

Education in the Italian colonies during the interwar period

Matteo Pretelli*¹

Università di Trieste, Dipartimento di Storia e Culture dall' Antichità al Mondo, Trieste

(Received 7 April 2008; final version accepted 6 June 2010)

Fascism saw education as a key way to 'make Italians' both at home and in its colonies. Schools for Italians and for the indigenous population in Africa were a key part of this project. These educational institutions were set up, partly, to convince young Italians of their role as colonisers and bearers of an idea of 'Italian civilisation'. A small minority of Africans, who were permitted to attend schools created for a section of the local population, were given an education that was designed to reinforce their role as inferior and as targets for an idea of a superior 'Italian civilisation'. This article will analyse the role of the schools set up in the colonies both for Italians and for the local population, as well as their use of politics, propaganda and their educational techniques. The article looks at continuities and breaks with the pre-Fascist period, as well as the radicalisation of racist educational policies after the proclamation of the empire.

Keywords: education; colonisation; Fascism; racism

Introduction

In his novel *L'inattesa piega degli eventi*, Enrico Brizzi (2008) imagines Italy in the 1960s as still under Mussolini after his victory in the Second World War Two. The protagonist of the story is a sports reporter sent to the Italian colonies in East Africa to cover their local football championship, which is barely known about in the mother country. Brizzi describes these colonies as ruled by racism and violence towards the indigenous population, a fictional situation that relates, however, to historical realities. In 1942 the journalist George L. Steer visited Addis Ababa as a British intelligence officer during the campaign against Italian forces, and reported how the Italians had moved Ethiopians from their homes to a 'native town', which was 'two miles out of the real Addis Ababa, so that the Ethiopian should not pollute the pure, fair Italian type by his proximity' (Steer 1942, 193). Italian racism and apartheid were also demonstrated in an extensive denial of the population's access to education. Steer had visited Libya in 1939 and noted how the result of rule by Italy, following that of Turkey, was the curbing of 'the growth of an Arab educated class, elsewhere the centre of Arab political development. There are only about 120 Arabs at the one higher secondary school in Tripoli' (Steer 1939, 165). According to historian Nicola Labanca (2008a, 248), denying education to an indigenous population is a colonial crime as significant as 'exceptional' crimes such as deportation and mass murder.

*Email: matteo.pretelli@tiscali.it

This essay aims to reconstruct aspects of educational ideology and practice in the Italian colonies both before Fascism and, more particularly, in the interwar period. In the first part, I analyse the role of education in the Italian colonies from the liberal era through to the eve of the Second World War. This section is primarily based on a review of contemporaneous studies by Italian scholars and observers of colonialism, as well as on secondary sources. The second part draws on the secondary literature that examines the role of Italian publications and propaganda in forming the image of Africa among Italian youth. Textbooks in use both with indigenous populations and with Italians outside their national school system are then analysed in terms of their political narrative.

Educational policy in the Italian colonies was suffused with racism, whose accentuation – ultimately through its ‘institutionalisation’ in East Africa in the race laws of April 1937 – progressively reduced the access of indigenous populations to education. This sort of institutionalised racism was a peculiarity of Italian Fascism: under pre-Fascist Italy, and in other colonised countries such as Kenya and Algeria, racism was embedded in everyday practice rather than made explicit in written norms (Barrera 2003a, 2008). Furthermore, while in African colonies ruled by other European powers educational provision for native populations was improved in order to foster new local administrations, Fascist Italy reduced the number of schools and assigned all aspects of colonial power to the ruling white populations (Labanca 2008b, 50–51).

Racist practices were not, however, an invention of Mussolini’s regime. In 1897, new regulations in the colony of Eritrea had stressed the importance of emphasising the supposed European racial superiority to the African population, but also of protecting the latter from abuses committed by their Italian rulers (Barrera 2003b, 89). In 1905 the segregation of Italians and Eritreans was established, based on the alleged ‘lesser degree’ of civilisation of the latter; thereafter, inter-racial marriages could only be authorised by the Italian Governor (Sorgoni 2002, 44–45). Labanca (2002, 414–20) has delineated three forms of racism in Italian Africa: a ‘political’ racism, aimed at exploiting the divisions and tensions between indigenous populations to rule the colonies; a ‘diffused’ racism, which characterised colonial society in general, and was seen in discrepancies such as differences in earnings and housing conditions; and an ‘institutional’ racism, which found form in the aforementioned race laws passed after the establishment of the Empire. While the third was a particular expression of Mussolini’s regime, the first two characterised liberal Italy as well. Local women were particularly affected by the practice of ‘diffused’ racism; for example, in the pre-Fascist period sexual relationships between Italian men and African women were not necessarily indications of respect and inter-racial tolerance. In Eritrea the *madamato* – the retention of local women for domestic and sexual services – was widely practised by Italian men living abroad on their own. Within these arrangements women might still experience domestic violence and abandonment, especially in the event of unwanted pregnancies. Italian racism was also seen in acts of prevarication, such as not paying for work done or for eating in restaurants owned by local people, and in unequal treatment before the law. The colonies attracted many people who considered Italian legislation as not applicable overseas, and thought of indigenous people as ‘savages’ who ‘deserved’ to be exploited (Barrera 1996, 3; 2003a, 430–32; Sorgoni 2002, 46). After 1914, colonial officers wanting to marry local women were forced to resign from their posts (Sorgoni 2002, 45–46). Inter-racial marriages were made completely illegal in 1937, a policy intended to underline the alleged ‘superiority’ and ‘purity’ of the Italian race. In East Africa the *madamato* and sexual relationships with local women were also forbidden,

although these Fascist regulations were largely disregarded. After 1936 African subjects no longer had access to Italian citizenship, or to bars, cinemas and public transport; on the eve of the Second World War, the separation of white from indigenous people was conclusively established with the definition of people of mixed race – children of Italian men and African women – as ‘natives’ (Barrera 1996, 37–41; 2003a; Sorgoni 2002).²

Colonial education and historiography

Scholarship on Italian colonialism has made various contributions regarding the role of education in Italy’s overseas possessions prior to the outbreak of the Second World War. An early study by Roland De Marco (1943) was undertaken before this conflict had even concluded. It was not until the 1970s, however, that Richard Pankhurst wrote about Italian textbooks in Africa (1970) and completed the first study of Italian education in East Africa after the Italo-Ethiopian conflict (1972). In the same decade, Leonard Alban Appleton (1979) examined education in Libya under Italian rule. Thereafter, a number of both Italian and other scholars, such as Negash (1987), Martelli (1989), Ciampi (1996), and Smith-Simonsen (1997), contributed to a deeper understanding of Italian colonial education in Africa.

Since 2000, various work has addressed the issue of the educational experience under Italian rule of both Libya (al-Tahir al-Jarari 2000; Cresti 2001; Galoppini 2001, 107–08; Di Pasquale 2007) and Eritrea (Negash 2005, 109–20; Ventura 2007). Before then, this had remained a peripheral topic within accounts of Italian colonialism (Del Boca 1992, 227, 240; Labanca 1993, 253–54; 1996, 270), perhaps due to the absence of sufficient documentation (Ventura 2007, 5).³ Labanca has included an account of the educational system within his comprehensive account of Italian colonial history (2002, 334–37, 525). Several studies have focused on how Africa was portrayed in school textbooks and other publications for young people resident in Italy (Franco 1994; Labanca 2000a, 2003b; Finaldi 2003; Asioli 2004a, 2004b; Bottoni 2006, 2008).

Pre-Fascism

In the very first years of Italian rule in Eritrea, education was not a priority. The first Italians in the area were soldiers barely interested in educating the indigenous population, beyond having *askaris* – local troops enrolled in the Italian forces – taught the Italian language (Labanca 1993, 253–94). The Italian colonies in East Africa had limited numbers of settlers to begin with, and, according to observers at the time, it was very difficult to recruit teachers from Italy as they rarely welcomed the move to a tropical climate (Piccioli 1933a, 146). Consequently, Italian Catholic priests usually played a leading role in the colonial educational system; they often maintained good relationships with the colonial authorities, which delegated most of the educational work to them. Even before Fascism, missionaries in Italy’s African possessions were in many instances aligned with the government (Borruso 1998, 39). In 1923, the new Fascist administration officially consigned all education in Eritrea to the Congregation of St Anne. Even French and Swedish missionaries retained a significant role until they were sent away during the invasion of Ethiopia (Pankhurst 1972, 362–64; Smith-Simonsen 1997, 57–60, 72–73; Labanca 2002, 334–37; Ventura 2007, 5).

