

# The impact of the enquiries and the special legislation on the state of education in the Italian Mezzogiorno (1861-1914)

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## Abstract

This essay reflects on the grave problems affecting education in the Italian continental and insular Mezzogiorno from the proclamation of national unity to the Giolittian era.

Despite the new measures introduced by the Coppino law of 1877, which among other things included obligatory schooling, no significant transformations of the Mezzogiorno were seen for many decades. This is demonstrated by the “special laws” of 1904 and 1906, respectively aimed at Basilicata and Calabria, which sought to tackle general and specific problems by means of extraordinary funding not just for schools but also agricultural and professional training, still inadequate in those regions.

Together with the studies, enquiries and statistical surveys that were conducted, in addition to the documentation available in the archives, these laws and other extraordinary measures constitute materials with which to explore and reflect on the theme of this essay. This encompasses illiteracy and the steps taken in response to it, the lack of school buildings, the grave social problems and the role of educational policies in the various areas of the Italian Mezzogiorno.

Il saggio intende riflettere sulle forti criticità che ruotano attorno al tema dell’istruzione nel Mezzogiorno d’Italia, continentale e insulare, a partire dalla proclamazione dell’Unità e fino all’età giolittiana.

Nonostante le novità introdotte dalla legge Coppino del 1877 anche in tema di obbligo scolastico, non si erano registrate significative trasformazioni nel Mezzogiorno per diversi decenni, come si evince dalle “leggi speciali” del 1904 e del 1906, rispettivamente destinate alla Basilicata e alla Calabria, che intendevano affrontare problemi generali e specifici attraverso provvidenze economiche straordinarie da estendere anche alla scuola e alla formazione agraria/professionale ancora troppo deficitarie nelle due regioni.

Le leggi, unitamente a studi, inchieste, provvedimenti straordinari, rilevazioni statistiche, fonti archivistiche, costituiscono materiali attraverso i quali è possibile approfondire la riflessione sul tema oggetto del saggio, nonché sul fenomeno dell’analfabetismo e sulle azioni messe in campo per contrastarlo e arginarlo, sulla mancanza di edifici scolastici e sulla scarsa diffusione dell’alfabeto, sul disagio sociale e sul ruolo delle politiche scolastiche nelle diverse aree del Mezzogiorno d’Italia.

**Keywords:** illiteracy; agricultural training; professional training; special legislation; Mezzogiorno; Giolittian era

**Parole chiave:** analfabetismo; istruzione agraria/professionale; legislazione speciale; Mezzogiorno; età giolittiana

Any reflection on the state of education in the Italian Mezzogiorno in the decades from the birth of the Kingdom of Italy until the Giolitti era cannot ignore the economic underdevelopment, the social fragility, the insufficient presence of schools and educational institutions for small children and the poor hygiene and health conditions that characterised large swathes of southern Italy. This state of affairs was compounded by another serious issue, i.e. organised crime, which drew its strength from both the inadequacy of local political and administrative structures and the grinding poverty (Villari, 1872; Dito, 1909; Stolfi, 1922; Arcomano, 1963; Broccoli, 1987; Trebisacce, 2003; Colaci & Serpe, 2020, Stizzo, 2020, pp. 117-147).

To understand the degree to which all these problematic aspects were already dangerously intertwined from the very start of Italian Unification, it is useful to read and re-read the reflections contained in the considerable and interesting body of knowledge contained in the studies and enquiries conducted in many areas of the continental and insular Mezzogiorno, which are also highly relevant to the historiography of Italian pedagogy. Indeed, it is thanks to the two enquiries entitled *Condizioni economiche ed amministrative delle province napoletane. Abruzzi e Molise. Calabrie e Basilicata. Appunti di viaggio di Leopoldo Franchetti*, conducted by Leopoldo Franchetti (1875), and *Politica e mafia in Sicilia. Gli inediti del 1876*, also conducted by Franchetti together with Sidney Sonnino and Enea Cavalieri in Sicily, that precise observations can be made on the lack of economic development in the southern provinces and on the causes of the cultural backwardness of the Mezzogiorno<sup>1</sup>.

