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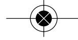


16. Recognition, Interculturalism(s) and Schooling in Italy

A Critique from an Equity Perspective

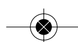
Monica Mincu & Maurizio Allasia

The Politics of Recognition in Italy

The process of European identity building involves a fundamental dilemma which some view as limiting its legitimacy. Scholars question the relationship between a European identity, or *demos*, and national, regional and local bonds or sentiments of belonging. In addition to territorially based identities, an emerging European identity appears to be in competition with non-territorially-based identities, such as class or gender (Fossum, 2001). A highly contested issue even from a conceptual perspective (see Camia, 2010), European identity would imply a different and emerging post-national type (Delanty, 2002; Fossum, 2001).

Relevant to our present discussion, a European identity is assessed as essentially shaped by the intensity and direction of the politics of recognition (Soysal, 2002; Munch, 2001) and is principally decided at the national level. The impressive number of standards and legislative tools developed over the last fifty years by the Council of Europe, for instance, drawing on the European Convention on Human Rights, in particular, and deemed to strengthen human rights and the policy of interculturalism, only provides direction and advice.

The profile of a recognition policy created and mediated between different levels and institutions (regional, national and European) may lead to dif-



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ferent integration pathways and translate into several possible scenarios. It is significant to note, for the present discussion, the plainly visible tension between an *equal dignity*- versus *difference*-driven policy of recognition, a crucial factor for future scenarios of European integration (see Soysal, 2002).

Analogous tensions are visible in the Italian politics of recognition. Over the past twenty years, a European-continental version of multiculturalism, "intercultural education," has emerged throughout Europe, most prominently in new areas of immigration such as the Southern European countries (e.g., Italy). Initially, academics in these European contexts oscillated between attitudes of uncritical adoption and of outright rejection. Most Italian scholars considered, naively and in a *sui generis* legitimatory vein, that since Italy's experience of immigration had been so recent, it could benefit from that of other countries and thus avoid potential pitfalls. At the end of the '90s, the legislation was already considered to be ahead of other immigration countries. "Southern Europe took advantage of the prior experience of countries like the UK, France and Germany and thus the intercultural perspective is the starting point and not the terminus of a long journey of trial and error" (Fischer & Fischer, 2002, p. 17[1]).

Interculturalism expanded rapidly and became a "new mantra" in Italian pedagogy. In public policy, its recognition was rather contradictory: while acknowledging international legislation, the "application of civil protection anti-discriminatory norms is virtually entirely lacking"(Roagna, 2009, p. 53). In fact, the Council of Europe recently strongly recommended substantial initiatives, such as creating institutional premises for the protection of human rights, including, in the field of education, equality of opportunities and equity (Hammarberg, 2009, p. 2).[2] Intercultural pedagogy courses have proliferated widely, while major sociological assessments of social and educational issues relating to immigration and new stratification processes have been fairly limited. A general (and academic) reluctance to use racism as a conceptual sociological descriptor[3] is quite symptomatic. A political appeal to interculturalism reached virtually every Italian school, and yet it remained confused and highly problematic even for those teachers who honestly engaged with it for decades (Omodeo, 2002).

In this chapter, we will undertake a theoretical investigation of interculturalism as related to a major tension or dilemma, between differences and equity/equality. This dilemma has been conceptualised in terms of redistribution versus recognition (Fraser & Honneth, 2003) and class versus race[4] (Appiah & Gutmann, 1998). It has been considered as a "false antithesis" by Fraser (2003, p. 11) and conceptualised from the perspective of justice as "two dimensional." In point of fact, for most scholars a dichotomous social justice concept involves a distributional idea of Rawlsian origins versus a difference-

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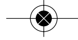

driven concept, with the recognition of cultural and relational aspects (Vincent, 2003). As Cribb and Gewirtz (2003) warn us, a plural social justice conception often involves tensions between its many facets, and particularly between a redistribution policy, tackling socio-economic inequities and thus levelling group differentiation, and recognition remedies, which, through affirmative actions, tend to promote group differentiation.

Scholars in the intercultural education field have largely dealt with this fundamental dilemma: how to respect culture and differences while promoting an equity pedagogy which fully acknowledges socio-economic inequalities while avoiding the perverse effects of an excess of culturalism. In response to the tensions in recognition politics, different approaches to multicultural education have emerged over time, some as an antidote to the risks of culturalism, the idea of culture as innocent of class. Anti-racist education, critical multiculturalism, and equity pedagogy are viewed as potential antidotes to a differentialist paradigm or to a perverse effect of cultural difference (May, 2009). A multicultural education idea as developed by Banks (2009, p. 15) is very much in line with equity pedagogy, while clearly addressing the risks of a colour-blind school politics.