In Eritrea, before the seizure of power by Mussolini, the Italian language was seen as a tool for civilising and homogenising the indigenous population, while separate education was established in order to instil in Eritreans, who were to be trained in skilled jobs for Italy's benefit, a sense of subordination to the 'white man' (Ciampi 1996, 669–70, 680–81, 690). In the early 1900s Ferdinando Martini, governor from 1897 to 1907, restricted Eritrean access to primary education, which was viewed as a significant threat; this was a quite common belief among the colonisers. Conversely, his successor Marquis Giuseppe Salvago Raggi (1907–1915) believed that the purpose of education was to train a local elite for posts in the colonial administration. A school for the children of Muslim leaders and notables was therefore established in Keren in 1911 to train students for employment in the telegraph and mail services (Negash 1987, 68–70; Smith-Simonsen 1997, 55–88). In 1921, a *Regio Decreto* established an educational system for the Eritrean population which consisted of primary schools, schools teaching craft skills, and a type of technical secondary school in Asmara (Ventura 2007, 6).

According to contemporaneous sources, the educational system in Somalia was extremely rudimentary. On the eve of the defeat of the Italian Empire, although government schools existed in the colony's main centres, the educational system was still not fully in place, either for the indigenous population or for Italians. In the pre-Fascist era, Catholic priests were given responsibility for colonial education; in 1923, the Italian government signed a concordat with the Trinitarian order (later renewed with the Franciscans of the Apostolic Vicariate) to oversee schools in Somalia. Priests were in charge of running the schools, but the government could determine the curriculum and appoint educational officers (Cucinotta 1933; Mondaini 1941, Vol. I, 358–59).

At the beginning of Italian rule in Libya the administration had no structured educational programme for the local population, whose education was primarily provided by Koranic schools. In Italy two ideologies were evident: a nationalist position, which held that Libyans should be Italianised through Italian schools and the use of Italian, and an alternative perspective with a greater interest in preserving local culture and customs. In 1913, the Ministry for the Colonies limited the education of Libyan children to the primary level; many politicians and observers shared a belief in training the indigenous population for manual jobs and not providing them with 'intellectual arms' through education. The year 1914 witnessed the segregation of Italian and local children in the schools. The former were to be taught in standard Italian schools resembling their counterparts in Italy itself, while the latter were to be 'assimilated' by means of a number of institutions: their traditional Koranic schools; new Italian-Arabic schools, which provided a three-year programme of Italian language and history, as well as Koran and Arabic classes, supervised by the Italian authorities and intended for selected Libyan children; last but not least, a *Scuola di Cultura Islamica* (higher Islamic school) was to train the personnel for Muslim religious, legal and educational institutions, although this was only actually established in 1935. After the First World War, the influence of US president Woodrow Wilson's democratic values encouraged Italy to take a more conciliatory approach, allowing for the preservation of indigenous culture, language, religion and rights to Italian citizenship. This led to the involvement of local elites in colonial administration. Secondary schools (*scuole medie*) were established for the local population, and the Koranic schools acquired the status of government schools; the educational system was completed by technical and agricultural schools, and schools for girls. In this phase, the system was conceived of as providing equal rights to education for Italians and Libyans,

who had been given full citizenship following the 1919 statutes of Cyrenaica and Tripolitania. However, Italian efforts regarding education were tightly constrained by the military difficulties arising from Libyan rebellion after the occupation: in 1921, there were only 1525 Muslims enrolled in Italian-Arabic schools in Tripolitania, increasing to 4931 10 years later (Ciampi 1996, 688–90; Cresti 2001, 124–57; Di Pasquale 2007, 401, 408–09).

Fascism

Fascist ideology considered education in the colonies as a key political tool to mould the new generations by Italianising them and depriving them of the legacy of their own cultures. According to observer Gino Cerbella (1933, 130), the goal was the establishment of ‘the requisite spiritual climate which can foster the mutual harmony of national and indigenous interests and establish, to our benefit, an emotional rapprochement of the native soul, stifling the naturally hostile feelings harboured by subject populations towards the ruling nation’. In the early 1930s, Rodolfo Micacchi – head of the Office for Schools and Archaeology in the Ministry for the Colonies – pointed out the need to determine a ‘flexible’ approach, which demanded different courses of action in order to address the specific characteristics of the different populations in each Italian colony (Micacchi 1931, 1–2). Due to climatic and environmental difficulties, Eritrea and Somalia were not considered suitable for mass settlement by Italian colonists. Moreover, lower salaries did not aid the recruitment of teachers, and it was therefore hard to establish new government schools. By contrast, according to Micacchi, European schools were an established presence in Libya even while it was under Ottoman rule.

Angelo Piccioli, director of schools in Tripoli in 1922, believed that education in the colonies was a ‘political’ problem to be solved – more urgently in Libya than in East Africa – by total subjugation of the colonised by the colonisers (Piccioli 1933b, 1094). Fascism discontinued the educational policy that liberal governments had previously pursued in Libya, and domination became the pervasive approach. Italian decrees issued in 1924 and 1928 established a separate educational system for the local population in pursuit of ‘peaceful moral conquest’ (Festa 1932, 25), aiming to instil respect and devotion towards Italy. Such measures put an end to the pre-Fascist period of cooperation and marked the beginning of overt subordination of the local population. In 1924, it was decided to have separate Italian-style schools for Italian children and Arabic schools for Muslim Libyans. Secondary education (*scuole medie*) for Libyans was abolished, as both politicians and Italian experts on colonial issues believed that this could easily ignite anti-Italian rebellion and subversion. In 1928, schools for Libyans were required to teach all subjects in Italian except for Arabic, the Koran and religion. In addition, Koranic schools were placed under surveillance, as they were regarded as a potential source of anti-European fanaticism (Mininni Caracciolo 1930, 21–25; Micacchi 1931, 2–20; De Leone 1933).

In Fascist rhetoric, teachers played the role of educators and colonisers who were supposed not only to promote health education among the local youth (Festa 1930, 11–12), but also – according to Andrea Festa, the education officer for Libya and Eritrea – ‘to work towards the moral and spiritual education of the next generation, which must understand Italy’s civilising mission’ (1932, 14). The task of the Fascist school was to produce workers. According to Festa (1930), Libyan children should become a means by which Italian

civilisation could penetrate their clans and tribes. Young people were the main target of Fascism in Libya because they were more malleable than adults; the wish was that ‘the child should learn something of our civilisation, and become a conscious propagandist within inaccessible families; the people should know about Italy, her glories, her ancient history, and thus become willing soldiers under our flag; they should feel, like us, the pride of being Italian, if not in reality then at least in spirit’ (Festa 1930).

The Fascists believed that Libyan cultural traditions should not be destroyed; rather, Libyan children were to grow up in their own environment influenced by Italian civilisation, preserve their religion, and be trained to farm colonised lands (Festa 1932, 22; Capetti 1937, 297–99; Cerbella 1938, 39). Tripoli’s *Scuola di Arti e Mestieri* was the only secondary education available to Libyans until Italo Balbo’s governorship in the mid-1930s, when Muslim students were allowed to attend the new *Scuola di Cultura Islamica*, also in Tripoli. This approach had an additional propaganda aim, as it corroborated the Fascist regime’s declared pro-Islamic policy in foreign affairs (Cresti 2001, 147–50; Di Pasquale 2007, 419).⁴ Mussolini claimed to champion the demands of the oppressed Muslim populations, and his own propaganda drew attention to some alleged and vague similarities between the prophet Mohammed and *Il Duce* himself (Cerbella 1938, 11–17). At least until 1934, however, these claims were inconsistent with the ban on access to secondary education and the subjugation of Muslim populations to Italian Fascist dominion. As a 1927 book published by the Italian *Provveditorato Generale dello Stato* put it:

In Libya the Fascist *squadrista* felt at home. In his simple way of thinking, he quickly understood that Italians had to lead, and Arabs follow. Italians had to command, and Arabs had to obey without objections. And the holy truncheon secured prompt, absolute, and respectful obedience if this could not be obtained by fair means. (Verné 1927, 27)

According to Professor Mattia Mininni Caracciolo (1930, 44), an expert on education in the colonies, racial, tribal and social differences, along with widespread nomadism, prevented the establishment of a stable educational system for the indigenous population in both Eritrea and Somalia. A Fascist decree of 1928 imposed teaching in Italian, banning classes in other languages, and reshaped the curriculum, stressing the acquisition of practical skills that would enable the local people to provide for the material needs of the colony. Africans were given basic instruction in reading, writing and mathematics, as well as in technical subjects. A 1931 regulation established three types of school for local children: primary, technical, and a secondary school for the assimilated. All schools, except Koranic ones and those linked to Coptic monasteries, were put under government supervision. In 1932 an Office for overseeing colonial schools was established, and managed by Festa (Smith-Simonsen 1997, 93–97; Ventura 2007, 6, 8). In sum, as Christine Smith-Simonsen writes:

... instruction of the local population was clearly designed to produce a colonial labour force. This is evident from the subjects offered in local schools, all chosen to train the pupils in skills necessary for an employment within the colonial administration and enterprises, such as simple book-keeping, typing, and carpentry. Moreover, there was a growing consciousness of education as a means to diffuse Italian values and culture. This was not only to consolidate Italian domination, there was also the idea of education as a civilizing duty, an idea the colonial authorities shared with the missionaries. (1997, 71–72)

In Tripoli in 1932 there were 2500 Italian students, almost all enrolled in Fascist youth organisations (Festa 1932, 84), while in Libya as a whole in the 1931–1932 school year all

schools (public and private) registered some 22,867 students (4539 were Christians, 14,168 Muslims, 4160 Jewish) comprising many nationalities, in particular 4190 Italians, 18,160 Libyans, 292 Maltese, 129 French, 63 Greeks, 33 from other nationalities (Cerbella 1933, 180–81). On the eve of the war on Ethiopia in 1935, native schools in Eritrea enrolled 3194 students including 59 of mixed race, while there were 196 mixed race children in schools for Italians (Ventura 2007, 12). At that point, almost all the Italian students were members of Fascist youth organisations (Festa 1937b, 295).

The Empire

According to Festa (1937a, 126–28) the proclamation of the Italian Empire in May 1936 led ‘civiliser Italy’ to address the problem of developing the spiritual potential of the ‘neglected’ Ethiopian people who still lived in ‘primitive conditions’. Colonisers had to make the younger generations aware of modern Italy and Italian history, so that the latter could in turn pass on propaganda. Similar racist considerations had previously been expressed by Festa (1932, 23–29) regarding young Libyans, who were labelled as dirty, unaccustomed to living indoors, and uneducated due to parental neglect. By attending Italian schools and learning to speak Italian correctly, Festa argued, young Africans underwent a transformation and came to ‘admire’ Italy as a wonderland with dream cities. They also acquired the rudiments of citizenship and health education that they could, in turn, teach their relatives at home.

The proclamation of the Empire brought racist practices and proclamations to a head. According to the Fascists, primary education in Ethiopia, too, was to improve living conditions and teach basic health education, which would also benefit the Italian colonists. The ultimate goal was to train a skilled labour force for practical jobs such as farmers, interpreters and soldiers; the Italian rulers could not be employed in these roles as this would diminish their ‘racial prestige’. These workers could potentially be trained in relation to the particular characteristics of local agriculture (Governo Generale A.O.I. 1939, 185–87).

The arrival of substantial numbers of Italians in Eritrea and Somalia to prepare for the Ethiopian invasion, profoundly changed the social equilibrium of these colonies (Locatelli 2008); the number of schools had to be increased, while an entirely new system had to be created for Ethiopia (*Scuole per nazionali nell’A.O.I.* 1939, 181–84). Comprehensive new school regulations for *Africa Orientale Italiana* were laid out in the *Regio decreto* n. 1737 (24 July 1936), and became Law n. 268 in January 1937. According to these provisions, separate schools had to be established for Italian and African children. As usual, schools for Italians (including kindergartens) followed the model of the mother country, and could also be managed by religious orders. The Ministry for Italian Africa had responsibility for education across all the colonies, and a *soprintendenza scolastica* (education office) had to be established to oversee each local educational system (Mondaini 1941, 2, 603–06).

An unsigned article published in 1940 in the *Annali dell’Africa Italiana* (Anonymous 1940, 672–94) reiterated the need to maintain a flexible approach in educating indigenous children, reporting that the colony of Eritrea had a more developed system. Primary education for Italians in Somalia was mostly assigned to the Capuchin order before the conquest of Ethiopia, but the government then decided to take direct responsibility in

order to facilitate activity by the *Gioventù Italiana del Littorio*. In Ethiopia a new *soprintendenza* was created in 1936, but in 1940 the anonymous writer judged the outcomes unsatisfactory, due to the usual difficulties in recruiting teachers because of their unwillingness to adapt to a harsh climate and low salaries; of those who came, many decided to return to Italy after only short periods. Religious orders (in particular the Daughters of Saint Anne and the Capuchins in Eritrea, and the Mission of the 'Consolata' in Ethiopia) therefore continued to have a pivotal role in running education in East Africa. Catholic schools were often rated highly, and granted state recognition. In many cases Italian priests abandoned their previously apolitical approach to participate in national mobilisation for the war; some missionaries shared the idea that an Italian Empire could bring civilisation and development to African populations (Borruso 1988, 56–57; 2008; Franzinelli 2008; Nobili 2008). However, the Catholic schools encountered some difficulties: they were unable to restrict the activities of the *Gioventù Italiana del Littorio*. They were also often over-eager to attempt conversions, despite Fascism's adoption of the liberal policy of tolerating indigenous religions and cults in order to avoid fomenting any sort of rebellion. After 1938 in Ethiopia, as in Somalia, missionaries were replaced as teachers by government appointees wherever possible (Marongiu Buonaiuti 1982, 15–17, 431). The anonymous observer indicated that many new schools there, created after proclamation of the Empire, had under-qualified staff, poor management and an unsuitable curriculum, to the extent that the entire system needed reorganisation (see Table 1). It was sometimes hard to convince African students to attend classes regularly, as they usually left as soon as they had learnt the few Italian words that allowed them to be employed as basic interpreters or maids. Muslims in Ethiopia had special treatment by the regime: in Mogadishu a school was established to train young Somalis as community leaders and local functionaries, with about 50 students, and across the Ethiopian regions the Italian administration permitted or promoted the establishment of special schools, providing lessons in Italian, Arabic and the Koran, to train Muslims as interpreters and teachers of the Islamic religion and indigenous languages. Generally speaking, according to Fascist ideology, education for Ethiopians had to focus on their attitude to work, and train them for farming and housework. Consequently, the observer foresaw the establishment of a limited range of schools for local students in East Africa: government and state-recognised schools focused on farming and skilled manual work; schools to train a small number of interpreters, artisans and accountants; and schools to train people for administrative posts (Anonymous 1940, 672–94).

The height of segregation in education was reached after enactment of the 1937 race legislation. The position of people of mixed race was emblematic; their status had long been debated, due to their supposed tendency to criminality and prostitution, and the criminal anthropologist Cesare Lombroso had even described them as members of an inferior race. In the pre-Fascist age they could obtain Italian citizenship if acknowledged by an Italian father, but after 1914 they could no longer become colonial officials. In 1933, it was established that only after an 'anthropological' test of their 'whiteness' could abandoned children obtain Italian citizenship; this would be denied them should it emerge that they were children of mixed parentage. It was common practice for Italian fathers to leave their children by African women in missionary institutions, which were intended to isolate them from colonial society. In these institutions, mixed-race children were subjected to a strict Italian education which emphasised their alleged inferiority in comparison with white colonists. Eritrean women would also leave their children by Italians with these

Table 1. Number of schools for Italian (primary and secondary streams) and indigenous students, including Catholic schools, and number of students, Italian African colonies, School Year 1938–1939.