These two enquiries were behind the interest of Sidney Sonnino in particular in the various issues affecting the Italian Mezzogiorno (Jannazzo, 1986), inspiring the Tuscan intellectual and politician to devise and promote extraordinary measures in support of southern regions that would be approved in the first decade of the 20<sup>th</sup> century. For him and many other key figures of that time, the reflections on the weaknesses that characterised that part of the Kingdom of Italy became what is called “*meridionalismo*”, an approach to the study and analysis of the Southern Question that involved taking responsibility for the creation of policies designed to provide adequate responses to the gravity of the situation. His journey of investigation in Sicily with Franchetti and Cavalieri confirmed the picture of a Mezzogiorno not without serious risk factors and severe backwardness, where change was often obstructed and even made impossible by the “[...] impenetrability of an isolated and hostile world that proceeded in accordance with closed codes [...] cut off in its own universe, with its own exclusive languages that are foreign and often antithetical to institutional culture” (Jannazzo, 1985, p. XXIV). However, as Pasquale Villari (1875) pointed out in many passages of his *Lettere meridionali*, partly in response to the state’s preoccupation with the widespread problem of brigandage, “the social question should prevail over that of public security” (Jannazzo, 1985). Villari’s reflections exerted a considerable influence over many young intellectuals, including Franchetti and Sonnino, prompting them to follow lines of study, analysis and research that entailed intense field work, revealing the connections between the various problems affecting life in Sicily and the continental Mezzogiorno and highlighting the huge gap between “the two Italies” cited by Giustino Fortunato (1911a). Villari’s writings represent a watershed in attitudes to the Mezzogiorno, recognising the need for a new approach to the debate on the deep-rooted, persistent and intolerable social question. Indeed, as Angelo Broccoli writes,

from the *Prime lettere meridionali* (First Southern Letters) by Pasquale Villari to Franchetti and Sonnino’s enquiry, along with Turiello, Fortunato, Colajanni, Nitti, Ciccotti, Salvemini, right down to Gramsci, a movement of thought was formed. Neither homogeneous nor universally effective, it did however attest to the gravity of the situation and the absolute need to face it and resolve it.

Looking at the work of those writers, seeking the essential meanings they sought to express and the approach they adopted, it becomes clear that among the social reforms, economic measures and the establishment of more suitable and effective structures, they also stressed the role that education ought to play in bringing about the rebirth of the Mezzogiorno. Indeed, it can be claimed that for some of these thinkers, everything could be traced back to the question of education, the essential foundation of any society in need of renewal, of which southern Italy was a prime example. While for some, the education issue was still seen in generic and indeterminate terms, vague and not supported by any clear indication of the educational tools required, for others, observation of the reality of schooling, the assumptions on which it was based and its future needs pointed to only one conclusion. (Broccoli, 1987, pp. 213-214)

In the 1880s and 90s, there were indeed many who pointed out the close correlation between the persistence in the Mezzogiorno of historic problems such as crime, the Mafia and poverty on the one hand and a low level of culture on the other, the latter being eloquently demonstrated by the lack of schools and education. Hence the need to expand the provision of mass education as an antidote to forms of deviance that negatively affected the social life of specific southern communities, but also to reduce illiteracy, which for decades had remained at unacceptable levels: over 70% in the South and the islands, compared to 40% in the Central-Northern areas according to data from the Census of 1901. By then, partly in order to fight social blight, other countries such as Switzerland and England had intervened decisively in the provision of education and knowledge via the adoption of suitable policies and the allocation of adequate funds. With this in mind, faced with the geographical distribution of illiteracy and crime in the Kingdom of Italy, an increasing number of people were becoming convinced that the expansion of schooling could not fail – as Napoleone Colajanni argued – to have “[...] a beneficial rather than a pernicious impact [...]” (Colajanni 1897/1994, p. 465). Against the opponents of better schooling, in the course of his parliamentary career Colajanni wrote many papers and made many speeches (gathered in a volume published in 1994) in which he raised questions and sought to clarify his position. In a speech to the Chamber of Deputies on 26 May 1891 on *Il problema dell’istruzione in Italia* (The problem of education in Italy), while contesting the parsimony of state funding allocated to public education, he raised and denounced the heart of the problem, which was the severe poverty that nullified the state’s efforts in those areas where illiteracy was highest:

In Italy, since 1860 a lot of money has been spent on state schools [...]. But in truth the expense has not yielded the fruits that it should have and could have given. And there are many reasons for this. The first cause lies in the economic conditions. Indeed, it is often forgotten that poverty is a fierce obstacle to the dissemination of instruction. One can neither savour nor assimilate the food of the intellect while the stomach is empty. I recall the proverbial phrase *mens sana in corpore sano*. But an essential condition of a healthy body is to eat well and nourish oneself properly, in terms of both quality and quantity. (Colajanni, 1994, p. 459)