In the following section, we will show how these tensions are visible from the Italian politics of interculturalism. We are concerned by the prominence of culture as the main dimension of interculturalism and its inefficacy to promote equity and equality. We will indicate some conceptual dilemmas in interculturalism more generally and some of its meanings in relation to some important uses in practice. We distinguish between two major versions of interculturalism: (1) a dominant "culturalist"-driven interculturalism and (2) a less diffused and more "progressive" interculturalism. Both, however, fail to acknowledge concerns with equity and equality of opportunity, from the perspective of the right to education.

Some Conceptual Dilemmas of Interculturalism(s) in Use

A First Dilemma

A major dilemma emerges when interculturalism is conceptualised in terms of a normative perspective which, in the long run, leads through social engineering processes to genuine new social configurations. Therefore, interculturalism refers to a normative concept, since the experience of "cultural difference" in intercultural situations is said to be personally *enriching*. Here we see an underlying concept of culture as a resource, which Appiah considers problematic (2005, p. 123). But interculturalism(s) in use also refers to a

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social reality yet to be created, if a mere multi-ethnic (or "multi-cultural," as most European pedagogists read it) society is to be overcome. It is often implied that (Italian as European) interculturalism is a superior and critical version of the "Anglo-Saxon" forms of multiculturalism, clearly ignoring a thirty-year American experience with an "intercultural movement," which predated the more classical multicultural wave of the '50s (Nieto, 2009, p. 83).

> From an Italian scholarship perspective, most European societies followed the path from assimilation to multiculturalism and then to interculturalism. Emblematically, this is also considered to be the Italian case: The phases of integration of these varied groups have been similar to many other European countries. Initially, there was a phase of assimilation, or insertion of the minority culture with little or no attention paid to the culture of origin, followed by a phase of multiculturalism, understood as the "discovery" of pluralism but also the romanticising of other cultures. Today, there is the feeling that it is necessary to reach an intercultural model to accomplish integration without giving up social cohesion. (Santerini, 2010, p. 188)

However, this idea clearly contradicts the popular premise of a "privileged position," which would have allowed Italian decision makers to avoid the pitfalls of other countries and jump to the final phase of interculturalism. Moreover, in this quotation the "intercultural model" plainly hints at a concrete social configuration, although yet to be attained. The circulation of intercultural education in university course books and scholarship more widely definitively label it as both a normative concept and a societal configuration.

To summarise, interculturalism as a European/Italian politics of recognition is realised both as a normative perspective and as an effect of this, a sociological configuration. From a comparative education viewpoint, such an epistemological fallacy is a side effect of borrowing quick-fix solutions and concepts from abroad, without adequately considering their contexts and the full picture of the underlying scholarship. In point of fact, and according to Appiah (2005, p. 119), the concept of "culture" itself is among the most successful of "Western cultural imports."

Another way to deal with this issue is to focus on the ideological dimension of the politics of recognition. When multicultural politics are read as ideologies, implicitly these are mostly read as inferior and negative theoretical forms, incapable of producing (positive) changes. In contrast, ideologies are to be seen as texts, discourses, or cognitive maps, shaped by specific historical conditions and by the vested interests of certain social actors. Furthermore, when institutionalised they "may play a decisive role in acting back on [their] environment" (Wuthnow, 1989, p. 548). Therefore, they are not only the products of cultural settings and specific conditions, but also agents of social transformation. Political and educational ideologies may impact and transform social and educational realities, although in rather unpredictable ways. In

addition, both universalist and particularist ideologies and politics of integration, as is the case with the paradigmatically different French and British models, may equally involve strong ethnocentrism (Melotti, 1997, p. 79).

In the same vein, Fraser (2000) admits that the politics of recognition plays a largely political function (ideological, rhetorical, "decorative"). Nonetheless, she warns us that not all recognition politics are to be discarded as ineffective. In order to prove efficient, any version of interculturalism as ideology would require, among other elements, coherence between its core political message and proposed strategies of implementation (Freeden, 2000). In addition, such strategies should actually speak in some way to "reality" from a plurality of dimensions and not only from a "cultural" viewpoint, as is normally the case with the Italian domestic versions of (imported) interculturalism.

