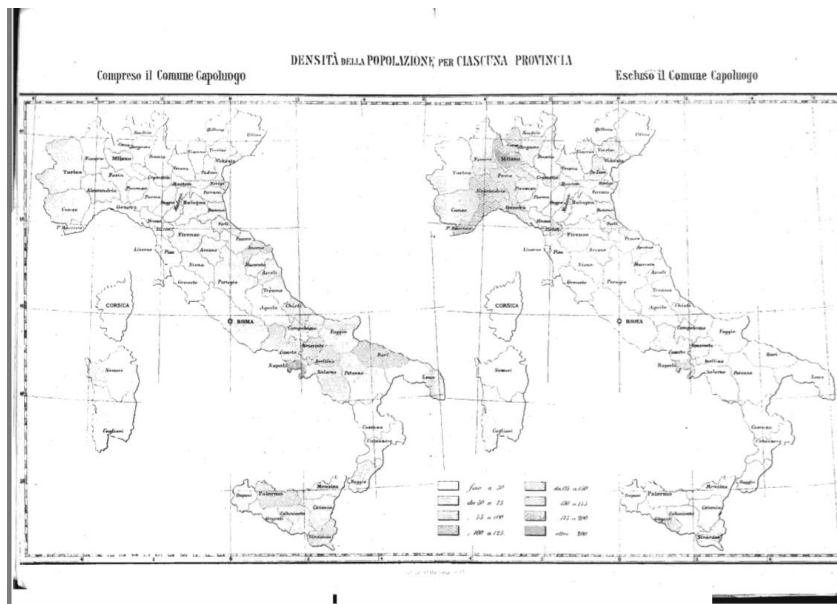
⁸⁹ Ufficio centrale di statistica. - Roma: Stamperia reale, Censimento 31 dicembre 1871 / Ministero di agricoltura, industria e commercio, Vol. 1, Introduzione, pp. III-V.

⁹⁰ “ogni edificio isolato o non isolato, grande o piccolo, che abbia un proprio accesso principale ed esterno, e che, dovunque esista la numerazione delle case, suole portare un distinto numero d'ordine”. In *ivi*, p. VI.

Anyways, what is important for the purposes of this thesis is to underline, if any, the differences between the numbers of women and men employed in professional activities in the province of Padua.

First of all, as a premise to the data concerning the professions of women and men, this is the situation of the population:

Figure 1 - Population density for each province.



Ufficio centrale di statistica. - Roma: Stamperia reale, Censimento 31 dicembre 1871 / Ministero di agricoltura, industria e commercio, Vol. 1, Introduzione, p. XV.⁹¹

⁹¹ See Appendix.

Figure 1 - Number of inhabitants per square kilometre in each province.

NUMERO DEGLI ABITANTI per Chilometro quadrato in ciascuna Provincia					
	Compreso il Comune Capoluogo	Escluso il Comune Capoluogo		Compreso il Comune Capoluogo	Escluso il Comune Capoluogo
<i>Alessandria</i>	185	150	<i>Massa Carrara</i>	91	66
<i>Ancona</i>	158	120	<i>Modena</i>	92	70
<i>Aquila</i>	51	59	<i>Milano</i>	111	172
<i>Arezzo</i>	71	61	<i>Monza</i>	109	91
<i>Ascoli</i>	91	83	<i>Napoli</i>	551	162
<i>Avellino</i>	103	59	<i>Novara</i>	96	98
<i>Bari</i>	102	96	<i>Padova</i>	156	100
<i>Belluno</i>	33	53	<i>Palermo</i>	121	80
<i>Benevento</i>	130	171	<i>Parma</i>	82	65
<i>Bergamo</i>	151	115	<i>Perugia</i>	156	175
<i>Bologna</i>	172	92	<i>Pesaro</i>	57	54
<i>Brescia</i>	101	58	<i>Pesaro</i>	12	61
<i>Cagliari</i>	29	21	<i>Piacenza</i>	96	76
<i>Caltanissetta</i>	61	64	<i>Pisa</i>	67	75
<i>Campobasso</i>	19	71	<i>Porto Maurizio</i>	105	105
<i>Caserta</i>	117	113	<i>Potenza</i>	58	47
<i>Catania</i>	91	83	<i>Ravenna</i>	115	126
<i>Cotanzaro</i>	69	60	<i>Reggio Calabria</i>	90	52
<i>Chieti</i>	118	115	<i>Reggio Emilia</i>	106	95
<i>Como</i>	116	107	<i>Roma</i>	71	50
<i>Cosenza</i>	60	33	<i>Rovigo</i>	119	114
<i>Cremona</i>	181	185	<i>Salerno</i>	98	94
<i>Cuneo</i>	57	53	<i>Sassari</i>	23	21
<i>Ferrara</i>	82	65	<i>Siena</i>	54	55
<i>Firenze</i>	151	105	<i>Siracusa</i>	60	78
<i>Foggia</i>	52	50	<i>Sondrio</i>	51	52
<i>Forlì</i>	116	110	<i>Teramo</i>	74	72
<i>Genova</i>	114	153	<i>Torino</i>	92	73
<i>Girgenti</i>	13	77	<i>Trapani</i>	75	75
<i>Grosseto</i>	21	45	<i>Treviso</i>	157	136
<i>Lecco</i>	58	55	<i>Udine</i>	18	70
<i>Livorno</i>	364	100	<i>Venezia</i>	154	95
<i>Lucca</i>	158	162	<i>Verona</i>	154	111
<i>Macerata</i>	87	52	<i>Vicenza</i>	158	127
<i>Mantova</i>	116	108	Regno	90	80

Ufficio centrale di statistica. - Roma: Stamperia reale, Censimento 31 dicembre 1871 / Ministero di agricoltura, industria e commercio, Vol. 1, Introduzione, p. XV.⁹²

According to data, in each “comune” in the province of Padua, inhabitants are comprised between a thousand and three thousand people.

In this framework, it is now good to focus on the data on occupations. In particular, what will be emphasised is the difference in the numbers of women and men engaged in

⁹² See Appendix.

the different occupations at the end of the nineteenth century. First of all, the data collected for each individual province is divided into the districts that make up the province. By district we mean: “Administrative district which (until 1927) constituted in Italy the subdivision of a province, also marking the limit of the jurisdiction of the courts, and was in turn subdivided into 'mandamenti'; at present it may constitute a further and optional decentralisation of the provincial districts in accordance with Article 129 of the Constitution” or: “Territory adjoining a city”.⁹³

In the case analysed in this work, the province of Padua includes the districts of Campo S. Piero, Cittadella, Conselve, Este, Monselice, Montagnana, Padua and Piove di Sacco. The statistics are then presented with a further division by professional categories; there are 17 categories and most of them actually contain further subcategories.

These 17 categories are:

1. Production of raw materials: agriculture, pastoralism and livestock farming, horticulture and gardening, beekeeping, forestry, fishing and hunting, mining and quarrying;
2. Industrial production: textiles, hearths, clothing, grooming, food, manufacture and maintenance of houses and roads, furniture, household utensils, transport, saddlery, shipbuilding, manufacture of arms and ammunition, metal industries, miscellaneous machines and tools, science instruments, music, paper, printing and related arts, chemical products, luxury goods, lighting;
3. Commerce;
4. Transport: railways, telegraphs, post offices, seas, rivers and canals, hotels and mobilised quarters;
5. Movable and immovable property;
6. Service personnel;
7. Defence of the country;
8. Public administration;
9. Worship: Catholic, Israelite, Evangelical;
10. Jurisprudence;

⁹³ “Circoscrizione amministrativa che (fino al 1927) costituiva in Italia la suddivisione di una provincia, segnando anche il limite della competenza dei tribunali, ed era a sua volta ripartita in mandamenti; attualmente può costituire un ulteriore e facoltativo decentramento delle circoscrizioni provinciali a norma dell’art. 129 della Costituzione” or “Territorio limitrofo a una città”. In Treccani Enciclopedie. 2023. <https://www.treccani.it/vocabolario/circondario2/>

11. Health professions;
12. Education;
13. Fine arts: Fine arts, music and drama.
14. Humanities and Sciences: Humanities and Sciences, Applied Sciences;
15. Wandering professions;
16. Non-permanent labour force;
17. Personnel in the employ of others, without occupation.⁹⁴

Finally, we have the distinction between people above or below the age of fifteen, within each group the differentiation between men and women comes last.

The data emerging from the statistics are as follows: in general, within the province of Padua, men and women over the age of 15 represent the majority of workers.

As far as Campo S. Piero district is concerned, the first category of professions is mostly made up of men, mostly employed in agriculture, sheep farming and cattle breeding. In the second category, on the other hand, there seems to be generally fewer workers, and the gap between men and women is also much smaller than in the previous category. However, the number of men is still higher, except in the sub-category of textiles, where there appear to be 354 women compared to only 44 men. The third category has even fewer workers, but again men appear to be in the majority. In the transport category, women do not appear to be employed. The category of movable and immovable property reports a low number of employees, but women outnumber men. In the sixth category, men again outnumber women. Those engaged in the defence of the country are only 14, over the age of 15, and exclusively men. The same applies to the eighth, ninth and tenth categories. While in the eleventh category, women outnumber men, in the twelfth, i.e. education, women outnumber men. From the thirteenth to the sixteenth category, there is no data on the presence of women, with the exception of the fifteenth in which there is only one woman over the age of 15. In the last category, which includes other people's dependents and those with no occupation, the number of women is more than double the number of men.⁹⁵

Regarding Cittadella district is concerned, there is a high number of workers employed in the first category, but twice as many men as women. In the second category,

⁹⁴ Ufficio centrale di statistica. - Roma: Stamperia reale, Censimento 31 dicembre 1871 / Ministero di agricoltura, industria e commercio, Vol. 3, pp. 94-100.

⁹⁵ Ufficio centrale di statistica. - Roma: Stamperia reale, *op. cit.*, pp. 94-100.

men are again more than women. The third category has very few women, and in the fourth category women are not even part of it. In the fifth category, women outnumber men and in the sixth it is the other way around. Only six men are employed in the defence of the country and only two women are employed in public administration against 49 men. In the ninth category there are more men than women, while in the tenth there are none at all. Except in very low numbers in the eleventh, twelfth, fifteenth and sixteenth, women do not appear in the statistics. In contrast, in the seventeenth category women are almost three times as numerous as men.⁹⁶

As far as Conselve district is concerned, in the production of raw materials women are slightly less than men, while in the industrial production category the discrepancy is considerable and in favour of men. In the third category, there are only three women and in the transport sector only four. Again, women are more in the fifth category and in the sixth slightly fewer than men. Only 12 men are in charge of the country's defence, and very few women are in the eighth category, in contrast to the men in greater numbers. The number of women is also small in the ninth category. From the tenth category onwards, there is no data concerning women. Except for the eleventh and twelfth categories where the numbers are still very low. Finally, the seventeenth category reports 4000 more women than men.

Regarding Este district, there are three times as many men as women in the first category, and the same applies to the second and third categories. Only two women work in the transport category. The fifth category reports fewer women than men, while in the sixth category there are slightly more women. The seventh category reports only a few men and the eighth only one woman against 178 men. Men are also more than women in the ninth category, while in the tenth women do not appear at all. The same applies to the thirteenth and fourteenth categories. In the other categories, men make up the majority. The seventeenth category is the exception to the rule as there are almost 17,000 women against 7,000 men.

As far as Monselice district is concerned, the first category again has three times as many men as women. In the second category, on the other hand, there are twice as many men as women. The third and fourth categories report more men, whereas in the fifth category the two sexes seem to be employed almost equally. In fact, in the sixth category

⁹⁶ Ufficio centrale di statistica. - Roma: Stamperia reale, *op. cit.*, pp. 94-100.

there are barely more women. Again, women are not involved in the defence of the country and are very few in the eighth category, and the same applies to the ninth. In the tenth category, women do not belong. While in the health professions the number of men is much higher, in education and education there are hardly any women. In the thirteenth and fifteenth categories women are hardly present and are completely absent in the fourteenth. In the sixteenth category, men outnumber women, but among the dependents of others and the unemployed, women are more than twice as numerous as men.⁹⁷

Regarding Montagnana district, there are more men working in the production of raw materials than women in the sub-category of agriculture. The number of women employed in the industrial sector is very low, especially when compared to the 1979 men employed. The number of women is also lower in the third, fifth and sixth categories, while in the transport sector women are not even mentioned. The defence of the country and public administration seem to be taken care of exclusively by men, while in the ninth category there are very few women, in the tenth they are not even present. Even in the eleventh, twelfth and thirteenth categories, women are far fewer than men. The fourteenth category does not report the presence of women, whereas they are scarcely present in the fifteenth and sixteenth. Finally, the last category reports a gap between men and women as wide as ever and totally in favour of women.

As far as Padua district is concerned, the number of men employed in the first professional category is very high, higher than that of women, and the same applies to the industrial activities' category. In the subsequent categories, men are far outnumbered by women, who are not even mentioned in the seventh category. Only two women are employed in the eighth. The number of women employed in the following occupational categories is much lower than the number of men, except for the tenth category where they do not seem to belong and the seventeenth category where, as usual, women are always significantly higher in number.

Regarding Piove di Sacco district, the number of women always remains lower than that of men in almost all professional categories. The only data to be highlighted concern the categories of movable and immovable credit, defence of the country, religion, law, letters and sciences and non-fixed labour personnel, as no women are recorded. On the contrary, it should be noted that the number of women and men employed in the industrial

⁹⁷ Ufficio centrale di statistica. - Roma: Stamperia reale, *op. cit.*, pp. 94-100.

category differs little, and in the education and education category, women represent the majority. Lastly, women are always twice as numerous as men within the seventeenth category.⁹⁸

The data collected within the province of Padua show that, in general, the number of men is overwhelmingly higher than that of women. There are no categories in which men are not present, in contrast to women, who tend not to appear often in the categories of transport, defence of the country, worship and jurisprudence. The number of women sometimes exceeds that of men in industry, in the sub-category of textiles, and in education. However, one of the constants that characterises the data collected for the province of Padua is the number of women considered as personnel in the employ of others or without a profession, which is, in any district, double, if not triple, the number of men.

