

Governing Population and Social Order in the late XIX Century. The Italian Case

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Abstract (about 150 words): In the late Nineteenth century, the Italian liberal policies realized that, forms of populations' statistic observations, could have been a huge tool of government. In this context, an important laboratory of analysis was offered by migration, which was taken into account - also thanks to the establishment, in 1898, of the General Office of Statistics - as a phenomenon strongly representative both of the nascent Italian identity and its awkward social order.

The development of statistic devices for the government of the population (Foucault, 1975) realized, under the lens of migration, an area of investigation particularly relevant for a liberal political program that aimed to construct its administrative power, through a closer and closer control of individual habits, needs, and preferences. In sharing this ideological program, Italian political science offered tools for an approach that entrusted both on social liberalism and positivism, for a balance that had to be posed, between processes of modernization and construction of social identity, in a syncretism between the social, political, legal, economic sciences, both in academic institutions and scientific journal's debates.

The first aim for this program was to use statistical models to control and quantify population moving to other geographical areas and, in particular, to non-European territories. The statistical analysis was, in this sense, a crucial observatory to represent the social and historical background underlying the migration processes, but even an essential tool in a regulatory perspective.

Keywords (5 to 8):

Summary: 1. *The General Exposition in Turin (1898): an analytical look to Italian migrants and migrations*; 2. *The Italian migration between Sociology and Statistics: the role of academic foundations and scientific journals*; 3. *Social Statistics as a Tool of Government*.

1. *The General Exposition in Turin (1898): an analytical look to Italian migrants and migrations* – In 1898, in Turin, the Italian General Exhibition, organized for the celebration of the fiftieth anniversary of the Albertine Statute, devotes a section, the Division IX, to represent documents and studies from Italian migration. The *Laboratory of Economics*, founded in 1893 by the Italian scholar

Salvatore Cognetti de Martiis, at the University of Turin, is one of the main promoters of the event: offer a sociological and statistical analysis of the Italian migration was its principal aim, in the perspective to indicate legal and social addresses to Italian Government able to reform the Migration Law of 1888. Following the teaching that Cognetti gave to his students, data migration were interpreted as the basis to reach for a scientific and dynamic approach, in a diachronic and synchronic sense, to the main theme of investigation: the Italian population. Sometimes, as for the case of Argentina, the statistical data was taken thanks to the efforts assumed by ministerial officials, who had taken charge of collecting data in the cities that were under their administration. This showed deficiencies and failures of the Italian General Office of Statistics, set up in 1885, which was to provide the main source of funding and representation of statistical data available at the time; unsuitable for this purpose, because of budget cuts made during the last decade of the XIX Century.

In the last years of the Nineteenth Century, the Division IX of the Turin Exposition is an important representation, both of efforts and aims of Italian academic scene: the attempt was, for the first time, to mean statistics as a tool for political and social reform, following the principal aim of the Italian socialistic legal movement in its positivistic mark. That experience led Italy to the new law on migration, in 1901.

2. The Italian migration between Sociology and Statistics: the role of academic foundations and scientific journals – The study of migration is the theme that Italian scientific journals focused, in those last years of the XIX Century. In the mark of the attention that sociology, statistics and economics gave to policies of migration, since the second half of the XIX Century, several journals were concerned to set up studies expressly devoted to that problem. Among all, lasting and profitable was the role that *La Riforma Sociale* played, in the context of the Italian intellectual scene. Founded in 1894, *La Riforma sociale* begins its publication just a year after the Economics Laboratory was born, and with that experience, it shares both its cultural premises and methodologies. Beside the cultural perspectives shared with the Laboratory, the journal also found its identity in giving a chance to many brilliant voices of liberal thought of that time, especially under the direction of Luigi Einaudi.

On the cultural identity of the periodic *La Riforma sociale*, the debate is still alive. In which sense the ideals of modernisation, one of the main aim of the journal, has to be interpreted, focus the theme on which doctrine is strongly divided: meant as a hybrid between socialism and positivism, or considered as a perspective more closely linked with reformist ideas of the liberals in that period.

Within this paradigm of modernity, migration is an important laboratory, for which data offered by social statistics are considered as a crucial tool of investigation. In this sense, if socialism is, as was for Francesco Saverio Nitti, one the founder of the journal *La Riforma sociale*, an ideal of emancipation from chaos and anarchy, to reach for a ordered and conscious cooperation in social relations, this turns out to be very close to the program, asserted by Luigi Einaudi: «understand to legislate».

3. *Social Statistics as a Tool of Government* - The intersection of these methodological and normative claims lead the Italian legal approach to migration out from the schemes proposed by the first draft legislation (*Project Crispi*) which became law in 1888. At that time, statistics, as well as economic and social sciences, were far from being a tool of comprehension of the phenomenon: *Crispi law* merely aimed to define restrictions and permissions for those who wanted to expatriate, taking aside the data offered by any statistic approach.

The breakthrough of statistics as a tool of government is understood in its crucial contribution, when migration is meant connected with the legal construction of Italian identity, in considering that the phenomenon, especially at the end of the Nineteenth Century, was particularly related to the economic difficulties of a part of the peninsula, the Southern one. In this area, the huge lack of industrialization, together with a rural economy and society, did not permit any economic development. In contrast, the working class migrants represented a real resource for the host countries, both in their economic and demographic development. Focusing the social impact of migration, thanks to both statistic and sociological investigations, social sciences offered the need for a strong change in regulatory Italian policies, realized in 1901, when the new *Migration Law* started, at last, to establish a governmental power on migration, in submitting individual rights to migrate under the control of public and

administrative policies. The paper aims to reconstruct, in a genealogical perspective, this connection between administrative power and migration, in trying to throw a light both to its historical and philosophical issues.