Voices in transition

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Abstract

The paper reports about the initial results exploratory studies focusing on cultural diversity in secondary schools as experienced by those students who are perceived by fellow classmates as "migrant" students and by society as "second generation" immigrants.

The research is based upon data gathered in the Veneto and Emilia Romagna (Italy) regions through focus groups and in-depth interviews with "migrant" secondary school students (representing 4% of the total secondary students population) and their families highlighting what type of transition across cultural contexts is being performed by "migrant" students, who are the key institutions and educational roles that have an influence on such transition and what are they issues at stake in adapting to the demands of the various cultural contexts.

The qualitative data are related to the potential contribution of the educational curriculum in terms of the development of young people relevant intercultural competences and by analyzing the specific policies in this field promoted by the various youth and educational agencies and institutions and the specific demands of organisations involving "migrant" students.

Focus group and in-depth interviews indicate that "migrant" students are facing serious "integration" difficulties and that in the short run it is unlikely that secondary schools will provide adequate opportunities for voicing their transition strategies leaving a key role to youth groups and associations in elaborating transition strategies and in shaping and voicing young people needs and abilities for participation in social life.

Keywords: cultural diversity; home-school transition; integration indicators.

Resumen

Este artículo presenta los resultados de estudios exploratorios iniciales centrados en la diversidad cultural en las escuelas secundarias y que son vivenciados por aquellos estudiantes a los que sus compañeros consideran estudiantes «inmigrantes» y la sociedad inmigrantes de «segunda generación». Este estudio se basa en los datos obtenidos en las regiones del Véneto y Emilia Romaña (Italia) y ha sido realizado mediante grupos de discusión y entrevistas en profundidad con estudiantes «inmigrantes» de secundaria (los cuales representan el 4% del total de la población de estudiantes de secundaria) y sus familias. Se ha hecho especial hincapié a la hora de determinar el tipo de transición que realizan los estudiantes «inmigrantes» entre los distintos contextos culturales, las principales instituciones y figuras educativas que influyen en dicha transición, así como las cuestiones clave a la hora de poder adaptarse a las demandas que exigen los distintos contextos culturales. Los datos cualitativos están relacionados

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con la potencial contribución de los planes de estudio educativos en lo referido al desarrollo de las competencias interculturales significativas para los jóvenes, el análisis de las políticas específicas en este ámbito promovidas por las distintas agencias e instituciones juveniles y educativas, y las demandas específicas de las organizaciones que trabajan con estudiantes «inmigrantes». Los grupos de discusión y las entrevistas en profundidad revelan que los estudiantes «inmigrantes» se enfrentan a serias dificultades de integración y que, a corto plazo, es muy poco probable que las escuelas secundarias les proporcionen oportunidades adecuadas para expresar sus estrategias de transición. Esto hace que los grupos y asociaciones juveniles desempeñen un papel esencial cuando se trata de diseñar las estrategias de transición y de elaborar y expresar las necesidades y habilidades de los jóvenes a la hora de facilitar su participación en la vida social.

Palabras clave: diversidad cultural, transición hogar-escuela, indicadores de integración.

Introduction

This paper presents two exploratory studies focusing on the condition of youth with a foreign family living in Italy, the perception of diversity by Italian youth and examples of youth collective agency focusing on intercultural and citizenship issues.

Although the international literature on these topics often refers to children and youth who are born in migrant families as "second generation", the term is questionable and will only be used in this paper to refer to such international debate. Most definitions of "second generations" in relation to migration processes usually adopt the birth criteria or a combination of factors (such as birth, arrival date, school socialization). Ambrosini[1] adopts a pragmatic approach, i.e. he includes in the "second generation" category those children who have at least one immigrant parent, whether they were born abroad or in the country of residence.

Several authors such as question the term "*second generations*" and its use in public and scientific debates. Queirolo-Palmas outlines four main shortcomings:

"(a) its effects of reification (to be a child of immigration as a ontological property);

(b) the removal of contact with peers who are not children of immigration;

(c) the reduction of a biography at the origin;

(d) the transformation of an origin into a destiny. Such a category, which emphasizes the maintenance of a cultural distance, reminds young people coming from immigrant families that despite all their efforts they are and always will be linked to another cultural space and as such their residence is not worthy of full citizenship"[2].

This paper shares these concerns. Before presenting the studies, the paper attempts to place them within the wider international and Italian contexts and therefore it is structured in 6 parts.

This first and introductory part of the paper presents its structure and an outline of the key issues. It is followed by a second part looking at the European context in terms of facts and figures as well as of narratives by the sons and daughters of migrant families. The third part of the paper narrows the focus: it presents some contextual information and indicators concerning the Italian situation and it highlights some present challenges concerning the condition of "second generation" youth.

The last three parts of the paper are based on exploratory empirical research eventually highlighting issues of youth agency from an intercultural and citizenship perspective both in formal and nonformal education settings. The fourth part of the paper reports about the initial results of a study focusing on cultural diversity in secondary schools as experienced by those students who are perceived by fellow classmates as "migrant" students and by society as "second generation" immigrants. The fifth part of the paper presents qualitative data in relation to the work of intercultural associations practicing "cross-community approach". It explores initiatives and narratives by the Rete TogethER, a network gathering young people with and without a migrant background, who promote citizenship education in Emilia Romagna' secondary schools through ad hc workshops. The sixth and final part of the paper discusses the main results of these studies and identifies some issues and challenges for future research work.

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[1] Ambrosini M. (2005) *Sociologia delle migrazioni*, Il Mulino, Bologna.
[2] Queirolo-Palmas L. (2010) *Within, Against, Beyond the Color-Line: Generations and Migrations in Italy*, in Darkmatter, October 2010, available

at: http://www.darkmatter101.org/site/2010/10/10/within-against-beyond-the-color-line-generations-and-migrations-in-italy/

1. The European context: the figures of inequality

The 2011 Eurostat publication "Migrants in Europe: A statistical portrait of the first and second generation" provides comparable data on demographic and socio-economic characteristics of migrants in the EU Member States. It offers a comparative overview of the situation of migrants and it assesses whether, and to what extent, migrants are disadvantaged as a group. There are at least five major trends that Eurostat is highlighting in this field.

