EDUCATION RIGHT: A SOCIAL JUSTICE EDUCATION
GROUNDED THEORY IN ITALIAN COMPULSORY SCHOOLS.

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CHAPTER 1 – FOREWORD

The Guarantee of The Education Right

Some years ago, I worked as substituting teacher within several Italian middle schools. There was in one of my classrooms, a pupil coming from the East-Europe. He was smart and bright. He has been arrived in Italy lately. He was used to raise the hands and make me pay attention to him anytime I would say words, whose meaning he did not know. He was used, also, to interrupt me many times during the flow of the speech. "But, teacher! What does this word mean?"

After once I said out loud: "Stop, now! Stop interrupting me asking the meanings!" I have been thinking about what happened for long. I had the impression that something was not so right. I promised to my self to talk about it with the pupil. After several days, I was again in the same classroom. I pronounced a very difficult word, knowing that he would never heard it before. He did not raise the hand. Therefore, I asked him: "Do you know what it means?" He answered: "No, I don't". I replied: "I know that I told you to not interrupt me. However, you know what I tell you this time? Raise your hand and always ask the meaning of unfamiliar words. If not the risk is that you will never learn them. Moreover, do it with me, even if

I am tired, or I look at you badly. Do not care about. Asking things you do not know or understand is your right." I noticed that other children, among the Italians, did not know the meaning of certain words, but only the foreign student continued to ask their meaning.

The foreign student in class has become a phenomenon that is increasingly back. 574,133 foreign students are enrolled in the school year 2007/2008. Represent 6.4% of the total, but in some provinces in central and northern Italy reaches record concentrations up to 14%. 191 nationalities are represented[1].

The concentration is mostly in the regions of centre and north of Italy, some regions are evidently preferred: in Emilia Romagna, students with no Italian citizenship are 11.8% of the whole studentship, in Umbria are 11.4 %, in Lombardy and Veneto are more than 10%. There are classrooms with more than half of foreign students, as well as "illegal" students, i.e. children of illegal immigrants who have full right and duty to participate in the Italian school system, as was established by Italian law.

Behind my nuisance, a feeling caused by continuous interrupting as well as what is going on underneath the modalities of acceptance and management of foreigners in the classroom lurks the danger that the education right of foreigners in Italy would be only a facade and not the substantial implementation of the law. The Italian Ministry of Education bureau, in fact, recognized as an alarming issue, the lack of regular school attendance among students with non-Italian citizenship. This is due both to difficulties related to the lack of knowledge of the Italian language and to problems of social integration. On average, 42.5% of foreign pupils are not

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[1] CENSIS 2008.

in good standing with their studies as the age increases their discomfort in attending school.

The social education right is fully guaranteed whenever a student, regardless of nationality, language, culture, arrives, accomplishing the obligation school to the end of curricula. The students must have chosen their education without any external influence, such as economic needs, for example, or discrimination of any kind. The Italian Ministry of Education argues that the phenomenon of foreign pupils abandoning school is due to difficulties linked to the lack of knowledge of Italian as second language and problems of social integration. A question would arise: who teaches Italian to immigrants? The school, that is the place of the materialisation of the constitutional education right, is, at the same time, the institution, which teaches Italian and, because of lack of knowledge of Italian, encourages foreign students to choose the road of abandonment. The same could be said about the other cause denounced, the social inclusion.

The current situation (while this chapter is written) is cause for great concern about the schools' destiny in Italy, and about what the school, on the light of political and economic reforms to be implemented, would be no longer able to do for the weakest sectors of society. It is news of October 15th 2008: The Chamber approved a law-proposal about Italian school system. La Lega especially, a right-wing party extremely critic about the presence of immigrants in the country, commits the government to "revise the system for access of foreign students to the school of any level, encouraging their application, after passing the test and assessment of specific evidence." In practice, immigrants who do not pass the test for admission must

attend separate classes, called 'bridging classes', in order to learn Italian, before the real admission into the regular classes." (Source: www.repubblica.it).

In the Chapter 2, I shall introduce the theme of social rights on the light of theoretical suggestions given by *Social Justice Education* (SJE). Social rights are the quality's index of the policy of a country; they feed of the idea of justice and do not derive from the economical competitiveness. What is happening today in Italy with undermines with power never seen before any possibility to ensure to everyone, but especially to those who start from at the most disadvantaged conditions, the education right. Already last summer teachers were complaining about the cuts of staff, the inability of schools to have linguistic and cultural mediators who could teach Italian to the immigrant students in order to the better social integration possible. In Milan, for example, supporting teachers were not hired. In the city and province of Milan, there are only 94 language facilitators for 46 thousand students. Only 5 years ago, the facilitators were 200. The erosion of the public sphere is giving the school a face less and less comfortable and less emancipatorie for those who would need "something more" to keep up with others. Nevertheless, the majority proposed bridging classes. They could not say "separate classes" or "differential" because the Law No. 270 of 1982 and Law No. 517 of 1977, have abolished the differential classes provided by Articles 11 and 12 of Law No. 1859 of December 31st 1962, with the choice to invest curricular teachers of the responsibility of all pupils, even if arrived during the year. They want to go back more than 40 years, fading the chance to see the education right fully guaranteed. The only solution is

using teachers for implementing educational projects aimed to carry foreign students to the other students' level, with the help of public authorities, whose choices depend on the political climate. Moreover, not all political climates are to help foreigners. Another example: in Padua schools ethnically mixed classes are a reality, with peaks of 37-38% of foreign students in neighbourhoods 'Arcella' and 'Forcellini' - where there is a huge numbers of immigrant families. In particular, in middle school 'Briosco' the percentage of kids - Africans and Asians, especially - is among the highest ones. A percentage that in some sections ultimately raises the concerns and protests from Italian parents, sustained by the education regional authority, Elena Donazzan of An, in favour of "ethnic quotas" now advocated by the Lega in Parliament. (Source: La Repubblica of October 15th '08).

In the Chapter 2, also I shall discuss the characteristics of SJE thanks to which all those involved in education may understand why the recent political reforms of the school, the Public administration and Social Services, will open a wound and a crisis that difficultly will be healed within a just democratic country.

The SJE draws concepts and notions as social change, empowerment, acceptance of differences and guaranteeing the education right. From a theoretical point of view, I shall outline the contact between these concepts and the theory of justice, to propose a definition that gives broader space to education as a resource of a country to determine a fair development. It will be introduced the capabilities' approach of Amartya Sen (1992, 1999) and Martha Nussbaum (1999; 2002, 2003a; 2003b), an approach

that gives reasons of the foundations of both the political and educational choices of a country.

I will start from the concept of democracy and the relationship that exists between it and the education and social rights because it has always been one of my research interests and reflection.
What is certain is that finding a place, a moment, event, or phenomenon useful to study that relationship was not so easy. I tried to make clear first to me what might mean democracy within the educational debate. Moreover, the SJE is the best suitable critical and theoretical frame for the theme.

However, the theoretical chapter will change the SJE with some appropriate amends. While the "classical" SJE is within the critical theories in education (Dewey, 1916/2000, Freire, 2004, 2006; Gadotti, 1996; Macedo, 1995), my references include the political theory of Rawls (1971/2008, 1996, 2001), and the liberal outlook, including suggestions for the construction of the justice by Nussbaum.

Education as A Research-Driven Science

In chapter 3, I shall address issues concerning the methodology and the method of the empirical research whose results will be presented in the following chapter. In addition to a substantial and theoretical branch, the thesis also consists of a methodological and empirical part. The importance of outlining the methodological path of a research, after a theoretical chapter, was driven, first, by the fact that it is necessary, in education, considering the empirical research as a means through which educators and teachers may build contents and give meaning to educational

theories. On the other hand, is by the theory that one can make a qualitative research meaningful.

The internal consistency of the specific reference, the pedagogy, suggests this. Indeed, it is essential to emphasize that education is a science that grows on multiple sources of knowledge. According to Bertolini (1988/2002), the pedagogy is an empirical, eidetic, and practical science. It is because the empirical basis of its knowledge is the experience of the educational relationship within a context and of research. It is also eidetic because, thanks to its philosophical nature, it goes beyond the contextual to abstraction of general qualities from the experience. In addition, it is finally a practical science because education not only takes care of "spiritual" issues but also tends to return to practice in an informed and renewed way through the knowledge acquired by empirical research, educational experience, and theories. In this sense, the pedagogy is as interdisciplinary and multi-methodical science that uses the research's methods with which other disciplines have a longer tradition.

The disciplinary point of view plays a key role, therefore, for the choice of methodologies and research methods. I will choose a complex methodology, rather than a reductionist one, to give reason of the complexity of the studied phenomenon, and because the pedagogy takes in account complex and systemic issues, about development of human beings that it should not seek to reduce and simplify.

Each discipline has a unique character of science because among them there are differences of perspectives, history, and objectives. The way in which you look at a phenomenon may be scientific or not, depends on the rigor with which the discipline comes to

results. The pedagogy, according to a phenomenological interpretation (Bertolini, 2001), can be called "science" if it is capable to found results in a scientific way. A phenomenon may be under analysis and research of a psychologist, an economist, or an anthropologist. The phenomenon of my doctoral research, for example, can be designed according to different disciplinary approaches: psychology, sociology, politics, and law. Each of them could bring meanings to the phenomenon. What is called the "*proprium*" of each influences those meanings. Every discipline is like a point of view, which starts from a "*proprium*" and underlies on two different levels:

- On the quantitative level, any discipline "has to be understood in a materialistic way; no research objects is comprehensible as a whole, but always according to a particular spatial and temporal perspective" (Bertolini, 2005, p. 106);

- On the qualitative one, the "*proprium*" has to be seen "in a non-materialistic dimension […] we could understand it using the concept or the perspective of the senses or meanings that are given by the researcher or the scientific community, intentionally or unintentionally" (Bertolini, 2005, p.106).

For what concerns to education, defining its proprium is complex, because education requires social sciences strongly interdisciplinary perspective. There are many interconnections between the various factors that constitute the reality as well as there are many interconnections between different sciences. This would not mean that knowledge could not take education and pedagogy as science. At the same time, this would not mean that they could not have their own place within the

research methodology. Education is not a science because it holds an object of study in a hegemonic way but because of their specific point of view on phenomenon.

Education is an original human experience (Bertolini, 1999, 2002, 2001). Human beings are in the world subjected of time and change. This change is Education only if intentionally driven. The "*proprium*" of education lies in the effort of rationalizing the educational field as the original human experience (and therefore universal) whose characteristics constitute the development and growth paths, educational projects, and institutions. The educational events are "constitutively projected for the future because their main concepts refer to change and transformation" (Bertolini, 2005, p. 115). As E. Stein states: "condition to make educating possible is the *evolutionary* nature of human beings, who do not entry as complete individuals in the existence [...] they have in front a wide range of possibilities and the capability of a free cooperation in choosing between these possibilities; this could make the self-determination possible and necessary" (Stein, 2000, p. 53).

We understand, finally, how the disciplinary point of view and its "*proprium*", in this case the educational experience, lead researcher not to seek causal laws in the basic educational phenomenon, but rather the meaning of experiences, motivations in a evolutionary change. It is not, however, only a description of a phenomenon but also a study and deep understanding of possible ways to change the same phenomenon.

What is happening within the Compulsory School?

Education, *Social Justice*, democracy, social rights, and capabilities. Those are the keywords of this study about the processes of guaranteeing the education right. Nevertheless, as mentioned above, in terms of education and pedagogical aims, I could not support a theory, even if is highlighting the importance of it for the education and training contexts. Handling what are the things that really happen, it is necessary. During Chapter 2, I shall explain more fully how is possible to study abstract concepts such as democracy and social rights. Here, it will be sufficient to say that democracy is a situation in the same way as education is. What is the situation that involves the democratic social education right? This situation is the school environment, the last termination of the state, which is committed to increase education and the culture of a country.

I then will choose a particular event of that situation as the inclusion of immigrant students, because this event will make the process related to the guaranteeing of the education right, particularly evident.

Following the methodical steps I shall introduce in the third chapter, I have been constructed a *Grounded Theory* (GT) through which I shall not only say that schools live in a conflict among social rights to be guaranteed and systematic and political difficulties to make their intervention effective. Already the newspapers refer that, for example those articles I mentioned at the beginning of the introduction. I bring to the attention the ways this conflict exists,

outlining the characteristics that are in accordance or not with what is declared by and what is lived in schools. This research has as a result a theory I have named: "*structuring conditions*". Indeed, what happens in Italian schools when a foreigner student arrives in the course of the year? How does the school react and how to try to secure the education right?

The "structuring of the conditions" explains what happens in Italian schools regard the phenomenon of inclusion of immigrant students. This process evolves according two dynamics: the first is the "sharing of responsiveness" and the second one is the "structuring of educational priorities". These two dynamics explain what occurs within the teachers' lived experiences and within the school as an organization. Sharing the sensitivity or responsiveness means that the process of welcoming starts from an attitude that only few teachers have shown: it is taking the load of educational projects that tend to guarantee the right to learning Italian and to construct a well coexistence with all the others students inside the school. Many teachers are still deaf towards these issues. For structuring of priorities, I mean, however, that the processes of activation are led by a very clear priority given to the wellbeing of immigrant students, choice that would set out to build a more effective welcoming and training.

In Chapter 4, I will describe the process of schools' activating. These processes have to do with the arrival of foreigners seen as a problem and not as their right. In other words, when it becomes a problem then the school raises the question of ensuring a right. In addition, not only because increasingly there are schools with a very high presence of immigrants, but also because the continuous arrival leads to

organizational confusion and difficulties to be remedied.

Does schools guarantee the education right effectively? If the right is the right to a social minimum, a foreign child who enters during the year, has its classroom, is included in school life, like everyone, then the answer is yes. The right to enrol in school is given to all but the education right also has another side that is the fact that at the end of schooling everyone should have all the skills acquired to become a citizen. To do this, the school should provide a very good and improving education to all, not just the social minimum.

The research reveals that schools lean to ensure not the education right, a very remote target if the 42.5% of foreign students are in delay in or abandon training. Rather, the process through which the school tends to guarantee the education right is making structural, shared and of primary importance what would be the prerequisites of a climate suitable for work. I will define the prerequisites in the chapter 4: those are the educational aspect, without which the pure and simple Italian learning would be insolvent to bridge the gaps. Furthermore, it would not be possible learning to stay together, to live in a place educational priorities may build. Making learners autonomous in language and sociability is the warranty of the education right. Moreover, in this context, we would recognise conditions, which are the responsiveness some teachers show, and priorities, that from a last minute answer would become systematic responses to an emergency.

CHAPTER 2 – *SOCIAL JUSTICE EDUCATION* AND SOCIAL RIGHTS

Introduction

The *Social Justice Education* (SJE) is a theoretical and operational framework developed over the past decades from considerations of thinkers coming from the *Critical Theory* in education and from the pedagogy of Paulo Freire. The SJE studies educational issues related to the warranty of human rights, especially social ones, and reflects critically on the wider political dimension. Social justice is part of a larger panorama that includes the theoretical method for managing power, the concept of justice and social processes aimed at ensuring social rights. SJE aims to delineate limitations and educational potentialities of the concept of justice and social processes implied to ensure a particular social right, the education right, particularly in the school.

The key concepts of SJE are, therefore, those of social rights, justice and democracy. Of each of these points, I will deal with the implications for education. I shall outline a theoretical identification of theme of the research whose results are set out in Chapter 4.

The first theme is that of social rights. The SJE is the general theory of social rights and their assurance

processes in education, as rights to develop the full potential of human personality.

The SJE draws the issue of rights and therefore their warranty. I shall delineate how justice has been founded by liberals' thought and, within this frame, how the rights can be seen as related with education. The rights I will talk about are the social rights and, in this case, the education right, which substantiates education from the perspective of social justice. I will show how these rights must be guaranteed regardless of formal nationality's issues, through founding SJE and following the capabilities' approach.

The rights can be divided into civil, political, and social rights. The civil rights relate to individual liberties, equality to secure through a suitable political system, private property and have a fair trial. The political rights are those related to the political management of a state: are the rights of citizenship as the right to vote, the right to participate in decision-making processes. While individuals possess civil and political rights as the manner in which a state, a nation run the company together, all individuals possess social rights because they belong to humanity, as implemented by the Universal Declaration of Human Rights of the United Nations.

The SJE accepts the lesson that the rights are not natural bodies, and therefore have no foundation in an objective moral order or, rather, in a particular ideology. The rights, according to the SJE, are the result of a particular culture and a particular time, were built to pursue and guarantee certain purposes. In education, this means that, very generally, rights are inherent to the realization of human happiness

(Bertolini, 2003), of a good quality of life (Mortari, 2008).

The rights are generally the result of a policy for the human being. That policy comes from a favourable cultural substrate. Social rights are now as political and educational objectives, now as boundaries. Where these rights are not being lived, guaranteeing them would mean making choices and educational policies towards the direction indicated by the rights themselves. However, they are also boundaries over which the policy would turn into something not very dissimilar from fascism. To avoid this, people have written them. Nevertheless, even if the rights are written on documents signed by all the countries of the world, this does not mean that they are applied and guaranteed. Moreover, the SJE that questions the debate on human rights shows how those same rights must be reachable for people to put them into practise (see Dahl, 2006). Social rights are, therefore, the directions of intentional coexistence among individuals. As they are not a given, they are always in different ways prosecuted: their achievement is related to time and space and this gives them a never-ending need of gaining meaning for the human life. The risk is the loss of their axiological charge.

Declining in reality social, rights have the function of determining which political choices are socially positive and lead to greater well-being of life of each. However, as the rights are also culturally imposed limitations of politics limits, they discriminate choices and power management.

It is lately experiencing a socio-political phenomenon that would have to alert all those involved in education: after having lived "a gradual expansion of

scope and specification of subjects to which rights were addressed" (Tarozzi, 2008b, p. 122), democracies are operating progressive limitations (Vitale, 2004). In a cultural climate that restricts the rights to certain forms of citizenship, one cannot but note how we are approaching a situation of great conflict between rights. In particular, in seeking ways to limit forms and users of rights, are decreasing categories of people can enjoy them. In Italy, for example, only the citizens have civil rights, while all have social rights according to the Italian Constitution, along the position of international right declaration, upheld by the state. However, let us take the right of housing: only because of living in Italy, Italians as well as non-Italians may have rent controlled housing, because this is a social right that everyone can enjoy. The same thing is for the education right and health service. Regarding people without Italian citizenship, very problematic category in social rights guaranteeing processes that shows in every country of the west of the world insufficient attention, the mature democracies could provide social rights only to those who possess civil rights[2]. Social rights are going to light a great social, cultural and political conflict because they are turning into fields of social exclusion of persons already weak if compared to those who enjoy the rights from owning a nationality of a Western and democratic country. When then social rights are no longer proposed as defence of social exclusion of weak people, it is necessary a critical stance that takes care of the issue of human rights: the *Social Justice*. There are not rights without *Social Justice.*

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[2] From Corriere della Sera, August 18th '08.

The migration's phenomenon, which has always been present in human history, has lately become more than significant. Within this phenomenon, every multicultural society should pay attention to human rights. The education right is a precondition for the education of the capability of each individual, but if this individual has come from abroad, the system of universal principles fights with the political systematization of a country.

The second major issue will be democracy that positively influences the activity of SJE and ensures a full understanding of its transformative nature. The management of power in the West countries is democratic, and I shall develop a particular meaning of democracy to single out how it may interface with education. Social justice, particularly, as regards the idea of justice, is influenced by a democracy meant not only as power management, but also as a set of attitudes and behaviours related to specific situations. In the case of the school, I shall face the limits and constraints on which the democratic structure of a country should be vigilant. According SJE, democracy serves as a major political and cultural container of many countries whose guiding principles are the rights and their effective assurance is the shared and imposed bounder. In teaching and education focusing on what is the premise for a "right" education and teaching is crucial to improve the potential and capabilities of individuals. This premise is the education right. The democratic country have been prepared an educational system specifically to increase the level of welfare and happiness of their citizens. This educational system is the school, an institution whose full implementation is in the social right to education. Why school? "At issue is that getting

education is a matter of social justice, and that
schooling is a site for state intervention and public
policy." (Walker, 2006, p. 164). Therefore, schools are
the privileged place for studying SJE as political
democratic choices and processes for increasing justice
have their consequences directly on schools. In this
sense, SJE and democracy are interwoven with each other.

<div align="center">Social Justice Education (SJE)</div>

The *Social Justice* is what moves the public opinion
to criticise the *status quo* starting from some
anthropological and ethical assumptions, often implicit,
that refer to what is meant by justice. In other words,
the *Social Justice* would be a set of theories of justice
and social goodness that outlines an idea of a human
being for discriminating and understand the right and
wrong, the good and bad, about political and educational
choices. Bates (2006) points out that the *Social Justice*
deals with three main components: the issue of
distribution of goods, the issue of recognition of
cultural values in relation to justice and the
possibility of political participation. The link,
according to the author, with education is not hard to
find when problems and difficulties which these three
components experience are recognized. Education should
bring solutions.

In Italy, SJE has not yet been introduced because
other theoretical perspectives have used its theoretical
references and because has not been collected into a
single theoretical panorama. The author of reference of
SJE is above all John Dewey (1969, 1998, 2000) and his
activism in education from an American pragmatist point
of view. The SJE would resize the optimism that he shows

when he reflects on society and on the school as common social identity construction environment.

Toward society, the SJE has traditionally been "critical" if not sometimes pessimistic about the ways in which the society operates in schooling's settings. In Europe, Althusser (1997), for example, has had great resonance with its ideological state apparatuses in determining a look of suspicion about the school. In addition, everywhere Paulo Freire (2004, 2006), well-known inspiration for SJE, has competition in this direction. In the Anglo-Saxon countries many articles published in this last decade cite Freire as the main inspiration. The Critical Pedagogy (Freire, 2004; Gadotti, 1996; Giroux, 2003), in fact, has provided: "a strong foundation of critical thinking for SJE and has encouraged an anti-oppressive social critique that includes an examination of issues of power and privilege in systems of education […] Critical pedagogy also has been one of the main influences in SJE's commitment to social change through personal responsibility. […] SJE has learned from black feminist pedagogy that there is no hierarchy of oppressions, and thus all social identities and perspectives are important. Although this is not an exhaustive list of the theoretical influences on SJE, it does help explain why social justice education has such a strong leaning toward social change, student empowerment, and the analysis of systems of power and oppression. These philosophical and theoretical influences all make social justice education a dynamic educational approach and a source of hope and possibility in our schools." (Hackman & Rauscher, 2004, p. 115). There are many overlaps with the *Critical Education* in terms of attention to what determines the context of educational processes, the social sphere, and

power relations (Giroux, 2003; Gadotti, 1996), which is set within the human interactions. However, the SJE is not just for those who have approached the post-structuralist, post-modern, and neo-Marxist critical thinking in education. The SJE has a strong transformative power but does not forget the reality that exists primarily in its phenomenic materiality. The reality is for sure socially constructed, but not necessarily, it would hide power's dynamics. There is not a general criticism towards liberism, even if SJE looks at the market with suspicion (Bates, 2006).

The focus of interest of SJE that I take into consideration here is not so much on the dynamics of power, the maintenance of privileges, dynamics that are hidden and disguised, and that the researcher should reveal and fight. I do not think that always there would be power issues underneath educational relationships. It is also true that the power exists in education and is not in itself bad but rather should be directed to better education. Certainly, I should not be naive and say that the power does not fascinate teachers, educators and principals of any school. Nevertheless, no one can even argue that education always hide processes of enslavement. As what education would be, hides from learners, the *Critical Education* and *Critical Pedagogy* have a sceptical attitude towards reality and education.

However, the SJE, to which I refer here, is much more cautious in this regard. It is primarily a criticism starting from the meaning of justice, rather than from the concept of oppression. Precisely as education is based on processes of social justice and tends to regulate and monitor the educational objectives in the direction of greater justice for all, the SJE can not but start from a theory of justice, also to ensure

that the reflection will focus on reality, starting from the concept of justice. Of course, everyone reads the reality in different ways but this does not mean that the direction of justice in the educational process would become something always questionable. Especially if justice is link to the contingency of an educational relationship, in which one should find a truth valid and consistent with the idea of justice: there is not relativism of the sense of justice but only a contextualization. In other words, the meaning given to the term "justice" marks the difference between education as oppression and education as emancipation.

Among these truths, SJE lists the social right to education or, better, the guaranteeing of social right as discriminator of a just education.

Social Rights: Goals for a Just Education

The social rights are a problematic core for the political dimension of education that should commit to implement processes by public institutions in order to guarantee those rights. Among the rights' list, social ones are those most vulnerable. While civil and political rights are guaranteed within public services by bureaucratic standardized agenda and performance, in the case of social rights, according to Zolo (1994), the guaranteeing is tied to social expectations with regard to politics. In other words, if the civil rights such as freedom, equality, private property, fair trial are part of the bureaucratic state, and political rights as the rights of citizenship, namely the right to vote, participation in decision-making processes, fall into a management routine of public affairs, social rights, on the contrary, are general guidelines that to become *de*

facto rights require not only an organizational and procedural effort but also "contents", and "therefore consume an unusually high amount of resources" (p. 30). Social rights have a high degree of randomness and their warranty is not always factual. For example, we cannot even think the suspension of the right to private property (civil law) but it is quite accepted by everyone the trampling on the right to work, or the education right. The resources social rights require depend on the politics, and not just on the economic availability: in other words, they depend on discretionary decisions of the government. Furthermore, "what is the right to health, education and housing is usually defined in terms of minimum and medium" (Zolo, 1994, p. 31). If the understanding of the education right is right of all boys and girls in the age for attending schools, we can say that the education right is guaranteed: there are rooms for everyone that go in. Nevertheless, if we understand the education right, as suggested by SJE, as the attainment of the completion of the cognitive, emotional, and behavioural pupils' potential, it is clear that giving a seat and having a classroom is not but a marginal prerequisite. With this instance everyone may comprehend how much the social rights are uncertain. Social rights need the most shared definition, whose contents are not only about what is the minimum. The SJE hopes, by contrast, the contents' maximising of the social right to education, which should indicate realistic and attainable goals to give the best possible education.

To date, however, due to the erosion of the public sphere within national policies, the minimum threshold is the yardstick for the implementation of processes to guarantee social rights. Many political scientists have

shown how effectively increasing social rights could
create a conflict with the free market and the societies
that are based on the free market (Zolo, 1994; Bright,
1994). Social rights and free markets are regulated by
two logics between them difficult to overlap: in fact,
liberalism sponsors individual productivity to the
detriment of fair conditions to be constructed. In a
political situation where the welfare state was
dismantled, and spheres of influence of the public are
narrowing, the education is in great difficulty. Erosion
of the public means fewer guarantees for social rights,
and, anyway, less funds to try to give the institutions
the power and effectiveness that the implementation of
social rights requires.

    Another weakness is that social rights are not
acquired once and forever and must be protected from the
dangers of being ineffective and distortion (Bright,
1994). Social rights are part of human rights, set to
limit and direct the management of the power of the
state. They are born during the so-called "Age of
Rights" (Bobbio, 1990) or the "rediscovery of Rights"
(Moro, 2003). The strength and, simultaneously, the
weakness of human rights lies in the fact that they are
not rights given by the law of a state (Tarozzi, 2003).
Nowadays, it seems that the age of the rights would run
out to leave the door open to new national-state
particularities and a certain intolerance towards those
who carry particular needs for their own development and
growth, as childhood, elders or for the nature and the
life experiences, such as temporary or persons with
permanent disabilities. The national identity
strengthening undermines the effectiveness of social
rights. This means that there will be less and less
opportunities for social rights.

With particular reference to SJE, I shall focus here on what concerns childhood, a life-time which requires an adult commitment to safeguard the proper rights and obligations (Moro, 2003). International law has recognized children, subjects of education, as human persons whose specificity has to be protected. Childhood has its own rights and needs.

Setting the minimum age for child-labour was the first step to provide a global culture, at least in Western Europe, of the dignity of children and girls and for the respect of their human potential. The 1919 was the year when the International Labour Organization (ILO) has decided that children must not go to work before the fourteenth year of age.

It took many years taking the issue of children's rights in account at the global level. An event has very positively oriented the global debate on human rights: December 10th 1948 the General Assembly of the United Nations (UN) approved and proclaimed the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, the first international act with a comprehensive list of duties and rights for "all members of the human family." Like any declaration is not legally binding but political and cultural, and essentially sets out the principles to which every country should refer. However, it underlines the will to recognize the enormous rights field of influence. Everyone as human being and not a member of a nation-state should exercise human rights. In other words, social rights do not depend on anything else but the human dignity, not on other variables socially constructed.

As regards the education right, it has seen here as a fundamental right of every human being. Here the Article 26 paragraphs 1 and 2.

Article 26

(1) Everyone has the education right. Education shall be free, at least in the elementary and fundamental stages. Elementary education shall be compulsory. Technical and professional education shall be made generally available and higher education shall be equally accessible to all on the basis of merit.

(2) Education shall be directed to the full development of the human personality and to the strengthening of respect for human rights and fundamental freedoms. It shall promote understanding, tolerance and friendship among all nations, racial or religious groups, and shall further the activities of the United Nations for the maintenance of peace.

Since 1948, when the General Assembly of UN adopted its first Declaration of the Rights of Children, you must wait until November 20th 1989, when the General Assembly unanimously adopted the Convention on the Rights of Children. The *Convention*[3], compared to the declaration, is compulsory for states that should ratify it. It has been inspired by:

- the Declaration of the Rights of the Child of 1959,
- the Universal Declaration of Human Rights,

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[3] The *Convention* was incorporated within Italian law by Law n° 176 of May 27th 1991. The *Convention* is the international instrument that has obtained the largest number of signatures by governments around the world: in this sense the *Convention* can be seen just as "international law" for the 0-18 age group. The only states that have not to date ratified the *Convention* so far are the United States and Somalia (fonte: http://www.unhchr.ch/pdf/report.pdf).

- the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights (Articles 23 and 24),
- the International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights (art. 10),
- the statutes and relevant instruments of specialized institutions and international organizations who were concerned about the welfare during childhood.

The Article 28 of the Convention is about the education right. Compared to the *Declaration* the content of the education right was better specified: in the case of the *Convention,* the definition of education right does not require only the minimum but also a certain quality of education. Being trained and educated is not only a right and duty, compulsory for all. It includes lines on how to render effective this right: for example by adopting appropriate measures such as the introduction of free education, financial aids and assistance for disadvantaged people, making the information for lifelong learning initiatives reachable for all, by encouraging regular school attendance and reducing dropout rates.

The Italian Constitution foresees not only official introduction of social rights in the public management but also the construction of ways of removing obstacles for the real enjoying of the rights. In fact, it is not enough declaring a right without removing for the feasibility of law itself. In the Italian Constitution, for example, it says:

> **Article 3**
>
> All citizens have equal social dignity and are equal before the law, without distinction of sex, race, language, religion, political opinion, of personal and social conditions.
>
> It is the responsibility of the Republic to remove obstacles to economic and social order, which, in effect limit the freedom and equality of citizens, prevent the full development of the human person and the effective participation of all workers in the political, economic and social organization of the State.

The lesson of social rights legislation is fully implemented here in decreeing equal social dignity of all citizens. I think it is the second part of it that presents itself as a critical moment of change of political decisions that seems to be in tune with SJE. Indicating as a task the removal of obstacles that prevent everyone to develop as an autonomous identity in freedom and equality means assuming an educational and pedagogical perspective even in the Constitution. In other words the Italian Constitution is supposed to implement educational processes in order to give everyone the opportunity to follow freely social options. People should not be forced by economic or socially constructed contingencies to choose a lifestyle they would not want.

The Article 34 of the Italian Constitution, which deals with rights to education, merely says that schools must be open to all, compulsory and free for the first eight years at least. To make this constitutional article more significant we should correlate it with the previous article transcribed. The social right to education becomes filled with a active sense, involving social change.

Sustaining the education right, after all, means not only giving free education, and thus eliminating ignorance and illiteracy, but also promoting the development of personality, mental and physical abilities. It means, moreover, preparing students to assume duties and responsibilities in a free society, in a spirit of understanding, peace, tolerance, equality between the sexes and friendship among all peoples, regardless ethnic, religious, and individual origins.

The Social Justice, then, would be the whole process of insurance of rights that governments must implement with the goal of a better life for all (Wringe, 1999).

The Theoretical Foundation of SJE

To understand the extent of SJE is necessary to refer to the principles that guide the establishing issues of western societies under the light of the concept of justice. Indeed, the discourse on theoretical underpinnings starts from politics and in particular, from liberalism that has made justice as fairness the yardstick of a just and liberal society. This theme serves to find a foundation to the idea of justice, which, in fact, disciplines the political choices and, consequently, education. Social rights, which are the main content of SJE, are influenced by political lines and by politological thoughts. In fact, the guarantee of social rights is far from a foregone conclusion. The weakness of social rights is because their subordination of the preceding decision of political priorities. Here, I shall show in which terms we can talk about the conflict between the application of social rights and

free market (Zolo, 1994) and how this would affect education.

The logic underneath SJE and the logic underneath liberalism are hardly to overlap with each other. Liberalism, which tends to support the free enterprise, in the name of individual autonomy and simultaneously promotes the erosion of public means, as I explained above, a reduction of strength of social rights. The impact of liberalism on education has already been examined elsewhere (Tarozzi, 2005, 2008). Here I mean not only take the ineffectiveness of the debate on liberal, but suggest a track that could on the one hand strengthen the role of education in the form of a "right" and, secondly, to provide the SJE a new contribution from that of *Critical Education.*

The Rawls' Theory Of Justice And Education

From the SJE point of view, equality is a great aspiration of human beings to social change. For social change I mean the destruction of hierarchies and injustices that do not allow individuals to reach an appropriate development.

The proper place for this development is the society where the demands of social rights for all and the diversity of everyone meet each other. There is a conflict, then, between a just and equal law and the connatural differences of each. John Rawls (2001, 1971/2008) tried to resolve this contradiction. However, the resolution of this incompatibility has determined a certain level of inattention to the notion of difference. This contrast does not seem, in fact, be solved as "is the equality that should ensure diversity" (Callari Galli, 1995, p. 72), especially when the

visibility of diversity burst under the gaze of all
(Tarozzi, 2005). This visibility comes from several
critical contemporary issues like the community, the
immigrants, the indigenousness, minorities, women,
environment, etc. Those issues are challenging the
concept of justice.

The foundation of the concept of justice, finds,
however, in John Rawls the most influential
contribution. He, in fact, aimed to overcome
utilitarianism as a regulative idea of political action
and public institutions and tried to construct a theory
that expresses the public political reasoning shared by
citizens of a well-ordered society (Chan, 2005).
Furthermore, Rawls is still influencing political
liberal thought and from his works, thinkers keep
grasping ideas for underlining what can be understood by
the term justice in politics and to understand within
which limitations, from a liberal point of view, it is
reasonable to accept the coercion of the rule of law on
citizens. Since the SJE implies justice, or rather a
sense of justice are to determining the goodness of
educational choices, we understand, also, how it is
linked to a wider theoretical panorama, political
philosophy and political justice deals extensively with.
And in speeches around the justice in politics are also
thoughts and ways of interpreting education.

According to Rawls, *Social Justice* is a set of
principles that provides a method to distribute not only
rights and duties within the institutions of society
(Rawls, 1971/2008, p. 26) but also goods and resources.
Rawls resumed a theory of social contract in a liberal
understanding, where the emphasis is on the individual
and on her freedom. In the examination of Rawls, the
contractors of the social contract that leads to

coexistence among individuals, are thought of as adults and fully capables: Rawls poses a fictitious normality in a well-ordered society in which the individual, anthropologically cooperative (Nussbaum, 2002; Papastephanou, 2005) is the prerequisite for putting justice as equitable distribution of primary goods.

Rawls identifies freedom, opportunity, income, wealth, and respect for self (Rawls, 1971/2008) as the indispensable and essential goods. Being free, having an opportunity to self-directed change, possessing a certain level of wealth and respect of individual autonomy are what extent a just society. The differences among individuals are not considered significant because, according to Rawls, they, if they exist, are designed for the benefit of a majority. The coexistence, in fact, was conceived as a social contract or an association of individuals on the basis of mutual benefit between the contracting parts (Nussbaum, 2002). In other words, inequalities would be combined in a way that is reasonably expected to benefit each (Rawls, 1971/2008).

Then, within this anthropological frame, the same Rawls would admit that his theory of justice can not comprehend some issues (Rawls, 1996) that are the issue of persons with disabilities, of justice in transnanonal level, of political behaviour towards nature and animals and the future of young generations (see Nussbaum, 2007). These issues may be included in a broader question that the theory of Rawls fails satisfactorily to think: the issue of diversity or of bringing diversities in all physical, mental, cultural, and institutional areas. Just in theoretical fiction that Rawls uses to pursue an agreement on justice, cannot be fully explain the social dynamics that tend to

cut or even eliminate cultural and interpersonal differences. Those differences that each person has from birth, not chosen and unintended, hinder the enjoyment of rights and justice, in terms posed by Rawls. The differences, in fact, would not allow anyone to enjoy the same freedom of constructing a individual existential project. The regulative idea is the fundamental equality of all citizens, regardless of ethnicity, culture, religion, sex, and wealth. This, Rawls defines as the first principle of justice (1971/2008) says that having a different language or a body in condition of dependency or being a woman should not be a disadvantage, if this works for the benefit of all.

