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## TO CONTAIN AND CONTROL: WORK ORGANIZATION AND POOR GOVERNMENT IN THE HOSPICIO DE POBRES OF MEXICO CITY AND REAL ALBERGO DEI POVERI OF PALERMO IN EIGHTEENTH CENTURY\*

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**ABSTRACT:** *The research aims to compare two different institutions: The Real Albergo dei Poveri of Palermo and the Hospicio de Pobres of Mexico City. The Real Albergo dei Poveri was established in 1772 (nevertheless its construction started 30 years earlier), where a silk manufacture, the Real Opificio delle Sete (Royal Silk factory), was established in 1790 to exploit the workforce hosted in the institution. The Hospicio de Pobres of Mexico City was settled in 1774 hosting a textile (cotton and wool) manufacture. Both the institutions were established in the same period and under the same theoretical impulse. The idea was born within that broad process of cultural change and administrative reforms that took place all over Europe and, of course, in the Bourbon New Spain. The enthronement of Charles of Bourbon in the Kingdom of Naples and Sicily in 1734 and subsequently in the Kingdom of Spain (1759), and his hand in the administrative reform, could be considered the fil rouge of the research.*

**KEYWORDS:** *poor government; work organization; eighteenth century; Mexico City; Palermo.*

**PER CONTENERE E CONTROLLARE: ORGANIZZAZIONE DEL LAVORO E GOVERNO DEI POVERI NELL'HOSPICIO DE POBRES DI CITTÀ DEL MESSICO E NEL REAL ALBERGO DEI POVERI DI PALERMO NEL XVIII SECOLO**

**SOMMARIO:** *La ricerca mira a confrontare due diverse istituzioni: il Real Albergo dei Poveri di Palermo e l'Hospicio de Pobres di Città del Messico. Il Real Albergo dei Poveri fu fondato nel 1772 (anche se la sua costruzione iniziò 30 anni prima) e nel suo interno, nel 1790, fu impiantata una manifattura per la seta, il Real Opificio delle Sete, per sfruttare la forza lavoro ospitata nell'istituzione. L'Hospicio de Pobres di Città del Messico fu fondato nel 1774 e ospitava una manifattura tessile (cotone e lana) che impiegava la manodopera dei reclusi. Entrambe le istituzioni furono stabilite nello stesso periodo e sotto la medesima spinta teorica e politica. L'idea nacque all'interno di quel vasto processo di cambiamento culturale e di riforme amministrative che ebbe luogo in tutta Europa nel corso del XVIII secolo, con conseguenze anche sui territori coloniali. L'ascesa di Carlo di Borbone al trono di Napoli e di Sicilia nel 1734 e successivamente di Spagna (1759), possono essere considerati il filo conduttore della ricerca.*

**PAROLE CHIAVE:** *governo dei poveri; organizzazione del lavoro; XVIII secolo; Città del Messico; Palermo.*

### 1. Introduction

The Spanish and Neapolitan Bourbon Monarchies were involved in a huge reform process that passed through the accountability and control of the people in order to create a “rational state”. The poor hospices were one of such tools. The research aims to deepen the structure and organization of these two institutions based on a new management rationale that was adopted to run the work conducted within the hospices

\* Abbreviations: Agi: Archivo General de Indias, Seville; Agn: Archivo General de la Nación, Mexico City; Asp: Archivo di Stato di Palermo; Rsi: Real Segreteria, incartamenti.

and to extract labour power from inmates. In outlining the two hospices history, the research relies on the focus of labour process theory, more precisely that the organisation and performance of work involves a basic conflict of interest between capital and labour. Such conflict was regulated through an organisational growth and technological change that produced a technical control of the labour process<sup>1</sup>. At this stage, the managing of work was typified and dominated by new technical processes based on accountability which imposed more systematic and regular work activity. In this way, workers performances were systematically measured while discipline became more structured<sup>2</sup>.

The poor asylums and workhouses have been usually studied as tools of the disciplinary society generated by enlightenment and development of capitalism. For this reason the foucauldian approach is the main theoretical apparatus to understand and deepen the organization and structure of such disciplinary bodies. Furthermore, poor and work houses are also work places where work and capital interact. Work becomes the principal instrument of modelling “extra-social bodies” (poor, vagrants, insane, orphans, etc.) to the requisites of enlightened society and new mode of production based on a different organisation of time and space. This means that beyond the idea of disciplining in order to make the “others” accountable and acceptable by the society, it is important to consider the role played by the capitalist mode of production.

The research will focus on the labour process theory, specifically that the organisation and performance of work involves a conflict of interest between capital and labour while create value extracted by capitalist<sup>3</sup>. The idea is to test the theory not with an entrepreneurial case but with a hybrid case signified by two charities. The workhouses could represent a peculiar example of work extraction and organization outside typical capitalist institutions, providing clues to support the thesis that different models of capitalism may exist. The starting hypothesis is that government – which played a dominant role in XVIII century economic development – represents capital and legally expropriated work from convicts. Capital and labour – and consequently convicts and state – shared a wide number of relationships; between these the central one was their employment. Such relationship disclosed the dynamic of antagonism characteristic to all extraction of labour effort from labour power (the capacity of workers to produce).

<sup>1</sup> P.S. Adler, *The future of critical management studies: A Paleo-Marxist critique of Labour Process Theory*, «Organization Studies», vol. 28, n. 9, 2007, pp. 1313-1345.

<sup>2</sup> «Simple managerial control is increasingly replaced by bureaucratic control to coordinate production activities that are larger in scale and denser in interdependence», *ivi*, p. 1325.

<sup>3</sup> P. Thompson, *Adler's Theory of the Capitalist labour Process: A Pale(o) Imitation*, *ivi*, pp. 1359-1368.

## 2. The case studies

### *The Real Albergo dei Poveri of Palermo*

The idea of establishing a charitable institution to accommodate poor people in Palermo was originally proposed in 1733 during the last years of Austrian domination of Sicily<sup>4</sup>. Palermo, like other European cities already benefited of poor and destitute assistance since middle age. Ecclesiastical bodies or lay brotherhoods operated these structures, but they did not respond to any political plan except to the Christian duty of helping the needy. Moreover, these were small structures, often attached to churches or monasteries, capable of accommodating a few people.

The broad process of cultural change and administrative reforms that took place all over Europe – and, of course, in the Kingdom of Naples and Sicily too – with the Enlightenment, stimulated a new idea of poor assistance<sup>5</sup>. The enthronement of Charles of the House of Bourbon (1734), and his administrative reforms of the Kingdom, finally permitted the establishment of the institution in 1743 with the start of the building of the Real Albergo dei Poveri<sup>6</sup>. The works were completed in 1772 under the new king Ferdinand. There was a feeling that the state was changing to a sort of police state, focused on social control that clearly came to the fore, as it did in the rest of Europe<sup>7</sup>. However, it was certainly through the rules on pauperism and health control, on the other side, that the settlement of Real Albergo dei Poveri and its Real Opificio delle Sete (Royal Silk Manufacture) responded to the change that was taking place in the role and in the very meaning of the state in the eighteenth century<sup>8</sup>.