This is how the data collected are outlined in the actual census:

DESIGNATION AND CATEGORY GROUPS	DISTRICTS OF THE PROVINCE OF PADUA																																									
	CAMPO SAN PIERO						CITTABELLA						CONSELVE						ESTE						MONSELICE						MONTAGNA						PADOVA					
	Under 15 years of age			Total			Under 15 years of age			Total			Under 15 years of age			Total			Under 15 years of age			Total			Under 15 years of age			Total			Under 15 years of age			Total								
SM	F	M	SM	F	M	SM	F	M	SM	F	M	SM	F	M	SM	F	M	SM	F	M	SM	F	M	SM	F	M	SM	F	M	SM	F	M	SM	F	M							
1st CATEGORY																																										
Production of raw materials																																										
1st Agriculture	63	37	1042	1172	640	89	6038	3162	1159	1060	6832	5108	697	438	7838	3451	661	504	5990	2106	1219	1314	7326	3680	1874	1042	21529	9144														
2nd Pastoralism and livestock farming	36	1	332	27	21	3	261	24	151		827	18	112	8	1153	163	37	19	763	131	84	2	764	42	61	17	1286	89														
3rd Horticulture and gardening			10				20	3			2	2		2	52	12	2	2	45	9			28	8	4		247	12														
4th Workings															87																											
5th Forestry																																										
6th Fishing and hunting			4						9	88	68																															
7th Mining and quarrying																																										
1st Category Total	99	38	5897	1199	662	92	6362	3188	1319	1060	7754	5128	811	446	9134	3624	724	525	6920	2446	1310	1316	8171	7710	1964	1059	23711	9257														
2nd Category																																										
Industrial production																																										
1st Textiles	1	1	44	354	4		153	121		2	6	167	28	9	366	275	11	12	46	470	7	11	98	40	11	26	519	40														
2nd Hatters			1				16																																			
3rd Clothing	11	14	362	236	27	6	378	200	27	13	298	156	61	11	677	382	18	16	564	367	61	8	667	157	128	191	1628	2085														
4th Clothing	1		5				29				16				42				31	2							216	7														
5th Food	10		472	14	16		766	307	28	2	367	60	25		724	117	16	37	596	373	31		451	45	88	18	2637	795														
6th Manufacture and maintenance of houses and	8		244		14		409		47		413		39		891		2	22	31	695	28	42	158		189		4															
7th Furniture			9				73	91			10				18					11	1		19		11	2	231	22														
8th Household goods			48	1			1	54	7		9		10		105	4	7	1	78	5			1		21	14	342	198														
9th Transport			24				1	86	3		17		6		42				1	48	5				22	17	111															
10th Saddlery											4				2																											
11th Shoemaking																																										
12th Manufacture of arms and ammunition	3		119		16		186		13		122		27		200		13		152	3	18		134		94		445	1														
13th Metal industries			1				7				1				13		3		15				12		7		105															
14th Miscellaneous machines and tools			1								1				8								4		3		77	1														
15th Science instruments			4				1	33	7		2				8								4		12		425	4														
16th Music, paper and related arts	1		20				19								58								1		3		349	1														
17th Chemical products			4				1				13				22										2		13	40														
18th Laxatives goods			4				1				26				4										22		14															
19th Lighting			1												22										3		1															
2nd Category Total	33	15	1476	645	77	8	2177	748	135	17	1305	343	206	24	3134	540	142	97	2070	1062	163	19	1879	240	603	274	1775	4308														
3rd Category - Commerce			134	14	30		488	81	29	3	222	8	3		256	14	7	5	163	31	10		287	26	20		868	35														
4th Category - Transport																																										
1st Railways, telegraphs, post offices, etc.	2		40		3		108		18		196				232				61	40	418	122	18		119		6															
2nd Buses, trams and omnibuses			1				16				1				47				3		33				10		6															
3rd Hired and mobilised quarters			1				2				1	2	3	4	8	2					5				4		29	68														
4th Category Total	2		42		3		126		11	11	202	4	3		307	2	34	40	456	124	18		132		13		105	78														
5th Category - Movable and immovable property	3	4	114	152	26	1	304	316	77	64	220	248	32	10	669	416	65	68	326	322	34	60	463	330	67	70	1490	1742														
6th Category - Service personnel	24	25	428	310	25	27	313	273	8	6	134	121	17	18	319	378	8	6	216	218	18	9	249	212	47	87	1968	3131														

⁹⁸ Ufficio centrale di statistica. - Roma: Stamperia reale, *op. cit.*, pp. 94-100.

⁹⁹ Ivi, pp. 94-95.

DESIGNATION AND CATEGORY GROUPS	DISTRICTS OF THE PROVINCE OF PADUA																																																							
	CAMPOSAN PIERO				CITTADELLA				CONSELVE				ESTE				MONSELICE				MONTAGNA				PADOVA																															
	Under 15 years of age		Total		Under 15 years of age		Total		Under 15 years of age		Total		Under 15 years of age		Total		Under 15 years of age		Total		Under 15 years of age		Total																																	
M.	F.	M.	F.	M.	F.	M.	F.	M.	F.	M.	F.	M.	F.	M.	F.	M.	F.	M.	F.	M.	F.	M.	F.																																	
1st CATEGORY - Defence of the country	14		6		12		11		19		11		11		11		11		11		2110		2																																	
8th CATEGORY - Public administration	41		49		2		86		3		179		1		2		82		10		60		1007		2																															
9th CATEGORY - Worship	1		116		77		7		57		1		128		15		2		4		81		15		1		66		27		4		465		133																					
1st Catholic	1		116		77		7		57		1		128		15		2		4		81		15		1		66		27		4		465		133																					
1st Evangelical	1		116		77		7		57		1		128		15		2		4		81		15		1		66		27		4		465		133																					
9th Category Total	1		116		77		7		57		1		128		15		2		4		81		15		1		66		27		4		465		133																					
10th CATEGORY - Independent	9		6		2		4		3		9		7		7		7		7		7		124		7		7		7		124		7																							
11th CATEGORY - Health professions	18		18		14		34		16		47		25		7		18		15		19		1		17		12		39		14		1		365		118																			
12th CATEGORY - Education	1		17		14		1		27		41		16		17		10		43		33		1		2		26		24		26		16		1		254		280																	
13th CATEGORY - Fine arts	2		16		16		16		16		16		16		16		16		16		16		16		16		16		16		16		16		16																					
1st Fine arts	2		16		16		16		16		16		16		16		16		16		16		16		16		16		16		16		16		16																					
1st Music and drama	4		2		2		2		2		2		2		2		2		2		2		2		2		2		2		2		2		2																					
13th Category Total	6		18		18		18		18		18		18		18		18		18		18		18		18		18		18		18		18		18																					
14th CATEGORY - Humanities and Sciences	6		1		8		4		4		4		4		4		4		4		4		4		4		4		4		4		4		4																					
1st Humanities and Sciences	6		1		8		4		4		4		4		4		4		4		4		4		4		4		4		4		4		4																					
1st Applied Sciences	6		1		8		4		4		4		4		4		4		4		4		4		4		4		4		4		4		4																					
14th Category Total	6		1		8		4		4		4		4		4		4		4		4		4		4		4		4		4		4		4																					
15th CATEGORY - Wandering professions	1		10		3		1		1		1		1		1		1		1		1		1		1		1		1		1		1		1																					
16th CATEGORY - Non-permanent labour force	1		287		8		1377		252		3		29		18		9		508		212		47		78		1183		375		5		16		1		1		2		815		78													
17th CATEGORY	1		287		8		1377		252		3		29		18		9		508		212		47		78		1183		375		5		16		1		1		2		815		78													
1st Personnel in the employ of others	4		1		49		42		1		1		4		41		18		7		37		74		11		8		12		2		12		7		40		2																	
1st Without occupation	4168		6184		6762		12668		4718		5232		5188		4883		2688		3828		2782		4788		6237		6613		7238		10163		4330		4328		4584		10888		1821		1855		4274		8062		13622		17766		19857		42380	
GRAND TOTAL	6683		6472		12655		10876		5829		5238		16549		11979		4245		4184		12937		12817		17		7126		319		379		8		6		256		218		18		9		240		212		47		87		1948		3133	
TOTAL MALES AND FEMALES	11153		37331		10988		32328		8420		23754		14322		44092		10150		31947		10468		32288		10410		32288		10410		32288		10410		32288		10410		32288		10410		32288		10410		32288		10410		32288					

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DESIGNATION AND CATEGORY GROUPS	DISTRICTS OF THE PROVINCE OF PADUA				TOTAL FOR THE PROVINCE OF PADUA			
	PIOVE DI SACCO				CITTADELLA			
	Under 15 years of age		Total		Under 15 years of age		Total	
	M.	F.	M.	F.	M.	F.	M.	F.
1st CATEGORY Production of raw materials:								
1st Agriculture	1414	1419	8344	5076	7527	5903	73442	39099
2nd Pastoralism and livestock farming	11	9	41	33	556	59	5449	525
3rd Horticulture and gardening	.....	1	22	12	10	5	426	58
4th Beekeeping	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	3	.....
5th Forestry	9	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	293	12
6th Fishing and hunting	.....	.....	158	.....	23	.....	349	.....
7th Mining and quarrying	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	2	.....
1st Category Total	1435	1429	8565	5121	8124	5965	79964	39694
2nd Category Industrial production								
1st Textiles	.....	47	23	1001	62	108	1255	2928
2nd Hearths	.....	.....	9	.....	6	.....	15	1
3rd Clothing	35	11	324	270	391	277	4703	4631
4th Grooming	2	.....	18	.....	24	.....	379	9
5th Food	31	9	394	65	264	86	6427	1616
6th Manufacture and maintenance of houses and roofs	47	.....	494	.....	375	11	6849	33
7th Furniture	177	183	883	928	189	185	1254	1041
8th Household utensils	5	.....	36	1	43	16	692	68
9th Transport	6	.....	59	.....	33	.....	459	.....
10th Saddlery	.....	.....	1	.....	2	.....	19	.....
11th Shipbuilding	.....	.....	1	.....	2	.....	21	1
12th Manufacture of arms and ammunition	11	.....	140	.....	195	.....	1902	4
13th Metal industries	.....	.....	8	.....	8	.....	164	.....
14th Miscellaneous machines and tools	.....	.....	1	.....	3	.....	99	1
15th Science instruments	.....	.....	.....	.....	14	1	184	14
16th Music, paper and related arts	.....	.....	17	.....	37	.....	474	1
17th Chemical products	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	18	10
18th Luxury goods	1	.....	21	2	25	.....	357	32
19th Lighting	.....	.....	.....	.....	1	.....	61	.....
2nd Category Total	315	250	2429	2267	1674	684	25469	10390
3rd Category - Commerce	20	4	409	39	119	12	2827	268
4th Category - Transport								
1st Railways, telegraphs, post offices, etc.	11	.....	163	.....	101	40	2116	123
2nd Seas, rivers and canals	9	.....	66	.....	22	.....	331	1
3rd Hotels and mobilised quarters	21	3	113	57	22	5	155	133
4th Category Total	41	3	342	57	145	45	2602	257
5th Category - Movable and immovable property	277	247	3597	3573
6th Category - Service personnel	57	45	398	306	204	223	4046	4973

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100 See Appendix.

101 See Appendix.

DESIGNATION AND CATEGORY GROUPS	DISTRICTS OF THE PROVINCE OF PADUA				TOTAL FOR THE PROVINCE OF PADUA			
	PIOVE DI SACCO							
	Under 15 years of age		Total		Under 15 years of age		Total	
	M.	F.	M.	F.	M.	F.	M.	F.
7th CATEGORY - Defence of the country	.....	.....	11	.....	.....	.....	2210	.....
8th CATEGORY - Public administration	.....	.....	79	8	2	2	1612	29
	.....	.....	4	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
9th CATEGORY- Worship								
1st Catholic	2	.....	94	.....	11	4	1085	197
2nd Israelite	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	3	.....
3rd Evangelical	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	2	.....
9th Category Total	2	.....	94	.....	11	4	1090	197
10th CATEGORY - Jurisprudence	.....	.....	3	.....	.....	.....	167	.....
11th CATEGORY - Health professions	.....	.....	27	10	1	1	620	217
12th CATEGORY - Education	.....	.....	18	24	1	4	437	467
13th CATEGORY- Fine arts								
1st Fine arts	.....	.....	2	.....	8	.....	160	5
2nd Music and drama	.....	.....	13	3	2	1	168	46
13th Category Total	.....	.....	15	3	10	1	328	51
14th CATEGORY- Humanities and Sciences								
1st Humanities and Sciences	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	3	.....
2nd Applied Sciences	.....	.....	6	.....	.....	.....	174	.....
14th Category Total	.....	.....	6	.....	.....	.....	177	.....
15th CATEGORY - Wandering professions	1	2	18	10	13	3	200	74
16th CATEGORY - Non-permanent labour force	2	.....	60	.....	423	96	4009	1119
17th CATEGORY								
1st Personnel in the employ of others	2	1	57	30	29	60	438	574
2nd Without occupation	3810	3722	4185	8277	49554	50934	54985	117769
17th Category Total	3812	3723	4242	8307	49583	50994	55423	118343
GRAND TOTAL	5685	5456	16712	16153	60587	58281	184778	179652
TOTAL Males and FEMALES	11141		32869		118868		364430	

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The statistical data just reported represent a situation that Raffaella Sarti is well aware of and discusses extensively in her chapter in the paper "What is work". The scholar, referring to the 1881 and 1901 censuses, notes that in 1901, first of all, individuals are classified more by the profession they exercise than by the conditions in which they find themselves, but the same is not true for women who, if they carry out an activity within the home and a secondary activity, too, their occupation is only considered to be household management; on the other hand, if women take care of the household and, at the same time, carry out a secondary activity, they are placed in the category "People supported by the family", since their occupation is an ancillary occupation. On the contrary, men, whatever occupation they have are always considered part of the

¹⁰² See Appendix.

economically active population. This is because pay does not have the same importance for the two sexes: for women it is a fundamental discriminator for them to be considered as workers and not just housewives, whereas for men whether they are paid or not does not matter because they will still be seen as workers.

This is the result of experiments in the 1860s-70s, a period in which the profile of women as housewives is outlined. It should also be added that, in reality, at the time being a housewife is a privilege for women, as they are seen as more suited to domestic tasks and can therefore be exempted from any other kind of activity.¹⁰³

¹⁰³ R. Sarti, A. Bellavitis, M. Martini, *op. cit.*, p. 193.

CHAPTER 3

WOMEN'S CONTRIBUTE TO INDUSTRY

3.1 An introduction to the study of 1875 in Padua

According to the statistical data presented in the previous chapter, several studies and research have followed. Among these studies, there is actually one that seems to represent a different reality from the one presented by ISTAT. The study referred to is entitled “The industrial work of children and women: in the province of Padua” (“Il lavoro industriale dei fanciulli e delle donne: nella provincia di Padova”). But before analysing its contents, it is necessary to depict the picture within which the work falls. The authors are: professors Ferdinando Coletti, who is also the president, Bernardino Panizza, Jacopo Benetti, engineer Leone Romanin Jacur, Antonio Marcon and lawyer Alberto Morelli, as the speaker.