The emphasis on autonomy and individual freedom in choosing the opportunities of life, makes the use of education in *Theory of Justice* (1971/2008) only tangential, because education is one of the exclusively individual priorities. The educational principle of neutrality, though, seems anything but neutral. Assigning, in fact, equal opportunities for citizens who are not equal, as Rawls would want, is a step towards making education unequal (Tarozzi, 2005) and the sense of the social right to education useless.

However, the same Rawls does not respect the liberal neutrality while proposes a theory of justice because it suggests, perhaps hidden, even education that would follow the idea of right and the idea of individual. In this way, we would educate a ideal citizen, or "normal". This fictive person to be educated would lie in an unreal main stream, even when Rawls notes that not only formal education plays a key role in disseminating the principles of justice among citizens, but the same policy conception, that is underneath a model of

constitutional democracy, plays an educational role (Tarozzi, 2008b). The first problem that challenges this kind of anthropology is that education is a human imperative, connatural to human beings (Bertolini, 2002). Education is also a public event because it can only happen in a relationship between at least two people (Bertolini, 1993, 2001b, 2002; Mortari, 2002; Iori, 2000). So a partnership of objectives, values and choices is inscribed in educational relationship such that you can not even talk about neutrality in political ideas. In fact, a teacher teaches, consciously or not, with the idea of human being and citizen in her mind. Moreover, if the inequalities and disadvantages of the starting condition of people are given by nature and citizens cannot do but accept this, it becomes necessary to consider the distribution of natural advantages as a property. In other words, inequalities are thought of as natural and not as social constructed situation that depends on human activity. In this case, education, which is not considered an important social good, should not help but take note of the natural distribution and accept.

It cannot be surely, in terms of SJE, accepted this position on education. Education would represent itself as a conscious social reproduction (Gutmann, 1990). The SJE would lose its own meaning if education were not transformative, because forced to take an inactive role against the natural given. The consequence of this way of thinking would be to consider education and pedagogy the mere study of the dynamics of self-fulfilling processes. Indeed, how pedagogy and education could make changes on students if inequalities are given by nature and not by social construction? According to Rawls' list, there are among primary goods, those one the

nature cannot distribute which are outside the control of a theory of justice: the health, strength, intelligence and imagination (Rawls, 2008). If equal access and opportunity to benefit from an educational system means paying attention to those who are less equipped in order to guarantee the education right, it is not just a fair distribution of resources but a genuine care from the state in the educational process for people who start from the most disadvantaged point. The pedagogy cannot consider the intelligence as not educable. However, Rawls never expressed this idea.

   The reference to education becomes more evident and pressing as the question of recognition of differences within a conception of justice is becoming inevitable (Tarozzi, 2005). It is in *Political Liberalism* (1996) that Rawls recasts his theory on the light of multicultural pluralism. In this book, the fiction of self-regulation for citizens turns into an educational goal. If the society lives of significant cultural differences that affects freedom to choose any way of life, and the theory considers this, being self-sufficient cannot be seen as a result but rather a goal to reach. Only in this sense, then, justice as fairness would reveals its transformative power.

   However, it remains hard to find useful reasons for educational thinking along the interpretation of SJE. This is because Rawls did not thematise pluralism properly as pluralism is not a value but a problem (Vertova, 1994). In *Political Liberalism*, Rawls argued that a democratic society is to be considered a complete and closed social system. He outlined the its traits of self-sufficiency and of belonging to natural, not cultural, laws: one comes in only by birth and leaving it only by death. So even the notion of people treated

in *The Law of People* (2001) is identified as a closed self-sufficient system. The migration is the most striking example of social and cultural construction as a plural and dynamic situation, which take into account differences within each state. Pluralism highlights not only a fact, namely that we are all different, but also an important implication: diversity is to be sustained through equity in the distribution of goods and resources.

The starting point for constructing a theory of justice may be based not so much on a unreal idea, that one of the individual, seen as independent. Rather, especially in education, a theory of justice should start from the reality of the individual as not independent: child that is born in need of care and affection, persons with disabilities, the elders (Nussbaum, 2002, 2003b, 2007). In other words, those who live in a disadvantaged position are the central point for understanding the extent a theory of justice should have. The list of primary goods Rawls made does not include the dimension of care and education in the sense of emancipation of the persons that for nature (or, rather, for social construction) do not possess the capability to be autonomous and independent. Those who are extreme forms, the latter in a society of efficiency, have the title of "unproductive", must be the zero point for justice and for its theorising.

The policy and educational choices should have another type of foundation: a justice established from analysing the life world (*Lebenswelt*) and lived experiences as the normativity of justice is in the things themselves (Nussbaum, 2002). The use of abstraction is of little help to clarify educational pathways (Tarozzi, 2005) and is exposed to the

contingency of life that tends to cancel each abstraction as well. That is because justice is or should be a justice for the real human beings.

The Capabilities' Approach for a "Just" Justice

This is the attempt of the work of Amartya Sen (1992, 1999) and Martha Nussbaum (1999; 2002, 2003a; 2003b). In order to delineate what justice is, these two authors do not move from the idea of what is just but rather from the concept of goodness. This change of point of view allows education to gain a central position in managing justice, as the core educational role is outlined within educational processes aimed at the effective enjoyment of the education right and personal growth.

The contractualistic theory of Rawls (1996, 2001, 2008) highlights a "thin" theory of goodness, as only the individual can and should be the first and only decision maker about own wealth and about the ways through which achieves it.

According to capabilities' approach, however, social justice needs, before a theory of justice, a "thick" theory of the goodness, which includes primarily what is good for the human being. This process of understanding proposes the use of practical reason by which one can embed the ideas that govern the construction of a theory of good and equality. Sen and Nussbaum argued that the same needs of the poorest populations highlight the foundation of justice. Justice is always something concrete. As the idea of society is too wide and fleeting, there is not a fair society. Rather there are

just choices, just directions, just objectives fair, just laws.

The Nussbaum's approach could be identified as a liberal point of view (like that of Rawls) but more wide-ranging. It covers not only a theory of justice but also a theory of goodness, including a practice of justice as well. This is not to list only the primary goods but also and above all, the capabilities whose practice allow to turn these goods into resources (Nussbaum, 2002; Srinivasan, 2007). Extending the point of view is not only functional account for the complexity and variety of human life, as it appears in its concreteness. It is important to stress the central and not incidental role that pedagogy and education have in the transformation of inequalities in just differences. Right laws, particularly at this time where politics tends to limit and decrease the extension of the public sector are not enough. A culture of (social) rights and humanity (Nussbaum, 1999), involving fully education is necessary.

Instead of the vision of Rawls, this approach comes from a particular demand: to enlarge the anthropological liberal idea of human being. That is to say: we need a wider and more flexible sensibility for what it means to be human is crucial if we want to reflect more clearly on issues of justice (Nussbaum, 2002, p. 47).

This approach was developed by Amartya Sen (1992) and was primarily used for delineating indicators of quality of life that were not mere quantitative variables (generally the Gross Domestic Product and workers and employers' salaries say if a country or an individual "stands well") but, rather, to formalize qualitative indicators for the emergence of the welfare of countries and individuals. If as Rawls stated

(1971/2008), individuals would achieve greater economic
income possible, one might think that is good thing for
the human being, ultimately, holding properties and
richness. Nevertheless, according to this approach, for
placing the emphasis on good for the human being, one
must understand the methods of how something becomes
that "good". In other words, goods that each government
should distribute are rights not in itself but if they
indicate either the quality of life or a good social
justice. Changing point of view, the quality of life for
human being can be achieved not by the amount of goods
distributed, at least not just by this, rather by
improving the capability of each to enjoy these goods.
The wealth in that way becomes a secondary good, that is
to say a functional issue and not a good in itself. The
gap between the understanding of justice according to
Rawls and those who follow the capabilities' approach is
well exemplified by the division, throughout Western
Europe, which for many years has been used. Many of us
are still referring to developing countries as the third
and fourth world. In this way there is the risk of
labelling quality of life as a synonymous of GDP and,
subsequently, of producing a social and cultural stigma
that generally does not take into account the obstacles
that have not allowed the potential (which may be
economic but also social and cultural) to develop.

Nussbaum (2003b) deepened the notion of goodness
starting from the suggestions of the Aristotle of
Politics and *Eudemian* and *Nicomachean Ethics* : according
to Nussbaum's approach, this would include not only a
list of the primary goods but also and above all, the
capabilities to use these assets to turn them into
resources (Nussbaum, 2002; Srinivasan, 2007), as I said
above.

There are primary goods and functional goods, or goods in themselves and secondary goods, which help to define what is "right". There is at this point the problem of how to recognize the primary goods and those instrumental. Some theorists, defined liberal utilitarians, believe that a good is recognizable from the preferences of individuals: a thing is good if it meets the personal desires. Thus this way of identifying good and socially justness is affected by the situation that everyone lives. Nussbaum exemplifies that human beings are adapted to the situation where they are. In some cases one could believe that something is right and good because she/he is not even aware of the existence of an alternative (Nussbaum, 2003b, p. 121). So if the goal of social justice is to deploy resources to meet their preferences, such practices would be addressed once again to ratify the status quo and within this the social inequality.

Social justice is not, therefore, in the opinion of each, as the liberal utilitarians would suggest, but even in goods, as Rawls stated. Social justice has to do with the functional capabilities of every human person. What, then, would be socially correct? To assess justice, "the individual claims are not to be assessed in terms of resources or primary goods the persons respectively hold, but by freedoms they actually enjoy to choose the lives that they have reason to value (Sen, 1992, p. 81). The capacity of choice, the capability of citizens to exercise all their functions in accordance with their practical reason is one of the skills that each government just has to develop (Nussbaum, 2003b).

What is a Capability?

The capabilities' approach is, in my opinion, the node that combines educational and social education to education in the perspective of *Social Justice*.

What is meant by capability? It is a "potential functioning" (Walker, 2006). The difference between capability and the potential functioning is the same that exists between an opportunity and its actual implementation, "between the potential and the result" (Walker, 2006, p. 165).

The approach of Sen and Nussbaum, involves a broader and deeper understanding of what is the full human development than the rawlsian one. It focuses on what is potential for achieving the aims and self-fulfilment of human existence. For example, everyone has the ability to read. Nevertheless, among the capability to read and the real reading there are educational processes. Everyone has the (potential) capability to be an educated person: the political management should remove obstacles to allow anyone to become and be well educated. This approach preserves individual freedom as a social value, on the one hand, and, on the other one, is an universal value as well because it is founded in the human nature, without being coercive. Everyone must be free from social constraints in developing the infinite capabilities the nature has. Choosing to take advantage of the opportunity to improve capabilities and transform them into real functions is up to each of us. For Sen, is not so much the reached functions that counts, rather the real opportunity (freedom) of choice to reach these functions. (Walker, 2006). In this sense, any lack of individual freedom is a a hetero-directed coercion.

In this perspective, human rights, that, as I said above, are cultural constructions, are after in relation to individual capabilities, as the right would be a mean, the most noble perhaps, to achieve both social justice and the well-being. To make this mean useful it is necessary that individuals could enjoy the rights, eliminating those barriers, which limit or do not guarantee the effectiveness of the social rights, and bound their capability to benefit from it.

Every human being has potential capabilities. Through social rights, countries place limits and aims not to realise a right, because a social right is not realized but it is ensured, but to develop fully capabilities. Analyzing the rights in terms of capabilities allows to understand the criteria by which the administration should distribute functional goods, such as money for those in need or to help to develop capabilities (Nussbaum, 2002). Using the capabilities' language, rather than the rights' one, has a huge advantage: it is not rigidly bound to a particular historical and cultural tradition, as I believe is the case for human rights. Even if the rights belongs not exclusively to Western societies, using capabilities surpasses all troublesome debate about the scope of the rights as they are based on the nature of human beings. Indeed, the goal of *Social Justice* in relation to the issue of human rights is to become universal. This approach eradicates other approaches such as those based on preferences, rather than those based on resources and GDP even though they are very close the capabilities' approach. Nevertheless, the capabilities' approach is more determined because specifies more clearly, what ensuring a right to someone would mean (Nussbaum, 2002).

Moreover, the main concept of Rawls was equality that is to say that all individuals have the same chance to accomplish a good life. On the contrary, the Nussbaum's starting point is the notion of justice and goodness. In the interplay of these two complementary concepts, the presence of differences of birth, wealth, etc. may have their own place. This approach involves and makes the policies and educational choices to pursue a real social justice very problematic. In other words, the capabilities' approach seems to fit immediately educators' commitment because of the importance given to education as a means of empowerment and as a paradigm of reference for the construction of equity through justice. In addition, this typology of justice does not belong to the natural world but to that built by the cultural and social interactions. Therefore, as Nussbaum (2002) argues, tha capabilities' approach is comprehensible even in societies with no conceptions of rights, as may be the Middle East where the word "right" has no meaning, but rather is replaced by the word "responsibility". Still much to study is, in literature, the intercultural dimension of capabilities, if, that is, the capabilities approach is exportable to other culturally and socially different realities.

What is certain is that facing educational policy is more universally acceptable through this concept than through the notion of right. I underline here a contact point between the capabilities' approach-oriented *Social Justice* and Bertolini's thought about the relationship between education and politics (Bertolini, 2003). This will exceed even the suspicion of *Critical Pedagogy*. Bertolini and Nussbaum (2002) have a strong point in common that I find very interesting. To construct the capabilities approach Nussbaum argues that the threshold

should be set in the nature of things (p. 128), which equips the social reality of a material substrate on which to base judgments about what is good and right. The nature of things delineates what is appropriate to reality in terms of *Social Justice*. Bertolini, with regard to education, according to a phenomenological perspective on education, bases the discrimination among what education is and what is not. "Returning to things themselves", the famous phenomenology's motto, means the possibility for educators of re-evaluating the axiological and critic momentum of the educational practices. In fact, sustaining that the capabilities are inscribed in the nature of human beings means that a analysis of what exists could suggest modalities for better educate people and making through education a more just society.

In this case, one may found in the nature of things an educational list of capabilities which could be infinite (Walker, 2006). Education while reflects on what capabilities are comprehends its central role in developing what is now only potential. In other words, capabilities are correlated with a "not yet usable" for a number of social barriers: the level of education, social prejudices and so on.

Rights or Capabilities?

Facing SJE talking about social rights to ensure and introducing the capabilities' approach in the theoretical foundation of *Social Justice* could cause confusion. I think that the term "capabilities" is especially useful in education. But in the educational discourse that is also political I belief is preferable the term "right". What is the difference between right

and capability? According to the shown example, the capabilities' approach is a potential functioning that all possess. To read the individual needs to have an effective education. The focus then is not so much on an acquired potential function but on real opportunities acquire the function. In the real opportunities to reach and improve the functions that remain, however, still only potential, lies the concept of right. Then, right and capability are two different concepts but not distant. While the capabilities is by definition innate to the human being, the right would be the cultural related that allows the education of capabilities, their development, in other words, the emancipation of the subject through possessing the capability to design and build their existence.

In this sense, using the language of rights would be exposing to the cultural debate, perhaps now more understandable than the notion of capabilities. In fact, according to Nussbaum (2002), the language of human rights yet plays four major roles:

1- rights remind the policy that people have justified and urgent needs of a particular type of treatment, rather than another. The language of rights is placed very close to the "fundamental capabilities" because to indicate that people have natural rights it refers to some similar capabilities. Without a strong and thick theory of goodness, the capabilities' approach does not work in the current debate. More powerful is the use of the concept of right, where, however, is seen as universally accepted.

2- In a second level, talking of rights has a strong normative power that the recourse to the concept of capabilities does not have. The assertion that

there is a list of fundamental rights is
rhetorically more direct (Nussbaum, 2002).

3- While the language of capabilities was designed to
leave space for choice and individual freedoms, the
language of rights has greater resonance in shaping
the appropriateness of any political objective.

4- The language of human rights remains a land of
broad agreement among liberals.

In other words, the framework of capabilities and human
rights are complementary.

I therefore believed important to include the
language of rights because they are both related to
identity both natural and cultural identity of
individuals. While the capabilities' approach remains
the centre of a universal social justice, human rights
remain the centre of a universal and contextual social
justice at the same time. In fact, when we study human
rights, we should refer to the capability and
universally valid *Social Justice*. Nevertheless, when you
reflect on the special rights, those that are in
democratic constitutions, *Social Justice* has a valid
role within the terms of that society. In other words,
the ownership of rights is implicit in the forms of
citizenship (Tarozzi, 2008b), which is the term of
validity of rights.

Democracy and *SJE*

To explain the SJE introducing the issue of human
rights and *Social Justice* theory is not enough. I should
also address another factor that is positively
influenced by *Social Justice*. Democracy, as it is the
only form of power management that guarantees at maximum

degree the applicability of social rights, is an integral part of a full understanding of the scope of change of SJE. It is the democracy that guarantees to its citizens a number of fundamental rights which non-democratic systems cannot guarantee (Dahl, 2006). In fact, because human rights are essential to democratic political institutions, democracy is by definition a system of rights (Dahl, 2006). The right to participate, the right to express political views, even dissent, the right to vote, the right to private property, the right to social security and human rights education, housing, health care: According to Dahl, no democratic system would not offer such a wide range of rights. In other words, democracy, more than any other form of government, can ensure the rights, but it does it by reducing the barriers that members of social classes, groups and cultural and linguistic minorities or nationality may experience.

John Dewey introduced the latter point in explaining how democracy and education are intertwined. John Dewey (1916), in his book *Democracy and Education*, addressed the correlation between a political system that is also social system and education. He also studied the secondary school education and organization deriving from the ideal of democracy. According to Dewey, democracy feeds, or should feed, a sort of attachment to education. The superficial explanation for this is that the democratic government lies on the universal suffrage that is not possible if both elected people and those who obey the rulers, were not educated. Since democracy repudiates the principle of authority, you must find a replacement of it in the voluntary disposition and in the interest, which education creates and sometimes determines. Nevertheless, there is also a deeper

explanation of interconnection between democracy and education. Democracy is much more than a form of power management. The fact that democracy is like an inclusive space of public affairs governance requires that you change the mode of life. Democracy is, primarily, a way to live with others (Dewey, 1916) shared and communicated experiences. The great inclusive process begins as a form of government but also becomes a tantamount style of cohabitation, according to Dewey, to the removal of barriers of class, ethnicity, nationality.

In addition to more properly political issues about democracy, that is the procedures of government and management of power, democracy is a term that in itself increases the matter outside the mere government bureaus. The semantic shift of democracy concerns the series of individual attitudes, social processes, and institutional phenomena that can make democracy as a form of government real. Democracy includes a dimension of power that cannot be separated from the base: is the foundation that allows democracy to exist, then the role of education is fundamental to the foundation of a society. From Dewey onwards, the educators who have dealt with problems related to the rights and *Social Justice* have taken over this idea that to reflect a pedagogical point of view of democracy is essential to extend the semantic field of democracy to all that lies around the cognitive and cultural development of the younger generations. As an example of how to understand democracy in the educational I shall state here a few points on which the SJE is agree with those who have worked on democratic education:

1- Democracy is not just the specific sense of a government or a set of practical policies to manage

and decision making within a group. Rather, the
liberal-democratic ideal includes the social,
behavioural, emotional-affective and cognitive
dimensions.

2- A democratic government should maintain support for
a continued legitimacy of the system by its
citizens, represented by ensuring a democratic way
of life (Dewey, 1916);

3- A democratic behaviour is not fully secured or
naturally acquired during the process of
socialization of individuals in their own society,
so democratic countries must rely on educational
institutions to provide a tool for forming social
attitudes (Freire, 2004; Gadotti, 1996; Perliger et
al., 2006).

What is Democracy?

How does deweyan definition of democracy
("something more than a form of government") include in
the broader political debate? What are the modes of
representation democracy in the theoretical literature?
Moreover, what differences exist with the perception of
democracy? This section will highlight what is meant by
democracy and, in light of the semantic adopted
slippage, how education can be included.

Democracy seems to have been invented many times in
history (Dahl, 2006), because it feeds of the cultural
substratum of fertile soil that allows ideas to grow and
bear fruit. Democracy lives as the ideas whenever the
culture permits.

To begin to think about democracy, I included a
list of some of its definitions.
Democracy is generally understood as a way to manage

power. The basic common sense of democracy as a form of government lies in its etymology as the government is not of people but a group of people (demos). The current definitions of democracy are different, each of which differs in one or more features. For Aristotle, democracy is a dangerous form of government, because of consensus which is nourished and enlarged political participation would create a decline in the quality of policy choices. For others, it includes a genuine competition for power, which would be directed by rules of merit. For others, democracy would provide more freedom and rights than other forms of government guarantee. For those who refer to *Critical Theory*, democracy would be another name to call the processes of power and enslavement of social groups. Far from recognizing in this interpretation, I believe we can still agree that certain forms of government, and, therefore, contextual and social variables affect the style of life and coexistence, although this coexistence must not necessarily have the characteristic of the struggle for power. This may be true in the macro social dimension, namely in those strongly ideological policies, neo Marxist or neo liberal ones, in the free market or in those of protectionism. Nevertheless, the reality of micro social interactions among individuals do not experience such ways of interaction if not as a result, but not as conscious intention. Democracy, above all, constitutes itself as guarantee of individual autonomy. If this fails, is due to forms of exclusion, enslavement. This would be the result of democratic management styles too focused on procedures and bureaucracy rather than on the substance of the definitions. I am aware of democracy's involution, or rather, that the mature democracies are turning in

procedural democracies. But I would like to stress the cultural and social values from which democracy has arisen.

The search for a definition is not so much driven by the desire to define in dogmatic terms what democracy is or not. Rather, the definitions listed here may draw the features that from time to time make it a set of procedures, a statement of values, a form of education for society.

1. "A constitution [or *politeia*] may be defined as 'the organization of a city [or *polis*] in respect of its offices generally, but especially in respect of that particular office which is sovereign in all issues. […] In democratic cities, for example, the people [*demos*] is sovereign. […] When the masses govern the city with a view to the common interest, the form of government is called by the generic name of 'constitutional government'. Democracy is directed to the interest of the poor [only, not to the interests of everyone]." (Aristotle).

2. Democracy is "government by the people; that form of government in which the sovereign power resides in the people as a whole, and is exercised either directly by them or by officers elected by them." (Oxford English Dictionary, 1933).

3. A 'democratic regime' is "first and foremost a set of procedural rules for arriving at collective decisions in a way which accommodates and facilitates the fullest possible participation of interested parties." (Bobbio 1987, 19).

4. "According to civic republicanism, the state acts legitimately only if it furthers the 'common good' of the political community. Civic republicanism

embraces an ongoing deliberative process, inclusive
of all cultures, values, needs, and interests, to
arrive at the public good. Civic republicans see
the development of a conception of the common good
as a fundamental purpose of democracy – a purpose
necessary for individual self-identity and self-
fulfilment. Civic republicanism also posits that no
individual acting in her political capabilities
should be subservient to other political actors.
Hence, the theory does not equate the public good
that legitimates government action with majority
rule. Social consensus about what is best for the
community *as a community*, not as the aggregation of
individuals' private interests, is the defining
feature of the common good." (Seidenfeld
1992, 1528-29; italics in original).

5. "Democracy is a political system in which different
   groups are legally entitled to compete for power
   and in which institutional power holders are
   elected by the people and are responsible to the
   people." (Vanhannen 1997, 31).

6. "We begin by defining formal, participatory and
   social democracy. By formal democracy we mean a
   political system that combines four features:
   regular free and fair elections, universal
   suffrage, and accountability of the state's
   administrative organs to the elected
   representatives, and effective guarantees for
   freedom of expression. Formal democratic countries
   will differ considerably in social policies that
   reduce social and economic inequality. We therefore
   introduce two additional dimensions: high levels of
   participation without systematic differences across
   social categories (for example, class, ethnicity,

gender) and increasing equality in social and economic outcomes." (Huber, Rueschemeyer & Stephens 1997, 323-324).

7. "Democracy provides opportunities for 1) effective participation, 2) equality in voting, 3) gaining enlightened understanding, 4) exercising final control [by the people] over the agenda, and 5) inclusion of adults. The political institutions that are necessary to pursue these goals are 1) elected officials, 2) free, fair and frequent elections, 3) freedom of expression, 4) alternative sources of information, 5) associational autonomy, and 6) inclusive citizenship." (Dahl, 1998, 38 & 85).

8. Democracy is "governance by leaders whose authority is based on a limited mandate from a universal electorate that selects among genuine alternatives and has some rights to political participation and opposition." (Danziger 1998, 159).

9. "Democrats are committed to rule by the people. They insist that no aristocrat, monarch, philosopher, bureaucrat, expert, or religious leader has the right, in virtue of such status, to force people to accept a particular conception of their proper common life. People should decide for themselves, via appropriate procedures of collective decision, what their collective business should be.". "Communitarian democrats make wrongheaded assumptions both about the nature of democracy and about its appropriate place in everyday life. . . . [P]articipation plays a necessary but circumscribed role in ordering social relations justly. Valuable as democratic participation is in managing the power dimensions

of collective activities, it is not the point of the exercise." (Shapiro 1999, 29-30 & 23).

This table shows which of the authors' definitions below fall into each category:

Author	Danger	Competition	Mass & Equal Participation	Liberty Rights	Deliberation
Aristotle	✓				
OED			✓		
Bobbio			✓		
Seidenfeld					✓
Vanhannen		✓	✓		
Huber, Rueschemeyer & Stephens		✓	✓	✓	
Dahl		✓	✓	✓	
Shapiro					

Tabella 1: Definitions of Democracy. Adapted from William M. Reisinger's Selected Definitions of Democracy. Retrieved from http://www.uiowa.edu/~creees/reising/resources_for_students/DefinitionsOfDemocracy.html (April 04, 2007).

For Aristotle, democracy is the government and administration of a small part of a people. The demos is not so much the people but as a social class different

from the aristocracy. Democracy is the set of those
procedures that tend to reduce social inequality (see
Nussbaum, 2003). It is in modern times that democracy
takes on the meaning of government of all or devolved
government by the people, as quoted in the English
dictionary. In this line, Bobbio underlines the
procedural decision-making process by introducing the
issue of parties as the place where the popular
interests are to emerge and influence the political
choices of a country. From here, we can draw some
addresses of political philosophy that have to do with
democracy. The first is the civic republicanism: the
community and its wellness is the figure of democracy,
according to this view. The emphasis is on the values
necessary for the deliberative process, values that are
the heart of democracy. Is important, therefore, the
educational process because the democratic values of
democracy base individual identity. The quotation from
Seidenfeld you can see how the connection between self
and individual good for the community are the true
values. However, it seems to be a contradiction in this
definition of democracy: individual freedom, even if is
the value of construction of individual existence, is of
secondary importance compared to political action. The
common good does not come through the individual, and so
the cultural diversity of each person is in danger of
being annihilated in front of the development of the
concept of common good.

To resolve the conflict that arises from considering
democracy a set of values and autonomy of the subjects,
Amartya Sen (1999) argues that democracy is defined as a
universal value, not imposed because its universality is
not resident on a taken-for-granted claim, but rather in

the human capabilities of rational recognition of what
has value.

Unfortunately, for many Western leaders democracy
has become the "normal" form of government. Thinking
something as "normal" is a step away from a taking
something for granted. It may seem contradictory to
argue that democracy, which is not natural, is a
universal value. The idea of U.S. policy is if a
country, compared to another one, *fits* for democracy.
Amartya Sen acknowledges, however, that:

> "A country does not have to be deemed fit *for*
> democracy; rather, it has to become fit *through*
> democracy. This is indeed a momentous change,
> extending the potential reach of democracy to
> cover billions of people, with their varying
> histories and cultures and disparate levels of
> affluence." (Sen, 1999, p. 4, italics in the
> original).

In this sense, democracy is a universally relevant
system: it is through democracy that one state, with its
thoughts on *Social Justice*, their cultural ways for
founding it, becomes "*fit*" that is healthy, strong,
solid. In this sense, democracy is a universal value. As
it relates to my point of view, I agree with Sen when he
argues that we should not identify democracy with a
majority, although it is true that the voting and
respect for the results of elections, properly done, is
part of democracy. However, this would regard the
protection of freedom, respect for political and civil
rights, guaranteeing freedom of opinion. Nevertheless,
the elections can be undemocratic if individuals have
not educated the same capability to be informed and to

find information. In this light, democracy as a universal value aims to enrich the lives of citizens in three different ways. The first is that political freedom is not due to the condition of citizen but rather is part of a broader human freedom, and exercising civil and political rights is a crucial part of social welfare. This idea is also that of Dahl (2006), even if he does not go to support their universality. In a second level, democracy has a functional goal: increasing listening of people's requests. This would be something that makes bringing instances of people to the attention of politicians easy. The third level Sen introduces is what most concerns the role of education and democracy as a system that guarantees the full exercise of rights: "the practice of democracy gives citizens an opportunity to learn from one another, and helps society to form its values and priorities." (Sen, 1999, p. 10).

The universal value of democracy is part of its intrinsic value of freedom, instrumental value for the active listening needs of everyone and, ultimately, its importance in construction. Where is freedom, even of opinion, democracy can be established values and priorities within a shared culture, in an autonomous way. Democracy in this regard produces culturally formed priorities.

And what is the universality? What is a universal value? According to Sen (1999), to be universal, a value should not necessarily enjoy a universal consensus. Rather "the claim of a universal value is that people anywhere may have reason to see it as valuable." (Sen, 1999, p.12). In other words a universal value is such because there are reasons to be considered such. Moreover, the call to education is predominant again:

how do people see that something is valuable? It is due
to education of individuals who are raising awareness
and learn to see the value in things. It seems almost an
aesthetic problem, in the end of the day: noticing of
good and knowing how to give good reason of what people
see in things.

Continuing to comment the definitions above,
Vanhannen argues, already as did the ancient Greeks, the
equitable distribution of positions of power, which can
be achieved by giving everyone adequate education. Here
seems to be a reference to the legal concept of passive
electorate, namely those who have the opportunity to be
elected. On one hand, it appeals to the responsibility
of those who voted, on the other hand, appeals to
management of power as enlarged as possible. A great
hidden meaning resides in this definition: how can one
have the same qualifications to compete for power? In my
opinion, education should be responsible of the training
of the citizen as if it were to reach positions of power
responsibilities towards others. Formal democracy is not
enough in itself but needs social democracy to strive
with all the tools available to policy and education to
ensure high levels of participation and greater equality
both social and economic, as well. Inequalities should
not belong to the political system in a social
democracy. Nevertheless, as I said above, ensuring equal
economic income, it is not enough. The well-being lies
not in the quantity of goods, but in the quality of life
and opportunity given by a democracy to individuals able
to express their potential.

With the quote from Dahl, democracy is in a context.
This means that over the statements of principle about
what is or, rather, should be democracy, it is important
to ask another question: where is democracy? Yes,

because democracy is in its procedural and value-related definitions is tied to contexts. In fact, democracy is event-related: the more general definitions of democracy, we talk, in fact, about vote, freedom of opinion and so on. Social rights, while linked and endorsed by the international political context, relate specific situations. For example, the right to vote is exercised when there are elections in a given state, in a certain place. Democracy is in those institutions that pursue the objectives of democracy. Democracy is in situations where the principles are a realization that is always imperfect but perfectible, to educate and changeable. In addition, Shapiro replies to communitarians that no system of power can decide for others and that the management of power takes place in a democratic manner in collective activities, activities restricted in collective institutions.

Democracy is not only an ideal, but also needs, as Dewey argues, that the ideal becomes feasible and practical. Democracy is a regulative idea that refers to forms and procedures, but also to political, social and ethical substantive values (Michelman, 1998). This means that democracy is not a given situation but sets the conditions for which there is a democratic situation. Democracy, therefore, is a political situation. It is a cultural situation linked to a time and space. The link with time is understood as a shortcut to the life of each individual. The link with the space is the close relationship that exists with the institutions, whose the nature depends on the cultural choices, and social policies of a country in a given period of history.

How can education help the development of democracy? From the suggestions of the definitions listed above it can be argued that the role of education for democracy

requires efforts on two fronts. The first front is that the concrete material and educational contexts. The second front is one of democratic education of people.

First Front: Education as a Contextual Science

The school is the centre of my thoughts and place of the empirical research conducted for the dissertation. The first reason of having chosen school is dictated by the fact that it is necessary for the SJE, studying education in a context, as democracy is a situation. The school also has a particular context. It is deliberately and intentionally democratic education, as written in the Italian Constitution and reaffirmed in the Ministry's documents. Just the school is also the main body of a country for educating the capabilities of all individuals in compulsory schools. This view sees the commitment of school to reach all children, girls, young people up to 18 years and give them a proper and democratic education. The school was conceived as a place for socialization, and for learning democracy with others, coexistence and brings into practice the values that inspire democracy. The school is the concrete expression of the social right to education and has great responsibility in its warranty.

Then, referring to the educational processes that are always related-context, democracy in education is a pedagogy of contexts, which has as objective, not only to organize contents in line with the principles and values that inspired social rights, but also to construct the situations that are fed of the regulatory principles of democratic coexistence. Because a person only if grown satisfactorily in a democratic society,

being exposed to the realization of democratic values in contexts of life, learns the positivity of democracy and will tend to assume democratic attitudes. Given that democracy consists in social rights and values, the contents of a SJE, which sees the situation as democracy and education as a democratic objective, are not material. What is not, therefore, a concept, a "thing" to teach, cannot be learned directly through educational processes, but rather is learned indirectly through what remains implicit in situations. For example, you can see how to teach the contents of democratic civic education, such as freedom of expression, freedom of speech, is purely cosmetic if the students do not live in an educational situation where these values are witnessed. On the other hand, if a school chooses to do intercultural education, teachers should be prepared to imperil the culture to which they belong, because intercultural education means that there is no hierarchy among cultures, there is no such marked border to understand where a culture starts or ends. However, if this school, at the same time, deals with foreign students as a marginal category in the construction of educational situations, and education becomes only the exchange of information on alien cultures, messages arriving pupils are contradictory to each other because the word says a thing, the school organization suggests another one. Pedagogy of context is critical under the light of the discordant messages that the school sends and does not allow a consistent democratic education.

What should have a context to be called for a democratic education? Let me reiterate an ancient Greek concept, that of sharing the fate of public life, through isonomy and isogory. For isonomy, I mean the equality of all before the rules and rights.

Nevertheless, it means also having the same rights and same duties. Indeed, the isonomy also refers to the values, which in politics are rights. The values are shown through rules, laws and suggest personal intersubjective behaviour. The right, or rather the rights, are the containers of political values, for which all enjoy, or should do, a general equality. The isonomy in a country becomes, then, having the right to a fair trial, to work, to education and schooling. In another context such as school, isonomy would mean having the same right to be educated and trained, valued and heard, evaluated.

The "isonomy" is the situation of equality of individuals before the law. Even in the face of politics. The word may derive from two different roots of meaning. The first is "nomos" which means the law precisely. The second possibility is that isonomy would derive from the verb "nemein" which means to share. This means that everyone has, in principle, the same right to the division of power and, consequently, to rule of government's position. In this sense, a democracy would provide for the rotation of the political power position (also called isogory). This point is incredibly strong in terms of suggestions for the education systems. What would the purpose of education be but to strengthen equality in accessing to positions of government? What else if not give everyone the same notions, skills and knowledge given the realistic opportunity to become a minister, member of Parliament, etc.?

If justice is equality and its assurance in managing the affairs of an environment, then everybody is equal before what the context is given to self-regulate. If there is no isonomy, there will not be social democracy,

because the rights of equality and individual freedoms cannot be guaranteed.

The isogory, then, is what tends to destroy the interests of a caste. For isogory, I mean the same chance of being elected or holding positions of power through the draw. It seems impossible today to think of drawing lots among all the people those who will govern. Nevertheless, this idea is a strong intentional direction regarding democratic education: to instruct and educate everyone as if they were to become policy decision makers.

The isogory and isonomy sum up all the features of a context that can be said of democracy, with respect to guaranteeing the rights and education capabilities. The basic idea of a democracy that does not take into account the problem of isonomy and isogory, is that participation is only useful when there are elections. Outside these events, it would not be expected other procedural democracy participation. But if the very nature of democracy was that for which you can change managers, change the seats, then the same education would be an education of the citizen to be active, an education of willingness to be involved. Then the individual would learn to drive herself/himself a democracy.

Among the political and public spaces that democracy gives, there is the possibility to exercise ethical responsibility (Dahl, 2006). Living in a country where individual responsibility is not hampered by laws, within dictatorships where dissenting is not tolerated, means reducing to the minimum the capabilities of criticism and, consequently, it would be difficult to make individual choices, sockets from personal values and exercise ethical responsibility. Self-government in

the major life choices is the result of those freedoms and rights that democracy has.

Also among the characteristics of a democratic context must be guaranteed individual liberties, freedom, which also includes a disregard for politics.

The importance of pedagogy of contexts, therefore, is dictated by the fact that the situations are the preferred settings for a well and intentional socializing. The socialization is the democratic effect of holistic education, inside and outside the school (Biesta & lawye, 2006), but always tied to contexts constructed in an intentionally democratic manner.

Democracy provides wider spaces to education than any other form of government and at the same time, demands specific targets from education. Among these goals, the first and perhaps most problematic is to create and maintain a political culture that supports democracy (Dahl, 2006). In history, democracy has been established through favourable cultural contingencies: a culture which indicates a general tendency to accept as positive democratic values of participation, responsibility, equality in rights, self-fulfilment and respect for laws. When this favourable wind has blown, democratic situations have been created. The time is still flowing and democracy is calling education to reflect, teach, and internalize these values, which are instrumental to democratic coexistence, in order to deliver new generations not only a package of notions but also a set of values.