<sup>4</sup> L. Bianchini, *Della storia economico-civile di Sicilia. Libri due*, Stamperia Reale, Napoli, 1841; T. Dispenza, *I problemi della produzione e del commercio della seta in Sicilia e la Scuola pilota dell'Albergo dei Poveri di Palermo alla fine del Settecento*, «Atti dell'Accademia di Scienze Lettere e Arti in Palermo», n. 11, 1990, pp. 115-193.

<sup>5</sup> G. Giarrizzo, *Illuminismo*, in R. Romeo (Edit.), *Storia della Sicilia*, Società editrice per la Storia di Napoli e della Sicilia, Palermo, 1980; Id., *Sicilia e Napoli nel '700*, in *I Borbone di Napoli e i Borbone di Spagna*, Guida, Napoli, 1986; A. Di Gregorio, *V.E. Sergio: una versione siciliana del mercantilismo*, «Mediterranea. Ricerche Storiche», n. 5, 2008, pp. 317-350.

<sup>6</sup> L. Bianchini, *Della storia economico-civile di Sicilia* cit., libro II, p. 7.

<sup>7</sup> M. Foucault, *Discipline and Punish: the Birth of Prison*, Vintage Book, New York, 1979; D. Lazzarich, G. Borrelli, *I Borbone a San Leucio: un esperimento di polizia cristiana*, in A. Ascione, G. Cirillo and G.M. Piccinelli (eds), *Alle origini di Minerva Trionfante. Caserta e l'utopia di S. Leucio. La costruzione dei Siti Reali borbonici*, Ministero per i beni e le attività culturali, Roma, 2012, pp. 347-374.

<sup>8</sup> M. Garbellotti, *Per carità. Poveri e politiche assistenziali nell'Italia moderna*, Carocci, Roma, 2013.

### *The Hospicio de Pobres of Mexico City*

The creation of Mexico City Poor House coincides with the start of the reformist policies of the Bourbon monarchy of Spain. The idea of rationalizing the administration of the state by overcoming an inadequate organization of the Ancien Regime now involved many aspects of public life both in the motherland and in the viceroyalty. As in the case of Palermo, even the Bourbons of Spain had a very clear model of a productive and well-ordered society, certainly more responsive to the economic transformations that were characterizing the eighteenth century. In this sense, the philanthropy that had always characterized the welfare activity in Europe had to be combined with a disciplinary mechanism. Mexico City and all greatest cities of Spanish America, since their foundation, benefited from presence of hospitals – settled by religious orders or by noblemen – that had the twofold duty of health assistance and poor relief. However, even in these cases, these were small and non-specialized structures closer to the model of a medieval hospital than of a modern hospice or workhouse.

Therefore, the new institution had at the same time to help the poor, repress poverty and prevent it, overcoming a model that, in the past, had largely superimposed assistance and care. During the second half of the eighteenth century, in Mexico City were established four new welfare / disciplinary institutions<sup>9</sup>. Two ecclesiastics turned, above all to the assistance of disadvantaged social groups such as orphans and single mothers and two lay the Poor House and the Monte de Piedad (Pawn Shop)<sup>10</sup>. The entire project was based on the consideration that education and work were the essential elements for the economic and social progress of the country. In some ways, the regulation of the poorer classes – often composed by vagabonds, beggars, and individuals from rural areas – reflected and referred to the transformations of the world of work<sup>11</sup>. In this context, the traditional mode of artisanal production based on uncertainty of production times and contiguity of space with non-productive activities was gradually but inexorably supplanted by the production

<sup>9</sup> S.M. Arrom, *Containing the poor. The Mexico City Poor House, 1774-1871*, Duke University Press, Durham, 2000, pp. 14-21.

<sup>10</sup> J. Abadiano, *Establecimientos de beneficencia: apuntes sobre su origen y relación de los actos de su junta directiva*, Imprenta de la Escuela de Artes y Oficios, Mexico City, 1878; D.S. Chandler, *Social Assistance and Bureaucratic Politics. The Montepiós of Colonial Mexico 1767-1821*, University of New Mexico Press, Albuquerque, 1991.

<sup>11</sup> M. Gonzalez Navarro, *La pobreza en Mexico*, El Colegio de México, Mexico City, 1985; M.C. Scardaville, *(Hapsburg) law and (Bourbon) order: State Authority, Popular Unrest, and the Criminal Justice System in Bourbon Mexico City*, «The Americas», vol. 50, n. 4, 1994, pp. 501-525.

model of the factory based on the certainty of production times, work discipline and separation of spaces<sup>12</sup>.

The Poor House settlement started from the philanthropic activity of the chapel master of the Cathedral of Mexico City Fernando Ortiz Cortés who, in 1760, proposed to the viceroy Joaquin de Montserrat Marquis de Cruillas the foundation of the institute<sup>13</sup>. The figure of Ortiz Cortés is emblematic for Poor House since the canon spent his whole life erecting the institute and equipping it with resources necessary for the functioning. Only in 1763, Ortiz Cortés managed to purchase land near the Concepcion Convent in Mexico City and begin building what was to become the Poor House. In April 1764, Ortiz Cortés submitted to Charles III the request for the approval and the royal protection of the institute without however succeeding in obtaining it before his death which occurred in 1767<sup>14</sup>. The works were completed by the ecclesiastical Don Andres Ambrosio Llanos y Valdés canon of the metropolitan cathedral, which, in succession to Ortiz Cortés, also lavished part of its personal heritage to complete the building<sup>15</sup>.

The Poor House was completed and inaugurated on 19th March 1774 while the direction was assumed by the same patron Llanos y Valdés<sup>16</sup>. It is interesting to note that at the time of its foundation, according to the ideas of the two founders, the Poor House was born as a shelter for the poor and vagabonds, with the possibility for the needy to enter and exit freely, thus interpreting the dictates of Catholic doctrine. However, very soon, with the entry of the state into the management of the institution, the Poor House would have become an instrument for forced labour, "labour indoctrination" (based on tasks skills and time and space regulations) and imprisonment, with the idea of detaining and rehabilitating the poor and vagabonds<sup>17</sup>.

<sup>12</sup> P. Miller, N. Rose, *Governing economic life*, «Economy and Society», vol. 19, n. 1, 1990, pp. 1-31; E. P. Thompson, *Time, Work-Discipline and Industrial Capitalism*, «Past & Present», n. 38, 1967, pp. 56-97.

<sup>13</sup> S.M. Arrom, *Containing the poor. The Mexico City Poor House* cit., pp. 43-45.

<sup>14</sup> Agn, *Cédulas Reales*, vol. 108; vol. 87, exp. 4.

<sup>15</sup> S.M. Arrom, *Containing the poor. The Mexico City Poor House* cit., p. 44.

<sup>16</sup> Agn, *Cédulas Reales*, vol. 108, exp. 81; Agn, *Bandos*, vol. 10, Exp. 18.

<sup>17</sup> S.M. Arrom, *¿De la caridad a la beneficencia? Las reformas de la asistencia pública desde la perspectiva del Hospicio de Pobres de la Ciudad de Mexico, 1856-1871*, in C. Illares and A. Rodríguez (edits.), *Ciudad de Mexico: instituciones, adores sociales y conflicto político, 1774 - 1931*, El Colegio de Michoacan and UAM, Mexico, 1997, pp. 21-53.

