

## WOMEN'S CONTRIBUTION TO THE FIELD OF PREHISTORIC ARCHAEOLOGY IN ITALY

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### Summary

Several topics concerning the situation of women archaeologists in Italy are considered in this two-part analysis. In the first, the general situation among the faculty and graduate students is considered, and in particular prehistoric archaeology. The humanities are characterized by a policy of low hiring and significant gender discrimination. Archaeology has a predominance of women. However, women professors are confined to the lower levels of the hierarchy and are less present in southern universities. Prehistory is the archaeological area with the fewest women.

The second part of this analysis considers the frequency of women's publications and the topics covered in prehistoric archaeology journals (*Bullettino di Paleontologia Italiana*, *Preistoria Alpina*, *Rivista di Scienze Preistoriche*, *Origini*) and the Proceedings of the XIIIth International Congress of Prehistoric and Protohistoric Sciences. Contributions by women authors have increased greatly in the 1970s, but have remained steady since. Women were more interested in laboratory work and the reconstruction of daily life while men preferred field work and topics concerning the identification of societal roles.

The contribution of women to Italian archaeology is reviewed on the basis of two series of data. First, the role of women in archaeology, and prehistory in particular, is considered within the perspective of an overall analysis of the academic and graduate bodies in Italian universities. Second, women's contribution to the body of published work in prehistoric archaeology is analyzed(1).

## 1.1. Overall academic situation in Italy

### 1.1.1. Academic staff

Based on data from the Ministry of the Universities and Scientific Research (MURST), university professors (*docenti*) numbered 50657 in 1999. *Ordinari*(2) represent 27% of all teaching and research staff, *associati* 32%, and *ricercatori* 41% of all Italian university teachers. Within the two highest levels, there are 46% *ordinari* and 54% *associati*, while professors under 40 represent 12% of all academic staff.

In 1998, 55% of *laureati*(3) were women, but women only represent 28% of the academic staff. If we examine the data at each career level, it is clear that access to the highest levels was more difficult for women. There were 11% women among full professors, 26% among mid-level professors and 40% among entry-level professors.

In 1999, the proportion of women in each faculty was as follows (figs.1 and 2): Engineering (13%), Medicine, Agriculture, Law, Architecture (between 22 and 25%), Economics, Veterinary Science, Science (Mathematics, Physics and Natural Sciences), Political Science, Sociology, Conservation and Museum Studies (between 27 and 36%), Science of Education, Letters and Philosophy, Psychology (between 42 and 47%), Foreign Languages and Literature (55%). The percentage of women was highest among *ricercatori* and lowest among *ordinari* (fig.2). Faculties which traditionally attract a high number of men also tended to have the highest absolute number of professors (fig.1).

The more masculine faculties are also those that tend to offer access to high paying professions on the private job market, while the more feminine faculties, mostly in the Humanities, lead mainly to public employment. The two schools where archaeology subjects were taught, Letters and Philosophy and Conservation and Museum Studies, were both characterized by a high percentage of women professors. The latter school stood apart due to a high percentage of women among *associati* (14/31) and very few *ordinari* (3/27). This anomaly was probably due to the over all scarcity of staff in this field (see tab.1).

If we consider the percentage of entry level women professors (*ricercatori*) and that of professors under 40 of both sexes(4), the various schools can be grouped as follows (fig.3):

- Foreign Languages and Literature, Psychology, Letters and Philosophy, Science of Education: high number of entry-level women professors (more than 50%); very few professors under 40 (4-8%);
- Conservation and Museum Studies, Political Science and Sociology: fair number of women among entry-level staff (43-45%); very few professors under 40 (4-9%);
- Agronomy, Architecture and Medicine: small number of entry-level women professors (32-33%); few young professors (4-9%);
- Science, Law, Economics and Veterinary Science: good presence of women among entry-level staff (38-42%); fair number of young professors (14-22%);
- Engineering: few women among entry-level professors (19%); this school had the highest number of young professors (23%).

Hence, all faculties with a high percentage of women also had hired the lowest number of young professors while those characterized by a high number of men and which offer the most outlets on the private job market were more accessible to women. It seems that the high number of women in some faculties cannot be explained by current hiring trends, as would be expected since women represent an increasing share of the work force.

### **1.1.2. Docenti-to-laureati ratio**

Data concerning the academic staff were in contrast to those concerning graduates (fig.3). Globally, women graduates represented approximately 55% of all graduates. With the exception of Engineering where they represented 13%, the percentages in each school of studies was higher than 45%(5). The percentage of women with a degree was significantly higher than that of entry-level women professors (*ricercatori*). The ratio was even higher when calculated based on all the academic staff. The ratio was smallest for the schools of Engineering(6), Economics, Political Science, Veterinary Science, Sociology and largest for the schools of Conservation and Museum Studies, Sciences of Education, Agriculture and Foreign Languages and Literature.

An indicator of women's difficulty in pursuing an academic career can be obtained by comparing the ratios calculated above between the percentage of entry-level professors to graduates for each sex and each discipline(7) (fig.4). If both genders had equal opportunities, the resulting ratios would be equal to 1. Instead, the data indicates that the mean probability for a woman graduate to access an academic career was half that of a man. The schools of Science of Education, Conservation and Museum Studies and Foreign Languages and Literature seem to be more discriminating

(probability less than 0.25), followed by Agricultural, Medicine, Psychology, Science, Letters and Philosophy and Law (probability between 0.25 and 0.5), Architecture, Sociology, Veterinary Science, Political Science and Economy (probability between 0.5 and 0.75) and finally Engineering where it seems that women graduates have a higher probability of a university career than men(8).

A further parameter of interest describes the probability of access to an academic career for both sexes in any specific school of studies. This would be described by the ratio between the total number of graduates and the total number of professors in a particular school. There is a clear partition between schools with a mean annual ratio of 1/2 to 2 graduates per professor (Agricultural, Medicine, Science, Science of Education, Veterinary Science, Letters and Philosophy) and those schools with a mean annual ratio of 4 to 5 graduates per professor (Architecture, Political Science, Conservation and Museum Studies, Foreign Languages and Literature, Sociology, Economics), and finally Law with 7 graduates per professor and Psychology with over 9.

A more realistic estimate of actual academic career opportunities was the ratio of professors under 40 to that of graduates (fig.5). Agricultural stood out with an extremely favorable ratio. Then come Veterinary Science, Engineering, Science and Medicine. In all other disciplines, there are very few young professors compared to the number of graduates.

A further calculation was carried out to compare women's opportunities of access to an academic career (see fig.4) to that of both sexes considered together (see fig.5). The diagrams in fig.6 illustrate this further indicator for each school of studies, based on raw data (fig.6A) and on data weighted against the number of graduates per school(9). Quadrants have been drawn corresponding to the mean weighted values and four groups were identified (fig.6B):

- Engineering, Economics and Law with overall good possibilities of access and good opportunities for women (group I);
- Political Science and Architecture with overall low possibilities of access and good opportunities for women (group II);
- Science with overall good possibilities of access and low opportunities for women (group III);
- Letters and Philosophy, Psychology, Veterinary Science, Agriculture, Foreign Languages and Literature, Sociology, Science of Education, Conservation and Museum Studies with low overall possibilities and few opportunities for women (group IV).

The schools in group I recruited relatively more young professors and showed less gender discrimination. They were also characterized by the highest paucity of women (see fig.2). They all offered good perspectives of employment on the professional job market as an alternative to an academic career. Most schools were in the last category (group IV), among which Letters and Philosophy and Conservation and Museum Studies where archaeology is taught.

## **1.2. Teaching Archaeology in Italian universities**

The particular situation of the archaeology courses, within the schools of Letters and Philosophy and Conservation and Museum Studies, is analyzed based on data obtained in 1999 and in 1991(10).

The teaching of archaeological disciplines in 1999 was rather "feminine". The proportion of women at each career level was 33% among full professors, 54% among mid-level professors and 64% among entry-level professors. This data should be compared to that concerning Letters and Philosophy, where women represented 24% full professors, 41% mid-level professors and 59% entry-level professors and Conservation and Museum Studies, where women represented 11% of the full professors, 45% of the mid-level professors and 43% of the entry-level professors.

A closer analysis of the data concerning full and mid-level professors (fig.7) shows that in 1999, globally 47% faculty members (out of 221) were women and that there was a scarcity of women at the highest career level (women: 12% full-professors, 35% mid-level professors; men: 25% full-professors, 28% mid-level). In 1991, there were 226 archaeology professors and the situation of women within the two highest levels paralleled that of 1999, with an even more marked paucity of women full-professors (women: 6% full-professors, 37% mid-level; men: 29% full-professors, 27% mid-level). The most noticeable change in the last decade has been an increasing presence of women at the highest career level in both these schools.

What will the future trend be? In 1999, among the 138 entry-level professors, representing the renewal potential of the teaching body, the majority were women (64%). This number increased to 53% the overall presence of women within the teaching of archaeological disciplines. It could be concluded that the trend for the future is towards an increased number of women professors. However, women represented approximately half the faculty but three-quarters of the archaeology graduates(11). In a situation of equal opportunities, we would expect women to also make up three-quarters of the faculty, with equal distribution over the three career levels since a significant number of women faculty at the entry-level were not young nor had they been recruited recently.

Archaeological disciplines showed a better equilibrium than historical disciplines, in which the overall proportion of women was only 30%. In 1991, historical disciplines had a significant number of full-professors (63%, most of which men). In 1999, women faculty distribution within the three career levels was a bit more balanced.

### 1.2.1. Area of study

Within archaeology, the subdivision of the courses per area of interest showed a great variability in the gender distribution at the two highest career levels (*ordinari* and *associati*). When ordered by decreasing presence of women, these areas were Oriental, Classic, Medieval and Prehistoric Archaeology (tab.2, fig.8).

In 1999, women were quite prominent within the Oriental Archaeology, mostly at the *associati* level, and there was also a relatively high number of *ordinari* men (fig.8A). This was particularly true of the archaeology of the Middle East, where all full professors were men and all mid-level professors were women. Classic Archaeology reflected more or less the general gender distribution for Archaeology(12), and that

was doubtless due to the fact that it included two-thirds of the archaeology courses. The overall percentage of women in Medieval Archaeology was slightly below the average and women's presence was lowest in Prehistoric Archaeology (28%).

Since 1991(13) (fig.8B), presence of women at these two career levels has been highest within Oriental and Prehistoric Archaeology while women's presence has decreased in the area of Medieval Archaeology.

When we also included the data for the first echelon (*ricercatori*) (fig.8C), the presence of women became more homogeneous. In those disciplines where there was a prominence of men at the two highest career levels (69% in Prehistoric Archaeology and 80% in Medieval Archaeology), women represented the majority of the entry-level.

### 1.2.2. Geographic distribution

The geographic distribution of archaeology professors is analyzed by grouping the various academies into three areas: North, Center and South(14) (tab.3, fig.9). The overall number of mid-level and full professors was relatively balanced, the Center having the largest faculty and the South the smallest one. The number of women in the faculty tended to decrease from North to South (fig.9A): 53%(15) women in the Northern academies, 46% in the Central academies and 40%(16) in the Southern academies. The Center and South were characterized by a high concentration of full-professor men. The North had the overall highest number of mid-level professors (70%, men and women).

The same geographical trend was already present in 1991, with a pronounced decrease in the number of women from Northern to Southern academies (fig.9B). The examination of the 1999 data on entry-level faculty (fig.9C) yields information on actual employment trends. In the North and Center, the percentage of women was between 65 and 70%(17) and tended to reflect the number of women graduates, in the South it was 53%, confirming the trend towards the masculinization of the discipline in this area(18).

### 1.2.3. Prehistoric Archaeology

Among the different archaeology fields, prehistory was the discipline having the least number of women. The situation was slightly improved for women *ricercatori* in 1999 compared to 1991 (see figs.7 and 8). The 54 professors in prehistoric archaeology(19) were mainly concentrated in Central and Southern academic districts (Tab.4).

If we consider only full and mid-level professors (28), women were present only in academic districts which had a high concentration of archaeology faculty (central west: 50% women, among which 1 full professor; northeast: 22% women, among which 1 was a full professor) and in Sardinia (50% women). The increase in the percentage of women compared to 1991, in particular in the central western academic districts, was probably due to the general decrease in the overall number of professors in the field rather than to a policy of balanced recruitment. In fact, out of 9 recruitments over the decade, only 2 were women (22% of the hired staff)(20).

The percentage of women among entry-level professors was 69%, a proportion close to the number of women graduates. There was little geographical variation. This fact might seem to reflect a future recruitment policy that does not disadvantage women. However, most entry-level professors in Prehistory were not representative of recent hirings. In fact, the higher proportion of women was also an indication of the greater difficulty in accessing the higher career levels.

## 2. Publications in Prehistoric Archaeology

In order to review the contribution of women to the body of published work in Prehistoric Archaeology, we analyze the publication and the topics treated in four specialized Italian journals. We also look at the same two indicators from the Proceedings of the XIIIth International Congress of Prehistoric and Protohistoric Sciences held in 1996.

### 2.1. Journals

The specialized journals we survey are the *Bullettino di Paleontologia Italiana*, *Preistoria Alpina*, *Rivista di Scienze Preistoriche* and *Origini*(21).

#### 2.1.1. Impact

To estimate the proportion of women's contributions to each of these journals, we calculated the percentage of articles signed by women (as single authors or as co-authors) with respect to articles written by men in five-year intervals starting from 1875 (fig.10).

The first article by a woman was published in 1927 in the *Bullettino di Paleontologia Italiana*. This journal first appeared in 1875. Between 1930 and the end of WWII, women contributed between 10% and 17% of all papers, with a peak in the fifteen years preceding the war(22).

The journal *Rivista di Scienze Preistoriche* was started in 1946, *Preistoria Alpina* in 1963 and *Origini* in 1967.

The mean percentage of women authors in the four journals between 1945 and 1974 fluctuated between 12% and 25%. In the mid-70s, there was a marked increase in women's contributions. The level has remained stable until today, between 34% and 39%, with significant differences among journals.