Schools	for Italian students	for African students
Eritrea ¹	2	3
Students	2254 ⁴	4177
Somalia	5	10
Students	371	896
Ethiopia ⁵	11	21
Students	1353 ⁶	3217 ⁷
Libya ⁸	–	–

Notes: ¹In Eritrea in 1939 there were 152 teachers, 86 instructor priests, and 21 Eritrean assistants. ²There were 107 classes recorded. In the school year 1934–1935, there was one *scuola media* (enrolling 91 students) and seven primary schools (46 classes and 1010 students). ³There were 123 classes recorded. In the school year 1934–1935, there were six schools with 44 classes and 1985 students. ⁴1793 were in the capital Asmara. ⁵Including the regions of Shoa, Harar, Amara and Gallia Sidama. In Ethiopia there were 1516 Italians enrolled in the *Gioventù Italiana del Littorio* and 512 in the *Gruppi Universitari Fascisti* (Dominioni 2008, 129). ⁶Student numbers in schools for Italians included children of other nationalities, mostly Armenians. ⁷A school for children of prominent local people was established in the Scioa region. ⁸In Libya in 1937 primary schools for Italians had 11,674 students (including Libyans) and in 1936 there were about 6800 young Italians enrolled in Fascist youth organisations. In total, in 1936–1937, primary schools intended for Italians (including kindergartens and *scuole medie* in Tripoli and Bengasi) and Muslims had 26,673 students.

Sources: Italian East Africa: Anonymous (1940, 671–94); Libya: Tortonese (1937, 10–11, 16).

missionary establishments, so that they might benefit from an Italian education. This was a drastic choice, as they completely lost control of their children. In 1940, people of mixed race were definitively recognised as ‘natives’ and considered ineligible for Italian citizenship. All the missionary institutions, including their educational provision, were closed, and Italian fathers were required to support their children. These new Fascist regulations in fact encouraged Italian men not to recognise these children by local women, and to abandon both them and their mothers. Children of mixed parentage who were at least 13 years old could still obtain Italian citizenship if they had received an Italian education up to the third grade of primary school and had demonstrated good civic, moral and political behaviour. This rudimentary education represented a distinct privilege for them, as thereafter children of mixed couples could only be educated in schools for the indigenous population (Pankhurst 1972, 365–38; Barrera 1996, 33–36; 2002; Sorgoni 2002, 51–52).

In the pre-Fascist decades, local children had been enrolled in youth organisations; for Mussolini’s regime, this practice played a fundamental role. The Fascist Party was in charge of the political education of both Italians and local people, and in the mid-1930s marshalled the latter into organisations such as the *Gioventù Etiopica del Littorio*, or, in

Libya, the *Gioventù Araba del Littorio*. The purpose was to forge a local army; propaganda stressed the myth of loyal *askaris*, a myth severely challenged by the reality of desertions from the colonial forces. In 1936 the *Gioventù Araba del Littorio* had 5138 members, having thus enrolled about 10% of the Libyan population aged between 12 and 18. In East Africa Fascist youth organisations aimed to take on the missionaries' role in educating local people, and in 1939 the Fascist Party was in charge of the physical education of those attending schools. Discussions about this role started in 1937, but implementation of the project was delayed by widespread concern regarding the need to preserve rigid racial segregation (Pankhurst 1972, 375–76; Del Boca 1992, 150–52; Labanca 2002, 337, 352, 387; 2003a, 96, 98; Goglia 2005; Dominionioni 2008, 124–28).

The role of propaganda among Italian youth

To most Italians, Africa was a mystical and legendary world, a kind of faraway and exotic 'dream'. This sort of message was conveyed to Italian youth by publications such as textbooks and magazines, and by propaganda media in general. The African continent was first depicted in textbooks for domestic Italian schools after the conquest of Libya, an achievement that came to symbolise Italy's acquisition of the status of a world power, but Italy's victory in the First World War subsequently outranked the discussion of Italian colonies in these books. Generally speaking, after the wars in Africa the colonial possessions became part of the nation-building process, and schools were a vehicle for promoting their significance. Colonial wars enhanced national prestige, and reinforced the achievements of Roman and Italian civilisation (Labanca 2000a, 137–48; 2003; Finaldi 2000; 2003; Gibelli 2005, 291).

Paradoxically enough, Fascist educational textbooks barely discussed Italy's overseas possessions during the 1920s. However, before the adoption of the State textbook in 1929, Italian textbooks extolled the ancient Roman empire in order to legitimise the Fascist colonial system; furthermore, the nationalist celebration of Roman-Italian civilisation contributed to a denigration of African cultures. Fascism further developed the approach of the liberal regime, which had presented Africa to schoolchildren as Italian soil. The colonies appeared in reading primers as sunny and exotic lands, inhabited by wild animals, where the indigenous people were 'good savages' or loyal subordinates. The latter image, however, became less common in these books during the 1920s and 1930s, or was even derided, to demonstrate that African cultures were inferior to Italian civilisation. After proclamation of the Italian Empire the Minister for National Education, Giuseppe Bottai, pointed out the importance of schools in shaping an imperial mentality among Italian youth. According to Bottai the Empire had to 'penetrate' the entire Italian culture and the educational system. Textbooks were therefore rewritten to stress the role of Italian militarism and the courage of Italian soldiers: conquering heroes to whom the humble natives must surrender. Themes such as the 'arrogance' of Ethiopia toward Italy, the unfairness of the League of Nations, and the 'right' of Italy to expand into uncivilised lands were included. Publishers such as Brescia's 'La Scuola' and the Turin-based Catholic 'Società Editrice Internazionale' joined this endeavour by producing colonial fiction for young Italians (Labanca 2002, 250–51; Bottoni 2008, 340–43).

Before Mussolini's rise to power, publications for Italian youth had already depicted Africans as ignorant and 'cruel savages' who had to be civilised by Europeans.

Magazines such as *Il Corriere dei Piccoli* helped to spread this popular interpretation. Fascism, however, intensified racist and imperialist propaganda to such an extent that even comics were regarded as tools for developing young people's imperialistic consciousness (Asioli 2004a, 2004b). This is illustrated by the following passage from a book for the *Gioventù Italiana del Littorio*:

Colonial empire, according to the Fascist ideology, does not mean exploitation of large masses of inferior human beings, but improvement of the conquered lands to the benefit of both the natives and the motherland . . . The colonising State is duty-bound to train the semi-barbarian peoples it subjugates to work, to improve their moral and material conditions, and to let them share its own civilisation. (Ranalli 1937, 24)

This image of the colonial enterprise was emphasised by propaganda, which was central to Fascist political communication. The regime promoted media campaigns and organised conferences, lectures and ethnographic exhibitions. It also strengthened organisations such as the *Istituto Coloniale* (Del Boca 1986, 18–23; Labanca 2002, 153). Fascist propaganda stressed the myths of *Il Duce* and Rome, while reviving former liberal themes such as the 'return' of Rome to Africa, and the so-called *mare nostrum*; it portrayed the empire as the 'irradiator of a new civilisation'. Finally, it depicted overseas possessions as a sort of 'frontier', linked to notions of the exotic and the unknown (Labanca 2002, 154–57, 240–43). During the Italian-Ethiopian conflict the Fascist propaganda machinery was tested to its limit for the first time, focusing all its efforts on engaging the Italian population by means of martial themes; this propaganda was particularly targeted at the younger generations (Mignemi 1986, 35; 1993, 16, 20; 1994, 77–80; Della Volpe 1992, 49). In a related initiative in the mid-1930s, the regime, through the *Ente Radio Rurale*, launched radio programmes aimed at rural youth which emphasised the importance of the colonies for Mussolini's Italy (Zambotti 2005).