While the normative layer is more naturally inscribed in interculturalism as a political (and ideological) conceptual umbrella, an intercultural idea as a sociological configuration is definitely more obscure on sociological and anthropological grounds. If we consult classical mainstream sociological studies, we learn that initial group contact and subsequent dynamics of competition and stratification may lead to assimilation (amalgamation), egalitarian pluralism (political autonomy) or to non-egalitarian pluralism (exclusion and annihilation) (Marger, 1991, pp. 128–148). Following this model, and keeping in mind that societies may exhibit all three patterns, we cannot but question the nature of an intercultural societal configuration. Is it to be associated with egalitarian pluralism (recognition of cultural communities) or to a form of assimilation/integration of single individuals? In order to highlight a lack of sociological analysis inherent in Italian interculturalism, it suffices here to raise the question. In addition, some assimilationist patterns and intentions are too easily discarded as risky only on the basis of "experience elsewhere," in the absence of a thorough analysis of historical and theoretical potentialities of the assimilation/incorporation paradigm (for a theory of assimilation revisited, see Kivisto, 2005).

While denying both assimilation and multiculturalism as disrespectful and inadequate, very few sociological and educational studies have seriously engaged with what is actually the major risk to Italian society and its school system: a non-egalitarian pluralism as a creeping ethnic separation (Facchini, Fiorentini, Martini, Rondanini, & Serrazaneti, 2005).

A Second Dilemma

A second difficulty emerges when investigating the meanings in use of culture and cultural difference as core concepts and the main "pillar" of interculturalism. It is ironic, at least from the point of view of Italian historical developments, that a policy of recognition labelled interculturalism has been considered the best way to promote equity, justice and human rights. All the more so since this is

c_9 through 19_t2 2/28/2012 10:29 AM Page 242

not a side effect, but a specific preference. As Fischer & Fischer (2002) observe:

> An important Council of Europe recommendation issued in 1985 concerning the teaching of human rights in schools has been accepted. The Italian legislation, which was relatively progressive, has chosen to undertake the most difficult approach: that of intercultural education, which was deemed the most satisfactory framework in which to rethink overall educational practices. (p. 32)

Note that the intercultural choice was assessed from the outset as "the most difficult approach." A necessary synthesis between universalism and relativism was declared as necessary, along with "the recognition of differences and of their value [which] must be conceived in the framework of a search for commonalities" (C. M. [Ministerial Circular] n. 73, 2nd March 1994 in Fischer & Fischer, 2002, p. 32). It is rather emblematic of a culturalist mentality that differences are assessed as self-evident, while commonalities need to be sought out.

The so-called second pillar of intercultural education, the issue of equality, is barely mentioned in intercultural teaching and scholarship, and seldom addressed as a key focus. It is emblematically a missing topic and quickly discarded by a "social cohesion" appeal (e.g., MIUR, 2007), which is a very different concept from the equity issue. In this case, equity and equality, which should reasonably be recognised as major objectives, are downgraded to mere means to an end and "strategies" in implementing intercultural education. While culture comes to the forefront of the debate, the issue of class (socio-economic dimension) is strikingly absent. Our argument here is not to consider class as a more overarching dimension ("class not race") but rather a "class *and* culture" dimension (see Appiah & Gutmann on "class and race," 1996).

An intercultural paradigm omitting the issue of "class" and downgrading equity and equality to secondary issues may be considered not only rhetorical or difficult to implement, because of a lack of conceptualisation. From direct experience with Italian schools, we would say it has already proved to be pernicious, since it certainly helped to intensify stratification and segregation in schools and society at large.

Appiah (2005, pp. 114, 119, 254) considers that abuses of "culture" and differences are an effect of an anthropological perspective on reality and therefore nothing less than a "disciplinary" prejudice. In the same vein, Bernstein's warning against the "evacuation of social class" from sociological analysis proves particularly useful in understanding other possible rationales of contemporary interculturalism(s), here investigated as Italian style:

> Apple, amongst others, has remarked that class analysis has been disappearing in research in education, as the focus has shifted to race, gender, region, and indigenous groups. The effervescence of so-called post modernist analysis celebrates, on one hand, the local, the blurring of categories, the contextual dependencies on

> subjectivity, and on the other, announces the end of grand narratives. . . . The privileging of discourse in these analyses tends to abstract the analysis of discourse from the detailed empirical analysis of its basis in social structure. The relationship between symbolic structures and social structures are in danger of being severed. (2000, p. xxvi)

So, it is not merely a problem of "borrowing" but also of the very substance of the imported concept, its characteristics as well as processes of internal filtering and reception at different levels, as we have seen in the case of the 1985 Council of Europe recommendation (Fischer & Fischer, 2002). Scholarship on the Italian case is particularly relevant for an analysis of how the intercultural agenda is regionally and locally received and interpreted (Grillo & Pratt, 2002). The "obsession with cultural difference" can be assessed not only in terms of widespread representations (Maritano, 2002), but also as public and highly visible initiatives unpacked as "identity and difference" or "ethnic" politics.