The journal with the smallest contributions by women was *Preistoria Alpina*. Women's publications in the journal fluctuated between 8% and 13% from 1963 until 1974, were approximately 25% from 1980 until 1994 and are 36% at present.

In *Bullettino di Paleontologia Italiana*, the number of women authors was below 17% for the period up to 1944. From 1945 until 1964, women contributors represented between 13% and 26% and since the mid-60s this contribution has remained constant at about 30%, with the exception of the period from 1975 to 1979 where women contributed 48% of the articles.

The *Rivista di Scienze Preistoriche* was characterized by a significant number of articles by women from 1976 onwards. Since 1980, the percentage has remained close to 40% with a peak during 1985-1989.

*Origini* was the review which had the highest proportion of women authors from the start. The mean contribution by women to this journal was around 45%, with a peak during the 1985-1989 period as well.

In order to give a meaning to the above numbers, a second parameter must be considered, that is the number of women authors in the field of Prehistoric Archaeology. We chose to base our study on the *Bullettino di Paleontologia Italiana* since this journal spans a greater time period. Between 1927 and 1995, 66 women published in this review, either as single authors or as co-authors, a total of 123 articles. Fig.11 illustrates the number of women authors and first-time women authors by five-year increments in order to estimate the entry of new women into the field.

About half the women published papers over the last two decades. From 1875 until 1979, there were overall 40 women authors (of which there were 15 between 1970 and 1979) and 36 who published in this journal between 1981 and 1995.

More specifically, until 1949, there was a complete turnover of women authors within the five-year periods. From 1950 until 1980, the number of new women authors varied between 43% and 69% indicating a good continuity in scientific production, especially throughout the 1950s and 1960s. Since 1981, there was again a significant turnover in women authorship (first-time authors represented 83% to 97% of all women authors).

In recent years, scientific production has been less continuous as is clearly seen from the mean number of articles per author. Up to 1969, women authors published an annual average of 1.4 articles, in contrast to only 1.1 articles from 1970 to 1995.

The significant increase in the number of women authors was also due to the fact that starting in the 1970s, publications signed by several authors, sometimes a great many, became more usual. Co-authorship was previously rare.

The number of women working in Prehistory who published in this journal was quite high. Many had a good continuity of production, especially from the 1960s onwards. However, their contribution to the progress of the field has seldom been acknowledged. Few women authors have been cited in existing historical accounts of the development of prehistoric archaeology in Italy. In the book *Storia della Paleontologia* are cited P. Laviosa Zambotti, M. Cavalier and A.M. Bietti Sestrieri (Guidi 1988: 82, 135, 288); the paper *Preistoria e protostoria. La vicenda degli studi in Italia*, mentions only P. Laviosa Zambotti (Peroni 1992: 63).

### **2.1.2. Topics**

To identify the topics on which women archaeologists have focused their work, we again sampled the publications in the *Bullettino di Paleontologia Italiana*, which has recently published indexes sorted by author and by topic, from 1875 to 1995 (Pellegrini and Calandra 1996 and 1997).

In fig.12, areas of study have been ordered by increasing presence of women. In some fields, there were no contributions by women, such as in epistemology and

chronology, or very few, such as environment, necropolis, general arguments, topography, metallurgy, caves and other types of sites (around 10%). Women were slightly more numerous in subjects concerning society and economy, the lithic industry and other materials (around 15%), and settlements and pottery (between 20% and 25%). The percentage of women's contributions in archaeometry and paleoanthropology was significantly higher (around 35%) (fig.12A).

By comparison, published work by women mostly concerned settlements, paleoanthropology, pottery, society and economy, lithic industry and topography, whereas published work by men mostly concerned topography, society and economy, caves, settlements, lithics and necropolis (figs.12B-C).

Apart from topics of general character, men mostly focused on territorial subjects (topography and environment). Concerning archaeological sites, men's work has been equally distributed between caves, settlements and necropolis, while women have favored settlements and have particularly neglected the necropolis.

Women have mostly worked in specialized (archaeometry and paleoanthropology) as well as traditional areas of materials studies. In typological and technological studies, women have preferred, by decreasing order of interest, pottery, lithics and metallurgy. Men have mostly concentrated on lithics, metallurgy and ceramics.

## **2.2. XIIIth International Congress on Prehistoric and Protohistoric Sciences**

The Congress took place in Forlì, Italy, between 8-14 September 1996 (U.I.S.P.P. 1998). This analysis focuses on the "Sections" (non-invited contributions), specifically on the communications about Italy or from Italian researchers(23).

### **2.2.1. Impact**

The chairpersons of the 18 "Sections" were all Italian and only four of them were women (22%)(24). Globally, women contributed 44% of all presentations and 49% of all posters (as author or co-author).

Sections were grouped by increasing order of women's presence (considering both papers and posters(25); fig.13A):

- between 13% and 33% women: Lower-Middle Paleolithic, First Humans and their Cultural Manifestations, Art in the Paleolithic and Mesolithic, Archaeometry, Prehistory of Asia and Oceania, Mesolithic;
- approximately 50% (between 47% and 53%) women: Neolithic in the Near East and Europe, Bronze Age in Europe and the Mediterranean, Theoretical and Methodological Problems, Prehistory of America, Copper Age in the Near East and Europe, Iron Age in Europe, Upper Paleolithic, Paleoecology;
- between 60% and 67% women: Prehistory of Africa, Prehistoric Research in the Context of Contemporary Societies, Archaeology and History of the Middle Ages;
- approximately 92% women: Roman Period (in the Provinces and the Barbarian World).

Communications by women represented nearly half the presentations (46%) while women chaired less than one quarter of all sections. Even in the "Colloquia" (invited

papers) the percentage of chairwomen was smaller than that of of chairmen. Furthermore, few women gave invited oral presentations (about 30%).

These data indicate that in spite of equal number of researchers of both sexes, women were under-represented among guest speakers and chairpersons. This situation was also reflected in a recent manual on Prehistoric Italy (Guidi and Piperno 1992). Eleven authors were men and four, women. If we count only the strictly archaeological chapters, and not the paleoecological and demographic ones (laboratory fields), 7 were by men and 2 by women (22%)(26).

### **2.2.2. Topics**

The Bronze Age in Europe and the Mediterranean, the Neolithic in the near East and Europe were of equal interest to both sexes (fig.13B). There was a higher interest among women(27) for Prehistoric Research in the Context of Contemporary Society and the Roman Period while men(28) have focused more on Archaeometry(29) and the Lower-Middle Paleolithic.

Globally, women have not presented many archaeological communications on the more ancient periods. They have preferred working on topics concerning more recent periods related to classic archaeology and issues of prehistory in contemporary society, which include popularization and museum studies.

## **3. Conclusions**

Studies regarding women in archaeology have developed mostly in the last twenty years. They concern both gender influence in interpreting archaeological data and the importance of the work done by women archaeologists. Numerous publications have pointed out the dominant anthropocentric hypotheses in this field. Moreover, gender discrimination is a documented fact of the present-day work-force(30). In the present work, we have analyzed the distribution of the working population in the world of academics. We have also focused on the choice of research topics made by both sexes in prehistoric archaeology. Now, we reach some conclusions using our data along with those previously published.

### **a) The university in general**

The pursuit of an academic career(31) is characterized by a policy of low hiring and significant sex discrimination (women represent 28% of all professors, among which 11% full-professors, 26% mid-level professors and 40% entry-level professors, see figs. 2 and 6)(32). Discrimination is less in disciplines which offer good career possibilities on the open job-market (group I in fig. 6B: Engineering, Law and Economics). This apparent gender equality in academics could in fact reflect a greater difficulty for women to pursue a career on the open market. This is a theme that would deserve further consideration elsewhere.

It is a paradox that women prefer disciplines with the highest difficulty of access and highest levels of discrimination (group IV in fig. 6B). The disciplines in which the proportion of women graduates are higher than 75% are Letters and Philosophy, Psychology, Foreign Literature, Science of Education and Conservation and Museum Studies (see fig. 3). This point has been discussed by Diaz-Andreu and Sanz Gallego

(1994). They interpret women's preference for the humanities as a form of self-discrimination resulting from a choice of studies which do not have a good possibility of leading to a job.

#### b) Archaeology and history

Considering only the academic world, the higher percentage of women in archaeology relative to history (see fig. 7) could be due to the close relation between archaeology and art history, which is a field that attracts a high number of women. Another point is also the stronger importance of historical disciplines relative to archaeology within the Italian humanities tradition.

#### c) Archaeology: professors versus students

Women represent two-thirds of all archaeology graduates and 53% of archaeology professors. However, they are confined to hierarchically lower positions (33% of full professors, 54% of mid-level professors and 64% of entry-level professors). Gender discrimination<sup>(33)</sup> in the academic world has been broached by various countries. Diaz-Andreu and San Gallego (1994) have highlighted the fact that the increase in the presence of women within the Spanish faculty was relegated only to the lower faculty levels. Truscott and Smith (1993) have reported that in Australia women's presence (a total of 22%) decreased as one goes up the ladder, while most graduate students were women. Ford (1994) focused on Mesoamerican archaeology: between 1979 and 1989, women represented 40% Ph.D. graduates but only 15% of the professors. The roots of this phenomenon could be traced to prejudice from the male faculty who represented about 80% of the faculty at the highest echelons and therefore wielded the most power. Some aspects of the male discriminatory behavior were described by Wylie (1993) for North America. Concerning teaching, Cusack and Campbell (1993) reflected on the discrimination among postgraduate students in Australia and Romanowicz and Wright (1996) and Conkey and Tringham (1996) discussed their teaching experiences in the U.S.A.

#### d) The geography of archaeology

Women in the Southern Italian academic districts appeared to be at a particular disadvantage (see fig. 9). This was in spite of their higher success in completing their studies (ratio between inscribed and graduated students) in those very districts<sup>(34)</sup>, which reflected a higher commitment and determination.

#### e) Alternatives to academic careers in archaeology

Women are mainly present in the Ministry of Conservation and Cultural Activities (administration) and in the Museums, in preservation (Cultural Resource Management) and popularization programs which leave less time to do research and draw lower salaries in Italy.

The choice of an alternative career outside academics is a phenomenon witnessed in other countries as well. For example Truscott and Smith (1993) have analyzed the Australian situation in 1991 and reported that there were 22% women in academics, 43% in museum and 47% in Cultural Resources Management. A biographical study was published on women's alternative careers between the two world wars in America (Levine 1994). The underlying cause of this phenomenon have been amply discussed and the author suggests that "...we need to understand why women do not go into academics, why academically inclined women do not choose archaeology, why

women who choose archaeology do not stay in it, why women who stay in it may not engage in fieldwork or submit articles for publication or grant proposals, and why some women can do it all" (Claassen 1994). Goulding *et al.* (1993) have analyzed the careers of both genders in Australia highlighting the greater tendency among women to have expectations that differ from their aspirations.

In a study limited to Arizona, Whittlesey (1994) put forward that the difficulty of married women to move is their main reason for choosing alternative careers rather than academics. Men prefer an academic career mainly because of the higher salary and benefits attached to it while women because of the enjoyment of teaching. Academic careers are perceived as more competitive and less flexible in the American context. This is not true in Italy where academic jobs are rather flexible than competitive compared to the alternatives.

Cultural Resource Management is nearly universally perceived as a more feminine profession. Clarke (1993) even defined it as an intellectual ghetto and archaeological housework. Benk (1994) discussed the negative stereotype and highlighted the prevalence of women in careers necessitating shorter studies. Contrary to an academic career, this profession does not require a Ph.D.

Museum work has been for the longest time more accessible to women, probably because it is considered as more adapted to the "feminine character" (Diaz-Andreu and San Gallego 1994, Levine 1994).

Garrow *et al.* (1994) studied contract archaeology in the U.S.A. They reported that women represented only 26% of higher level contract workers while their total presence was 40%.

#### f) Prehistoric archaeology in historical perspective

The increase of women publishing in prehistoric journals in the 1970s is linked to the general increase of women in the workforce at that time (see fig. 10 and 11)(35). Between 1970 and 1975, women authors exceeded the 30% threshold. Since then, women's presence has not increased and has oscillated between 30 and 40%. This percentage is still higher than the percentage of women professors (full and mid-level) in 1999 (32%) and is clearly higher than that of 1991 (21% women professors).

In a similar study of Spanish archaeology journals, Diaz-Andreu and Sanz Gallego (1994) noticed a rapid increase in the number of women authors in the 1970s (after Franco's regime). They also reported that women tended to publish papers not as single authors, but with male co-authors, a trend that has also been noted by Beaudry and White (1994).

#### g) Prehistoric archaeology in universities

Prehistoric archaeology is a field which attracts mainly men (see fig. 8), probably because of the scientific component in this area of archaeology and the importance of field work (see also i). The other archaeology fields are by tradition more linked to art history.

#### h) Prehistoric archaeology and specialized studies

The presence of women in archaeometry and paleoanthropology seems paradoxical (see fig. 12 and 13). The percentage of women trained as archaeologists is traditionally high because of the laboratory component in these fields and the

possibility to create alternative careers(36). In recent years, the presence of men has increased greatly due to the interest of scientists in these areas.

An extreme example of this type of career choice is represented by Anna O. Shepard (1903-1973) who worked in the laboratory in complete isolation (Levine 1994). In Arizona, the percentage of women who chose topics relying on laboratory work was much higher for non-academic archaeology research (Victor and Beaudry 1992, Whittlesey 1994), even for contract archaeology (Garrow *et al.* 1994).