Textbooks for indigenous populations

In non-democratic regimes, textbooks are important instruments for gaining political control over the younger generations and obtaining their allegiance. In order to educate indigenous populations, Fascism drew on themes from Italy's national history, as was common practice for other colonial powers such as France and Great Britain. A feature of 'imperial official nationalism was that it inevitably brought what were increasingly thought of and written about as European "national histories" into the consciousness of the colonized – not merely via occasional obtuse festivities, but also through reading-rooms and classrooms' (Anderson 1991, 118). According to Festa, Africans would learn what had turned Italy into a 'great, powerful, and feared' country. They were to study the key stories of the Italian *Risorgimento*, Italian victories and the Fascist contribution to Italy's status as one of the most powerful European nations. Italian revolutions were passed over for fear that they could fan the flames of anti-colonial revolt, but the history of Ancient Rome, and Roman monuments in the Mediterranean area, received significant attention. Geography was another subject in which the Italian role in the Mediterranean was emphasised (Festa 1932, 36–38). In Eritrea, before Fascism, education for local children included geography and history classes: the former focused on Italy and Eritrea, while the latter offered a grounding in Sudanese, Ethiopian and Egyptian history in addition to an explanation of Italian colonisation, with special emphasis on Italy's role as a

civilising peacemaker. These rudiments of history also included consideration of a number of key Italian historical figures (Negash 1987, 87; Smith-Simonsen 1997, 75–76). In Fascist Eritrea, however, schools suppressed any themes in Italian history that might arouse subversive feelings, confining the teaching to basic material that stressed ‘Italian glories’ in order to encourage Eritrean children to identify with their rulers and to operate as propagandists on their behalf (Negash 1987, 95–97; Smith-Simonsen 1997, 95–97).

Textbooks were the vehicles for the curriculum. The pre-Fascist decades witnessed a serious problem regarding books for colonial schools, because those existing were deemed unsuitable for that particular milieu (Micacchi 1931, 22–23). As a result, schools for the Eritrean population used textbooks and reading primers published in Asmara by Catholic missionaries, which were then reprinted in the interwar period.⁵ The Fascist regime understood the importance of suitable textbooks for Africa, and so tried to replace these publications. The Ministry for the Colonies published reading primers for primary schools in Italian (Contini 1931),⁶ Arabic (Kamel El Hammali and Indelicato 1936; n.d.; Cerbella 1936)⁷, and both together (De Bellis and Contini 1930). One textbook (Festa et al. 1933) and reading primers were also published for use in primary schools with the children of Italian settlers.⁸

Missionary textbooks for indigenous populations spread a Christian message, stressing values such as duty, piety, family, work and virtue. They intended to educate the ‘good savage’, emphasising health education and love for Italy. This approach was seen in exemplary fables: fictitious stories about *askaris* who were glad to fight for Italy, which they saw as their ‘second motherland’. These textbooks paid scant attention to a broader historical narrative, merely celebrating the beneficial role Italy had played in the welfare of her colonies; only one, for instance, included biographies of Italian figures. Their purpose was to instil in the African populations an enthusiasm for work and study.

Fascist textbooks used Italian history for political purposes. Primary-school textbooks written by Fulvio Contini, the educational superintendent in Tripolitania, underscored ‘Fascist’ values such as family, solidarity and rural life, again stressing health education and the allegiance people owed to the colonising country, on the grounds that Italy was instrumental in ensuring their welfare. Illustrative stories introduced a ‘dream’ Italy to Africans.⁹ In one of these, for example, the young Muslim student Mohammed sees the glories of Italy in a film; his uncle then takes him to Italy, from where he sends postcards to his relatives (Contini 1931, 3, 165–67). Italian history was used to illustrate the political message: Libya had been a productive land under Ancient Rome, but when the Romans left there followed dark centuries under Arab and Turkish dominance; a new renaissance resulted from Italian rule, and in particular that of Fascism, which was portrayed as the heir to Ancient Rome and a benevolent ruler of the Italian colonies (Contini 1931, 3, 2, 77–78; Festa et al. 1933, 12–31). Although I was unable to locate colonial textbooks published in Italy after the proclamation of the Empire, Pankhurst managed to examine three of these books produced for African schoolchildren.¹⁰ In all three, passages on Italy and the empire were fundamental. Once again, great emphasis was placed on health education, the loyalty owing to the Italian ‘motherland’, and the contribution of African troops. As already discussed, Italian history was the history of the ‘glories’ of Ancient Rome, while other important themes were the unsuccessful Turkish rule of Libya, the benefits of the Italian occupation in North Africa and Eritrea, and Mussolini’s ‘glorious’ conquest of Ethiopia.

Textbooks for Italians outside Italy

Fascist propaganda was aimed at Italians living outside Italy and in the colonies, a goal to some extent also pursued by pre-Fascist governments. A reading primer specifically for Italians in colonial schools and for emigrants elsewhere was in fact produced in the late nineteenth century (Manfroni 1898); this gave prominence to the liberation of the peninsula from foreign domination and the *Risorgimento*, leading to political unification of the Italian nation. Great Italian explorers were also part of this message celebrating the motherland. However, readers were encouraged to restrain their nationalistic pride in order not to antagonise other peoples in the host countries. Similarly, a 1921 committee in charge of the selection of textbooks for Italian primary schools suggested that in Tripolitania and Cirenaica such reading matter should not indulge in nationalistic attitudes. It was thought that non-Italians in Libya might respond negatively to expressions of Italian nationalism, and it was considered advisable to avoid 'Christian references and moral judgements in order not to irritate Jewish and Muslim feelings and customs' (Festa 1932, 151). In the interwar period Mussolini's regime adopted a nationalistic approach, emphasising the supposed attractiveness of the Italian colonies in its reading primers for the children of Italian emigrants. As the argument went, Africa was an appealing destination for emigration, as these lands had been civilised and rendered fruitful thanks to hard work by Italians (Pretelli 2005; 2008, 235–36). Furthermore, Mussolini – 'who had blown on the desert sand' – had made them safe places. The economic success of various colonists was proclaimed in order to attract newcomers. Mussolini did not want savings by emigrants to benefit other countries; having first encouraged internal migration, he then promoted emigration to the Italian colonies as a beneficial alternative to the loss of workers to foreign lands (Guerriero Bemporad 1934, 68; Volpe 1934, 253–57; Scuole italiane all'estero 1929, 139; 1939, 223).

Fascism saw the schools for Italian children in the colonies, coming from different regions in the mother country, as 'spiritual crucibles' that were to erase localism and make colonists aware of being representatives of a 'civilising nation' that offered native peoples an example of 'rectitude, goodness, and pride' (Festa 1932, 83–84). Pankhurst has shown that while the textbooks for Italians included a full range of military symbols of the Fascist civic religion (Gentile 1993), historical narratives were scarcely seen as a priority (Pankhurst 1972, 386–91). Historical accounts were particularly present in the third volume for primary schools published by the Ministry for Italian Africa, with emphasis on the greatness of Giuseppe Garibaldi, other notable nineteenth- and twentieth-century figures, and celebration of Italy's victory in the First World War.¹¹ The ubiquitous references to the achievements of Mussolini's Empire were intended to legitimise the Fascist regime, and after the conquest of Ethiopia – according to Fascist observers – colonial schools were to use the Italian curriculum to teach the settlers' children their role as rulers (Anonymous 1940, 692; Mondaini 1941, Vol. I, 603–06).

Conclusion

This essay has shown how Italian education for African populations was based on racial ideology and the principle of exploitation of their labour. These attitudes, already present during the pre-Fascist age, had their strongest expression during the years of Mussolini's rule. Italian education in Africa in part reflected the British and French experiences.

Although French policy in Africa has been traditionally considered assimilationist in character, and the British based more on 'indirect rule' and 'cultural adaptation', the two approaches were flexible and overlapping (Clignet and Foster 1964). Nevertheless, the British Empire had a more moderate stance than France in the field of education; it sought to adapt the primary school curriculum to colonial environments (Clignet and Foster 1964, 195), just as liberal Italy did in Libya immediately after the First World War. In West Africa, French educational policy was intended to create interpreters, manual workers and farmers (Clignet and Foster 1964, 193), while in the British Empire the aim was 'to produce clerks for government or mercantile work, and catechists and teachers for the missions' (Zachernuk 1998, 487).