Another goal of education for democracy is treating all people as if they had a right to expect equally life, freedom and happiness and other basic goods and interests. (Dahl, 2006, p. 70). In this "as if they had

the right" lies the sad statement of the inequality of enjoying rights.

Democracy in education consists therefore in the construction of living contexts directions. For example, the directions that Osler and Starkey (2003) adapted by UNESCO lines, say how we should organize educational and democratic contexts:

- Accepting personal responsibility and recognizing the importance of civil commitment. That is to say, thinking of contexts in which the involvement of the people is a priority;

- Working collaboratively to solve problems and create a just, peaceful and democratic community: the organization of activities should be cooperatives and aimed at solving problems. The goal is to allow those who live in democratic situation of being a protagonist and not merely the beneficiary;

- Respecting the diversity among people, in terms of gender, ethnicity and culture: the rules of the endeavour have to be such as to avoid the diversity of any kind is discriminatory for a full involvement;

- Recognizing that the own world view is built from the personal and social history and cultural tradition;

- Respecting cultural heritage and protecting the environment;

- Promoting solidarity and fairness at the nationally and internationally level.

If the democratic contexts were the contexts of these factors together, the contexts themselves would be living examples of democratic education, and even of

living democracy. By following these guidelines, young people would be considered independent and active players and not meant as not-yet-citizens. The time when it was thought to childhood and adolescence as the preparatory stages of life for adulthood is now outdated. Children and young people are already-citizens with special characteristics of the age, with particular cultural background, with its own rights (Wyness, 2006). However, what does already-citizens mean? They are citizens because they can have free speech, autonomy in the choices. They are learning to live in the environment, but not because of this, they should not be considered inactive within contexts and institutions.

Rights within Contexts

Communitarians have highlighted the link between the cultural system of rights and the environment. Social rights can be appointed as democratic rights in the presence of a cultural substrate in which democracy has been universally accepted. This task is to ensure that democracy's culture will never be fossilized in democratic procedures. In addition, being citizens of a democracy does not necessarily mean belonging to a democratic nation-state, because the usage of the set of social rights is not exclusively for those who possess civil and political rights of a given democracy. This point seems crucial in shaping the force that democracy still has to defend the authenticity of social rights for all human beings. Democracy is the place of citizenship in which social rights can be guaranteed in the Constitution as they are written (see Zolo, 1992).

Living in a democracy is a duty specification of coexistence that Rawls (2001) argues. Living in other countries that have chosen other ways of government means for education, but also for daily life itself, something different from living in a democracy. What does living in a democracy rather than a dictatorship mean? Later you can see what some teenagers say on the matter. Here I remain at a theoretical level.

What titles every individual living in a democracy is that her/his own public identity has the opportunity to act in accordance with the freedom of speech and expression. This is the right that differs in a visible way the dictatorship from a democracy. Even saying this, you understand how democracy gives right to education, an education that is not merely playing a status quo but can also bring about change in society, as democracy requires SJE.

The first right in school is a democratic classroom climate and management. The second is participation in decisions of the school as an institution. The third is what tends to create meaningful and democratic relationships in school, mutual respect. Within this spirit, what includes these three rights for the construction of the school can be summed up in the concept of *empowering*. This term draws the idea of collective emancipation. To empower and enable pupils to enhance their individual capabilities is necessary that the context would pursue the deep respect of the word of others. In fact, freedom of opinion is nothing if some people not give the right to be listened to the other (Lundy, 2007). The empowering has a threefold function: the first is personal and requires that the context be designed in such a way that each student would have a personal dignity and maintain control over their own

autonomy. The second level is interpersonal and regards the shared responsibility in managing the situation. There is not only the teacher, but there are also pupils who should be treated as active and significant presence for the outcome and success of education. The third level is that of school policy that starts by the contexts in accordance with the principles of justice and equality for the guarantee of the democratic right to equal participation. Everyone must be involved to implement paths towards emancipation, which eliminate the possible inequalities of departure (Veugelers, 2007).

This way of thinking about democracy and about the pedagogy as science of contexts incorporates deweyan the idea that democracy is not a given but it is in its contextualised being.

Many of the necessary conditions to make schools democratic are already in the Italian laws. The problem is not so much the educational directions that come from the ministry but what really happens in schools. In fact, from above, the deweyan lesson was learned and included in the ministerial lines, particularly the delegates Decrees of 1974, which included the involvement of all actors, involved more or less directly in school decisions. In this line, the school autonomy (Law No. 59, March 15th 1997) should have to leave space for a plural way of teaching, independent and creative. In addition, the *Guidelines on citizenship and democratic legality*, October 2006, outlines a framework for education in democratic and democratizing sense of the school. Among the goals, it states that:

"educational institutions at all levels, as part of the autonomy and diversity of

its forms, promote all the conditions to
ensure the legality and democracy as
widespread practice in the school
community and in learning processes with
the aim to train responsible citizens,
open to other cultures and free to
express feelings, emotions and
expectations, able to manage conflict and
uncertainty and to make choices and take
autonomous decisions for acting
responsibly to affirm the values of
freedom and justice. The opportunities
for formal learning should be promoted,
in this context, and interactions between
formal and non formal learning should be
encouraged".

According to the lines of Ministry of Public Education,
the process of *empowering* should become a response of
the system. What contradicts the statements of principle
is the reality of things in the Italian schools.

Second Front: A Democratic Education

What may the pedagogy say about democratic front of
the subjects in training? Democracy guarantees live
independently and according to an intersubjective
responsibility. The role of education in a democracy is
to "teach" coexistence, tolerance, cooperation, and the
capability to make rational choices. In this way,
democratic education tends to create a "democratic
personality." Democracy is built not only on
constitutions, laws and institutions, but depends on a

political culture of social trust, participation and on a democratic lifestyle both in family and school.

The core of education is what can be termed the *Self*. The self, giving a broad interpretation, is the set of all aspects with which a person may define her/himself. The democratic *Self* is the set, then, of personal representations in relation to values and culture that led to the birth and life of democracy. The *Self* includes, also, all the behaviour of an individual as every behaviour is a visible sign of the worldview, a way of interpreting and interpreted in the reality.

What does democratic education educate for? It educates the democratic *Self*. According to some communitarians scholars, for example Will Kymlicka (2002), democracy depends on

> "the quality and attitude of its citizens, including their sense of identity and, specifically, how they view potentially competing forms of national, regional, ethnic, or religious identities; their ability to tolerate and work with others who are different from themselves; their desire to participate in the political process in order to promote the public good (through consensus) and hold authorities accountable; and their willingness to show self-restraint and exercise personal responsibility in their economic demands and in personal choices that affect their health and the environment. Without citizens who possess these qualities,

democracies become difficult to govern, even unstable." (p. 285).

Already Adorno (Adorno et al., 1973) has studied what unites the political-cultural dimension with the human identity. He emphasized the link between personality and politics. While the personality is an individual issue, the policy does not hold a place outside the individual personalities but on the contrary it is closely related to personality, as it is a fundamental human structure for coexistence and connatural to the sociability of human beings. According to Elena Pulcini (2001), democracy, or rather, the result of procedural democracy has caused an anthropological change. Democracy has become a way of thinking and being, is a pivot of symbolic thought and a symbolic cultural structure through which citizens narrate and identify themselves.

The democratic education bases on three assumptions (Perliger, Canetti-Nisim & Pedahzur, 2006, p.120):

"The term ''democracy'' does not relate solely to the narrow sense of a specific method of government or to a set of political practices for managing differences of opinion and decision-making processes within a group. Rather, the liberal-democratic ideal encompasses social, behavioural, emotional-affective, and cognitive dimensions. The second underlying principle suggests that, in order to sustain itself, a democratic government must maintain a continuous legitimisation of the system by its

citizens, embodied in the pursuit of a
democratic way of life. According to the
third   assumption,   a   democratic
perspective and democratic behaviours are
not fully assured or naturally acquired
in   the   socialisation   process   of
individuals into their society; therefore
democratic   countries   must   rely   on
educational   institutions   in   order   to
provide   a   socialising   tool   for
internalising democratic attitudes."

What allows a "democratic" behave is related to the
social conventions of a country, a culture. Indeed
democracy is primarily a cultural "value". The scope or
moral values within the philosophical debate, is itself
not linked to personal opinions of individuals, linked
to a certain culture, and, on the other hand what is
morally right, as "objectively" prescriptive, it is
valid in a general sense and can be universalized to all
people (Nucci, 2002). There "intersubjective"are
requirements involving the construction of the moral
self, in terms of justice, welfare, and rights.
Nevertheless, this dimension concerns the political self
more in a individual and inter-individual sense. For
what pertains the construction of a meaning of a
democratic self, analyzing the self in a political,
cultural, and social manner is necessary. It is an
advancing in the field of social conventions, namely
those "agreed standards about the social behaviour
determined by the social system in which they are
developed" (Nucci, 2002). There are accepted behaviours
and attitudes and others less accepted as the social
life of individuals is included in a set of expectations

about appropriate behaviours. Proposing the division between moral education and democratic education means encountering resistance of the scientific literature on the topic because it is not always made a distinction between moral and conventional. As some scholars continue to support (Waghid, 2005), citizenship education needs to "prepare students to participate in public dialogue on issues of justice and morality."

Although, to tell the truth, the moral and conventional are often confused because of their mutual competition and hybridization in social development already from childhood, there are at least two areas of overlap of moral and conventional:

1- The mix of areas where conventional behaviours are not followed or respected by others (for example, standing in line in the cinema and see a person jumping the order);

2- Moral events of the second kind: where a breach of a rooted social convention is experienced as a result of psychological damage (insult, distress) to persons who respect it (Nucci, 2002).

For this, it will be easy to meet children and parents or adults who confuse judgments on value with judgments about social rules, in the family, school and extra-school contexts.

Being democratic individuals is not necessarily being moral individuals, but ethical (Bertolini, 2005). In fact ethics is an important part of the personality, the capability to do with her/himself and with others, because "ethics" is the direction of change, oriented towards the future, which is the critical evaluation of the self.

In this sense, the democratic *Self* involves important social skills to ensure that the individual

has a "democratically" acceptable relationship with other. This is what I could call the pre-political stance of the personality. The social democratic direction, then, is the beginning on which to base the process of guaranteeing the education right. Indeed, the characteristics listed above foster full education. Without these characteristics, the opportunity to emancipate is undermined at the base. The construction of the *Self* lives, above all, of a sense of belonging and feelings that connect the individual to others. Democratic education provides educational projects designed to allow pupils to assume responsibility. Preparing moments when an individual has the responsibility of other leads to an increase of self-esteem (Bertolini, 1993), because feeling as important is a part of the democratic characteristics of context. The socialization and the relationship with the other is always the yardstick for democratic education because learning democracy is with others. So knowing how to cooperate with others, how to perceive the other (empathy), the compliance of the rules of dialogue and cooperation are features of democratic training related to the presence of the others. We must not however forget that every individual also needs to learn to live the anti-conformism and autonomous choice. Learning to live with others does not mean copying the others.

Within the debate on SJE also, scholars do not accept the classical and outdated division between education and pedagogy (Bertolini, 2001a). Democratic education is also instruction, schooling, contents, and concepts. Moreover, education is not possible without democratic education. Indeed, about the democratic education, not only cognitive and emotional skills, critical and evaluative competences, and social skills,

but also a suitable content education insist on the concept of democracy *Self*. Moreover, it has been widely studied (Neuberger, 2007) that the internalization of democratic values suffers the influence of educational processes including the main literacy, the teaching of language and communication of the study (Don Milani, 2000), essential tool to navigate in the world and understand its dynamics.

Among the contents of democratic education, a full civic education, as an informative step on how the management of public affairs should carry on is included. That is the knowledge of the Constitution and its principles, how democracy works at the level of bureaucratic procedures. However, there must be an goal in itself, because in a SJE civic education should enable pupils to become, first, informed of democratic processes, and, second, self-critical in seeking the information, alternative sources of knowledge about what is happening around. It is necessary that school teach pupils not only a series of notions, but also a critical and evaluative attitude against them. In other words, democratic education builds autonomous personalities, integrated into the social texture, informed and aware of the rights with the aim to train people capable of bringing new culture, new values, and new democratic perspectives.

Democracy through Young People Perceptions

In this section I have included an analysis of interviews made to adolescents about the meaning of democracy. This is a contribution to understand how young people talk about democracy. It is important to

weave the theoretical points of view with those lived "experiences", namely the views of professionals and the view of young people.

This is a descriptive phenomenology of experiences of democracy. I have used the guidelines of Amedeo Giorgi (1985) for coding and extracting from the interviews I have previously transcribed the meaning units, in order to make the lived meanings of democracy highlighted. I practiced several times the global reading of the material I have collected before and after the coding to grasp the phenomenological evidence.

What is noticeable is that adolescents give a definition of democracy from meaning that it takes in everyday life. I interviewed some young boys and girls between 13 and 19 years old, 9 adolescents, 5 males and 4 females. It is a first attempt to understand what democracy is by using words and the meaning that young people give to term "democracy". The research question with which I began to process data from the interviews was: how does the concept of democracy develop in young people? The data seem to witness not only the process of construction of the idea of democracy but also about the contexts of its applicability and the meanings and implications of the term democracy in the words of young people.

Democracy is a very broad concept, of difficult connotation. The topics of the questions that I have asked confuse all the people with whom I have discussed because they were not accustomed to reflect and to question democracy, which initially was described as "government of the people", unanimously. The participants have sought to deepen this so-called legal or procedural definition seeking to arrive at a definition more "experienced". Indeed, they had in mind

what is democracy in technical terms: here I entered an instance in which participant explains the representative democracy.

"*... At least the policy should not watch, or at least can not look, at each citizen's life and problems [...] in the sense that to carry on the whole state must try to have some major points of connection ... and then as now, that is right-wing, there is the left-wing and then there are the various sub-parties in different things, each in terms of how it grew refers, that it sees more inclined to that party, to that person, and so on. And there are those 150 people confronting one another. They express more or less the ideas that have large masses below [...] people have contributed to more or less to the points that go ... and then they are the ones who should make a intelligently comparison… let's hand this thing, look at this thing and say: "Ok! There is this, this and that but the conditions are such and such, we made so we are economically, what can we actually do? What do they need?*" (A. 17 years old).

However, the participants were also able to drop the word democracy into something more closely, wondering: what does democracy mean in my life, in contexts where I live? Who can say to be a "democratic" person? In their words, what I found more generally was said in the debate led by *Critical Democracy*, the *Critical Pedagogy*, namely that democracy could really be explained as "attitude" or set of behaviours that have to do with each other. Young people interviewed agree with that: there is no democracy outside of intersubjectivity. At least 2 people forms a democracy.

On the contrary, R.17 argues, "*so there is no genuine democracy, more than anything else is a debate, but has the same characteristics of the true great democracy.*" (R. 17 years old).

However, what kind of attitude is democracy? I could say that democracy involves a constellation of attitudes that concern the contexts of daily life, decision-making processes. Decisions about deciding what can be done on Saturday evening together with friends until determining patterns of classroom management school. The representation of democracy that comes from these interviews is something spontaneous, but not naive.

I divided the data from interviews in categories to better explain the meanings given to the term "democracy". According to the phenomenological-descriptive analysis, data from interviews are collected in units of meaning, with the aim of giving them an order.

I called the units "cognitive-hold": boys and girls interviewed to explain the meaning of democracy departed from concrete situations. From these they have extrapolated values that an individual should have to live in a democracy. I named these units holds because a personal definition of democracy is linked. I further divided them into 2 categories that I called "metaphors of signification", or ways to say democracy and explain it to themselves and to others. While the first units would explain the references through which the respondents have built a sense of democracy, the latter are on the metaphors used to give to themselves and to others a "lived" definition.

The First Cognitive-Hold: The Own Education

The construction of the concept of democracy begins through schooling and is cultural mediated by this. Many do not remember what, during the civic education classes attended during primary school, the teachers spoke about when they studied democracy. The more the age progresses, the more the interviewed persons are away from what they learned at school. So if democracy is simply "*government of the people. So people should exercise it*"(M. 13 years old), it then has to do with the mental and cultural attitudes of individuals:

"*My idea of democracy has not changed radically over time, at most has expanded beyond the political definition and in most contexts, I made it more concrete, because growing opens your mind, makes you to know mature people, to do new experiences ...*" (R. 17 years old).

The school was not an inspiration for them at least explicitly. Their education in the construction of the concept of democracy remains in the background regarding what is declared.

"*[The teacher] talked more ... that is thought more about the Republic that is the Italian government, so the parliament. About democracy she said little.*" (M. 13 years old).

For all, there are no free moments of debate on democracy that allow democracy to exist even in micro contexts as in the classroom or during free time.

This suggests that for constructing the concept of democracy debate and reflection are required. An important cognitive-hold, then, would be the presence of an adult, a teacher or professor who could push children to think about democracy in terms less "civic" and more "existential". In fact, the presence of a qualified teacher is fundamental to make democracy a dense concept to affect students, on the one hand, and stir, so, the motivation for reflection:

"I: You say that in classroom is difficult to talk about these things, why?

But that is because we are not motivated to do so.

I: Why is there no motivation?

Precisely because there is not a real problem. Instead it takes a real problem to discuss something.

I: What is a real problem for you?

No, I do not know that. It is something that makes you difficult life ... " (S. 16 years old).

During the interviews, the reflection was strongly driven, did not come naturally. However, I did insist asking on how much democracy exists in the contexts of life in order to extrapolate from their words what characterizes the nature and peculiarities of their idea of democracy.

The Second Cognitive-Hold: Individuals' Democratic Values

Through the question: what makes a person "democratic"? It is interesting to note that the interviewees have compiled a list of values and positive attitudes to nourish the ideal of democracy. Who is democratic, then?

"*A democratic person is a freeperson.*" (Li. 16 years old)

"*Eh ... a person who respects others, who considers them because ... if democracy, namely governance of all, however, that everyone must participate in some way ... eh, so the same thing: not a person, who commands, does not want to do all alone. A democratic person is not like that.*" (M. 13 years old)

The values pre-conditions of democracy are: "*Justice, awareness, intelligence, honesty*" (L. 16 years old). The democratic values that were cited during interviews are:
- The courage;
- The personal maturity;
- The critical thinking;
- Being able to deal with others;
- Open-mindedness;
- Listening to others;
- Do not judge others;
- Respect the rules.

This list seems to coincide with other lists proposed by moral educators. Democracy is possible if an individual is able to live with courage and conviction

according to their own ideas: "*So therefore, democratic ... well! Is a type of person that is not silent, that is, if one proposes an idea and he does not agree with it, he does not accept but proposes another one*" (R. 17 years old).

When you are dealing with a democratic person, boys and girls interviewed imagine of dealing with an individual used "*to try to see if other people have to say something that was maybe better than what I think*" (R. 17 years old). A democratic person knows this and is used to listen (S. 16 years old), loves to become mature through inter-individual differences and to improve through the comparison with others (D. 14 years old).

It is understandable that some adolescents have clear ideas about what having certain attitudes of living means: it is not only knowing how to treat others well, with listening and confrontation, but also to success in finding ways for self-improving through the openness to another.

"*[A democratic person] should behave well with others and make others to understand that he is not close but open but it is ... that is open to any advice. He wants to hear different voices to improve, too. Then more or less this is a democratic person.*" (D. 14 years old).

From the words of one participant, I found a very interesting idea that defines democracy as a not easy choice of life because often democracy is in contrast with the own character.

"*Democracy is a choice of life. You can be more prepared to be democratic or more prepared to be the dictator. If you are prepared to be democratic, you can put yourself*

to probation, you cannot be deaf to ideas of others. While if you are more prepared to be dictator you stop there and you do your beautiful castle of your ideas. You carry on those ideas and no one ever can be able to make you change them [...] I think that politics is a choice, in fact studying is also necessary to construct your own idea" (R. 17 years old).

What is certain is that where the individual does not arrive, in terms of democratic attitudes, the State, or an institution over the individuals, should compensate and decide the democratic lifestyle. Democracy should do that by imposing something that is for the good of all. In the interviews there is an example which explains this: when a commander of an army decides on behalf of soldiers who do not know the good strategies. It is the commander to decide where to go, because he has more knowledge and because he has the responsibility of his subordinates.

"I: What does being democratic mean, then?

Being democratic means listening, that is, use the opinions of others

I: What does using the opinions of others mean?

It means treasuring them before you get our own. It means being able to grow through other people." (S. 16 years old).

"[Being democratic means] Respect for others, above all, and knowing how to live with others. And to follow the rules which are set by someone, then you must learn to

follow.

I: What is missing to your friends to be democratic?

Eh... perhaps some seriousness. They are not so much interested in democracy." (D. 14 years old).

The Third Cognitive-Hold: Life Contexts

An important suggestion that in this chapter has been the subject of debate is the fact that people learn democracy if the schools or other educational institutions they attend are built, designed and intended as democratic situation. I have met the same idea in the words of one interviewee:

"*It's not that you say: now we learn democracy! Rather it is how you grow up, because if I were born in another country I would not even know democracy does not even know what that is. What I am saying is that becoming a democratic person in a country that is not democratic is hard.*" (L . 16 years old)

If democracy is thought as an attitude, the interviewees have realized how democracy is an event-related, is contextual located. So, where is democracy? Some participants outline a developed theory that democracy is only possible between equals. In fact, democracy presupposes a certain symmetry in potential functioning (Nussbaum would say: capability to educate) and conditions. In life contexts where there is not the symmetry between the social actors, democratic style is more difficult to realize.

"*I: But then democracy is only in the Parliament?*

No no no ... but between people mature, surely [...] democracy I see it as something where people are equal, no? Also ... not only mature... but of course it also pertains to children ..." (S. 16 years old).

"*For democracy we need to focus on classroom, to a level where we are all equal, therefore, not in the family, and [...] where there are no hierarchies.*" (L. 16 years old).

At School

It is noted that data from the high school students interviews show that more adolescents grow more they are not inclined to accept a certain lack of democracy, in this case, of shared decision-making in the classroom.

The classroom environment is in the hands of the teacher who decides and, therefore, chooses the relational style. The way the teacher presents her/himself was seen as characteristic of the presence or absence of democracy in school.

"*I: If I understood correctly, democracy is when, for example, in classroom decisions are taken together. Isn't?*

Although there is a figure higher than the others, it should, before acting, hear the views of others and try to put together the various ideas in function of our good, in the sense that, as she/he should teach us,

she/he must do our good but she/he may do so by follicking the proposals that we give." (A. 17 years old).

The interviewed also proposes an example of a teacher who leaves no spaces due to the students of his class, because she has always to put marks and almost as punishment. She does not want reasons to hear: *"The problem is that we had tried to say: Teacher, look ... she does not care anything."* (A. 17 years old).

   Such attitudes, especially during adolescence, are counterproductive, from the students words: the classroom climate that the teacher, above any other actors, influences increases the willingness to learning. For some there is not democracy at school for two reasons. The first reason is the futility of meetings done and that makes the perception that this is a way to pretend democracy.

"At school in theory there is democracy: we have representatives of class but in reality, the meetings are futile and the principal decides or whoever is above him. The school system does not seem very democratic. There are not shared choices." (L. 16 years old).

The second reason concerns the use of the word as a primary form of communication policy that requires first honesty, but also courage.

"In my house there is democracy, we always say everything. A school is ... many people do not say certain things. They are hypocritical, because they are afraid of being judged and then are quiet. [...] At school, there is no democracy because there are many

hypocrites and there are people who feel superior to others, and those who are weaker, however, suffer and not try to rebel or to say what they think seriously. They miss some courage for being democratic, which is something that must start from you, or get the drop that makes the vase overflows..." (Li. 16 years old).

In Family

The family is designed both as a place of exercise for the ideas exchange and as the place of acceptance of the lack of democracy. If people understand the differences of position and role of parents, they tend to justify the lack of democracy due to a recognized asymmetry:

"*There is a big difference between people and therefore it is right that ultimately the most important decisions are taken by the people that allow you to remain in the family.*" (A. 17 years old).

"*Here in this family is the most democratic thing because we seek to discuss. The quarrels certainly are not lacking... But there are parents who still remain above anything and anyone. Eh ... But in any case before… we discuss among us.*" (M. 13 years old).

Among Friends

Within the peer-group democracy is not often exercised either because there is no need (the comprehension among friends is often very quickly) or, as often happens during adolescence, friendship is suddenly dismissed. A citation, however, incorporates

the idea that to address and discuss democracy, rather than living it, as can happen in the family, a major obstacle seems to be immaturity. With friends, one does not experience it, at least consciously, democracy and the democratic decision-making style for two factors:

"*Yes... they always seem… I don't know! Immature. Maybe I too, sometimes. Yes but I'd like to be able to talk to someone who… 'I also hear you talking of serious things*" (S. 16 years old)

The other reason is the dictator style of some friends, especially within peer-group relationship, where the group is the privileged relations someone may have. This happens particularly when children attend middle schools:

"*Well, with my friends, I don't know... Sometimes there are people who want to stay on top of others. That is, look for...*

I: Why?

I do not know... they feel braver, for example, or have done so, have it within them and can not calm down.

I: Do they bother you?

But after a while, that is, if they play, ok, it's fine. But after, if it is repetitive it bothers" (M. 13 years old).

During The Free Time

During free time, an adult who takes decisions instead of young people and does not involve the anyone is generally not accepted. While the house is not chosen, the family is not a choice, what to do during the free time is a choice for adolescents which invest resources and energy, time and desire. A typical case is the football team. During the workout, you live a sense of team and hard work together. Nevertheless, the competition destroys the democratic climate and makes heavy the attendance for people who are not up to.

"*No, that just is not a democracy. Because is the coach who decides and then you have to listen to the coach and that's all. That is, no more democracy. He decides and you must adapt. Stop.*"(D. 14 years old).

But not just football, even leisure activities in general, during which the child decides to attend an informal extracurricular context:

"*Eh ... gives me a little nuisance. Because, in short, I am also pleased to give my opinion, therefore, when someone decides not asking me makes me annoyed ... but not to me in particular but to the group that...*" (D. 14 years old).

First Metaphor of Signification: Democracy as Freedom

The metaphor helps to move from a denotative level of the concept of democracy to a connotative one. Through the metaphors, knowledge is produced. That is why democracy needs of metaphors to be explained but also to be understood. One of the metaphors used more is

democracy as freedom. What is freedom? It is primarily
freedom of opinion:

"*In dictatorship you are not free; in a democracy you
are free. You have ... although that is still to follow
the rules ... laws to be observed, however, you can keep
your freedom of individual who thinks, acts with his
head and not doing what says ... the supreme dictator,
because if not he kill you.*" (A. 17 years old).

The metaphor of democracy as freedom serves to explain
what generally differs democracy thought as a form of
power that affect the daily lives of individuals by the
lack of freedom or other forms of government.

Secondly, the freedom is limitation of external
conditioning within the relationships the interviewees
have. The difficulty of saying opinions, for example,
while the situation of having freedom and opportunity,
consists in being free to say own thoughts.

"*Learning to listen, learn to say things even if others
judge you and trying to be free, perhaps, but in the
right things. That is to say having a precise concept of
freedom.*" (S. 16 years old).

The freedom of expression and opinion is not a task in
itself, in the ideas of participants. It serves mainly
to improve the state of things and to reach the truth,
which it is confused with the right and the idea of
justice:

"*The dictatorship comes to the truth of one person, not
the truth of all. With dialogue, hearing the views of
all we can arrive at a solution that is truer in*

general, it is even more right." (S. 16 years old).

"*Freedom as knowing how to choose what is right and what is wrong.*" (M. 13 years old).

It is not the freedom to do what you wish, as in the utilitarian tradition. Indeed, sometimes in limited situations, it is necessary to defend freedom with coercion:

"*The worse [situation] is that leads you to think that it is the right thing for you ... that there is a dictator who commands there and does not let you make decisions.*" (A. 17 years old).

Second Metaphor of Signification: Democracy as Consideration

A second and beautiful metaphor comes from the words of the youngest of those interviewed but underlies, or at least seems to underlie, each of speeches on democracy made by the participants. This metaphor is democracy consideration, that is to say democracy as the moment when boys and girls are heard, seen. In the adult world this idea of democracy would make them feel worthy of speech. Democracy as consideration recalls the right to citizenship closer to the idea of democracy as habermasian exchange dialogue. The participants pointed out that the dimension of the esteem of others, in general, is the starting point of experiencing the values of democracy and democratic nature of certain life situations. A coach who does not listen and give right to speak, an educator who does not ask and does

not seek confrontation over decisions, a parent who does not care of objections, friends who are not interested to hear other views, etc.

"*[at home] At least before everyone wants to know the opinion of all. That for me is good because then I have not the age that I can choose what I want. But I am considered. I think I am a considered person.*" (M. 13 years old).

Nevertheless, there is also another form of consideration that it is equally important: not only being heard is part of this "democratic" consideration but also living contexts of Justice. Indeed, young people have often said that a choice made by an adult was not right because she/he did not take into consideration the ideas of others, and in this case, of the interviewee. This point is crucial to understand what the interviewees say about justice in a democratic context or situation.

Justice is not only something, which concerns the policies distant from the people but also involves the relationship of education in the micro level. Seeing themselves as considered persons is the starting point for journeys of real participation. Thinking about justice in contexts and interactions, especially school, could be the starting point for the construction of democratic and fair situations. This seems to intersect some of the results presented in Chapter 3: the "consideration" seems to be a strong metaphor to outline the profile of democratic levels of life places of young people. As previously supported, democracy and education are situations: in these situations (family, leisure, school, etc.) what can be a useful educational track is

to understand what could help being intersubjectively considered and consider.

Finally, I would add to the definitions of democracy that are in this chapter also this one:

"*Democracy has many meanings: legally is the power of the people but in my opinion is also being themselves, not afraid to tell their own views and on the political side is also a possibility of choice.*" (Li. 16 years old)

Conclusions and Research Topic

The SJE is the critical moment to decline, in the reality of human beings education, social rights which, unfortunately, are often thought of as right to social minimum. Within this line, the SJE is based on two broad categories: the first is the right and the idea of justice, the second is democracy as a model of administration of power that affects the organization of educational institutions. In this case it would affect the construction of a proper training system and the education of democratic individual personality. In fact, only educating to democracy is possible to give impetus to the critical strength of SJE.

The reflection on democracy reveals how one can be educated to democracy through the everyday life contexts: more they are democratic more they educate. The education right is at the heart of social democracy and education of capabilities. In other words, the education right is the core of intentional processes to make individuals ready for free exercise of their full potentialities in personal freedom. In this sense, education and the education right are topics that are in

the "before" and "after" of democracy. The education right is a precondition, form, and future of democracy.

1) The education right and education are the premises of democracy because democracy is born in a culture that fosters development. The pedagogical reflection, especially phenomenological (Bertolini, 2003) and pragmatist (Dewey, 2000) one, pointed out that education is inherent to the construction of human and any coexistence is in fact possible thanks to the culture and the transmission of certain social values.

2) The education right is the form of democracy: the maintenance of a particular government is by consensus and by proxy. That is, democracy needs competent people whose format is critical in the direction of knowing how to renew institutions and continually re-found principles governing democratic coexistence.

3) The education right is the future of democracy: without education is not possible to think that individuals will have the opportunity to enhance and improve their condition. Since democracy, like any cultural product, something perfectible, it is necessary that democracy itself implements and maintains rigorous education that will enable all individuals to develop their capabilities.

Education and self-education is a basic social right, more so in a democracy that needs to invest on their own citizens. In Italy, a liberal policy has no particular sympathy for public schools and for everything related to the development of the potential capabilities of citizens. Procedural democracy that forgets the concept of social change and social justice, tries to maintain the *status quo* that often could

coincide with the interests of a class, a demos, which is in power.

The outlined theoretical premises are functional for the identification and placement of the research topic for PhD thesis. It was necessary to deepen in which relationship are the addressed areas: Rights, *Social Justice*, Education and capabilities' approach, in order to build an empirical research in education. Schooling is the key point to discuss, starting from a practical and real phenomenon, about democracy as it substantiates within the disciplinary discussion of pedagogy.

The fruit of decades of political rights of children showed the binding of a "right" education system. This principle is not in accordance with the reality in those cases where the assurance processes of right were in practice declined as a guarantee of the right of some, usually those who are in the main stream. The question of right, especially the social right, draws, however, a universal dimension, that is valid for all and always, regardless of contingencies. In other words, activating processes for guaranteeing rights, in particular the education right, should always be present, even in the presence of only one child, that takes not part of the same conditions of the majority of children.

In Italy, we are experiencing factors that are challenging a right that is vital for social democracy, point of arrival of Education and central issue of capabilities. As Nussbaum noted repeatedly, the differences put the crisis in contemporary educational system such as persons with disabilities, women, elderly people and foreigners.

A declination of the social minimum right concerns situation of Italian school. In addition to the education policies of recent months that are depriving the Italian education system of the effectiveness of inclusive and democratic pedagogy, there is another phenomenon: the inclusion of pupils without Italian citizenship in school.

The migrant students not depart from the same conditions as Italian students, especially as regards knowledge of the language of the host country. This calls into question the issue of social justice in terms of capabilities, what would be the "right"? Giving them the opportunity to go to school? This is the right to social minimum. Nevertheless, it is not the "right". Giving them hospitality in schools? This is not democracy but it would still be not the "right". As said in the course of the chapter, giving them the opportunity to increase their capabilities, primarily by removing obstacles, is the "right". Teaching language is only the first of other corollaries of this statement.

The Italian school has activated modes and significant experience, but not linked to the entire education system. This is not decreed that the school is totally without instruments. The peculiarity of the Italian school is the fact that every school is structured independently, in the organization and teaching. This has ensured that good practice will lose in the failure of communication by school to school. What is certain is that in Italy, since 1999 with Article 45 of Presidential Decree No. 394, the practice to accept students without Italian citizenship of new migration has been introduced. The first among these practices is the Protocol of Acceptance (Favaro & Bettinelli, 2000).

It is not enough to write what the school must do to secure the education right: the reality of the process of acceptance can be very different from the statements of principle. Moreover, the meanings teachers give to the Protocol, as well as to all practices that are in place, may be different from the intention of the legislator and compared with SJE. What I have inquired lies at the problematic crossroads of education right, activated modes of guaranteeing the right and accommodating students without Italian citizenship: securing the same opportunities for learning and maturation that the Italian students have. The phenomenon is a litmus test of the sense of the education right and sense of the level of democracy in Italian schools.

In addition, migration challenges national education systems in the effectiveness of guarantee of the education right. It also shows that even international law has felt the need to put in writing the rights in intercultural way. The Convention against Discrimination in Education[4] of 1960 adopted by the United Nations Educational, Scientific, Cultural Organization (UNESCO), says in Article 1 that

> the term 'discrimination' includes any distinction, exclusion, limitation or preference which, being based on race, colour, sex, language, religion, political or other opinion, national or social origin, economic condition or birth, has the purpose or effect of nullifying or impairing equality of treatment in education.

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[4] Enforced by the Italian legislation with the Law No. 656 of 13 July 1966.

The International Convention on the Protection of the
Rights of All Migrant Workers and Members of Their
Families, in 1990, Article 30, states that children of
immigrant workers,

> shall have the basic right of access to
> education on the basis of equality of treatment
> with nationals of the State concerned. Access to
> public pre-school educational institutions or
> schools shall not be refused or limited by
> reason of the irregular situation with respect
> to stay or employment of either parent or by
> reason of the irregularity of the child's stay
> in the State of employment.

The migration would show more manifestly dynamics
that would exist even in normal conditions. Because the
arrival of foreign students is increasingly massive and
increasingly widely involving the Italian school. In
Chapter 4 I shall introduce the results of a research
conducted by the method of Grounded Theory, to outline,
in light of what I have sustained above in this chapter,
how the school guarantees the education right in the
context of inclusion of foreign pupils.

Nevertheless, in the next chapter, I shall
introduce, however, the research methodology and explain
how I have used the method of GT. Insert after a
theoretical chapter, a methodological one is important
to share how I thought, reflected on research and
research data. Indeed, while Chapter 2 was the place
where I have explained my position as disciplinary and
theoretical researcher, the next chapter will serve to
inform the reader how I used the method that has enabled
me to reach the conclusions of Chapter 4.

CHAPTER 3 – RESEARCH'S METHODOLOGY

Introduction

In this chapter, I shall discuss the methodology and the method used in the empirical research on the processes of inclusion of students without Italian citizenship in the Italian school. This social phenomenon that is taking place increasingly in Italy, is a critical moment with regard to the guaranteeing of the education right, a social rights which today is, first, considered essential to the coexistence among different people and to the progress of the society, but, on the other side is being challenged by several issues.

This chapter makes the research path clear and is about how I have reached the conclusions set out in Chapter 4. While in Chapter 2, I have addressed more extensively the implications of *Social Justice Education* (SJE) from a theoretical point of view, while making the area of research comprehensible, in Chapter 4 I will present the results of research. The importance of outlining the path of a qualitative research after a theoretical chapter, is dictated by the fact that, in my opinion, it is necessary considering the empirical research in education as a means through which create contents for and give meaning to educational theories.

The SJE, in fact, outlines several practical guidelines for setting democratic and inclusive contexts with the goal of a fair education.

Nevertheless, it remains a theory, not founded in any type of data. It is under the light of theory, one can make sense of a qualitative research. This chapter is, therefore, a meta-reflexion about strategies I have implied, about ways of collecting and analyzing data. Its importance is the possibility that gives the reader to understand the methodological steps that led the researcher to make certain statements. Each qualitative research is a world apart, but not because of it, can not be shared with others. The chapter wants to keep track of methodological choices and the research path.