#### i) Topics in prehistoric archaeology

Women were interested in the more recent epochs of prehistory, habitats, materials (especially pottery), popularization and museum jobs. Men had a preference for older epochs of prehistory, questions of environment and territory, necropoli, metallurgy. They also produced more reviews and publications of more general interest (see fig. 12 and 13). These differences underline the dichotomy between laboratory work and field work. There are very few women in charge of excavations while their contributions in the area of materials studies is usually hierarchically subordinated. Regarding contents, women have a higher interest in topics concerning daily life (habitats, pottery, food)(37) and men in topics concerning roles (necropoli, metals *i.e.* arms and ornaments). Also in other archaeology disciplines, women have produced few theoretical works. Furthermore, materials studies have been referred to as "housekeeping" activities (Beaudry and White, 1994). Men's preference for field work seems to be justified by the fact that "the field is the place to go if one seeks influence and prestige" (Garrow *et al.* 1994). Gero (1996) discusses some examples of differences of approach to field work by men and women.

In conclusion, this study has identified several areas which are worthy of further investigation in the context of the situation in Italy:

- contract lecturers and teaching content;
- work done within the Cultural Resource Management, even by external collaborators, local administrations, museums, the national research center (CNR) and private companies needs to be considered;
- relationship between the various areas of archaeology, history, art history and archaeometry and other laboratory disciplines;
- the influence of gender and the cognitive approach in archaeological interpretation.

#### Notes

(1)Alesandro Vanzetti collaborated in the setting out of this research. We wish to dedicate this article to Massimiliano Di Pillo (1965-2000) whose work continues to stimulate our research.

(2)There is no direct translation for Italian university titles. All professor positions are permanent and involve teaching and research duties. The distinction is mainly on the basis of salary. Entry level professors (*ricercatori*) earn about 70% as much as *associati* (mid-level professors) who themselves earn 70% as much as the *ordinari* (full professors).

(3)Graduates. Italian *laurea* is a degree taken after 4 to 6 years of university studies. It is approximately equivalent to a Master.

(4)These data by gender and age were not available for faculty members.

(5)The trend is increasing: in 1984, there were approximately 45% women with a *laurea*, 47% in 1987, 50% in 1991 and 53% in 1995.

(6)Engineering was an anomaly because there were so few women in this field.

(7)This calculation considers the situation as static, that is the current percentages did not differentiate the data as a function of time. This would have resulted in a more precise description of the situation.

To attenuate this fact, we decided to calculate the ratio between *laureati* and *ricercatori*, and not between *laureati* and professors at all levels, since the *ricercatori* represents a population with relatively younger age that has been hired more recently compared to the *associati* and *ordinari* professors.

(8) This anomaly may be due to the scarce number of women in Engineering. There were 19% entry-level women professors and 13% women with a *laurea*.

(9) The data for each school are multiplied by the ratio of *laureati* of a school to the total number of *laureati*.

(10) Data on the faculties (full and mid-level professors) for 1991 were collected and analyzed by Massimiliano Di Pillo from the statistical directory of the Ministry of Education (Di Pillo 1993).

(11) In Letters and Philosophy 77% graduates were women, in Conservation and Museum Studies 82%.

(12) Ancient Topography and Etruscan Studies attracted a high percentage of men, in particular at the full-professor level. By contrast, there were more women in Classic Archaeology and Numismatics (in particular the Numismatics which had very few *ordinari* of either sex).

(13) In 1991, disciplines were grouped in a different manner (Di Pillo 1993). In this elaboration, data on Methodological Archaeology, now a part of Classic Archaeology (1 M *ordinari*, 2 W *ordinari*, 2 M *associati*, 2 W *associati*) and American Precolumbian Archaeology (1 W *associati*) have not been included.

(14) Tab.3 indicates the regional academic districts of each area and their further subdivisions: North (northwest, northeast), Center (central west, central east and Sardinia), South (southwest, southeast and Sicily).

(15) In the northwest, the presence of women was higher, even among full professors.

(16) The southeast was the area most lacking in women faculty, and there were no women full professors. In Sicily, where women were well represented, there was a high percentage of full professors (64%) of both sexes.

(17) The values were higher in the northwest and centralwestern districts and particularly low in Sardinia.

(18) In the southeast, there was a high percentage of women whereas in Sicily, it was lower and even more so in southwest Italy.

(19) The field of Prehistoric Archaeology (L01Y) includes 10 disciplines: Prehistoric and Protostoric Archaeology, Ancient Ethiopian Archaeology, Preclassic Civilizations, Prehistoric Ecology, Ethnographic Prehistory of Africa, Paleoethnology, Prehistory and Protohistory, Prehistory and Protohistory of an European region, Prehistory and Protohistory of an extra-European region, European Protohistory.

(20) There were still only 9 women professors (with an increase of the number of women full professors from 1 to 2), among which 7 were already on the faculty in 1991 and 2 had been hired during that period of time. The number of men decreased from 31 to 19 (with a halving of the full professors and a lesser decrease of associate professors), among which 11 were already present in 1991 and 7 were newly hired.

(21) Alesandro Vanzetti collaborated in the first data collection and analysis. Luca Zaghetto helped me collect the data on the more recent reviews.

(22) The women authors were in 1927 Bruna Tamaro, in 1930-34 Elisa Baumgaertel, Teresa La Cava and Alda Levi, in 1935-39 Antonietta Brambilla, Eleonora Bracco, Iole Bovio Marconi, Catia Caprino and Pia Laviosa Zambotti, in 1940-44 Catia Caprino and Pia Laviosa Zambotti.

(23) Italian archaeologists (men and women) contributed 306 papers and 124 posters.

(24) Alda Vigliardi, Renata Grifoni Cremonesi, Anna Maria Bietti Sestrieri and Giovanna Bermond Montanari.

(25) Italian archaeologists contributed no posters in these "Sections": The Prehistory of Asia and Oceania, The Mesolithic, Archaeology and History of the Middle Ages.

(26) The chapters written by women are: Flowers and the evolution of environments by Laura Cattani, Anthropological and paleodemographic issues of the Higher Paleolithic during the early Iron Age by Silvana M. Borgognini, The Neolithic in central Italy and Sardinia by Renata Grifoni Cremonesi, The Neolithic in southern Italy and Sicily by Mirella Cipolloni Sampò.

(27) The "Section"s to which women contributed most were: The Bronze Age in Europe and the Mediterranean, The Neolithic in the Near East and Europe, The Iron Age in Europe, The Copper Age in the Near East and Europe, Prehistoric Research in the Context of Contemporary Society, The Upper Paleolithic, The Roman Period (in the Provinces and Barbarian World).

(28) The "Sections" to which men contributed the most were The Bronze Age in Europe and the Mediterranean, The Neolithic in the Near East and Europe, Archaeometry, Lower-Middle Palaeolithic, The Iron Age in Europe, The Copper Age in the Near East and Europe, The Upper Palaeolithic.

- (29) These fields also attracted numerous scientists from outside archaeology.
- (30) Among the most significant publications on this topic: Conkey and Spector 1984, Keller 1985, Arnold *et al.* 1988, Ehrenberg 1989, Gero, Conkey 1991, du Cross and Smith 1993, Nelson 1997, Díaz-Andreu and Sørensen 1998, Hays-Gilpin and Whitley 1998, Gilchrist 1999, Schiebinger 1999, Díaz-Andreu 2000, Sørensen 2000.
- (31) Only professors with a permanent position have been counted. Although contract lecturers are increasing in numbers, there is to date no data available regarding them.
- (32) The presence of women in American academics was slightly higher in 1988: 18% full professors, 31% associate professors and 51% assistant professors (Ford 1994). In Australia, in 1988, there are only 20% women concentrated at the lowest levels (Truscott and Smith 1993).
- (33) The difficulty in pursuing an academic career was already noted in the case of Pia Laviosa Zambotti, an excellent and gifted archaeologist who, in a relatively short time, reached a high level of scientific notoriety but was never given a chair in spite of being twice approved, in 1947 and 1964, for such a position during nationwide examinations and her important contribution to the field never received the official recognition it deserved (Obituary by M.O. Acanfora in *Bullettino di Paleontologia Italiana*, 75: 205).
- (34) The rate of success is 37% in the North (both for men and women), 30% in the Center (with a 1% difference in the favor of women) and 28% in the South (with a 2% difference in the favor of women) (Farinelli, 1993, p.3).
- (35) Legal history (Catalini 1993): from the beginning of the century until WWII, first legislation in defence of women; in 1946, right to vote; equality and work rights become part of the constitution (articles 3 and 37); in 1960, principle of equal pay; law voiding marriage as a cause for dismissal (7/1963); law on maternity and day care (1204/1971 and 1044/1971); law on rights of the family (151/1975) and on equal treatment at work (903/1977); in 1983, creation of a committee for the implementation of the equality principles and a series of initiatives in the 1980s that resulted in the law 125/1991 on positive actions to implement equality and creation of a Ministry of Equal Opportunities.
- (36) "Gender influences role choice in archaeology with a greater proportion of women choosing laboratory specialities and, in the past, laboratory/museum jobs and analytical methods such as floral, edgewear, faunal, bead and ceramic analyses" (Claassen 1994: 1).
- (37) Including paleobotany and archaeozoology (see point g).

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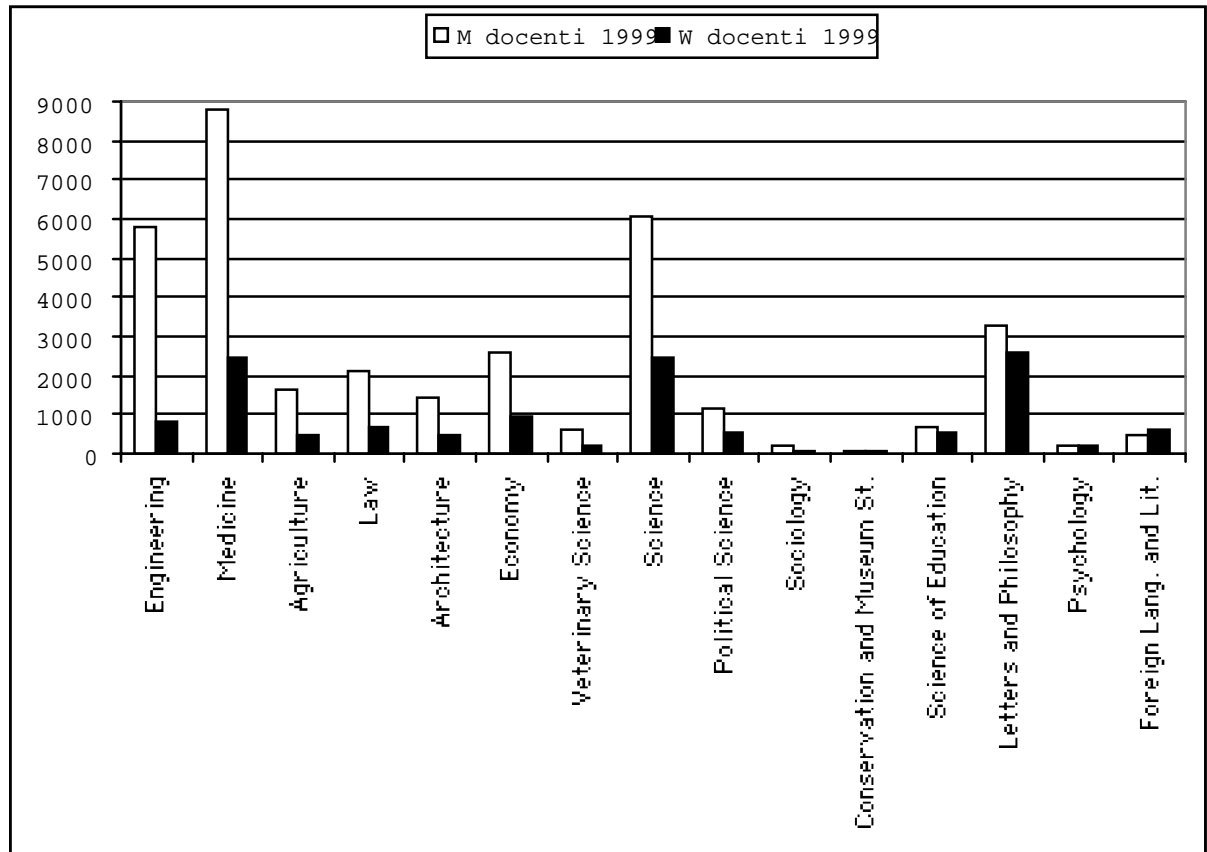


Fig. 1. Number of men (M) and women (W) *docenti* (professors), for each faculty.