— In 2008 in the 27 European Union Member States, the unemployment rate of foreign-born persons aged 25-54 was higher than for native-born persons in this age group (10% compared with 6%). This pattern was observed in almost all Member States for which data are available (except Greece and Hungary).
— In relation to employment, foreign-born persons aged 25-54 registered a significantly higher over-qualification rate than native-born persons in 2008 in the 27 EU Member States (34% compared with 19%), and in all Member States for which data are available. The difference was particularly marked in Greece (62% for foreign-born compared with 18% for native-born), Italy (50% and 13%), Spain (58% and 31%), Cyprus (53% and 27%), Estonia (47% and 22%) and Sweden (31% and 11%).
— In 2008 in the 27 EU Member States, 31% of the foreign-born aged 25-54 were assessed to be at risk of poverty or social exclusion, following the criteria set by the Europe 2020 strategy. The native-born registered a lower rate of 20%. This pattern was observed in all Member States for which data are available (except Hungary and Lithuania).
— Foreign-born persons are also in a less favourable situation with regard to housing conditions. In 2008 in the 27 EU Member States, foreign-born persons aged 25-54 were more likely to live in overcrowded dwellings than native-born persons (23% compared with 19%).
— In 2008 in the 27 EU Member States, 28% of native born persons aged 25-54 with foreign born parents and 33%

with a mixed background had a tertiary education, compared to 26 % of their peers with native born parents.

According to authors such as Alana Lentin and Gavan Titley[3] and Will Kymlyka[4] the failures of European policies addressing cultural diversity are to be attributed to a generic "multicultural" public intervention model and to multicultural policies, and in recent times – parallel to challenges to the dominant model of economic growth – "a chorus of political leaders has declared them a failure and heralded the death of multiculturalism"[5]. To respond to such criticism, Kymlyka refers to the results of the Multiculturalism Policy Index which identifies eight policy areas where liberal-democratic states are implementing more multicultural forms of citizenship in relation to immigrant groups. The Index measures the extent to which countries have espoused some or all of these policies over time. The general pattern from 1980 to 2010 has been one of "modest strengthening". Kymlyka stresses that Multiculturalism works best if relations between the state and minorities are seen as an issue of social policy, not as an issue of state security. This is one of the main focus of Alana Lentin and Gavan Titley who – in *The Crisis of Multiculturalism: Racism in a Neoliberal Age* (2011) – show how politicians' attacks on multiculturalism are forms of 'coded racism'. In other words, the "crisis of multiculturalism" that is claimed by some political commentators' is being used as a 'mobilizing metaphor' in order to overcome previous taboos and to allow racism to be reframed and to re-establish itself. Therefore, the politics of race is being legitimised again and laundered'[6] within a "post-racial", neoliberal environment, free from notions of structural inequality and anti-racist struggles.

2. The European context beyond the figures: narratives of inequality

A year ago, I participated in a European meeting organized in Reggio Emilia by one of the international local authorities network focusing on migrants and intercultural policies. I was particularly interested in listening to the way local intercultural projects were reported within a European exchange of practices

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[3] Lentin A., Titley G. (2011) *The Crisis of Multiculturalism: Racism in a Neoliberal Age*, Zed Books, London.
[4] Kymlyka W. (2012) *MULTICULTURALISM: Success, Failure, and the Future*, Migration Policy Institute (MPI), Washington.

[5] Kymlyka W. (2012) *Ibid.* p. 1.
[6] Lentin A., Titley G. (2011:24) *The Crisis of Multiculturalism: Racism in a Neoliberal Age*, London: Zed Books.

by some of the local actors whom I have been collaborating with for the past years. Many of the "local" stories remained untold, not easy to fit within the international policy-oriented language framed in terms of governance agendas and indicators. Some of them were told late in the evening: most learning still takes place around coffee machines and coffee tables. My most remarkable off-schedule meeting was with documentarian Fred Kuwornu: his latest documentary gathers 18 stories and experiences of young adults born and raised in Italy and whose parents came to Italy from other parts of the world – Southern Mediterranean, Asia, Central and South America, Africa. Children of immigrants, most of them have never visited their parents' country nor do they necessarily speak their parents' mother tongue(s). They speak Italian, they speak local Italian dialects, they study in Italy. Yet, they are not granted Italian citizenship. In order to obtain Italian citizenship, Fred explains "they must wait until the age of 18 to undergo a long and complicated bureaucratic process, which does not always end with a positive outcome for the applicant, resulting in economic exclusion, social isolation, and identity confusion". Fred's documentary "18 Ius Soli"[7] immediately reminded me of similar "second generation" narratives, best summarized by Ahmed Djouder in his book Désintégration (2006). What are the social and psychological condition of the children of immigration? What are their relations to their parents' lives and experiences? What are their views of the "mainstream" society where they live? Djouder's book shares with the reader the emotional load and the views of a young person living in France and being viewed in the first place as the son of immigrants. What does such a young person learn about his parents in relation to "mainstream" France? Djouder opens his book with what immigrant parents do not do while an "average" French parent might be doing (taking it for granted): playing tennis or badminton, going out to listen to a concert of classical music or out for dinner in a restaurant.

"Family is the main moral and social value, the absolute priority that parents try passing on to their children. – stresses Recchia[8] - The constant misunderstanding between generations and the different perceptions of their presence in France amplifies the sense of loneliness that Beur youths feel and express in their

narrations. They are almost suspended in a vacuum where a whole new code of interpretation of the world has to be forged. Coming from families who still preserve their cultural and emotional roots in Algeria – that children have possibly never visited – Beur youths try to construct a language that could allow them to reduce the gap between home and the world. It is a kind of daily migration between two different worlds within the same world, which inevitably sits at the core of cultural production. The emptiness produced the dichotomy between an unknown fatherland and an unwelcoming country of birth (as it is France for Beur children) is filled by the banlieues, which embody an ultimate sense of belonging"[9].

"Even if I don't have Italian citizenship, I feel Italian. I am here since I was three years old. If I were not to feel Italian, what should I feel?" says Avarinda in the opening sequences of "18 Ius Soli ". In selecting these narratives Fred Kuwornu and his team are not aiming at simply producing yet another documentary. They are challenging Italian citizenship and "residence permit" regulation: the 55 minutes of the documentary are at the core of a civil rights campaig aimed at changing the Italian citizenship law as it applies to those who are born in Italy by immigrant parents.

On the basis of these types of narratives, Recchia reviews the question of advanced marginality as it is elaborated by Wacquant in "Urban Outcasts" and addresses issues of territorial stigmatisation and unemployment especially as narrated by French writers of Algerian origins in the last twenty years. Her reading of November 2005 clashes in French cities acknowledges that the semi-fictional accounts of immigrants' life in the banlieues are a privileged source of information about the social distress that nurtured the explosion of urban violence as a response to a situation of inequality that periodically triggers violent acts.