Just to make it the theory emerged from the analysis the most possible shared, I shall introduce the research method used, having outlined my position epistemological and methodological in the research and debate on those criteria for knowing phenomena. I shall explain what I intend for Grounded Theory (GT), method of research for the exploration of social processes, and how I have used it. My main reference is the so-called Constructivist Grounded Theory (Charmaz, 2000, 2006), although I have used it with little changes. I shall gut the research design in all its components and operational practices: I shall describe the main setting of research, the access to the field and theoretical sampling. The chapter on methodology will end with some reflections on the validity in qualitative research and Grounded Theory in particular.

Research Design

Research Question

　　　You cannot study democracy in abstract terms but you must study it in terms of "situation". Democracy in education is a *situation*, as I said in the Chapter 2. It has, therefore, the characters of an educational situation: the first characteristic of a situation in education is being intentional, or being designed and intended as a democratic event. In its inherent intentionality (see Bertolini, 2002 and 2005), an educational situation is in dialogue with the ethical choices that drive the educational processes. The values, chosen by the teachers and educators, play an important role to configure or less an educational situation as a democratic event. What are the democratic educational situations one could study? For this research, a particular educational situation has been chosen: the intentionally democratic school and its practices.

　　　Democratic education is a situation in which the purposes and ways are consistent with the values of democracy. In other terms, I should refer to democracy as other researchers qualified it, that is, as attitude and behaviour (Osborne, 2001), not only of individuals but also of educational intentionally democratic institutions.

　　　In addition to what school, as privileged educational agency, proposes in terms of intentionally constructed curriculum also conveys other types of curriculum, whose messages' meanings are hidden and, according to *Critical Pedagogy* (Dewey, 1969, 2000;

Goodman, 1992; Freire, 2006), have a great influence on educational processes and real learning / understanding of the intentional curriculum. In other words, as I argued in Chapter 2, democratic education is declined not only in contents and knowledge but also regarding the context and, in particular, the way it was designed. The organizational arrangements choices speak, in fact, about democracy and sometimes reveal discrepancies between what is taught (the civic education) and what is taught that do not have any practical realization. Therefore, research will take into account not only what is being done to accommodate foreign students but also how it is done.

The research question of my PhD thesis face both the theoretical assumptions already explained in Chapter 2 and the fact that studying democracy in education means studying specific situations, in this case the school. I then asked: in today's Italian realities, what are the situations, which challenge the construction of democratic situations at school? What issues are the teachers facing in terms of organization and democratic management of the Italian school? What are the relevant social processes to the school may disclose the democratic aspects of this institution?

Among the social rights, I have chosen the education right whose warranty the school was designed by the Italian Constitution for. What are questioning the education right, now? I have selected a particular and limited phenomenon that is emerging more and more and that is creating concern and confusion in school life: the insertion in the Italian school of the students without Italian citizenship even during the school year. How does the school guarantee, if it guarantees, the right to study in this limit-situation where the right

is clearly challenged? What is happening? This was
indeed the question that has generated the research
path. Then I rephrased the question of research as it
was emerging from analysis of data: how did the school
pass from a problem to solve to right to guarantee?

Epistemological and Methodological Assumptions

A qualitative research design is an ambitious
project that is rooted on two important pedestals: the
ontological/epistemological and methodological
assumptions. I decided to tackle these two moments of
reflection keeping them in a single paragraph to
emphasize that the epistemology/ontology and methodology
are strictly linked each other. What unite them are the
question of research and the nature of the phenomenon,
to which the research question refers (Morse & Richards,
2002). The coherence of these factors in a qualitative
research design is important to make reason of the self-
correcting nature of qualitative research (Morse et al.
2002). As there is not a hypothesis to be confirmed and
the research project is not very predictable in advance,
its internal consistency, otherwise known as internal
validity, is established by the internal correctness,
the rigor and the possibility to share. Clarifying the
position of epistemological and methodological research
helps, in fact, to understand the research path that is
unique and personal, and limit the randomness of the
choice of methods and strategies for collecting and
analyzing data.

Stop talking about Paradigms!

With the structure of scientific revolutions (Kuhn, 1999), the scientific community has realized that to change science, its priorities and its research objects, you must change the paradigm which science refers to. There is, or is it better to assume, there was a dominant paradigm, a way of understanding the construction of knowledge, from which a science was considered "normal" because the most accepted by the scientific community. Since the '60s, we are seeing a paradigm shift and the epistemology, from the sciences court deciding what science is and what is not (Bertolini, 2001), is becoming the way to construct new knowledge and to respond the question: how do we know the reality? What is knowledge? How could we go in search of true knowledge? (Lincoln & Guba, 1985; Mortari, 2007).

The consequence of this change of epistemological role obliges the researcher, especially the qualitative one, to clarify her/his position regarding the reality and knowledge, to build and share with the scientific community of colleagues the how of achieving certain results, then the research's method. In other words, epistemology had to become the premise of qualitative research because regarding to paradigms, the dominant one was no longer able to understand and drive a methodology that would be able to study complex phenomena such as psychosocial processes, lived and experiential meanings, cultures and sub-cultures. Some see a confrontation between the dominant paradigm and naturalistic-constructivist paradigm (Lincoln & Guba, 1985), the first of these is the transformation of the positivist paradigm in post-positivist, while the second is the paradigm of qualitative research.

However, it is even true that in recent years both qualitative and quantitative researchers can not disregard the fact of living in an era called of the post- (i.e. post-modern) or for those like myself, at a time when the paradigm that is more capacity for scientific research is the complexity (Morin, 2000 and 2001). If two are the consequences of post-positivist, namely reductionism and determinism, the consequence of accepting this paradigm shift is that of the proliferation of paradigms (Donmoyer, 2006) that is not always useful and fruitful for qualitative research as it identifies the paradigm, making it so individually thought and unrecognizable by the scientific community. In this time, marked by post-modern hermeneutic on a side and by demand of taxonomies, on the other, the paradigms have diversified and in this multiplication seem to have lost the meaning of knowledge. It seems, in addition, that the proliferated qualitative paradigms are in a level of subservience to the strong paradigm (Kuhn, 1999) that in educational research is still the paradigm of verifiability and generalizability.

Facing the crisis of knowledge, the scientists have counteracted by multiplying the visions of the world. But, it seems avoiding to talk about dominant paradigm (Donmoyer, 2006) more productive and creative for research, because among implicit and explicit scientific positions

> "We are virtually all constructivists now, so, in essence, at the epistemological level, the paradigm wars have been won by those who embraced naturalist/constructivist/interpretivist thinking. Even researchers who hold onto

the notion of objectivity normally understand that the concept is only a regulative ideal, not something that can actually be attained. And those who continue to frame their work and discourse in cause-effect rather than constructivist terms also, at some level, understand that they may be employing a functional fiction rather than a description of reality. After all, once we accept the proposition that reality is socially constructed, it makes little sense to talk about the true nature of reality. Epistemology trumps ontology, in other words, and the best we can do, once we have embraced a constructivist view of knowledge, is to base our decisions on utilitarian rather than on realist grounds." (Donmoyer, 2006, p. 24).

My paradigmatic choice could therefore be, even provocative, to say nothing about paradigms because the complexity of the world around us is there for all to see. Rather I think more interesting reflecting on the philosophical style, which, within the recognized and already-applied single new paradigm, each researcher has to do research and to position itself in reality.

The Absolute Rule of the Phenomenon

Closely linked to the epistemology there is the research methodology. It is necessary that I make the difference between the words methodology and method

clear, first. Often the two terms are synonymous and sometimes several misunderstandings could interfere. For my part, the method is the road that runs to reach the knowledge: in it there are strategies for collecting and analyzing data. The methodology is the study of research methods. It may divide into complex methodologies and reductionist methodologies. I do not think proper to think that the methodologies can be distinguished by the use of quantitatively or qualitatively oriented methods.

A few years ago, it was allowed to argue that in fact "although qualitative and quantitative methods might occasionally be mixed, one could not simultaneously embrace the positivist paradigm, on the one hand, and the naturalistic/constructivist paradigm, on the other, without becoming an intellectual schizophrenic […]." (Donmoyer, 2006, p. 13). But in recent years, we have seen an increase of spurious methods, whose hybridisation allows the researcher to use both quantitative data, as percentages, statistics, and qualitative data, like stories, "artistic" data (from art based research), without recurring to the post-positivist paradigm for the use of one or constructivist paradigm for the use of others. For many years the scientific community in North America has been reflecting on multiple or mixed methods, in which, leaving aside the specific applications, has admitted the use of strategies for collecting data, sampling, analysis from quantitative traditions, without compelling researchers to embrace epistemology and methodologies of positivist science. This does not seem to upset the structure of qualitative methodology because this type of contamination is not only tolerated but also accepted.

What then changes the recognisability of the methods is not so much the presence of numbers or stories, figures or qualitative data, as a way to reflect and take into account the process of knowledge production. The reductionist approaches, then, are those methods that see knowledge as a result of highly experimental and post-positivist research in which "only randomized experiments produce truth" (House, 2006). The adjective "reductionist" is not to be considered only in relation to the techniques and strategies of knowledge production, but also in terms of ethics and policy research. In fact, the dominant paradigm would push researchers not only to use reductionist methodologies but also to concentrate on research topics regardless what would right or not to seek, how and to what purpose.

Instead, the term of complex methodology means that it refers to a spectrum of possibilities that are in methodological accordance first with the research phenomenon, in terms of knowledge of the object and production of new knowledge about the object in question. The complex methodology does not reduce the truth only to experimental nature process, but puts in relation knowledge production with a universe of systems that it involves (the researcher, culture, politics, and age related to the same search). This kind of methodology is open to the complexity and prevents to science progression for accumulation but on the contrary, allows the phenomenon to be investigated according to its deep and overall appearance.

The complex methodologies, therefore, are suitable to investigate not only qualitatively but also quantitatively phenomena of the real world, depending on the phenomenon itself and not by ideological assumptions

of the researcher, who are both political and ethical. Denzin, Lincoln & Giardina (2006) outline how in U.S. policy the process of knowledge production is politically driven and not chosen for the sake of knowledge. "The scientifically based research movement (SBR), first introduced by the federal government in the Reading Excellence Act of 1999 and later incorporated by the National Research Council (NRC), has created a new and hostile political environment for qualitative research." It is a re-emerging scientism, just to an expression of Maxwell (2004), a real methodology serving the government.

From this, the researcher can easily see that if the methodology can be coupled to a government that makes decisions and to take decisions which means investing money, then the method has the capability to be a political choice. That is why it is important to consider the dictatorship of the phenomenon as a source of the methodological choice: the phenomenon to study should suggest the methodology to be followed. I could ask: if I want to investigate a research topic that includes a social process as the inclusion of foreigners in the Italian school, should I use a reductionist methodology? Should I use tools and strategies that remain blind in front of political and ethical complexities of a so problematic issue? Why do governments tend to subsidize reductionist methods rather than complex methodologies? The answer to the latest question is simple: the complex methodologies that tend to maintain complex phenomena even in the final report, make political decisions difficult. Are measured data preferable because they have the aura of objectivity and generalizability? Nevertheless, as the measure is strictly linked to the tool you use and

objectivity is really an aura. Measured data are not preferred because objective rather because linked to a strong epistemology, to the so-called "normal" science (Kuhn, 1999) that ensures the fairness of proceeding, and because through this epistemology clear decisions for politicians seem to be easier to make. Lather (2004) calls this the "Bush Science". What is certain is that the political decisions on evidence are not always useful and positive ones. Other evidences, in my opinion should support and assist policy decisions and in particular the evidences, theories, discoveries of methodologically complex research.

I have chosen to use the complex methodology from the nature of the phenomenon to be investigated. In fact, the area of investigation call a variety of levels: the educational, political and values' ones. The reductionist approach is not capable of understanding these three levels in a wide gaze. According to the husserlian phenomenology, then, the phenomenon, which appears to us should determine the limits of its proper knowledge. Every phenomenon is itself and it is knowable from its ontological features. The complex methodology that I have chosen seems to be particularly useful to follow the shape and characteristics of the social phenomenon that I studied because it is flexible enough to deal with the educational ethical and political level of education, but not so large not to mark the boundaries and limits of the phenomenon. The social phenomena are social constructions by symbolic interaction (Blumer, 1969), but the interpretations of these constructions are not endless. They will always be new because of the role that the researcher has within the complex methodologies: she/he is part of the methodology and construct knowledge (Caronia, 1997).

The Role of the Point Of View

If the phenomenon is demanding as regards the assumptions of the methodological position, is also worthy to note the key-role played in terms of discipline within the chosen methodology. Much of the research is related to discipline or field of study from which you look at a particular phenomenon. The field of study has its say in methodological choices. The complex methodology appears to be necessary when the phenomenon of research is seen through the eyes of pedagogy and education. The choice of methodology is strongly influenced by what the specific discipline deals with and, consequently, by its definition, although taken in the broadest sense. In this case, the assumptions that researchers possesses as disciplinary background "shape research topics and conceptual emphases" (Charmaz, 2006, p. 16).

Method

The Grounded Theory (GT) is a "general research method" (Glaser & Strauss, 1967), mostly used in qualitative field as a tool for constructing theories and interpretative models based on data deriving from psycho-social processes.

The GT provides an abductive data handling and an induction of the interpretative categories, shared with participants. The proceeding is not a priori. In this sense, the researcher is driven by data and emerging categories, to select other participants or other contexts, to find different and even contrary

situations, in order to reach a more profound explanation of the phenomenon of study and, finally to promptly identify the epistemic weaknesses or to take other routes based on data interpretation. Nevertheless, the interpretation is not the ultimate goal of GT. Its determination is to construct a theory that works, adhering to the data, and relevant (Glaser & Strauss, 1967). The theory is not predetermined, but it is gradually and continuously constructed through the collection and analysis of data, as its way of reasoning is abductive. Once collected the data undergo the coding and conceptualization process. Any new information is then compared with the categories already available, thus enriching the properties of the theory that gradually takes shape. In a second phase, more of analysis than of data collection, the labelling of previous categories are constructed in dialogue with other categories, to create a more coherent body of the theory, concepts of a higher level, based not on ordinary language, but on the terminology of the scholar and, thanks to literature, the scientific community. Through the comparison among categories and terminology constructed categories are resized, thereby generating a small number of more meaningful, valid formulations, applicable to a larger number of situations, by virtue of the high level of abstraction achieved. Finally, the GT is written from categories that have become conceptually dense rather than purely interpretation. This method can grasp the social processes along with meanings that participants attach to their world.

Kathy Charmaz (2006) has reformulated the definition of GT as a general method arguing that in practice, the GT is a set of guidelines or methods to collect and to analyze qualitative data and build theories "grounded",

rooted in the data. It is not therefore a narrow set of rules but rather a methodical series of pathways that allow the researcher to be creative, heuristic without this being synonymous of improvisation or invention. Since its birth, the GT has undergone some interpretations. For some it was a research method tout court, for others a set of methods, or a methodology itself. In my point of view and the way in which I understood and used it, GT belongs to the complex methodology since, as mentioned, is a method or a combination of methods, which do not reduce the reality to what can be measured with statistics and numbers. The GT proposed by Glaser and Strauss in 1967 was in part positivist (Charmaz, 2000), because they thought the data, qualitative and quantitative, although taken as a complex data, would exist regardless of the role and of the initial theoretical position of the researcher. Any data would correspond to an objective reality. Glaser, then (Glaser, 2002), has returned several times in clarifying his idea of GT. If we can rightly claim that the GT concepts are the results of the process of conceptualization and so, "that concepts are abstract of time, place, and people, and that concepts have enduring grab" (Glaser, 2002), we can not consider a method as something abstract of time, place and people (see Holton, 2007), always valid. As knowledge production, the GT transcends the descriptive level, but cannot be considered itself more than a product of human knowledge and, consequently, GT cannot transcend time and space but is the result of constructed and thought human activity. Among the definitions of GT, the Glaserian school insists on supporting the GT as a methodology rather than as a complex method. According to the position of Holton (2007) is unnecessary to speak of

schools of thought or epistemological and methodological assumptions since the GT transcends this concern and the issue of paradigm is seen as limiting the research, hindering with a further set of preconceptions that would undermine the emergence of the theory. From a constructivist point of view, it is essential to be aware of the own worldview. The utility of this is understandable especially when a researcher do a GT in practice. When one reflects, for example, about a research topic Glaser (1978) would suggest to identify the "main concern" of participants, the main cause for concern. In constructing a theory that works and makes, as its consequence, the applicability of the theory possible in similar contexts (Tarozzi, 2008th), the subject of research might be suggested by the problems and difficulties experienced by participants. This quickly would lead to the identification of the social process that lies behind phenomena. Nevertheless, as Charmaz (2006) sustained, a researcher can not pretend that the "main concern" would be objectively given by the participants voice. On the contrary it is constructed by the researcher's understanding of the meanings that participants give to that question. "Nevertheless, researchers, not participants, are obligated to be reflexive about what web ring to the scene, what we see, and how we see it." (Charmaz, 2006, p.15).

I used then, the GT as a complex research method, referring mainly to claims of Charmaz (2000, 2006). This approach suggested me not standardized rules for the data collection and analysis, but several principles to which I have referred to emerge a theory from data that was constructed from my scientific position

I have chosen the constructivist GT (Constructivist Grounded Theory), in which knowledge is intersubjectively built, because the phenomenon of investigation of my doctoral research required special attention to all the figures involved in this process. In other words, the choice of this method was suggested by complex nature and systemic social process that it owns. The reality of the school lives of its meanings that are continually negotiated by teachers and those who work in the school. I inserted my researcher's activity in a already started social dynamics that have within them the shared meanings. I have chosen the GT also because through its practice, the researcher is capable of constructing a "developmental theory" (Glaser & Strauss, 1967), that is a theory about a process, which changes and changes over time. In my opinion, it is especially suitable to study a phenomenon that in many Italian schools are brand new, but in others has already become an almost routine of school management.

Moreover, GT means tension to construct a theory. Because of this, I have not taken care of statistical representativeness of the sample, because on the one hand, there were not variables to be verified by hypothesis, and on the other hand, theory, which does not precede the collection of data but it follows it, is the final point where the entire process and strategies tend.

What is the meaning of theory I mean and that lead the GT on the education right? The definition (Charmaz, 2006) of theory that seems to be positivist is that, given a general theory a researcher must understand what relations are between the abstract concepts that cover a wide spectrum (wide range) of empirical observations. In this case, we seek causes, or connections between

phenomena that would emphasise generality and universality issues. Here the theory was conceived as a rigorous and traceable explanation of particular phenomenon whose meaningful negotiations between participants and researcher are searched. The first definition recalls the so-called "Objectivist Grounded Theory" which sees the data as real in themselves, the participants are "data" and are not part of the theories (Glaser, 2002). Here, the data are not produced by the social interaction but simple collected or discovered. The second, however, refers to the Constructivist Grounded Theory, for which data are made of the interaction the researcher has with the context, and the participants. Indeed "Constructivist grounded theorist take a reflexive stance towards the research process and products and consider how their theories evolve, … both researchers and research participants interpret meanings and actions" (Charmaz, 2006, p. 131).

The principle of theory construction has also adjusted the data analysis. Beginning with rigorously following data and emerging conceptual cores, I then continued to major abstraction levels until the last one, the theory. A GT should maintains even at the end contact with the data from which I theorized. According to Turner (1981), there are two types of theories and processes to construct them:

- A *theory emergence* process: is the process of generating ways of thinking about data that arise from reflective and interpretative reading. In this stage what emerges is a set of impressions, bulk data, applications and limited explanations about the phenomenon;

- A *theory construction* is the process by which the researcher creates more including categories, find

connections, and relationships between them. It is
not just a description: The theory is the meaning
of the entire research work.

This second theorisation path could not be developed
without applying what Glaser and Strauss (1967) called
the *constant comparison*. Indeed, to do this, I compared
the conceptual construction and data from which concepts
were emerging, along with classes, events, and remarks.
That would be what is preparing the ground for the
insight, true driving force of the theory construction.
It points out the mechanism of metaphor, that makes
connections between distant concepts, produces
inferences and generates new knowledge on a conceptual
higher level (Tarozzi, 2008a , p. 15). This method
should be used along with theoretical sampling (Glaser &
Strauss, 1967) to produce the theoretical properties of
each category and give greater consistency and validity
to the emerging theory.

Setting

I mean setting the privileged place of study from
whose issues I read the question of the education right,
social rights, and democracy in education. As already
argued in Chapter 2, democracy is researchable in
contexts where their guidelines and shared values refer
to democracy. The school in Italy represents the state
that educates and undertakes education of new
generations. It is governed by law and is one of those
institutions wanted by the Constitution: the school is
an allegedly educational and instructive institution,
capable of reaching at least up to 16 years old people

for the completion of compulsory schooling, all young people, girls, and boys. Objective of the school is reaching a level of education, which should be equal for all. For this reason, I have chosen the school, because is conceived as a privileged place where education and politics intersect.

In addition, pedagogy and empirical research in education must go back to think about school. The Italian pedagogy, leaving out the studies on schooling issues, it seems lately interest in educational processes outside the school environment, leaving schooling issues to other figures with other professionals such as psychologists, sociologists, counsellors. My prerogative was to enter a school and do research.

As I argued in Chapter 2, the school is the appendix of the democratic management that takes care of education of young generations. The pupils of the school, for the simple fact of living within the national territory, have the right to access the training system of the country. The Italian Constitution wanted the school. Subsequently, laws and regulations have maintained the education system as public and not private, while giving the school its managerial autonomy. This means that the sense of the school regards the entire country and not the local peculiarities. It is particularly important to the school to ensure the education right for all.

The field's access[5] was a long and very tiring activity. The researcher who intends to deal with school, in fact, must often wait long periods for physically entering school. This is because the school has its schedules and teachers are always busy working on many fronts. Above all, key informants I needed to collect data were people with tight deadlines, either for the managerial role (I am thinking of school managers, principals, educators) or for timetables of the organization of school, that does not allow many moments during mornings.

The Covered Path of the Theoretical Sampling

The sampling and data collection are two central processes to a qualitative research. In the case of GT, sampling and data collection are inextricably linked to define the theory. In fact, the choice of participants is independent from the type of data the researcher needs: data to be collected or already collected inform on how keeping sampling in a particular direction. To highlight the path of action and then choose the participants to contact, going back and forth to the data is necessary. Moreover, even in a GT data analysis, collection and sampling are conducted simultaneously and affect the search process. The information that gradually constructs explanations, conceptually dense abductions, makes the researcher to rethink and

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[5] The research I am presenting in its methodological part has gained the approval by the Ethical Committee of the University of Trento. Even among difficulties to explain a priori which kind of steps I had to do I have delineated a path to cover. I have thought about possible participants to involve, as well. I delivered to them the consent forms and the research project outline. I have received a positive result from the ethical review process with the requests of little modifying. In particular, I was asked to clarify the sampling. This is not easy to predict and is not linear, as well, especially in a GT.

reprogram choices. For the sake of exhibition clarity, I divided the sampling, data collection, and analysis of data in three separate paragraphs. This is a useful device for the sole purpose of explaining in detail the process of research using the GT. In fact, many parts of the process cannot be divided in practice because there are methodological overlaps.

Sampling featuring the GT is the theoretical sampling. It is a kind of sampling that begins in advanced stages of research. In the beginning, the research has sought participants who were informed about the phenomenon I wanted to investigate. Normally this sampling is called "purposive" or "initial" (Charmaz, 2006). Where is it easier to encounter the phenomenon of inclusion of students without the Italian citizenship? Where schools have a high percentage of foreigners, was my reply. The choice of the first school started from consulting data from the Ministry of Education on students with non-Italian citizenship attending Italian compulsory school. The annual report on the presence of students without Italian citizenship in school that the Italian Ministry of Education published in March 2008, and the result of a number of other surveys conducted in the previous periods (October and November 2007), clearly shows the composition of migration flows with regard to the school population. Below I have included tables that I consulted for the choice of school to start collecting data through interviews.

Municipality	Province	Presence
Novellara	Reggio Emilia	23,2%
Calcinato	Brescia	23,1%
Susegana	Treviso	22,0%
Porto Recanati	Macerata	22,0%

Martinsicuro	Teramo	21,6%
Carpenedolo	Brescia	21,5%
Asolo	Treviso	21,0%
Novi Di Modena	Modena	20,8%
Crevalcore	Bologna	20,4%
Borgonovo Val Tidone	Piacenza	20,0%

Tabella 2: Dalla Tab. 23 – Incidenza degli alunni con cittadinanza non italiana sulla popolazione scolastica in totale nei piccoli comuni – a.s. 2006/07, Ministero della Pubblica Istruzione, *Alunni con Cittadinanza Non Italiana***, marzo 2008. Da www.istruzione.it**

Municipality	Non Italian Students every 100 students
Milano	14,2%
Alessandria	13,9%
Prato	13,7%
Reggio Emilia	13,0%
Torino	12,6%
Cremona	11,9%
Brescia	11,8%
Piacenza	11,7%
Modena	11,1%
Pordenone	11,1%

Tabella 3: Dalla Tab. 24 – I comuni italiani capoluogo con la più alta incidenza di alunni con cittadinanza non italiana rispetto alla popolazione scolastica – a.s. 2006/07, Ministero della Pubblica Istruzione, *Alunni con Cittadinanza Non Italiana***, marzo 2008. Da www.istruzione.it**

"Milan confirms itself as the capital with the highest incidence of foreign pupils: 14.2%, the increase in a year was 1, 5%. Among the major cities, there is Torino, with 12.6%, at fifth position, however, preceded by Alexandria, Prato, and Reggio Emilia.

Municipalities with school population more than 1000 units, exceeding the 10% attendance of foreign students from 166 to 246, have increased significantly in a year. It almost doubled those that exceed the 15%, from 33 to 52 (Table 23). The photograph of multicultural school of small municipalities shows us another, even a third Italy, after that of major cities (the primacy of Milan) and provinces, small and medium (the primacy of Mantua).

This is the school of Novellara, Calcinato, Susegana, names unknown to most and yet very representative of the widespread and multifaceted characteristic of immigration.

Another interesting fact of the geography of the 52 municipalities that exceed the threshold of 15% is the presence of locations even in Central and Southern Italy: Porto Recanati in the Marches, Martinsicuro in Abruzzo, Santa Croce Camerina in Sicilia.

Another significant datum is that some of these little cities are in mountain communities, in particular of the Appennino: Fornovo Val di Taro (in the province of Parma), Bibbiena (Arezzo), Vergato (Bologna). Taking as reference, however, even the smaller municipalities, with more than 100 students, 1336 are those that exceed the threshold of 10%, while in the school year 2005/06, were 1066.[6]"

This report relates that small municipalities with a greater than 15% incidence have tripled in two years confirming a widespread and varied presence, not only in big cities but also in small towns, in the valleys, or in peripheral areas. The document contains a list of these small and medium municipalities where on the top appears the city of Novellara in the province of Reggio Emilia. Novellara has one middle school with 23.2% students who do not have Italian citizenship of the total students. This figure became, after 23.3% in internal documents of the school. This percentage indicates that recognising the presence of the phenomenon I wanted to study would be easier. 23% was the highest percentage among the non-provincial capital municipalities. I have therefore decided to start from

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[6] Source: data and comments retrieved 16/09/08 from
http://www.pubblica.istruzione.it/mpi/pubblicazioni/2008/allegati/alunni_n_ita_08.pdf

this school and taking phone contacts. I sent the letter of presentation, with my curriculum vitae. It is important to create a climate of confidence in those who decide the entry of the researcher in the structure, in this case the school. To do this I thought that being available and dealing with transparency could help my welcoming inside the school. The principal seemed immediately available and invited me to a meeting of teachers and educators who have discussed about the immigrant students of the institute. Thus began the path of data collection.

I have chosen to start the path of data collection from some teachers so-called key informants that is to say people in direct contact with the phenomenon of acceptance and education of immigrant students arriving in the course of the year. This step is the only of theoretical sampling that can be programmed in advance (Tarozzi, 2008a, p. 103), because it gives the green light to the research process and not starts from theoretical constructions that initially the researcher can not hold on risk of not making a theory "grounded" but "grand" (Glaser & Strauss, 1967), or confirms the theory.

The theoretical sampling should not be confused with the "purposive" sampling or other types of sampling whose aim is (Charmaz, 2006):
- to address initial research questions;
- to reflect population distributions;
- to find negative cases;
- until new data emerge.

The theoretical sampling follows the emerging theory and drives in seeking of new participants in order to saturate the identified categories, develop a more complex theory that is not a static description of a

population: "it pertains only to conceptual and theoretical development" (Charmaz, 2006, p.101).

The emerging theory that took into account only the first really studied contexts suggested that the processes of acceptance and inclusion of foreigners in the course of a year could be influenced by the political climate of the local school referred administration. It was necessary to understand if the reception of foreigners took place in that way in Novellara because it was a left-wing municipalities or for other reasons. It could be supposed that in a right-wing centre the issue would change. The second school that I have chosen was Calcinato in the province of Brescia. This school is the second in the list of the Ministry. The scholastic Institute of Calcinato (BS) has the presence of students without Italian citizenship to 23.1% of the total population of the school.

From the first interviews, the participants revealed that the issue of acceptance and even resource involved the local authority. The study of the phenomenon, then, involved the relationship between the local school and the local authority. The emerging category that concerns the political and partisan management of migration in relation to the school, suggested the theoretical sampling to proceed outside the school. The data revealed that the guaranteeing of education right that takes place at school, was actually played in liaison with the local community and, therefore, together with local administrators and their political beliefs. Therefore, I interviewed assessors and municipal officers, and gathered information and data related to the political-administrative issue of the town of Novellara and the town of Calcinato.

An event not expected was interesting: I was invited to participate in a meeting for exchange best practices between the association "Millevoci" of Trento that deals with intercultural education and training of teachers of the Autonomous Province of Trento and the Scholastic Provincial Office of Brescia. For the last few years, it is very active in making the experiences of integration and hosting of foreign pupils in schools in Brescia known and shared.

The researcher GT is asked to stay open not only to the data but also to the possibility that researching gives. It would be possible to have been denied my participation, but perhaps the research would have lost an important figure: the vitality of some institutions in the share of educational pathways. The flow of real experiences and participants' projects can be time consuming but is of unquestionable value to both deepen the research and to enrich the researcher. This was a fortuitous event but very important to clarify and make categories related to the path of compulsory education in Brescia more complex. It was a great help to see a reality of a provincial capital city school, which for years has turned to the issue of foreigners and to listen how teachers and those work for the goal to welcome and integrate students and students without Italian citizenship speak about their work.

In formalized situations, it is inevitable that the data are strongly selected by the organizers and then that I was able to collect only what has been budgeted to be shown. To enrich this data with an internal point of view, I have asked to interview the principal of the school that she has activated several activities for welcoming immigrant students. I asked questions about

specific practices and the evolution that has led the school to operate these decisions.

Subsequently, the emerging theory suggested that in larger cities and provincial capitals, schools could rely on greater financial aid, by the local, for example, or by groups and volunteers. In Reggio Emilia, capital of the province, I interviewed a teacher who saw a girl entered "savagely" during the year in its class. The school has not activated anything for welcoming her. After this interview, another category was to be thorough: how and when do schools activate? What the data suggested to me was that the school is activated when there are many foreigners, and do not operate when the guaranteeing of the education right is delegated to external resources.

At this point, to make theoretical sampling relevant to the construction of the theory, I have chosen a school where even with low numbers of foreign presence has been organized and activated routes of welcoming. This is the case, or the situation that contrasts with the category that the researcher has outlined previously, and that leads him to reconfigure a category that includes even more the case. The theoretical sampling (Charmaz, 2006; Tarozzi, 2008a), when applied consistently, helps the researcher to outline the properties of a category, to identify variations of a process, to specify the properties relevant categories.

The school identified for having features that until then in research schools had not selected, was the school of Cittadella, in the province of Padova. The study and theoretical reflection on the negative case not only revealed a differentiation of the category but has also proposed a relationship between certain

categories on the link between local authorities, the needs of the social help and the school.

Finally, always looking for other specifications and changes in the categories of activation and accommodation of students with non-Italian citizenship in school education, I have chosen a big city, a capital of a province and region, which is Milan. I have interviewed a teacher of a middle school to explore differences in relation to specific social context. In the final part, regardings the category of activation of the school and teachers in relation to the resources of the context, I selected the case of some schools in Rovereto, a city of the Autonomous Province of Trento that have special funds that can be used to activate pathways to guaranteeing the education right.

Finally, having built the explanatory model that is in Chapter 4, I was confronted by interviewing some teachers as a way to obtain feedback about the theory that I had built.

Here I have introduced a diagram to make visually the theoretical sampling, stressing the categories for which I have chosen certain contexts and participants.

Figure 1: The covered Path of the Theoretical Sampling
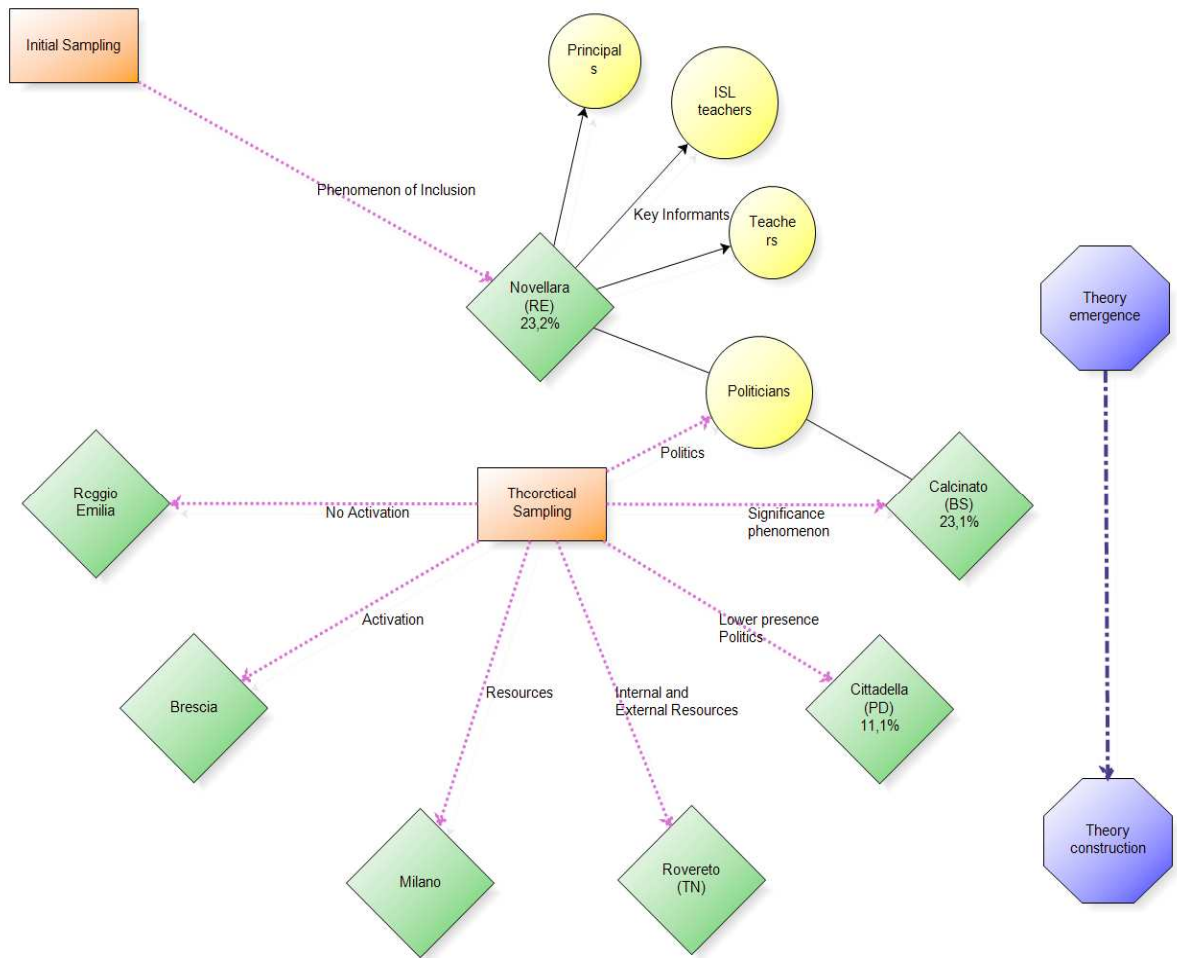
Data Collection

Interviews

The conducted interviews were 37, of which 36 were audio recorded after asking permission to participants and then transcribed word by word. The interviews were the average duration of 45 minutes each.

The first 10 listed interviews were on the perception of what can be understood by democracy between 13 and 19 years. These interviews were conducted in the early 2007. The remaining interviews have been

made thereafter between January '08 and September '08. Among these interviews is also recorded a round table with the Director of the Provincial School Office of Brescia, teachers and responsible for intercultural education of various schools in the province of Brescia and teachers and responsible for several schools of the Autonomous Province of Trento, took place on 30/04/08 at the Vocational Institute "A. Mantegna" in Brescia.

Below is the report of interviews by date, by place of execution and by information on the participant or participants involved.