Table 1. *Mexico City Poor House inmates (1774-1803)*

Year	Total inmates	Women (%)	Children (%)
1774	292	38	11
1777	650	n.a.	n.a.
1780	644	44	16
1781	780	n.a.	n.a.
1782	568	37	15
1790	910	n.a.	19
1793	777	n.a.	19
1794	743	n.a.	18
1795	820	46	21
1801	464	49	23
1802	609	51	27
1803	555	57	20
<b>Average for the period</b>	<b>651</b>	<b>46</b>	<b>18,9</b>

Source: S.M. Arrom, *Containing the poor. The Mexico City Poor House cit.*, p. 289.

As soon as it was inaugurated, the facility immediately hosted 292 inmates of whom 38% were women and 11% children, as evidenced by table 1. This number grew immediately both for the work of "mopping up" of vagabonds and the poor, made in the city, and for the voluntary access to the structure by numerous poor people who preferred imprisonment – which offered, in the face of some restrictions, a safe roof, food and assistance – to wandering. There was no racial purpose in the settlement of Poor House, considering that the inmates were either of Spanish or European origin either natives (*indios*). In 1777 the number of inmates had risen to 650, to reach the remarkable peak of 910 in 1790. With these numbers the institution quickly reached the saturation of its capacity for assistance and hospitality.

### 3. Structure and organization

#### *The Real Albergo dei Poveri of Palermo*

Efficient management of the Real Albergo dei Poveri and its silk factory was going to be critical to its success. The management of the Albergo needed to mediate between a social and entrepreneurial purpose, between a good health and living standard and the financial constraints imposed by the tight control of the Royal Secretary of State, in line with the previous studies<sup>18</sup>. Due to these double

<sup>18</sup> R. Rossi, *Poor government and work organisation in the Real Albergo dei poveri of Palermo: a bio-political experiment in bourbon-sicily (eighteenth–nineteenth centuries)*, «De Computis - Revista Española de Historia de la Contabilidad», vol. 15, n. 1, 2018, pp. 51-73;

purposes, the balance sheets stressed the main items relative to the nourishment of the inmates and the costs of silk manufacturing (to which the prisoners were attached). On the other side, the income list was clearly designed to deal with public funding institutions. According to the original rules, the Real Albergo dei Poveri had an income of its own through the sale of silk items, but the institution was dependent on public funding, as shown in Table 2.

Table 2. *Real Albergo dei Poveri: sources of funding (1791)*

<b>Funder</b>	<b>Sicilian Onze</b>
Ospedale Grande e Nuovo of Palermo (main hospital of the city)	29
Bequest of Prince of Pantelleria	218.12
Bequest of Elisabetta Requisens Campo by means of Baldassarre Conti	155.10
Bequest of Fabrizio lo Guasto	166.27
Suppressed Society of Jesus Administration fund (Messina branch)	280
Suppressed Society of Jesus Administration fund (Palermo branch)	1000
Suppressed Inquisition Office	1100
Royal administration	437
<b>Total</b>	<b>3385.49</b>

Source: Asp, Rsi, f. 5272 and R. Rossi, *Poor government and work organisation in the Real Albergo dei poveri of Palermo* cit.

Table 2 indicates that almost all funding came from public sources, with a small private funding of 539.49 Sicilian onze coming from the bequests of Sicilian nobles. Meanwhile, a small amount came from the Ospedale Grande e Nuovo, the most important and rich hospital in Palermo. The result was that the Real Albergo dei Poveri revenues came from three main sources:

- (1) Variable fees (stated yearly), paid by public institutions (Royal administration).
- (2) Bequests and donations.
- (3) Variable fees (stated yearly), paid by local institution (hospital).

C. Cordery, R.F. Baskerville, *Charity Financial Reporting Regulation: A Comparative Study of the UK and New Zealand*, «Accounting History», vol. 12, n. 1, 2007, pp. 7-27; A.G. Hopwood, P. Miller, *Accounting as social and institutional practice*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 1994; A.G. Hopwood, *The Archaeology of Accounting Systems*, «Accounting Organizations and Society», vol. 12, n. 3, 1987, pp. 207-234.

The variety of sources of funding meant that collecting the money was not easy. Revenues from public funding originated in the liquidation of the huge patrimony of the Society of Jesus (suppressed in 1767), whose rents on lands and buildings constituted one of the biggest sources of wealth in Sicily<sup>19</sup>. Furthermore, the suppression (in 1782) and liquidation of Santo Uffizio (the Inquisition) released a lot of resources employed by the Crown in different activities related to health assistance and poor relief<sup>20</sup>. The operating costs of Real Albergo dei Poveri are summarized in table 3.

Table 3. *Other expenses of Real Albergo dei Poveri of Palermo (1811)*

<b>Different costs for inmates</b>	
<b>Item</b>	<b>Sicilian onze</b>
For the Church	50
For infirmary	380
Clothing and linen	1000
Nourishment	3192
<b>Total</b>	<b>4622</b>

<b>Administrative expenses</b>	
<b>Item</b>	<b>Sicilian onze</b>
Taxes	70
Wages of administrative personnel	190
Wages of inmate workers	508
5% tax	384
Lawsuit expenses	60
Different expenses	240
Different contributions (tips, donations, etc.)	44
<b>Total</b>	<b>1496</b>

Source: Asp, Rsi, f. 5272.

The main variable cost items depended on each hosted girl's daily meals, details of which are reported in Table 4. The orphans did not have a 'standard' diet but looking at the nourishment budget we can see that there would be a differentiated diet based on wheat, pasta, meat and cheese. The result is that the bodies were well assisted and maintained, and the variety of items included in the nourishment budget show us how the nutrition proposed for orphan girl was, on

<sup>19</sup> R. Rossi, *Poor government and work organisation in the Real Albergo dei poveri of Palermo* cit., p. 65.

<sup>20</sup> F. Renda, *Bernardo Tanucci e i beni dei Gesuiti in Sicilia*, Edizioni di Storia e Letteratura, Roma, 1974.

average, better than that of peasants at the same time<sup>21</sup>. The idea of ruling the bodies by food is deeply analysed in Michel Foucault's studies and a similar approach was widely adopted all over Europe after the seventeenth century. A cost sheet, with details of the fabrics, clothes and linen used at the institute, was enclosed with the main budget and was based on yearly consumption<sup>22</sup>.

Table 4. *Nourishment annual budget of the whole Real Albergo dei Poveri of Palermo (1811)*

<b>Item</b>	<b>Sicilian onze</b>
Wheat	360
Wood for heating	219.28
Wheat flour	174.3
Fresh fish	223.17
Wine	270.20
Vinegar	52.12
Beans	78.8
Lentils	35.1
Chickpeas	6.2
Charcoal	74.24
Oil	160
Meat	608.20
Cheese	112.7
Broad beans	13.14
Codfish	15.2
Salted olives	2.18
Salad	52
Pumpkins	20
Pasta	786.29
<b>Total for nourishment</b>	<b>3192.12</b>

Source: Asp, Rsi, f. 5272 and R. Rossi, *Poor government and work organisation in the Real Albergo dei poveri of Palermo* cit.

The government of space had a fundamental role in discipline bodies follow Bentham's *Panopticon* and Michel Foucault interpretation<sup>23</sup>. However, beyond the disciplinary aspects, space management is an

<sup>21</sup> P. Malanima, *Cibo e povertà nell'Italia del Sette e Ottocento*, «Rises, Ricerche di Storia Economica e Sociale», voll. 1-2, 2015, pp. 15-39.