Colajanni’s affirmations echo the complaints of many others, above all Villari (1872), who had admonished those who refused to understand that the lack of interest among the masses in the “bread of science” was deeply rooted in the social and economic question, in the state of indigence of those who lived in damp and stinking conditions, i.e. in poverty. It was not just a practical necessity but a moral duty for the state to intervene indirectly and directly in favour of the dissemination of reading skills:

The state [...] cooperates indirectly in dissemination of education when it acts to improve the economic conditions of the masses and the workers [...] The state cooperates directly in education via this economic aspect by helping the poor with the distribution of paper, books and clothes of various sizes. (ibid., p. 459)

The relationship between the lack of education and a high crime rate undoubtedly represented another dramatic aspect of the socio-economic question, much more acute in areas characterised by low rates of literacy, which it was not possible to resolve by means of force and repression alone:

[...] the true and infallible remedy is education [...]. In order to see a reduction in homicides, which dishonour Italians before the civilised world, what is need is fewer police officers and more teachers.

The abuse of the knife is best fought with schooling [...].

Where is the greatest criminality? In Sicily, in Sardinia, in Calabria, in all the southern provinces. Seen from the opposite perspective, where is the least? In Lombardy, in Piedmont and in northern Italy in general. Now in the islands and in the Mezzogiorno illiteracy is highest, while it is lowest in the North [...]. But even if it was true and incontrovertible – and the Swiss and British statistics prove the opposite – that a high level of culture and education merely replaces violence with fraud, would it not still be an improvement knowing that life has become more sacred and that thanks to the schools there is less killing than in the past? [...]. For my part I shall conclude by observing that Italian moderates, who are increasingly hard to distinguish from reactionaries, do not resist education because it increases crime; rather, they oppose schools because they awaken torpid minds and kindle protests against social iniquities. (ibid., pp. 464-467)

A few years later, Colajanni wrote a paper in which he carefully set out his thoughts on the importance of schools and primary education, which was causing concern everywhere. In his native Sicily, in response to recurring explosions of discontent, some were even calling for the elimination from municipal budgets of all expenditure on education. Here again, he argued that better education would improve and civilise the demands for political and social reform (Colajanni, 1900).

These positions were shared by Salvemini (1961, p. 465), who tackled the theme in *La rivoluzione del ricco* (The revolution of the rich), but also by Fortunato (1911b, p. 298) in *La questione demaniale nell'Italia meridionale* (The question of state-owned land in southern Italy), without managing to mitigate the aversion towards schools and education. The attitude of many local administrators also remained unchanged, although in any case, there was little they could do in terms of measures to promote schooling given the poverty of many municipalities, which were not always able to cover the costs of education, which included the teachers' miserly salaries.

Sonnino too, when he found himself physically in contact with the reality of the Mezzogiorno, clearly saw the need for adequate measures to ensure the improvement of the economic conditions of the southern provinces and to overcome the various forms of economic, social and cultural poverty. Such forms fostered a culture of opposition to the government and cut off the Mezzogiorno from more modern, dynamic and economically productive situations, as many intellectuals and politicians had been emphasising for years. The same points were made by the many enquiries of the early 20<sup>th</sup> century, proving how little the general framework of the

Mezzogiorno had changed. Indeed, school attendance continued to be poor and episodic, as shown by the persistence of recorded illiteracy especially in the southernmost areas of the Kingdom of Italy. There is no study or enquiry that does not describe the severe hardship and backwardness of the Mezzogiorno, including the ministerial enquiry of 1907, headed by Camillo Corradini, then director general of education, that sought to delineate the framework of *Istruzione primaria e popolare in Italy* (Primary and mass education in Italy). *La questione agraria e l'emigrazione in Calabria* (The agrarian question and emigration in Calabria) (Taruffi, De Nobili, Lori, 1908), *L'Aspromonte Occidentale* (Western Aspromonte) (Malvezzi, 1910) and the *Inchiesta sulla Scuola popolare in provincia di Reggio Calabria* (Enquiry into public schooling in the province of Reggio Calabria) (Le Maire et al., 1910), as well as the subsequent studies by Umberto Zanotti Bianco (1925) on the “martyrdom” of schools in Calabria and the conditions of children in Basilicata (Zanotti Bianco, 1926), represent milestones that no reflection on the Mezzogiorno can ignore. Indeed, for any serious attempt to remove the obstacles that continued to hold back the advance of civilisation in this part of the Kingdom they were essential reading. The lack of progress in the South had nothing to do with the prejudices underlying theories of the presumed inferiority and ineptitude of the Mezzogiorno. On the contrary, the South was afflicted by serious economic difficulties, of which illiteracy, the shortage of schools, nurseries and properly trained teachers, the absence of social life and the fragility of the human condition were the inevitable corollary. The situation was exacerbated by the lack of health clinics to fight diseases caused by poor diets, poor hygiene and poor housing (in turn worsened by overcrowding), not forgetting that many areas were prone to epidemics of malaria.