As Djouder clearly spells out, "Us and you: that is the story of a strictly diplomatic relation, therefore of one full of hypocrisies, of sad compromising. We will forget this provided that you are going to forget that… and by practicing oblivion memory is burnt, nothing is left. Relations based on mutual interest are

[7] http://www.18-ius-soli.com

[8] Recchia F. (2008) *Immigration, politics and violence in urban France: between fiction and facts*, Information, Society and Justice. Volume 2.1, December 2008: pp. 47-61.

[9] Recchia F. (2008) *Immigration, politics and violence in urban France: between fiction and facts*, Information, Society and Justice. Volume 2.1, December 2008: pp. 47-61.

empty shells… Try to imagine a world that talks about you only in terms of percentages, of degree of integration, immigration, marginalization, criminality, crimes, insecurity… Foreigners are not weak. They are neither mentally nor physically weak. They are not behaving as victims. It is history that makes them weak. As women. Women are not weak: their role is weak"[10].

What are the implications of such "weak" position? "It is interesting to note that in the street jargon the metaphors used to talk about these sensations are strikingly spatialised. The streets of the neighbourhood are in fact the backdrop of long and empty days. As gangs meet in the alleyways of the tenements or in the corners of courtyards, the expression that they use to describe the necessity of killing time is 'tenir les murs' (holding the walls) as if their actual, bored presence were physically inscribed in the local environment. Another interesting expression, along the same lines, is the verb zoner that indicates the getting together and strolling around. The space of the neighbourhood in a subtle, but pervasive ways overcomes the physical realm and insinuates the symbolical sphere. This overwhelming presence becomes a metaphorical tool of identification replacing traditional models of belonging. The solidity of the concrete structures of towers and bars provide an anchor in the floating process of self-definition: however dull, their monotony and sameness play a re-insuring role when everything else seems to be in transition"[11].

As Lentin and Titley (2011) show, what we have been witnessing over the past years is not so much a rejection of multiculturalism as a projection of neoliberal anxieties onto the social realities of lived multiculture: "Nested in an established post-racial consensus, new forms of racism draw powerfully on liberalism and questions of 'values', and unsettle received ideas about racism"[12].

3. The Italian context in comparison to international indicators

Kymlyka (2012:3) highlights how from the 1970s to mid-1990s, Western democracies witnessed a clear trend toward the increased recognition and accommodation of diversity through a range of multiculturalism policies and minority rights. "*These policies were endorsed both at the domestic level in some states and by international organizations, and involved a rejection of earlier ideas of unitary and homogeneous nationhood. Since the mid-1990s, however, we have seen a backlash and retreat from multiculturalism, and a reassertion of ideas of nation building, common values and identity, and unitary citizenship — even a call for the 'return of assimilation'.*"[13]

The EU Countries regulatory frameworks and policies concerning citizenship, labour market, education, social provision[14] have been integrating at the institutional level a sense of diversity. Today, diversity policies are promoted by governmental agencies, corporations, universities, unions, non-governmental organisations and media, among others. The pluralism of contemporary societies hasn't been paralleled with adequate legal and policy instruments. The adoption of a diversity perspective does not imply yet a consistent understanding and approach across the various sectorial policies[15]. Obviously, this gap is even more threatening in relation to cultural diversity policies in countries such as Italy, where citizenship is still based mainly on *ius sanguinis* and where the recognition and accommodation of diversity lacks the pro-active approach that could be witnessed in the past decades in other Western democracies. This is one of the reasons why are Fred Kuwornu and his team are urging Italian society to challenge and to transform Italian citizenship and "residence permit" regulation. These are the figures that their documentary as well as the national civil rights campaign "Italia sono anch'io"[16] contribute to raise awareness about:

— in Italy there are 932.675 "foreign" children and youth under 18 years of age, 572.720 of them are born in Italy;
— 673.592 of them are enrolled in primary and secondary education schools;
— every 100 "foreign" children that are born in Italy, 42 are not granted Italian citizenship when they are18 years old.

In order to understand these figures and challenges it seems useful to introduce at this stage some comparative data concerning Italy within the context other European and North Ameri-

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[10] Djouder, A. (2006) *Désintegration*, Paris: Éditions Stock.
[11] Recchia F. (2008) *Op. Cit.*
[12] Lentin A., Titley G. (2011) *Op. Cit.*
[13] Kymlyka W. (2012:3) *Op. Cit.*
[14] MIPEX (2011) *Migrant Integration Policy Index*, MIPEX, London.
[15] Lentin A., Titley G. (2011) *Op. Cit.*
[16] http://www.litaliasonoanchio.it/

can countries intercultural policies. According to the Migrant Integration Policy Index (MIPEX), on average 31 European and North American countries have policies "just halfway favourable for integration. Scoring around 50%, overall policies create as many obstacles as opportunities for immigrants to become equal members of society". According to the MIPEX, on average, migrant workers, reunited families and long-term residents enjoy basic security, rights and protection from discrimination. But the three greatest obstacles remain for settled foreigners to become citizens or politically active and for all children, whatever their background, to learn and achieve together in school.

The OECD PISA studies distinguish between three types of student immigrant status: i) students without an immigrant background, also referred to as native students, are students who were born in the country where they were assessed by PISA or who had at least one parent born in the country; ii) second-generation students are students who were born in the country of assessment but whose parents are foreign-born; and iii) first-generation students are foreign-born students whose parents are also foreign-born. Students with an immigrant background thus include students who are first or second- generation immigrants.

In its "Education at a Glance 2011", the OECD[17] signals that there are important differences in the characteristics of students with an immigrant background. This depend to a large extent from national housing, social and educational policies, as students from the same countries of origin show considerable differences in their performance across the different host countries. In general, the size of the performance gap between students with and without an immigrant background after accounting for socio-economic status is 27 score points.

Education has recently being included also as a new MIPEX strand. It emerges as a major area of weakness in the integration policies of most countries. It acknowledges that migrant pupils may be struggling in school for different reasons than their peers. According to MIPEX "schools retain wide discretion on whether or not to address the specific needs of migrant pupils, their teachers and parents, and monitor the results. Without clear requirements or entitlements, pupils do not get the

support they need throughout their school career and across the country, especially in communities with many immigrants or few resources. Migrants are entitled to support to learn the language, but frequently it is not held to the same standard as the rest of the curriculum. Hardly any countries have systems to diversify schools or the teaching staff; most schools are therefore missing out on new opportunities brought by a diverse student body. Few education systems in Europe are adapting to the realities of immigration. The most engaged are in North America, the Nordics and the Benelux"[18].