<sup>22</sup> Asp, Rsi, f. 5272.

<sup>23</sup> M. Foucault, *Discipline and Punish: The Birth of the Prison*, Vintage Books, New York, 1995, pp. 20 e sgg.





### *The Mexico City Poor House*

The organization of the Mexican institution is drawn, in addition to the will of the founder Fernando Ortiz Cortés, from the two *cedulas* (bills) of 1776 by the sovereign Charles III of Spain and the following year by the viceroy Antonio de Bucareli y Ursúa. According to these documents, the administration of the Poor House was submitted to the Real Junta of the Hospicio de Pobres presided by the viceroy and composed of 7 members<sup>26</sup>.

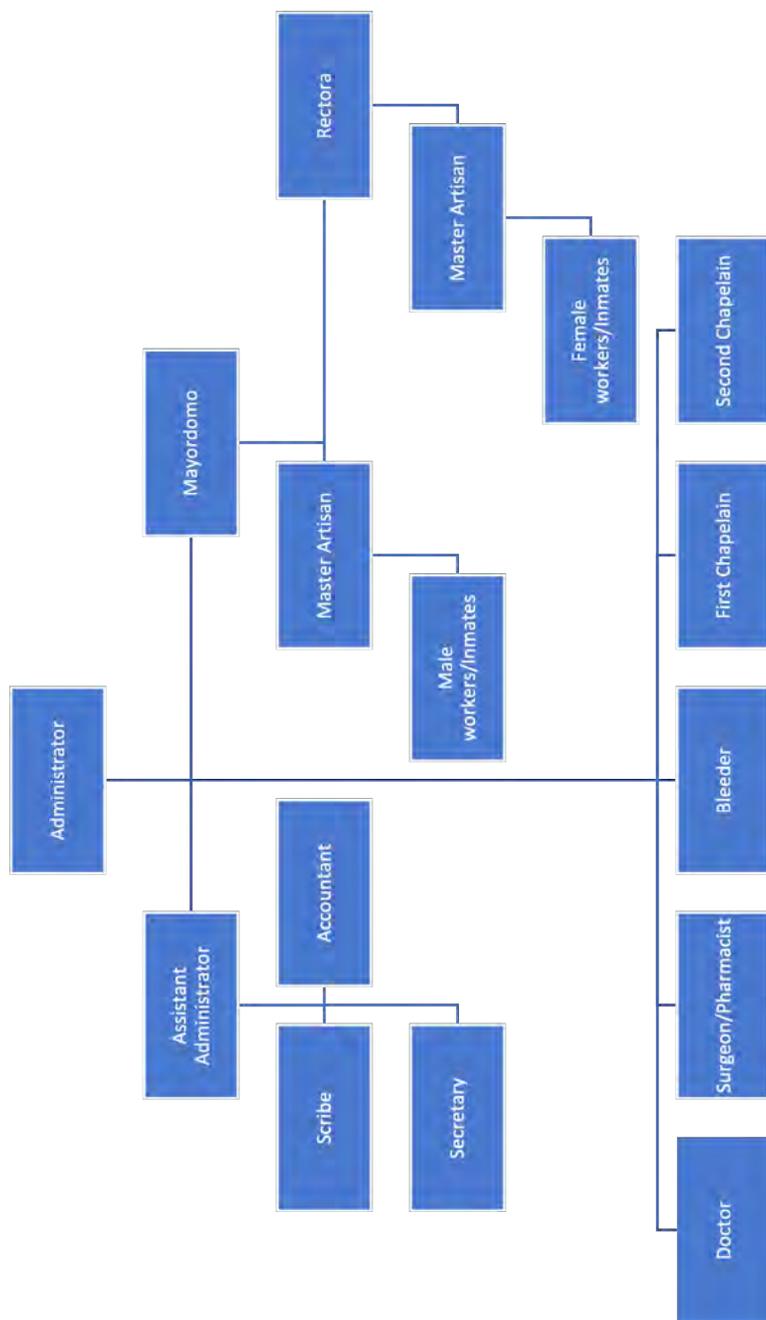
The organizational structure shown in figure 1 demonstrates the administrative complexity of the Poor House and the rigid hierarchical structure that submitted to the administrator the direct control of the two main branches into which the institution was divided. An assistant administrator who referred to the scribe, an accountant and the secretariat coordinated the administrative part. On the other hand, the inmates were controlled and organized by the mayordomo who supervised all the activities of the prisoners and responded directly to the administrator. Specialized artisans (master artisans) coordinated the work activities of the inmates<sup>27</sup>. The prisoners were divided by sex and this separation is also recognized in the dual organizational structure. The *rectora* was the superintendent of poor inmates and she also coordinated their work through a master artisan. The organization also included a doctor, a surgeon pharmacist, a doctor and two chaplains. The chaplains held an important position in the Poor House hierarchy, since religious indoctrination was also considered by secular power as an indispensable tool for the control and re-education of prisoners<sup>28</sup>.

<sup>26</sup> Agi, Audiencia de Mexico, vol. 2791, exp. 16<sup>a</sup>, *Expediente relativo a la fundación en México de un hospicio*, 1797.

<sup>27</sup> The centralized organization of work, however, was not a prerogative of the Poor Hospice. Since the seventeenth century, in Mexico there were widespread *obrajes*, textile manufactures (wool and cotton) of private or public property that revolved around a hierarchical organization of work and its division between production phases. Among the abundant existing bibliography see: R. Salvucci, *Textiles and Capitalism in Mexico: An Economic History of the Obrajes, 1539-1840*, Princeton University Press, 1987; M. Miño Grijalva, *Obrajes y Tejedores De Nueva España 1700-1810: La Industria Urbana y Rural En Una Economía Colonial*, 1st ed., Colegio De Mexico, 1998; J. Tutino, *Making a New World Founding Capitalism in the Bajío and Spanish North America*, Duke University Press, Durham, 2011.

<sup>28</sup> S.M. Arrom, *Containing the poor. The Mexico City Poor House* cit. p. 66; M.C. Sacristan, *Locura y disidencia en el México ilustrado*, El Colegio de Michoacan and Instituto Mora, Zamora, 1994, pp. 107-113.

Figure 3. *Mexico City Poor House organization diagram*



Source: Agn, Bandos, vol. 10, Exp. 18.

Table 5. *Mexico City Poor House. Annual expenses 1803 (in pesos)*

<b>Expenses</b>	
Food	17.590
Medicine	1.221
Salaries	3.667
Inmate wages	869
Divine cult	335
Administration	98
Supplies	6.855
Clothing for inmates	285
Tools	1.082
Building maintenance	3.020
<b>Total</b>	<b>35.022</b>

Source: Agn, *Historia*, vol. 44, *Estado del Real Hospicio de Pobres de Mexico en 31 de diciembre de 1803*.

Table 5 highlights the main expenses incurred by Mexico City Poor House. The largest expense item was food for inmates equal to 50% of the total, followed by supplies (both for Poor House operation and raw materials for the workhouse operation) equal to 19% of the total, while the salaries of service staff of 3,667 pesos were about 10% of the total. The cost items related to the purchase of drugs and clothing testify to the institution's original caregiving vocation. Wages paid to inmates of 869 pesos represent only 2.4% of the total expenses faced by Poor House.