This picture is also confirmed by the many wide-ranging studies that have examined and reflected on the relationship between education and development in the South of Italy from 1861 to the Giolittian era<sup>2</sup>. In the newly unified country's first fifty years of life, the lack of economic vitality and limited industrial capacity resulted in a widespread lack of interest in schools and education. At the same time, the absence of education in general and technical and professional training in particular meant that many sectors remained tied to obsolete forms of production. This is seen in the acts of conferences, official documents, declarations of mayors and reports by inspectors and governmental officials that can be consulted for this entire period at the Central State Archives in Rome, the State Archives of many provinces of the Mezzogiorno and the historical archives of municipalities and schools.

Sonnino and the meridianalist thinkers were highly familiar with this situation, and not only because so many southern communities had been in this state for so long. For Sonnino, measures to promote dynamism within southern society were urgent and needed to incentivise everybody who worked on the land, as he wrote with regard to the southern question:

In order for industries in general to arise and prosper, and in order to intensify agricultural production in particular, this clearly being the most solid basis of the fortune of these regions in the short term, many other conditions need to be met, including the availability of capital and credit, education, a spirit of association, suitable legislation, administrative efficiency, private savings, etc., which public works cannot provide. On the contrary, in some cases they constitute an obstruction, where, as a result of the excessive costs of construction, they cause a considerable worsening of the fiscal burden for central and local government alike. (Sonnino, 1972, p. 837)

These and other proposals by Sonnino heralded a major round of special legislation for the Mezzogiorno that saw the approval of numerous measures designed to focus the state's efforts on specific and carefully chosen objectives in order to avoid wasting national resources. These were understood not as simple subsidies but as

serving to activate processes of growth tailored to the needs of the specific contexts. In this regard Sonnino wrote:

Given a surplus of just less than twenty million on the balance sheet, should we use these funds to raise consumption throughout the Kingdom by an almost imperceptible margin, or to take a bold step towards the economic, moral and political resolution of the southern question? (Sonnino, 1981, p. 377)

This was 1903 and among the problems to be resolutely tackled Sonnino did not forget to include schools, education and agricultural and professional training, the limited presence of which, especially in some areas of the Mezzogiorno, constituted a break on economic renewal given the presence of archaic forms of labour and the almost feudal relations between owners and peasants. All the special laws approved in the early years of the 20<sup>th</sup> century sought to tackle this problem, albeit not always effectively. Considering the size of the problem, which constituted a fully-fledged social scourge that could no longer be underestimated, the results were modest. The measures did not tackle the question of the decentralisation of schooling, which continued to rely on local administrations for the funding of education, including primary schools, impacting the poorest social classes as well as the workers. The serious failure of municipalities to fulfil their obligations, frequently the case in Calabria, was recorded by the historian Oreste Dito, among the most attentive observers of the situation. Thus, since “the absence of any local initiative” (Dito, 1909, p. 18) was not remedied by the direct intervention of the state, not even regarding the necessary connection between primary and professional education, it was hard to consider schools as the “most effective coefficient of social cohesion” (Ibidem).

The special laws for Basilicata (1904)<sup>3</sup> and Calabria (1906)<sup>4</sup> also sought to resolve general and specific problems by means of extraordinary funding that was supposed to tackle the many emergencies, including schools and professional training, which were common to both regions. A major work on Basilicata, also of relevance to Calabria given the poverty affecting both regions, is *Terra inespugnabile. Un bilancio della legge speciale per la Basilicata tra contesto locale e dinamiche nazionali (1904-1923)* (An impregnable land. An assessment of the special law for Basilicata taking account of the local context and national dynamics) by Donato Verrastro (2011). Indeed, the regions’ shared experience of underdevelopment, cultural as well as economic, makes the two special laws broadly comparable, especially in terms of the focus on the pitiful state of education. Given the lack of a proper school building programme, funds were allocated for the opening of schools in outlying urban districts and villages, small communities that in many cases were isolated by the lack of usable roads or had no schools in the vicinity. Funds were also set aside for the creation of agricultural courses, aimed at supporting sectors essential for development such as viticulture, wine production, livestock breeding and cheese making, seen as potential drivers of growth linked to the strengths of the individual regions.