The other key area of concern for "migrant" youth is nationality law. New laws significantly improved the conditions for integration in Greece and Luxembourg, while little has changed for most citizens-to-be, with fees soaring in Ireland, Italy, UK and US. MIPEX states that "stakeholders remain divided on whether residence requirements, conditions and security grounds promote or undermine integration in practice. Increasing conditions and years of residence can be viewed as obstacles and poor indicators of integration (GR, earlier PT, BE), or as 'incentives' (LU, SK, UK). A few new citizens will benefit from new protections from discretion, withdrawal, and statelessness (DE, GR, HU, LU). But new security grounds in SK and UK (2007) and proposals in BE, FR, NL and US would link security issues to new citizens. The debate centres on whether withdrawing citizenship from people of foreign origin will make society any more secure or integrated"[19]. The MIPEX stresses that in Italy voting rights is still absent for non-EU residents.

The MIPEX notes that "Italy offers more limited political opportunities to its non-EU residents than most established countries of immigration. They cannot vote in local elections like EU citizens can. Government has not shown political will to adapt the constitution (see also AT, DE, ES) or remove their opt-out from Council of Europe Convention 144. Italian immigrant consultative bodies do not encourage meaningful participation. Authorities interfere in the selection of representatives, rarely consult them and give them superficial roles. Italy respects most basic political liberties and provides some funding for immigrant associations. Still, outdated laws state that any newspaper they create must be owned by an Italian citizen"[20].

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[17] OECD (2012) *Education at a Glance 2011*, OECD, Paris, p. 93.
[18] MIPEX (2011) *Migrant Integration Policy Index*, MIPEX, London.

[19] MIPEX (2011) *Op. Cit.*
[20] MIPEX (2011) *Op. Cit.*

Therefore, in Italy we are witnessing poor policies in terms of granting citizenship rights to migrants and their children in combination with a weak approach to the education in relation to "migrant" pupils (OECD, MIPEX). MIPEX notes that "this is an area of weakness for Italy, (…) Its education system has as many strengths as weaknesses. Migrant needs are targeted but generally as a 'problem group', while all students are not taught how to live together. As in most countries, migrants under age 18, whatever their status, access education and general support for disadvantaged pupils (however successful these measures are). Schools can use some targeted funding and teacher training on migrants' needs. Newcomers risk being placed at the wrong level, with few measures to catch up. Besides civil society projects, the Italian education system is not actively supporting new opportunities and intercultural education".[21]

In Italy, the ministerial circular of March 2006 contains the guidelines for the welcome and integration of foreign children. It provides indications on the use of linguistic and cultural mediators in schools with foreign pupils. In practice, these mediators welcome and tutor newly-arrived pupils and help them integrate at school. They also have interpretation and translation duties, and serve as mediators in parent-teacher meetings, especially in specific problem cases.

4. Challenges within formal education: an exploratory study

Unlikely other European countries - such as Belgium, Britain, France, Germany, the Netherlands, Scandinavian countries - Italy and other Southern European countries experienced a significant immigration trend in the past two-three decades, i.e. in the context of different labour market and schooling practices and policies.

The recent TIES (http://www.tiesproject.eu/) surveys provide a comparison of the access of "second generation" immigrants to higher education in Central and Northern European countries. TIES surveys highlight significant differences: for example five times as many second generation Turks are to be found in higher education in France and Sweden compared to the German speaking countries. TIES explains these differences as consequences of a continuum that goes from more or less stratified or closed school systems - in Germany, Austria and Switzerland - to more open, comprehensive systems in France and Sweden and it suggests that each country is actively constructing its type of "immigrant" community according to the chances and opportunities it provides.

These data offer important elements to reflect upon in Southern European countries although a "more open" school system such as the Italian one might still offer examples of poor "second generation" access to higher education as the choices concerning the education career are dependent on a more complex pattern of socio-economical and cultural factors. Within Italy, different regions are experiencing a variety of formal education responses to diversity in school. Today in the Italian Veneto region "foreign" students are 11.7% of the overall school population (Regional School Department for Veneto, 2009). The increase recorded since the year 1999/2000 (when they were 2%) and the rates of low school performance of "foreign" students[22] represent significant challenges to school policies. These concern the school methodological and organizational side, as well as the normative and symbolic context. Teachers have found themselves in the role of "mediators" of an actual "shared school"[23] between de jure Italian students and new de facto Italians[24]: students without Italian citizenship, although in close relationship with their school mates, and, in principle, with equal rights.

The analysis on the changes in the identity of foreign students have started to be included in literature, as personification of "cultures at stake"[25], multiform, changeable and nuanced. The condition of students of foreign origin who are studying in

[21] MIPEX (2011) *Op. Cit.*

[22] Fincati V. (2009) *L'istruzione, I giovani cittadini stranieri nel sistema scolastico italiano*, in Osservatorio regionale sull'immigrazione (ed.) (2009), Immigrazione straniera in Veneto. Rapporto 2009, Franco Angeli, Milano, pp. 99-100.

[23] Giovannini G., Queirolo Palmas L. (eds.) (2002) *Una scuola in comune. Esperienze scolastiche in contesti multietnici italiani*, Edizioni della Fondazione Giovanni Agnelli, Torino.

[24] Pace V. (2002) *Conflitti di valore e riconoscimento delle differenze in un sistema educativo multiculturale*, in De Vita R. – Berti F. (ed) (2002) Dialogo senza paure. Scuola e servizi sociali in una società multiculturale e multireligiosa, Franco Angeli, Milano.25 Melucci A. (2000) *Culture in gioco*, Il Saggiatore, Milano.

[25] Melucci A. (2000) *Culture in gioco*, Il Saggiatore, Milano.

vocational secondary school is particularly interesting as it repre-sent the condition of the majority of these students and as such school choice is usually leading to not accessing higher educa-tion and to adjust to low salary professions, indicating a ten-dency by these students, their schools and their families to limit their capacity to aspire[26].

4.1. Research methodology

The research is based upon data gathered in two provinces – Padova and Vicenza - of the Italian Veneto region through focus groups and in-depth interviews conducted in four schools with students from classes including "migrant" secondary vocational school students - who represent 4% of the total secondary stu-dents population. The structure of the focus group was centred around three major themes:

— students job-related experiences;
— probable and preferable futures; and
— relevant learning in relation to school projects addressing diversity issues.