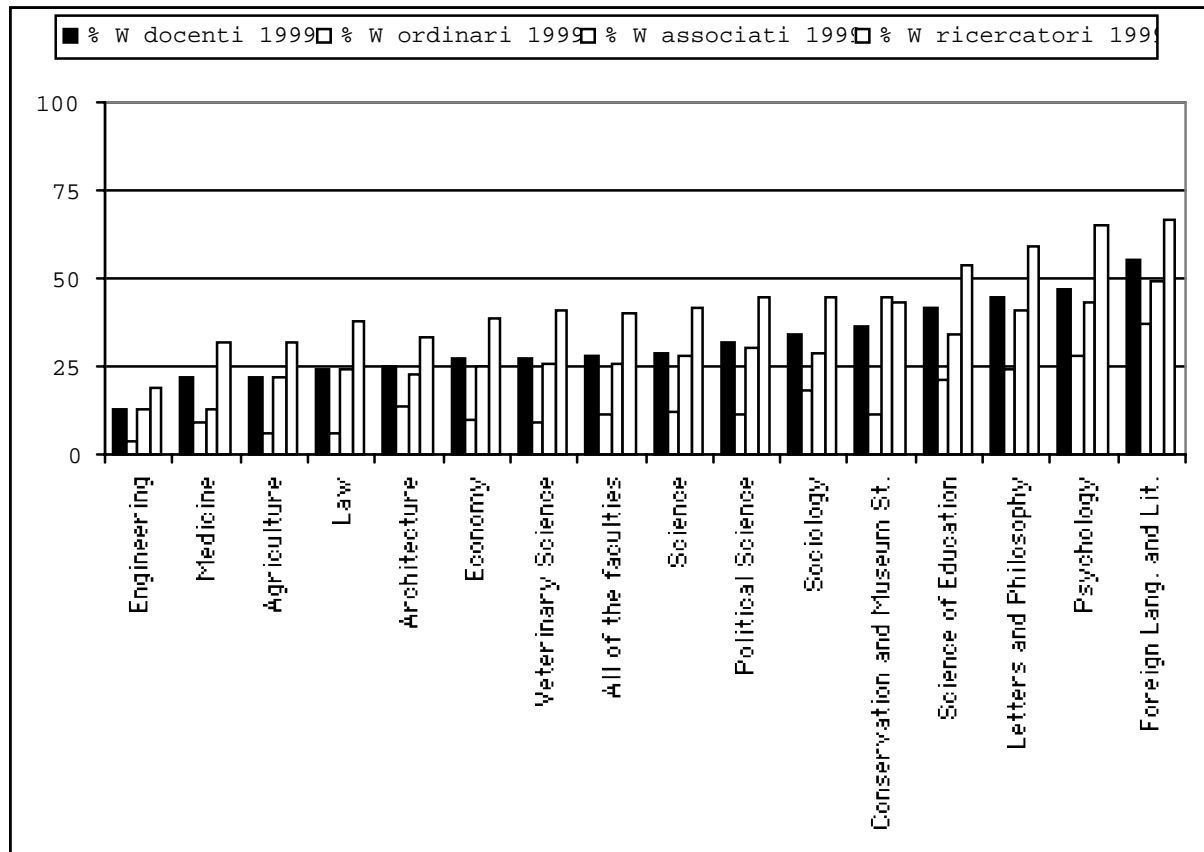


Fig. 2. Percentage of women *docenti*, *ordinari* (full professors) *associati* (mid-level professors) and *ricercatori* (entry-level professors), for each faculty.

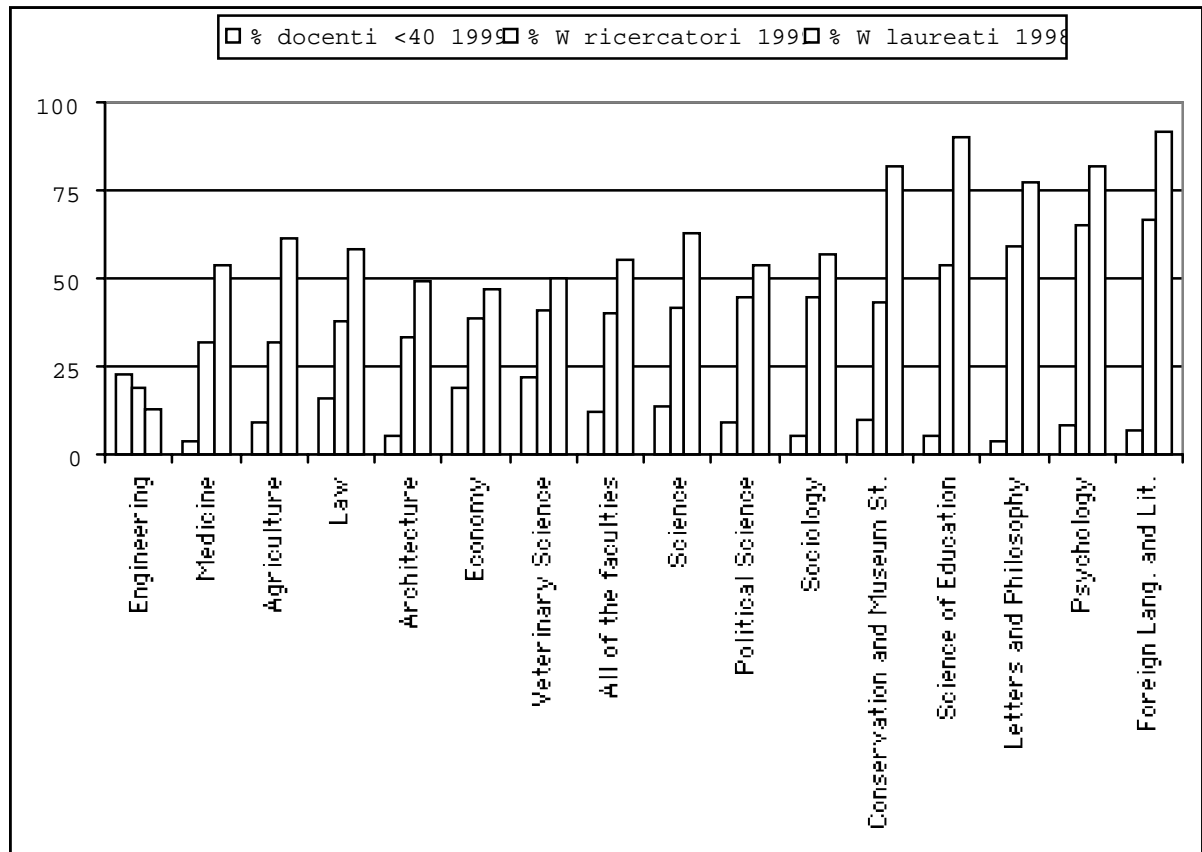


Fig. 3. Percentage of *docenti* under 40 of both sexes, women *ricercatrici* and women *laureati* (graduates), for each faculty.

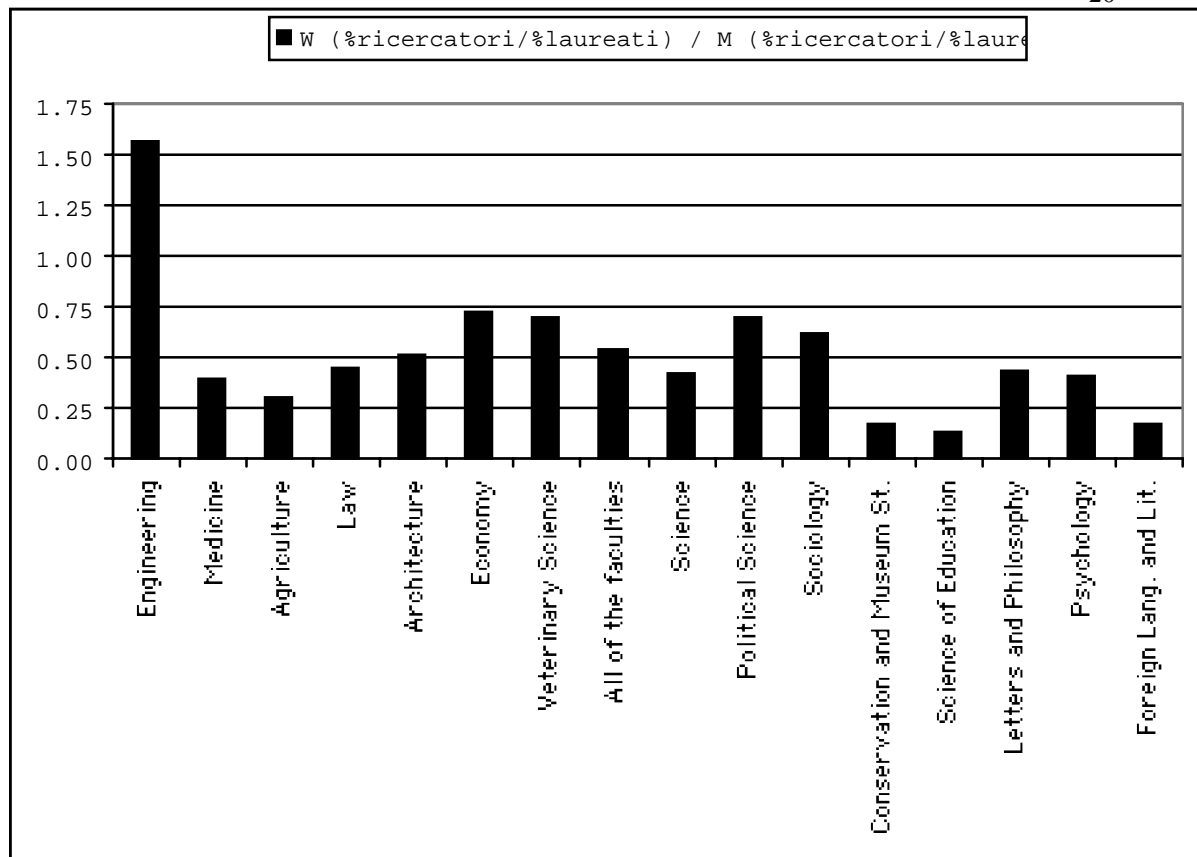


Fig. 4. Ratios between the percentage of *ricercatori* to *laureati* for men (M) and women (W), for each faculty.

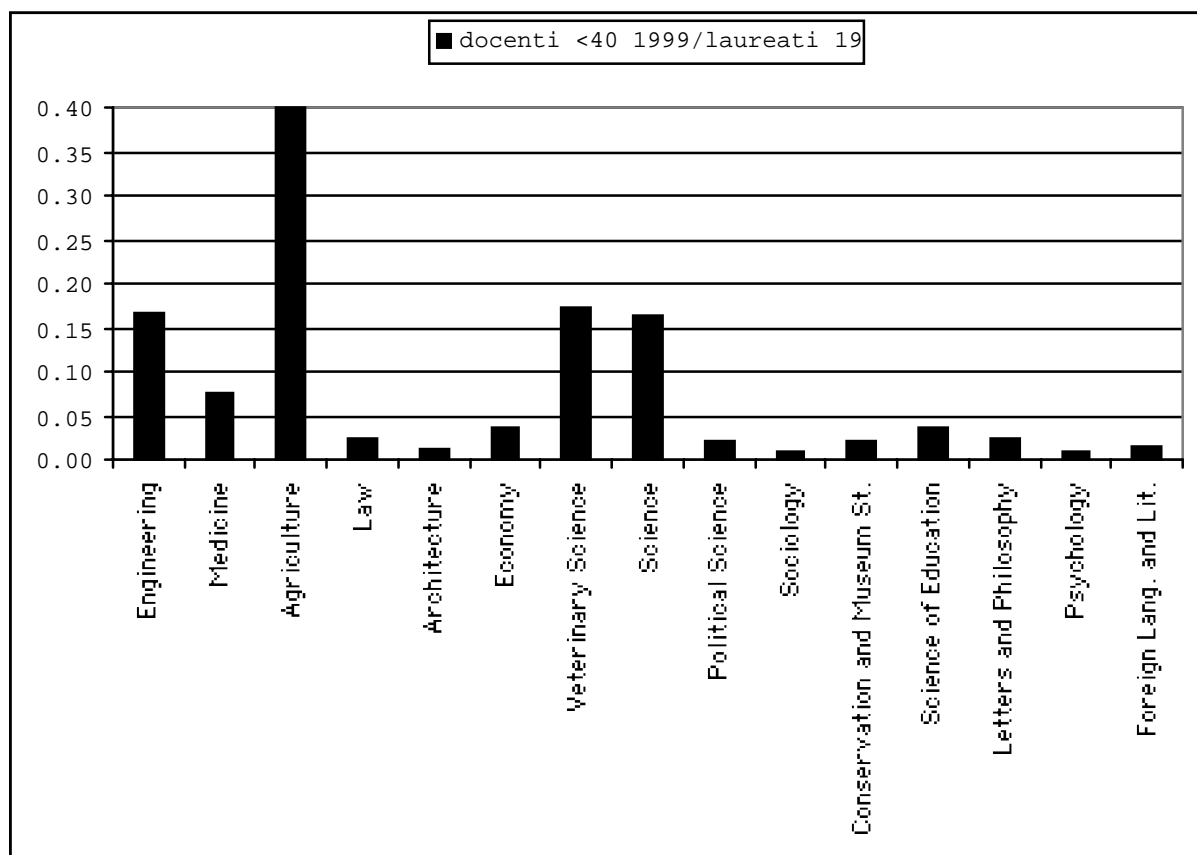


Fig. 5. Ratios between *docenti* under 40, and *laureati* of both sexes, for each faculty.