French and Italian experiences in Africa shared some common traits. At least until the outbreak of the Dreyfus affair in 1894 and the rupture of cordial relations between the State and the Catholic Church, the French authorities, lacking funds for educational purposes in Africa, used the cultural body Alliance Française and also Catholic missionaries, as did the Italians. These organisations shared the government's ambitious goal of promoting the idea of 'Greater France' worldwide (Gifford and Weiskel 1971, 673–74). Furthermore, both the French and British empires, for political reasons, shared Italian apprehensions about secondary education for indigenous populations, which consequently was extremely limited (Gifford and Weiskel 1971). In both French and British African colonies, history was an important component of school curricula. British schools traditionally preserved a Eurocentric approach, ignoring or devaluing African history; this was treated as non-existent before Europeans arrived, or as a mere product of their intervention and dominion in Africa. History was thus fashioned to legitimise British power (Zachernuk 1998, 485–87). In the interwar period in West Africa, France disseminated its political message through the textbooks published for local schools. The narrative of these books placed African schoolchildren halfway between the 'white' of colonisers and the 'black' of uneducated Africans: they were pictured as superior to those who had no opportunity to attend schools, without being eligible for assimilation into 'white' society (Paradise Kelly 2000, 191–96). French textbooks resembled Italian Fascist ones in their presentation of 'history'. Local children, taught only in French, had to learn the history of West Africa, but understand how French intervention and 'virtues' had succeeded in bringing peace, order and unity to a previously chaotic region. In summary, life for the indigenous population was to be shown as much improved under French rule. Like the Fascist regime, the French included only the glorious moments of their national history in school textbooks for colonised populations, thus encouraging admiration for the colonial rulers. Revolutions and political troubles in France were entirely neglected; the French presence in West Africa was thus presented as the natural continuation of African traditions as 'foreseen' by the prophet Mohammed (Paradise Kelly 2000, 213–24, 248).

Notes

1. I am grateful to Christine Smith-Simonsen who sent me her PhD thesis, which has been very helpful regarding particular aspects of this topic.
2. On Italian colonial racism see also Goglia (1988, 1991–1992), Del Boca (1995), Labanca (2000b), and Gabrielli (2000).
3. For recent accounts of the historiography of Italian colonialism see Pergher (2007) and Del Boca (2008).

4. For the pro-Islamic Fascist policy see Grange (1974, 1976), Ferretti (1986), De Felice (1988), Galoppini (2001), Fabei (2002), and Rainero (2004).
5. I was able to analyse the following books: *Missione cattolica* (1916, 1917a, 1917b, 1918); P. Giandomenico da Milano (1928, 1930). I could not locate additional books analysed by Negash (1987, 72–77).
6. These primers were for Libyan students and according to Negash (1987, 87–88) were updated in 1937 after proclamation of the Italian Empire. However, as they were printed in Florence they were very expensive, and consequently only a limited number were sent to Addis Ababa.
7. Kamel El Hammali was the Arabic schools inspector in Libya, and Indelicato was the educational director for Muslim schools in Tripoli.
8. For an overview see Pankhurst (1972, 386–91).
9. On the use of illustrative stories in Italian textbooks, see Ricuperati (1977, 39–40).
10. Ministero dell’Africa Italiana (1937, 1939a, 1939b). All quoted in Pankhurst (1972, 391–94).
11. Ministero dell’Africa Italiana (1937) quoted in Pankhurst (1972, 389). The political use of history in Italian schools in the interwar period is the subject of several pieces of research that analyse curricula and textbooks. See Ostenc (1981, 81–86, 199–200); Catarsi (1990, 95–110, 330, 351–52); De Fort (1996, 368); Montino (2001; 2004, chs 5–6). Regarding the Fascist use of history in general, see Zunino (1985, 63–69).

References

- Alban Appleton, L. 1979. The question of nationalism and education in Libya under Italian rule. *Libyan Studies* 10: 29–33.
- Al-Tahir al-Jarari, M. 2000. L’istruzione in Libia prima e dopo il 1911. In *Un colonialismo, due sponde del Mediterraneo*, ed. N. Labanca and P. Venuta, 61–74. Pistoia: CRT.
- Anderson, B. 1991. *Imagined communities: Reflections on the origin and spread of nationalism*. 2nd ed. London–New York: Verso.
- Anonymous 1940. La scuola e le istituzioni educative. *Gli Annali dell’Africa Italiana* III, no. 1: 671–94.
- Asioli, V. 2004a. L’impero di carta. Il colonialismo italiano di età liberale nell’editoria per ragazzi (prima parte). *Studi Piacentini* 35: 55–83.
- Asioli, V. 2004b. L’impero di carta. Il colonialismo fascista nell’editoria per ragazzi (seconda parte). *Studi Piacentini* 36: 67–101.
- Barrera, G. 1996. *Dangerous liaisons: Colonial concubinage in Eritrea (1890–1941)*. Evanston, IL: Northwestern University – Program of African Studies.
- Barrera, G. 2002. Paternalità, razza e identità: l’educazione degli italo-eritrei durante il colonialismo italiano (1885–1934). *Quaderni Storici* XXXVII, no. 1: 21–53.
- Barrera, G. 2003a. Mussolini’s colonial race laws and state-settler relations in Africa Orientale Italiana. *Journal of Modern Italian Studies* 8, no. 3: 425–43.
- Barrera, G. 2003b. The construction of racial hierarchies in colonial Eritrea: The liberal and early fascist period (1897–1934). In *A place in the sun: Africa in Italian colonial culture from post-unification to the present*, ed. P. Palumbo, 81–115. Berkeley: University of California Press.
- Barrera, G. 2008. Sessualità e segregazione nelle terre dell’Impero. In *L’Impero fascista: Italia ed Etiopia (1935–1941)*, ed. R. Bottoni, 393–414. Bologna: Il Mulino.
- Borruso, P. 1988. I missionari cattolici nella colonia eritrea, 1922–1936. *Analisi Storica* VI, no. 10: 33–58.
- Borruso, P. 2008. Chiesa e Stato nell’Impero d’Etiopia e nell’Africa orientale italiana. In *L’Impero fascista: Italia ed Etiopia (1935–1941)*, ed. R. Bottoni, 519–42. Bologna: Il Mulino.
- Bottoni, R. 2006. La guerra d’Etiopia a scuola: Il colonialismo italiano e l’Impero nella scuola fascista. *Annali di storia dell’educazione e delle istituzioni scolastiche* 13: 125–51.