The reasons of selecting these questions are connected to the fact that the focus group were also intended to help in monitoring or assessing ongoing or recently implemented school projects dealing with diversity issues. In-depth interview were conducted on a voluntary basis with "migrant" students based on the assumption that some participants might not feel comfortable about sharing certain views and facts in front of other people as they might be sensitive about the feedback that other participants may provide. During in-depth interviews, the person being interviewed comes out as an expert as the re-searcher's attitude focuses on the desire to learn everything that the participant can share about the research topic. As such, in depth interviews proved an effective qualitative approach for getting students to talk about their personal experiences, and to express their own opinions about issues raised during the focus group or of a personal nature. Participants felt more confident and encouraged to express their feelings and thoughts about the research subject.

4.2. Theoretical Framework

In gathering the qualitative data it seems worth paying atten-tion to the open-closed views dimension as outlined by Milton Rokeach (1960) in order to relate students' views to the potential contribution of the educational curriculum to the development of young people relevant intercultural competences.

Rokeach (1960) suggests that phobic dread of the Other is the recurring characteristic of closed views. Legitimate disagree-ment and criticism, as also appreciation and respect, are aspects of open views. The latter implies not to over-generalise and the ability to change view of both oneself and others by taking into account new evidence. Since the focus groups and the in depth interview conducted within this study were part of specific edu-cational programmes promoted by local youth and educational agencies and institutions and they were supposed to respond to specific demands by organisations involving "migrant" students it is worth discussing them on the basis of Taylor and McKirnan's (1984) five-stage model of intergroup relations, including proc-esses of social attribution and social comparison that are at the core of five distinct intergroup behaviour developmental stages that all intergroup relations are bound to go through in a se-quential order. The model allows for predictions concerning the circumstances that lead individuals from a minority group to re-main inactive, engage in individual action, and instigate collec-tive action. Based on social identity theory, this model sees the perception of the intergroup situation as the key pattern deter-mining the response of the minority group members.

4.3. Voices in transition – Focus group and interviews initial results

Narratives and interviews cover a wide range of topics. Three of them seem particularly relevant for discussing present school policies addressing diversity in education:

— students' perception of school activities addressing diver-sity;
— students' assessment of school management choices rela-ting to diversity issues;

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[26] Appadurai A. (2004) *The Capacity to Aspire: Culture and the Terms of Recognition*, In Rao, Vijayendra and Michael Walton (eds). Culture and Public Action. Stanford University Press.

— the fact that experiencing discrimination is unlikely to engage in individual or collective action.

The focus groups and in depth interviews provided a spectrum of mixed feelings by students, and especially by "migrant" students about some of the current school extra-curricular activities addressing diversity:

> "The lessons were useful although at times they were boring and it was impossible to pay attention to what they were saying. We would need something more practical, more visual if possible".

This mixed criticism expressed during a focus group is made more explicit by other group members once questioned about the effectiveness of experts' input about newcomers rights in the workplace. Several remarks pointed at the fact that the experts' input were felt by students as quite distant from the labour reality they have already witnessed and they are likely to face in looking for and getting a job:

> "Were we to follow their advice we would never find a job".

> "My older brother is 27 and he works for a roof repairing enterprise. He has got to lift 50 kilos weights on one shoulder and he has got to carry the gas cylinder as well, sometime climbing 10 floors. Once I went with him to help unloading their truck and it was simply too much for me. But my brother did not go on studying and now this is the type of job that he can find".

In other words, students are starting to perceive a kind of tokenistic approach to the promotion of "migrant" students' rights in school, making use of their presence in the formal education system to claim a space for rights issues that are conveyed with a top-down didactic approach and not addressing their actual local context and aspirations. Students are also becoming more aware of school management choices relating to diversity issues:

> "This school year one of the classes is made of 17 students of foreign origin and 5-6 Italians… Maybe this is ok from a certain point of view, but it is not fine for the Italians. It is fine to get to know people from other cultures. But maybe they (the Italian students) would also like to stay with people from their own country. In my opinion this would be alright because it is fine to make room for foreigners, but it is too much to get to a 17 – 6 ratio. They should have enrolled some of them in other school classes".

Students who have been discriminated are unlikely to engage in collective action and are usually slowly adjusting to what is being felt as a possible "integration" process:

> "It is not bad to get to know new people from different countries. On the contrary, I would say that t is very nice. It is an opportunity to exchange and to share the ways one does things in her/his own country without letting these diversities leading to conflict. It is important to exchange and to keep a light tone. People should not be judging somebody else without getting to know each other first. It was not easy for me and I was not happy while I had to attend primary school and the first cycle of secondary school (until I was 14). I was feeling really bad because after two months the first thing that I was able to understand was a sentence that the only friend that I had been able to find. Referring to me she said to another boy: 'She does not understand Italian so we can say whatever we like about her: she will not understand us even if we say silly things'. I felt really bad because I understood what they were saying. From that moment on I shut myself up and I told myself: I am not hanging around with these guys. But when I started to attend the second cycle of secondary education, I told myself: 'Let's try and hope that these new classmates are different'. In the end I met new people and I felt good among people that are fun and that accept me".

The same student is aware that the local environment and some classmates have discriminatory attitudes but she is ready to cope with them and to avoid controversial issues:

> "In my new class there are stubborn people that don't accept me but also other people that think: 'Let's get to know her without judging her first'. We are only 11 pupils in my class, and only another pupil and I are coming from abroad. Even here differences are being made evident although now I don't get upset when they say offensive things to me: now I know it is meant as a joke".

Some teachers seem to be able to play a pivotal role in improving communication and in addressing diversity issues although general intercultural education provisions are deteriorating:

> "Teachers have been instrumental in facilitating our relations because they taught us not to base our beliefs on issues that in reality are not important. I think some school activities had a positive role such as pupils assemblies, creative activities, sport activities: we get to meet each other because everybody is involved. I think that Italian courses for foreign students were useful for them to learn Italian and to improve their abilities to express themselves in Italian once in the classroom. These courses are no longer there and as a result many foreign students isolate themselves, take the Chinese students for instance: they are always by themselves and they don't understand Italian. One need to practice Italian a lot in order to learn and to understand it. I am managing to say hello to Chinese students but since they don't speak Italian it is difficult to interact with them".

5. **Cross-community intercultural and citizenship initiatives**

While the Veneto region lacks significant dialogue between local and regional authorities and intercultural youth associations, the neighbour region Emilia Romagna reveals interesting youth initiatives that are able to influence formal education policies by making use of nonformal education and on-line social networks initiatives.