Policy documents and scholarship, even of a sociological type, cannot escape to a culturalist language. We can thus read that "regarding relationships between cultures, the school as institution represents a protected enclave…a happy island, where it becomes possible to live together and exchange culture, so difficult to experience outside it" (Fischer & Fischer, 2002, p. 33). We can also learn that "*métissage* and cultural syncretism which are constitutive traits of all societies, cannot by themselves lead to idyllic communication and lack of conflict" (Fischer & Fischer, 2002, p. 5). And finally, that "interculturalism is a sort of a third way to accept diversity and *métissage*" (Fischer & Fischer, 2002, p. 13).

A few Italian scholars (e.g., Susi, 1999; Gobbo, 2008) signal a more complex distributive notion of culture while warning against a metaphorical biological drift and culturalism more widely. While fully acknowledging the risks, such a "progressive interculturalism" based on critical anthropology may at best serve as further reading and in-depth understanding for those few teachers who might take it seriously and thus volunteer in this area. However, the core message converges with renewed official policy (MIUR, 2007), since its focus is still on culture and identity.[5] Once again, equity and equality remain background concepts. Most importantly, a different and more inclusive approach based on classroom heterogeneity is still missing from school practice. On practical grounds, the message of "progressive interculturalism" still remains imbued with culturalism and may encourage different forms of segregation in schools. Once again, we cannot but be concerned about (unanswered) questions such as, "In the context of a multi-ethnic classroom, do teachers need primarily pedagogical or ethnological competences?" (Fischer & Fischer, 2002, p. 13).

In fact, starting from the common-sense premise of the difficulty of implementation for lack of support, many teachers rightly state their lack of time and

c_9 through 19_t2 2/28/2012 10:29 AM Page 244

competence to undertake "intercultural education" from an anthropological perspective. They feel entitled to understand interculturalism as an issue of volunteering, gratuity and goodwill.

Uses of interculturalism can be noted in teachers' guides and textbooks. For instance, a textbook on didactics introduces prospective teachers to "a metaphorical background, that is different contexts for educational activities and classes, specifically designed to present a symbolic restructuring of the meaning of a situation (for instance, an all-yellow world to allow the harmonious integration of a Chinese child"; Cristanini, 2001, pp. 240–245). An invitation to discover an "ethnic district" implies a search for all sorts of visible signs, such as phone centres, restaurants, shops, satellite dishes, nameplates, geographically conceptualised as "different ways of living" in a specific area (Giorda, 2006, pp.155–158).

These are, in our view, some of the main reasons why we argue that school actors and particularly teachers are clearly socialised, when specific training is available, within a culturalist paradigm.

Interculturalism(s) and Schooling Practices

In this section we will offer an overview of the most relevant issues regarding schooling practices and the integration/exclusion of immigrant children. In 2005 Italy ranked 16th of the 30 countries with the largest immigrant population in the world (UNICEF, 2005, p. 3) with 2.5 million people and a 4.3% share of the total population—in 2010, a 7% share was reported (ISTAT, 2010), while other European countries showed higher proportions (e.g., Germany 12.3%, France 10.7%, United Kingdom 9.1% and Spain 11.1%). In 2009/2010, there were 673,000 pupils of foreign origin, 9.6 points higher than the previous school year: 136,000 children attending kindergartens (8.1% of the total population), 244,000 in primary school (8.7%), 150,000 in lower secondary school (8.5%) and 143,000 in upper secondary school (5.3%) (Fondazione Agnelli, 2010).