The president, Dr. Coletti, was born in Tai di Cadore (Belluno) on 17th August 1819. He moved with his family to Padua when he was eight years old to receive a proper education and treat an eye problem. He studied literature with Professor Guzzoni and later enrolled in the Faculty of Medicine. He graduated in medicine and surgery on 22nd August 1845. During his university years, Coletti became associated with liberal-minded and politically committed young people. He actively participated in the anti-Austrian movement of 1849 and was involved in the departmental provisional government as a delegate for public health. After the Austrian reoccupation of Padua, Coletti emigrated and spent several months in Lombardy, Switzerland and Liguria. He then moved to Venice, where he worked as a doctor in the hospital of S. Giorgio until the fall of the city. After the amnesty, Coletti returned to Padua in a politically suspect situation and only obtained a provisional licence as a private lecturer. He founded a family and was responsible for recovering private clients. He was involved in political activities and became head of the “Comitato Centrale Nazionale Veneto”. His political action met with criticism from democratic and Mazzinian groups, but he continued to coordinate the

activities of the secret committees in Veneto.¹⁰⁴ After the annexation of Veneto to the Kingdom of Italy, Coletti continued his political activity as a municipal councillor in Padua for fourteen years. He was one of the leaders of the *Unione Liberale Veneta* (Venetian Liberal Union) and adapted to the changes in the productive world, supporting state interventionism in the economy and the protection of workers.

Coletti was also a professor of medicine and therapeutics at the University of Padua, where he distinguished himself for his precision in pharmacognostic description and his logical rigour. He was also interested in toxicology, the action of quinine salts and the treatment of veniphilic diseases. He founded the “*Gazzetta medica italiana delle provincie venete*” and wrote several works, including “*Galateo de' medici e de' malati*”, which dealt with medical ethics. Coletti was involved in the fight against scrofulosis and supported the establishment of thalassotherapy centres. He maintained relations with exponents of the artistic world of the time. He died in Padua on 27th February 1881.¹⁰⁵

Not much is known about Bernardino Panizza. He was certainly a professor at the University of Padua. Instead, Iacopo Benetti, born in Venice on 10th January 1842, showed great interest in technical-scientific studies and pure research from a young age. He pursued his academic career at the University of Bologna, where he held the chair of agricultural, hydraulic and thermal machines from November 1877 to 1910. His fame derived from his research in the field of hydraulic machine theory and applications, particularly on centrifugal pumps and steam turbines. He published several notable works, including “*Teoria generale delle pompe centrifughe*” (1886), which provided a solid basis for further research in the field, and “*La legge empirica della trasmissione del calore attraverso la superficie riscaldata delle caldaie a vapore*” (1897), in which he proposed a mathematical law for vaporisation in boilers. Other important works are “*Formule fondamentali di applicazione generale per le turbine motrici e per le pompe centrifughe elevanti*” (1897), which provided design formulas for the machines studied, and “*Il calcolo dei camini per i generatori di vapore*” (1899), which dealt with both technical and structural aspects of boiler chimneys. His contributions in the field of hydraulic turbines, both steam and hydraulic, were significant. He published works such

¹⁰⁴ Treccani Enciclopedie. 2023. https://www.treccani.it/enciclopedia/ferdinando-coletti_%28Dizionario-Biografico%29/

¹⁰⁵ Treccani Enciclopedie. 2023. https://www.treccani.it/enciclopedia/ferdinando-coletti_%28Dizionario-Biografico%29/

as "Alcune nuove equazioni per la teoria generale delle turbine idrauliche, motrici ed operatrici" (1900) and "Teoria fondamentale delle turbine idrauliche" (1900), which were widely consulted by engineers due to the theoretical clarity and practical usefulness of his conclusions. Finally, in 1906, he presented his work "Considerazioni sintetiche sul funzionamento e sull'effetto utile delle pompe centrifughe e corrispondenti raffomparti colle turbine motrici", in which he carefully studied the physical phenomena of the machines, developing a formula to determine the external peripheral speed of the impeller as a function of the lifting height. Benetti died on 31st December 1910 in Bologna, leaving an important legacy in the field of hydraulic machines and thermal applications.¹⁰⁶

Leone Romanin Jacur was born in Padua on 17th October 1847 to a family of Israelite origin from Trieste. He took a degree in both mathematics and engineering. From 1870 to 1880 he worked as a civil engineer, concentrating his attention on the hydraulic problems of the Piovese region, leading his grandfather's estate. In 1880, he was elected deputy in the Piove di Sacco constituency and held this position for eleven terms until 1919, when he moved to the Senate. During the flood of 1882, he worked to help the affected populations throughout the Veneto region. From 1894 to 1896 he was undersecretary for Public Works and from 1900 to 1901 he was undersecretary for the Interior. In 1903 he. He was a patriot and fervent interventionist during the First World War in 1914. He was known for his generosity towards the peasants and had demonstrated his personal courage on several occasions (receiving the Silver Medal for Civil Valour in 1888). He died on 22nd July 1928 in Padua after an illness of three years, faced with exemplary dignity and sustained by his Jewish faith, to which he had always remained faithful.¹⁰⁷

Very little is known about Antonio Marcon; on the contrary, it is known that the lawyer Alberto Morelli was born in Padua in 1854. He is known for having reformed the magazine "L'Eco dei giovani", becoming its editor and dealing with the dissemination of works by promising young scientists, scholars and artists. Between 1873 and 1874, he published a collection of articles about Urbano Rattazzi in his magazine, entitled "Urbano Rattazzi. Saggio politico". In the second half of 1882, Morpugno and Morelli founded

¹⁰⁶ Treccani Enciclopedie. 2023. https://www.treccani.it/enciclopedia/iacopo-benetti_%28Dizionario-Biografico%29/

¹⁰⁷ Senatori della Repubblica, Senatori d'Italia, Senatori dell'Italia liberale. 2023. <http://notes9.senato.it/web/senregno.nsf/8c58c55c1230e7f8c125703d002fe257/89ab70c8399c3c874125646f005f15e5?OpenDocument>

the “Circolo Savoia”, which was a political association. From 15th June 1886 to 15th December 1887, the association published its bulletin called “Libertà” every fortnight. Later, from 1st January 1889, the publication of the bulletin was reduced to once a month, although the frequency could vary irregularly. Finally, publication of the bulletin ceased in January or February 1890. In 1886, Morelli obtained a chair as extraordinary professor, promoted seven years later to full professor, of Constitutional Law at the Royal University of Modena. In 1889, he began teaching Constitutional Law as a full professor, but at the University of Padua. At the beginning of the twentieth century, the professor rose to the presidency of the Padua Committee of the Dante Alighieri Society and, thanks to him, interest grew and the number of members increased. In 1905, Morelli began teaching Administrative Law and the Science of Administration, temporarily replacing Prof. Ferraris. Alberto Morelli died in Padua, after an illness that made him physically weak but confirmed the tireless strength of his intellect and spirit that allowed him to remain lucid in carrying out his duties until his sudden death.¹⁰⁸

The combination of these brilliant minds generated the article, published in the “Giornale degli Economisti” and that is the object of this chapter. In 1875, an Italian academic journal on economics is founded in Padua and continues in Bologna ten years later. It consists of four series, all published in Rome except the first. The new series then merges with the “Annali di Economia” and thus, in 1939, the “Giornale degli Economisti e Annali di Economia” is born, in which, articles are published in both English and Italian. During the twentieth century, the Università Commerciale Luigi Bocconi gains ownership of the journal, but since 2014 the owner has become the “Società italiana degli economisti (SIE)”. Since 2015, the journal has been part of the “Italian Economic Journal”, published by Springer.

The first series is precisely that of Padua. Il “Giornale degli Economisti” was born in April 1875 as the official organ of the “Associazione per il progresso degli studi economici in Italia”, taking the place of the “Rassegna di agricoltura, industria e commercio della Società d’incoraggiamento di Padova”. Eugenio Forti is appointed editor of the journal, while important economists such as Fedele Lampertico, Luigi Luzzatti and Antonio Scialoja contribute to the first editions. The magazine mainly deals

¹⁰⁸ MondoMorelli, *La Biblioteca di un intellettuale tra Ottocento e Novecento*. 2023. <https://movio.beniculturali.it/bupd/mondomorelli/it/35/la-vita-di-alberto-morelli>

with social issues, but also includes articles on economic theory. It has a pro-protectionist orientation and advocates the need for legislative interventions for assistance, welfare and labour protection. One of the most discussed topics is female and child labour in factories, with Luzzatti dedicating several articles to this issue.

Between 1876 and 1878, the “Giornale degli economisti” publishes a review of the legislation on women's and children's work in other European countries, along with surveys on working conditions in various Italian cities. The journal argues in favour of legislative interventions to limit the work of married women and children, based on military, health and moral considerations. At the very least, it proposes a law prohibiting women from working in the period immediately before and after childbirth.

The position of the “Giornale degli Economisti” comes into open opposition with the dominant liberalist orientation of the Adam Smith Society and its official journal, *The Economist*. The liberalist approach of these groups gains increasing acceptance, isolating the “Giornale degli Economisti” and its theorists who are perceived now as conservative and outdated. Consequently, only four years after its foundation, the publication of the “Giornale degli Economisti” is stopped in 1879.¹⁰⁹

The article that will be examined aims to dismantle the ideologies that arise after the publication of the statistical data of 1871, which are proved to be false and that are instead truthfully reported in “The industrial work of children and women: in the province of Padua” (“Il lavoro industriale dei fanciulli e delle donne: nella provincia di Padova”), published on a journal which really is the ideal place to do this. Suffice it to mention the article published between September and December 1991, in the “Giornale degli Economisti e Annali di Economia”, which not only makes the place of publication of the article the most appropriate, but again gives an idea of the working world within which women attempted to fit in, and further demonstrates why the statistics represented in the previous chapter are not exact.

The title itself, “La questione femminile attraverso il <<Giornale degli Economisti>>: 1875-1935”, represents the aim of the paper: to tell the story of women's work from the perspective of the journal in which the article would later be published, using the period between 1875 and 1935 as a reference. First of all, the author, Massimo

¹⁰⁹ Treccani Enciclopedie. 2023. <https://www.treccani.it/enciclopedia/giornale-degli-economisti#:~:text=Rivista%20fondata%20a%20Padova%20nel,De%20Viti%20De%20Marco%2C%20U.>

Finoia, making himself the spokesperson for the “Giornale degli Economisti”, calls for adequate legislation to protect the work of women and children, especially when it comes to married and pregnant women, for example by prohibiting them from working in factories before or after giving birth, at least.¹¹⁰

Secondly, the paper points out that the magazine judges the employment of women in factories negatively as there is no real benefit to the family income but rather a negative impact on family life. The aim is to employ women in jobs requiring less physical effort, i.e. in the service sector. Although there are American statistics to confirm the magazine's and Mary Marshall's claims: it has since been shown how the role of women has changed considerably in the light of striking events such as the outbreak of the Second World War.

In 1934, some sixty years after the founding of the *Giornale degli ec misti*, Guglielmo Tagliacarne confirmed in the journal the thesis that women were more likely to work in the tertiary sector than in industry. Through the censuses from 1881 to 1931 he notes the constant decline, in absolute and percentage values, of female employment in industry and its increase in the tertiary sector starting from the first decades of the 20th century. Tagliacarne argues that the long-term trend in female employment, as seen in Italy and other European countries, is a result of structural and technological changes in industry. Women's employment had a greater weight when the most important industry was that of textiles, which was more suited to the female workforce; it then decreased as the main industries became metallurgy, mechanics and chemistry and as there was a shift from family businesses to medium and large enterprises.¹¹¹

However, Maffeo Pantaleoni then goes on to clarify that gender is indeed an element that creates a differentiation between men and women in the world of work, but this division is constantly changing, sometimes for the better and sometimes for the worse: “Laws, customs, religious beliefs, prejudices, canons of pseudo-sciences, misconceptions, vested interests' pose obstacles "(...) to the free and rapid substitution of the sexes in the various professions", but "(...) the distribution of the sexes among the

¹¹⁰ M. Finoia. 1991. *La questione femminile attraverso il <<Giornale degli Economisti>>: 1875-1935*, *Giornale degli Economisti e Annali di Economia*. No. 9/12, pp. 525-530.

¹¹¹ “Nel 1934, a circa sessant'anni dalla fondazione del *Giornale degli ec misti*, Guglielmo Tagliacarne conferma sulla rivista la tesi secondo la quale la donna è più idonea a lavorare nel settore terziario che in quello industriale. Attraverso i censimenti dal 1881 al 1931 rileva il costante declino, in valore assoluto e in valore percentuale, dell'occupazione femminile nell'industria e il suo aumento nel terziario a partire dai primi decenni del '900. Tagliacarne sostiene che l'andamento dell'occupazione femminile nel lungo periodo, quale si riscontra in Italia e in altri paesi europei, discende dalle trasformazioni strutturali e tecnologiche dell'industria. L'occupazione femminile ha avuto un peso maggiore quando l'industria più importante era quella tessile, più adatta alla forza di lavoro femminile; successivamente è poi diminuita perché le industrie principali sono diventate quella metallurgica, quella meccanica e quella chimica e perché si è passati dall'impresa familiare alla media e grande impresa”. In M. Finoia, *op. cit.*, p. 530.

various professions tends to be as it would be if one wished to achieve a maximum individual net product".¹¹²

It is therefore clear that there are no creeds that divide work into male and female, despite the fact that there are in fact jobs exclusively for men and jobs exclusively for women. For example, politics, from which women are excluded.

Another topic addressed by Finioia is that of wage differences:

Women's minimum wage, according to Mill, is equal to what is strictly necessary for their subsistence; men's minimum wage must be sufficient to support the worker, his wife and enough children to ensure the stability of the population. Wages may be higher than the minimum, but women's wages tend to remain at this level because the occupations that custom and the law make accessible to them are few in relation to the labour supply. As far as the case of equal work, carried out with equal efficiency by men and women, is concerned, in Mill's opinion, the difference in wages depends on the custom that "(...) based on prejudice, or on the current order of society, makes almost all women, socially speaking, dependent on men, with men systematically taking the lion's share of whatever belongs to both".¹¹³

The analysis shows that wage differences between men and women, even for the same job, depend on the absence of trade unions for women and the low women's demand of labour, in comparison to labour supply.

3.2 How the study is the conducted

That premise having been made, it is time to focus now on the article by the group of Veneto authors mentioned at the beginning of this chapter, which they published in October 1878 in the first issue of the eighth volume of the economic journal. 9 other

¹¹² "Le leggi, i costumi, le credenze religiose, i pregiudizi, i canoni di pseudo-scienze, i misoneismi, gli interessi costituiti» frappongono ostacoli «(...) al libero e rapido sostituirsi dei sessi nelle varie professioni», ma «(...) la distribuzione dei sessi fra le varie professioni tende ad essere ognora quella che si avrebbe se si volesse conseguire un massimo prodotto netto individuale" in M. Finioia, *op. cit.*, p. 530.