Coming from various groups and associations that represent migrant youth and promote intercultural dialogue, the TogethER members joined forces in 2008 in order to develop a network aimed at promoting intercultural and citizenship initiatives.

At the operational level, this is meant as an attempt to go beyond the individual organisation's self-financing habit based on applying for public grants and stick to projects' deadlines in order to acquire increased capacity, long term perspective and, eventually, freedom:

> "coming from different associations, our challenge is to establish proper partnerships and to work as a group, being able to involve the various intercultural and second generation entities that are active in the Emilia Romagna Region. We aim at establishing a self-managed youth network and to be acknowledged as such by the Regional authority. This should allow us to improve our activities, avoiding getting stuck into the usual one-year project financing by Regional bodies."

From an educational perspective, the TogethER network is reminiscent of Dewey's idea that democracy is based on "*associated living*", "*cojoint communicated experience*" although it goes beyond Dewey's claim that what is specifically important for democratic co-existence is that people "*come to possess things in common*"[27]. As noted by Willinsky (2002), social and intellectual views of democracy have changed since Dewey first held that "*in order to have a large number of values in common, all members of the group must have an equable opportunity to receive and take from others. There must be a large variety of shared understandings and experiences*"[28]. Willinsky (2002) adopts a critical view of this feature of democ-

racy as defined by Dewey and his position seems very close to the one adopted by the TogethER network: "*we see democracy as a means of governing those who do not necessarily share 'a large variety of shared understandings and experiences. Dewey's sense of the nation as a shared experience tends to limit democracy's inclusiveness, just as his focus on the nation itself curtails a more global approach to this democratic exchange of understandings and experiences*". Both support "*a concept of democracy given to working with differences, rather than seeking a singular truth or vision*"[29].

This shift from seeking a singular truth to working with differences seems consistent with Appadurai's theory of rupture. According to Appadurai[30] both the electronic mediation of everyday life and mass migration play key roles in the transformation of society. They are interconnected trends with a decisive impact upon the "work of the imagination" as a constitutive feature of modern subjectivity[31] since the electronic media "*offer new resources and new disciplines for the construction of imagined selves and imagined worlds*". Intersecting mass migrations they result into "*a new order of instability in the production of modern subjectivities*"[32]. As TogethER network activists say:

> "We have learned that if you find yourself uncomfortable within the clothes that society gave you have to learn to help yourself and to get organised in order to be able to produce your own tailor made clothes. We should not wait for somebody else to come and adapt our clothes. That is why we are taking the initiative. We have no time to rest".

On-line social network tools play a crucial role in the way TogethER manages internal and external communication. While a common site and a FaceBook page was the initial basis of such communication, the impression is that – as TogethER secondary school workshops are developing a significant network of "friends" - FaceBook is becoming less popular among activists while Twitter opens new ways of promoting and accessing information on these issues. Interviews with the TogethER activists show that these media are being used next to each other and

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[27] Dewey, J. (1916) *Democracy and education*, Macmillan, New York, p. 86.

[28] Dewey, J. (1916) *Ibid.* 84.

[29] Willinsky, J. (2002) *Education and Democracy: The Missing Link May Be Ours*. Harvard Educational Review, 72(3), pp. 367-392.

[30] Appadurai, A. (1996) *Modernity at Large. Cultural Dimensions of Globalisation*. University of Minnesota Press, London and Minnesota.

[31] Appadurai, A. (1996) *Ibid.* P. 3.

[32] Appadurai, A. (1996) *Ibid.* P. 4.

intersecting each other although there is an actual preference for the opportunities provided by Twitter. The TogethER network activists consider Twitter a positive development and an opportunity to promote activism in an intercultural way. TogethER network activists observe that a trend that is inherent to Facebook and the "friendship" approach concerns people' tendency to develop their exchanges within the same affinity group while at the same time search tools such as Google are tailoring their approach to users by focusing on the same priority contents. This is generating an Internet "backyard" culture while Twitter offers more ways to develop cross-cultural information and to share ideas and events across a wider and more open network. This does not mean that TogethER members are not participating in and visiting various Facebook pages. Often they are using it to promote their video products and activities and to look for collaboration concerning their events. In both cases it is remarkable that the interviewed people were early Facebook users. Over the years they generally grew tired of it as a "personal" space and are using it mainly as a professional and communication tool.

In relation to the use of new information technologies in promoting new grassroots forms of citizenship agency including a strong intercultural dimension it seems appropriate to review Weber and Mitchell 's [33] observations about the way media production contributes to the construction of identities especially through the facilitation of reflexivity in three ways.

> "Firstly, their own media production (both through its processes and its outcomes) forces young people to look at themselves, sometimes through new eyes, providing feedback for further modification of their self-representations.
> Secondly, the source materials and modes of young people's media production are often evident or transparent; the choices and processes that they use reveal and identify them in ways that they themselves might not even realize.
> Thirdly, through built-in response mechanisms or simply through audience response, media production invites other people's feedback

and readings, sparking a dialectic that is inherent to mediating and reshaping how we see ourselves and how we think others see us"[34].

Weber and Mitchell's perspective meets TogethER activists' concerns around the question of whose eyes young people see themselves through and whose language they use to express themselves. "*A reflexive regard is not necessarily as critical as one might think; it too is shaped by culture and experience. Because we are not always aware that seeing is something we are taught to do and that language is something into which we are socialized, our ability to read and represent ourselves can lose its critical edge. It is, therefore, the ability of media production to occasionally provoke this awareness that makes it so useful to identity construction*"[35].

It is remarkable that none of the volunteers and activists that were interviewed for this study raised issues or claims concerning an open source perspective on the software that they are using and at times promoting in relation to their activities and media production as if the popularity ad reach-out ability of software would always be a priority when compared to more transformative and accessible perspective. Lessig[36] and Benkler[37] show how the ways in which people use digital media present fundamental challenges to established understandings of property, which in turn, lie at the foundation of the political order and identity questions. These challenges relate to the age-old question of access to knowledge. It seems that identity issues are given priority by the interviewed activists and youth workers over more technologically "structural" access issues.

As we have seen in the case of the TogethER network, issues of social status are being raised every time that we address questions of identity. Generally, there has been an association of the term "identity politics" with activist social movements that are explicitly addressing and challenge social status and identity relations. "*They have struggled to resist oppressive accounts of their identities constructed by others who*

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[33] Weber S., Mitchell C. (2008) *Imagining, Keyboarding, and Posting Identities: Young People and NewMedia Technologies*. In "Youth, Identity, and Digital Media". Edited by David Buckingham. The John D. and Catherine T. MacArthur Foundation Series on Digital Media and Learning. The MIT Press, Cambridge, MA, 25-48.