Table 4: Interviews conducted

Code	Time	Place	Partecipant(s)
M. 13anni	11/02/07	Domicilio	Alunno di scuola superiore di primo grado
D. 14anni	15/02/07	Domicilio	Alunno di scuola superiore di secondo grado
Li. 16anni	11/02/07	Domicilio	Alunno di scuola superiore di secondo grado
L. 16anni	4/02/07	Domicilio	Alunno di scuola superiore di secondo grado
S. 16anni	3/02/07	Domicilio	Alunno di scuola superiore di secondo grado
A. 17anni	4/02/07	Domicilio	Alunno di scuola superiore di secondo grado
R. 17anni	4/02/07	Domicilio	Alunno di scuola superiore di secondo grado
P. 18anni	18/10/07	Domicilio	Alunno di scuola superiore di secondo grado
I. 18anni	18/10/07	Domicilio	Alunno di scuola superiore di secondo grado
G. 19anni	3/02/07	Domicilio	Studente universitario
Ìn.demo 1ND	28/01/08	Istituto Comprensivo "L. Orsi" – Novellara (Re)	Insegnante con ore a disposizione per il percorso di alfabetizzazione.

Ìn.demo 2NE	28/01/08	Istituto Comprensivo "L. Orsi" – Novellara (Re)	Educatrice alfabetizzatrice per la scuola secondaria di primo grado.
Ìn.demo 3NVP	29/01/08	Istituto Comprensivo "L. Orsi" – Novellara (Re)	Vice-preside dell'istituto comprensivo per la scuola secondaria di primo grado.
Ìn.demo 4ND	31/01/08	Istituto Comprensivo "L. Orsi" – Novellara (Re)	Insegnante curriculare di scuola media con stranieri neo arrivati in classe.
Ìn.demo 5ND	31/01/08	Istituto Comprensivo "L. Orsi" – Novellara (Re)	Insegnante curriculare di scuola media con stranieri neo arrivati in classe.
Ìn.demo 6ND	13/02/08	Istituto Comprensivo "L. Orsi" – Novellara (Re)	Insegnante curriculare di scuola primaria con stranieri neo arrivati in classe e responsabile del progetto intercultura.
Ìn.demo 7NRP	11/04/08	Sede del Comune di Novellara (Re)	Dipendente comunale responsabile della relazione con l'istituto comprensivo.
Ìn.demo 8NSS	12/04/08	Istituto Comprensivo "L. Orsi" – Novellara (Re)	Studenti cinesi della scuola secondaria di primo grado.
Ìn.demo 9NM	12/04/08	Istituto Comprensivo "L. Orsi" – Novellara (Re)	Mediatore culturale di lingua Urdu – Punjabi.
Ìn.demo 10NRP	19/04/08	Sede del Comune di Novellara (Re)	Assessore presso il Comune di Novellara Assessore con delega a: Cultura della partecipazione, Programmazione e Controllo dei Servizi al cittadino.
Ìn.demo 11BDUSP	30/04/08	Ufficio Scolastico Provinciale di Brescia	Dirigente dell' Ufficio Scolastico Provinciale di Brescia
Ìn.demo 12e13BDE	30/04/08	II Istituto comprensivo - Brescia	Educatore e docente addetti al percorso di alfabetizzazione.
Ìn.demo 14e15BPreside	30/04/08	II Istituto comprensivo – Brescia	Dirigente scolastico.
Ìn.demo 16BTavola	30/04/08	Istituto Professionale di Stato "A. Mantegna" – Brescia	Preside dell'Istituto Professionale "Mantegna", referente dell'USP di Brescia per l'intercultura.
Ìn.demo 17BRCTI	06/05/08	Istituto Comprensivo "D. Alighieri" di Calcinato (BS) – Sede del CTI1	Responsabile CTI 1 di Calcinato (BS).
Rovereto De Gasperi 1DT	07/05/08	Scuola Media "A. De Gasperi di Rovereto (TN)	Insegnante di lingua presso la Scuola secondaria di primo grado.

Rovereto De Gasperi 2DM	07/05/08	Scuola Media "A. De Gasperi di Rovereto (TN)	Insegnante di scienze e coordinatore del consiglio di classe.
Ìn.demo 18RD	21/05/08	Nei pressi della Scuola Media "A. Manzoni" di Reggio Emilia	Insegnante curriculare con una studentessa neo arrivata nella sua classe.
Ìn.demo 19BRP	21/05/08	Sede del Comune di Calcinato (BS)	Assessore con delega alla scuola del Comune di Calcinato (BS).
Ìn.demo 20aB	21/05/08	Istituto Comprensivo "D. Alighieri" di Calcinato (BS) – Sede del CTI1	Insegnante distaccata sull'alfabetizzazione degli stranieri in una scuola primaria del Comprensivo di Calcinato (BS).
Ìn.demo 20BDD	21/05/08	Istituto Comprensivo "D. Alighieri" di Calcinato (BS) – Sede del CTI1	Insegnanti dell'Istituto Comprensivo di Calcinato (BS), di scuola primaria e secondaria di primo grado, funzione obiettivo per l'accoglienza degli stranieri.
Ìn.demo 21BD	21/05/08	Istituto Comprensivo "D. Alighieri" di Calcinato (BS) – Sede del CTI1	Insegnante della scuola primaria, alfabetizzatrice.
Ìn.demo 21CDa e b	30/05/08	Scuola Media "Pierobon" di Cittadella (Pd)	Insegnante curricolare, funzione obiettivo per l'intercultura e Dirigente scolastico.
Rovereto De Gasperi 3DS	18/06/08	Scuola Media "D. Chiesa" di Rovereto (TN)	Dirigente scolastico.
Rovereto De Gasperi 4VM	18/06/08	Scuola Media "A. De Gasperi di Rovereto (TN)	Vice preside della Scuola Secondaria di primo grado.
Rovereto De Gasperi 5VE	18/06/08	Scuola Elementare dell'Istituto Comprensivo "De Gasperi" di Rovereto (TN)	Vicaria responsabile della scuola primaria.
Ìn.demo 22MDa e b	16/07/08	Domicilio	Insegnante curriculare di una scuola secondaria di primo grado di Milano.

The interviews were semi-structured as the focus of research was limited to the phenomenon of acceptance and welcoming of students without Italian citizenship. Nevertheless, this has not meant the exclusion of questions that have then actually widened the topics of

discussion to other phenomena related to teacher or administrator professionalism.

I followed two schema of interviews. I used the first one for the initial interviews. While the categories were formed, I followed a pattern of specific questions to saturate the emerging categories.

First outline of questions
1. Questions on welcoming students without Italian citizenship in school; 2. Questions about professionalisms involved and relationship between them; 3. Questions about the history of the school; 4. Questions on relationship between schools and local authorities; 5. Questions about funds and objectives of projects; 6. Questions on perceived problems concerning migration; 7. Questions about school routine.

Second pattern of questions
1. Questions on the criteria for inclusion in the scholastic routine; 2. Questions about perceptions of teachers about the phenomenon; 3. Questions about the role of politics in school projects; 4. Questions on the perception of welcoming newly arrived foreign students; 5. Questions about political and intra-school obstacles to implement adequate education; 6. Questions about the school's internal resources and external resources (networks of solidarity).

Documents and Extant Texts

Another important source, as a methodological choice, for constructivist GT research (Charmaz, 2006) and for the development of the theory on the guarantee of the education right, is the set of all documents and texts that schools produce. These are "extant texts": "researcher varied documents that had no hand in

shaping" (Charmaz, 2006, p.35). These are not real data, but an additional source of information for revealing discrepancies between what it is said the school does and what it is really done. In fact, I have treated the interviews as a source of rich data for the emergence of the interpretations and ways of thinking and referring to the practice of hospitality. These documents are a secondary source, but for this not less important. They were useful to reflect on how schools communicate officially, what it does. Like every public organizations, the Italian school is heavily bureaucratic structured: school texts, regulations, protocols, circulars, decisions that leave trace. These tracks are very important for understanding the background of school life. As the general design of the research suggests, these documents cannot be considered objective or referring to objective facts. The comparison between the declared and the practiced has shown the existing discrepancy and helped me to understand what "really" happens when students without Italian citizenship access schools even during the scholastic year.

Together with the documentary production of schools that I visited, I also used documents from the general organization of the educational Italian system. Precisely as the Italian school is the last appendix of the bureau administered by the Ministry of Education, all documents produced are part of a number of laws, decrees, and guidelines that are national influencing. I thought, therefore, I should take into consideration the documents that relate to the more extended reference for the production of bureaucratic schools in Italy, and in particular:

- the Italian Constitution;

- Law School;
- ministerial circulars.

  Moreover, I also examined other documents as:
- Declaration of the Rights of Children (1989);
- Declaration of Human Rights (1948).

  I have chosen to include these documents because participants in some interviews cited them. According to Charmaz (2006), it is important that the researcher involved in cultural environment considers how and from what the participants ideas and practices come from.

  Here I inserted the key documents that I have utilised to add meaning to data. I divided the documents into three categories:

- In the first category I have listed documents that schools that have been part of this research gave me;
- In the second category I have listed the sources of Italian legislation and international conventions on the education right and intercultural schooling dimension;
- In the third category, there are several texts on educational guidelines and policies of the European community, Italian State and the Italian Ministry of Education on foreigners, the social and human rights.

From schools:

- POF (Formative School Plan) dell'Istituto Comprensivo di Novellara, a.s. 2007/2008;
- Istituto Comprensivo di Calcinato: "Come funziona la scuola a Calcinato", edizione multilingue;

- POF dell'Istituto Comprensivo di Calcinato con il progetto accoglienza, note sull'educazione integrazione alunni stranieri (Cd-rom);
- Capoferri, P. (a cura di). I territori dell'intercultura. La scuola bresciana: un modello possibile. Vannini editrice, Brescia, 2008.
- Protocollo di accoglienza dell'Istituto comprensivo di Cittadella (PD).

Sources Italian laws and international conventions:
- Constitution of the Republic of Italy: in particular Articles. 10, 30, 31 and 34;
- Directive or C.E. 77/486 of 25/07/1977;
- D.P.R. 10 September 1982, n. 722 – "Implementation of Directive EAEC No 77/486 on the training of immigrant workers ";
- C.M. 16 luglio1986, No 207 – "Schooling pupil gypsies and nomads in kindergarten, elementary and secondary level I".
- C.M. 8 September 1989, n. 301 – "Creation of foreigners in school: the promotion and coordination of initiatives for exercising the education right";
- C.M. 26 July 1990, n. 205 – "The school pupils and foreigners. Intercultural Education ";
- C.M. 31 December 1991, n. 400 – "Enrollment of pupils to schools, primary and secondary grade I and II", in particular paragraphs 6 and 7 (the CM has been updated with CM No 363/94);
- C.M. 12 January 1994, n. 5 – "Enrollment in schools and in institutions at all levels of foreigners without residence";

- C.M. 2 March 1994, n. 73 - "Intercultural dialogue
  and democratic coexistence";
- D.L.vo of 16 April 1994, n. 297 - "Act of
  education", in particular articles. 4 (European
  Community), 115 (children of citizens) and 116
  (children of non-EU nationals), 117 (health
  certificates), 131 (recovery activities in
  elementary school);
- C.M. n.257/94, application of 'art. 3 of D.I. 15
  April 1994, n. 132, in particular projects lett. F)
  and G) for activities against the drop and the
  inconvenience, business psychology;
- C.M. of 16 February 1995, n. 56 - "European Youth
  Campaign against racism, xenophobia, anti-Semitism
  and intolerance";
- C.M. of 6 April 1995, prot. No 3711 - "Enrollment
  of pupils to schools of all levels";
- D.M. 15 June 1995, n. 209 - "The programs'
  administrative action for 1995";
- L. 6 March 1998, n. 40 - "Discipline of
  'immigration and the status of aliens" (in
  particular articles. 35, 36 and 37);
- D.L.vo July 25 1998, n. 286 - "text of provisions
  governing immigration and the status of aliens" (in
  particular, Arts. 38 and 39);
- C.M. 19 October 1998, n. 423 - "The School and the
  rights of children 's and' adolescence";
- C.M. 22 December 1998, n. 489 - "Forms for
  enrollment students";
  Contract Labor or National Integrative, 31 August
  1999, in particular, art. 37: "Features
  instrumental to the training";

- Directive of 3 September 1999, n. 210 - "Lines of address for updating, in-service training and professional development of teachers, in particular, art. 5;

- D.P.R. 31 August 1999, n. 394 - "Regulations on Implementing Rules of the text of the provisions concerning the discipline of 'immigration and the status of foreign nationals under Article 1, paragraph 6, of DL 25 July 1998, n. 286 "(suppl. ord. OJ No. 258, November 3 1999);

- D.P.R. 9 December 1999, n. 535 - "Regulations on the tasks of the Committee for minors";

- C.M. March 23, 2000, n. 87 - "Entry of foreign children in classes of schools at all levels";

- C.M. 28 April 2000, n. 132 - "Information on rules and procedures relating to the request for recognition of qualifications obtained abroad by Italian citizens";

- C.M. 26 October 2001, n. 155 - "Schools in areas with high immigration process";

- L. 30 July 2002, n. 189 - "Changing the rules on immigration and asylum" (Law "Bossi-Fini");

- D.L.vo of 15 April 2005, n. 76 - "Definition of general rules on the right and duty to education and training, under Article 2, paragraph 1 letter c) of Law on March 28 2003, n. 53 "(G. U., No. 103, May 5 2005);

- C.M. 24 March 2005, n. 41 Art.9 of C.C.N.L. Sub School 2002/2005 - "Measures to encourage projects related to areas at risk, high-immigration process and against marginalization school - AS 2004/05 ".

Publications of the European and Italian institutions on education, citizenship, human rights:

- Education for Democratic Citizenship, 2001-2004 - All-European Study on Policies for Education for Democratic Citizenship (EDC) - Regional Study Southern Europe Region da http://www.coe.int/t/dg4/education/edc/default_EN.asp;
- Regional European Meeting on the World Programme for Human Rights Education (WPHRE) da http://www.coe.int/t/dg4/education/edc/Source/Pdf/Interinstitutional_Cooperation/WPHREFinalReport1_Tibbitts_en.pdf;
- Not Nationality Students with Italian by www.istruzione.it;
- Directions to the curriculum for kindergarten and the first cycle of education, Roma, September 2007;
- Lines of address on citizenship and democratic legality, in October 2006;
- The Italian way for inter-school and the integration of foreign pupils, National Observatory for the integration of foreign pupils and Intercultural Education, October 2007 by www.istruzione.it;
- Indices of Integration of Immigrants in Italy, V Report by *www.cnel.it*.

Data Analysis

As mentioned above, data analysis was carried out simultaneously to their collection. Here I shall explain how I have analyzed data, outlining the ways of coding that I followed. In this section, I shall mention how I have used the memo and coding strategies.

Memos

The activity of memoing is central to the construction of a GT because the memo is an instrument used to follow the path from data to theory. It is an intermediate stance between collecting data and writing the first research results, according to Charmaz (2006). According to Glaser (1978) the memo serves to reach 5 main objectives:

1) raising the research to the level of conceptualization and abstraction;
2) developing the properties of categories;
3) making hypothesis of relationships between categories or their properties;
4) beginning to integrate the connections with other categories to generate theory;
5) starting positioning the emerging theory with other theories that may be more or less relevant for the purpose of research.

The memos are not data, rather are part of the broader process of theorising. That is why Glaser (1978) suggests keeping separate data and memos (Glaser, 1978). Indeed, it is a process of distillation. Therefore, the memoing is the distillation of data in thoughts, theoretically dense concepts, susceptible to explanation

of the context from which they are drawn (see Lempert, 2007). One of the key words for memoing is "freedom" (Glaser, 1978) that does not mean fantasizing on the data but feeling free to grasp suggestions from the data. The memo is a kind of "hidden" data of the GT research because follows the thoughts and reflections of the researcher in various stages of the process.

The memo may be either structured or free, analytical or narrative. I preferred to use the freest memo because it allows me to open research data to further connections and ideas. A structured and analytical memo would not make me focus on suggestions and possible interrelationships between the data, the categories I was building because its concentration more on form than on contents. According to Charmaz (2006) a prerequisite of writing memos is to "tolerate ambiguity" because creativity is not always something clear and well defined in the minds of the researcher.

I wrote several memos related to interviews: notes collected in memo after each interview and during analysis through the software NVivo 7, which became the annotations at the bottom of each interview. At a later stage, around May / June 2008 I began to write memos related to labels and categories, again using the "annotations" tool of NVivo. I filled three large memos after troubleshooting meetings I had with the thesis supervisor and the group of researchers who work with me. I have drawn up the first memo from the recording of an assessing meeting with my supervisor, which took place on 26/05/08. Taping meetings is a suggestion of Glaser (1978) to avoid having interruptions in the flow of writing.

Two other important memos were written during the report of research results with the group of colleagues

of my university's department (meetings occurred on 27/05/08 and 03/07/08). These moments were important because I have chosen to select the relevant categories, "cut the dry branches" of the theory, namely those parts who, arbitrarily, I decided not to be central in the handling of results.

Coding

The first step to construct a theory based on the data collected is the process of coding. The qualitative coding is the process of definition, grouping and accounting data (Charmaz, 2006). The coding is all the procedures and techniques to conceptualize the data (Tarozzi, 2008a, p. 84).

There are some methodological claims to make a theory truly "grounded". A coding is a structured process, I could identify procedures more or less rigid, which depend on the school of grounded theorists: while Strauss & Corbin (1998) outline steps required coding to increase the level of detail of encoding, Glaser (1978) maintains a more theoretical oriented stance. I applied the guidelines Charmaz (2006) indicates: three main phases of constructing codes. The first one is the initial phase which involves the processes of naming or, as I prefer to call them, of indexing. The second phase is focused coding during which I should have selected the labels and more dense concepts and leave those the open coding underlines but the focused coding has shown as secondary because new ideas have emerged during the encoding or because have lost the character of *sensitizing concept*. The third step which is the theoretical coding (Glaser, 1978; Charmaz, 2006), is the

conceptually highest moment of the coding process whose objectives are to develop categories through a hierarchy as well as deepening operations. Among these categoris, the central category (core category) emerges. The core category is the central node of the theory, which explains the analyzed process and serves to complement and define the general theory.

In practice, the method of coding that I used starts with the indexing, Glaser (1978) would use the term "fracturing". I intend for indexing the initial coding suggested by Charmaz (2006) and Tarozzi (2008a), which processes data so analytically to highlight the meanings and actions (Charmaz, 2006) that occur in interviews and in the data, I have. So I coded line by line, accident by accident, omitting word by word coding as the data that initially I analyzed were the first semi-structured interviews very discursive and broad themes. Certainly, I did focus on keywords that constitute the general meaning of each piece of text so as to give them labels, albeit provisional. This way of codifying allowed me to start emphasizing contextual analysis of actions and events (Charmaz, 2006). At this stage I used extensively the software NVivo 7, which allowed me to make *In Vivo* codes emerging. *In Vivo* means labelling strings of text for keeping the words of participants, who had a great evocative power and explanation of the phenomenon, of which you were talking about. In this phase of coding, I was open to the data, sometimes experiencing a sense of disorientation. Hundreds of codes for each interview analyzed can create confusion. After analyzing the first 10 interviews, which were linked to the first sampled context, I began focused coding, first of all by grouping codes that appeared most frequently, then naming these groups trying to use the label of the more

significant code. I was also helped by drawings,
sketches made by hand or by using Power Point
presentation and NVivo 7, to design and have under a
single glance the characteristics of each group and the
whole of codes of each category. After some categories
were outlined, I have focused my self to the theoretical
coding. Initially I have tried to sketch the core
category and then I was back to the data, because as
Glaser (1978) stated, coding is often a step forward and
two backwards. The data were re-read with the help of a
colleague of mine. We have exchanged our own interviews
and, after having read and commented them, we have
shared thoughts and impressions. This moment was very
useful to reach the core category, still vague and not
fully defined. An external point of view is important
for increasing the qualitative research credibility. The
external audit is essential to weave eyes on data and
realize if the conclusions that the researcher achieves
are arbitrary or even recognizable from outsiders.

CHAPTER 4 – RESULTS

Introduction

In the previous chapter, I have explained how I used the GT as a method that provides guidelines to achieve results in a rigorous manner. In Chapter 2 I have placed the theoretical concepts I have used as starting point from which to look at the results.

Writing the results of a research is a process of narration. A researcher in the result chapter is supposed to write the story of her/his intellectual and conceptually dense journey (Silverman, 2000). However, as this is a qualitative research, writing is reporting the words of participants, their states of mind, and if the investigator has been professional, is also underlining their point of view. The empathy as an instrument of gaining knowledge, empathy in sharing the results of a research is the measure of consistency between the data, analysis, and results.

So we can understand how the research is really in communicating it, because there is research if it is shared. Words are important and are not used here to give a hard connotation of the studied phenomenon but to evoke the meaning that the phenomenon has in the life of

the school and for those involved in school. Already giving the title to a research is an important point, certainly not secondary. One of the first titles was composed during conceptualization: the education right in school. This indicated the centrality of the education right with an emphasis on the case of acceptance of foreigners in Italian school as a phenomenon that could be a litmus test of whether or not school guarantees the education right. This title was mainly the theme guiding the process of my research. At the end of the research, the most appropriate title seems to be that of the core category that indicates processes that occur at school every time the school tries to guarantee the education right for students without Italian citizenship: structuring conditions.

I shall introduce the results, explaining the actual situation of the Italian school from the its regulations, norms to underline what the school already possesses. I think it is important to emphasize what already exists in schools as resources by default to face the dynamics of the process of guaranteeing the education right more effectively. Later I shall explain the results of the data analysis. Beginning to introduce the process, I will outline its categories, subcategories and properties that have emerged from the data. The research reveals how to deal with welcoming immigrant students. The first participants' perception is the process of welcoming as an educational emergency a term that describes an emergence of new demands and problems, first, and that raises disorientation and fatigue, because, like any other kind of emergency, the phenomenon of integration of not Italian pupils is not expected neither wanted. I have chosen to introduce the GT using participants' words that describe the process

to highlight the positive aspects of change that the school is experiencing. Nevertheless, I shall not hide a certain concern and criticism in presenting the process. I believe that this research can be a beginning for implementing the dynamics of adjustment of the new and unexpected that migration will bring.

The school's default

What does being a teacher today in the Italian school mean? Which kind of means does the school have by default? The teacher is an important figure who should know how to manage relationships with the learners and perform a cultural change. Treating the education right of students without Italian citizenship does not mean putting into the background the right to education tout court, on the contrary, it would outline the its specificity. In fact, as the capabilities' approach suggests, guaranteeing the education right to immigrant students is different from guaranteeing it to other social group, as the capabilities to be educated are different.

The education right declined on foreigners, is close to that in Chapter 2 was called to the minimum social rights. That will be the starting point for the study of SJE to school.
The teacher works with a range of issues affecting the management of the classroom, the college faculty, and the outside. This means managing the chaos of needs of which every pupil is a vehicle, which increasingly draws a deficiency of education, cultural gaps, and special needs students. The school is often the privileged place of interception of the needs because the problems are discovered at school. The instruments that the training

of teachers and the school provides are often inadequate
to address needs and issues that do not compete to them
but concern the individual sensitivity and receptivity
of teachers. Compensating for social shortcomings and
family responsibility is not recognized either
economically or professionally but it is one of urgency
that the teacher is called to deal with. The arrival of
children who do not speak Italian is not the only issue
of the classroom management. It goes with issues of
pupils who live a hardship, persons with disabilities,
accomplishing the curriculum, corrections of
verification, and the relationship with the principals,
colleagues and parents. The teacher is the central node
of the last appendix of a system that is called to
instruct and educate the new generations of a country.
The question of the education right for students without
Italian citizenship is, then, the litmus process of
guarantee of the right. The inclusion of foreigns helps
to understand what happens in school when you must give
education to all, as the laws would prescribe.

Then, a long list of expectations of parents, of
ministerial officers who require ever more commitment
without adequate remuneration and drastic cuts weighs on
the school. Other expectations are those that come from
policies of integration: we read in the fifth report of
CNEL "*Indexes of integration of immigrants in Italy*",
for example, that

> schools must be open to intercultural education
> and respect integrating education of all
> students, new citizens of globalization, and of
> course solve the specific linguistic and cultural
> mediation needs, especially with the family, for
> the successful integration of young immigrants.

They are also widely advocated lines to follow for preparing Protocols of Acceptance, training pacts with the territory for education and training in contexts inside and outside the school.

Although the phenomenon of acceptance of students without Italian citizenship began a few years ago to be particularly significant and burdensome in terms of numbers, the Italian school is formally ready. The rules and guidelines of the Ministry of Education have long prepared tools and useful directions. What has the school? On December 6th 2006, the former Minister established a national observatory for the intercultural and inclusive education of foreign pupils in order to implement the full right to educate people with foreign nationality, experimenting and learning new ways to monitor the integration process. The problem, then, of the arrivals at school lies not only in schools but is considered in the higher spheres of Italian educational system management, as well. There were also published guidelines for the acceptance and integration of foreign pupils, important tool for schools. This document helps schools to manage with the ministerial documents on the issue of the education right, including laws about the immigration to Italy. The second part of this text is particularly relevant because it provides operational indications about what schools should do to make effective the education right:

- A balanced distribution of the presence of foreigners in the classrooms;
- How to accommodate the students without Italian citizenship;
- Routes for achieving the degree;

- The teaching of Italian as second language (ISL)
  and language learning;
- The orientation to other schools;
- The help and using of the linguistic and cultural
  mediators;
- School staff training;
- Evaluation of foreign pupils competencies;
- The teaching materials, intercultural libraries,
  and textbooks.

This is a practical guide for what schools are actually doing. Nevertheless, the issue at this point is that guidelines are not enough. The understanding how the processes of implementation of these lines works is necessary. More complete publication is *The Italian way for intercultural school and the integration of foreign students*, pedagogically advanced document whose the inapplicability or the reasons for delay in its implementation this research partly explains. Indeed, despite the problem of foreigners in the school is perceived in all areas of the Italian education system, the Ministry top administrative travels in a march faster than what happens in schools and in institutions.

The studied contexts showed how, in terms of statements of principles, schools and ministry are on the same line. However, if you look at how they are implemented, there is a variety of accommodative, removal dynamics. The Italian school is a highly bureaucratic, inflexible, and slow in applying the directives. This leads to a delay in education compared to the stresses from the ministry.

From the law to practice

The ministerial circular of the 80s and 90s were the first to suggest proposals for educational factual schooling of foreign pupils. The circular entitled *Schooling gypsies pupils and nomads in kindergarten, elementary and secondary education* No. 207 of 1986 poses as a fundamental objective of the right to study, the education of immigrant children in school with the call for equal educational opportunities . The text recalls the bilateralism of education obligation, that is not only the duty of children to attend school, but also the duties of school to serve them of the best service possible, respecting cultural diversity. For this purpose, the circular suggested to improve the education offer through *Protocol of acceptance* between provincial school offices and structures of territory, as the best strategy for the development projects and enabling effective intervention.

After 1989, the focus of the first documents of the Ministry of Education was on regulatory aspects of the school. Therefore, there was attention to the child as a person and the value of education. In the same year the New York Convention and the general way of looking at the children changes, making them the subject and no longer object of the legislation. By Ministerial Circular No. 301 of 1989, entitled *Inclusion of foreigners in school: the promotion and coordination of initiatives for the exercise of the right*, there is a change of the way we spoke about education of foreign children. This was the first circular of the Ministry dealing specifically with foreign children. It was a circular issued by the *National Commission on Inclusion of foreigners in school*, established by the Ministry of Education the same year. The process is translated into a series of circulars, however, without leading to an

organic law: here stresses the opportunity that every school should be in contact with communities and groups of immigrants in order to facilitate an interactive environment. The conditions of departure compared to the language and culture of each pupil and the availability of suitable teachers are the parameters that schools must necessarily take into account, designating immigrant pupils to certain classes. It notes also the possibility / need to enrol students with poor knowledge of Italian language to lower age's class, although it could be unfavourable if provided only for lack of mastery in the language. Appropriate strategies (workshops, training groups, etc.) and available resources to fill the gap with specific language consolidating would be employed. This decree also provides for the promotion of the language and culture of origin with those of compulsory matters included in the curriculum.

For what concerns teachers, the circular talks about the legislation until then, that is to say the Law No. 270 of 1982 and Law No. 517 of 1977[7] that provide the availability of teachers to work "with students who have specific learning difficulties". Nevertheless, there is no mention of qualified teachers, with appropriate requirements in there. About what regards teaching, much space is given to the implementation in the class of "relational climate", which should give communication stimuli to newcomers through the participation of adults who are able to do by interpreters.

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[7] Important for legislation school is abolishing the differential class provided by Articles 11 and 12 of Law No. 1859 of 31 December 1962, configured as choosing of the state the investment on teachers of the responsibility of all students, also if arrived during the year. For some participants in the research, differential classes, in fact, would be a way to raise the final educational responsibility from teacher in terms of living and learning in the classroom.

The choice of intercultural education is with the C.M. No. 205 of 1990, entitled *The obligatory school and foreigners students. The intercultural education*. Up to the C.M. No. 73 of 1994 considered the cornerstone of intercultural education in Italian school.

Already in 1994, Italy had experienced several migratory waves of a certain consistency and even the school has been facing the issue for some years. Although the terminology used in the latest circulars and guidelines was refined and speaks with ease of interaction, the theme of acceptance and uprooting of the original living context, the Italian school experiences, according to the research results, a strong emergency position.

Law No. 40 of 1998 about immigration reaches an avant-garde position, that was not changed by the Law so-called Bossi-Fini No. 189 of July 30th of 2002. This Law amends the previous legislation on immigration and asylum right, but not the procedures for registration of foreign pupils in schools, which continues to be governed by the D.P.R. No. 394 of 1999. Law No. 40 has given particular attention to intercultural education, saying that the school community accepts the language and cultural differences as value for founding mutual respect, the exchange between cultures and tolerance; in order to do so, it promotes and fosters efforts to welcome, to protect culture and language of origin and to implement intercultural activities.

The practices to accept students without Italian citizenship of new migration are so introduced. The most important of these practices is the *Protocol of Acceptance* (Favaro & Bettinelli, 2000). This is a document that should be approved by the college faculty and contains elements, principles, guidelines for

inclusion and integration of immigrant pupils, defining the tasks and roles of school. The protocol of acceptance will:

- Build "best practices" for the host school;
- Facilitate the entry of students without Italian citizenship in school;
- Support newly arrived students in the phase of adaptation to the new environment;
- Foster a climate of acceptance and attention to relationship among peers that would prevent and remove any obstacles to full integration;
- Create a conducive environment for meeting other cultures and the "stories" of each child;
- Promote communication and collaboration between schools and local offices on the themes of acceptance and intercultural education with an integrated training system.

The moments that the protocol identifies from the first host to the full enjoyment of school life are:

- Enrolment in school;
- Meeting for the first knowledge;
- Outlining the criteria for inclusion in a class preparing to host processes, intercultural education and teaching Italian as second language;
- Activating practice with the territory the school is.

The protocol provides that each host school would have an established committee composed with some teachers (3 or 4) of the host school that will meet when a new child arrives to design its inclusion, to analyze its situation. The committee also meets to monitor existing projects, partly because the protocol is an open-ended

working, so susceptible to changes in light of the
results and experiences.

What is not taken into account in the D.P.R.,
however, is the school life and issues that make
intentions and the guidelines vain. The contribution of
this research is, therefore, to understand what happens
and through what process the school guarantees the
right, actually. Writing what the school should do to
secure the education right is not enough: the reality of
the acceptance process can be very different from the
statements of principle. Moreover, the meanings that
teachers give to the Protocol, as well as to all
practices that are in place may be different from the
intention of the legislator, on the one hand, and
compared with an education consistent with the *Social
Justice*. What I have inquired lies at the crossroads of
education right, the guaranteeing the right, and
activated modalities to ensure the right of pupils
without Italian citizenship in terms of same learning
opportunities and maturation of Italian students. This
phenomenon may become a litmus test of the sense of the
education right and sense of the level of democracy in
Italian schools.

Structuring conditions: theory of the process in guaranteeing the education right

I started the interviews for this research after
having built a proper application of research that
helped me to understand what questions would then
actually ask to the participants. I started to make
contact with the participants and schools chosen towards
the end of 2007. The first months of 2008 were full of
reflections about the research question and on the path

paved so far. The question that I had built in mind and with which I started interviewing at the end of January 2008 was: what happens in the school when a foreign student arrives, even during the year? I made the participants explain, then, the protocols of acceptance, what happened, who were the school protagonists of the first reception. The school pointed out that the possibility of moments of welcoming was due to the municipality's commitment, its sensitivity, namely the fact that it perceives this as a problem of the territory. The education right and the guarantee is not affordable by the school only. Using this first explanatory category, I studied other school, thinking that the school became active requesting funds because of large numbers of foreign students at school.

In the meanwhile, I have collected data relating to categories, which include internal management immigrant students: what happens in classrooms? How do schoolteachers react? What were the problems they face? What changes in their routine when a student who does not speak a word of Italian arrives in the classroom? I was in clarifying and outlining some of the main categories, but the lived reasons of school's activating were still not clear to me. Therefore, I continued to analyze the interviews, looking for teachers, school leaders, and cultural mediators to try to saturate the categories that were related to intra-school processes. The second direction, that of understanding of the role of the local politics in a dynamic not only within but also outside the school slowly emerged from the data.

Through theoretical sampling, I sought a school where, despite low numbers, paths according to the guidelines of the ministry were implemented. I thus found that schools with 23% of pupils without Italian

citizenship, as well as schools with 11% activate welcoming activities and Italian as second language classes.

A double trail to explain the processes of the guarantee of education right in a problematic situation was creating: what happens when a foreign student arrives? In addition, how does the school guarantee the education right? This dual-track moves around the reasons for which the school is also working to enable the newly-arrived to stay well in school. It is a given that the school activates such activities. From context to context, the mode of activation and acceptance changes, but one factor does not change: the reason for this activation. To comprehend its meaning, I came to the constant comparison of contexts and words of the participants. The arrival of pupils during the year results in a destabilization and a change of the structure and planned order. The school is considered a high level of entropy environment and to lower this level of chaos are put in place two general strategies. The first is to rely on receptivity (the participants have appointed "sensitivity") of some teachers who feel the need for further care of immigrant students to build for them a soft place where to settle. The second strategy concerns, however, the organization of the school as institution that is affected by educational priorities. In other words, within the grounds of activation of the college teachers, the sensitivity or receptivity to some teachers who are aware of the problem that the school is going and try to solve the problem. While, the reasons that relate to a re-organization of the school is back to basic choices of individual schools that, especially on thrust of principals, outline educational priorities to use

internal and external resources to fund educational projects for welcoming, special training the newly arrived students.

This dual track was built by collecting the concepts so far emerged in two broader categories. The two fundamental categories could explain not only what happens when a foreign student accesses school but also why this happens, for what reasons, in light of what decision-making and for what purposes.

Moreover, the conceptual labels were collected in different conceptual areas. For the construction of sub-category "Sensitivity/Responsiveness" were identified three areas: the area that refers about what is being done to insert foreign pupils in class and in the path of literacy and also outlines the meanings and experiences of the welcoming process. It also regards the problem of evaluation of immigrant students as a moment that puts into crisis the consolidated modality of assessment that teachers have towards the Italian students and the working climate that regards the difficulties and solutions to overcome in building a more favourable, more receptive climate to accept the immigrant students in school's everyday life. For the construction of sub-category "educational priorities", I have highlighted four main areas: the first is the structured vision by teachers, principals, and politicians about the phenomenon of migration and the arrival of foreign students in course of the year. This area is important because the interpretation of the phenomenon influences the choice of educational priorities. The second area is the issues about the activating process together with resources availability, which affects the modes of activation of the studied schools. The fourth conceptual area is the policy, which

has proven to be fundamental protagonist in the management of the processes of integration especially when the school is unable to meet the needs related to foreign students, both in terms of training needs and in terms of social assistance.

The scheme I have included below is the *coding system* or the interface between the emerging theory and analysis of the interviews. I utilized this *coding system* to put in order the conceptual labels I named the concepts, to eliminate those concepts that would led me away from the research question interests and to make in a visible way the general system of meanings emerged from the interviews I have analyzed. Later this coding system was sharpened in conceptually abstract specifications I shall expose later.