A relevant issue is the creation of distinctive residential areas for immigrants, which is a matter of much debate, tension and discrimination. This becomes a relevant external factor in that it influences the school choices of immigrant families (Facchini et al., 2005). Equally concerning, and largely understudied, is the phenomenon of black public schools and the subsequent "white flight" of Italian pupils to both private and public schools. An alarming "concentration" phenomenon is reported in the two Italian regions of Emilia-Romagna and Piedmont. For instance, 12% of Turin pupils are of foreign origin, but this may vary in different schools from 2% to 50% (Ciafaloni et al., 2006, p. 17). There are some schools in Turin in which the majority of pupils are of foreign origin.

c_9 through 19_t2 2/28/2012 10:29 AM Page 245

One public elementary school is widely known as the "foreign students' school" and "the goodwill school," as teachers put it,[6] for the lack of appropriate funds and support. It is a clear emblem of a more general trend (see Bencini, Cerretelli, & Di Pasquale, 2008, p. 16). As Ciafaloni et al. maintain,

> in these cases the right to education is not always guaranteed for different reasons:from the first school contacted by parents, there follows a "pilgrimage" in search for the "lost school," until the student makes landfall on a minor island, such as the annex or a wing attached to a main school. (2006, p. 19)

The Italian system of education allows for school choice, both between public schools and towards private schooling, and this surely has negative consequences on intensifying institutionally based segregation. The low status of some segregated schools and their perceived or real low-quality education produces complex stratification processes. In point of fact, an ad-hoc "fearful middle-class flight" which cuts across ethnic divisions between majority and immigrant groups may always make the "exit choice," at least towards private schools. Socio-economic background clearly influences the school choices of immigrant students and of their families. However, if we check for the background variable, we see that a significant higher percentage of Italian students of the upper classes are enrolled in academic high schools as compared to immigrant students in Torino and Genoa (about 10%, see Fischer & Fischer, 2002, p. 71).

Moreover, different sets of data confirm strong segregation by school type: 79% of foreign origin students are enrolled at the upper secondary technical and professional level (MIUR, 2009, p. 3). They also show high percentages of repeating one or more years: on average, 42.5% of foreign origin students, but as high as 81.9% at 18 years (Bencini, Cerretelli, & Di Pasquale, 2008, p. 15). By their third year of primary schooling, 20% of the immigrant children have repeated one or more years, while Italian students reveal a similar proportion only at upper secondary level (Fondazione Agnelli, 2010). In addition, from the overall student population, 7.7% of Italian students repeat one year of study compared to 27.1% of all immigrant students, and 3.4 % of Italian students repeat more years of schooling, as compared to 14.8% of immigrant students.

We fully agree with Fondazione Agnelli's study (2010) in that a model of "integration through repeating school years" is at work right from primary school years, which increases the probability of students dropping out at subsequent levels. Moreover, a significant percentage of immigrant students as compared to the Italian majority do not enroll in upper secondary schools, reflecting a consolidated pattern of traditional social immobility (ISFOL, 2006). As an OECD report reminds us, "inequalities in secondary education are likely to translate into inequalities in tertiary education and subsequent wage inequality" (2010, p. 185) and this is particularly the case in Italy, with

c_9 through 19_t2 2/28/2012 10:29 AM Page 246

very low percentages of foreign origin students in higher education (about 3% including non-Italian residents) and a consolidated ethnically segmented labour force.

Here as elsewhere, one of the most relevant issues refers to different and clandestine forms of separation within and between schools. Within schools, this includes linguistic support, which is not always provided, since individual schools are free to choose to invest their budget in these activities, and often translates into activities separating pupils of foreign origin. We can learn from an overview of integration strategies and measures that Italian policies propose "direct integration with support provided in mainstream classes" (European Commission, 2004, p. 42). On practical grounds, this support may or may be not provided by schools and even when this is the case, teachers clearly prefer separation provisions (mostly as transitional, but sometimes also as long-term, lasting for a full cycle, e.g., primary school). From our experience, teachers only rarely address specific linguistic problems in mainstream classes, as individual support or common workshops offered to larger mixed groups of pupils (immigrants and indigenous). In addition, from a census report, "in 15% of cases, students are not assigned to the class corresponding to their anagraphic age, in 30% the maximum number of foreign students per class is not respected and in 15% applications are not accepted throughout the school year" (Bencini, Cerretelli, & Di Pasquale, 2008, p. 16).