[34] Weber S., Mitchell C. (2008) *Imagining, Keyboarding, and Posting Identities: Young People and NewMedia Technologies*. In "Youth, Identity, and Digital Media". Edited by David Buckingham. The John D. and

Catherine T. MacArthur Foundation Series on Digital Media and Learning. Cambridge, MA: The MIT Press, 25-48.

[35] Weber S., Mitchell C. (2008) *Op. Cit.*

[36] Lessig L. (1999) *Code and Other Laws of Cyberspace.* Basic Books, New York.

[37] Benkler Y. (2006) *The wealth of networks: how social production transforms markets and freedom*, Yale University Press, New Haven and London.

hold power over them, and claimed the right to self-determination (…) Identity politics thus entails a call for the recognition of aspects of identity that have previously been denied, marginalized, or stigmatized. Yet this call is not in the name of some generalized 'humanity': it is a claim for identity not in spite of difference, but because of it. As this implies, identity politics is very much about transformation at the level of the group, rather than merely the individual: it is about identification and solidarity. Issues of representation—about who has the right to represent, or to speak, and for whom—are therefore also crucial here" [38].

While identity politics has been criticized as special pleading or as a diversion from cross-cutting social struggles based on some kind of reification or essentialism (making generalizations about the members of a particular group in order to assimilate them to a given identity) the TogethER network members show a concern for enhancing the fact that people have multiple dimensions to their identities. They are careful in avoiding a specific definition of their own condition as well as in making sure to promote sensitivity to intercultural issues within a broader active citizenship an inclusive framework. Their choices concerning digital media seem consistent with this approach, particularly when they identify and resist what they term "backyard" Internet culture trends.

On the other hand, it is worth noting that none of the activists and staff interviewed is aware of the tools developed by SALTO, the European network of Youth in Action thematic centres, including the toolbox. SALTO seems one of the few network that is seeking a collective response to issues of accessibility of on-line as well as face-to-face technologies: the over 1000 "tools" entered in the SALTO ToolBox [39] present an encouraging scenario that reminds us that a commitment to research and documentation carries with it a responsibility to extend the circulation of the researched and documented work as far as possible. Such effort places at the core of the reflection upon technologies the ability to respect diversity and accessibility principles through open-source options, acknowledging different agendas and differing approaches in elaborating and producing information and yet encouraging and making possible dialogue and joint efforts among them.

So far, limited or no attention is being given by the interviewed staff and activists to active citizenship that addresses specific Net and technological issues. Within youth and activist work, so far the response to access to knowledge questions is often an empirical and short term searching that tries to combine quick responses from affinity groups to ways to integrate up-to-date technologies into the organisation's own work. Nonetheless, the powers of organisations depend as well on their positioning in relation to the sources of knowledge and on their capacity to understand and process such knowledge. Knowledge is also flow [40] and networked learning can be a good example of the forms of citizenship "co-adaptation" process promoted by the interviewed staff and activists. Ideally, the promotion of human rights, intercultural dialogue and active citizenship has a potential for contributing both to access and to modify the flow of knowledge. This would imply an acknowledgement of the basic power relations and conflicts that affect today's information flow and Net dynamics. Nonetheless, in the lack of interest for inherent Net conflicts (for example concerning open-proprietary approaches to the information flow), we are witnessing a issue-based approach to activism and youth work that is not necessarily interested nor sensible to structural conflicts. This is a paradox that suggests further explorations, given the complex approach to social and cultural issues that cuts across the three organisations who contributed to the drafting of this chapter. A conflict is not just a confrontation of two human beings in strong opposition. It is mainly a disposition of mind that "allows thinking in terms of multiplicity and equivalence instead of identity, in terms of function instead of essence" [41].

6. Discussing learning in culturally diverse settings

Focus group and in-depth interviews indicate that "migrant" students are facing serious "integration" difficulties and that in the short run it is unlikely that secondary schools will pro-

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[38] Buckingham D. (ed.) (2008*) Youth, Identity, and Digital Media,* The John D. and Catherine T. MacArthur Foundation Series on Digital Media and Learning. Cambridge, MA: The MIT Press.

[39] http://www.salto-youth.net/tools/toolbox/find-a-tool/

[40] Castells, M. (2009) *Communication Power.* Oxford University Press-Becta, Oxford

[41] Benasayag M., Del Rey A. (2007), *Eloge du conflit*, La Découverte, Paris.

vide adequate opportunities for voicing their transition strategies leaving a key role to nonformal and informal youth groups and associations in elaborating such strategies and in shaping and voicing young people needs and abilities for participation in social life. The findings are consistent with previous research that indicates a tendency by minority group members to perceive their group, but not themselves, to be targets of discrimination. When referred to the personal experience of being the target of derogatory comments, the above mentioned sentence "*I know it is meant as a joke*" reveals an ability to cope with the everyday threats of the dominant culture, but also an inability to challenge them. The intercultural experience helps "migrant" students to develop open views although it is not conducive yet to the voicing of forms of legitimate disagreement and criticism that Rokeach[42] would claim as inherent of such open views. A similar attitude of not addressing potential conflict issues is noticeable in dealing with other minority groups:

> "I also meet with friends, Italians and non Italians, that I have met outside school, usually on Saturday afternoon. I don't see it as a problem the fact that somebody is coming from one country or another. I know that back in Serbia there were problems with Albanians: at school I do talk with Albanians and our relations are cool although we don't talk about our countries' politics".

Research conducted by Ruggiero[43] suggests that the psychological consequences of minimizing personal discrimination might be more positive to the individual as claiming that one is a victim of discrimination implies that others do not like or accept you. It is worth noting that attributions to discrimination may also threaten the belief that events are under the individual's control. According to Ruggiero (1999), in order to maintain the belief that others accept them for who they are, and that they have control over the outcomes they receive might encourage minority group members to minimize personal discrimination. In addition, according to Taylor and Mc Kirnan's[44] five-stage model of intergroup relations minority group members are likely to engage in collective action only if they recognize that they have been discriminated against to the same extent as other members of their group. However, if minority group members minimize their personal experience with discrimination relative to the experience of their group, they are unlikely to take the necessary steps to improve their own personal status or the status of their group. The results seem very close to the writings and drawings collected in "We the Diaspora", a recent publication by the Council of Europe resulting from a five days Training Course for 25 youth leaders of the "African Diaspora" in Europe organised by the North South Centre of the Council of Europe:

> "While we shared our different experiences, we came to realize that we have similar issues and challenges such as integration, identity conflict, cultural clash, stereotypes, discrimination, equality of opportunities, employment, lack of youth policies and non-involvement in the decision-making process, and the importance of education"[45].