¹¹³ "Il salario minimo delle donne, secondo Mill, è pari a quanto è strettamente necessario per la loro sussistenza; quello degli uomini invece deve essere sufficiente al mantenimento del lavoratore, della moglie e di un numero di figli tale da garantire la stabilità della popolazione. I salari possono essere superiori al minimo, ma quelli delle donne tendono a mantenersi su questo livello perché le occupazioni che le consuetudini e la legge rendono loro accessibili sono poche rispetto all'offerta di lavoro. Per quanto riguarda poi il caso di lavori uguali, svolti con la stessa efficienza da uomini e da donne, a giudizio di Mill, la differenza salariale dipende dalla consuetudine che «(...) fondata sul pregiudizio, o sull'attuale ordinamento della società, rende quasi tutte le donne, socialmente parlando, dipendenti dall'uomo, con sentendo agli uomini di prendersi sistematicamente la parte del leone in qualunque cosa appartenga ad entrambi»". In M. Finioia, *op. cit.*, p. 533.

writings are also published in the same volume, which includes reviews and articles, all of which are related to social and economic sciences. To be precise, the reviews mostly focus on economic and industrial facts; the articles, on the other hand, deal with famous economists, social laws, rights and political economy.

The paper opens with an introduction about women's and children's work in the industrial world, with some mention of the context in which the article is written; this is followed by 14 paragraphs, a summary and, finally, a conclusion, in which the authors seem to highlight the results of their study.

First of all, the authors present the industrial labour of women and children as one of the hottest issues of the nineteenth century, due to the lack of laws regulating factory work. The disappointment arises because in countries like France or England or Germany, laws do exist, yet these countries seem to have nothing more than Italy. So, what is the reason for this discrepancy?

A way of representing the current situation in Italy and the need of a regulating law is “L’inchiesta Cairoli sul lavoro delle donne e dei fanciulli (1879)”. The author, Valerio Strinati, opens the paper with a premise about the existence of decrees protecting female and child labour, such as the mining law of 29 September 1859, and from there a series of proposals for laws to reduce child labour. Cairoli's investigation is actually not the first one to be drawn up, on the contrary, it stems from previous investigations into factory work, especially compared to more industrialised countries. With regard to these, there are indeed laws to protect women's and children's work (a legislation, in fact, more in favour of the latter than the former) and in no way infringe on the freedom of workers or their employers. In any case, the main difficulty in Italy is how to apply any legislation and to whom address it specifically. The Cairoli enquiry, in any case, is addressed to the representatives of the institutions, who give a positive response that then leads to a positive response from the government. A bill is drafted, which, however, at the end of the thirteenth legislature, has no legislative follow-up. Cairoli's work, to date, has therefore not yielded a law, but it can certainly be of help in understanding the varied views on the need to regulate the employment of women and children.¹¹⁴

¹¹⁴ V. Strinati. 2015. “L’INCHIESTA CAIROLI SUL LAVORO DELLE DONNE E DEI FANCIULLI (1879).” *Studi Storici*. Vol. 56, No. 4, pp. 851-878.

Due to the above-mentioned issues, it is precisely Coletti, Panizza, Benetti, Jacur, Marcon and Morelli who are commissioned by the president of the “Congresso degli economisti” in Milan, Comm. Luzzatti, to carry out an investigation in the province of Padua to establish, once and for all, whether and to what extent there is a need to create a law governing factory work in Italy. The initial idea is to extend the investigation also to work in the fields, however, limitations are imposed by the congress and the difficulty of the work itself, so the core of the investigation is limited to industrial work.¹¹⁵

The method used consists of going directly to the factories in the municipality of Padua, to personally collect the data that would later be useful for the study. Where, the municipality of Padua is not sufficient, the 6 authors go, again in person, to the various districts that make up the district of Padua. The aim of the investigation is to collect data on the number, sex and age of the workers, making a distinction between the maximum and minimum number and between workers under 18, 14 and 10 years of age, the number of hours and days of work as well as of rest, the tasks assigned to women and children, the promiscuity of work, the education dispensed in the factories, the number of illiterates, the number of people enrolled in Mutual Aid Societies, the number of sick people, the nature of illnesses and the workers' diet, wages, the way wages are distributed, who the women and children depend on, both hygienically and economically (whether the owner of the factory or the director of the factory, i.e. another worker), and the conditions of the buildings (capacity, ventilation and heating).

It should be emphasised that this last question about the buildings is created to be able to understand how illnesses are transmitted to the workers and whether they are actually guaranteed safety during working hours, in terms of the capacity of the buildings and ventilation, always bearing in mind that the exchange of air is more important for ensuring good health than the nature of the meals consumed.

In asking the appropriate questions to collect the required data, the answers are not always given with certainty. Scholars often note embarrassment and lack of precision, for example in reporting differences in figures between men and women, or between illiterate and educated, or between sick and non-sick.

¹¹⁵ F. Coletti, B. Panizza, J. Benetti, L. Romanin Jacur, A. Marcon and A. Morelli. 1878. *Il lavoro industriale dei fanciulli e delle donne: nella provincia di Padova*, “Giornale degli Economisti”, Vol. 8, No. 2/3, Padova, pp. 81-84.

The authors conclude their introduction by justifying the choice of asking certain questions and excluding others:

Some other questions that could have been added, and which are among those formulated by the Ministry of the Interior in its circular letter of 1 October 1872 to the Prefects of the Kingdom, which gave Dr Bonomi the opportunity to make that splendid report that we all know about the industrial work of children and women in the province of Como, are those relating to the topographical position of the factories, the average mortality rate of workers in each factory in a given period, the illnesses from which these deaths were caused, and the accommodation of workers, especially those sleeping in the factories. But the great difficulty of answering in relation to the mortality of workers, and the fact that there was already a question on the average number of sick people in our form, made us abandon the idea of the second and third of these questions.¹¹⁶

The first section following the introduction is entitled “Enumerazione delle industrie”, which refers to the list of industries, that are present in seven of the eight districts in the province of Padua, considering that no industry is present in the Conselve district.

There are sixty-eight factories among the various districts, which the scholars consider for the purposes of this research and are divided into:

- Spinning mills, 34.
- Silk spinning mill, 1.
- Hemp mill, 1.
- Twisters (in wool, linen or cotton), 4.
- Wool mill, 1
- Textile factories, 7.
- Iron foundry, 1.
- Threshing mills, 2.
- Paper mills, 3.
- Warehouse for sorting rags for paper mills, 1.

¹¹⁶ “Alcune altre domande che si sarebbero potute aggiungere, e che trovansi fra quelle formulate dal Ministero dell’Interno nella sua circolare del 1 ottobre 1872 ai Prefetti del Regno, la quale diede occasione al dott. Bonomi di fare quella splendida relazione che tutti noi conosciamo sul lavoro industrial dei fanciulli e delle donne nella provincia di Como, sono quelle relative alla posizione topografica degli stabilimenti, alla media della mortalità degli operai per ciascun stabilimento in un dato periodo, alle malattie da cui queste morti furono prodotte e all'alloggio degli operai, specialmente per quelli che dormono negli stabilimenti. Ma la grande difficoltà di rispondere relativamente alla mortalità degli operai, e l’esservi già nel nostro formulario un quesito sulla media dei malati, ci fece abbandonare l’idea della seconda e della terza di queste domande”. In F. Coletti, B. Panizza, J. Benetti, L. Romanin Jacur, A. Marcon and A. Morelli, *op. cit.*, p. 86.

- Typeface foundry, 1.
- Typographies, 6 with one lithography.
- Hat factories, 4.
- Coco bead factory, 1.
- Brushworks, 1.

This list is actually missing many other industrial establishments scattered around the province of Padua, such as a velvet factory, linseed oil factories and many others; as very few, if any, women and children are among their workers, as it is necessary for employees to be robust and strong. Also excluded from the study are spinning mills with one, two or three cookers, printing and lithographic factories and cottage industries, as there are very few women working there and as some of these services would certainly have gone out of business shortly afterwards.

The authors of the study are keen to emphasise the importance of cottage industries, a service apparently widespread in the province of Padua, such as in Piove di Sacco or Ponte di Brenta.¹¹⁷ As much as the cottage industry represents an inherent tradition in the provincial province of Padua, in reality the young women who perform the role of weavers are overworked. The companies deliver around one thousand five hundred looms to renowned private weavers with a lot of experience and skill who, using “old-model looms”, end up having problems with digestion and bleeding. Added to this, are the problems due to the conditions of the places where they work.

Elsewhere than Piove di Sacco and Ponte di Brenta, work at the loom alternates with work in the countryside. It is still hard work, but alternating with work at home, in a place that is certainly more suitable, it is not surprising that the health conditions of these workers are much better.

Another job that only women aged 17 to 50 are employed in is the mat-making industry, a service that has also spread abroad. This employment is less unhygienic because it requires women to stand, which saves them from the typical position of workers who spend their days sitting with their torso bent completely forwards.

On the other hand, in Arzegrande and Arzerello, in the Montagnana district and in the Monselice district, there is the firedamp industry, which employs mostly young people between the ages of 12 and 20. The latter find themselves working for hours on

¹¹⁷ F. Coletti, B. Panizza, J. Benetti, L. Romanin Jacur, A. Marcon and A. Morelli, *op. cit.*, pp. 87-90.

their knees and with their heads down, resulting in congestion and indolence, as the reed mats are bruised at ground level. The last two factories mentioned are particularly profitable for the entrepreneurs.

The authors continue their report by describing some examples of industries in which women or children work in unhygienic or unhealthy conditions. However, considering that the last few examples given go beyond the scope of industry, they become irrelevant for the purpose of this study, since, as pointed out at the beginning of the paper, the experts' aim is to focus on industry, and while they firmly believe that laws protecting women and children employed in agriculture or in any other work field should be enforced, it is good to go on to analyse each of the industries listed above.¹¹⁸

3.3 Analysis of the industries

3.3.1 Spinning mills

The first industry to be analysed is spinning mills. Spinning mills are divided into fire and steam spinning mills. In the fire spinning mills, the two main roles are those of “maestra”, who is in charge of the basin, and “guciaressa”, who takes over from the master. Then, there are the “sbattitrice”, the “bigatina”, the “aspiera”, the “mezza mistral”, the director, the “cernitrice” and the “strusina”. The number of women assigned to these roles vary from a spinning mill to another and so do the tasks assigned to each role. Steam spinning mills, in turn, are divided into those in which the steam is produced in motion and those in which the workers produce it. The roles in steam spinning mills are the same as in fire spinning mills.

On the subject of spinning mills, the words of Mr Giulio Simon are quoted: “a Lyon worker told a Commission of Enquiry several years ago that silk is a woman's domain and that she finds work in it from the mulberry leaf on which the thread rises to the mill from which the robe or hat comes out.”¹¹⁹ Scholars seem to agree as the silk industry

¹¹⁸ F. Coletti, B. Panizza, J. Benetti, L. Romanin Jacur, A. Marcon and A. Morelli, *op. cit.*, pp. 90-93.

¹¹⁹ “un'operaia di Lione diceva, parecchi anni fa, dinanzi ad una Commissione d' inchiesta, che la seta è il dominio della donna e ch'essa vi trova del lavoro dalla foglia del gelso sulla quale si eleva il filugello

requires qualities such as dexterity and thoroughness, which are not normally associated with men but with women. Furthermore, employing women is beneficial to the industry as they are more diligent, are paid less and are easier to find to hire.

According to the data collected, the number of women is, in fact, higher than the number of men. More than a thousand women are employed in the spinning mills, compared to 34 men; of course, these numbers also include boys over 18, boys under 14 and girls under 10. This therefore confirms the predominance of home spinning mills and intermittent work. However, only in 11 spinning mills are there more than 40 women and they work for at least 3 months; in the remaining 23, however, the number of female employees is very diversified with an equally diversified duration. Therefore: "Overall, the average work for the 34 spinning mills in the province was 3 months and 7 days; for the 1515 workers, 4 months and 8 days; and for the two boys, 4 months."¹²⁰

These employees work in the warmer seasons only during the day, with the exception of eight spinning mills where they also work at night in autumn and winter. The only time of year when all 34 spinning mills are active is in summer. In summer, the workers work an average of more than 12 hours and rest an average of two and a half hours. In autumn, the figures change little. They all have a lunch break and the hours of rest are distributed differently in the various spinning mills between morning, afternoon and evening. The days off are state and church holidays.

As for the rest of the data collected: in the spinning mills, work is mostly mixed between men and women, only two children are employed. The number of illiterate people is 954, there are more women than men and the high number of women over 18 is surprising. No workers seem to be enrolled in Mutual Aid Societies, especially since the female workers come from other countries to work in the spinning mill. The number of sick people is mostly among the female employees, but very little is known about the quality of the illnesses, also considering that by the time the illness is over 3 days, the women are back in their home countries. However, very few are actually forced to return home and leave their work because of illness. With regard to workplace conditions, the

fino all'opificio donde esce la vesta o il cappello". In F. Coletti, B. Panizza, J. Benetti, L. Romanin Jacur, A. Marcon and A. Morelli, *op. cit.*, pp. 93-94.

¹²⁰ "In complesso, la media del lavoro fu per le 34 filande della provincia di mesi 3 e giorni 7; per le 1515 operaie di mesi 4 e giorni 8; e per i due fanciulli di mesi 4". In *ivi*, p. 97.

latter are characterised by “excessive heat, mugginess of dormitories, short sleep and poor dietary standards, insufficient and unhealthy means of nutrition”.¹²¹ Also:

The rooms of the *trattura* in general are neither too comfortable nor too cramped; however, they are very airy, as almost all of them are open-air porches.

The dormitories (almost all barns) are rather cramped and poorly ventilated, because they are low and have few openings. The beds are often too close together, and all or some of the women in several barns sleep three to a bed. The beds, however, are generally very wide. Cleanliness in almost all dormitories leaves much to be desired.¹²²

The fact that the illnesses are few and far between is due to the physical conformation of the workers, who are robust and healthy. Therefore, it is not possible to determine whether the few health complaints recorded are due to their work.

With respect to the quality of the food, it appears that there is little difference with what the poor social class to which the workers and labourers belong to, eat.

All employees are paid directly by the owners so they are not pieceworkers. The maximum wage is 1.25 lira and the minimum are 25 cents. There is no pay on public holidays. However, women who come from other countries can enjoy “of paid travel, bed, wood and medicine, and for some spinning mills, [...], they receive higher wages than the women of the village”.¹²³

3.3.2 Silk spinning, hemp spinning, wool spinning and twisting mills, wool and textile factories

There is only one spinning mill in Padua and it is located in the Padua district, it belongs to the Vaccari Brothers and mainly women work there, being six times more than

¹²¹ “eccessivo calore, afa dei dormitory, brevi sonni e cattive norme dietetiche, insufficienza e insalubrità dei mezzi alimentari”. In F. Coletti, B. Panizza, J. Benetti, L. Romanin Jacur, A. Marcon and A. Morelli, *op. cit.*, pp. 109-110.

¹²² “I locali della *trattura* in genere, non sono nè troppo comodi nè troppo ristretti; però sono molto arieggiati, essendo quasi tutti porticati all'aperto. I dormitori (quasi dappertutto granai) sono piuttosto ristretti e poco ventilati, perchè bassi e con poche aperture. I letti sono spesso troppo vicini l'uno all' altro, e tutte o alcune donne in parecchie filande dormono a tre per letto. I letti però sono generalmente molto larghi. La pulizia in quasi tutti i dormitori lascia molto a desiderare.” In *ivi*, p. 114.