When in September 1905 many towns in Calabria were struck by a powerful earthquake (not the first in the region’s history), the meridionalist Sonnino, who would soon be head of the government of the Kingdom (from 8 February to 29 May 1906), threw his weight behind Law 255 of 25 June 1906, which was passed barely a month after his resignation. The law, whose paternity can only be attributed to the Tuscan intellectual, sought to tackle the devastation caused by the earthquake by allocating funds for the provision of food and clothing, the removal of rubble, the construction of temporary housing and the repair of damaged dwellings<sup>5</sup>. This was not all however. The law’s various articles considered many of the issues affecting Calabria and set out measures regarding public works, agricultural credit, farming, the conservation and replanting of forests, and the regulation of grazing and taxation, but it also contained specific and stringent provisions in support of professional

schools. Only three of the articles refer to education but the law as a whole transversally emphasises the importance of schooling, specifically primary education and professional training, which were to be improved and expanded in the three provinces of Calabria by means of extraordinary funding<sup>6</sup>. Money was allocated for the creation of schools of arts and crafts, applied art, carving and design, workshops, and industrial and commercial vocational schools. Schools of silk production, dyeing and weaving were to be set up in female orphanages in Catanzaro and Cosenza<sup>7</sup>. The measures were extraordinary but also forward-looking. Funding was also allocated for bursaries that would allow students who graduated from the industrial and commercial schools of Calabria to follow courses and obtain specialised technical training abroad<sup>8</sup>.

In addition, the law envisaged the institution of itinerant agricultural courses that would be specialised in accordance with local needs; teaching farms with peasant dwellings would be founded in all areas for the development of practical activities linked to land reclamation, soil improvement and crop testing to select the most suitable plants for cultivation; structures for keeping rural machinery and equipment and sharing seeds and plants were to be built<sup>9</sup>.

All this amounts to much more than an emergency intervention prompted by a specific event. Drawing inspiration from those, like Sonnino, who had developed a profound knowledge of the Mezzogiorno, the law constituted a fully-fledged project that aimed to channel a new spirit and a new sensitivity in that part of the country. It sought to encourage the peoples of the South to abandon archaic forms of production and labour, making use of professional training that would provide them with the necessary tools and techniques for looking at work in new and above all associative ways, as was already the case in more advanced areas of Italy and Europe. It would be interesting at this point to explore and reflect on the success of these extraordinary funding measures, whose goal was no less than the resurgence of the two most backward regions in the Kingdom of Italy. Did they mark the start of real change in the affected areas or did they rather, as the historian Gaetano Cingari argues, attempt to tackle too broad a range of issues to produce any concrete benefits? An indication is given by the explosion of discontent, tragically repressed, in the Arbëreshë communities of Firmo and Lungro in the province of Cosenza in 1907 (Cingari, 1982, pp. 162-164). Here, where the typical response to social problems continued to be emigration, the angry revolt represented an exception. As Francesco Saverio Nitti stated, in that region, “they do not go on strike... when the worker is not content with the economic conditions imposed on him by the owners, he emigrates” (Nitti, 1958, p. 270). In the first decade of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, emigration continued to have severe consequences, accentuating the depopulation and human impoverishment of the affected areas and distorting the composition of the communities, increasingly the reserve of the elderly, women and children. Such communities were composed of a fragile humanity gripped by fatalism, which according to Zannotti Bianco also marked the life of the inhabitants of Basilicata. In fact, it was the condition throughout the Mezzogiorno of all those who were victims of a cruel fate, iniquity, disasters, poverty and ignorance after the failure of so many ambitious measures. The latter included the Coppino Law of July 1877 on compulsory schooling, which changed neither the geography of schools nor the level of literacy in the Mezzogiorno. The Daneo-Credaro Law, which entrusted responsibility for funding primary schools to the state, was only passed in 1911. Not only did this represent a considerable delay, arriving as it did half a century after the achievement of Italian unity, its implementation had to wait even longer as a result of the febrile pre-war climate that was already affecting the life of the country and causing state funding to be reallocated to other areas.

Even the adult literacy campaigns launched by the state from 1921 onwards, with the support of so many worthy associations including the National Association for the Interests of the Italian Mezzogiorno (ANIMI)<sup>10</sup>, represent the total failure of ordinary and extraordinary policies, in the sense that they gave the uneducated masses just enough to enable their migration to the United States of America, which was about to close its

borders to the illiterate. For years, America would continue to represent the dream of all those fleeing hunger-stricken countries in search of a world of abundance, as scholars of the history and dynamics of Italian emigration have pointed out<sup>11</sup>.