Table 5

Coding system of the sub-category of Responsiveness

Inclusion
Accoglienza per conoscere il bambino e i suoi problemi
Accoglienza per creare un ambiente soft
Alfabetizzatrice per volontà
Attivarsi come dovere del docente
Attivarsi come fare un triplo lavoro
Attivarsi come non delegare la responsabilità formativa
C'è anche una scuola che se ne frega – "un problema in meno"
Ci devi mettere del tuo
Dipende molto anche da chi hai a gestire tutta la problematica
Disponibilità per i problemi
Fallo tu…
I loro sono stati anche i miei guai
Ignoranza da parte di chi gestisce il problema
Il docente che si mette nei panni
Insegnante barriera
Insegnanti che fanno delle ore in più
Insegnanti referenti molto in gamba

Inserimento per età
Inserimento per fisico
Integrazione come rispetto
Integrazione più difficile alle medie
Integrazione più semplice alle elementari
L'aspettativa degli alunni non è letta
La disponibilità
Lo straniero porta malattie
Lo studente straniero non andrà al liceo
Lo studente straniero non sarà mai un medico - a
ognuno il proprio
Non si trovano generalmente bene in classe
Obiettivo generale: integrarli nella classe
Prima l'italiano poi le materie
Primo disagio è la lingua
Prof. non gradiscono
Rimangono degli sconosciuti se non valorizzati
Ruolo della scuola – accoglienza, agio e appartenenza
Sbolognare
Scaricare sui laboratori di L2
Scelta della classe: si valutano i problemi interni
Sentirsi vicini a loro per esperienza
Sta in classe magari in un angolo e non fa nulla
Te lo danno sulla porta
Tutela del diritto

Assessment

Accoglienza per i trasferiti - valutare che cosa
hanno fatto
Alle elementari si parla ora di come si valutano le
capacità
Alle medie sono stretti i professori chiedono…
Ansia per le verifiche alle medie
Aspettare i loro tempi
Bene! Perché in classe non gli faccio fare niente
Buono di incoraggiamento
Coinvolgere - materiale individualizzato
Contenuti diminuiti + educazione
Costruire il giudizio sul comportamento
Dal dormire sul banco al rompere le scatole
Dare il pacchettino pronto
Devi cambiare la didattica
Di un italiano. Dobbiamo cercare di uniformarlo per
metterlo alla pari con il programma…
Didattica che non aspetta i tempi
Didattica vecchio stampo come rigidità
Discipline inutili per i primi tempi
Docenti che hanno materiale pronto e altri no -
percorso interno alla scuola
Eh, sì. Secondo me ti dico alle medie si vede di più
perché vengono valutati come incompetenti
Elementari tempi lenti + semplice

Fare paragoni con la classe
I docenti hanno importanza - più coinvolti quelli che italiano
I ragazzini stanno fermi e non riesci a valutarli
Il discorso dell'alfabetizzazione passa
Il laboratorio linguistico luogo in cui lo straniero si riconosce come partecipe
Il ruolo dell'insegnante inflessibile
Il vero problema sono le materie
Il voto dell'educatrice ratificato dall'insegnante
In classe si privilegiano alcune materie
Insegnanti leggono il disagio come voglia di non fare niente
Insegnanti mettono in discussione l'attività che viene fatta fuori
Insegnanti non gradiscono giochi di presentazione
Intraprendenza individuale
L'impatto con l'italiano specifico - i testi scolastici bloccano lo studio
L'insegnante non riesce a fare niente
L'insegnante si attiva - valutazione come propulsione
La bocciatura non perché manca la conoscenza
La condizione di vita degli studenti non influenza la didattica
La fatica di fare le fotocopie
La valutazione come diritto
La valutazione storna l'omologazione
Lavoro individualizzato nessuno
Libri non semplificati
lingua veicolare per la valutazione
Loro tendono a non fare - passività
Nella mia ora non fanno niente
Nelle materie di studio non c'è modo, a meno che il prof. non attivi una modalità
Non chiarezza della legge in termini di valutazione stranieri
Non è che l'obiettivo è appunto che devono imparare alla perfezione l'italiano.
Non essere esigenti - premio
Non gli interessa - solo la lingua e il lavoro a casa
Non lasciarli mai senza far niente
Non personalizzare troppo
Non riuscire a valutarli
Non tutti accettano gli obiettivi diversi
Problema più forte alle medie
Produrre molto materiale
Resistenza a fare didattiche diverse
Rigidità dell'insegnamento alle medie complica
Rivalutare l'incapacità linguistica in processi di crescita più ampi
Sapere anche correggere determinate verifiche che non

esaltanti
Se si vede che può fare qualcosa
Se va fuori non è valutabile
Valorizzare quello che lo straniero conoscere-inglese
Valutare un po' anche globalmente anche per
incoraggiare
Valutazione appaltata
Valutazione e bocciatura solo in percorsi
individualizzati
Valutazione senza comprensione
Valutazioni forti alle medie
Voti - chiudere un occhio

Working environment Climate

Attivarsi - fare le cose insieme ma non c'è tempo
Caos totale nel gioco delle figure
Collegamento tra scuole per la traduzione modulistica
scolastica
Dare gli strumenti per star bene
E quindi ci sarebbe bisogno per lo meno di uno
spazio…
Gestire il caos - tra accettazione e resistenza
Il coordinatore è molto attento in questo andare a
cercare che cosa è stato fatto.
Il team degli insegnanti
Incontri da intervallo
L'insegnante di sostegno risorsa tampone se casi
lievi
L'insegnante educatore come supplenti alle famiglie
La formazione come diminuzione dell'emergenza - cosa
può l'insegnante
La scuola che supplisce sta tirando gli ultimi
La scuola fa assistenza solo se fa bene il suo lavoro
La scuola segnala + la rete dovrebbe gestire le
segnalazioni
Mediatori come lavoro verso l'accettazione
Non ci si può limitare all'oretta di insegnamento
dopo devi approfondire la cosa
Non flessibilità di orari
Pacchetto di ore per uniformarli
Però non c'è una formazione.
Scuola non più fatta di classe qualità pregiudicata
dalla quantità
Soddisfazione nel lavorare con gli stranieri
Sofferenza per mancanza di integrazione - elementari
Tempi per socializzare
Vivere la sconfitta del dialogo

Table 6

Coding system of the sub-category of Educational

Priorities

Structured Vision
Accettare o meno il cambiamento professionale
Cambiare anche la testa di noi italiani
Cerchiamo prima di risolvere il problema
Consapevolezza che il fenomeno non è passeggero
Consapevolezza di processo continuo
Fenomeno affrontato alla garibaldina
Fenomeno del nord
Gli insegnanti non capiscono il bisogno di educare gli atteggiamenti
Gli stranieri sono un problema
Il retro pensiero di tutti è che la scuola sia un grande asilo
In ottica completamente assistenziale
L'arrivo degli stranieri non fa fare scuola
L'insegnante lascia fare
L'insegnante nega - non vede il problema
La scuola ha molti costi - stranieri come peso
Ma era pochissimi, non c'era alcune attività.
Non c'è mai stata una visione strutturata del problema
Non è emergenza se si preventiva
Non ti puoi improvvisare con grandi numeri
Presenza impressionante
Relazione con lo straniero ha il tono dell'eccezione
Risposta più sociale che scolastica
Scuola come stare con gli altri imparare socializzare
Scuola tampona una situazione che nel sociale non è sistemata
Se il comune non guarda l'incremento si uccide
Si inquadrano i ragazzini subito secondo preconcetto
Tamponare e essere organizzati
Unico fine l'integrazione totale ma è utopico
Vogliono integrarsi
Activating/Resoruces

2 settimane di accoglienza
Accoglienza di 2 giorni negli altri paesi
Alfabetizzazione tutto l'anno
All'inserimento selvaggio
Arrivi frequenti - difficoltà di gestione
Burocrazia - moduli tradotti e mediatore
Classi a modulo con numeri di stranieri più alti
Dal tamponare gli arrivi al gestirli
Dirigenti che hanno molte ore riescono a fare una
cattedra per gli stranieri
Fare il protocollo
Fondi del CSA per pagare docenti interni per quelli
che non seguono alfabetizzazione
Garantire la continuità
Garantire la non estemporaneità
Giocare con tutte le figure
I numeri non permetto di seguire il dichiarato
Improvvisazione e precarietà
L'accoglienza è dalla seconda elementare in avanti
La novità - non L2 ma intrecci e classi aperte
La scelta degli orari scolastici è degli italiani
Logisticamente non è semplice
Mancano i fondi per il terzo livello
Risorse comune e CSA
Si fa l'accoglienza, con persona apposta
Un disastro se non si fa alfabetizzazione
Utilizzare come mediatore i ragazzini

Politics

Associazioni di educatori - rete di comuni
Comune solo di fronte a politiche di coesione
Cooperative - rete di comuni
Dare agli enti locali
Disponibilità economiche spostate in base a scelte
politiche
Educatori pagati dal comune
Favorire percorsi sul territorio
Il comune aiuta a risolvere il problema dell'arrivo -
emergenza
Il comune aiuta tanto
Il comune arriva dove i fondi della regione e i tagli
non garantiscono
Il comune è interessato - per agganciare una famiglia
nuova
Il comune prende le distanze dal fenomeno
dell'indifferenza al diverso
Il comune supplisce ad una carenza del diritto
all'istruzione che non gli compete
Impostazione politica - creare momenti sul territorio
L'accoglienza è così perché c'è il comune
L'accoglienza viene fatta dal comune pagata dal

comune
Le insegnanti si sono inventate il progetto e il
comune finanzia
Le manifestazioni del territorio sono lontane dai
problemi scolastici
Le priorità per il comune e per la scuola sono
diverse
Lo stato deve prendere in mano
Normativa impedisce classi di accoglienza
Ogni comune di fatto è lasciato solo di fronte a
questo fenomeno qua
Politica che contrasta
Quindi ci sono molte risorse. Poi c'è un comune che
investe molto.
Rapporto piccoli enti locali - scuola
Rete di comuni
Scuola appalta l'accoglienza al comune - nuovo
cittadino che arriva
Se il provveditorato interviene alleggerisce i comuni
che sono sensibili
Sentono che è un comune che è accogliente
Senza risposte dall'alto si tampona
Si sta costruendo un tavolo allargato scuola-servizi-
forze dell'ordine
Tagli agli organici - supporto dall'esterno
Territorio sensibile che crea momenti di scambio
Una municipalità che deve farsi carico un po' di
capire

The scheme explains the construction of the
conceptual areas of sub-categories, divided by the two
main categories: that of "sensitivity/receptivity" and
that one of "educational priorities".

The construction of the sub-category on intra-school
dynamics (sensitivity/responsiveness) describes the
modalities, the directions that they can take, and the
influences which they live experiences in regard of the
experiences within the school. The three conceptual
areas that are frequently raised in respect of this
category come from the data about the modalities of
acceptance and inclusion of newly arrived students,

which changes when certain factors change. Factors that
are correlated with the third conceptual area: the
working climate. The second conceptual set, most felt in
middle school environment, is inherent to the terms of
evaluation, or rather "the question of assessment".
Facing the arrival of a foreign student in the
classroom, many teachers are unprepared, living loss,
fatigue of having to get involved in de-structuring
their evaluation criteria and, sometimes, to call for
their creativity.

The constant comparison of contexts and of the
intra-school dynamics has revealed also factors of why a
school is active. Beyond how it actives, we understand
that it is not so much the presence, even massive, of
foreign students, but the assiduity of arrivals that
destabilises the normal school routine. Each time, in
fact, you have new students, the school should then
include them in a classroom. This is the right to social
minimum, as I said in Chapter 2. If these arrivals are
repeated over time, the school, noticing that the
phenomenon is not transitory, but that there is a high
probability of recurrence, becomes active and tries to
give the processes of inclusion a protocol, approved by
the staff, and a shared mode to cope with the emergence.
The concept of emergency is a central point. There is a
"immigrants" emergency at school when arrivals are
frequent and the school does not have tools.

The assiduity of the arrivals not only destabilises
the secretariat of the school, the teachers who will
then add a seat in their classroom, but also challenges
the entire organization of school if the school has
taken as a priority resolving the educational
deficiencies of the just arrived students. The
conceptual areas related to sub-category of educational

priorities are four. The first is what I called
"structured vision" that Is to say the proper knowledge
and awareness of both the migration phenomenon, and the
implications and consequences of it on the education
system. The second conceptual area concerns the
commitment of schools and institutes in activating
acceptance processes. The third as the fourth conceptual
set are linked to second. In particular, there are the
resources available or to make available for school and
the political influences on the resources and, indeed,
on the processes the schools might activate.

What I have just stated is a photograph of data,
concepts emerged, namely a synchronic analysis. Through
the constant comparison of contexts, I can draw some
procedural developments, comparing schools that are
active since short time and schools that have a longer
tradition of activities related to foreign students. It
would result a diachronic stance of analysis. In fact,
if you look at the data with particular emphasis on
time, you can decline the categories of responsiveness
and choice of educational priorities as chronological
processes.

According to a chronological course, facing the
phenomenon of sudden arrival of foreign students, the
school, within it, reacts with rapidly entering the
newly arrived. The information, but also customized
educational programming, the interest and care of newly
arrived are a "corridor fact", "*everything takes place
in staff room*" (20BDD). In other words, teachers do not
have the time and resources to think about the placement
and management of foreign students. In fact, who does
respond to educational requests is the contact person
for foreigners or a "sensitive" and responsive teacher,
willing to spend herself or himself for them.

As regards, however, more experienced schools, they build tutored entries, with some meetings with the family of origin, the cultural mediator. Having structured moments for minute meeting among teachers is routine for them. These moments would help a better accessing to familiarize the just arrived students with the school environment.

We might also realise how the construction and acceptance of certain educational priorities is linked to the perception of the migration phenomenon and, consequently, the arrival of foreigners at school. Teachers and school leaders conceive the phenomenon as a transitional or running low that is why activation would be an energy waste. Enabling organization would be so determined by resolving a temporary emergency. In this sense, the school does not put in adequate resources; resources intended both as economic resources and as human resources. We meet, so, schoolteachers or educators without any special preparation or training for Italian as second language or intercultural education. The concept of phenomenon as transient leads the contexts not to do projects in collaboration with local administrations that could give the school a continuity of resources, as it happens in schools with more management experience. These are schools that have begun to give systematic answers, thanks to strong and secure partnerships with local public administration. These schools have achieved what some participants described as "structured vision", i.e. a thought and informed understanding of migration and the implications for the teaching organization.

In naming these two sub-categories, I considered important to focus not so much on synchronic, but rather on the diachronic to positively nuance what schools are

putting in place. I called these two categories in this way: "responsiveness sharing" and "structuring priorities".

The two main processes that the arrival of foreign students active at school, tend to make the most shared possible the responsiveness and sensitivity that only some teachers show, but that seems to be a prerequisite for good acceptance. The second process, which concerns the organization of the school, says a central demand that is the choice of priorities, without which many internal and external resources are not used and/or invested in educating the just arrived students. This process outlines further that intercultural education is becoming a priority, which requires the commitment of a systematic response, rather than an isolated intervention linked to the sensitivity of teachers and principals.

To give a name to the core category, you must understand how these two sub-categories arise in relation to the research question: what happens in everyday school life, where the school faces the guarantee of the education right for newly arrived non-Italian students, even during the year? How these two categories are in relation to my interpretation of the phenomenon, namely the gaze of SJE on the education right?

It is accepted by all the fact that the hosting of foreign students is a right. That is the case of medical care right too. Education is also a right that is not questioned. So, at least about right to social minimum, the entry of foreign students in Italian schools is guaranteed.

Social rights are declared as conforming the rule and what inspired the law (3NVP): the school has the

duty to ensure that the education right will be given to everyone. The declared is not what really is implied and might not be linked to the aims of the host paths and the actual entry of foreigners into school life. Under the light of what I said above, in Chapter 2, there is the need to eliminate the obstacles that obstruct the creation of paths for guaranteeing the education right by the school, and to deal with those migration-related limits: no language skills, diverse economic opportunities, cultural differences, etc.

In light of the understanding of right as a social measure of a democratic context, such as functional right to growth and development of human personality in its full potential, these two sub-categories are prerequisites for the guarantee of the education right. It is on this that in the near future, school will meet challenging issues for a full guarantee of the education right of newly arrived students without Italian citizenship.

I called the *core category* "structuring conditions": the process through which the Italian school is trying to overcome the emergency and those temporary interventions targeting foreigners with the aim of formalizing best practices and of rationalizing the internal and external resources. The meaning of this term is, therefore, to outline how the school reacts to and to what directions are going in order to make the education right effective. The *core category* informs the final goal of a adequate training and of embedding it in the routine school life.

Here I inserted the scheme of the process underlying the definition of the theory. The various parts will be presented along the chapter. The figure, for now, wants

to illustrate the complexity and interrelationships of all variables competitors in the process.

Figure 2: The two subcategories and the main conceptual areas.
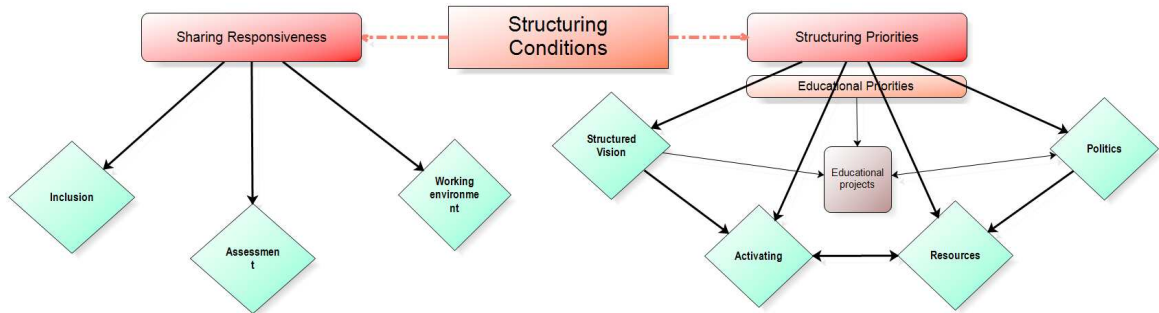
Teachers have reported how to deal with what is the problem of foreigners only if they were helped, or, better, put to "be in the conditions". Only if the school system could create a climate of effective work, teachers could deal with the education of students without Italian citizenship. All the schools I visited have activated something for these students. This did not mean, however, the guarantee of a right, as the right goes far beyond the opportunity to attend a literacy course rather than sit in class with the other students, immediately after their arrival in Italy. Schools tend to make the host process a school habit, in order to go from the problem of foreigners to a systematic response to actual right. Structuring conditions means making those extemporaneous answers the essential prerequisites, the preconditions that allow the inclusion of foreigners in schools and training courses, with the goal of the guarantee of the education right.

The idea of structuring the core category suggests regards the activation of ways that intend to formalise

the teachers' commitment. The "structuring of the priorities" category depends on several actors and is played outside the school.

The characteristic of the whole process is that the Italian school tends to become experienced and trained, trying to share and to expand the zone of influence of the responsiveness of teachers through which the processes of inclusion are implemented. It is not a secret, in fact, that school, made up of different people with dissimilar investment on their work, manages to bring forward projects thanks to the responsiveness of some teachers. This term refers to the "sensitivity", a word much used by participants in the sense of responsiveness, openness, which consists in noting the needs of context and assume them. It is about teachers who have an educational thrust in most schools. This subcategory covers the dynamics that were found inside the school life. It reveals the thoughts of teachers in perceiving and interpreting the issue of inclusion of foreigners. The school is trying to make the responsibility shared among colleagues. This is the process by which accepting students turns from a teachers' "*mission*" (21CD) to the call of entire school involvement. There is also to underline that this process is challenged by dynamics of the removal of newly arrived students within the school.

The second conceptual sub-category, as said, explains what is happening in very concrete terms. This subcategory replies to questions like: what does the school implement, specifically? What changes in the organization and work of all professionals involved? What should schools do to exit from emergency? The direction of these changes, or sometimes arrangements, are taking is that of building a structure that allows

wide activation rather than a short-range activation in the management of internal and external resources, which are capitalized by educational priorities. This category covers, then, the interface with local authorities, municipalities, provinces and, in one case studied, the region.

It has proved as crucial to the guarantee of the right, the presence, or absence of "structured visions" of the phenomenon of immigrants in a given territory. Here is strongly felt the influence of the role of principals and responsive teachers. Nevertheless, the role of the local authority and, more generally, politics and parties' ideology is important. The structuring of educational priorities within the school context is not something that can be resolved within the walls of the school but can be seen, often positively, helped by competition from local and external funds. The organization of a structured organizational vision in the school affects educational priorities. The immediate connection is with the SJE, that is the critical aspect of education policies that decide, from a conscious, structured, and realistic image of the reality, what are the priorities and what are the most important objectives that the school should pursue.

Model
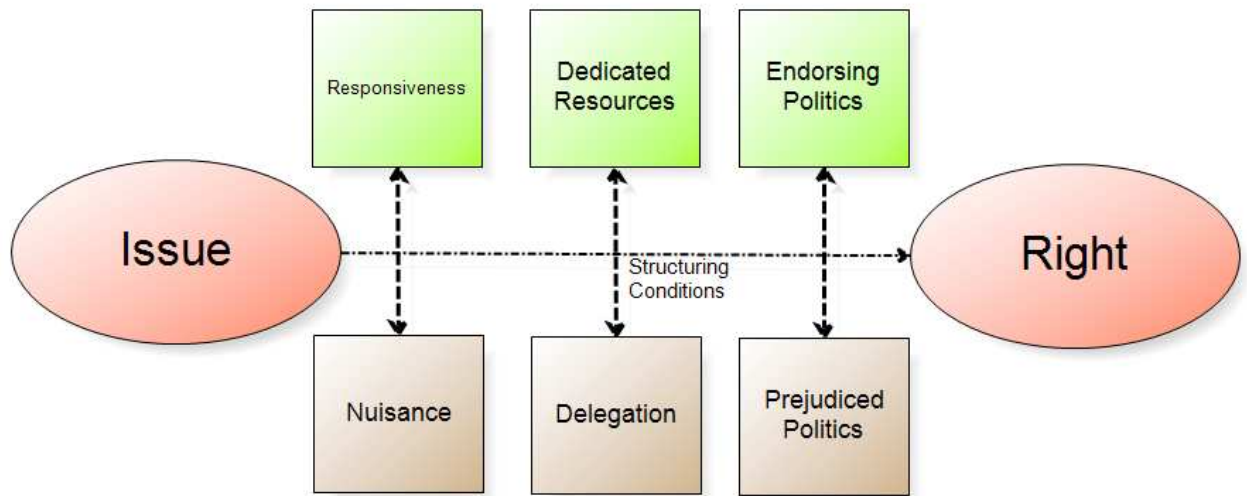
Figure 3: Model exemplifying the polarizations of the general process.

The arrival of a child from another country at the school generates a process of managing a problem and simultaneously leads to bring this problem to effective resolution. It is accepted by all participants that education is seen as a right to be given to everyone, even those who do not have Italian citizenship and even children whose parents do not have residence permission. The school, therefore, is always active. In other words, school assumes the arrival of a new student, even if foreign. Activation is understood as succession of acts to include the just arrived student. The activation has differences based on wide-range or short length goals. A school is familiar to assiduous arrivals of non-Italian student when has prepared both internal and external resources to employee before the arrival of immigrants. The dynamics of general acceptance is situated in a continuum that ranges from an issue to solve to the guarantee of a right. In practice, this means that the school is moving from improvisational educational response to an inclusive system and network. The

characteristics of the concept of arrival as a problem
have emerged on many levels. When the arrival of a
foreign student is a problem?

- When the school does not wait the arrival of
  foreigners during the year;
- When there is a protocol of acceptance;
- When the school did not have properly structured
  vision of migration;
- When the school is not flexible in the using of
  available internal resources;
- When the context requires "strong evaluations";
- When teachers are not flexible in dealing with
  students that need to go back and forth the class;
- When foreign students create confusion in school;
- When foreign students have also economic, health
  and familiar problems;
- When teachers do not understand that preparing and
  testing different materials is included in their
  commitment and responsibility;
- When the role of ISL teachers and other
  professional figures is not clear;
- When you have so many other things to do before
  taking care of just arrived students;
- When foreigners are a burden and a nuisance;
- When the school does not have a supporting network;
- When the policy of the local government is an
  impediment to obtain resources.

If we look instead at the process of structuring the
conditions, namely the education right, it is necessary
to specify the terminology. As the process related to
the conditions underlies the guarantee of the education
right, the final point of arrival is not the authentic

guarantee of the right, rather is an optimal possibility, that is the best, for now, the school can offer to guarantee a future. The path the school has undertaken is not for emancipatory and thus to render effective the education right, rather is towards the actual pre-conditions of the students' empowerment. Being receptive towards foreigners and structuring of educational priorities to get funds and resources to foreigners are the preconditions. I called what the school is doing to guarantee the education right the optimal guarantee zone.

The properties of this zone trace the ways in which the tension to the education right, as the final goal of this process, has to be understood. Where, then, does the arrival of students without Italian citizenship meet the optimal guarantee zone?

- When the school awaits the arrival of foreigners;
- When the school has shared with the college staff a protocol of acceptance;
- When the school has structured an intelligent and informed vision of immigration and the consequent impacts on the educational system;
- When the flexibility of time and organization is functional to the empowerment of the foreign students' capabilities;
- When the responsiveness of teachers is almost general;
- When the assessment is calibrated on the differences of the newly arrived students and regards their capabalities;
- When teachers are flexible in the planning the classroom work;
- When the school has provided network services and support from social workers;

- When the roles and responsibilities are clear and well distributed;
- When the priorities of educational institutions include the care of newly arrived;
- When the school chooses professionals according to set criteria;
- When the local policy is favourable to help the school in welcoming immigrants in the territory and creating fertile ground for intercultural processes.

This model offers a framework for everything that results from the data: the factors that influence the process are part of a set of polarities, i.e. delaying factors and facilitating factors. The model indicates a shift from a form of educational care depending on purely individual commitment to a more intersubjective and shared responsibility.

These factors are linked to three different levels of school management: the first level is individual that relates to personal and professional characteristics of teachers and draws the already mentioned responsiveness or sensitivity, in opposition of the perception of irritation that foreigners in the classroom may cause. The second level is that of school as an organization, which includes issues related not only to internal and external resources, but also to how schools use them: in a case, I have called them dedicated resources, while in the opposite case I use the term delegation. The third level is that more properly extra-scholastic and political: policies influence the phenomenon of inclusion and guarantee education right for just arrived students without Italian citizenship.

Responsiveness VS Nuisance

It is necessary the presence of a certain willingness of teachers to ensure that the student is accepted into the school in a positive and constructive way. This is the first and most important scholastic resource because is part of human capital, which is made available freely for the needs of the context. It is true that this availability should not become a sort of volunteer work because it would not be a continuous and effective response to problems. From the data, in fact, emerges that the teachers' commitment is due to a sort of partial "*maternage*" and a personal satisfaction.

The first and perhaps irreplaceable resource is the teachers' responsiveness, that in their capacity to note, detect and try to solve the educational needs of the school. In this category of teachers, I found both teachers who have chosen to have a role for organizing the education of foreigners in the whole school, and those teachers who have decided to make several hours in the mornings available to strengthen the language skills for completing their timetable at school. Above all, there are teachers who have chosen to be completely involved in ISL education projects. The reasons for this choice are: a will of change way of working, because they would like to get involved in a different way of teaching and because of personal responsiveness. A participant said: "*Generally, there is no will to be completely involved in ISL education projects*" (20aB), because teachers prefer not to have to deal with foreigners. These teachers are those who also reported a situation of personal discomfort within the school, for two sets of reasons. The first is the feeling of loneliness and abandonment in proposing and pursuing

initiatives related to foreign pupils. The second is the awareness of being charged of problems that would not compete to the teachers because they would call into question the person underneath the teacher.

Facing cases where teaching is the last concern, since only the school intercept the needs of people who have not the capability to speak Italian, we might reversely react: this is the "nuisance", that sometimes is almost repulsion. For those who foreigners, far from being a resource albeit painful, they are a burden, a nuisance because the word resource to name the presence of foreigners at school hides a set of issues, as activating something to educate ISL students or just arrived students is, in fact, having to do more job. Soon then there is what some students interviewed reported as their main scholastic activity: "*I slept*", in class, preferring to follow the extra curricular activities because they give them "*the opportunity to be somebody*". The category of nuisance as a factor that delays the implementation by the school of paths for guaranteeing the right was built mainly by participants' words, especially by those of foreign students and those who have made a realistic description of the class life. Teachers have thus urged colleagues to "*Do not forget them*", because they "*feel put aside*", "*not involved*". Under the label of nuisance, I also added those situations in which teachers, even if they fully understand the discomfort that the newly arrived students may prove, prefer focusing on the class management rather than improve educational care for immigrants. In addition, it is good to remember that the classes are always very numerous, and the high numbers increase classroom difficulties. The idea the teachers' behaviour seems to suggest is to make resistance to

change the class management as a naïve way to limit, if
not decrease, the entropy in the classroom and reverse
the now almost obliged request of personalized
itineraries.

Dedicated Resources VS Delegation

The intra-collegial level lives the path towards the
effective assurance of education right between two
extremities: seeking and dedicating resources to ISL
teaching and the welcoming of foreigners, on a side,
and, on the other one, the temptation of delegating to
others the education of them. In this terms, teachers
would not take the educational responsibility into
account seriously. In particular, the internal resources
that the school owns that are available hours to the
college staff, and funds from the CSA (provincial school
office) to be spent for employee supplementary
educators, are dedicated to the school only if the
educational priorities are shared within the school. An
initial response to the arrival at school of foreign
students is not that of "*playing with the scholastic
schedule*", that is to say allowing time to be available
for supporting, strengthening the language skills of
these students. What is happening, but that previously
the school was used to do, is to be characterized as a
so called "*school plot*", in which the organizational
flexibility is interweaved to the teachers'
responsiveness in a form of "*intra-school synergy*".
Beyond the hours and teachers' responsiveness, the
school uses external funds specifically for foreigners.
In fact, there is a risk, as in some schools of short
tradition in facing foreigners' arrival happens, of

creating a sort of organizational chaos, that not all teachers want to manage or include in their agenda.

Down the road, there is the delaying factor of delegation: "*let us leave others do that*" (17BRCTI) is a phrase taken from a participant's comment. Accepting or not a greater load of work affects the relationship that teachers have with pupils in their class, but also influences the organization or, rather, the success of organizational and educational practices. Teachers do not agree, in this chaos, the disorder of personal organization, because "*teachers do not understand that is their job*". In this chaos, the role of each is not clear. There are so delegator attitudes: untrained curricular teachers tend to decrease the degree of entropy delegating the assessment to those involved in ISL education. They accept that the foreign student leaves their class, and they "*go forward its own way*", without changing teaching modalities or getting information about the learning process the student is doing. The difference between the category of "*being put in a conditions...*" and the delegation is that requesting opportunities to have time, tools and resources to deal with the problem of foreigners does not mean leaving the commitment and educational responsibilities to others. However, it would mean accepting the complexity of required operations of individual teachers and enabling more intersubjective modes of education and teaching in a collaboratively way.

Endorsing Politics VS Prejudicing Politics

The school is interfacing with the local (municipality, county, region) policy to meet the needs

that are found within the school. What positively influence the entire process of "structuring conditions" are also the political priorities. Guaranteeing the education right is matter of not only single schools but also of what is going on outside the school. This would measure the success of education projects for foreigner students. In fact, schools use funds and support services of the territory the school are. In other words, we understand that in different policies exist different management of the process of guaranteeing the education right. I have then built two categorizations of policy: a supportive one and the prejudicing one. For endorsing policy, I mean a political style that is responsible and attentive to the needs of the territory, with special attention to the integration of foreigners. The school is a valuable resource for the government and for the local administrations as every young children pass through it. This endorsing policy occurs mainly in small municipalities. In large municipalities, provincial capitals of the region, for example, schools are struggling to have close contact with politics, or rather with the people who make political decisions. This is a prejudicing policy as it prejudices the effectiveness of listening local citizens needs. In fact, in large municipalities having contact with decision makers is hard as there are numerous filters among citizens and politicians. Nevertheless, it is prejudicing also, where the local authority does not share with schools the same educational priorities. If political priorities are not intertwined with schools' priorities, the possibility to get funds for special education tutoring projects is limited.

Structuring priorities

The school autonomy is guaranteed by the Italian rules. On it, the choices and educational organization are based. In other words, as a teacher made me noticed during an interview, "*every school is to be studied per se [...] the schools make up initiatives*" (22MD). Moreover, given the school autonomy, the researcher has to analyse each context with its specific designed guiding principles. One could say that every school has, thanks to autonomy they enjoy, a specific educational culture. In this sense, data analysis and comparisons of different research contexts has unearthed the ongoing process constants, not regardless the specific nature of each but making what from context to context occurs emerge.

"Currently, the regulatory framework, based on autonomy of educational institutions, namely the D.P.R. No 275 of 1999, is the main instrument to address all the scholastic aspects, such as the integration of foreigners, requiring the construction of appropriate and specific solutions"[8]. These solutions depend on having structured a vision of the immigration's phenomenon.

The understanding of a problem is not always the same from context to context. Some schools perceive the phenomenon of foreign students and, more generally, the phenomenon of immigration, as a transitional one. Those schools have not prepared the access of foreign students. Therefore, the immigrant could come to a school: "*... where maybe was not even put a seat for him*" (20BDD). The unequipped schools still experience this embarrassing situation. School readiness primarily

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[8] From *Guidelines for the reception and integration of foreign pupils*, Ministry of Education, www.istruzione.it.

means a school that prepares a desk and a chair in the classroom for welcoming the new student.

Although, the presence of foreign students in schools is increasing o, especially in Northern Italy, the structuring of priorities is not tied to the number, but to the assiduity of arrivals that do not allow the school to continue to not consider this. A teacher said: "*We did not understand that they will arrive*" (22MD). The assiduity leads the teachers to be aware that the phenomenon is not transitory but increasing. The problem exists if schools do not expect foreigners. Giving a real interpretation of the immigration, not linked to the needs of stability of the school, discriminates between prepared and unprepared school. In the first case, the school is thought of as driven by the needs of students, in the second case as guided by the need to resolve an emergency. The so-called "wild" inclusion is due to the improvisation of unready schools. In this case, accessing ISL education training is very slow; teachers do not have adequate tools to meet the new educational needs.

That is why there are numerous complaints among teachers: the school has now been defined as "*great asylum*", or the place where "*until there is spot, come in*!" (11BDUSP).

Having awareness that the phenomenon of immigration is not transitory and that the school is heavily invested by it is primarily the prerogative of receptive teachers. Comprehending the problem is the first step in the construction of educational priorities, related to guarantee the education right of just arrived foreign students.

Phenomenology of activating processes

What makes a school activate? In the first moments of the research I have consulted the percentages drawn by the Ministry of Education. I have therefore chosen schools with the highest number of pupils without Italian citizenship because there it was easier to detect the presence of the phenomenon I wanted to inquire. What does the arrival of students without Italian citizenship causes?

Prima facie, I seemed so intuitive that what did make school activate welcoming processes and pathways of ISL for foreign students was the high number. In other words, the school makes every effort to ensure the right to all if foreigners are present in large numbers. However, schools do not activate special education courses because of large numbers of foreigners but rather because of the assiduity of arrivals: more are entrances and more there are opportunities to find schools equipped to build processes of ISL, for example, or simply bureaucratic arrangements that allow teachers to know they reach a new student in class. The question of the education right remains open. In fact, we cannot think of ensuring the right only in cases of arrivals' assiduity or high numbers. A right is such, regardless of contingencies: it is the right of a single as well as a huge number of individuals. It is clear that there is a place in school for the every newly arrived student, but that does not meet the guarantee of a right. As I have written in Chapter 2, giving everyone the same training does not mean trying to give everyone the chance to improve personal skills. For this, answering the question of the guarantee of the right is not easy.

It is necessary to understand how schools activate, the reasons of the activation.

The question can be split into other littler questions: how does the Italian school surpass the so-called emergency? Which kind of resources the school may put in? The experiences I have collected can be divided into two categories. The first is the schools' activation that I have defined a short-range activation since the emergency is not completely absent in the management because of the discontinuity of resources. The second is the wide-range activation that experienced schools implemented in terms of systematic response to deal with issues related to foreigners at school.

From a short-range activation…

The activation of schools in general suffers as mentioned above, of educational priorities that are chosen by the college faculty and the head-teacher, first. Characteristic of short-range activation is concrete answers more or less appropriate to the needs and demands, which have an immediate results, but only related to the "here and now" of the school management. The results are time-limited responses that can be act in a few days, months but when school resumes in September, should be recast, and rebuilt. This type of activation is based on the availability of some responsive teachers who agree to take the responsibility of organizing moments dedicated to foreigners. It works primarily thanks to internal resources that are the school and teachers completely involved in ISL education projects. Only under the light of the educational priorities, the internal resources become dedicated internal resources.

The so-called "*playing with the scholastic schedule*" is the resource that in the recent past allowed school to respond immediately to education emergencies. Therefore, it is also in reference to foreigners. "*Playing with the scholastic schedule*" is very complex, particularly with regard to the middle school as teachers who rotate on a single class are many. This resource often creates confusion and disrupts what is the personal agenda of each teacher. This first resource requires a certain degree of both bureaucratic and personal flexibility. The chaos might destroy the meaning underneath this organisational commitment: enhancing and empowering the language skills and the behaviour of just arrived students. Nevertheless, having to stay with the foreign students often creates discomfort because it disturbs the individual organization. Consequently, teachers often do not respect the organizational order painstakingly designed and composed. Another factor involved is bureaucratic: often the available hours teacher has are used for deputizing colleagues.

"*There are hours provided, of co-teaching for us, teachers of Italian language, as we have hours in excess. For example, I have 2 hours more, this year. I had made at the beginning of note on foreigners. That is, I would be entered as co-teacher in some classes, I would have taken a kid and worked with him for a while. In the end, these two hours has regularly gone in ... in... substitutions! Not paid because not listed as… and during the last staff meeting I will tell this. Oh ... if we can maintain at least two hours ... or not even call it "co-teaching", rather call it replacements! Then call it availability for replacements. […]. Because*

*they, poor, at the beginning when they see that you
really take care of them, you deal with them, they
really like this! After, they always wait for you:
'then? Teacher! When do we return in the special class?
'. They see you passing by and telling: 'No, I am sorry
I have to do a replacement'. I would have seen them
twice during the year."* (18RD).

There are different situations where there are
teachers completely involved in ISL education projects.
On the other hand, where, simply, in terms of resources,
the reach of most schools, the co-teaching is truly
dedicated because the school's staff feels as very
important educational priorities to work with
foreigners. There was a situation where the principal
had to "impose" and control the co-teaching activities.

This type of activation seems to be a fluctuating
answer to a problem that remains. Teachers have not
tools to meet solutions and there is the habit of
delegating others. Only the responsive teachers sustain
the various activities for foreigners and provide the
"ready-to-use package", that is to say they prepare
materials, books, etc. for colleagues that, on the
contrary, never would do anything for just arrived
students.