¹²³ “del viaggio pagato, del letto, della legna e delle medicine, e per alcune filande, [...], percepiscono un salario più elevato di quello delle donne del paese”. In *ivi*, pp. 111-114.

men. The spinning mill is active all year round, except during holidays, and people work between 8 and 12 hours a day, depending on age. The number of hours, however, decreases in the winter period and they rest about 3 hours a day. The women are employed in reeling and doubling the silk, while the men are employed in twisting. There is no promiscuity among the workers and illiteracy affects more than half of the employees and mainly concerns the female workers. Also, in this factory, the workers are not members of Mutual Aid Societies and the number of sick people during the year is very low. It appears that the conditions of the buildings are acceptable and the food is quite adequate, however, the wages are much lower than those for the employees in the spinning mills: earnings range from 3 lira a week to 1 lira, which the owner himself pays to the employees.

There is only one hemp factory and it is rather recent in the Montagnana district, compared to the year in which the researchers conduct their research. In this case, it appears that the men employed are more than twice as many as the women. The authors explain how workers work all year round, except on holidays, alternating between day and night for 12 hours with one-hour break. Women and children take care of the less strenuous tasks within the factory. The illiteracy rate is quite high and only 40 workers are members of Mutual Aid Societies. Approximately 200 were ill, but there are no particular illnesses, apart from laryngitis due to winter dust. The conditions of the buildings are not optimal while the food is, as a matter of fact everyone drinks wine. Payment is made through the societies and consists of between 1 lira and 60 cents a day for women. Numerous accidents have been caused by the machines used.¹²⁴

The four woollen spinning and twisting mills in the province of Padua employ approximately 66 women and 29 men, all aged 10 years and over; however, the number of women under the age of 18 is rather high. Work is carried out throughout the year, except for intermittent periods of work in two of the spinning machines and, as usual, on holidays. Working hours vary from 7 to 12, depending on the factory, and increase in summer and decrease in winter. One works mostly during the day and rests 1 or 2 hours a day, but even in this there are variations according to the season. As for the tasks performed, a distinction should be made between linen twisting mill, water cotton twisting mill, hand cotton twisting mill and spinning and wool twisting mill. In each mill,

¹²⁴ F. Coletti, B. Panizza, J. Benetti, L. Romanin Jacur, A. Marcon and A. Morelli, *op. cit.*, pp. 114-119.

the women's task varies from making the single-headed bobbins, waiting for the twisting, to spinning the twine. Wrapping tends to be the men's task.

Work is promiscuous in two of the spinning and twisting mills and illiterates are about half the total number of workers. There are few sick people but amenorrhoea, that is the absence of period, is common among women. On average, the conditions of the buildings are fairly adequate by hygienic standards but the food is bad, whatever the employers might say. As for pay, distributed by the owners themselves, the maximum weekly wage is 6 lire, the minimum 3 lire and 75 cents.

326 men and women, with a majority of the latter, are employed in a woollen mill, three cotton fabric factories, one linen fabric factory, one cotton, linen and hemp fabric factory, one silk and cotton ribbon factory and a weaving school, in cotton, linen and hemp in Ponte di Brenta. Again, while the men are mostly of age, the women on the other hand are mostly minors. Work is intermittent only in the cotton cloth factories, otherwise it is continuous. There is, however, a distinction between the winter and summer seasons in terms of hours of work: in summer one works between 9 and 12 hours and rests between one and three hours, depending on the factory, and in the Torre factory in Padua men work two hours more than women; in winter one works between 7 and 15 hours and rests between one and three hours. In any case, throughout the year the children work less. No work is done on holidays and Thursdays because there is no water in the canal in the Macron factory.

Males tend to work at the loom, while women are mostly warpers, tanners or spoliars. The work is promiscuous and illiterates accounted for almost half of the workers, men and women equally. Illnesses affect 1/3 of the workers and are mainly fevers, probably due to the workers' poor dietary habits. In the study, in fact, the diet not only of the workers but of the entire poor population of the province is highlighted in its insufficiency and unhealthiness; on the contrary, the conditions of the premises seem the best seen so far but the dormitories are not very comfortable. The wages are piecework for women and children: each week the former earn between 2 and 10 lire, while the children earn between 12 lire and 90 cents a week.¹²⁵

¹²⁵ F. Coletti, B. Panizza, J. Benetti, L. Romanin Jacur, A. Marcon and A. Morelli, *op. cit.*, pp. 119- 138.

3.3.3 Iron foundry and threshing mills, paper mills and warehouse for sorting rags, typography and lithography

Only men are reportedly employed in the two plants:

FACTORY	Number of workers					
	Maximum	Minimum	Average	Over 18 years of age	Under 18 years of age	Under 14 years of age
Rocchetti Foundry	150	76	113	110	3	....
Venetian company's plant	70	54	62	48	10	4
Neville plant	40	30	35	29	6
Total	260	160	210	187	19	4

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One works throughout the year, excluding public holidays, and working hours range from 7 to 11 a.m., with differences depending on the plant and the season, and breaks range from one to two hours. Work is also rarely done at night. There are few members of Mutual Aid Societies and during the year there are only 30 sick, mostly from fevers, and a few accidents at work. The food seems acceptable and the condition of the buildings suitable. Wages vary from 1 lira 20 cents to 4 lire, paid daily or weekly by the owners.

About fifty people work in the paper mills and the rag warehouse, mostly men, and they work all year round in the paper mills, as the warehouse closes for months at a time. The men work more than the women in the paper mills, but in the warehouse the hours are equally 9 in summer and 6 in winter, exclusively during the day, and excluding holidays. The hours of rest are 2 or 3. Work is mixed in the rag warehouse and there are almost all illiterate workers. The workers often fall ill, especially of marsh fever, while the women seem to have better health, despite the poor working conditions. Equally bad are the food and the conditions of the buildings.

As for wages:

In the paper mills the workers are pieceworkers, in the rag warehouse they are day labourers, all under the direct dependence of the owners.

¹²⁶ See Appendix.

In the rag warehouse, both women and children earn about 60 cents a day in summer and 50 in winter. In the paper mills, the children earn a maximum of 60 cents, and some a mere 17 cents a day. The women then only earn 30 to 35 cents!¹²⁷

The authors of the study seem to be particularly impressed and therefore emphasise the poor working conditions in the paper mills and the warehouse for sorting rags. On the other hand, they find the culprit for such a situation in the local health commissions, which are indifferent to the employers' negative attitude.

Conversely, the typeface foundry attached to the printing works of the Bishop's Seminary in Padua had only five workers who work 10 hours a year, including at night, and rested for about an hour and a half a day. There are no illiterates or members of Mutual Aid Societies. The main problem of the job is frequent headaches and toothaches. The working conditions are acceptable and the pay consists of 8 or 6 lire per week, while the employees under the age of 14, earn 50 cents per week. The employees are all day labourers. Compared to the mansions: "Children under the age of 18 were smelters, i.e. they attended to the casting and composition of the metal alloy, and poured it into pretzels to reduce it to rods or loaves, to be given to the casters. The boy under fourteen cleaned the fonts and attended to other similar not very difficult tasks."¹²⁸

Also, in the printing and lithographic factories, workers are 118 men, most of them over 18 years old. Work is carried out all year round, except during holidays, for 10 or 12 hours, also at night, with a two-hour rest. It can happen that they work even 15 or 16 hours a day. Children, on the other hand, work about 10 hours a day and rested for an hour and a half. The entire staff is educated and very few have been ill, of fevers mainly. Working in printing or lithography shops, however, involves respiratory problems due to lead and antimony. Actually, if the buildings were well ventilated and disinfected, such problems would be avoided. There are few members of Mutual Aid Societies, the food is not adequate, because it is poor in quantity and quality; on the contrary, the conditions of

¹²⁷ "Nelle cartiere gli operai sono a cottimo, nel magazzino di cenci sono a giornata, tutti sotto la diretta dipendenza dei proprietari. Nel magazzino di stracci tanto le donne quanto il fanciullo guadagnano giornalmente circa 60 centesimi d'estate e 50 d'inverno. Nelle, cartiere i fanciulli guadagnano al massimo 60 centesimi, e alcuni pochi appena 17 centesimi al di. Le donne poi guadagnano soltanto dai 30 ai 35 centesimi!". In F. Coletti, B. Panizza, J. Benetti, L. Romanin Jacur, A. Marcon and A. Morelli, *op. cit.*, p. 145.

¹²⁸ "i fanciulli sotto 18 anni erano fonditori, attendevano cioè alla fusione e alla composizione della lega metallica, e la versavano in pretelle per ridurla in verghe o in pani, da darsi al gettatore. Il fanciullo sotto quattordici anni puliva i caratteri ed attendeva ad altre simili poco difficili mansioni". In *ivi*, pp. 146.

the buildings are acceptable. Income varies between 2 and 4 lire per week and is distributed by the owners.

3.3.4 Hat, brush and bead factories in coco and quarries

In Padua, four industrial plants produce straw and silk velvet hats, silk felt hats, felt, gibbons and patterns. Of 74 employees, 40 are women. They work continuously throughout the year, but there are periods of the year when the number of employees necessarily decreases, even for the straw hat factories there is a “stagione morta”, which means dead season, i.e. the first three months of the year and August and September; the “dead season” then becomes the period between July and October for the felt and silk hat factories. They work for 8, 10 or 11 hours, even at night, and rest for 2 to 3 hours a day and on holidays, except in one factory where people work in the morning. The work is mixed and there are very few illiterates and sick people throughout the year, probably because of the good food. On the contrary, the condition of the premises needs improvement.

With regard to jobs, the difference to be noted is that children under the age of 10 are apprentices while those under the age of 14 are errand boys. As for the pay, it varies from 2 to 6 lire per week, only the children earn from 1 lira to 70 cents per week. All are paid by the owner and are day labourers.¹²⁹

The brushing and coco bead factory employs 17 people, of whom only 6 are women. They work all year round in the factory and from November to April intermittently in the brushing shop, for 10 and 8 hours a day respectively, with 2- and 1-hour breaks. Only men work in the brush factory and work there is not mixed. In terms of food, it is better in the factory, on the contrary, the conditions of the buildings are better in the brushing shop. The men are paid by the owners, the women by their manager in the factory and earn from 25 cents to 1 lira per day. The children earn 1 lira or 1 lira 20 centimes.

There are many quarries scattered around the province of Padua, in which both men, women and children are employed. In order to understand the distribution of workers, it is useful to represent the table created by the authors.¹³⁰

¹²⁹ F. Coletti, B. Panizza, J. Benetti, L. Romanin Jacur, A. Marcon and A. Morelli, *op. cit.*, pp. 146 – 153.

¹³⁰ Ivi, pp. 153 – 162.

DISTRICT	MUNICIPALITY	HILL	Number of quarries	Total number of workers	Over 18 years of age	Under 18 years of age	Under 14 years of age
Monselice	Monselice	Colle della Rocca	3	99	84	8	7
>>	>>	Montericco	4	40	36	2	2
Padova	Battaglia	Monte della Zucca	9	43	36	7	....
>>	Cervarese S. Croce	Montemerlo	2	60	44	16
Este	Lozzo Atestino	Monte Lozzo	6	59	45	10	4
Total			24	301	245	43	13

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As can be seen from the picture, employees are only men and do continuous work, workers between the ages of 10 and 18 did intermittent work and for a few days a year, women were also employed.¹³² People only work during the day for 10 or 11 hours, more during summer than winter. And one rests from one to three hours a day, but hours tend to be more in summer than in winter, and on holidays. The jobs within the quarries are:

- Excavator;
- Stonemason;
- Assistant to the aforementioned;
- Briquette sweeper;

The illiterates make up more than half of the workers and only 20 of the latter are members of Mutual Aid Societies. The number of sick is low and it is mainly fevering. The food is good and since the work is in the quarries, there are no premises, they work in the open air.

As for the pay:

The workers are all on the job, minus the Rocca di Monselice labourers; and they are paid directly by the quarry workers, except for a few children who depend on their relatives (parents or siblings). The excavators earn between 2 and 4 lire per day, depending on their age, skill and the difficulty of the work. The excavators, however, of the Montericco quarries earn only 1 to 2 liras, depending on the metric quantity of stone excavated. Stonemasons earn between 1.25 and 3 liras. The stone cutters earn no more than 1.12 lire, depending on the metric quantity. The children, however, earn much less: 70, 50 or even 40 cents, depending on their special duties. This is to be understood with regard to the average, as some of the more robust and experienced workers over the age of fourteen earn as much as the adult workers.¹³³

¹³¹ See Appendix.

¹³² F. Coletti, B. Panizza, J. Benetti, L. Romanin Jacur, A. Marcon and A. Morelli, *op. cit.*, p. 157.

¹³³ “Gli operai stanno tutti a opera, meno i manovali Rocca di Monselice; e vengono pagati direttamente da duttori delle cave, ad eccezione di alcuni fanciulli che dipendono dai propri parenti (genitori o fratelli).

3.4 The end of the study

The study continues with the fifteenth section: the summary. In this part, the authors now intend to present the data collected during the survey, and previously divided by industry, in a unified manner. This section is in turn divided into two sub-sections: the first part, which is that of the statistical data part and the second part, which concerns the questions.

With regard to the statistical data part, the authors create a table showing that the number of women employed in industry was twice as high as the number of men, despite the fact that they are mostly employed in spinning mills, thus working only a few months or a few days a year. This is therefore why men are considered the only true workers, unlike women: their work is considered, in fact, not industrial work but “an accessory of the agricultural industry”, which means an accessory to the agricultural industry.¹³⁴

The table below shows the number of male and female employees and the sector of employment:

DESIGNATION OF FACTORIES	Number of factories	Total number of workers (average of the year)	Number of male workers							Number of female workers				
			Maximum	Minimum	Average of the year					Average of the year				
					total	Over 18 years of age	Under 18 years of age	Under 14 years of age	Under 10 years of age	total	Over 18 years of age	Under 18 years of age	Under 14 years of age	Under 10 years of age
Spinning mills	34	1549	36	32	34	32	.....	2	.....	1515	1059	342	103	11
Silk spinning mill	1	68	6	4	5	2	2	1	.....	63	10	30	15	8
Hemp mill (1)	1	255	181	181	181	114	28	39	.....	74	26	35	13	.....
Twisters	4	95	32	26	29	26	1	2	.....	66	19	40	7	.....
Wool mill and textile factories	8	326	145	129	137	95	15	25	2	189	38	87	63	1
Iron foundry and treshing mills	3	210	260	160	210	187	19	4	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Paper mills and warehouse for sorting rags	4	45	30	22	26	18	5	3	.....	19	10	6	3	.....
Typeface foundry	1	5	5	5	5	2	2	1	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Typographies and lithographers	6	100	118	82	100	72	20	8	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Brushwork and coco bead factory	2	17	16	6	11	8	2	.....	1	6	1	2	1	2
Hat factories	4	74	49	19	34	28	2	4	.....	40	18	17	5	.....
Quarries	24	303	301	301	301	245	43	13	2	2
Total	92	3047	1073	967	1073	829	139	102	3	1974	1181	559	212	22

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Gli escavatori guadagnano dalle 2 alle 4 lire per giorno, a seconda della loro età, della loro abilità e della difficoltà del lavoro. Gli escavatori però delle cave del Montericco guadagnano soltanto da 1 a 2 lire, a norma della quantità metrica del sasso scavato. Gli scalpellini guadagnano da Lire 1.25 a 3. I manovali guadagnano al più lire 1.25, e al meno lire 1.12. Gli spezzalori di briccia guadagnano, a misura pur essi della quantità metrica, non più di lire 1.12. I fanciulli però guadagnano assai meno: 70, 50 od anche 40 centesimi, a seconda delle speciali loro mansioni. Ciò s'intende riguardo alla media, chè alcuni più robusti e provetti sopra i quattordici anni, guadagnano quanto gli operai adulti.” in F. Coletti, B. Panizza, J. Benetti, L. Romanin Jacur, A. Marcon and A. Morelli, *op. cit.*, p. 162.