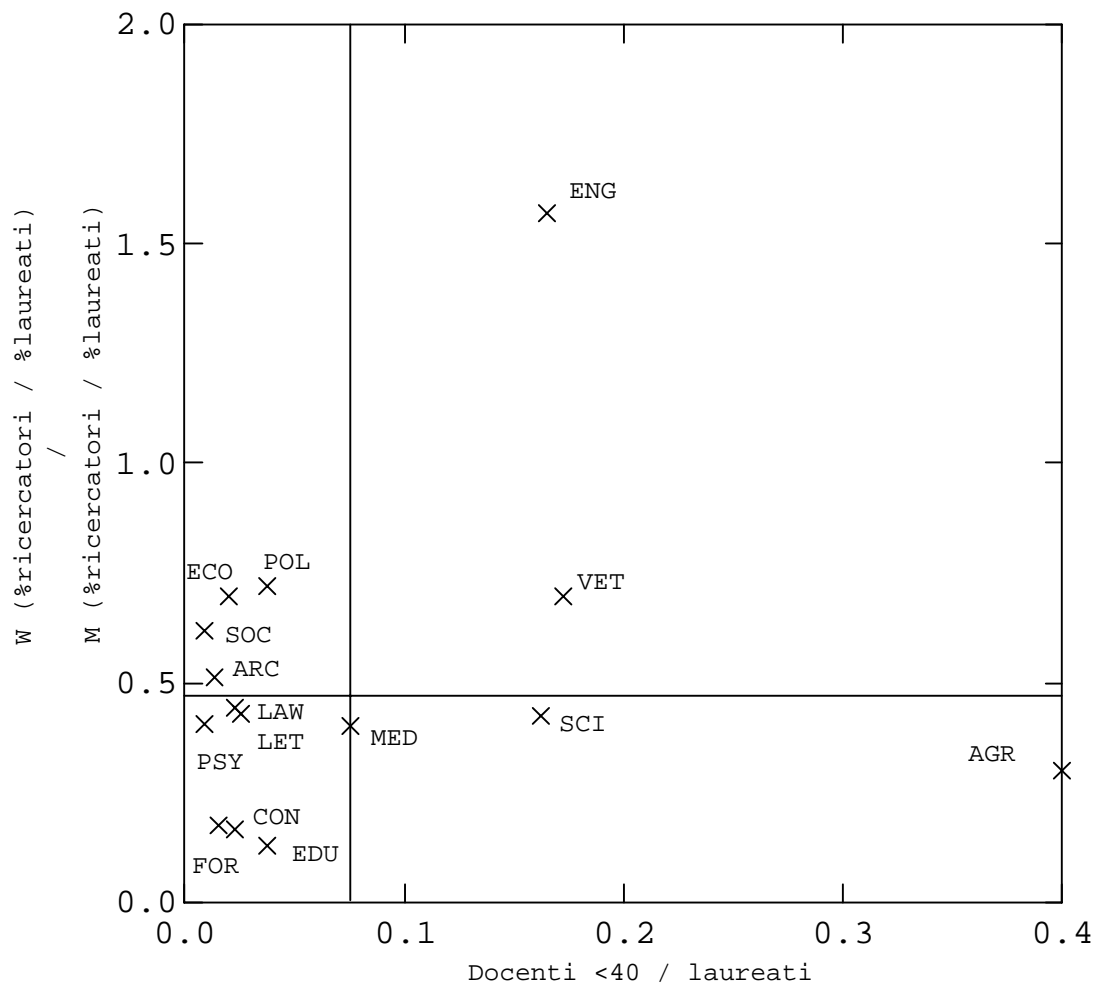


Fig. 6A. Ratios between the percentage of *ricercatori* to *laureati* for men (M) and women (W) and between *docenti* under 40, and *laureati* of both sexes, for each faculty: ENG = Engineering, MED = Medicine, AGR = Agriculture, LAW = Law, ARC = Architecture, ECO = Economics, VET = Veterinary Science, SCI = Science, POL = Political Science, SOC = Sociology, CON = Conservation and Museum Studies, EDU = Science of Education, LET = Letters and Philosophy, PSY = Psychology, FOR = Foreign Languages and Literature. Raw data.

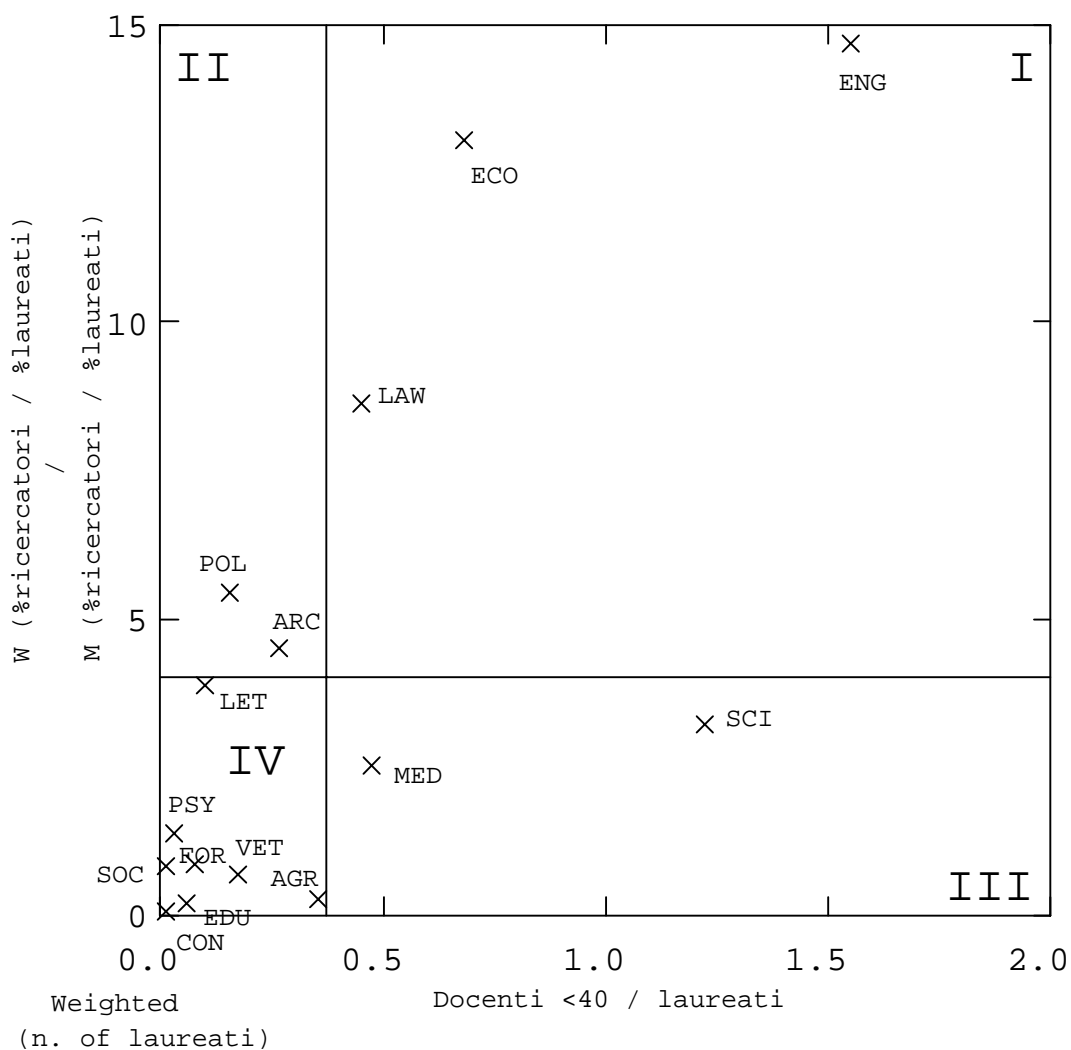


Fig. 6B. Ratios between the percentage of *ricercatori* to *laureati* for men (M) and women (W) and between *docenti* under 40, and *laureati* of both sexes, for each faculty: ENG = Engineering, MED = Medicine, AGR = Agriculture, LAW = Law, ARC = Architecture, ECO = Economics, VET = Veterinary Science, SCI = Science, POL = Political Science, SOC = Sociology, CON = Conservation and Museum Studies, EDU = Science of Education, LET = Letters and Philosophy, PSY = Psychology, FOR = Foreign Languages and Literature. Data weighted against the number of graduates for each faculty.

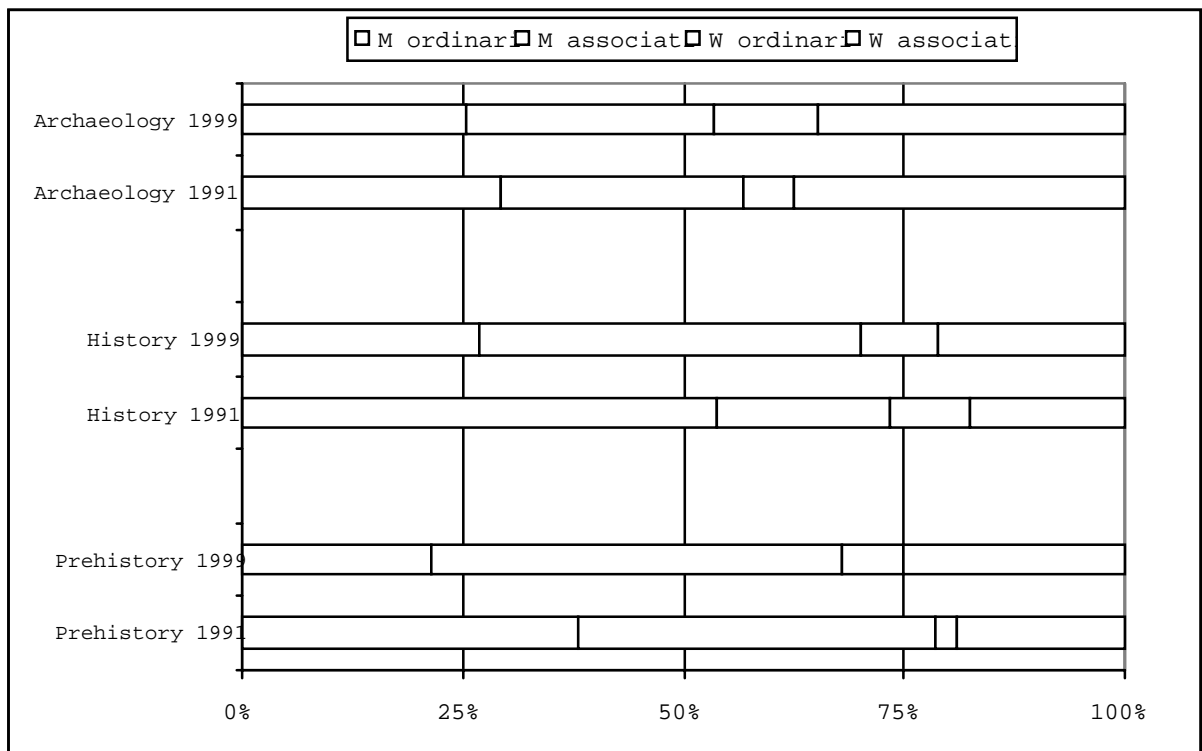
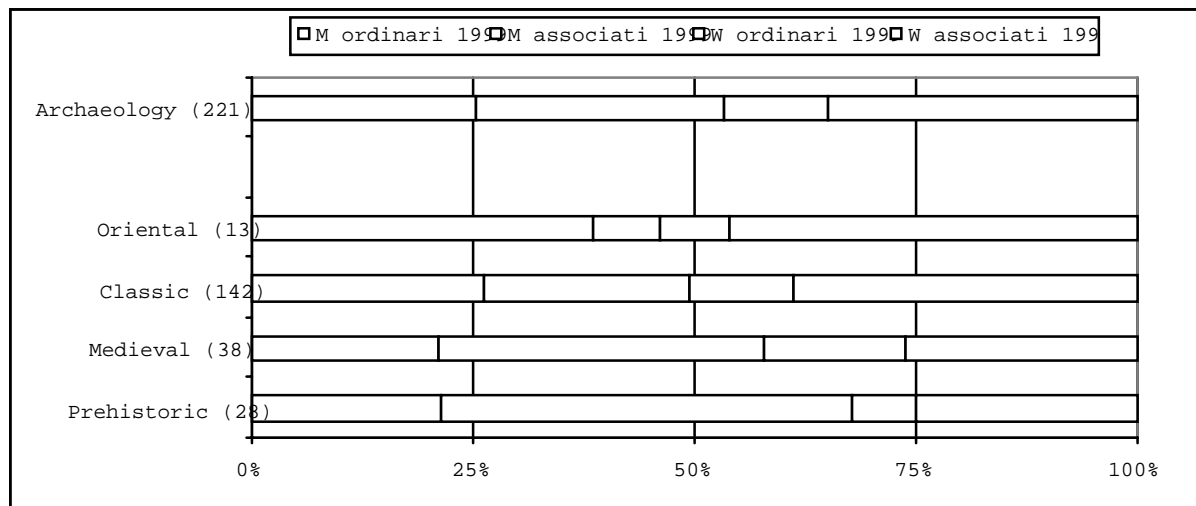
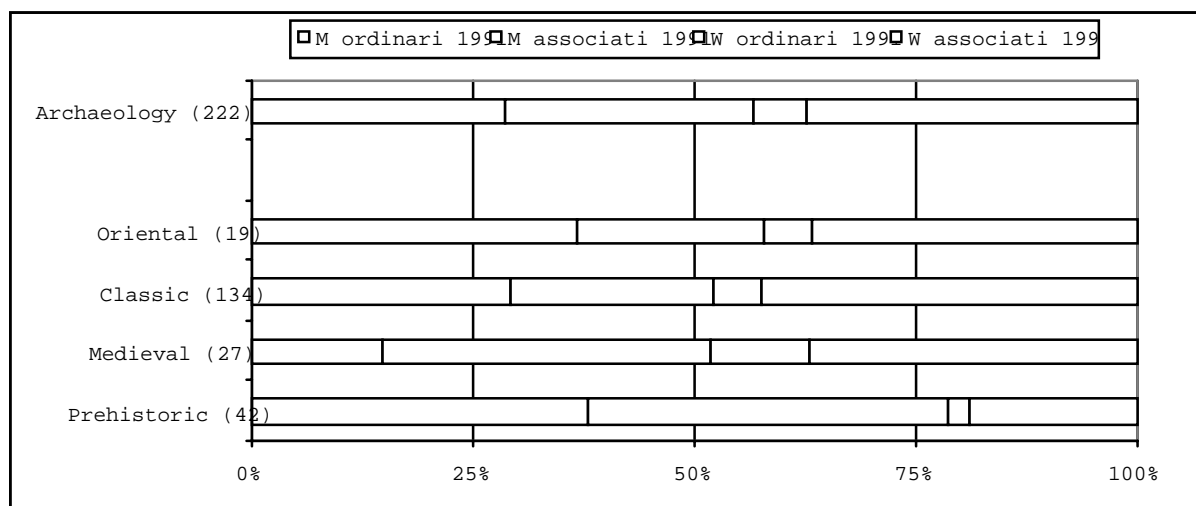


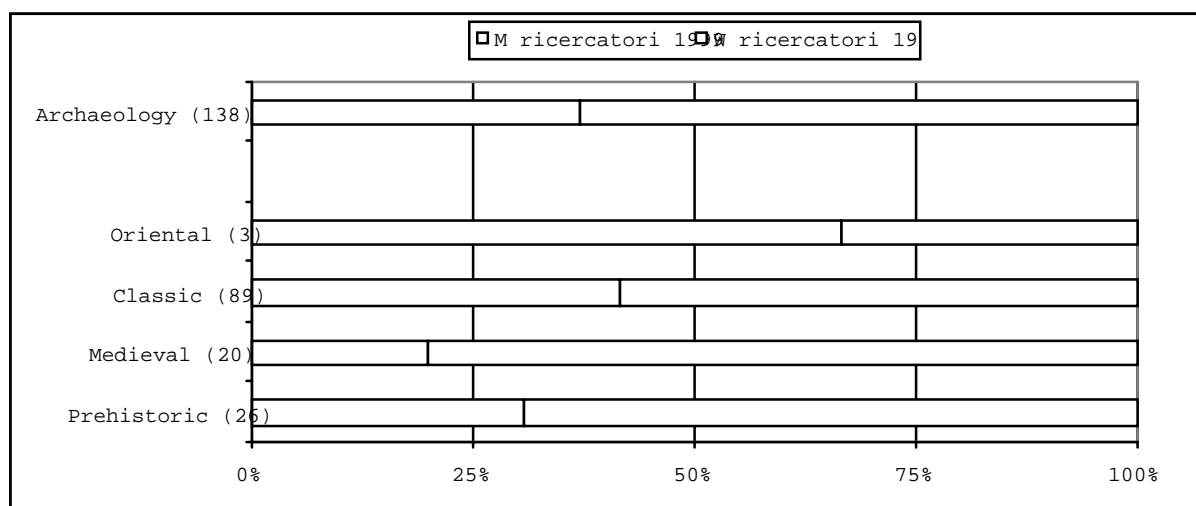
Fig. 7. Percentage of men (M) and women (W) *ordinari* and *associati* in Archaeology, History and Prehistory, in 1999 and in 1991.