Nutrition constitutes with the work the main element on which the discipline of bodies is based, which according to Foucault – as seen for Palermo's case – is the basis of the biopolitical approach with which the Enlightenment society tried to model itself by overcoming the structure of the *ancien régime*<sup>29</sup>. For this reason, like the prison, the hospital or the factory, even the institutions of education and imprisonment for the poor combined the necessary work with the regulation of food to ensure control of the body<sup>30</sup>. Table 6 reports the diet prescribed by the *Ordenanzas para el gobierno of the Real Hospicio de Pobres de la Ciudad de Mexico*, approved by Charles III of Spain in 1776<sup>31</sup>.

<sup>29</sup> M. Foucault, *Discipline and Punish: The Birth of the Prison* cit., pp. 16-17; V. Lemm, M. Vatter, *The Government of Life: Foucault, Biopolitics, and Neoliberalism*, Fordham University Press, New York, 2014, pp. 24-27.

<sup>30</sup> M. Foucault, *The Birth of the Clinic*, Routledge, London, 2003, pp. 142-143.

<sup>31</sup> Agn, *Bandos*, vol. 10, Exp. 18.

Table 6. *Synopsis of Mexico City Poor House daily food ration*

<b>Meal</b>	<b>Description</b>
Breakfast	Chocolate with <i>atole</i> (corn beverage) and sugar; ½ pound of bread
Lunch (regular)	8 ounces of meat; 1 pound of bread
Dinner (regular)	8 ounces of meat; ½ pound of bread
Lunch (Lent)	Peas, Beans lentils
Lunch (religious holidays)	Extra meat or fried shrimps or eggs and sweet rice with milk.

1 ounce = 28, 755 g.; 1 Pound = 460 g.

Source: Agn, *Bandos*, vol. 10, Exp. 18.

The scheme clearly shows the richness of the diet, compared to the constraints to which the vagabonds and the humblest parts of the urban population were subjected. The diet was based on a mix of carbohydrates and proteins with a substantial amount of meat, well above what a member of the urban proletariat could afford. This further explains the large influx of volunteer inmates who chose the rigors of the Poor House discipline for insured meals and accommodation<sup>32</sup>.

Table 7. *Mexico City Poor House. Sources of funding 1803 (in pesos)*

<b>Income</b>	
Royal Lottery	12.000
Tablas de carniceria	2.500
Interests income	2.817
Rental (from 2 houses)	926
Funeral attendance	2.100
Sale of cloth	951
Zuñiga's estate	1.300
Zuñiga for infirmary	3.020
Regular pledges	3.317
Pensions	934
Alms	500
<b>Total</b>	<b>30365</b>
<b>Difference (positive)</b>	<b>4657</b>

Source: Agn, *Historia*, vol. 44, *Estado del Real Hospicio de Pobres de Mexico en 31 de diciembre de 1803*.

<sup>32</sup> S.M. Arrom, *Containing the poor. The Mexico City Poor House* cit., pp. 89-92.

On the revenue side (table 7), the greater sum, beyond the initial donation of the founder Ortiz Cortés, necessary for the building of the institute, is to be ascribed to the revenues generated by the Royal Lottery. The problem of financing the institution was revealed immediately at the time of the beginning of the assistance activities. However, in the ideas of Fernando Ortiz Cortés the Poor House should have supported itself thanks to the proceeds generated by the manufacturing activity carried out by the inmates, the huge construction and set-up costs together with those to ensure the necessary equipment for the operation, made this way unsatisfactory. The profits generated for the sale of clothes produced inside the Poor House by the inmates, for 1803 amounted to 951 pesos, just 3% of the incomes, participation in funerals (2,100 pesos), for which especially children were required, was much more remunerative. Right from the start, the Crown did not want to commit itself financially to the institution, while maintaining control over it. The administrative-financial model that emerged from the original idea and was modified by the authorization bills was based on a structure in which the financing came from private individuals and the church, while the administration was guaranteed by the crown (through the viceroy) and by the chapter of the Cathedral.

Despite these premises, the financial difficulties immediately threatened the functioning of the Poor House. In 1782, after much pressure from the administrators and the viceroy Martin de Mayorga, the sovereign granted an endowment to the Poor House constituted by a part of the proceeds of the Royal Lottery (equal to 2.5% on each ticket sold) for an amount of about 12,000 annual pesos. Later, some revenues previously belonging to the Society of Jesus were also attributed to the Mexico City Poor House<sup>33</sup>.

Table 8 lists the annual salaries paid by Mexico City Poor House in 1803 to administrative and service personnel. It is interesting to note that the salary received by the administrator represented about 26% of the total wages and that of the first chapel was 13%. The master artisan, who had the task of verifying the work done by the inmates (it was generally a skilled artisan), was paid through the only housing within the institution, without providing for a specific salary. The structure of wages denotes with sufficient clarity the prevalence of public and ecclesiastical power within Poor House, where members appointed by the viceroy and the Cathedral Chapter held the two key roles<sup>34</sup>.

<sup>33</sup> S.M. Arrom, *Containing the poor. The Mexico City Poor House* cit., pp. 107-115; J. Abadiano, *Establecimientos de beneficencia: apuntes sobre su origen* cit., pp. 27-31.

<sup>34</sup> Agi, Audiencia de México, 2791, exp. 8, *Expediente relativo a la fundación en México de un hospicio*, 1797.

Table 8. *Mexico City Poor House annual salaries. 1803 (in pesos)*

Administrator	1.000
First Chapelain	500
Second Chapelain	400
Assistant Administrator	556
Mayordomo	300
Rectora	160
Master Artisan	lodgement
Surgeon/Pharmacist	300
Doctor	180
Bleeder	96
Secretary	200
Scribe	50
Accountant	50
<b>Total</b>	<b>3.792</b>

Source: Agi, Audiencia de México, 2791, exp. 8, *Expediente relativo a la fundación en México de un hospicio, 1797*; Agn, *Historia*, vol. 44, *Estado del Real Hospicio de Pobres de Mexico en 31 de diciembre de 1803*.

#### 4. The Work discipline

The way work was controlled at both Real Albergo dei Poveri and Mexico City Poor House reflected the fundamental interests of the management in a capitalist economy that is, to extract labour from labour power. The degree of control is a direct variable of negotiating power of management and workers and by their strategies and expectations<sup>35</sup>. It is not easy to quantify precisely the level of bargaining power of imprisoned workers, due to persistence of working rules, religious prescriptions and social conventions. However is conceivable that the inmates possessed a certain amount of negotiating power. Free and un-free work lived together in such institutions. The control system, therefore, was a necessary tool to extract labour use from them<sup>36</sup>.

The pursuit of control was mainly based on disciplinary power involving accounting tools, separation and coding<sup>37</sup>. Reclusion was based on the separation of individuals from the rest of the world to

<sup>35</sup> P.S. Adler, *The future of critical management studies* cit., pp. 1325-1329.

<sup>36</sup> A. Caracausi, *Mesurer Et Contrôler. Les Temps de l'organisation du Travail dans les Manufactures de Laine de Padoue (XVIe-XVIIe Siècles)*, «Genèses», vol. 4, 2011, pp. 6-26.