- Bottoni, R. 2008. La 'marcia da Roma' a scuola: Fascisti e cattolici per la 'civiltà' e l'Impero. In *L'Impero fascista: Italia ed Etiopia (1935–1941)*, ed. R. Bottoni, 322–65. Bologna: Il Mulino.
- Brizzi, E. 2008. *L'inattesa piega degli eventi*. Milan: Baldini e Castoldi.
- Capetti, S. 1937. L'istruzione e l'educazione degli indigeni nelle nostre colonie. In *Atti del Secondo Congresso di Studi Coloniali*. 296–300. Vol. 1. Florence: Giuntina.
- Catarsi, E. 1990. *Storia dei programmi della scuola elementare, 1860–1985*. Scandicci: La Nuova Italia.
- Cerbella, G. 1933. *Idee e pareri sugli studi africani e orientali e sui problemi scolastici coloniali in Italia*. Tripoli: Maggi.
- Cerbella, G. 1936. *Nuhab. Letture scelte ad uso delle scuole medie coloniali*. Tripoli: Maggi.
- Cerbella, G. 1938. *Fascismo e islamismo*. Tripoli: Maggi.
- Ciampi, G. 1996. La scuola nelle colonie. In *Fonti e problemi della politica coloniale italiana*. 669–90. Vol. 2. Rome: Ministero per i Beni Culturali e Ambientali – Ufficio Centrale per i Beni Archivistici (Pubblicazioni degli Archivi di Stato).
- Clignet, R.P. and P.J. Foster. 1964. French and British Colonial Education in Africa. *Comparative Education Review* 8, no. 2: 191–8.
- Contini, F. 1931. *Scuole elementari per indigeni*. Vol. 3 (for 1st, 2nd, and 3rd grades). Florence: Bemporad.
- Cresti, F. 2001. Per uno studio delle 'elites' politiche nella Libia indipendente: la formazione scolastica, 1912–1942. *Studi Storici* 41, no. 1: 121–58.
- Cucinotta, E. 1933. L'istruzione primaria in Somalia. *L'Oltremare* XI, no. 8: 344.
- De Bellis, G. and F. Contini. 1930. *Il primo libro italiano ad uso degli arabi*. 7th ed. Florence: Bemporad.
- De Felice, R. 1988. *Il fascismo e l'Oriente. Arabi, ebrei e indiani nella politica di Mussolini*. Bologna: Il Mulino.
- De Fort, E. 1996. *La scuola elementare dall'Unità alla caduta del fascismo*. Bologna: Il Mulino.
- De Leone, E. 1933. La nostra politica scolastica in Libia. *Educazione Fascista* 6, no. 5: 402–17.
- De Marco, R. 1943. *The Italianization of Africans: Italian colonial educational policy*. New York: Teachers College, Columbia University.
- Del Boca, A. 1986. *Gli italiani in Africa orientale: La conquista dell'Impero*. Rome–Bari: Laterza.
- Del Boca, A. 1992. *Gli italiani in Africa orientale: La caduta dell'Impero*. Milan: A. Mondadori.
- Del Boca, A. 1995. Le leggi razziali nell'impero di Mussolini. In *Il Regime fascista: Storia e storiografia*, ed. A. Del Boca, M. Legnani and M.G. Rossi, 329–51. Rome–Bari: Laterza.
- Del Boca, A. 2008. Gli studi sul colonialismo italiano. In *L'Impero fascista: Italia ed Etiopia (1935–1941)*, ed. R. Bottoni, 35–61. Bologna: Il Mulino.
- Della Volpe, N. 1992. *Esercito e propaganda fra le due guerre, 1919–1939*. Rome: Stato Maggiore dell'Esercito.
- Di Pasquale, F. 2007. La scuola di arti e mestieri di Tripoli in età coloniale (1911–1938). *Africa* LXII, no. 3: 399–428.
- Dominioni, M. 2008. *Lo sfascio dell'impero: Gli italiani in Etiopia, 1936–1941*. Rome–Bari: Laterza.
- Fabè, S. 2002. *Il fascio, la svastica e la mezzaluna*. Milan: Mursia.
- Ferretti, V. 1986. Politica e cultura: origini e attività dell'IsMeo durante il regime fascista. *Storia Contemporanea* 17, no. 5: 779–819.
- Festa, A. 1930. *Scuole per indigeni in Tripolitania*. Tripoli: Maggi.
- Festa, A. 1932. *La scuola italiana e l'opera di conquista morale della Libia*. Tripoli: Maggi.
- Festa, A. 1937a. Presupposti e fini dell'azione educativa nei territori dell'A.O.I. In *Atti del Terzo Congresso di Studi Coloniali*, 126–36. Florence: 1937.
- Festa, A. 1937b. Le istituzioni educative in Eritrea. In *Atti del Secondo Congresso di Studi Coloniali*. 288–95. Vol. 1. Florence: Giuntina.

- Festa, A., A. Amato, C. Bonanomi, G. Pascale and G. Rigillo. 1933. *Libro sussidiario per la terza classe elementare: Storia-grammatica-aritmetica-geografia-nozioni di scienze e d'igiene. Scuole elementari per indigeni*. Florence: Bemporad.
- Finaldi, G. 2000. La Libia nei manuali scolastici italiani, 1911–1960. In *Un colonialismo, due sponde del Mediterraneo*, ed. N. Labanca and P. Venuta, 61–105. Pistoia: CRT.
- Finaldi, G. 2003. Culture and imperialism in a 'backward' nation? The Prima Guerra d'Africa (1885–96) in Italian Primary Schools. *Journal of Modern Italian Studies* 8, no. 3: 374–90.
- Franco, R. 1994. Colonialismo per ragazzi. La rappresentazione dell'Africa ne 'La Domenica dei fanciulli,' 1900–1920. *Studi Storici* 35, no. 1: 129–51.
- Franzinelli, M. 2008. Il clero italiano e la 'grande mobilitazione'. In *L'impero fascista: Italia ed Etiopia (1935–1941)*, ed. R. Bottoni, 251–65. Bologna: Il Mulino.
- Gabrielli, G. 2000. Africani in Italia negli anni del razzismo di Stato. In *Nel nome della razza: Il razzismo nella storia d'Italia, 1870–1945*. 2nd ed, ed. A. Burgio, 201–12. Bologna: Il Mulino.
- Galoppini, E. 2001. *Il fascismo e l'Islam*. Parma: Quaderni del Veltro.
- Gentile, E. 1993. *Il culto del littorio: La sacralizzazione della politica nell'Italia fascista*. Rome–Bari: Laterza.
- Giandomenico da Milano (Padre). 1928. *Sillabario per gli eritrei: Prime letture italiane e numerazione fino a 100*. Asmara: Tipografia Francescana.
- Giandomenico da Milano (Padre). 1930. *Libro per le scuole elementari indigene della colonia eritrea, classe terza*. 2nd ed. Asmara: Tipografia Francescana.
- Gibelli, A. 2005. *Il popolo bambino: Infanzia e nazione dalla Grande Guerra a Salò*. Turin: Einaudi.
- Gifford, P. and T.C. Weiskel. 1971. African education in a colonial context: French and British style. In *France and Britain in Africa: Imperial rivalry and colonial rule*, ed. P. Gifford and W.R. Roger Louis, 663–711. New Haven: Yale University Press.
- Goglia, L. 1988. Note sul razzismo coloniale fascista. *Storia Contemporanea* 19, no. 6: 1223–66.
- Goglia, L. 1991–1992. Sul razzismo coloniale italiano. *Materiali di Lavoro* 2–3, no. 1: 97–116.
- Goglia, L. 2005. Sulle organizzazioni fasciste indigene nelle colonie africane dell'Italia. In *Fascismo e Franchismo: Relazioni, immagini, rappresentazioni*, ed. G. Di Febo and R. Moro, 173–212. Soveria Monnelli: Rubbettino.
- Governo Generale, A.O.I. 1939. L'istruzione elementare ai sudditi dell'A.O.I. In *Opere per l'organizzazione civile in Africa Orientale Italiana*. 185–7. Addis Ababa: Servizio Tipografico del Governo Generale A.O.I.
- Grange, D.J. 1974. Structure et techniques d'une propagande: Les émissions arabes de Radio-Bari. *Relations Internationales* 2: 165–74.
- Grange, D.J. 1976. La propagande arabe de Radio Bari, 1937–1939. *Relations Internationales* 5: 65–103.
- Guerriero Bemporad, M. 1934. *Piccoli Italiani nel Mondo. Racconti*. Florence: Bemporad.
- Kamel El Hammali, S.M. and B. Indelicato. 1936. *Verso la vita: Avviamento allo studio della lingua araba. Sillabario fonico*. 1st part. Tripoli: Maggi.
- Kamel El Hammali, S.M. and B. Indelicato. n.d. *Sillabario fonico*. Milan: Mondadori.
- Labanca, N. 1993. *In marcia verso Adua*. Turin: Einaudi.
- Labanca, N. 1996. L'Africa italiana. In *I luoghi della memoria: Simboli e miti dell'Italia unita*, ed. M. Isnenghi, 257–89. Rome–Bari: Laterza.
- Labanca, N. 2000a. Imperialismo coloniale e la Libia nei manuali scolastici italiani. In *Un colonialismo, due sponde del Mediterraneo*, ed. N. Labanca and P. Venuta, 137–56. Pistoia: CRT.
- Labanca, N. 2000b. Il razzismo coloniale italiano. In *Nel nome della razza: Il razzismo nella storia d'Italia, 1870–1945*. 2nd ed, ed. A. Burgio, 145–63. Bologna: Il Mulino.
- Labanca, N. 2002. *Oltremare: Storia dell'espansione coloniale italiana*. Bologna: Il Mulino.
- Labanca, N. 2003a. I Fasci nelle colonie. In *Il fascismo e gli emigrati: La parabola dei Fasci italiani all'estero (1920–1943)*, ed. M. Sanfilippo and E. Franzina, 85–100. Rome–Bari: Laterza.