8A

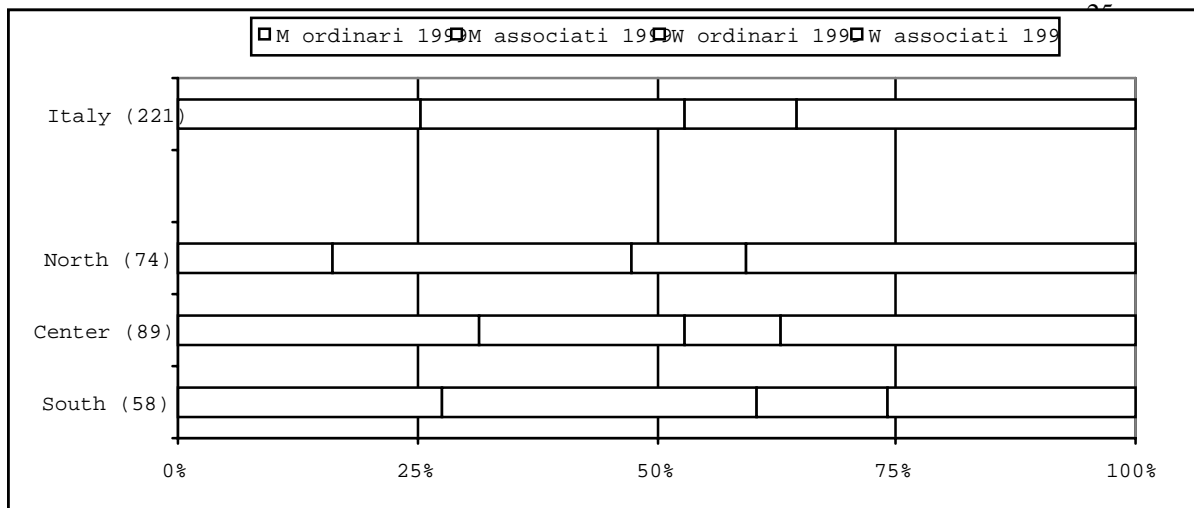


8B

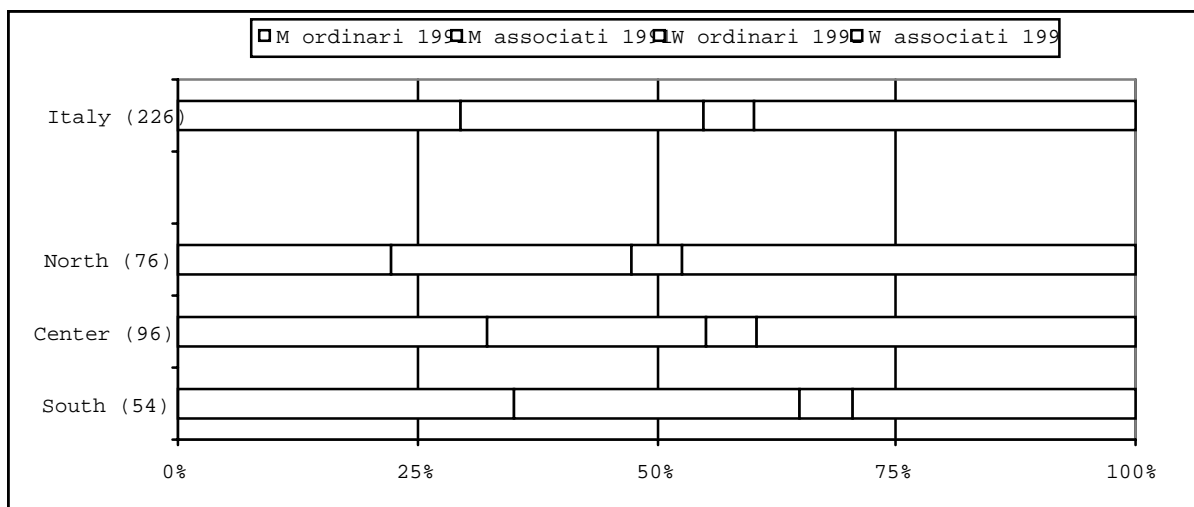


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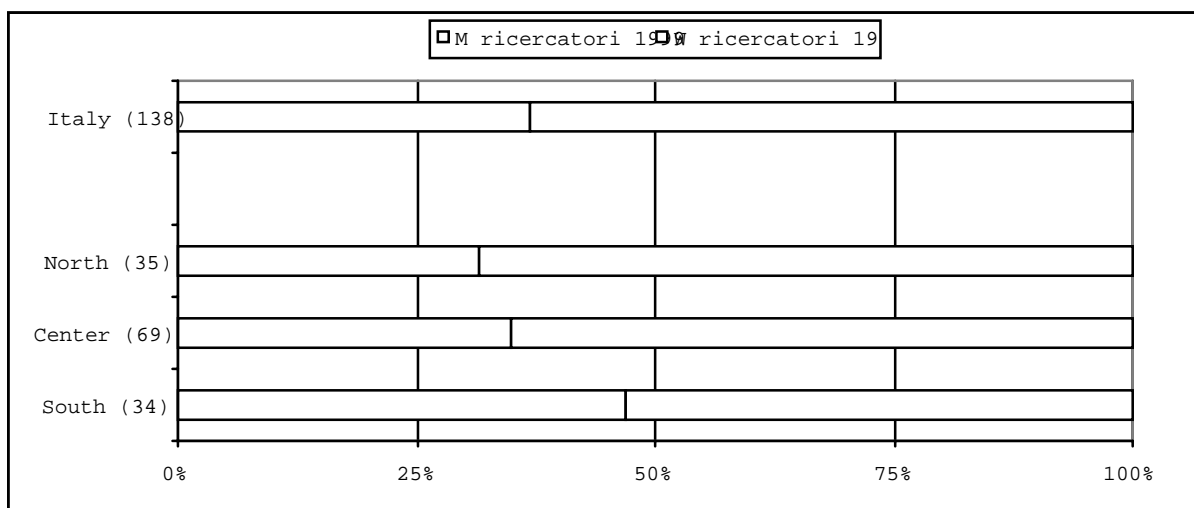
Fig. 8. Percentage of men (M) and women (W) *docenti* of Archaeology for area of study. Within brackets the number of *docenti*. 8A) *Ordinari* and *associati* in 1999; 8B) *ordinari* and *associati* in 1991; 8C) *ricercatori* in 1999.



9A



9B

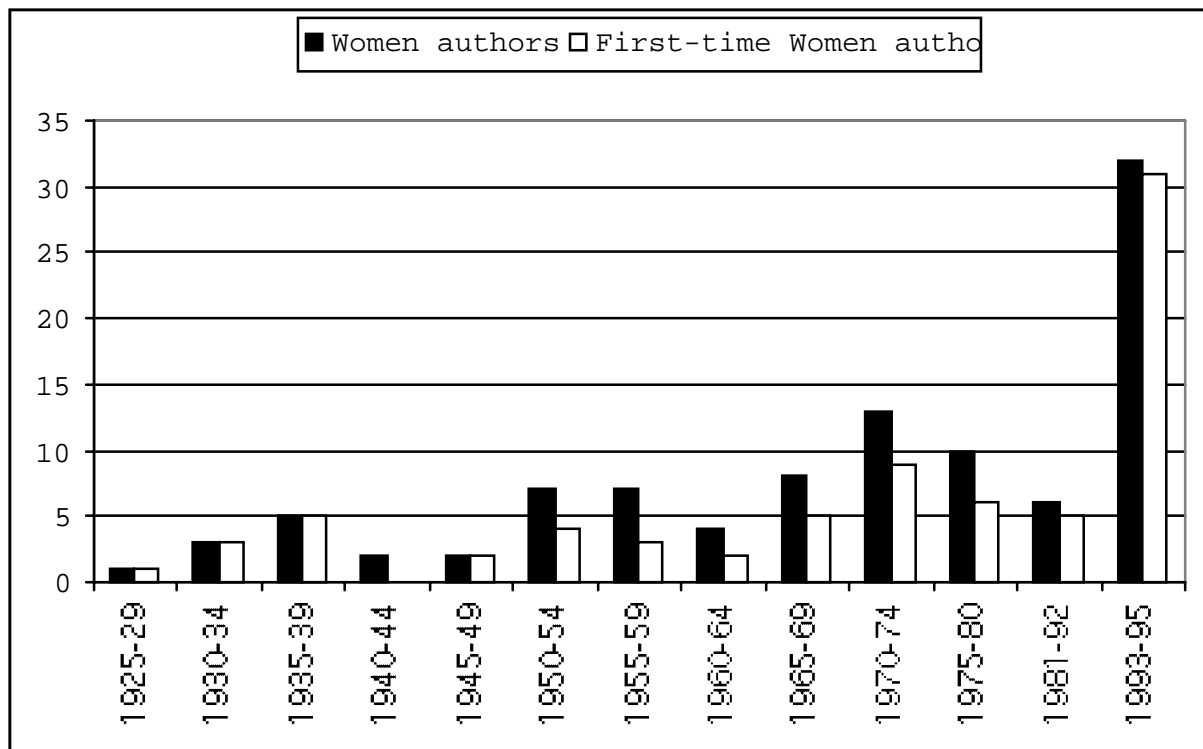


9C

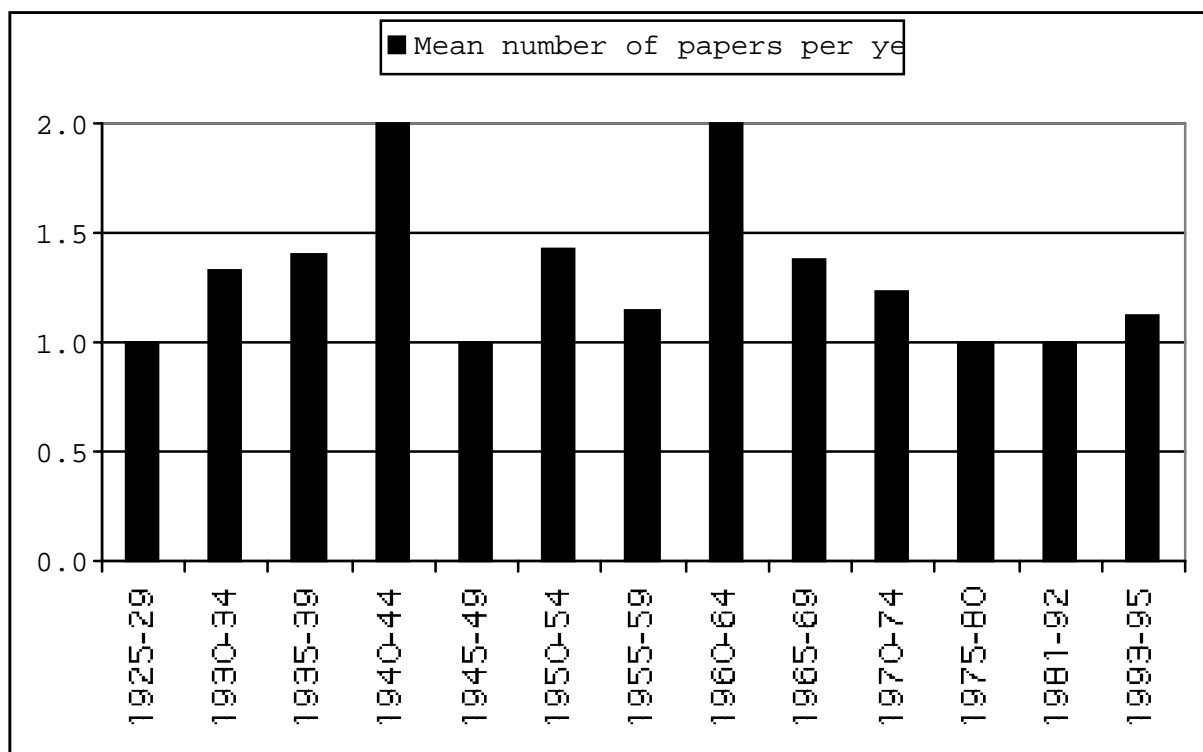
Fig. 9. Percentage of men (M) and women (W) *docenti* of Archaeology according geographic distribution. Within brackets the number of *docenti*. 9A) *Ordinari* and *associati* in 1999; 9B) *ordinari* and *associati* in 1991; 9C) *ricercatori* in 1999.

	average	PA	BPI	RSP	Origini
1995-99	37	36	21	41	51
1990-94	34	27	35	38	37
1985-89	39	23	26	51	55
1980-84	36	25	30	41	47
1975-79	35	14	48	32	47
1970-74	23	8	32	16	35
1965-69	25	13	31	11	43
1960-64	16	9	24	15	
1955-59	12		13	11	
1950-54	17		21	13	
1945-49	21		26	15	
1940-44	11		11		
1935-39	17		17		
1930-34	10		10		
1925-29	2		2		
1920-24	0		0		
1915-19	0		0		
1910-14	0		0		
1905-09	0		0		
1900-04	0		0		
1895-99	0		0		
1890-94	0		0		
1885-89	0		0		
1880-84	0		0		
1875-79	0		0		

Fig. 10. Percentage of women's contributions published in the journals (in order of increasing impact) PA=*Preistoria Alpina*, BPI=*Bullettino di Paletnologia Italiana*, RSP=*Rivista di Scienze Preistoriche* and *Origini*.