… To a wide-range activation

"*Now it is habitual*". The phrase regards those
schools that have decided protocols of acceptance and
begun ISL training. In other words, in wide-range
activation, the resources are invested in a lasting way
and the school focuses on the acceptance of a situation
in which resources are being rationalized. In a school,

for example, colleagues of the same matter work together, one the in classroom and another one with the foreign student. This will not only build collaborations between colleagues in the same school but also sharing of the student. The activations of short-range already tend to create synergy. As for the wide-range activation, this synergy becomes habitual. This type of activation recalls to the strongly related category of the climate of work. The concept of planning merges these two categories because, without designed projects, there is no wide-range activation, and planning is among the characteristics of a working climate favourable to guarantee the education right.

The specificity of this category resides, then, in the characteristics of an increase of collegiality in the management of the phenomenon.

Resource and Politics

This last polarity concerning resources relates to a different area emerged from the data analysis. To activate the school refers to the territory and in this case to the local administration. The request for external funds is met only with planning projects that are the result of the commitment of responsive teachers.

The interplay of influence on the process of guaranteeing the education right is linked to the size of the municipality the school is. The physical proximity and the closeness of purpose and priorities helps the school to create a "*breeding ground*" for communication between institutions and to receive economic aids. In other words, as mentioned above, endorsing policy makes synergy easier between local offices and schools, while a policy that I call

prejudicing obstruct, but do not block the activation school, as it is too close to ideological position and contrasts the phenomenon of migration. The municipalities administered by a prejudicing policy leave schools to be the only resource of territory for foreigners. The school would become the only place site where the newly arrived with their families can be accepted and accompanied in knowing the new reality of life.

The constancy of responses to the foreigners' educational needs refers to the constancy of getting funds coming from outside. This is inherent to political issues of a territory that affect the availability of funds. The issue of the "*breeding ground*" questions what is pursued by several ministerial documents: to identify common operational strategies in collaboration with the various institutions, associations, and educational agencies of the territory. In fact, the *breeding ground* promotes aid to schools and tends to identify educational pathways for foreigners. If the local authority does not feel the problem, the retrieval of funds could be very complicated, as well as their consistency over time and the preparation of long-range activation could be uncertain. However, what is "*breeding ground*"? This is not the banal political climate of the local government. This denotes closeness of the policy to school, in several meanings. The first one is the physical proximity: there are local administrations far from citizens. The Ministry of Education, for example, is farther than the province, which is farther than the municipality. The second type of closeness is conceptual: being close to a problem means understanding the consequences of it, for example, realising that the immigration phenomenon is not

passenger would drive local authorities to invest
resources. This is the case of the municipality said
"concerned" of the first reception of foreigners. A
concerned municipality would fund easily inclusion's
routes through the school. The municipality is close to
the needs of the school also because schools are the
place for supervising the immigration's flow.

Therefore, if there is proximity and continuity
between the educational priorities of a school and the
policies, institutions may find a meeting point in
scholastic projects. If, however, there is not proximity
between schools and local authorities, this would have
an effect on especially the wide-range activation
because resources might be discontinuous or because
local authorities might carry out their contrasting
ideas.

"I*n other situations where there is instead the same
political climate, there are enormous difficulties!
Huge! Even, the disbursement of contributions is binding
on certain areas and not others. Then the school
principals with all the good will they have, face big
problems.*" (17BR).

Not the political climate, but the receptiveness and the
proximity of intentions are what help the process of
structuring educational priorities for the guarantee of
the right. There is also the fact that the local
authority reference is the province, or region:
institutions distant from the needs of the base.

"*... The fact remains that things should be addressed.
Obviously with a policy that is responsible, however,
because in small municipalities, the administrator is in*

direct contact with citizens and, therefore, there are
not intermediate steps." (19BRP).

    In large municipalities and provincial capitals,
there are many filters between the citizens and
administrators. The role of local administration in
interfacing with the school is supported mainly by
provincial school offices that manage the resources of
teachers for ISL education training, and network
projects. In areas where the U.S.P. fails to intervene,
schools call for local authorities to take action.

    The political resonance in the processes of
acceptance and guarantee the education right affects a
lot of serenity of schoolteachers.

Sharing Responsiveness

    This category is on multiple fronts connected with
the previous one. Stroking separately is a way to
underline the specific processes within the school and
to better clarify its limits. In reality, in fact,
splitting the first from the second category would be
pretence because the processes that occur arise on a
continuum that calls into question these factors:

  - Responsiveness of teachers

  - Opposition of teachers

  - Planning capability of schools

  - Setting a wide-range or short-range activation

  - Presence of support networks

Many of these features were previously listed. The
specificity of this category covers the following
conceptual nodes:

  - modalities of inclusion

  - assessment of foreign students' knowledge

- relationships among colleagues and working
  environment climate.

Phenomenology of welcoming

What happens when a just arrived foreign student
accesses the school? As a general principle, there is a
protocol of acceptance, a document that is accepted by
the school staff containing elements, principles,
guidelines for inclusion and integration of immigrant
pupils, defining the tasks and roles of school. The
protocol of acceptance will:

- Build "best practices" for the host school;
- Facilitate the entry of students without Italian
  citizenship in school;
- Support foreign students in the phase of adaptation
  to the new environment;
- Foster a climate of acceptance and attention to
  relationships that would prevent and would remove
  any obstacles to full integration;
- Create an conducive environment to meet other
  cultures;
- Promote communication and collaboration between
  schools and territory on the themes of acceptance
  and intercultural education with an integrated
  training system.

The protocol of acceptance is divided into parts that
schools have used as a form to write the own protocols
of acceptance. These parts are:

- Aims and objectives, often reported from the text
  of the ministerial legislation
- Contents of administrative nature (documents
  required for accessing school), contest about
  educational-didactic issues (criteria for inclusion

in the classroom, intercultural education, ISL) and
contents regarding relationships with the
territory. Some schools add contents related to the
health aspects

- Presentation of the "intercultural" or the
"foreigners" commission of the school with their
responsibilities and commitments.

The moments that the protocol identifies from the first
host to the full enjoyment of school life are:

- Enrolment in school;

- The meetings for the first knowledge;

- Outlining the criteria for inclusion in a clasrom
preparing to host processes, intercultural
education and ISL teaching;

- Activating projects with the territory the school
is.

At this stage, schools should specify the documents and
information to be requested, as well as notices, forms,
information notes about the school should be written in
the languages of origin. Those collected documents
should to be delivered to parents to help their
understanding of the Italian school system. This is not
always done. The delivery of bilingual documentation, as
well as the display of warnings and advices in the
bulletin boards, offer a face-friendly school, rather
than the idea of an institution closed and little
comfortable. In addition to the administrative aspects,
the teachers should collect a range of information about
the foreign students that allow the principal and the
staff to take appropriate decisions, about both the
class where the student has to enter, and about
educational paths to be activated. The first knowledge
meeting can revolve in a meeting with parents and an
interview with the student, possibly in the presence of

a language mediator. At this stage, teachers collect personal information on the personal and scholastic history of the student, about the family situation, as well as interests, abilities and skills possessed. Nevertheless, not always this collection happens in all schools.

The cases of school contexts studied reveals an interesting path that goes from the establishment of quick placement, which some teachers called "*wild insertion*", towards a guided welcoming process.

The mere inclusion does not exhaust the guarantee of the education right. To the question: is the education right guaranteed? We can answer positively if entering into a class, having a desk, having classmates would be sufficient. However, the education right covers much wider fields of intervention. Among these, the first is the difference between entering and welcoming. Entering means the entry into the school of a student. Therefore, the secretary chooses for the class the student enters. The welcoming process is designed as important moment of mutual understanding between the institution and the foreign family, between the new teacher and pupil.

The collected cases may give an idea of what happens in the early days, since, namely, the foreign student goes to school to be enrolled until she/he joins the class.

The family arrives in the school administration office: here the family may find forms only in Italian, not translated forms. Alternatively, it might find an information flyer in its language that explains how the Italian school works. Now some schools include the student in the class. The teacher coordinator may also not hear about this inclusion, or, as in the case of an interviewee, she/he can find this out the day before.

The secretary used to deal with non Italian people usually calls the language mediator through which it tries to reach information from parents or the student. If the mediator is not available, because the school is not prepared to welcome foreigners or because the school did not get funds for employee a mediator, she/he may be replaced by the ISL teacher.

Over time and through the assiduity of arrivals, schools use external services, such as language mediators. Those schools that do not use external services are in the range of those schools that imply the "*wild insertion*" because in a very short time, they insert the student in class. It was found that the "*wild insertion*" is not because of inefficiency, rather because of inadequacy. The idea that often pushes the school administration office to include the student immediately is because doing so would mean taking care without delay of the student's good. Those schools, however, that have already tried different ways, thanks to external forces, take their time. The inclusion in the classroom is the last step in a journey aimed at making the transition from one culture to another as soft as possible. Some schools have chosen to prepare a period to form ISL workshops, where there is the possibility of using external educators paid by local administration or by the school. Some other schools have prepared, during the period before entering the classroom, the entrance tests on knowledge of Italian, as also the assessment would fall within the education right, especially in the middle school in which the production of tests and the subsequent assessment is one of the most heard issues. The tests are for the first pedagogical knowledge of the foreign students.

"But do not go just like that!"

"But do not go just like that" (2NE), I was told. Often teachers simplify the complexity of welcoming with some tricks: for example, with certifying foreign students, as they were students with disabilities because this would give them the opportunity to be followed by a supplementary teacher. In addition, relying on the presence of a compatriot within the class of arrival is taken as an excuse to not implement the welcoming, thinking that this could be the replacement of it. This is irrespective of what the *Guidelines for the reception and integration of foreign pupils* suggested: "*Within the schools, the most common orientation is to promote the diversity of nationalities in the composition of classes, rather than forming uniform classes based on religious or territorial origin of foreigners*".

An interesting fact that influences the entrance of the student in class and the choice of the class is the list of criteria used. In the protocols of the analysed schools, the reference to the ministry guidelines and good sense has to be noticed:

- Number of students attending the same class;
- More problematic as the presence of pupils with disabilities;
- The age of the just arrived foreign student.

The criteria for assigning a class must be clearly specified in the protocol of acceptance by the college faculty on the basis of the provisions of Art. 45 of D.P.R. 31/8/99 No. 394; the students in the age of compulsory schooling are enrolled in the corresponding class for age, unless the teachers' college deliberates to enrol them in a different class, taking into account:

- the schooling system of the country of origin, which can determine the entry to a class immediately lower or higher than at the corresponding age;

- Detection of skills, abilities and levels of preparation of the foreign students;

- Curriculum of the country of origin;

- The school certificate possibly possessed by the foreign student.

Margins of flexibility in choosing the class of arrival are evident. For a correct decision in addition to the previously acquired information is necessary to have information on educational systems of countries of origin, the nature of their curricula, and duration of the school of origin.

Nevertheless, this does not always happen. There are tacit other criteria which refer to factors related to the responsiveness of teachers and simplification of the problem. In other words, the presence or absence of responsive teachers influences the choice of a class rather than another. Often a teacher fights for not having a foreign student in her/his class, others that, in contrast, have many more. A phrase in the information ministry has left margins in the choice of the class: "the general criterion to enter the student according to age remains. Slippage of one year on lower class must be weighed very carefully in relation to the benefits that could make. Different choices will be evaluated case-by-case by educational institutions". The staff of teachers decides placement in classes different from those of the age. The decision on a class is accompanied by identifying pathways that will be implemented based on available resources. The protocol describes the types of assistance that the school is able to turn out. There

are several models of intervention that combine in
diversified way the availability of resources, specific
needs, learning goals.

To promote the full integration of children into the
broader social context and to combine education with
equal opportunities, the school needs the resources of
the territory, the collaboration of services,
associations. The first place of collaboration is to be
left to the local administrations to build a network of
interventions that would remove any obstacles and
encourage a culture of hospitality and cultural
exchange.

Here I report in a schematic way what the studied
contexts say they do, compared to what the conducted
interviews have shown they really do. The case is that
of schools with a long tradition of including processes
and hosting paths. In this case, the protocol of
acceptance is replaced with documents for internal use
more complex and structured or with educational projects
designed to seek external funding. These are the
contexts that have enabled pathways designed to
guarantee the education right of newly arrived students.
Among the schools that have participated in the
research, these are the contexts of widest organization
and sensitivity towards foreigners. The shortcomings of
other contexts are reported in the "practiced" column. I
deleted intentionally, in reporting projects, everything
that was linked to intercultural education, although
widely discussed in the documents, but is outside the
topic of the research.

Declared		Practiced
Context n° 1	**Context n° 2**	

Goals' Project

		The described goals reveal a lack of analysis that the research showed: in the acceptance of foreigners falls a will of change the school environment. The objective of creating staff awareness, for example, identifies what in this research was supported in the section on creating a climate of work and evaluation, in the second project called "inter-institutional exchange." Lacks, in fact, in the school both a trained professionalism and moments of dialogue between the figures involved in the phenomenon of welcoming foreigners.
- Favorire l'integrazione degli alunni stranieri promuovendo attività di supporto per la prevenzione del disagio scolastico, che nasce dalle difficoltà di comunicazione linguistica e dalle diversità culturali; - realizzare il progetto accoglienza per gli alunni stranieri mediante le persone incaricate; - favorire un inserimento graduale nella struttura scolastica, garantendo ai neo-iscritti pari opportunità; - promuovere attività di sostegno e di recupero per gli alunni stranieri o italiani in situazione di svantaggio - **creare la consapevolezza nei docenti** che l'integrazione degli stranieri e il superamento del disagio scolastico richiedono nuove strategie educative, metodologiche e didattiche che si acquisiscono attraverso una formazione permanente	- Promuovere lo sviluppo di un sistema integrato, che favorisca: o l'integrazione dei minori stranieri, nella scuola e nel territorio, nel rispetto delle diverse culture; o **lo scambio e il dialogo interistituzionale** o la partecipazione e il confronto tra le famiglie; o la diffusione di una cultura dell'accoglienza, dell'ascolto e del dialogo; - Fornire le strumentalità di base della lingua italiana parlata e scritta nelle situazioni di vita più comuni, in modo adeguatamente strutturato. - Promuovere l'apprendimento dei linguaggi specifici per affrontare i testi scolastici, anche in funzione del proseguimento degli studi. - Favorire la conoscenza delle "culture altre" da parte degli alunni italiani e dei docenti, in un'ottica di effettivo interscambio. - Promuovere occasioni di formazione nella scuola e sul territorio sulle tematiche interculturali. - Produrre, sperimentare e documentare "buone prassi" educative, attraverso una rete di interventi condivisi, sia di tipo organizzativo che didattico, al fine di ottimizzare le risorse.	

Welcoming

		The difference of these two projects concerning the point about welcoming regards the level of explanation for the presence of dedicated human resources and the criteria for inclusion of newly arrived. In the first one, are explained
Condivisione in rete di modalità di accoglienza. - Un referente ATA segue le procedure per l'iscrizione dell'alunno straniero, fornendo alla famiglia modulistica	L'accoglienza si pone come primo momento importante e delicato; deve essere funzionante ed efficace tutto l'anno in quanto il flusso migratorio cambia intensità ma resta continuo.	

bilingue ed accertando scolarità pregressa, situazione familiare e giuridica;

- assegnazione dell'alunno straniero alla classe;

- un "insegnante tutor-funzione strumentale", o docente del modulo o della classe si incarica di comunicare con la famiglia, anche attraverso i mediatori, di compilare la "biografia linguistico/culturale dell'alunno", osservando i bisogni, le potenzialità, le abilità e di seguirlo nella delicata fase dell'inserimento.

È comunque doveroso inserirli cercando di non sconvolgere gli equilibri creati all'interno del gruppo-classe.

Con questa premessa, per una scelta oculata della classe o della sezione di inserimento di scuola primaria / secondaria di 1° si ritiene importante valutare quanto segue:

A) L' inserimento di ogni alunno avviene nel rispetto della normativa vigente.

B) I criteri per la scelta della classe e della sezione di inserimento sono:

1)La valutazione della scolarità precedente, desunta dalla copia del documento di valutazione o dall'autocertificazione del genitore;

2)L'inserimento nella classe corrispondente all'età anagrafica in caso di frequenza regolare nel paese di provenienza e di corrispondenza dell'ordinamento degli studi.

3)L'inserimento nella classe immediatamente inferiore o superiore rispetto a quella dell'età anagrafica, in caso di non corrispondenza dell'ordinamento degli studi.

4)L'inserimento nella classe inferiore, in caso di totale mancanza della lingua

E' stato predisposto un protocollo di accoglienza che definisce tutti gli aspetti di carattere amministrativo, organizzativo e pedagogico-didattico.

Il gruppo che si occupa della prima accoglienza:

- interviene al momento dell'arrivo;

- organizza un incontro-colloquio con la famiglia e il mediatore (consegna di materiale informativo bilingue);

- predispone le attività di accoglienza (che ha una durata di 15 giorni);

- valuta l'adeguato inserimento nelle classi;

- collabora nello studio e nella realizzazione di progetti (modalità di intervento del mediatore culturale, attività di intercultura, alfabetizzazione);

- valuta la risposta comportamentale che il ragazzo/a si dà nella nuova realtà in cui viene a trovarsi.

Il bambino straniero viene accolto possibilmente da un insegnante e da un mediatore culturale in base alle disponibilità e alle risorse presenti.

In questa prima fase, che ha una durata di 15 giorni, l'alunno:

1. instaura un rapporto di relazione e di collaborazione con gli insegnanti incaricati dell'accoglienza;

2. conosce l'ambiente, l'organizzazione e le regole della scuola;

3. stabilisce i primi rapporti con i compagni.

Durante la 1° e la 2° settimana, l'alunno frequenta la scuola solo al mattino per 4 ore dal lunedì al venerdì, con l'insegnante/educatore incaricato

clearly the roles, tasks, timing, while the second one leaves the definition of the roles "according to the availability and resources."

This is in line with what was said about the chaos and disorganization that often schools experience and shows that a working climate facilitates the emergence of a sense of discomfort caused by the arrival of new students. In fact, no clear roles have not become a mode of sharing responsibility, or, as one participant said, to have "*the boy shared*" (R4VM) that is, collectively take what happens at school in account. Rather threatens to turn into a proxy to others who say "*let us leave others do that*" (17BRCTI), in a cumbersome work of teachers.

The criteria for inclusion are dashed in the first draft. These criteria are mostly taken from the Ministry of Education documents. To these, schools will add others. In the second case, both the ministerial and those specific criteria of the context are left implicit. In doing so, however, it still gives space to those "lived" criteria mentioned above, namely the availability of some teachers, their sensitivity and their attention towards foreigners is

italiana e di iscrizione ad anno scolastico inoltrato (II quadrimestre).

C) L'assegnazione alla classe è effettuata dal Dirigente Scolastico, sentito, in modo non vincolante, il coordinatore della classe.

Nella scelta della sezione, sia per la scuola primaria, sia per la scuola secondaria di 1°, sono da considerare inoltre i seguenti aspetti:

*la numerosità della classe;

*la presenza di alunni diversamente abili (è opportuno valutarne di volta in volta la gravità) e il supporto dell'insegnante di sostegno;

*la presenza nella classe di alunni stranieri di altra nazionalità;

*la presenza nella classe di alunni stranieri della stessa nazionalità o parlanti la stessa lingua del neo-arrivato (questa presenza è da considerarsi una risorsa);

*la lingua imparata dall'alunno nel paese di provenienza, come seconda lingua di studio.

D) Qualora ne sorgesse la necessità, in corso d'anno, il Consiglio di Interclasse o di Classe interessato, convocato e presieduto dal Dirigente Scolastico, acquisito il parere favorevole dei genitori dell'alunno, valuta se per l'alunno sia bene continuare la frequenza scolastica nella classe di inserimento o trasferirlo nella classe immediatamente precedente o successiva.

E) Conclusa la fase dell'inserimento, trascorsi i giorni necessari per l'adattamento alla nuova situazione (almeno 5 giorni), l'alunno viene inserito nel laboratorio linguistico di alfabetizzazione per l'acquisizione della lingua italiana. Sarà l'insegnante coordinatore di classe della scuola

dell'accoglienza. In questa fase verranno proposte prove d'ingresso relative alle competenze linguistiche di base, utilizzando materiali dove la comprensione sia facilitata dal disegno, e alle conoscenze logico-matematiche. Alla fine della 2° settimana l'alunno verrà inserito nella classe in base ai criteri espressi nel protocollo di accoglienza dell'Istituto e ai risultati della prima fase di accoglienza. Dalla 3° settimana in poi l'alunno sarà inserito per alcune ore ogni giorno nel laboratorio linguistico di livello base (primo livello) e per le restanti ore scolastiche l'alunno parteciperà alle attività della propria classe. All'interno della scuola è attivo un gruppo di lavoro che si occupa della realizzazione del progetto e della relativa valutazione, attraverso incontri previsti all'inizio, in itinere e alla fine dell'anno scolastico. Sono stati elaborati vari documenti differenziati per le diverse fasi del progetto: per l'accoglienza sono stati predisposti:

- un protocollo di accoglienza;
- una lettera di benvenuto tradotta nelle varie lingue
- sintesi del POF tradotta in varie lingue;
- questionari bilingui di raccolta delle informazioni;
- prove d'ingresso per valutare le competenze generali degli alunni neo-arrivati;
- una scheda di valutazione iniziale al termine dell'accoglienza.

the criterion added.

Both projects suggest more deferred entry timetable compared to the "wild" inclusion that many other schools continue to implement.

secondaria e un docente dell'equipe pedagogica della scuola primaria che prenderà accordi con il docente alfabetizzatore stabilendo i tempi e le modalità dell'intervento.

Italian as Second Language

Il progetto prevede:

- attivazione laboratori di L2, nei vari ordini di scuola, organizzati con materiale idoneo per le sue diverse fasi: prima alfabetizzazione; attivazione di percorsi di consolidamento e sviluppo; apprendimento della lingua per lo studio (testi facilitati e/o semplificati).
- ore di insegnamento aggiuntivo, progettate dal modulo o dal consiglio di classe, per seguire l'alunno con percorsi individualizzati in delicati momenti dell'inserimento, quando incontra difficoltà nelle strumentalità di base e/o nella fase di preparazione di test di fine anno scolastico.
- All'interno della rete del CTI si stanno elaborando curricoli comuni, in chiave interculturale, a partire dal prossimo anno scolastico e curricoli disciplinari semplificati per gli alunni stranieri.

Trascorso il tempo necessario per un adeguato inserimento nella classe, gli insegnanti inseriscono l'alunno neo-arrivato nel laboratorio di alfabetizzazione di lingua italiana L2 per l'acquisizione linguistica. Imparare la lingua diventa da quel momento l'obiettivo primario dell'alunno/a

In base alle competenze linguistiche degli alunni presenti nella nostra scuola l'alfabetizzazione è stata organizzata attraverso la formazione di gruppi di livello.

LIVELLO BASE alunni non italofoni arrivati ad inizio d'anno o in corso d'anno, direttamente dal paese d'origine (A1-A2 in base al framework europeo).
Le attività saranno finalizzate alla prima alfabetizzazione (acquisizione di abilità di base relativamente alla conversazione, alla scrittura e alla lettura).

LIVELLO INTERMEDIO alunni che sono in Italia da almeno un anno (A2-B1 in base al framework europeo)
In questo gruppo saranno inseriti quegli alunni che hanno già frequentato per almeno un anno il laboratorio di L2, che hanno acquisito una prima conoscenza della lingua italiana, ma che necessitano di ampliare e sviluppare le strutture della lingua, il vocabolario, la conoscenza grammaticale e il lessico.

LIVELLO AVANZATO alunni che sono in Italia da almeno due anni (B1-B2 in base al framework europeo)
In questo gruppo saranno inseriti quegli alunni che hanno già acquisito una prima conoscenza della lingua italiana, ma che necessitano di ampliare e perfezionare le strutture della lingua, il vocabolario, la conoscenza grammaticale e i linguaggi specifici (anche in vista del proseguimento degli studi).

In reality, behind the differentiation of language levels in which insert foreign students there is the presence of literate teachers not always competent and trained. In addition, where is not the lack of training to undermine the effective implementation of projects, is the large number of foreign students attending workshops of Italian as second language. The level that has never been activated in the contexts studied is the advanced one.
Because of the large number of students and the inadequate number of teachers or teachers of literacy, there are not planned customized itineraries. Only in one case, the low presence of teachers has been transformed into a resource by using new ways of learning, active and creative, where students learned by using the theatre and corporeality.
There are a maximum of two modes of action on Italian as second language: the first focuses on the Italian language in context, namely the language to communicate, to give the condition for entering

straniero/a.

Ecco perché ciascun insegnante considererà prioritario questo rispetto all'insegnamento di altre discipline.

Se in fase di valutazione periodica (quadrimestrale o altro) gli insegnanti non avessero elementi per formulare un giudizio relativamente ad alcuni ambiti disciplinari, potranno annotarlo esplicitamente sul documento di valutazione dell'alunno/a. In parallelo sarà l'insegnante alfabetizzatore ad allegare una griglia di valutazione che fa riferimento alla sua Programmazione. Tale allegato dovrà contenere gli obiettivi raggiunti, quelli da raggiungere, le difficoltà incontrate, i successi ottenuti e la valutazione del comportamento dell'alunno/a, durante le ore di alfabetizzazione. Per ciascun alunno che segue il percorso di alfabetizzazione verrà redatta un'apposita scheda in cui viene annotato annualmente il numero di ore di alfabetizzazione di cui ha usufruito, il livello del laboratorio (di prima, seconda alfabetizzazione), il livello di acquisizione della lingua raggiunto alla fine di ciascun anno scolastico, in base ai livelli concordati in riferimento al framework europeo, il docente responsabile dell'alfabetizzazione.

Per l'alfabetizzazione si utilizzano:

- prove di verifica differenziate in base ai livelli degli alunni;
- osservazioni sistematiche;
- framework europeo di riferimento;
- scheda di valutazione individualizzata

the life of the classroom. The second, however, is the language of the study, as a vehicle for learning the language to communicate. The Ministry of Education suggested a joint approach involving all the teachers together to literacy curriculum. In examined contexts, is preferred the language to communicate where there are internal and external resources to lighten partially the work of teachers in the classroom, or when the evaluation is considered "strong", is now working on the language of study with the objective to provide teachers curriculum votes. It is noticed how in the first context is relativized assessment waiting the student maturation. The risk, however, is to delay the full inclusion in the classroom as it is the privileged place for socialization and emancipation.

Materials, instruments and methods

Sono stati condivisi:

- protocollo di accoglienza;
- scheda per la biografia linguistica dell'alunno straniero;
- schede bilingui per iscrizione, colloqui, organi collegiali, gita…;
- parole per accogliere in diverse lingue;
- informazioni sui diversi

Il progetto intende creare occasioni di incontro dando importanza alle relazioni sia nella fase dell'accoglienza che nei laboratori linguistici, ma soprattutto all'interno delle classi per un'effettiva integrazione, non dimenticando il difficile momento della migrazione, il disorientamento iniziale e il forte bisogno che molti bambini hanno di sentirsi accolti e accettati. Partendo dal presupposto che l'implicazione

Apart from the contexts in which teachers are left to themselves in finding materials in the construction of suitable pedagogical methods, more trained schools tend to keep track of best practices and to share them activated with the college teachers. However, the

Paesi di origine; - materiali di sintesi dei vari corsi su: glottodidattica, proposte operative per l'accoglienza e l'integrazione scolastica; - proposte di programmazione individualizzata, criteri per la valutazione, criteri per la stesura di testi semplificati….	affettiva ed emotiva, sono alla base di qualsiasi apprendimento, i docenti cercano di utilizzare metodologie che favoriscano il raggiungimento di un clima positivo di ascolto e di accoglienza. Abbiamo attivato: ❖ lavori di gruppo, di tipo cooperativo, in classe; ❖ momenti di conoscenza per favorire l'inserimento di nuovi alunni stranieri, privilegiando aspetti ludici per i più piccoli e attività più strutturate per i più grandi; ❖ tutoraggio da parte degli alunni soprattutto in fase di accoglienza; ❖ uso di nuove tecnologie e di strumenti multimediali come supporto alle attività didattiche.	difference that we see between the two contexts is the more or less ample space left to the free initiative of teachers. This means, as research has found, more or less space left to individual responsiveness or receptivity. The first context, having provided services such as the CTI (Local Intercultural Centre) offers resources, more effective and professional tools.

Risorse umane

Docenti di classe; docente del CTI; docenti della scuola primaria incaricati per l'insegnamento agli alunni stranieri; docenti della scuola secondaria di primo grado **disponibili** ad effettuare l'alfabetizzazione agli alunni stranieri; docenti esterni incaricati per l'alfabetizzazione; docenti della commissione per l'integrazione degli alunni stranieri; personale della segreteria e collaboratori scolastici interessati all'integrazione; psicopedagogista per il supporto alle famiglie e ai docenti per problematiche educative che riguardano gli alunni stranieri; operatori socio-assistenziali del comune e dell'Asl.	Un docente interno, un docente esterno e altri docenti disponibili in ore aggiuntive per l'accoglienza. Un docente interno/un mediatore per l'alfabetizzazione.	Apart from the contexts in which human resources are reduced to teaching curriculum, we understand from this prospectus as a strong choice of educational priorities ports not only more extensive levels of activation but also a large presence of figures that can take load of the education of foreign students. Although much of what is still be doing, is due to the availability, sensitivity of the few.

"Wild insertion", but what kind of school welcomes?

The most problematic aspects regarding the welcome and school management have emerged in schools that have not a long tradition and experience in facing the arrival of foreign students. Moreover it is understandable that the schools are unprepared if their teachers are unprepared to deal with this phenomenon. As the school is made by people when I ask: but what kind of school welcomes, I ask the data to tell me what teachers do, what teachers think and how they react. As has been argued, the just arrived students find some receptive teachers, sensitive to their needs. In schools of recently activation, those teachers are the measure of welcome. The possibility that the just arrived students would have personalized itineraries is not high; there is the dynamic of the delegation, where there is the presence of an ISL teacher and in the worst situation, there is the removal by the teacher when the student returns in the classroom.

The foreigners' removal

That conceptual node that I called *removal* emerged from the interviews as a way the teachers have to react to inclusion of just arrived students without Italian citizenship. This attitude is often implicit or disguised behind the alibi and is a reaction of those who have been called "cold" teachers.

"*by colleagues of the class she works is probably not helped because the other teachers... are very cold, insensitive, and with little interest to them (to*

foreign students)" (4NE).

The properties of this attitude derive from the fact of seeing the foreigner as a burden and nuisance. Teachers who feel like that do not care about foreign students they have in their class. This indifference often has been justified by the teachers using the fact that foreign students:

  - do not have any interest in understanding the Italian culture;

"*So, we do not teach the history of the unification of Italy ... as it cannot interest them. The history like the unit of Italy, as... it is important for us, Italians, but I do not know if it can affect me, if I were Chinese.*" (1ND).

  - Are still and silent when they are sitting at the desk and this attitude is read as disinterest:

"*The English teacher comes and says: 'ah but when they are with me in my hour they do nothing'. Then they start coming to the ISL class even during the hours of English. Then: Ah, but in my hour ...*" and then in the end… I am open, ok… in the sense that if the teacher say: 'those are not doing anything, I prefer they follow you class', ok, I'll take them.*" (2NE).

  - Tend not to do:

"*I am very lucky because I work with numbers and this is a fairly universal language, because I teach math, so if they want to follow me, if there is by their own the willingness to do, we have a common language that unites*

us quite well. But very often you have to insist with
them because the attitude that they easily assume is an
attitude of passivity. Tend to do it: You have to ask
... because otherwise they tend not to do" (4ND).

In these cases, the path of ISL is not so much
thought as a way of carrying out a right but a privilege
granted by the school. In fact, there are so many other
needs that invest school.

"Think only about the cost, even ... this school, how
many funds, the economic availability are moved over
them, because for example... I become bad… In the sense
... to me is fine anyway so because on the contrary we
would not solve the problem. But we did not handle the
reception of foreign students, probably those funds that
the municipality used to pay workers on foreigners would
use for bullying [...] because the economic availability
is still the same... they are only moved following the
choices are made, projects, ok? There are projects that
compared to others have a stronger priority."(4ND).

There are two alibis that serve as excuses for not
taking in charge the foreign students within the
education and class management: the workload that
normally commits a teacher is the most frequent excuse.

"You have three thousand other things to do: the
examination, reports and so then unfortunately you can
not focus on these things. So the poor…either asleep or
is full of rage and then explodes, poor thing!" (18RD).

But where there are other figures that revolve around
education of the just arrived student, teachers tend to

delegate. The class then becomes a "*parking place*" where "*you forget them*" with the consequent perception that the foreign students have of being "*set aside*".

"*The teacher has an important role. When they begin to return to the classroom (after the ISL training), these children should be prized, otherwise they remain unknown, strangers, 'ok, they are part of our class but ...'* " (5ND).

The teacher "*pretends they are ok*", in terms of "*I treat them like everyone else*", pointing to a fictitious egalitarianism. Often the data shows the exhortation: you must "*allow them to be somebody*", "*having the watchful eye on them*", but the idea, which contrasts with that of ISL teachers, is that they "*tend to do nothing*". That standing the situation, teachers prefer the students follow the ISL course, as much as possible. Teachers think they would better be outside the class, as far as schools have the ISL teaching classes. This denotes an educational delegation. However, this is a temporary delegation, because the teacher cares the student only if she/he does and if is successful. If the foreign student cannot do the same the other students do because she/he is just arrived, because she/he does not master the Italian language, teachers do not want her/him in their classroom.

"*Someone just says: 'Ok! Until they have learned some of Italian...' Then when teachers begin to understand that they can work even in class...*" (2NE).

The temporary delegation of teachers leaves the commitment of educate foreign students to other

professionals, if there are any, that actually supply and, sometimes, simplify, or even replace the teacher.

A final conceptual node that I shall introduce here but that it requires further development is the so-called *instructive compromised purpose* emerging from the participants of my research. Their words emphasize how the school is not a vehicle for emancipation. In particular, there are no paths that would pursue excellence as the discrepancy between the foreign students and native Italian speaker students' language skills is likely to affect their feasibility. The school should not empower because:

"*I do not say that they should become the president of the republic, nor to be the primary of a hospital, the head of the surgery department. Perhaps some jobs are more burdensome, which perhaps they cannot afford, however…*" (1ND).

There is not emancipation because the educational goals are limited to what teachers can do within their routines. At the end of the middle school, teachers will aim to improvise the final examination and, briefly, to ensure that the examination could be defined "*decent*". Consequently, the explanation of foreign students' scholastic success that maybe occur unexpectedly, is due to personal characteristics of the students, their positive character, and is not due to the formative implemented proposal.

Creating a favourable working environment climate

The underlying direction of the category of sharing responsiveness is to create conditions for teachers that

would support them in hiring the problem. Dealing, in
fact, with the education right of foreign students,
means in practice giving ways, time, tools and resources
for teachers. This happens only after they have solved
the needs that the presence of immigrants poses. There
are cases where the teaching is the last concern:
situations in which foreign children live in severe
deprivation, or work during the afternoons to help
families to achieve a better income. The school is an
institution that first intercepts these difficult
situations. Foreign students have no adults of reference
but parents and teachers. There are schools that are
active in the guarantee of other social rights as the
health care, aware that if you do not meet the primary
needs, education would be superfluous.

"*... If basic needs are not accommodated, at some point,
the culture becomes an unessential need. First you must
ensure ... lack of food ... clothing ... and of course
... but you, if you meet a person in need… how can you
tell him: 'I'll teach you the lesson about Dante'? Eh
... firstly I'll give you something to eat then I'll
teach the lesson...*" (14B).

This category debates the role of the school and its
spheres of competences, including traditional cultural
transmission and growth of skills. The school's goals
are put into crisis if it does not try to satisfy the
foreign student's basic needs. In Italy, the school
seems to supply the social welfare system. The issue of
immigrants has highlighted this phenomenon. Even,
teachers feel as they are substituting social services.
Is it not the case for rethinking the school in light of
these phenomena? These social responsibilities are

accepted only by the number of teachers who are not deaf to the needs of foreign students.

Creating a good working environment climate is, in other words, sharing educational responsibility of the just arrived students. They should be accepted and not only included.

The assessment: "The foreign student as a didactic issue and not behavioural problem"

From the perspective of teachers, foreigners at school are not a security problem, but they are a factor that tests the school organization that involves a multiplicity of factors. Foreigners, as suggested by a teacher, are a "*didactic issue and not behavioural problem*" (R2DM). This means that foreigners do not give problems of behaviour and conduct, but challenge the way of teaching the matters. The main issue the teachers face regards how to teach and to assess them. Especially with regard to the middle school, evaluation is perceived as the main tool for teachers to ensure their role as bearers of education. The teaching is challenged by the phenomenon of acceptance and inclusion of non-Italian students for two sets of reasons. The first is the fear of not having marks to sign and the second is the rigidity the teachers have in thinking the assessment as a contractual obligation. Participants have spoken of "fear" in not being able to give marks, as they do not have evidences to assess skills or competencies of foreign students. The lack of assessment would raise the fear of not having points to justify the foreign students' education and would lead to recognition of non-implementation of personalised education. Therefore, the assessments given by other

figures, such as educators or ISL teachers, are disregarded.

"*Activating means accepting the foreign student in class… trying to build for him the best route. It means that we need to share because as teachers we cannot delegate an educator or other teachers, which then have a limited liability on these guys. We are the bearers of education, from an institutional point of view we are the educators, in all respects.*" (4ND).