While participants shared their stories and feelings and their different viewpoints about the Diaspora, two illustrators tried to translate the entire process into symbolic images and key words. The latter include: tear, fear, marginalization, unknown, curiosity, alternative, hope, help, homesickness, solidarity, love, participation, togetherness, effort, freedom, pride, far away, change, adventure, sacrifice, excitement, faith, happiness, confusion, joy, carrying-on, responsibility, life journey, love, motivation, strength, future, education, development, dream, reality. These key words could well apply to a variety of scenarios and population groups, although the fact that they were chosen as focal feelings and ideas among African Diaspora young people living in Europe seems to suggest an initial conceptual pattern for qualitative analysis and recognition of their ways to describe and give meaning to their lives. From an educational perspective the interviews highlight the need for a comprehensive approach that takes into account a long-term strategy involving concrete opportunities to include youth groups and families as well in educational policies: "*At home I speak Serb with my parents. With my friends I speak Italian. I am starting to forget some Serb words*".

[42] Rokeach M. (1960) *The open and closed mind: investigations into the nature of belief systems and personality systems.* Basic Books, New York.

[43] Ruggiero K. M. (1999) *The Personal/Group Discrimination Discrepancy: Extending Allport's Analysis of Targets*, in Journal of Social Issues, 55, Fall 1999, 519-536.

[44] Taylor, D. M., & McKiman, D. J. (1984) *A five-stage model of intergroup relations* in British Journal of Social Psychology, 23, 291-300.

[45] Quadri E.C., Prieto Fernandez M. (eds) (2010) *We the Diaspora*, Illustrafricando, Lisbon: North-South Centre of the Council of Europe.

These "migrant" young people's visions of the future seems closely related to what Frank Hutchinson (1996) refers to as passive hope (i.e. an intermediate stage between hopelessness and active hope) reflecting social attitudes oscillating between low self-esteem and bland optimism, still lacking the foresight and pro-social skills that seem at the basis of a significant capacity to aspire[46].

Also, it seems particularly interesting to further analyse the interaction between the school teaching staff and the phenomena of "secondary differences", the processes of collective identity-building within contexts of marginalisation or discrimination, which generate phenomena of "cultural inversion"[47], meant as the tendency of minority groups to consider certain meanings, symbols and events of the predominant culture as inadequate to their own group's members. When asked about their home, a young rapper raised in Padova by a Romanian family says:

> "Home is where there are no rules, where one does not have to get used to certain behavioural rules. It is the place where one experience a sense of belonging, where one is not feeling excluded. For me I believe it is in Romania".

Veneto is placed at the core of a widely contradictory socio-institutional scenario. While national surveys such as the one co-ordinated by National Economic and Labour Council[48] attribute to the Veneto area a high (potential) for immigrant integration, its Provinces have often witnessed episodes of conflict which received a significant and often biased media coverage. There appears to be a contradiction between the processes which ensured to immigrants the provision of different levels of responses to their needs (with the peculiar contribution of a few religious bodies headed by Caritas and charities on various levels) and the symbolic background that have frequently been attributed to this area (based on concepts related to the troublesome nature of the presence of immigrants in the area and to narrow-scale, security-based and anti-welfare ideologies). What type of rela-

tionship can be identified between teachers attitudes and the degree of social integration? So far the existing literature about the multicultural dimension of Italian school presented teachers as independent variables.

The present data suggests to expand a research matter which has remained largely unexplored also in the Veneto region. The objectives of further field work addressing the role of teachers should take into account:

— tracing the evolution of, and establishing the connection between demographic flows and changes in teacher attitudes in relation to the increased presence of "migrant" students in their classes;
— establishing a systematic relation between these attitudes and structural variables (such as age, gender, professional career and seniority, type of school and geographical context);
— assessing the links between teachers' attitudes and behaviours by analyzing both the methodological-organisational ground (i.e. praxis and official documents) and the symbolic and cultural one (opinions, projections and prejudices);
— Identifying indicators and tools employed to detect such attitudes.

It would be particularly interesting to compare local educational practice with the practices from other European countries, such as Spain and Portugal[49] displaying analogous dynamics to those occurring in Italy, and having undertaken practices to improve teachers-parents relations. In "Experience and Education" John Dewey draws the reader's attention to the two principles of continuity and interaction. He shows how these two principles are not separated from each other. He defines them as the longitudinal and lateral aspects of experience:

> "Different situations succeed one another. But because of the principle of continuity something is carried over from the earlier to

[46] Appadurai A. (2004) *The Capacity to Aspire: Culture and the Terms of Recognition*, In Rao, Vijayendra and Michael Walton (eds). Culture and Public Action. Stanford University Press.

[47] Ogbu, J. (1987) *Variability in minority school performance: a problem in search of an explanation*, in Anthropology and Education Quarterly, 18(4), p. 323.

[48] CNEL (2007), Indici di integrazione degli immigrati in Italia. V Rapporto, available at: www.cnel.it Cope W.W., Kalantzis M. (2009) *Signs of epistemic disruption: Transformations in the knowledge system of the ademic journal.*

[49] Leon Del Barco B., Mira A.R., Gomez Carroza T. (2007) *An evaluation of opinions concerning immigration and multiculturality in the School for Teacher Training*, in Electronic Journal of Research in Educational Psychology, nr. 12, Vol. 5(2).

the later ones. As an individual passes from one situation to another, his world, his environment, expands or contracts. He does not find himself living in another world but in a different part or aspect of one and the same world. What he has learned in the way of knowledge and skill in one situation becomes an instrument of understanding and dealing effectively with the situations which follow. The process goes on as long as life and learning continue"[50].

Dewey seems to detect a critical area, but probably too quick in assuming that "*a divided world, a world whose parts and aspects do not hang together, is at once a sign and a cause of a divided personality*"[51]. While it is crucial and consistent with Dewey's analysis to ensure that successive experiences are integrated with one another at the personal level, it is necessary to consider that in mediating socially divided worlds such process is a complex one and it requires intensive dialogue between individual and collective efforts in elaborating appropriate transition strategies.

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http://www.18-ius-soli.com/
L'Italia sono anch'io
http://www.litaliasonoanchio.it/
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Rete TogethER
http://www.retetogether.it/
http://www.youtube.com/playlist?list=PL0359F99C0E803078&feature=plcp