11A



11B

Fig. 11. *Bullettino di Paleontologia Italiana* 1925-1995: women authors in five-year steps (except 1975-1980 = vol. 82 and 1981-1992 = vol. 83). 11A) Number of women and first-time women authors; 11B) annual average of articles for women authors.

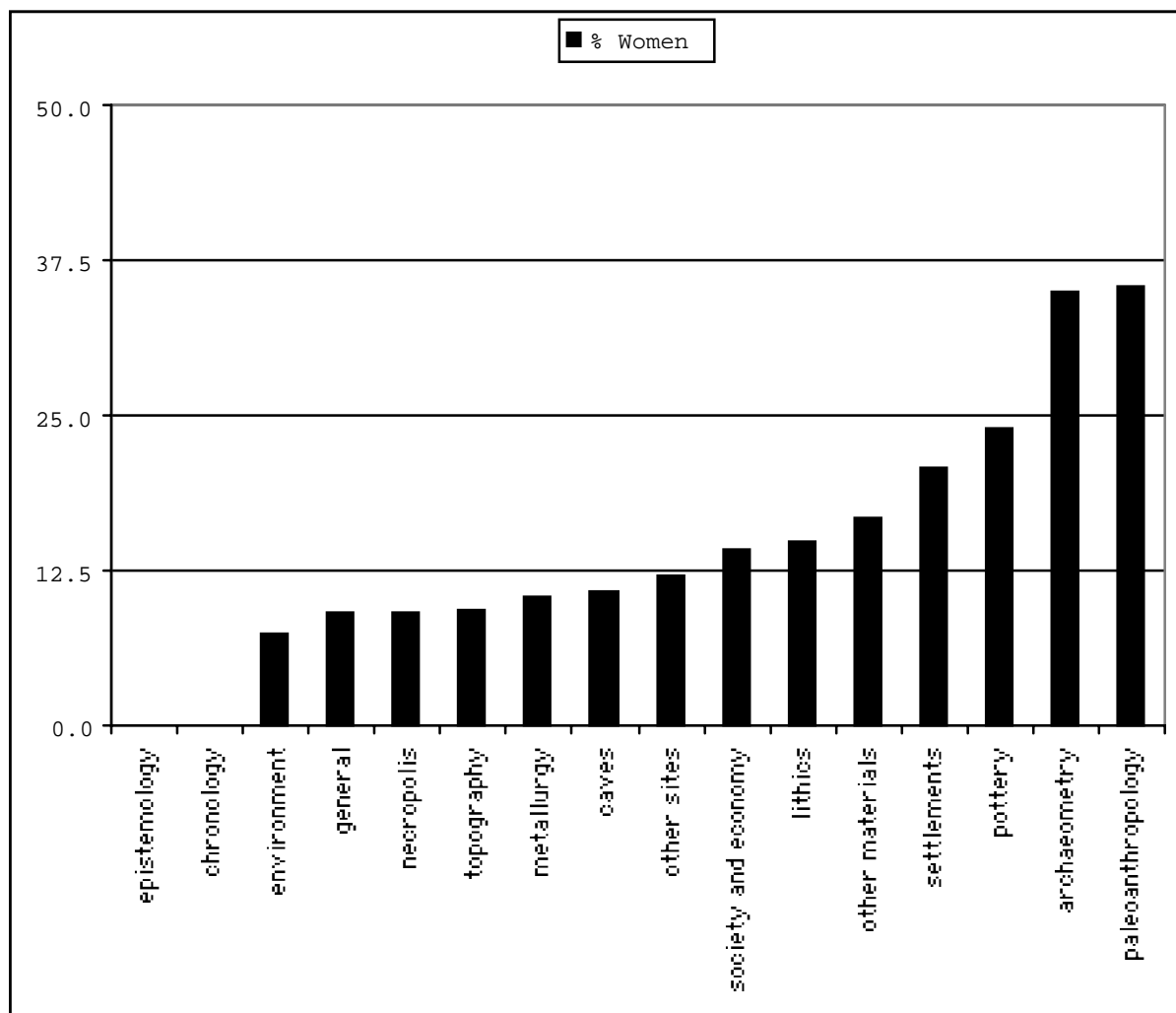


Fig. 12A *Bullettino di Paleontologia Italiana* 1875-1995: Percentage of women's contributions on different topics.

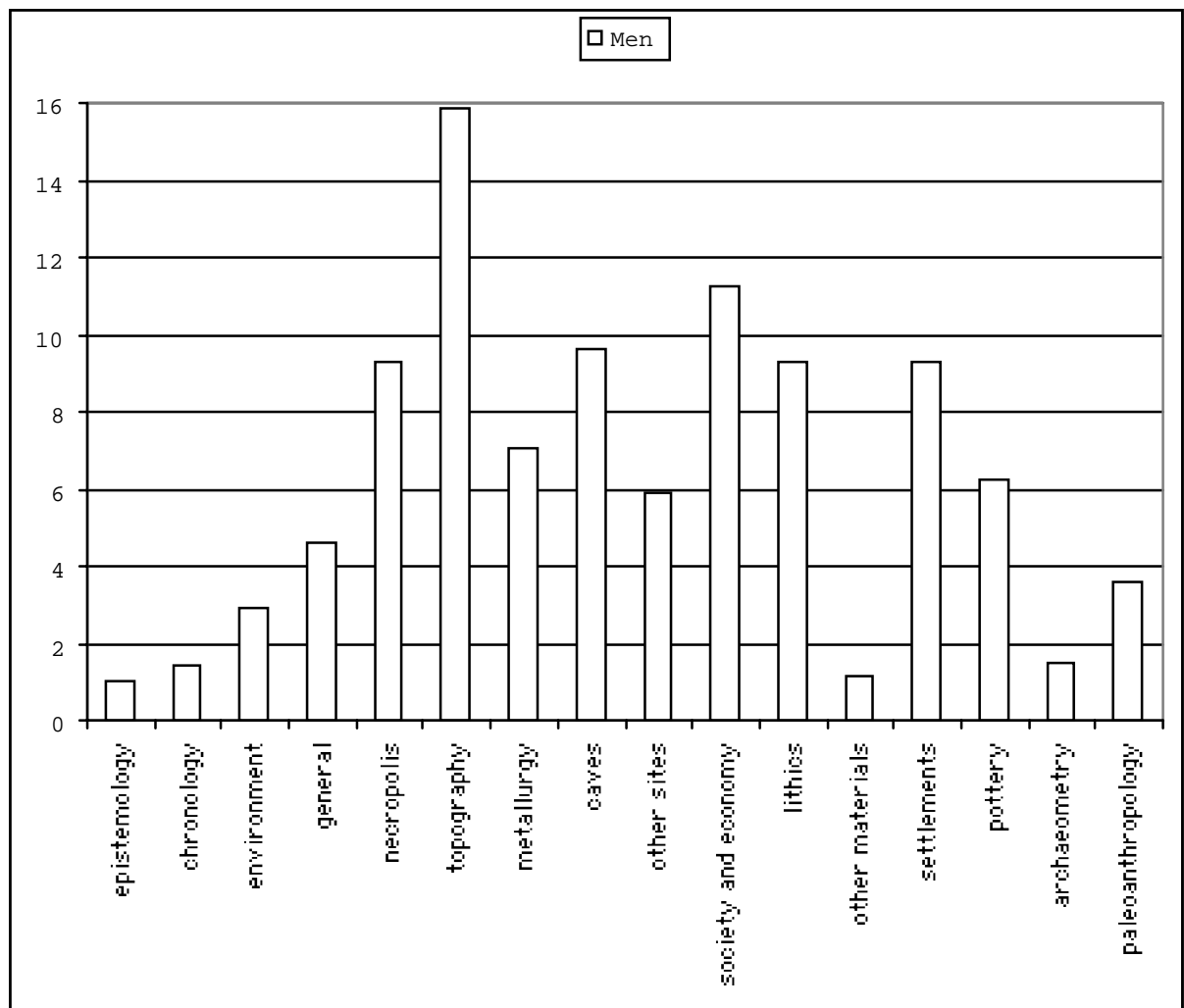


Fig. 12B. *Bullettino di Paleontologia Italiana* 1875-1995. Percentage of papers on different topics for men.

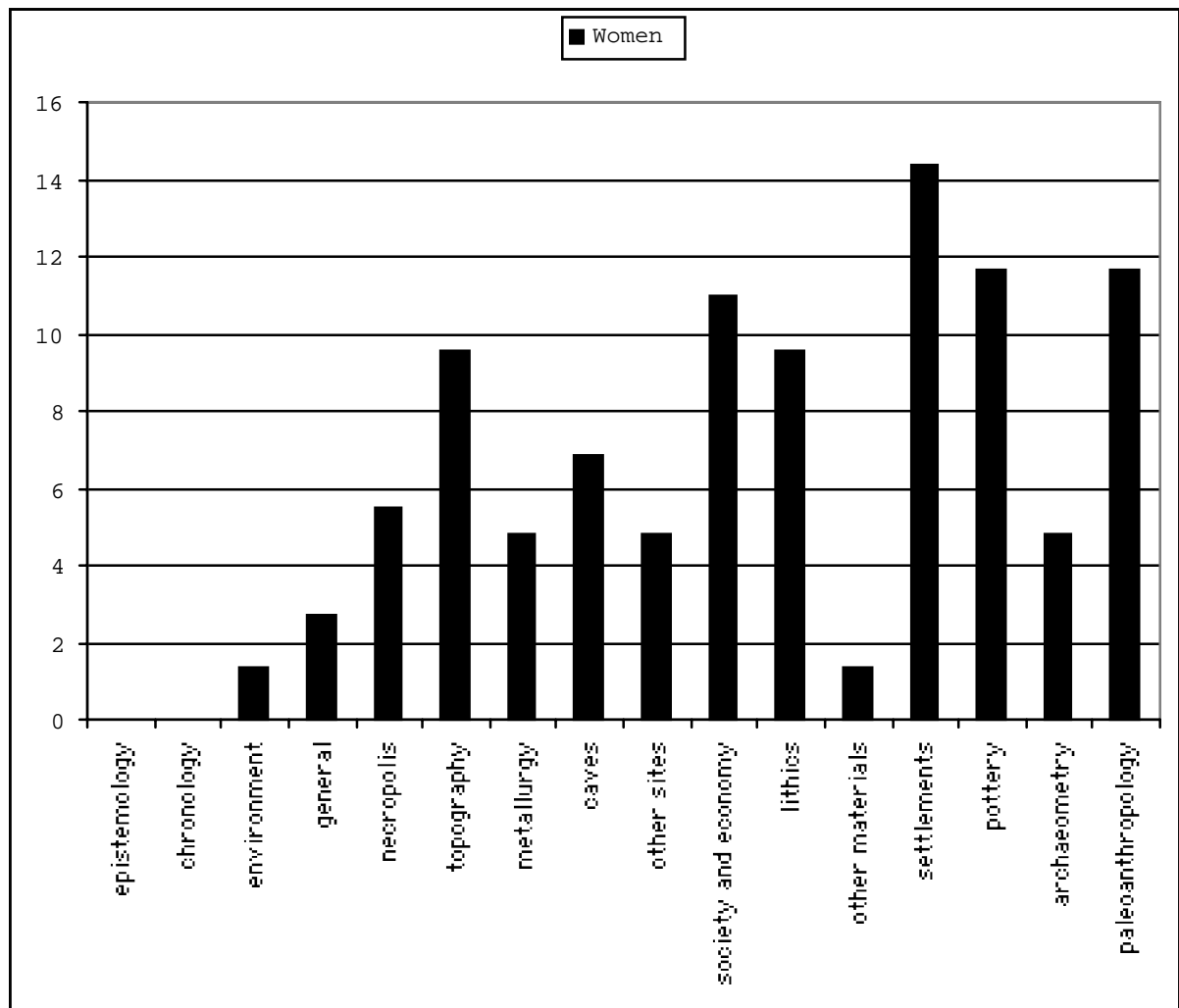


Fig. 12C. *Bullettino di Paleontologia Italiana* 1875-1995. Percentage of papers on different topics for women.