¹³⁴ Ivi, p. 165

¹³⁵ See Appendix.

The second part of the summary section is devoted to the questions that are posed each time when approaching the analysis of each industry reported in the study. In this case, however, the answer to the questions arises from a balance of the individual responses from the individual industry.¹³⁶

The first two questions concern the number of hours worked during the day and the number of hours worked at night. Here too, the authors provide a table with the collected data representing 1973 women and 236 children employed during the summer period, on average, for a maximum of 14 and 15 hours and a minimum of 6 and 8 hours, respectively. Obviously, there are women and children employed for far more hours than the average. In contrast, in the winter period, 236 children and 514 women are employed, on average, for a maximum of 15 and 13 hours and a minimum of 6 hours, respectively. With regard to night labour, which is only carried out in winter (with the exception of the hemp spinning), 162 children and 450 women were employed for, on average, 11 hours. Here too, the working hours of women and children very often do not meet the average.

The next question concerns the duration of intermittent work. Distinguishing between factories where work is actually continuous and those where it is intermittent, it appears that the duration of work varies from a maximum of 10 months to a minimum of 3 days, depending on the factory.¹³⁷

The fourth question is about rest days: work, even urgent work, is interrupted on civil and church holidays, except for the Marcon wool mill where one day a week is rested in the absence of water.

¹³⁶ Ivi, pp. 162-165.

¹³⁷ F. Coletti, B. Panizza, J. Benetti, L. Romanin Jacur, A. Marcon and A. Morelli, *op. cit.*, pp. 165-172.

Question five is about the hours of work and rest during the day. Again, the authors opt for two explanatory tables:

FACTORIES	Maximum number of rest hours		Minimum number of rest hours		Average number of rest hours		Workers who rest the same number of hours as the average		Workers who rest an above-average number of hours		Workers resting a lower-than-average number of hours	
	For children	For women	For children	For women	For children	For women	For children	For women	For children	For women	For children	For women
Spinning mills	....	1.30	....	1.30	....	1.30	....	56	....	....	....	....
Silk spinning mill	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	63	....	....	....	....
Hemp mill	1	1	1	1	1	1	67	74	....	....	....	....
Twisters	....	1.45	....	1	....	1.31	....	....	....	45	....	20
Wool mill and textile factories	3	3	1	1	2.14	1.55	....	....	20	107	22	82
Iron foundry and treshing mills	2	....	1.30	....	1.42	....	....	....	9	....	14	....
Paper mills and warehouse for sorting rags (1)	2.30	2.30	1	1	1.30	1.45	....	....	1	5	2	5
Typeface foundry	0.30	....	0.30	....	0.30	....	3	....	....	....	....	....
Typographies and lithographers	3	....	1	....	1.55	....	....	....	19	....	6	....
Brushwork	3	3	2	2	2.20	2.18	....	....	2	12	4	28
Coco bead factory	2	....	1	....	1	....	2	....	....	....	....	....
Hat factories	2	2	2	2	2	2	1	6
Quarries	2	2	1	2	1.29	2	2	21
Total number	3	3	1	1	1.34	1.51	223	223	138	282

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FACTORIES	Maximum number of rest hours		Minimum number of rest hours		Average number of rest hours		Workers who rest the same number of hours as the average		Workers who rest an above-average number of hours		Workers resting a lower-than-average number of hours	
	For children	For women	For children	For women	For children	For women	For children	For women	For children	For women	For children	For women
Spinning mills	4	4	1.30	1.30	2.45	2.47	....	....	1	769	1	746
Silk spinning mill	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	63	....	....	....	....
Hemp mill	1	1	1	1	1	1	67	74	....	....	....	....
Twisters	....	2	....	1	....	1.51	....	....	....	55	....	10
Wool mill and textile factories	3	3	1	1	2.24	2.07	....	....	25	82	17	107
Iron foundry and treshing mills	3	....	2	....	2.16	....	....	....	6	....	17	....
Paper mills and warehouse for sorting rags (1)	3	3	1	1	1.40	2	....	....	1	5	2	5
Typeface foundry	2	....	2	....	2	....	3	....	....	....	....	....
Typographies and lithographers	3	....	1	....	1.55	....	....	....	19	....	6	....
Coco bead factory	3	3	2	2	2.20	2.18	....	....	2	12	4	28
Hat factories	2	2	2	2	2	2	1	6
Quarries	3.30	2	2	2	2.41	2	2	30	26
Total number	4	4	1	1	1.59	2.36	148	926	83	1038

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The two tables show a maximum duration of the break during the summer working day of 4 hours and a minimum duration of one hour. In contrast, in the winter period, the maximum duration is 3 hours and the minimum 30 minutes.

¹³⁸ See Appendix.

¹³⁹ See Appendix.

The next 7 questions, on the other hand, concern the tasks performed by each employee according to gender and age, but it is impossible for the authors to find an answer that can summarise the answers in the individual sections. While the first 12 questions focus more on work, the next 10 focus more on morals and hygiene.¹⁴⁰

Concerning promiscuity, the authors agree that in most factories there is promiscuity both between workers of the same sex and between workers of different sexes. With respect to education, which is not provided in any of the factories, it appears that illiterate men account for less than 50 per cent and women for more than 50 per cent. There are only 138 members of Mutual Aid Societies in all industries, of which only 4 are women, considering the small number of Mutual Aid Societies existing in the area towards the end of the nineteenth century. Concerning the sick, it can be deduced that the percentage of both male and female workers is rather low, but the percentage of women only is slightly higher. Among the qualities of illnesses, fevers seem to predominate and no “forme morbose”, which means morbid forms of diseases, are reported that are peculiar to the present trades.¹⁴¹

The twentieth question brings up all the data collected with respect to the workers' diet in the factories. What emerges is the unsatisfactory quality and quantity of their food. Those who earn more, have a better diet, which is mostly based on polenta, sausages, minestrone rice, barley or lens, cheese, legumes and vegetables. Few consume meat and women drink mainly water and rarely wine; in contrast, men mainly wine and less water.

The penultimate question focuses on the wages of the employees: they are all day labourers, with the exception of a few factories where they work. Most receive their wages from the owners, except for those few who receive their wages from other piece-workers. The wages of female workers vary between 10 lire and 1.50 lire per week, while those of male workers range between 18 lire and 50 cents. The variations depend on the factory of employment.

Finally, the authors question the conditions of the buildings, such as their capacity, ventilation and heating, deducing that the hygienic conditions found are, for the most part, acceptable. There are, of course, exceptions in the negative sense. The dormitories

¹⁴⁰ F. Coletti, B. Panizza, J. Benetti, L. Romanin Jacur, A. Marcon and A. Morelli, *op. cit.*, pp. 172- 176.

¹⁴¹ Ivi, pp. 181

are almost never really suitable, heating is by means of terracotta or iron stoves and ventilation is not always excellent.¹⁴²

The last three pages of the study are dedicated to the conclusion, in which the authors, after analysing the factories and summarising the data collected, draw the line.

First of all, the scarcity of industries within the province of Padua has emerged, considering that most of the industries are “exercised within the family, and can be considered as ancillary to the agricultural industry”.¹⁴³ The authors find the same habituations and miseries of the people within the industries and that is why the doctors interviewed for the investigation are not able to delineate morbid types that affect the workers in each factory, as is usually the case with industrial populations. The buildings used for the industries are unsuitable for accommodating the workers for their long working days and the right precautions to prevent accidents in the workplace are not taken either. The authors are particularly surprised by the overwhelming use of labour as opposed to machines, since, while the latter are fuelled by coal, the former would need to be adequately fed in order to be able to sustain such work rhythms. However, this is not the case.

A further grievance following the study concerns equal working conditions for men, women and children, who should not work at night and should work fewer hours during the day than their male colleagues over the age of 18, despite the fact that women and children do not work continuously throughout the year.

The conclusion of the study is therefore the need for a law that protects women and children within industry and, indeed, relegates them to the home and away from warehouses.¹⁴⁴

3.5 The contrast between 1871 Italian census and 1875 Paduan study

There are substantial differences between the 1871 census and the study conducted in Padua in 1875. Firstly, the census presents a division by districts, a division by

¹⁴² F. Coletti, B. Panizza, J. Benetti, L. Romanin Jacur, A. Marcon and A. Morelli, *op. cit.*, pp. 172-183.

¹⁴³ “esercitate in famiglia, e possono considerarsi come accessorie dell'industria agricola”. In *ivi*, p. 183.

¹⁴⁴ *Ivi*, pp. 183-185.

occupational categories and a distinction between men and women, adults and under 15 years of age. The authors of the study, on the other hand, make a differentiated analysis for each factory but not by district, and then provide an overall account of the industrial situation in the province of Padua in 1875. Certainly, the occupational categories in the census do not correspond to the sections dedicated to the 68 factories scattered within seven of the eight districts that make up the province of Padua. Moreover, there is not only a distinction between labourers and factory workers above and below the age of 15, but very often the authors distinguish between labourers and factory workers below the age of 10, above the age of 14 and above the age of 18. In general, the study appears to be more specific than the census, which, by its nature, tends to collect more general information.

Upon comparing the two papers, a shared observation becomes evident: the number of workers under the age of 10 (in the paper) and under the age of 15 (in the census) is significantly lower than the number of people employed in other age groups.

However, what emerges from the census and is most interesting for the present work, as reported in the second chapter of this thesis, is that the number of women in the labour market in the last two decades of the nineteenth century is consistently lower than that of men. This is a substantially different conclusion from that reached by the authors Coletti, Panizza, Benetti, Jacur, Marcon and Morelli. For the purposes of comparison with the 1875 study, it is relevant to consider only the census data concerning the number of male or female workers within the second professional category, which is that of industrial production: textiles, hearths, clothing, grooming, food, manufacture and maintenance of houses and roads, furniture, household utensils, transport, saddlery, shipbuilding, manufacture of arms and ammunition, metal industries, miscellaneous machines and tools, science instruments, music, paper, printing and related arts, chemical products, luxury goods, lighting.¹⁴⁵

Proceeding by districts, as ISTAT proceeds, as far as Campo S. Piero is concerned, the 1875 study considers 13 spinning mills and one brush factory. While the census shows a much higher number of men than women, except for the first sub-category, in which there are 300 times as many women as men, the authors of the study report that only in the brushing works are there fewer women; on the contrary, in the spinning mills there

¹⁴⁵ Ufficio centrale di statistica. - Roma: Stamperia reale, *op. cit.*, pp. 94-100.

are more than a thousand women employed. It is as if the number of men reported in the census was, in reality, the number of women actually employed in the factories of Campo S. Piero.

As far as the Cittadella district is concerned, the study includes 8 spinning mills and one machine spinning mill and 3 paper mills. ISTAT reports more than one thousand employees and only a few hundred women; the study seems to agree only with regard to the paper mills, where indeed more men than women worked. But in the other mills, the number of women was higher.

The authors do not mention in their study that they analyse mills in the Conselve district, where according to ISTAT male employees represented the majority.

As far as the district of Este is concerned, a spinning mill, a warehouse for sorting rags and a typography are considered for the survey in 1875. As usual, the census shows industries mainly populated by men. With the exception of the spinning mill, the study seems to agree with the data collected by ISTAT, as no women are employed in the factories just mentioned.

As far as the Monselice district is concerned, the authors are interested in a steam spinning mill and two threshing and ginning factories. ISTAT reports twice as many men as women in the industrial production category. With the exception of the spinning mill, only men are actually employed.

As far as the Montagnana district is concerned, one steam spinning mill and three fire spinning mills and a hemp mill are taken into consideration. Again, the census reports a very low number of women employed, while within the spinning mills the number of women employed is decidedly higher than the number of men, in contrast to the hemp mill where the male presence is more massive.

As far as the Padua district is concerned, the factories taken into consideration are as follows:

Spinning-mills, 2 by steam and 5 by fire. - Silk spinning mill, 1. - Spinneries, 1 in linen and 2 in cotton. - Woollen mill, 1. - Fabrics factories, 2 in cotton 1 in linen, 1 in silk and cotton (ribbons), 1 in linen, hemp and cotton (weaving school). - Iron foundry, 1. - Hat factories, 2 in felt, tibet, etc., and 2 in silk velvet straw. -

Typographies, 5 with one lithography. - Typeface foundry, 1. - Coco bead factory, 1. Altogether twenty-nine factories.¹⁴⁶

In this case, ISTAT reports more than 4,000 men employed in the industrial sector, compared to only 1,000 women. As already mentioned, in 1875 there are more women employed in spinning mills than men, due to their physical characteristics that are considered more suitable for this type of work. And the same applies to the rest of the factories, except for the iron foundry and the typographies where there are very few employees and all men.

Finally, the study involves only two factories, one in textiles and such as cotton, linen and hemp and one in cotton only, in the district of Piove di Sacco. In 1871, only 200 women are counted, compared to men in industrial production. While, in 1875, it is shown that women represent the majority out of 326 employees in the two factories analysed in Piove di Sacco.¹⁴⁷

It should be emphasised that in making the comparison, one must consider the fact that Coletti, Panizza, Benetti, Jacur, Marcon and Morelli do not include the totality of factories present within the province of Padua, but only the most relevant for the purposes of the study, as already clarified in the second paragraph of the second chapter of this thesis.

We must take into account the differences between the two works, dictated by their different nature: the census is obliged to consider all the work carried out in all the districts of the province of Padua, thus not being able to pay greater attention to the industrial field; and the 1875 study is unable to broaden its field of investigation, having to respond to a precise request from the presidency of the Congress of Economists in Milan. In spite of these premises, the two results of the works are evidently different.