## Note

1. Among the studies, some of which fruitfully combine historic, economic and educational analysis, the reader is referred to G. Nisio, *Della istruzione pubblica e privata in Napoli dal 1806 al 1871*, Tip. dei F.lli Testa, Napoli 1871; A. Zazo, *L'istruzione pubblica e privata nel napoletano (1767-1860)*, Il Solco, Città di Castello 1927; B. Croce, *Storia d'Italia dal 1871 al 1915*, Laterza, Bari 1959; G. Isnardi, *La scuola, la Calabria, il Mezzogiorno*, Laterza, Bari, 1985; G. Giarrizzo, *Mezzogiorno senza meridionalismo*, Marsilio, Venezia 1992; C. M. Cipolla, *Istruzione e sviluppo. Il declino dell'analfabetismo nel mondo occidentale*, il Mulino, Bologna 2002; G. Carano-Donvito, *Mezzogiorno incompiuto. Scritti di economia, finanza e storia*, Lacaixa, Manduria 2003 (edited by M. Paradiso).
2. Reference is made in particular to the 2017 *Project of National Interest* (PRIN) entitled *Istruzione e sviluppo nel Sud d'Italia dal 1861 all'età giolittiana* (Education and development in the South of Italy from 1861 to the Giolittian era), as part of which four southern universities (those of Calabria, Catania, Messina and Sassari) sought to investigate and reconstruct the relationship between education and growth in the Mezzogiorno, with detailed references to the historic, economic and social background.
3. This was Law 140 of 31 March 1904, which sets out measures for the province of Basilicata. In section ("Titolo") VI, this law also envisaged support for schools, including three interesting articles (84-85-86) setting out funded measures regarding obligatory primary education, but also classical, technical and teacher training courses. The law also named the boarding school that was part of the high school in Matera and the technical school in Melfi as national schools.
4. Law 255 of 25 June 1906, *Provvedimenti a favore della Calabria* (Measures in support of Calabria).
5. *Ibid.*, art. 7, TITOLO I, *Provvedimenti a favore dei danneggiati dal terremoto* (Measures in support of those affected by the earthquake).
6. *Ibid.*, art. 79, TITOLO VI, *Scuole professionali* (Professional schools).
7. *Ibid.*, art. 80, TITOLO VI, *Scuole professionali* (Professional schools).
8. *Ibid.*, art. 81, TITOLO VI, *Scuole professionali* (Professional schools).
9. *Ibid.*, art. 62, TITOLO IV, *Provvedimenti per l'agricoltura* (Measures concerning agriculture).
10. On the birth of the Association in Rome in 1910, its history, the places where it operated and the men and women who worked for its causes, there exists a large body of studies that have reconstructed, especially in the last few years, its most significant pages. In addition to those published by the Association as part of the *Collezione di Studi Meridionali* (Collection of Southern Studies), the reader is referred, with no claim to be exhaustive, to those that focus on the many initiatives in the fields of schooling, education and welfare. These include those of T. Tomasi, *Mezzo secolo di attività dell'Associazione Nazionale per gli Interessi del Mezzogiorno d'Italia*, in *Scuola e Città*, n. 6, 1961, pp. 227-233; G. Alatri, *Le scuole e l'azione culturale e sociale della Associazione Nazionale per gli Interessi del Mezzogiorno d'Italia dalla fondazione alla caduta del fascismo*, in *I problemi della Pedagogia*, XXXVI, novembre-dicembre 1990, pp. 561-582; B. Serpe, *La Calabria e l'opera dell'ANIMI. Per una storia dell'istruzione in Calabria*, Jonia, Cosenza 2004; EAD.; "L'ANIMI: una storia per immagini", in *Nuovo Bollettino CIRSE*, n. 1-2, 2007, pp. 33-42; Associazione Nazionale per gli Interessi del Mezzogiorno d'Italia (ed.), *Immagini di Calabria. Nascita e primi interventi dell'ANIMI (1908-1923)*, SA.PI Grafica, Roma 2009; G. Pescosolido (ed.), *Cento anni di attività dell'Associazione Nazionale per gli Interessi del Mezzogiorno d'Italia e la questione meridionale oggi*, Rubbettino, Soveria Mannelli 2011; B. Serpe, "L'azione educativa

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