<sup>37</sup> M. Foucault, *Discipline and Punish: the Birth of Prison* cit.

neutralise thefts, interruptions of work and disturbances<sup>38</sup>. However, reclusion alone was not enough to reach all disciplinary areas. The separation of the space allowed the identification of individuals as a function of the occupied space<sup>39</sup>. Finally, coding allowed the classification of individuals to generate «calculable persons in calculable space»<sup>40</sup>. In this sense, the “statisticalisation” of inmates was the key tool to facilitate the observation of workers and the quality of their work, admitting comparison and classification<sup>41</sup>.

### *The Real Albergo dei Poveri of Palermo*

The administrative organisation of the Real Albergo tasked three deputies appointed by the General Lieutenant of the King and a Royal Delegate (administrative superintendent), that responded directly to the King, with overseeing all factory management decisions<sup>42</sup>.

The three deputies coordinated the activity of the silk factory that was settled within the Real Albergo. The technical direction of the plant was assigned to an expert manager (a silk producer), while the single production functions were supervised by specific controllers, as reported in figure 2<sup>43</sup>. It is important to remember that control system had a twofold purpose: re-education of (a)social people and, meanwhile, extract labour from labour power valorising the job process. The technical school for spooling and weaving settled within the Real Albergo was the tool to implement the control on inmates (by education discipline) and to valorise the work by technical education.

The inmates both male and female (as the *projetta*: female orphans) hosted in Real Albergo dei Poveri were obliged to work within the Real Opificio delle Sete<sup>44</sup>. Obviously, work would have been the pivotal

<sup>38</sup> S. Carmona, F. Gutierrez, *Outsourcing as compassion? The case of cigarette manufacturing by poor Catholic nuns (1817–1819)*, «Critical Perspectives on Accounting», vol. 16, n. 7, 2005, pp. 875–903.

<sup>39</sup> N. Macintosh, *Accounting, accountants, and accountability: poststructuralist positions*, Routledge, London, 2002.

<sup>40</sup> P. Miller, T. O’Leary, *Accounting and the Construction of the Governable Person*, «Accounting, Organizations and Society», vol. 12, n. 3, 1987, p. 239.

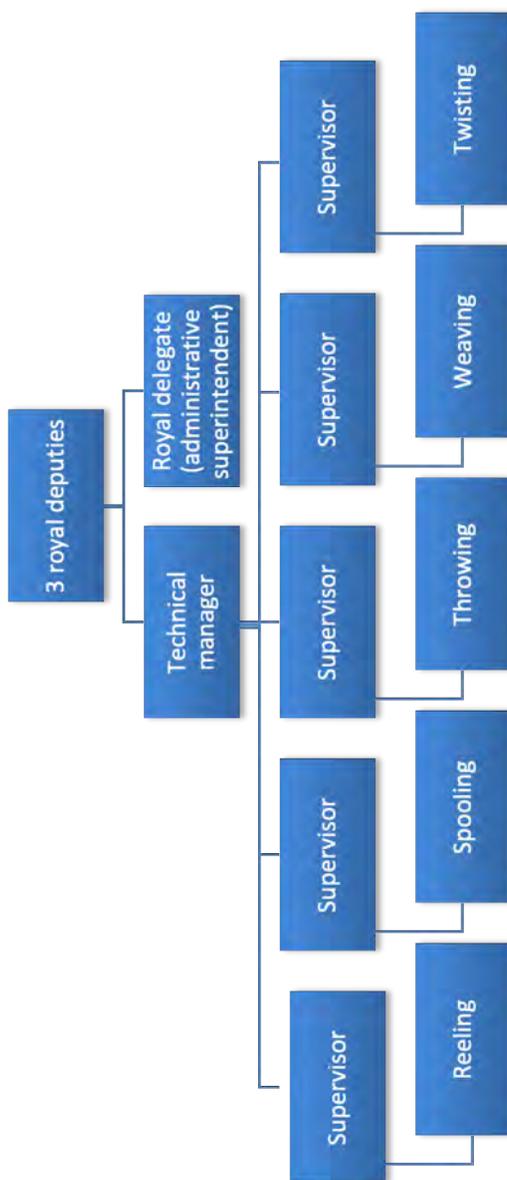
<sup>41</sup> K. Hoskin, R. Macve, *Accounting and the Examination: A Genealogy of Disciplinary Power*, «Accounting, Organizations and Society», vol. 11, n. 2, 1986, pp. 105–136; Id., *The Genesis of Accountability: The West Point Connections*, Accounting, «Organizations and Society», vol. 13, n. 1, 1988, pp. 37–73.

<sup>42</sup> Asp, Rsi, vol. 5271.

<sup>43</sup> Asp, Rsi, vol. 5272; R. Rossi, *Poor government and work organisation in the Real Albergo dei poveri of Palermo* cit., pp. 57–59.

<sup>44</sup> T. Dispenza, *I problemi della produzione e del commercio della seta in Sicilia e la Scuola pilota dell’Albergo dei Poveri di Palermo alla fine del Settecento* cit., pp. 115–193.

Figure 4. Organisation chart of the Royal silk Factory within Real Albergo dei Poveri



Source: R. Rossi, *Poor government and work organisation in the Real Albergo dei poveri of Palermo* cit., p. 59.

factor in the re-education and qualification of inmates – considered not integrated within the society due to their orphanancy and poverty – making them acceptable<sup>45</sup>. The silk manufacturing model was strengthened and legitimised by some internal regulations<sup>46</sup>. Accounts were opened in the name of spoolers, reelers, twisters and weavers to control them and measure their costs. The accounts reported the worker's name and surname, the number of days worked in a month by each orphan girl employed in the factory, and the wage paid. Table 9 is a summary of the aggregate data stated in the detailed accounting sheets<sup>47</sup>.

The workers' performance within the Real Albergo was meticulously monitored, aiming to control factory work. Moreover, there was an ex-post control too based on the comparison of results and objectives<sup>48</sup>. If, on a micro scale, accounting consists of «instruments that render visible, record, differentiate and compare»<sup>49</sup>, then labour accounting in the factory, a tool that allows «the construction of an individual person as a more manageable and efficient entity», enabled the General Superintendent to monitor each individual performance (table 9)<sup>50</sup>.

Table 9. *Orphan girls employed in Real Opificio delle Sete: monthly working days and wages (July 1801)*

<b>Production process and number of workers</b>	<b>Number of working days (monthly verage)</b>	<b>Wage (average in Sicilian onze)</b>
Reeling		
35	18.6	9.17
Spooling		
7	17.8	7.6
Weaving		
13	13.7	7.5
Throwing		
8	15.25	7.5
Twisting		
13	16.7	7.16

Source: Asp, Rsi, f. 5272.

<sup>45</sup> M. Battaglini, *L'esperimento di San Leucio tra paternalismo e illuminismo*, Edizioni Lavoro, Roma, 1983.

<sup>46</sup> Asp, Rsi, voll. 5271, 5272.

<sup>47</sup> R. Rossi, *Poor government and work organisation in the Real Albergo dei poveri of Palermo* cit., p. 62.

<sup>48</sup> Asp, Rsi, vol. 5272.

<sup>49</sup> M. Foucault, *Discipline and Punish: The Birth of Prison* cit., p. 208.