¹⁴⁶ “Filande, 2 a vapore e 5 a fuoco. - Filatoio di seta, 1. - Torcitoi, 1 in lino e 2 in cotone. - Lanificio, 1. - Fabbriche di tessuti, 2 in cotone 1 in lino, 1 in seta e cotone (nastri), 1 in lino, canapa e cotone (scuola di tessitura). - Fonderia in ferro, 1. - Fabbriche di cappelli, 2 di felpa, feltro, tibet, ecc., e 2 di paglia velluto di seta. - Tipografie, 5 con una litografia. - Fonderia di caratteri tipografici, 1. - Fabbrica di perle in coco, 1. In complesso ventinove opifici”. In F. Coletti, B. Panizza, J. Benetti, L. Romanin Jacur, A. Marcon and A. Morelli, *op. cit.*, pp. 88.

¹⁴⁷ Ivi, pp. 88-89.

CONCLUSION

This thesis tried to represent the role of women within the labour market, specifically at the end of the nineteenth century.

The research conducted on women's participation in the labour market in the last two decades of the nineteenth century, using data from the 1871 census and a study conducted in Padua in 1875, sheds light on a pivotal period in history where women's roles in society are undergoing significant changes. The evidence presented in this thesis unequivocally demonstrates that during this era, a substantial number of women actively contributes to the world of work, challenging traditional gender norms and paving the way for the gradual transformation of societal attitudes towards women's economic engagement.

The findings from the 1871 census reveal a remarkably low number of women participating in various economic activities. This upward trend demonstrates the conventional notion of women being confined solely to domestic roles. The subsequent study conducted in Padua in 1875 further denies these findings, highlighting the prevalence of women in the workforce and dispelling the myth of women's exclusion from economic spheres, since they begin to take on diverse roles in the labour market, assuming positions in both the formal and informal sectors

The high rate of women's participation in the labour market during this period can be attributed to a combination of factors. The changing economic landscape, industrialisation, and urbanisation open up new opportunities for women to seek employment outside the home. Additionally, evolving social and ideological perspectives, driven by the burgeoning women's rights movement, enable women to challenge societal norms and advocate for their rightful place in the workforce.

It is essential to acknowledge the resilience and determination of these pioneering women who defy societal expectations and play a crucial role in reshaping gender dynamics in the workforce. Their contributions, often overlooked or marginalised in historical narratives, have significantly influenced the progress of women's rights and gender equality.

However, despite these encouraging trends, it is crucial to recognise that many challenges persisted for women in the labour market during this time. Discrimination, wage disparities, and limited access to certain professions are among the obstacles faced

by women seeking meaningful and sustainable employment. While progress is undoubtedly underway, the journey towards full gender equality in the workplace is far from complete.

As we reflect on the historical context presented in this thesis, it becomes evident that understanding women's participation in the labour market at the end of the nineteenth century provides valuable insights for contemporary discussions on gender equality and women's rights. By acknowledging the strides made by women in the past, we can draw inspiration to address the persistent barriers that hinder full and equal participation of women in the workforce today.

The result, thus, confirmed the purpose of the analysis: the number of women employed in the industrial sector, particularly in the textile industry, is higher than that of men and thus certainly higher than that reported in the 1871 census. As a matter of fact, this thesis tried to show that the mentality of the last twenty years of the century under analysis, disfavours women, who, in the opinion of almost the entire population, should exclusively take care of the home and children. However, it is self-evident from the data reported that the data collected by ISTAT in the 1871 survey in the province of Padua are distorted and inflated in favour of men, with the aim of downplaying the importance of women's participation in the labour market, with particular reference to the industrial sector. This is demonstrated by the 1875 study by Coletti, Panizza, Benetti, Jacur, Marcon and Morelli, who, while sharing the common mentality of the time, objectively paint a picture in which women's contribution to the economy at the end of the nineteenth century is much more important than the official data would have us believe.

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APPENDIX

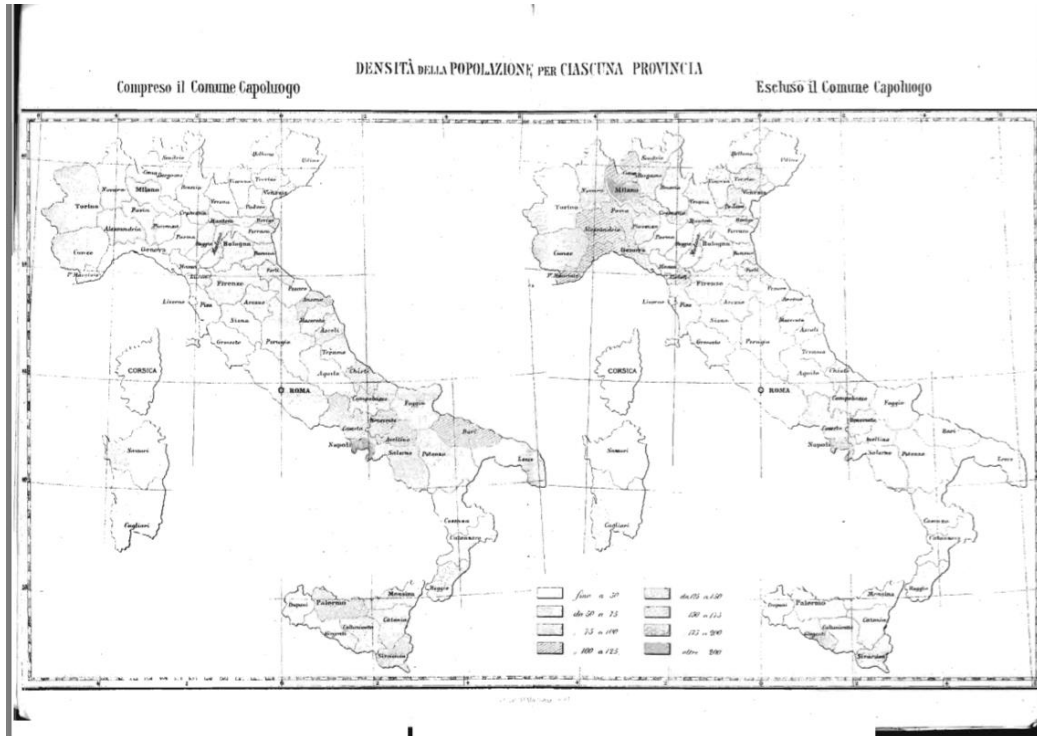


Figure 2 - Population density for each province. Ufficio centrale di statistica. - Roma: Stamperia reale, Censimento 31 dicembre 1871 / Ministero di agricoltura, industria e commercio, Vol. 1, Introduzione, p. XV.

NUMERO DEGLI ABITANTI per Chilometro quadrato in ciascuna Provincia					
	Compreso il Comune Capoluogo	Escluso il Comune Capoluogo	Compreso il Comune Capoluogo	Escluso il Comune Capoluogo	
<i>Alessandria</i>	135	130	<i>Massa Carrara</i>	91	86
<i>Ancona</i>	158	120	<i>Massima</i>	92	77
<i>Aquila</i>	51	59	<i>Milano</i>	152	172
<i>Arezzo</i>	71	67	<i>Modena</i>	109	91
<i>Ascoli</i>	91	83	<i>Napoli</i>	551	162
<i>Avellino</i>	103	39	<i>Novara</i>	96	93
<i>Bari</i>	102	94	<i>Padova</i>	156	100
<i>Belluno</i>	33	53	<i>Palermo</i>	121	80
<i>Benevento</i>	130	171	<i>Parma</i>	82	68
<i>Bergamo</i>	151	115	<i>Pavia</i>	159	175
<i>Bologna</i>	172	92	<i>Perugia</i>	57	54
<i>Brescia</i>	101	98	<i>Pesaro</i>	72	61
<i>Cagliari</i>	29	27	<i>Piacenza</i>	86	76
<i>Caltanissetta</i>	61	64	<i>Pisa</i>	87	75
<i>Campobasso</i>	79	77	<i>Porto Maurizio</i>	105	105
<i>Caserta</i>	117	113	<i>Potenza</i>	58	67
<i>Catania</i>	91	83	<i>Ravenna</i>	115	126
<i>Catanzaro</i>	69	66	<i>Reggio Calabria</i>	90	82
<i>Chieti</i>	119	123	<i>Reggio Emilia</i>	106	95
<i>Como</i>	176	167	<i>Roma</i>	71	50
<i>Cosenza</i>	80	38	<i>Rovigo</i>	119	114
<i>Cremona</i>	184	163	<i>Salerno</i>	98	94
<i>Cunco</i>	87	81	<i>Sassari</i>	23	21
<i>Ferrara</i>	82	65	<i>Siena</i>	54	45
<i>Firenze</i>	131	103	<i>Siracusa</i>	80	78
<i>Foggia</i>	52	56	<i>Sondrio</i>	34	52
<i>Forlì</i>	176	110	<i>Teramo</i>	14	72
<i>Genova</i>	174	155	<i>Torino</i>	92	73
<i>Girgenti</i>	13	77	<i>Trapani</i>	35	73
<i>Grassano</i>	71	45	<i>Treviso</i>	152	136
<i>Lecco</i>	58	55	<i>Udine</i>	19	70
<i>Livorno</i>	364	100	<i>Venezia</i>	154	92
<i>Lucca</i>	158	162	<i>Verona</i>	134	111
<i>Macerata</i>	87	82	<i>Vicenza</i>	138	127
<i>Mantova</i>	116	106	Regno	90	80

Figure 3 - Number of inhabitants per square kilometre in each province. Ufficio centrale di statistica. - Roma: Stamperia reale, Censimento 31 dicembre 1871 / Ministero di agricoltura, industria e commercio, Vol. 1, Introduzione, p. XV.

DESIGNATION AND CATEGORY GROUPS	DISTRICTS OF THE PROVINCE OF PADUA																														
	CAMPOSAN PIERO				CITTABELLA				CONSELVE				ESTE				MONSELICE				MONTAGNA				PADOVA						
	Under 15 years of age		Total		Under 15 years of age		Total		Under 15 years of age		Total		Under 15 years of age		Total		Under 15 years of age		Total		Under 15 years of age		Total		Under 15 years of age		Total				
M.	F.	M.	F.	M.	F.	M.	F.	M.	F.	M.	F.	M.	F.	M.	F.	M.	F.	M.	F.	M.	F.	M.	F.	M.	F.	M.	F.	M.	F.	M.	F.
1st CATEGORY																															
Production of raw materials																															
1st Agriculture	63	37	9742	3172	440	89	6078	3162	1159	1060	6532	5108	697	418	7830	3451	665	504	5990	2386	1219	1314	7326	7680	1874	1042	21520	9144			
2nd Pastoralism and livestock farming	36	1	332	27	21	3	261	29	331	.....	827	18	132	8	1333	181	37	19	783	331	84	2	784	42	81	17	2384	88		
3rd Horticulture and gardening	.....	.....	19	.....	.....	.....	20	3	.....	.....	2	2	2	2	52	12	3	2	45	9	.....	.....	28	8	4	4	247	12
4th Stock	.....	.....	9	.....	.....	.....	23	.....	.....	.....	35	.....	.....	.....	43	.....	.....	.....	2	.....	.....	.....	13	.....	.....	.....	2	.....		
5th Forestry	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	66	.....	.....	.....	3	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
6th Fishing and hunting	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
7th Mining and quarrying	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
1st Category Total	99	38	9897	3199	462	92	6342	3189	1319	1060	7754	5128	811	486	9134	3624	724	525	6920	2486	1310	1316	8371	7730	1964	1059	23171	9257			
2nd Category																															
Industrial production																															
1st Textiles	1	1	44	354	4	153	321	2	6	167	28	9	366	275	11	12	46	470	7	11	98	40	11	26	519	40		
2nd Hosiery	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
3rd Clothing	11	14	343	236	23	6	323	200	37	13	395	156	61	15	673	342	38	16	364	363	61	8	683	135	125	181	1824	2680			
4th Knitting	1	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
5th Food	10	.....	472	34	16	.....	766	397	28	2	367	69	22	.....	724	117	38	37	386	173	31	.....	431	45	38	38	2837	799
6th Manufacture and maintenance of houses and	6	.....	664	.....	14	.....	490	.....	47	.....	413	.....	39	.....	841	.....	52	.....	11	695	28	.....	42	.....	558	.....	148	.....		
7th Furniture	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
8th Household articles	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
9th Transport	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
10th Shipbuilding	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
11th Shipbuilding	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
12th Manufacture of arms and ammunition	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
13th Metal industries	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
14th Miscellaneous machines and tools	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
15th Science instruments	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
16th Music, paper and related arts	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
17th Chemical products	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
18th Lumber products	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
19th Lighting	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
2nd Category Total	33	15	1479	645	77	8	2177	748	135	17	1305	585	296	24	3134	740	142	77	2070	1062	163	19	1979	240	603	274	2896	4388			
3rd Category - Commerce																															
3rd Category - Commerce																															
4th Category - Transport																															
4th Category - Transport																															
1st Railways, telegraphs, post offices, etc.	2	.....	49	.....	3	.....	108	.....	10	.....	196	.....	.....	.....	252	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
2nd Sea, river and canal	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
3rd Horse and mule-drawn carriers	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
4th Category Total	2	.....	55	.....	3	.....	126	.....	11	.....	202	.....	4	.....	307	.....	2	.....	94	.....	40	.....	456	.....	124	.....	132	.....		
5th Category - Movable and immovable property	3	4	114	152	26	1	304	319	37	54	220	288	35	10	669	416	45	48	328	325	34	66	463	330	57	70	1499	1745			
6th Category - Service personnel	24	25	428	310	25	27	313	273	8	6	134	121	17	18	319	378	8	6	236	238	18	9	240	212	47	87	1968	3135			

Figure 4 - Representation of the data collected in the 1871 Italian census. Ufficio centrale di statistica. - Roma: Stamperia reale, Censimento 31 dicembre 1871 / Ministero di agricoltura, industria e commercio, Vol. 3, p. 94-95.