Two main solutions are found: the first is the simplification and the second is flexibility. Certain ways of teaching seems to be a tripping stone for the inclusion of foreigners in school and for the guarantee of the education right. The assessment is the instrument used to make foreign students actual members of a community. This should be a tool and not a goal of the scholastic system. Where the assessment there is a goal, there are many problems associated with resistance of teachers who initially are unprepared in assessing foreign students. So, on a hand, the teachers delegate the problem of evaluation to another teacher, namely the ISL teacher. On the other hand, if the assessment is a tool, then it serves not only to put in place educational choices (for example when a teacher chooses to not admit a student to the final exam) but also to try to not homologate all students to an ideal prototype. If the assessment is meant as a tool, the adjustment of teaching will be configured in terms of guarantee of personalised education.
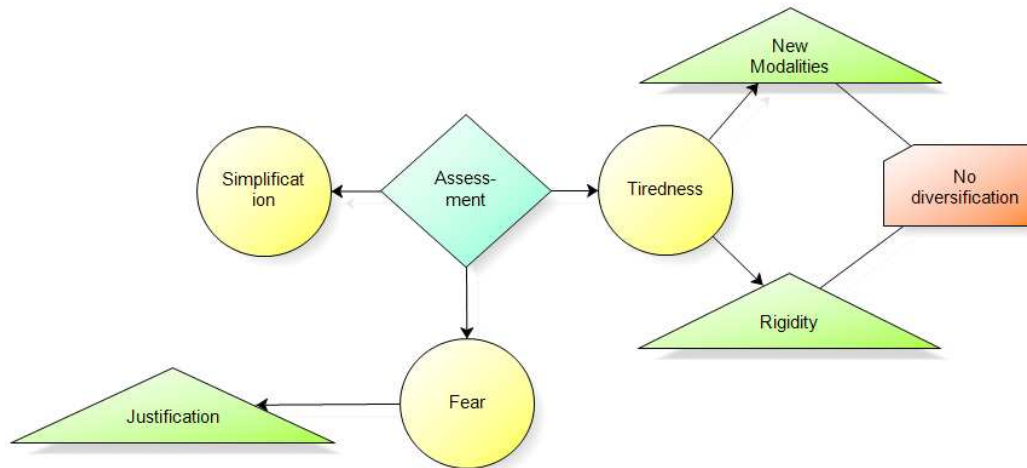
Figure 4: Factors influencing foreigners' evalutation.

The debate on the evaluation is very strong, mainly in the middle schools, less in the primary schools. Law has left the schools alone. While D.P.R. No. 394, of 1999 mentions the adaptation of curricula by the college teachers for just arrived foreign students, it does not say anything about an accordingly adjustment of assessments. Therefore, assessment is up to the responsiveness of teachers whose sensibility could push them to consider the personal initial differences.

"*It is indeed a matter of sensibility: there is a colleague that (introduces the just arrived student) and that makes this situation a tool to pass 2/3 hours of lesson in a different way, by enriching others and giving value to this child. There are colleagues who do not say... they go ahead on their way, they cannot be detached from their way of doing lesson.*" (20BDD).

Not all teachers agree to formulate diversified educational goals, because it is difficult, because the teaching routine is stronger than the requests for change and update it. The importance of the "responsiveness" lies in its characteristic of being a

facilitating factor of the teaching adaptation process:

"… *but it is inevitable what was said earlier on teaching practices. Or you adapt them or you fail. Some do so for a natural talent, for responsiveness or because they have an educational thrust*" (20BDD).

If for some the priorities are disciplines and knowledge, this means that the heart of the problem is not the students and their capabilities to educate, but the concern to keep unchanged the own teaching methodology. Hence, the fear of not having demonstrations elements. The first question that a middle school teacher asks to her/himself, facing a just arrived foreign student is: how may I assess her/him? The problem of evaluation of foreigners has not yet addressed in a systematic and shared way.

How is the school trying to solve this problem? Where the evaluation has not yet addressed, the problem is not solved. Where, however, the assiduity of arrivals has also led to criticise the traditionally understood assessment, two directions were detected. On the one hand, teachers tend to simplify goals. Simplifying does not mean lowering the level but declining educational objectives. It lowers the level, undermining the educational purpose of school, when teachers do not care of foreign students. A second trend is to make the assessment flexible, sometimes even spread over time.

According the guidelines suggested by the Ministry of Education: "One of the priorities in the integration of foreign pupils is to promote the acquisition of a good competence in written and spoken Italian, within the receptive and productive forms, to ensure one of the main factors of school success and social inclusion.

The foreign pupils at the time of their arrival, must compare with two different instrumental languages:
- The Italian language of the concrete context, which is essential for communicating in everyday life (the language to communicate);
- The Italian language specific to understand and express concepts, to develop the learning of various disciplines and a reflection on the language itself (the language to study).

The language to communicate can be learned in a time, which can fluctuate from one month to one year in relation to age, language of origin. To learn the language to study, however, it may take some years, given its specificity. The study of the Italian language should be included in the daily life of learning and education of foreign students, with language workshop activities and pathways and tools for teaching Italian intensively. Learning and development of Italian as a second language (ISL) should be the focus of teaching. It is necessary, therefore, that all teachers of the class of any discipline, are involves". How can we assess the language to communicate? An enlightened school manager supports:

"*You cannot evaluate the communication in Italian as learning. Because that is learning a language. Because one can know more things than… if speaks in his own language ... eh!*" (15B).

The prevailing trend in the studied contexts is to prioritize moments of intensive ISL courses to facilitate the job of curricular teachers who are struggling with the disciplines, matters, production of

tests, etc. Nevertheless, this sometimes turns into a delegation of educational responsibility.

It also true that the language to study would allow a faster entrance in class for the foreign students, so satisfying that educational intercultural goal taken by the Italian school, that the integration is done in the classrooms.

What is certain is that the general direction is leading the school towards greater assessments' flexibility even bureaucratic and administrative. Within certain high schools, foreign students can be enrolled without having already passed the examination of the previous school grade, with the clause that they would pass the examination before other qualifying examinations. On the other hand, middle schools are giving the opportunity to the foreign students to be examined using their foreign language as one of the discipline to assess. Waiting for the maturation of the just arrived foreign students is making teaching more flexible.

Conclusions

In this chapter I have written the results of the qualitative research conducted with the method of Grounded Theory that has revealed how schools are struggling not only with the assurance processes of the education right, point of arrival of SJE, but with the structuring of the conditions, which would open the field to those processes. In other words, to meet the demand of research: how does the school move to the right from the issue of integration of foreigners in school? It has been argued that what is happening, it is not the real guarantee of the right, because the data I

have does not allow me to support this. Rather the dynamics in place push schools to face the problem according two directions: sharing the teachers' responsiveness and structuring educational priorities in organising the school life. These two sub-categories are the fundamental prerequisites to the education right for all.

Moreover, the results shown here were chosen because of proximity from the *core category*. As you can see, in fact, the outline of the general process would have other conceptual areas not described in the chapter. It has been a choice. I outlined the most relevant ones to discuss the critical issues and the integration of foreigners in Italian public school in connection with what I have argued in Chapter 2. What has been included here is enough to understand how, in terms of SJE and social education right, the phenomenon of foreigners in the school is the litmus test of a democratic context: democracy, which wants all schools have the right to enrol, is not in itself guaranteeing the effective pledge of education right. To ensure the guarantee by the school the "structuring the conditions" process is required to make teachers' responsiveness and structured education priorities a continuous and systematic answer of the school context.

In the next chapter, I shall discuss the findings in the light of my theoretical position and other empirical researches on the integration of foreigners into the school. In addition, I shall introduce extensive data from other researches' results to give the political and social background that is here missing because of, as I will say later, the research method used.

Chapter 5 – Conclusions

Introduction

In the presentation of research results, I never referred to scientific literature. The meaning of this choice is because I did not want to add other voices to those of the participants. Each Grounded Theory would not need the analysis of literature (Glaser & Strauss, 1967; Glaser, 1978) as each GT is something original per se. As Silverman (2000) states, the discussion of the results should not be an overview of what has already been said on this subject, but should be a sort of dialogue with the results of a research and the scientific world that this theme handled. Moreover, I shall outline the strengths and limitations of the study.

Structuring conditions

What is happening in school can be read both as positive and as negative at the same time. Even if struggling, schools are reaching what the rules show it is necessary to guarantee the education right. Education, in my view, is not dissociated from instruction and teaching, despite having different characteristics.

Does the Italian school activate? Yes, it does active in a intercultural manner. Nevertheless, does the Italian school guarantee the education right? The answer is very problematic and can not leave teachers indifferent. The right is partly guaranteed to the extent when there are assiduous arrivals. So one may

wonder: but what happens when arrivals are not assiduous? The education right is not questioned, what, however, is still not fully clear is the union of the education right with dynamics of welcoming, listening, empathy. It is easier to find primary school teachers already accustomed to a work of education, and through this move to the contents of disciplines than middle school teachers, which have great difficulties in changing the personal didactic methodology. The equal education for all is a chimera: the equality of treatment is not the measure of the guarantee of a right. In fact, when teachers treat their students as if they were equal, they would refer to a wrong idea of teaching but also of school's goal. Often teachers that giving the same education to all is the right thing to do but they do not take into account the diversity capacities and possibilities of departure of each student. Perhaps, human beings are equal in training only potentially. This means that if the school really wants to give everyone the same, then it is necessary that the teacher personalizes the education as much as possible. The difference guarantees equality. E customizing becomes synonymous not only of fatigue, *"double commitment"*, as a teacher said, but also of different approaches, due to different students. Nevertheless, this would be not possible in the current state of things if teachers were not placed in "the conditions of act". In addition, being in the in the conditions means beginning paths of sharing education responsibility. This would be feasible where the roles of all the professionals are well sorted and finalized. This does not mean having more teachers in the school, but rather clarifying roles and functions, thinking that the classroom does not exhaust the teacher's commitment.

In fact, the education right requires less "classroom" and more group, more cooperative learning, more socialisation. Less "classroom" means that the education of foreign students is achieved outside the routine of the classrooms. Using, for example, cooperative learning rather than the frontal lesson would improve skills and competencies because it would give more opportunities for foreigners to interact with peers and, most importantly, their teachers. Only then, teachers also would find relief from the many tasks that stifle the true purpose of school: emancipation.

Teachers expect to care pupils without the Italian citizenship, only after they have reached a certain level of knowledge. Nevertheless, in creating a good working environment climate, the school is being equipped to make a systematic response to the problems, in the direction of guarantee the education right. To do that, schools should progressively more rely on external professional aids. An important key role is played also by the teachers' training and education. A good one may contribute to create a good working environment climate and may allow teachers to consent to their responsibility on the class management.

As several schools still deal with the arrival of foreign students as the main educational emergency the school is facing, there is the tendency to recruit non-trained teachers who know nothing about intercultural education, ISL teaching. However, if the school has prioritised the management of foreigners, already is trying to base its activities on in-service training.

Therefore, the theory of guarantee the education right outlines that schools are setting the prerequisites of the education right implementation. In fact, without sharing the responsibilities and

constructing the educational priorities for foreigners, the schools cannot start guaranteeing the education right.

Limitations

The structural limit of qualitative research is the dimension of generalizing the results. Research on host processes does not want to be always valid in any contexts. Instead, I concentrated on how the processes were implemented and lived, then the meanings that are given to the practices by the actors. The theory outlines further steps immediately viable and useful, which are adapted to first of all studied contexts, but that may be to some extent transferred to other contexts.

The utility of the theory of "*structuring the conditions*" is greatest in those contexts that experience similar situations. The structuring of the conditions is, in other words, a substantive and contextual theory. If the meanings of practices of acceptance and integration of foreigners are linked to the research participants and, for that reason, can not be generalized to other contexts, the dynamics of structuring of priorities and sharing responsiveness might be transferred and explain similar dynamics in other contexts. GT abstracts several aspects of phenomenon that become useful categories for explaining what happens elsewhere.

There is also another structural limit correlated to the method used, the GT. This limit is evident in two areas of conceptual research.

The GT is a research method for studying psychosocial processes (Glaser & Strauss, 1967; Glaser,

1978; Charmaz, 2000, 2006) events or phenomena related. In this way, as GT focuses on specific contexts, it loses the wider cultural background. In other words, the tools and strategies for collecting data do not allow GT to explore the wider political, social, cultural milieu. For example, the conceptual category that I just introduced, the "*compromised educational purposes*" was crucial to answer the question: does the Italian school guarantee the education right as I outlined it in Chapter 2? Developing this category would give more meanings and contents to SJE approach, but answering that question would have meant that I should have chosen a different strategy for collecting data such as a wide-ranging research.

In other words, I should look into the category of *compromised educational purposes*, including them in a different and wider research design. The *mixed method research* would be suitable to overcome the GT limitations. GT, in fact, focuses on social processes in terms of preconditions.

Discussion: extensive data

If there are aspects of novelty of this study, the first one lies in the perspective I used. The viewpoint of including students in the course of the year as a process put in place by the Italian schools to ensure the education right is relatively new in Italy. Usually the studies made on the education of foreigners taken into consideration factors such as cultural provenance (Portes & MacLeod, 1996) for example, emphasizing the intercultural dimension as conceptual focal point. The focus of this study, however, is not so much on intercultural education, rather on *Social Justice*

Education (SJE), theoretical panorama not systematically introduced in Italy, or at least, not until considered as a framework of study and education policies. There are some exceptions: Zoletto (2007) for example, illustrates the ideal process and desirable meanings to give to the phenomenon of integration of foreigners in the classroom. Starting from the definition of culture, not as something fixed but fluid, the author outlines how both the teacher and the student live a dimension of mutual cultural estrangement. His theoretical assumptions are similar to those of SJE: *border studies, cultural studies,* and post-modern thought.

Moreover, in Italy, the thinking of Paulo Freire who, as mentioned in Chapter 2, is the inspiration of a certain SJE still has great influence.

On the idea of pedagogy of human rights, there is a theoretical literature that has not evolved into empirical researches (Cambi, 2003; Marino, 2003; Maltese, 2003; Sabatino, 2008).

The emphasis on the processes of guarantee of education right has led me to construct a theory, called "*structuring the conditions*", that explains what happens in the Italian school when foreigners students arrive, even during the year , to allow them to follow the training. In the previous chapter, I stressed how the process of structuring the conditions lies in two different levels: that of teachers lived experiences and that of the school's management and organisation. Few other studies are in the middle ground between the teachers' experiences and the school's organisation. While research and studies that have as their starting point a strong critic orientation that guides their thoughts, this research has allowed the interdependence of the two levels to emerge.

The research did not reveal how to respond to the question: does the Italian school guarantee the education right? Instead I can answer the question about what is happening in Italian schools to ensure the right to foreign students. The answer is *structuring the conditions* that precedes a real guarantee of the right. Does this mean, then, that the school does not guarantee the education right? The answer to this question is not simple.

To answer this question I should rely, as I said earlier, to external research, condictive extensively to give reasons of the wide social background.

One of the reasons why the answer to this question is very complex regards the impressive data of 42.5% (source: www.istruzione.it) of foreigners that do not accomplish their curriculum. I may assume that, somewhat, the education was not directed to guarantee the right of 42 students out of 100. Some of the explanations of that can be reached from the dynamics I showed before:

- Removal;
- The compromised educational purpose;
- The foreign student as a problem;
- The short-range activation;
- The delegation;
- A not structured vision of the immigration;
- A discontinuity of resources.

This 42% is an average between different school's level. "In the first class of primary school, there is a delay of foreign students of about 10.7%. However, the gap compared to Italians, grows enormously with the progress of the level of schooling. In the third grade of middle school, the schooling delay of the foreign population is 60.5%. In the high school level, during the third year,

there is the highest percentage of delays among all school levels: 74.6%." (Sabatino, 2008, percentages retrieved by the author from www.istruzione.it). In Italy, the CENSIS Foundation published in the January 2008 a survey[9] on schooling experiences and outcomes of immigrants. There are significant correlations with the results of my GT. These data also give to my research a quantitative thickness essential to approach the answer to the question about whether school guarantees the education right. The survey was conducted using interviews during May 2007. Thirty-four municipalities were selected and 414 teachers were interviewed. All those teachers had in their classes a foreign student. In addition, 608 mothers of foreign pupils were contacted. The sample includes 105 schools (64 elementary schools and 41 secondary middle schools).

Even the CENSIS survey shows a positive situation in terms of activation processes, without hiding some risks and problems. "*The Italian schools are fairly well equipped to handle the first phase of integration, and relationships between different actors in the system (teachers, pupils, parents) are fairly straightforward, thanks mainly to voluntarism of many teachers*". This is what I have called "responsiveness" of teachers facing the educational emergency of foreign students at school. While the report highlights the "voluntary" nature of dealing with foreign students, the reference to the volunteer would not be correct. In fact, it is true that "the teachers reported as the first problem the lack of support from experts/mediators […] of a network of support from local institutions and national", but the term "volunteer" would indicate activation as it would not be one of the teachers' tasks.

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[9] *Lived experiences and the school outcome of immigrant children in Italy*, CENSIS 2008.

According to CENSIS survey, the activation would be due to the strong presence of foreigners in numerical terms. "*The inclusion in school and relationships between the different actors of the system (teachers, pupils, parents) are straightforward and require no special action until the numbers of immigrant students remain low. Where pupils immigrants are a significant presence there has been activation by the teachers and school leaders that generates responses that, until now, has been positive and in line with those set out in the Ministerial documents*". This figure does not find confirmation in some schools, such as the scholastic institute of Cittadella (PD), which have enabled activities even with a small presence of foreigners. The GT has revealed that it is not so much the number rather the ongoing assiduity of arrivals that destabilises the school organization. It is also true that the activation is dictated by other factor, clearly outlined by the theory "*structuring the conditions*", which is the awareness and receptivity of teachers, leading schools, even with low numbers of foreigners, to be active.

In line with my research findings, are the survey's data about the distance of the reality from a widespread realization of "*equal opportunities. The distance would caused by differences among schools and regions, by the solitude of many teachers, by the lack of functional relationships with other areas of social intervention in the territory, by the limited available resources, resulting also in the best situations a the lack of strength and continuity of actions*".

This is the point that most concerns the effective guarantee of the education right: "*it is now time to move to wider-range interventions, which should be well concerned of the final outcome and the continuation of*

school career in a logic of equal rights and equal opportunities. To date, in fact, the data indicate that the success of school pupils with non-Italian citizenship remains limited, drop-out rates are above average, and the risk of dispersion is higher than that of Italian peers".

This notes that the integration of foreigners in Italian school not only proves difficulties in guaranteeing the education right in its full meaning, but also makes "more evident the endemic problems of which always suffers the Italian school, from lack of teacher training, scarcity of technical equipment and appropriate media, the prevalence of a italic-centric culture, to the weakness of models, albeit important and innovative, such as school autonomy and forms of social participation of families".

Below I have inserted a figure from CENSIS survey that resumes some of the data I have presented in the previous chapter, especially about the so-called "lived" criteria for the inclusion of foreign students in class.
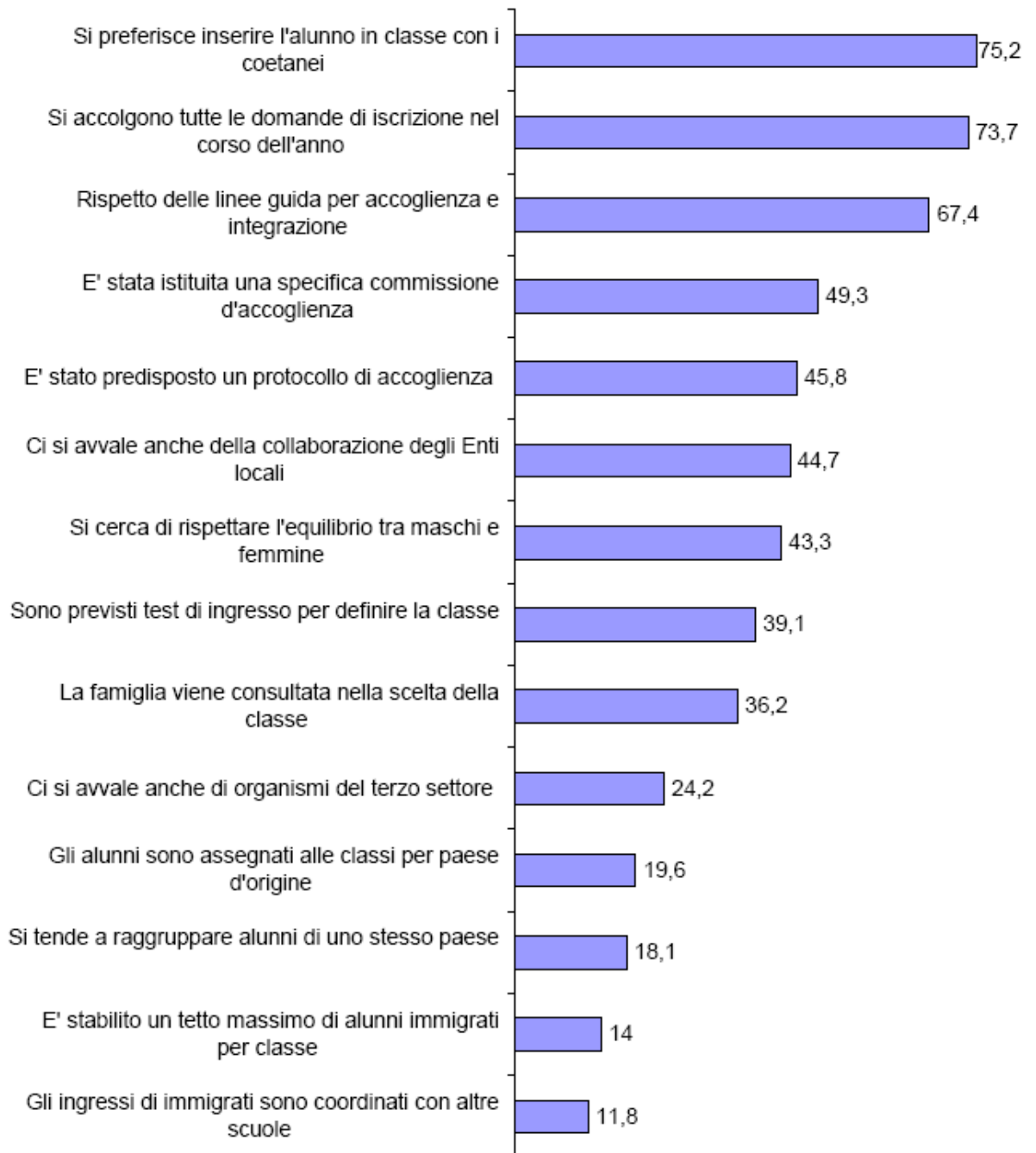
Figure 5: From CENSIS (2008) – *Lived experiences and the school outcome of immigrant children in Italy.*

It is interesting to note that the 73.7% of the studied cases schools accept all the foreigners arriving during the year. The law determines the possibility of access at any time of year. Only the 49.3% and 45.8% of respondents said that their school activates a specific

protocol of acceptance and provides a special committee
for supervising the host process (Censis, 2008).

Less than half of respondents notes collaborations
with local authorities, which the GT reveals as the
first and indispensable factor for including foreigners
in a "soft" way.

It is understandable, then, how much answering the
question of the guarantee of the right is difficult
because the quantitative indexes reduce to varying
percentages the educational success that transcends
quantifiable terms. The education right is guaranteed if
the schooling success refers also to a good and positive
relationship between teachers and foreign students. To
do that, it is necessary that schools decide for certain
educational priorities and become a welcoming place.
What is certain is that the percentage of schooling
delay can talk about a not entirely positive situation
for the guarantee of the right.

That schooling success, the delay of foreign
students is a paradoxical situation. The GT highlights
that according to teachers foreign pupils are highly
motivated and often working with them gives much more
professional satisfaction.

The Schleicher (2006) interpretation of PISA 2003
data showed this unusual situation. Foreign students are
more exposed to scholastic abandonment and at the same
time they have higher levels of motivation. The PISA
results suggest that a high proportion of immigration
not necessarily affect the integration. Indeed, there is
a significant association between the number of
immigrants and school performance of foreign students
and natives students. Foreign students are more
motivated and have positive attitudes toward school. In

no country[10] of the PISA 2003 report, foreign students have revealed strong differences in learning provisions. Nevertheless, despite this, they have lower levels of results significantly if compared with the results of natives. Moreover, countries where there are slight differences in scholastic outcomes between foreign students and their native peers, tend to have second language support programs in act for long time, with relatively clear objectives. In countries where the gap is more consistently, the second language education is activated only in a sporadic way (Schleicher, 2006).

Discussion: other researches

Studies on foreigners and the school have from time to time addressed the question of the teachers' discourse on foreigners, in terms of social representation, racism, prejudice, etc., or have focused on structural aspects, such as the organization of classes, differential classes, and more.

The specific nature of the GT is to have built a category for the explanation of both those areas and have shown how, within the SJE framework, the discourse and organization have multiple references in ensuring the education right. Supporting therefore that the right ends in the classroom is not consistent with the results and may not be plausible. This means that what a teacher says or thinks of the phenomenon of arrivals of students without Italian citizenship influences education and can undermine the goodness of ISL teaching and school success.

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[10] The participant country were: Australia, Austria, Belgium, Canada, Denmark, France, Germany, Luxembourg, Holland, New Zealand, Norway, Switzerland, U.S., Hong Kong-China, Macao-China, Russian Confederation, England, Finland e Spain.

But if we look at the literature on the integration of foreigners that is flourishing in Italy (Besozzi, 2002; Giovannini & Palmas, 2002; Palmas, 2002; Giovannini, 2006) we may find the same dichotomy: teachers, on the one hand and context on the other hand. As Goodman (1992) argues, the schooling of all is contextual set of practices, curriculum, involvement and relationship with the teacher. The results of GT would seem to fall into an already wide-ranging debate. However, to answer the question that I asked above, we need to make incursions that would cross research evidences with the results of other researches.

I state that the literature suggests quite critical answers. Researchers in education that have considered, for example, the education of Latin Americans, describe situations in which foreign students are ignored, devalued, and even humiliated. An important reference is the ethnography of Valenzuela (1999), which has developed a theory, with many very significant correlations with my theory, named: *Subtractive Schooling*. The researcher showed how social, cultural and linguistic resources, put in place by the teachers of a high school in Texas, in practice have exposed the students to school failure. Indeed, students of colour continually perceived a lack of "*genuine care*" in schools to the point of experiencing the same schools as subtractive.

Teachers

A research conducted by Michael, Andrade and Bartlett (2007), argues that a positive student-teacher relationships is a key element of students success: a strong and constructive relationship helps to establish

the identities of bilingual students as people and as individuals. The study of these researchers has happened in a particular context: a school to learn English where almost all the teachers spoke Spanish, the language of immigrant students. This would be one of the reasons that foreshadow the school's success, but among them, the researchers include also a high degree of expectations, a good personal relationship with students, and their families.

The GT research identifies, from this point of view, an inability of teachers to comprehend the disaffection among students, opposing situations of removal or justification: "*but he does not speak, is silent*" that is to say, "*he is not interested*". As supported in Chapter 2, listening to the others is very important for building a democratic context. According to these authors, an environment where the teacher is able to listen to students, is an environment that increases the chances of school success. From this point of view, the role of teacher is irreplaceable.

ISL and the assessment of foreign students

One of the issues that inclusion of foreign has shown is the lack of flexibility of teachers in finding new forms of assessment. The middle school teachers have reported discomfort in trying to change the already possessed assessment criteria. In this way, it has revealed a fossilization of professional routine that foreigners put in crises. The evaluation of teachers cannot, in other words, be "interculturally" declined, namely understanding the specific differences that these students have. Teachers, however, perceive the

assessment, as a very important thing. Nevertheless, these teachers prefer to remain with their habits.

The assessment is an essential tool for two kinds of reasons: the first is for the emancipation of foreigners while the second is for the detection of a problem especially within middle school, namely the obsession of disciplines.

A research in schools of Turin (Demartini, Ghioni, Ricucci & Sansoè, 2008) says that all studied schools were equipped for the ISL teaching courses. However, often, this was the only intervention "by virtue of its character of 'first concern'." (p. 136). The GT reveals that ISL courses are often the only intervention of the school, as well. That would be because the education of capabilities is a problem, namely the education of potential functions that would allow foreigners to get the chance to enjoy the education right.

According to Michael, Andrade and Bartlett (2007) in assessing, the school would play with culturally arbitrary categories and expectations that label in a punitive way the students are not adapted to these parameters.

A specific diversity of teaching and assessment of L2 is the so-called "inter-language", a phenomenon that is often confused with a total indifference towards the educational activities and which affect the assessment of many foreign pupils. The term "inter-language" is defined as the phase of transition from native language to Italian stage during which foreign students use a rather rough language.

The "inter-language" advantage is to make the concept of mistake out of date; it is replaced with terms like "learning strategy" or "new language approach" (Pallotti, 1998). The literature on the issue

notes that in language learning there are constraints that can be distinguished by "external" and "internal" factors. I shall introduce this topic because it is important to note that, in fact, the evaluation of language learning is difficult, but at the same time as far as the teachers do not deal with the problem, they will greatly mistake the assessments and thus undermine the training of foreigner students.

Language learning is conditioned, externally, by the material that is proposed. Another factor conditioning is the social interaction: interaction in class is very important, because it promotes learning, especially in the beginning. In this negotiation, the foreign student, if feels a not welcoming climate, if she/he is judged incompetent, is likely to stand in silence. The third factor (Tosi, 1995) that influences the language learning is the socialization, conditioned by micro and macro-social factors whose control is not easy. For example, the "social dominance" of a group of native people or a group of immigrants who feels bad accepted is very different. There are also internal factors such as emotional, attentive, and cognitive aptitudes that affect learning.

The GT reveals that all of these teachers are not aware and do not take into account all these influences. The assessment is naïve or strongly simplified.

Organization of the school context

The priorities structuring did not support the fact that the inclusion of just arrived students made the school a better place. This phenomenon is still seen as a problem and not as a resource. A manager of a provincial education office claimed:

"*We can say that foreigners are enrichment, not a problem... this is said by one that is not involved in the education of foreigners. Even ours are an enrichment and yet have they are a problem! So, let's try to solve the problem. And the poor teachers who have 20 students, 3 Italians and 17 foreigners... you must tell me how they are a resource? They are a problem but it does not mean we do not want to fix it. It means that we must solve it in professional terms ... because, ok they are a resource but you do not have the teachers, you do not have the financial resources, you do not have the space, you have no support, you do not have anything...*" (11BUSP).

Moreover, the CENSIS (2008) survey, called "*Lived experiences and the school outcome of immigrant children in Italy*", reports how the foreign students' entrance would reveal an unprepared school on several fronts.

Portes and MacLeod (1996) argue that the context plays a decisively more important role than the qualities of the individual, in this case of the foreign student. This contradicts the common sense of teachers for which those same qualities would be the real reason for success or failure at school.

The GT demonstrates that we need a lot more than ISL courses to guarantee the education right. A similar conclusion was reached even by a study conducted in a school, called Kousanar Middle School (fictitious name) in the United States (Gitlin, Buendía, Crosland & Doumbia, 2003).

The authors have done a research taking into account the discursive practices within the school, how, that is, they have helped to enhance and direct the formation of

identities, the activities and decision-making processes with particular reference to the practice of teaching English as a second language. They simultaneously used other sources of data such as architecture of school, the administrative guidance of the community, the implementation of certain school policies. The approach used was to seek "the factors underlying the actions of marginalization, relationships, and policy" (Gitlin, Buendía, Crosland & Doumbia, 2003, p. 95). These researchers have realized that in providing routes for ESL was happening something more. Students were experiencing a simultaneous and contradictory process of inclusion and exclusion. Exclusion practices were legitimized by a rare and occasional inclusion. Students studying English as a second language were at same time accepted and not accepted.

"The overall effect is that student success or failure is seen as an individual issue. The perception is that the school did what it needs to do (i.e., to treat all students the same), and now it is up to the students to move up the meritocratic ladder. Hidden within this ideology is the way that welcoming and unwelcoming worked together to place students in the Kousanar ESL program on the margins of school culture"(Gitlin, Buendía, Crosland & Doumbia, 2003, p. 103).

The involvement in school activities is very limited: the authors noted that in this school assemblies see the presence of foreign students as marginal. Even the activities of mutual intercultural understanding have given the impression to pose foreign students to the edge of a main culture.

There are many points in common with the process outlined by GT. The suggestions that come from the theory of my research and from that of these authors is that, generally, to guarantee the right we need more then the opportunity to learn the a second language. In a subtle and complex way, educational experience would not only produce the margin and the centre, or, as I argued, the guarantee of the right to a social minimum, but would put the students themselves at the margins.

The highlighted process of *the structuring of conditions*, will tend to eliminate the risk to marginalize foreign students as the structuring of priorities ultimate goal is to allow foreigners to enjoy the centre of the school.

According to Gitlin, Buendía, Crosland and Doumbia (2003) the process of marginalization within the school would be motivated by:

a) The concern of teachers for the intensification of work;

b) Concern of the White middle-class community of seeing their privileges eroded;

c) The tension to the assimilation of differences;

d) The concern that the opposition of immigrant parents to cultural adaptation of their children would undermine their welcoming at school.

The GT, in terms of SJE, notes, on the positive side, that schools do not usually implements policies of exclusion of students, but that, on the negative side, schooling cannot always be defined as an opportunity for emancipation. The GT agrees with the concern of teachers for the intensification of work and commitment.

My GT has only sketched the problem of perceptions of immigrants parents. The conclusion of the research of Gitlin, Buendía, Crosland and Doumbia (2003) is in fact

consistent with the *Critical Pedagogy*, in evidencing the concern of whites for their eroded privileges. Participants to my research, teachers and principals in the first place, have minimized what parents argued about the Italian school, which was not so much about some eroded privileges but about the impression of a quality impoverishment of the school.

Another research points out the structured vision as a phenomenon of background: Demartini, Ghioni, Ricucci and Sansoè, (2008) call it the "'presence of only a lens' in analysing the reality by the Italian school system." (p. 135).

According to the *Critical Education* (Giroux, 1994, 2003), the school creates and forms the identity of pupils. This would prejudice the opportunities and success at school. Although the tension of structuring the conditions is towards a greater inclusion of just arrived foreign students, the educational practice is not yet designed in accordance with the capabilities to be educated. On the guarantee of the right, there are two lines of thought. According to the liberal perspective, how many resources an individual has, would be the measure of her/his quality of life. So in school, how many are the things you give to foreigners, this would be the level of guarantee of the education right. The research shows that this is not the case. According to capabilities approach is not, for example, how much money a family has to determine its level of welfare. Therefore, in school is not how many hours of lessons foreigners have to determine the level of welfare of the education right. Rather, the difference is in the prerequisites the schools have or have not accomplished.

This point is understandable, in Chapter 4, where the reason for a successful schooling is found only in

personal characteristics. This is important to understand what underlies the process of ensuring education right and, in particular, what it is opposing to it. The school success is an individual matter because schools can do all of what is supposed to do. As this is not enough, the purpose of the educational processes of education is compromised.

To conclude: what we should do?

The answer to the question of whether the school guarantees the education right is not positive. In the absence of a real guarantee, we will concentrate structured to make the conditions systematic for a future implementation of the right. This might not be the full social education right but is already a way to move forward from mere guaranteeing the right to a social minimum.

The theory of the *structuring conditions* is in line with the suggestions of other researches on the issue of foreigners in class and is relatively operational immediately. In fact, this theory can answer the question: What should a school do to guarantee the education right? First, we must build the conditions, enhancing the responsiveness of the whole school system and organizing educational priorities. Only by so doing we will be able to face the issue of the real emancipation of foreign students. Only by structuring the conditions, we will ensure the education right for all.

However, in practice what can the principals and teachers do? What operational information derives from GT?

First, the figure and the role of principal who ultimately is the responsible for what happens in a school are crucial. The manager must:

- Form a committee of teachers, those sensitive who want to commit themselves in welcoming and educating foreigners;
- Build a protocol of acceptance and ensure its implementation;
- Construct a school schedule that takes into account the educational needs of foreigners;
- Plan moments of collegial and small groups reflection;
- Organize meetings for information on immigration and its consequences on schools and education.

In this way, the principals would take the role of propeller for change within the school. Teachers must think the school organization in a flexible manner, especially as regards the construction of the schedule. The educational priorities of foreigners must drive the organization to allow teachers to take care of foreign students and give them hours of upgrading language. To make this effective it is necessary that all those who deal with foreigners meet together with the class teachers of the just arrived student.

The school administration office must provide bilingual documents and moments of meeting with the cultural mediators and families. No one should have hurry in including foreign students in a class, but provide a reasonable period to familiarize with the environment.

The school must then seek relationships with local authorities and with other schools throughout the territory to find funds to finance projects of linguistic mediation and to collect ISL educational

material: this would create an atmosphere of serene work and would be a way of structuring a very useful network.

Finally, on the question of responsiveness and receptivity of each teacher we may not work much, because that is what is left to personal awareness. We may work on the removal of the foreigners in order to make it a clear thought to increase the teachers' awareness of what happens in the classroom and what it means in terms of right. Often teachers lack a structured social and political vision of the phenomenon. In fact, having, in other words, a structured vision of what is happening around the school and how this would affect the school could lead the school to work towards a long-range activation.

To begin to guarantee the education right for all is necessary working on preconditions, optimizing internal resources, giving a precise direction to the educational priorities. For many teachers, educating the foreigners seems to be a novelty, but they should comprehend that will be more and more part of their professional competencies.

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