<sup>50</sup> P. Miller, T. O'Leary, *Accounting and the Construction of the Governable Person* cit., p. 235.

Differently from coeval cases, as private manufacturers or workshops, the accountability of work is not focused on the quantity of produced items but rather on the time worked. Productivity of work or quantity produced is a typical profit-oriented measurement. The governmentality frame could explain how the accounting of workers is a specific tool to control people and their space of movement independently from the discourse of the institution<sup>51</sup>.

The workers were differentiated by role in order to implement control over a single production stage that represented a specific space and time within the factory<sup>52</sup>. Furthermore, the work was organised on the basis of a few statements that regulated the basic functions of hospice and its inmates, as reported by the following table 10.

Table 10. *Synopsis of Real Opificio delle Sete regulations (1790)*

<b>Type of rule</b>	<b>Brief description of rule</b>
Social	Every hosted orphan is subject to the rector of Real Albergo dei Poveri
Social	Every hosted orphan girl must go out only in company with a next of kin well known to the superintendent
Social	Must pray together every evening
Social	Must attend a service every Sunday and holidays
Social	Must confess every first Sunday of the month
Industrial	The work of the silk factory is organised by the factory manager
Industrial	All warehouses and production plants will be closed from 4.00 am to dawn
Industrial	The factory manager will reward the best worker

Source: Asp, Rsi, f. 5271.

The regulations were especially directed on everyday life of the inmates of the Real Albergo, still considering religion and spirituality to control their social behaviour. On the other hand, tight control on the external life was conducted by means of the limited possibilities of

<sup>51</sup> J.B. Baños Sánchez-Matamoros, F. Gutiérrez, E.C. Álvarez-Dardet, F.F. Carrasco, *Govern(mentality) and Accounting: The Influence of Different Enlightenment Discourses in Two Spanish Cases (1761–1777)*, «Abacus», vol. 41, n. 2, 2005, pp. 181-210.

<sup>52</sup> R. Rossi, *Poor government and work organisation in the Real Albergo dei poveri of Palermo* cit., p. 61.

going out from the Real Albergo. The rules of the institution precisely divided the social from productive activities of the inmates. The rector of the Real Albergo dei Poveri only had authority over the internal life of the girls (within the Real Albergo), while the general manager supervised the productive organisation of the silk factory<sup>53</sup>.

The work discipline and control within the Real Albergo dei Poveri and its silk factory was based on accountability that distinguishes a regime of government. This tool makes visible some objects (the poor inmates) and obscures others<sup>54</sup>.

### *The Mexico City Poor House*

Work within the Poor House was divided into two main activities. On the one hand there was the work that the inmates had to provide for the institution (maintenance, cleaning, cooking, storage, etc.) on the other there were the productive activities established within the structure (carding, spinning and weaving of wool and cotton) to which the inmates could be destined<sup>55</sup>. Both types of work activities were remunerated, thus configuring paid but forced work, since it was a mandatory activity.

Table 11. *Mexico City Poor House. Salaries paid to inmates for in-house positions (1803) (in pesos)*

NUMBER	POSITION	ANNUAL WAGE (IN PESOS)
	<b>Male workers</b>	
1	Portero (main gatekeeper)	96
1	Portero (patio gatekeeper)	72
1	pantryman	96
1	Nurse	96
1	Cook	96
1	Master Artisan	96
1	Barber	96
2	Celadores (supervisor)	96
1	Refectolero (meals server)	72
9	Office assistant	48

<sup>53</sup> Asp, Rsi, vol. 5498.

<sup>54</sup> M. Dean, *Governmentality: Power and Rule in Modern Society*, 2nd ed., Sage, London, 2010.

<sup>55</sup> S.M. Arrom, *Containing the poor. The Mexico City Poor House* cit., p. 95.

	<b>Female workers</b>	
1	President	96
1	Portera	72
4	Atoleras (who makes <i>atole</i> , a corn beverage)	72
3	Laundress	48
2	Catechism instructors	48
2	Patio supervisors	48
2	Refectoleras (meals server)	48
1	Nurse	72
3	Nurse's assistant	36
1	Cook	72
3	Cook's assistant	36
	<b>Male workers</b>	<b>Daily wage (in reales)</b>
2	Carpenters	4
2	Masons	4
2	Peons	3
<b>49</b>	<b>Total employed</b>	

Source: S.M. Arrom, *Containing the poor. The Mexico City Poor House* cit., p. 95.

Table 11 shows the number and salary of the inmates used for activities within the Poor House. The total of 49 employed persons is far below the average number of inmates that was around 651 units in the period 1774-1803<sup>56</sup>. For this reason, the internal activities alone were not enough to employ all and this resulted in an evident lack of one of the fundamental pillars of the rehabilitative and control system constituted by the Poor House. Shortly after the establishment of the institute, the Junta of Hospicio de Pobres posed the problem of increasing work activities trying to absorb a greater quantity of inmates<sup>57</sup>.

<sup>56</sup> Agn, *Historia*, vol. 44, *Estado del Real Hospicio de Pobres de Mexico en 31 de diciembre de 1803*.

<sup>57</sup> Agn, *Bandos*, vol. 22, *Prospecto de la nueva forma de gobierno político y económico del Hospicio de Pobres de esta capital*, 1806.

Table 12. Synopsis of *Mexico City Poor House* regulations (1777)

<b>Type of rule</b>	<b>Brief description of rule</b>
Social	Every hosted inmate is subject to the administrator of Poor House
Social	Every inmate must be recorded on a book with his/her name, sex, age, origin, skills, physical aspect
Social	Every inmate must wear the uniform (composed by: trousers, shirt and coat) with Poor House distinctive emblem
Social	Every inmate according to his/her ability must be assigned to a job (weaving cotton and wool for men; spinning wool, cotton or silk and sewing for women)
Social	Every inmate must go out only with a special authorization of the administrator
Social	Must attend a service every day in the morning and evening
Social	Regularly married inmates can live together and not be separated like the others
Social	Children (both male and female) must learn to read and write
Industrial	The work of the textile factory is organised by the master artisan and oversaw by the <i>mayordomo</i>
Industrial	The work hour is from 7.30 (6.30 during summer) to 11.30 and from 14.00 to 18.00
Industrial	The children must learn the workmanship of wool and cotton

Source: Agn, *Bandos*, vol. 10, Exp. 18.

As the Palermo case, the rules of Mexico City Poor House were mainly focused on the regulation of everyday life of the inmates (table 12). An important part of such control is exercised by the distribution of time and space; every work task or function was articulated in time slots while there was a specific place for every action. The use of uniforms represented a means of distinction (to separate and detach the inmates from the “others”). The statistic of people is ensured through the maintenance of a personal filing system based on personal files reporting physical and personal features<sup>58</sup>.

<sup>58</sup> Ibidem; Agn, *Bandos*, vol. 10, Exp. 18.

The control of inmates followed also on the external life (by regulations and permits to limit the external life), as for the Real Albergo dei Poveri. In this sense, the two cases study could be considered as “total institution”. Furthermore, it is interesting to note that the control authority followed space and time since the administrator had a whole control power, while master artisans controlled the work places and work time. Finally, the chaplains had the power on souls and to the time and space dedicated to them. Also the Hospicio de Pobres in 1806 settled an internal technical school, the Escuela Patriótica (Patriotic School) with the aim to instruct inmates. The program was mainly based on nationalistic and religious education – Mexico was heading towards independence – integrated with basic instruction and, of course, technical education<sup>59</sup>.