- Labanca, N., ed. 2003b. *La Libia nei manuali scolastici italiani (1911–2001)*. Rome: Istituto italiano per l’Africa e l’Oriente.
- Labanca, N. 2008a. Compensazioni, passato coloniale, crimini italiani: Il generale e il particolare. *Italia Contemporanea* 251: 227–49.
- Labanca, N. 2008b. L’Impero del fascismo: Lo stato degli studi. In *L’Impero fascista: Italia ed Etiopia (1935–1941)*, ed. R. Bottoni, 35–61. Bologna: Il Mulino.
- Locatelli, F. 2008. La comunità italiana di Asmara negli anni Trenta tra propaganda, leggi razziali e realtà sociale. In *L’Impero fascista: Italia ed Etiopia (1935–1941)*, ed. R. Bottoni, 369–91. Bologna: Il Mulino.
- Manfroni, C. 1898. *La patria lontana: Libro di lettura per le scuole coloniali e per gli emigranti italiani*. Livorno: Giusti.
- Marongiu Buonaiuti, C. 1982. *Politica e religioni nel colonialismo italiano (1882–1941)*. Varese: Giuffrè Editore.
- Martelli, M. 1989. Scuole d’Africa: L’educazione scolastica nell’Africa orientale italiana. *Storia e Dossier* 4, no. 32: 32–7.
- Micacchi, R. 1931. L’insegnamento agli indigeni nelle colonie italiane di diretto dominio. In *Atti del Primo Congresso di Studi Coloniali*. 1–32. Florence: Istituto superiore ‘Cesare Alfieri’.
- Mignemi, A. 1986. Strategie del consenso nei mesi dell’aggressione d’Etiopia. In *Le guerre coloniali fasciste*, ed. R. Sitti, 27–53. Ferrara: Regione Emilia Romagna–Comune di Ferrara.
- Mignemi, A. 1993. Organizzazione e strumenti della propaganda nell’Italia in guerra. *L’Impegno* 13, no. 1: 16–31.
- Mignemi, A. 1994. La militarizzazione psicologica e l’organizzazione della nazione per la guerra. In *Guerra e mass media: Strumenti e modi della comunicazione in contesto bellico*, ed. P. Ortoleva and C. Ottaviano, 75–104. Naples: Liguori.
- Mininni Caracciolo, M. 1930. *Le scuole nelle colonie italiane di dominio diretto*. Rome: Società Editrice Dante Alighieri.
- Ministero dell’Africa Italiana 1937. *Scuole elementari per indigeni: Il libro della terza classe*. n.p.: Florence.
- Ministero dell’Africa Italiana 1939a. *Scuole elementari per indigeni dell’Africa orientale italiana: Il libro della seconda classe*. n.p.: Florence.
- Ministero dell’Africa Italiana 1939b. *Scuole elementari per indigeni: Libro sussidiario per la terza classe elementare*. n.p.: Florence.
- Ministero dell’Africa Italiana 1939c. *Scuole elementari di tipo metropolitano: Il libro della terza classe*. n.p.: Florence.
- Missione cattolica 1916 (1928). *Manuale di letture scelte italiane-tigray ad uso delle scuole indigene per cura della missione cattolica*. Asmara: Tipografia Francescana.
- Missione cattolica 1917a. *La colonia Eritrea: Manuale d’istruzione italiano-tigray ad uso delle scuole indigene per cura della missione cattolica*. Asmara: Tipografia Francescana.
- Missione cattolica 1917b. *Uomini illustri del lavoro della scienza e della carità: Libro di lettura italiano-tigray ad uso delle scuole indigene per cura della missione cattolica*. Asmara: Tipografia Francescana.
- Missione cattolica. 1918. *Manuale di igiene italiano-tigray ad uso delle scuole indigene per cura della missione cattolica*. Asmara: Tipografia Francescana.
- Mondaini, G. 1941. *La legislazione coloniale italiana nel suo sviluppo storico e nel suo stato attuale, 1881–1940*. Vol. 2. Milan: Ispi.
- Montino, D. 2001. *Letture scolastiche e regime fascista, 1925–1943*. Millesimo: I Libri delle Stelle.
- Montino, D. 2004. *Educare con le parole: Letture e scritture scolastiche tra fascismo e repubblica*. Milan: Selene.
- Negash, T. 1987. *Italian colonialism in Eritrea, 1882–1941: Policies, praxis and impact*. Stockholm: Uppsala.

- Negash, T. 2005. The ideology of Italian Colonial educational policy in Eritrea. In *Italian colonialism*, ed. R. Ben-Ghiat and M. Fuller, 109–20. New York: Palgrave.
- Nobili, E. 2008. Vescovi lombardi e consenso alla Guerra: Il cardinal Schuster. In *L'Impero fascista: Italia ed Etiopia (1935–1941)*, ed. R. Bottoni, 267–84. Bologna: Il Mulino.
- Ostenc, M. 1981. *La scuola italiana e il fascismo*. Rome–Bari: Laterza.
- Pankhurst, R. 1970. The textbooks of Italian colonial Africa. *Ethiopian Observer* 13, no. 2: 145–50.
- Pankhurst, R. 1972. Education in Ethiopia during the Italian fascist occupation of Ethiopia (1936–1941). *International Journal of African Historical Studies* 5, no. 3: 361–96.
- Paradise Kelly, G. 2000. *French colonial education: Essays on Vietnam and West Africa*. New York: Ame Press.
- Pergher, R. 2007. Impero immaginato, impero vissuto: Recenti sviluppi nella storiografia del colonialismo italiano. *Ricerche di Storia Politica* 1: 53–66.
- Piccioli, A. 1933a. Le istituzioni educative nell’Africa Orientale Italiana. In *L’Africa Orientale Italiana (Eritrea e Somalia)*, ed. T. Sillani, 146–51. Rome: La Rassegna Italiana.
- Piccioli, A. 1933b. *La nuova Italia d’oltremare: L’opera del fascismo nelle colonie italiane*. Milan: A. Mondadori.
- Pretelli, M. 2005. Il ruolo della storia nei libri di lettura per le scuole italiane all’estero durante il fascismo. *Storia e Problemi Contemporanei* 40: 37–56.
- Pretelli, M. 2008. Il fascismo e l’immagine dell’Italia all’estero. *Contemporanea* XI, no. 2: 221–42.
- Rainero, R. 2004. *La politica araba di Mussolini nella seconda guerra mondiale*. Padua: Cedam.
- Ranalli, G. 1937. *L’Italia d’oltremare*. Teramo: Casa Editrice Tipografica Teramana.
- Ricuperati, G. 1977. *La scuola italiana e il fascismo*. Bologna: Consorzio Provinciale Pubblica Lettura.
- Scuole italiane all’estero. 1929. *Letture classe terza*. Rome: Libreria dello Stato.
- Scuole italiane all’estero. 1939. *Storia e geografia per la IV classe elementare*. Verona: Mondadori.
- Scuole per nazionali nell’A.O.I. 1939. *Opere per l’organizzazione civile in Africa Orientale Italiana*. 181–84. Addis Ababa: Servizio Tipografico del Governo Generale A.O.I.
- Smith-Simonsen, C. 1997. All’ombra della nostra bandiera. PhD diss., University of Tromsøe.
- Sorgoni, B. 2002. Racist discourses and practices in the Italian Empire under fascism. In *The politics of recognizing difference: Multiculturalism Italian style*, ed. R. Grillo and J. Pratt, 41–57. Aldershot: Ashgate.
- Steer, G.L. 1939. *A date in the desert*. London: Hodder & Stoughton.
- Steer, G.L. 1942. *Sealed and delivered: A book on the Abyssinian campaign*. London: Hodder & Stoughton.
- Tortonese, M. 1937. *Le istituzioni scolastiche in Libia: Note ad uso dei giornalisti*. Tripoli: Maggi.
- Ventura, A. 2007. Le politiche educative fasciste per gli indigeni in Eritrea (1931–1941). *Mondo Contemporaneo* 1: 5–42.
- Verné, V. 1927. *Le camice nere in Libia*. Rome: Provveditorato Generale dello Stato.
- Volpe, G. 1934. *Il Risorgimento dell’Italia*. Rome: Fasci Italiani all’Estero.
- Zachernuk, P.S. 1998. African history and imperial culture in colonial Nigerian Schools. *Africa: Journal of the International African Institute* 68, no. 4: 484–505.
- Zambotti, S. 2005. Onde d’oltremare: La propaganda coloniale per le scuole dell’Ente Radio Rurale (1935–1936). *Zapruder* 8: 84–89.
- Zunino, P.G. 1985. *L’ideologia del fascismo: Miti, credenze e valori nella stabilizzazione del regime*. Bologna: Il Mulino.