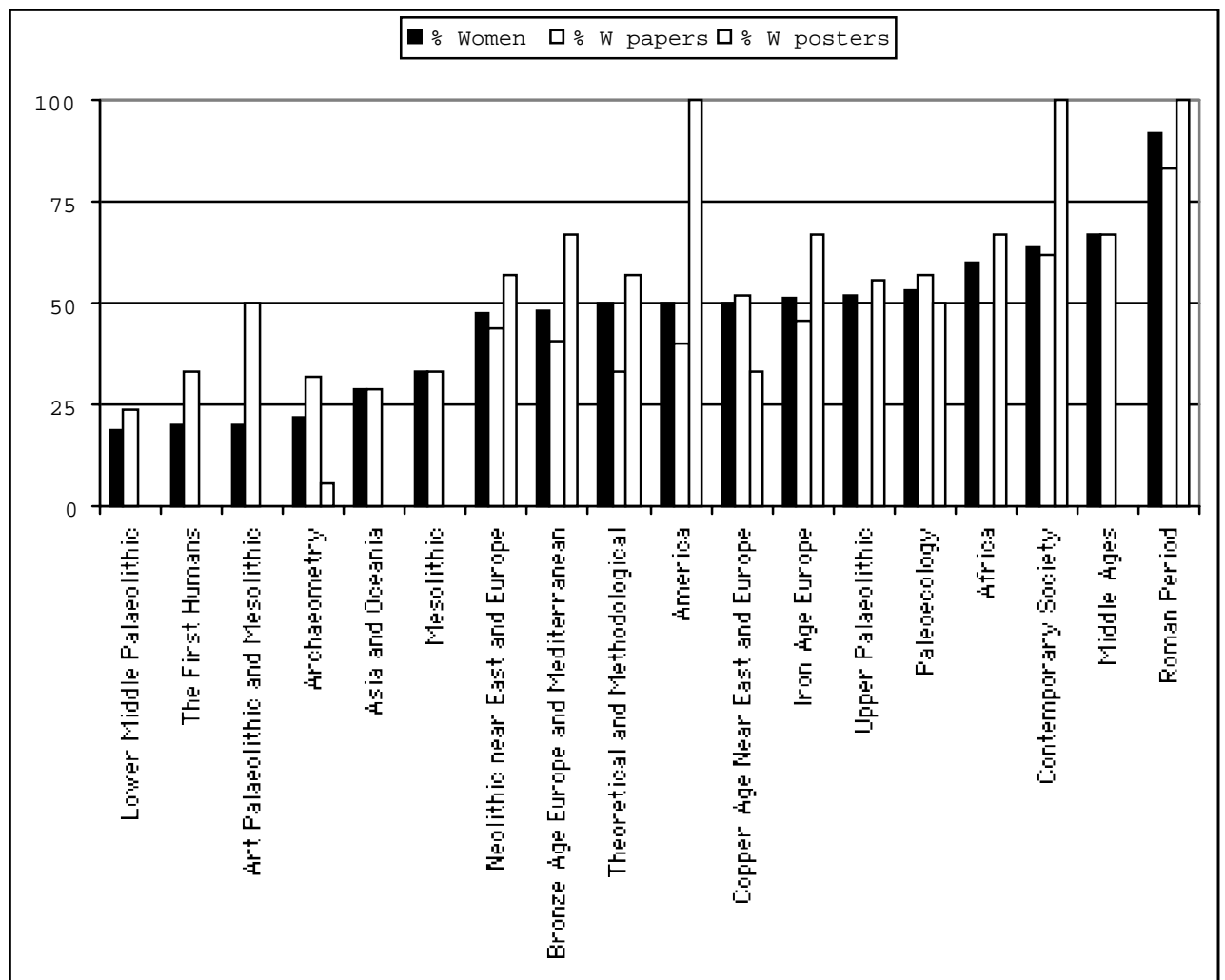


Fig. 13A. "Sections" of XIIIth International Congress of Prehistoric and Protohistoric Sciences. Percentage of women's contributions (papers+posters, papers and posters).

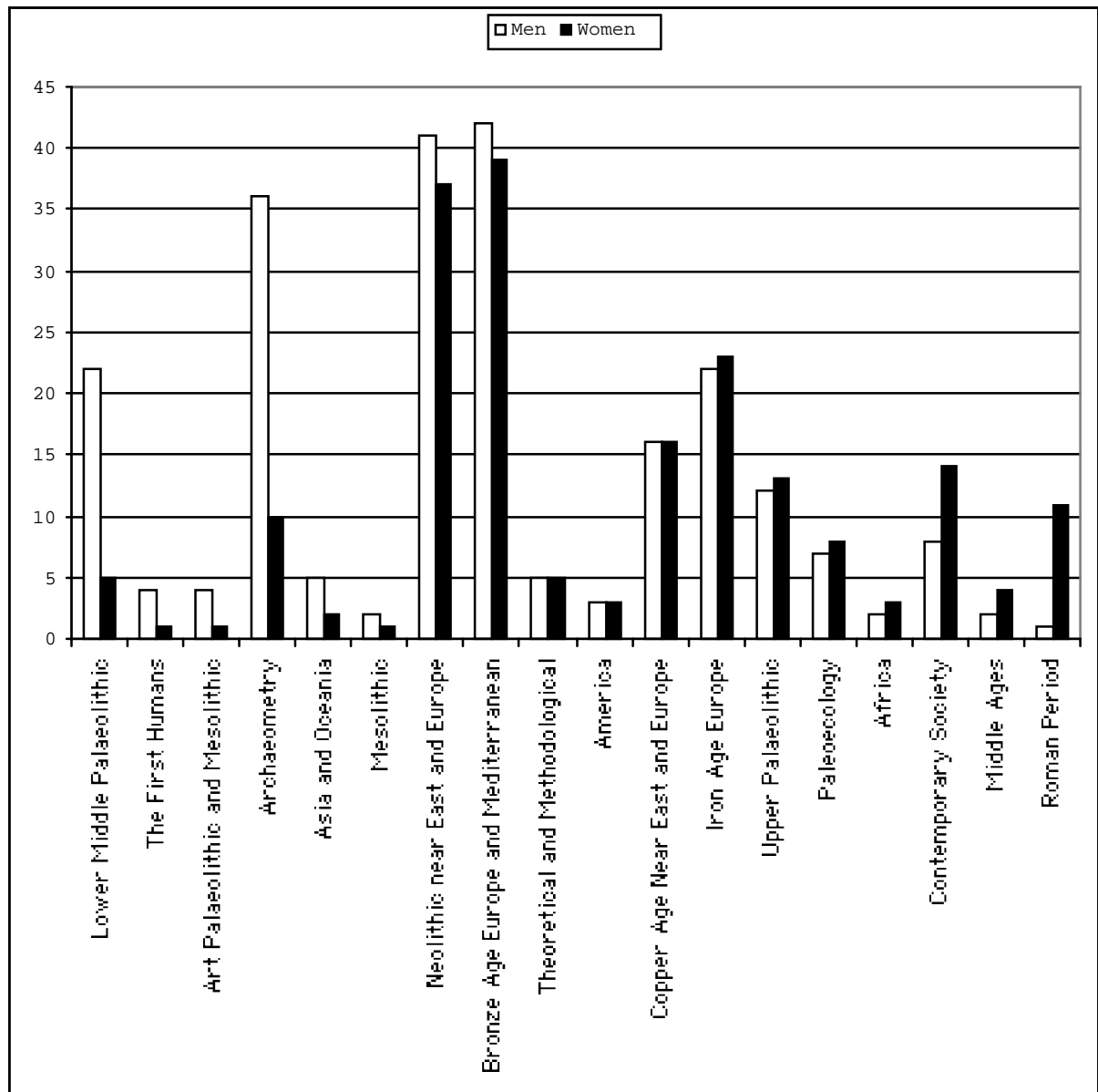


Fig. 13B. "Sections" of XIIIth International Congress of Prehistoric and Protohistoric Sciences: number of papers for both sexes.

	docenti	W docenti	ordinari	W ordinari	associati	W associati
Engineering	6657	850	1901	71	2068	263
Medicine	11288	2459	2470	216	3709	717
Agriculture	2095	450	606	37	621	134
Law	2785	683	922	60	433	104
Architecture	1874	473	416	57	639	147
Economy	3512	950	972	98	887	222
Veterinary Science	802	215	254	23	206	53
All of the faculties	50657	14047	13402	1525	15619	4073
Science	8498	2429	2359	271	3100	871
Political Science	1741	550	445	47	518	158
Sociology	263	89	54	10	83	24
Conservation and Museum St.	107	38	27	3	31	14
Science of Education	1205	512	225	48	344	118
Letters and Philosophy	5886	2624	1516	365	1712	706
Psychology	365	172	111	32	120	52
Foreign Lang. and Lit.	1060	581	220	81	341	166

	ricercatori	W ricercatori	docenti <40	laureati	W laureati
Engineering	2565	487	1544	9336	1202
Medicine	4488	1442	470	6258	3379
Agriculture	838	270	353	883	254
Law	1205	463	448	19387	11262
Architecture	761	253	98	7530	3673
Economy	1463	574	681	18043	8428
Veterinary Science	334	136	174	1010	503
All of the faculties	20186	7981	5590	99690	55398
Science	2934	1238	1219	7516	4708
Political Science	703	317	153	7751	4163
Sociology	123	55	12	1336	763
Conservation and Museum St.	49	21	11	489	400
Science of Education	596	324	56	1498	1345
Letters and Philosophy	2516	1485	266	10408	8047
Psychology	128	83	29	3383	2784
Foreign Lang. and Lit.	460	312	76	4862	4487

Tab.1. Teaching staff on 1999-1-1, and *laureati* in 1998, in each faculty: data from Ministry of the University and Scientific Research (MURST).

		M ord.	W ord.	M ass.	W ass.	M ric.	W ric.	sum
ORIENTAL	Phoenician-Punic (L05E)	1	1	1	1	1	1	6
	Middle East (L05F)	4			5	1		10
CLASSIC	Classic (L03B)	21	10	18	38	25	35	147
	Etruscan (L03A)	6	4	5	3	4	9	31
	Numismatics (L02C)	1	1	5	8	3	2	20
	Ancient Topography (L04X)	9	2	5	6	5	6	33
MEDIEVAL	Christian (L03C)	5	2	6	6	2	9	30
	Medieval (L03D)	3	4	8	4	2	7	28
PREHISTORIC	Prehistory and Protohistory (L01Y)	6	2	14	6	8	18	54
	sum	56	26	62	77	51	87	359

Tab.2. *Docenti* of Archaeology on 1999-1-1 for each area of study: data from Ministry of the University and Scientific Research (MURST).

Archaeology	M ord.	W ord.	M ass.	W ass.	M ric.	W ric.	sum
NW BERGAMO			1				1
NW GENOVA			2	2		3	7
NW MILANO		2	1	2	1	5	11
NW MILANO CATT.		2			1	3	6
NW PAVIA	1		1	2	1	1	6
NW PIEMONTE OR.				1	1		2
NW TORINO	1	1	1	1	1	3	8
NE BOLOGNA	5	1	4	10	2	5	27
NE FERRARA			1				1
NE PADOVA	1	2	3	4	2	1	13
NE PARMA				1			1
NE TRENTO				1		1	2
NE TRIESTE	2		2	3	1	1	9
NE UDINE	1	1	2	2	1		7
NE VENEZIA	1		4	1		1	7
NE VERONA			1				1
CW CASSINO		1		2		1	4
CW FIRENZE	3	1	3	1	1	2	11
CW PERUGIA	3		3		5	2	13
CW PISA	1	1	2	5	1	3	13
CW PISA NORM.	1					1	2
CW ROMA 3	1		1	1		3	6
CW ROMA SAP.	9	2	4	9	4	24	52
CW ROMA T.VERG.	1		3	4	2	1	11
CW SIENA	3			2	3	1	9
CW VITERBO	2	1	1	4	2	1	11
CE CHIETI		1		1	1	2	5
CE L'AQUILA	1						1
CE MACERATA	1	1	1	1	2		6
CE URBINO	1		1	1		2	5
SAR CAGLIARI	1	1		1	1	1	5
SAR SASSARI				1	2	1	4
SW COSENZA			3		2		5
SW NAPOLI FED.II	2		2	4	3	1	12
SW NAPOLI II		1	1		2	2	6
SW NAPOLI OR.	4	1	1	1	1	1	9
SW SALERNO	1	2	2	1		2	8
SE BARI	2		6	1	1	2	12
SE BASILICATA					1		1
SE LECCE	2		3	4		3	12
SIC CATANIA	3	1		1	1	3	9
SIC MESSINA		1		1	2	2	6
SIC PALERMO	2	2	1	2	3	2	12
sum	56	26	61	78	51	87	359

Tab.3. *Docenti* of Archaeology on 1999-1-1 for each academy: data from Ministry of the University and Scientific Research (MURST). Geographic areas are: NW = northwest, NE = northeast, CW = central west, CE = central east, SAR = Sardinia, SW = southwest, SE = southeast, SIC = Sicily.

Prehistory	M ord.	W ord.	M ass.	W ass.	M ric.	W ric.	sum
NW BERGAMO			1				1
NW GENOVA						1	1
NW MILANO			1			1	2
NW MILANO CATT.							0
NW PAVIA							0
NW PIEMONTE OR.							0
NW TORINO							0
<hr/>							
NE BOLOGNA	1		2				3
NE FERRARA			1				1
NE PADOVA			1		1		2
NE PARMA							0
NE TRENTO						1	1
NE TRIESTE	1			1	1	1	4
NE UDINE		1					1
NE VENEZIA			1				1
NE VERONA							0
<hr/>							
CW CASSINO							0
CW FIRENZE		1	1				2
CW PERUGIA	1					1	2
CW PISA				1		1	2
CW PISA NORM.							0
CW ROMA 3							0
CW ROMA SAP.	1		1	3	2	9	16
CW ROMA T.VERG.					1		1
CW SIENA				1			1
CW VITERBO							0
<hr/>							
CE CHIETI							0
CE L'AQUILA							0
CE MACERATA							0
CE URBINO							0
<hr/>							
SAR CAGLIARI	1				1		2
SAR SASSARI				1	1	1	3
<hr/>							
SW COSENZA							0
SW NAPOLI FED.II			1				1
SW NAPOLI II							0
SW NAPOLI OR.	1						1
SW SALERNO							0
<hr/>							
SE BARI			3				3
SE BASILICATA							0
SE LECCE						1	1
<hr/>							
SIC CATANIA						1	1
SIC MESSINA							0
SIC PALERMO					1		1
<hr/>							
sum	6	2	13	7	8	18	54

Tab.4. *Docenti* of Prehistoric Archaeology on 1999-1-1 for each academy: data from Ministry of the University and Scientific Research (MURST). Geographic areas are: NW = northwest, NE = northeast, CW = central west, CE = central east, SAR = Sardinia, SW = southwest, SE = southeast, SIC = Sicily.