DESIGNATION AND CATEGORY GROUPS	DISTRICTS OF THE PROVINCE OF PADUA																											
	CAMPOSAN PIERO				CITTABELLA				CONSELVE				ESTE				MONSELICE				MONTAGNA				PADOVA			
	Under 15 years of age		Total		Under 15 years of age		Total		Under 15 years of age		Total		Under 15 years of age		Total		Under 15 years of age		Total		Under 15 years of age		Total					
	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F				
86 CATEGORY - Defence of the country	14		6					12				11				15				11				2130				
90 CATEGORY - Public administration	61		49	2				86	5			176	1	2	2	82	10			69				1087				
90 CATEGORY - Worship																												
1a Catholic	1		116					57	0			57	1		128	15	2	4	81	15	1		66	27	4	466	133	
2a Protestant																											9	
3a Evangelical																											2	
90a Category Total	1		116					57	0			57	1		128	15	2	4	81	15	1		66	27	4	471	135	
100 CATEGORY - Jurisprudence			8				2		4			5			9				7				6				124	
110 CATEGORY - Health professions			18	19	14		34	18	47			25	7	19		55	19		1	17	12		39	14	1	365	118	
120 CATEGORY - Education		1	27	34		1	27	41				18	17	18		43	31	1	2	20	24		26	18		234	280	
130 CATEGORY - Fine arts																												
1a Fine arts			2		16		18		13			9		27		32				12	3		12		7		90	
2a Music and drama			4						4			4								2			14	3	2	1	114	
130a Category Total			6		16		18		17			13		27		32				14	3		26	3	9	1	205	
140 CATEGORY - Humanities and Sciences																												
1a Humanities and Sciences					1		6		4																		3	
2a Applied Sciences			6						5						10												150	
140a Category Total			6					6	5					10													153	
150 CATEGORY - Working professions		1		30	1	1		43	29	22	3	3			6	3	4	1	13	8	2	1	12	3	5		51	
160 CATEGORY - Non-permanent labour force								287	8	1177	252	3		29		28	8	508	212	97	74	1183	373	5		36		
170 CATEGORY																												
1a Personnel in the employ of others	4	5	49	82		1	3	4	2	4	45	55	18	7	77	34			11	8					3	42	196	381
2a Without occupation	6516	6384	6792	11649	4718	5232	5144	14831	2640	3038	2793	6799	4277	4613	7326	18363	4130	4124	4588	10848	3821	3655	4574	8062	17422	17766	19403	42749
170a Category Total	6520	6389	6841	11662	4721	5235	5147	14835	2645	3042	2838	6854	4284	4620	7403	18437	4135	4128	4592	10856	3821	3655	4574	8062	17422	17766	19406	43119
GRAND TOTAL	6683	6672	19258	18876	36229	32169	14249	13879	4245	4184	12947	12917	17	7126	219	378	8	6	236	238	18	6	240	212	47	87	1968	3135
TOTAL Males and FEMALES	13151	37331	39088	32228	8420	25754	14521	44892	10530	31947	10640	32500	16670	32481	33040	36576	16670	32481	33040	36576	16670	32481	33040	36576	16670	32481	33040	36576

Figure 5 - Representation of the data collected in the 1871 Italian census. Ufficio centrale di statistica. - Roma: Stamperia reale, Censimento 31 dicembre 1871 / Ministero di agricoltura, industria e commercio, Vol. 3, pp. 96-97.

DESIGNATION AND CATEGORY GROUPS	DISTRICTS OF THE PROVINCE OF PADUA				TOTAL FOR THE PROVINCE OF PADUA			
	PIOVE DI SACCO				CITTADELLA			
	Under 15 years of age		Total		Under 15 years of age		Total	
	M.	F.	M.	F.	M.	F.	M.	F.
1st CATEGORY								
Production of raw materials:								
1st Agriculture	1414	1419	8344	5076	7527	5903	73442	39099
2nd Pastoralism and livestock farming	11	9	41	33	556	59	5449	525
3rd Horticulture and gardening	.....	1	22	12	10	5	426	58
4th Beekeeping	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	3	.....
5th Forestry	9	.....	.....	.....	8	.....	293	12
6th Fishing and hunting	.....	.....	158	.....	23	.....	349	.....
7th Mining and quarrying	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	2	.....
1st Category Total	1435	1429	8565	5121	8124	5965	79964	39694
2nd Category								
Industrial production								
1st Textiles	.....	47	23	1001	62	108	1255	2928
2nd Hearths	.....	.....	9	.....	6	.....	15	1
3rd Clothing	35	11	324	270	391	277	4703	4631
4th Grooming	2	.....	18	.....	24	.....	379	9
5th Food	31	9	394	65	264	86	6427	1616
6th Manufacture and maintenance of houses and roofs	47	.....	494	.....	375	11	6849	33
7th Furniture	177	183	883	928	189	185	1254	1041
8th Household utensils	5	.....	36	1	43	16	692	68
9th Transport	6	.....	59	.....	33	.....	459	.....
10th Saddlery	.....	.....	1	.....	2	.....	19	.....
11th Shipbuilding	.....	.....	1	.....	2	.....	21	1
12th Manufacture of arms and ammunition	11	.....	140	.....	195	.....	1902	4
13th Metal industries	.....	.....	8	.....	8	.....	164	.....
14th Miscellaneous machines and tools	.....	.....	1	.....	3	.....	99	1
15th Science instruments	.....	.....	.....	.....	14	1	184	14
16th Music, paper and related arts	.....	.....	17	.....	37	.....	474	1
17th Chemical products	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	18	10
18th Luxury goods	1	.....	21	2	25	.....	357	32
19th Lighting	.....	.....	.....	.....	1	.....	61	.....
2nd Category Total	315	250	2429	2267	1674	684	25469	10390
3rd Category - Commerce								
	20	4	409	39	119	12	2827	268
4th Category - Transport								
1st Railways, telegraphs, post offices, etc.	11	.....	163	.....	101	40	2116	123
2nd Seas, rivers and canals	9	.....	66	.....	22	.....	331	1
3rd Hotels and mobilised quarters	21	3	113	57	22	5	155	133
4th Category Total	41	3	342	57	145	45	2602	257
5th Category - Movable and immovable property								
	.....	.....	.....	.....	277	247	3597	3573
6th Category - Service personnel								
	57	45	398	306	204	223	4046	4973

Figure 6 - Representation of the data collected in the 1871 Italian census. Ufficio centrale di statistica. - Roma: Stamperia reale, Censimento 31 dicembre 1871 / Ministero di agricoltura, industria e commercio, Vol. 3, pp. 98.

DESIGNATION AND CATEGORY GROUPS	DISTRICTS OF THE PROVINCE OF PADUA				TOTAL FOR THE PROVINCE OF PADUA			
	PIOVE DI SACCO							
	Under 15 years of age		Total		Under 15 years of age		Total	
	M.	F.	M.	F.	M.	F.	M.	F.
7th CATEGORY - Defence of the country	.....	.....	11	.....	.....	.....	2210	.....
8th CATEGORY - Public administration	.....	.....	79	8	2	2	1612	29
	.....	.....	4	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
9th CATEGORY - Worship								
1st Catholic	2	.....	94	.....	11	4	1085	197
2nd Israelite	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	3	.....
3rd Evangelical	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	2	.....
9th Category Total	2	.....	94	.....	11	4	1090	197
10th CATEGORY - Jurisprudence	.....	.....	3	.....	.....	.....	167	.....
11th CATEGORY - Health professions	.....	.....	27	10	1	1	620	217
12th CATEGORY - Education	.....	.....	18	24	1	4	437	467
13th CATEGORY - Fine arts								
1st Fine arts	.....	.....	2	.....	8	.....	160	5
2nd Music and drama	.....	.....	13	3	2	1	168	46
13th Category Total	.....	.....	15	3	10	1	328	51
14th CATEGORY - Humanities and Sciences								
1st Humanities and Sciences	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	3	.....
2nd Applied Sciences	.....	.....	6	.....	.....	.....	174	.....
14th Category Total	.....	.....	6	.....	.....	.....	177	.....
15th CATEGORY - Wandering professions	1	2	18	10	13	3	200	74
16th CATEGORY - Non-permanent labour force	2	.....	60	.....	423	96	4009	1119
17th CATEGORY								
1st Personnel in the employ of otherS	2	1	57	30	29	60	438	574
2nd Without occupation	3810	3722	4185	8277	49554	50934	54985	117769
17th Category Total	3812	3723	4242	8307	49583	50994	55423	118343
GRAND TOTAL	5685	5456	16712	16153	60587	58281	184778	179652
TOTAL Males and FEMALES	11141		32869		118868		364430	

Figure 7 - Representation of the data collected in the 1871 Italian census. Ufficio centrale di statistica. - Roma: Stamperia reale, Censimento 31 dicembre 1871 / Ministero di agricoltura, industria e commercio, Vol. 3, p. 100.

FACTORY	Number of workers					
	Maximum	Minimum	Average	Over 18 years of age	Under 18 years of age	Under 14 years of age
Rocchetti Foundry	150	76	113	110	3	....
Venetian company's plant	70	54	62	48	10	4
Neville plant	40	30	35	29	6	....
Total	260	160	210	187	19	4

Figure 8 - Classification of workers employed within the three plants.

F. Coletti, B. Panizza, J. Benetti, L. Romanin Jacur, A. Marcon and A. Morelli. 1878. *Il lavoro industriale dei fanciulli e delle donne: nella provincia di Padova*, "Giornale degli Economisti", Vol. 8, No. 2/3, Padova, p. 140.

DISTRICT	MUNICIPALITY	HILL	Number of quarries	Total number of workers	Over 18 years of age	Under 18 years of age	Under 14 years of age
Monselice	Monselice	Colle della Rocca	3	99	84	8	7
>>	>>	Montericco	4	40	36	2	2
Padova	Battaglia	Monte della Zucca	9	43	36	7	....
>>	Cervarese S. Croce	Montemerlo	2	60	44	16	....
Este	Lozzo Atestino	Monte Lozzo	6	59	45	10	4
Total			24	301	245	43	13

Figure 9 - The distribution of workers within the quarries in the province of Padua.

F. Coletti, B. Panizza, J. Benetti, L. Romanin Jacur, A. Marcon and A. Morelli. 1878. *Il lavoro industriale dei fanciulli e delle donne: nella provincia di Padova*, "Giornale degli Economisti", Vol. 8, No. 2/3, p. 157.

DESIGNATION OF FACTORIES	Number of factories	Total number of workers (average of the year)	Number of male workers							Number of female workers				
			Maximum	Minimum	Average of the year				total	Average of the year				
					total	Over 18 years of age	Under 18 years of age	Under 14 years of age		Under 10 years of age	total	Over 18 years of age	Under 18 years of age	Under 14 years of age
Spinning mills	34	1549	36	32	34	32	.....	2	.....	1515	1059	342	103	11
Silk spinning mill	1	68	6	4	5	2	2	1	.....	63	10	30	15	8
Hemp mill (1)	1	255	181	181	181	114	28	39	.....	74	26	35	13	.....
Twisters	4	95	32	26	29	26	1	2	.....	66	19	40	7	.....
Wool mill and textile factories	8	326	145	129	137	95	15	25	2	189	38	87	63	1
Iron foundry and treshing mills	3	210	260	160	210	187	19	4	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Paper mills and warehouse for sorting rags	4	45	30	22	26	18	5	3	.....	19	10	6	3	.....
Typeface foundry	1	5	5	5	5	2	2	1	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Typographies and lithographers	6	100	118	82	100	72	20	8	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Brushwork and coco bead factory	2	17	16	6	11	8	2	.....	1	6	1	2	1	2
Hat factories	4	74	49	19	34	28	2	4	.....	40	18	17	5	.....
Quarries	24	303	301	301	301	245	43	13	.....	2	.....	.....	2	.....
Total	92	3047	1073	967	1073	829	139	102	3	1974	1181	559	212	22

Figure 10 - Number of male and female workers employed in the various industries in the province of Padua.

F. Coletti, B. Panizza, J. Benetti, L. Romanin Jacur, A. Marcon and A. Morelli. 1878. *Il lavoro industriale dei fanciulli e delle donne: nella provincia di Padova*, “Giornale degli Economisti”, Vol. 8, No. 2/3, p. 164

FACTORIES	Maximum number of rest hours		Minimum number of rest hours		Average number of rest hours		Workers who rest the same number of hours as the average		Workers who rest an above-average number of hours		Workers resting a lower-than-average number of hours	
	For children	For women	For children	For women	For children	For women	For children	For women	For children	For women	For children	For women
Spinning mills	.....	1.30	.....	1.30	.....	1.30	.....	56	.....	.....	.....	.....
Silk spinning mill	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	63	.....	.....	.....	.....
Hemp mill	1	1	1	1	1	1	67	74	.....	.....	.....	.....
Twisters	.....	1.45	.....	1	.....	1.31	.....	.....	.....	45	.....	20
Wool mill and textile factories	3	3	1	1	2.14	1.55	.....	.....	20	107	22	82
Iron foundry and treshing mills	2	.....	1.30	.....	1.42	.....	.....	.....	9	.....	14	.....
Paper mills and warehouse for sorting rags (1)	2.30	2.30	1	1	1.30	1.45	.....	.....	1	5	2	5
Typeface foundry	0.30	.....	0.30	.....	0.30	.....	3	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Typographies and lithographers	3	.....	1	.....	1.55	.....	.....	.....	19	.....	6	.....
Brushwork	3	3	2	2	2.20	2.18	.....	.....	2	12	4	28
Coco bead factory	2	.....	1	.....	1	.....	2	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Hat factories	2	2	2	2	2	2	1	6	.....	.....	.....	.....
Quarries	2	2	1	2	1.29	2	.....	2	.....	.....	21	.....
Total number	3	3	1	1	1.34	1.51	.....	.....	223	223	138	282

Figure 11 - Summary of employers' working hours in winter.

F. Coletti, B. Panizza, J. Benetti, L. Romanin Jacur, A. Marcon and A. Morelli. 1878. *Il lavoro industriale dei fanciulli e delle donne: nella provincia di Padova*, “Giornale degli Economisti”, Vol. 8, No. 2/3, p. 174.

FACTORIES	Maximum number of rest hours		Minimum number of rest hours		Average number of rest hours		Workers who rest the same number of hours as the average		Workers who rest an above-average number of hours		Workers resting a lower than-average number of hours	
	For children	For women	For children	For women	For children	For women	For children	For women	For children	For women	For children	For women
Spinning mills	4	4	1.30	1.30	2.45	2.47	....	....	1	769	1	746
Silk spinning mill	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	63	....	....	....	....
Hemp mill	1	1	1	1	1	1	67	74	....	....	....	....
Twisters		2		1		1.51	....	....	....	55	....	10
Wool mill and textile factories	3	3	1	1	2.24	2.07	....	....	25	82	17	107
Iron foundry and treshing mills	3		2		2.16		....	....	6	....	17	....
Paper mills and warehouse for sorting rags (1)	3	3	1	1	1.40	2	....	....	1	5	2	5
Typeface foundry	2		2		2		3	....	....	....	....	....
Typographies and lithographers	3		1		1.55		....	....	19	....	6	....
Coco bead factory	3	3	2	2	2.20	2.18	....	....	2	12	4	28
Hat factories	2	2	2	2	2	2	1	6	....	....	....	....
Quarries	3.30	2	2	2	2.41	2	....	2	30	....	26	....
Total number	4	4	1	1	1.59	2.36	....	....	148	926	83	1038

Figure 12 - Summary of employers' working hours in summer.

F. Coletti, B. Panizza, J. Benetti, L. Romanin Jacur, A. Marcon and A. Morelli. 1878. *Il lavoro industriale dei fanciulli e delle donne: nella provincia di Padova*, "Giornale degli Economisti", Vol. 8, No. 2/3, p. 173.