The control tools within the Hospicio de Pobres clearly refers to a visibility analytic based on records and numbers that much more than physical discipline serve the tasks of discipline on one side, and of workforce extraction on the other.

## Conclusions

The work extraction and organization within the two analysed institutions seems to demonstrate the existence of a “contested terrain”, following Richard Edwards’ approach. The hypothesis of three main forms of organization to extract work power – correspondent to three different historical stages – seems visible from reported cases<sup>60</sup>:

1) Simple control. It was the primary system to managing workers at the very beginning of industrialization. The worker is subject to a “stick and carrot” system, consisting in an unsystematic mix of sanctions and incentives based on the action of the foremen and entrepreneur/capitalist himself<sup>61</sup>. It could be associated to the first times of industrialization. The simple control was a system that typified labour organization in the early factories, despite random and imprecise forms of control.

<sup>59</sup> Agn, Bandos, vol. 22, *Prospecto de la Nueva Forma de Gobierno Politico y Economico del Hospicio de Pobres de esta Capital*, 1806.

<sup>60</sup> R. Edwards, *Contested Terrain: The Transformation of the Workplace in the Twentieth Century*, Basic Books, New York, 1979, pp. 17 e sgg.; H. Braverman, *Labour and monopoly capital: The degradation of work in the twentieth century*, Monthly Review Press, New York and London, 1974.

<sup>61</sup> Ivi, p. 34.

2) Technical control. Such kind of control was the consequence of the crisis of the simple control due to the increase of competition between firms and complexity of production. The worker is isolated from other workers and fitted to a place, associated to a machine and/or a production line in order to delimitate space and time for his work action and generating a continuous flow process<sup>62</sup>. The technical control can be considered the evolution of labour management stimulated by organisational growth and technological change. The work organization was characterized by technical processes (i.e. the assembly line) that imposed a regular work activity. Workers performance was systematically measured, although discipline linked to work-related criteria<sup>63</sup>.

3) Bureaucratic control. The worker is subject to a hierarchical and stratified institution – that replaces the supervising system – constraining by the dictates of the "career ladder"<sup>64</sup>. The bureaucratic control mainly developed in the mid of twentieth century, based on detailed description of work functions, however there are several examples of a previous use of this system<sup>65</sup>. In such case, the workers performance was the objective of specified elaborated criteria combined with work outcomes.

The workhouse/poor asylum seems to fit almost perfectly with a mix of Edwards' three stages model that provides a system of management in which work was personally and directly controlled by the managers of institutions (administrators, foremen, delegates, etc.), while performance evaluation of workers was imperfect and critical, and discipline was often unsystematic and inconsistent. Furthermore, both the case studied established internally technical schools in order to train the inmates with new skills. The technical schools will provide inmates with the new production technology, the use of machines and work discipline, overcoming the traditional ways of production. The new skills will give to inmates the possibility to work outside the workhouse when free and the "ticket" to be accepted by the society. In this way, capital transforms labour power into profitable labour, establishes control structures in order to reduce labour costs, (re)constitutes skills and implements division of labour<sup>66</sup>.

<sup>62</sup> Ivi, p. 126.

<sup>63</sup> W.M. Robbins, *The Lumber Yards: A Case Study in the Management of Convict Labour 1788-1832*, «Labour History», N. 79 (2000), pp. 141-161.

<sup>64</sup> Ivi, p. 131.

<sup>65</sup> A. Caracausi, *Mesurer Et Contrôler. Les Temps de l'organisation du Travail dans les Manufactures de Laine de Padoue (XVIe-XVIIe Siècles)* cit., pp. 18-19.

<sup>66</sup> P. Thompson, *Adler's Theory of the Capitalist labour Process* cit., p. 1362.

Trying to make a comparison between the two institutions, we can see that both present a complex hierarchical organizational model with an administrator appointed by the political power, while the financing – at least in the initial phases – came mainly from private individuals (alms and bequests) as well as from the church. While, the public funding only came in a second moment and usually as a form of rescue after a financial crisis of the institution. However, it appears evident that the idea (present in both cases studied) of an institution that should generate profit to maintain itself supports the thesis that alongside the idea of regulating non-integrated subjects, there was the idea of extracting labour from labour power<sup>67</sup>. The coercive form of bureaucracy supported valorisation pressure encouraging subjective socialization that is part of re-educative task of the two reported cases. «The shift from handicraft and manufacture to large-scale industry and automation creates the need for technical-scientific training and for greater ideational flexibility on the job»<sup>68</sup>.

The mixed public/private/church organizational model, which takes over in a second phase, seems to be the prevalent solution adopted to deal with the problem of scarce resources for the functioning and management of poor relief institutions. In both cases it is interesting to note the clearer definition of the care and healing functions demonstrated by the presence of the infirmary and formalized medical personnel. The presence of doctor, pharmacist and surgeon already denotes the structuring towards more complex and differentiated forms that will lead to the separation between assistance and care during the nineteenth century.

We can see the main differences between the two case studies by going deeper into the accounting aspects. First, the weight of the wages of the inmate's weighs, as seen for 2.4% for the Mexico City Poor House and for 8,4% of the total expenses for the Real Albergo dei Poveri in Palermo. Secondly, the expenses for ecclesiastical offices amounted to about 3.5% of the total expenses for the Real Albergo dei Poveri and less than 1% for the Mexico City Poor House. These data allow us to hypothesize, on the one hand, a greater weight of the work of the inmates for the Palermo case than the Poor House of Mexico City, although the absence of data on sales does not allow us to go beyond a simple hypothesis. Probably, this datum would also denote a different market for the products of the Real Albergo dei Poveri of Palermo – with greater added value since it is silk – compared to the low-quality wool or cotton fabrics produced by the Mexico City Poor

<sup>67</sup> P.S. Adler, *The future of critical management studies* cit., p. 1325.

<sup>68</sup> *Ibidem*.

House inmates. The other significant element is the role played by religion in the re-educational and disciplinary process. In the case of Mexico City Poor House the regulations provide for the pervasiveness of ecclesiastical offices and their total integration into the daily life of the inmates. This role is confirmed by the presence of two permanent chaplains (with a high salary compared to that of other officials of the institute) and by some "weekly" chaplains who had the obligation to attend for the carrying out of the numerous religious functions set to mark the time inside the Poor House. And yet, despite the importance given to religion in the disciplinary process, the resources set aside for the maintenance of ecclesiastical offices were largely inferior to those of the Palermo poor house, which, on the other hand, provided only one weekly religious service and confession once a month.

Finally, there is the importance of the body control that is a not secondary question within a mode of production conceived to extract labour use. The conflict between work and capital seems clarified in such process of extraction<sup>69</sup>. The capital is only devoted to insure the reproduction of the means of production of the workers and, on the other side, to control the bodies by bio-political tools. The paid salaries could be considered the proof that we do not deal exclusively with "imprisoned" work but rather we are faced with different forms of un-free or "almost free" work, what they are not that commodified work.

<sup>69</sup> P. Thompson, *Adler's Theory of the Capitalist labour Process* cit., pp. 1360-1361.