Concerning the types of support offered to immigrant children in pre-primary and full-time compulsory education, the European report specifies that Italian schools offer intensive teaching of the language of instruction, smaller class sizes and special norms governing the composition of classes (European Commission, 2004). Again, given school autonomy and the endemic lack of control over schools, situations may be very different in practice. However, teachers display a general tendency to social engineering in composing culturally diverse classrooms. At the same time, legislative measures of individualisation of curriculum provision and evaluation procedures are very rarely acknowledged and applied by teachers (European Commission, 2004, p. 46). In spite of several initiatives to institutionalise forms of and professional experts in "cultural mediation," "linguistic support" and so on, the school-based experience of "cultural diversity" is still an ad hoc and temporary activity, which cannot thus be capitalised upon.

Necessary Equity Pedagogy

From the discursive analysis, we assert that the Italian politics of recognition are clearly difference oriented. A necessary perspective of equality of oppor-

c_9 through 19_t2 2/28/2012 10:29 AM Page 247

tunity and equity as a social dimension supporting this policy of recognition remains largely underdeveloped. A neglected *class* or socio-economic dimension and a conflated *culture* (race) paradigm at the recognition policy level are paralleled by significant structural inequities and lack of positive affirmative actions inside schools.

Therefore, Italian interculturalism(s) should not be conceived of as ineffective in informing school practices on the basis that it is "merely rhetoric." We want to argue for the need to fundamentally rethink Italian multiculturalism in close relationship with the effects it has produced so far. In order to contrast a vision of volunteering and goodwill of shallow interculturalism in service of processes of student labelling and segregation, we consider that teachers must be exposed to a different policy message, prioritising the equity issue. This should not translate into a mere rhetorical change, replacing the focus on identity and culture with an equity and equality *leitmotif*. At the same time, we argue that the goodwill mentality and the inappropriateness of an expected training goal, as is the achievement of "ethnological competences," are not side effects of a lack of teacher preparation. These are foremost perverse effects of a conceptually unbalanced and misleading message of this policy of recognition. These issues must be correctly understood as direct effects of the longstanding culturalist phase, which has been in place for the last twenty years.

A much needed rhetorical switch, with regard to which there are some signs in the last policy document (MIUR, 2007), should be accompanied by relevant institutional measures of deep restructuring of teachers' work and the creation of new premises for school functioning. The lack of provisions and measures to support immigrant students in schools and classrooms—as revealed by comparisons with other European countries—also has to be attributed to a more general and diffuse incapacity to cope with students' diversity and their learning needs. Most teachers are oriented to privileging homogeneous groupings, as clearly revealed by high levels of school year repetitions. We consider that an equity turning point in Italian interculturalism should also pay attention to mechanisms of institutional segregation not only in schools and classrooms, but also between public schools and public and private schools. A pedagogical paradigm of teaching for/in diversity would allow teachers to see themselves as responsible for the achievement of all their pupils, each with different needs. An equity pedagogy may also have the merit of reintroducing the social-class dimension into the pedagogical discourse as directly related to that of culture. This idea should also be empirically oriented in order to stimulate teachers to reflect critically on social immobility, a consolidated and acute characteristic of Italian society (e.g., one of the highest in terms of intergenerational earnings mobility; OECD, 2010).

c_9 through 19_t2 2/28/2012 10:29 AM Page 248

Carnoy convincingly argues that highly stratified societies such as those of Latin America are unlikely to promote successful multicultural politics (2009, pp. 522–523). In the same vein, we consider that a stratified society with traditional social and economic immobility such as Italy, with an education system allowing for a twofold choice, between public schools and towards private schooling, a recognition policy and affirmative action cannot but fully recognise the redistribution issue, if it is to be successful.

Notes

1. All translations from Italian to English are by the authors themselves.
2. In line with European legislation, in 2003 Italy created the UNAR (Ufficio Nazionale Antidiscriminazioni Razziali, National Ethnic Antidiscrimination Office). However, Thomas Hammarberg, Commissioner for Human Rights of the Council of Europe, recommends that "the authorities promote further systematic human rights education" and "promptly establish a national human rights institution." (2009, p. 2).
3. For more on racism in Italy, see Bencini, Cerretelli & Di Pasquale (2008).
4. In the original, Appiah and Gutmann refer to a concept of "race." I prefer to adapt it to a more European way of referring to this issue as "culture," although I am fully aware that they imply significant differences.
5. We must admit that the message is more balanced at a linguistic level and most relevantly, it denounces forms of segregation. The necessity of an approach based on an overarching notion of diversity (including the class dimension) is recognised. However, in spite of more universalistic turn, a social cohesion concept is prefered to equity and equality.
6. "A" school, from interviews we conducted with teachers in May 2010.

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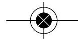

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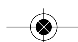

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