

## The educational second-generation migrants in the province of Chieti

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### Abstract

Since the end of 1960, both for the “open door policy” and for the more restrictive policies adopted by other European countries, Italy has had an immigration surplus, mainly because of manpower recruitment from Romania, Morocco and Albania. Migrants have a weak labor market position, which is related to their educational level and language skills. Children and grandchildren of migrants are expected to have a better chance of integration into Italian society. In this paper, we investigate whether this is true with respect to the educational attainment of second-generation migrants from Romania, Morocco and Albania. The research was carried out in the 76 schools<sup>1</sup> of the province of Chieti, with the aim to survey and evaluate interventions for welcoming and integrating foreign students in the school environment. The addressed topics are: the welcome methodology; teaching Italian as a second language; didactics; relationships. The survey has been carried out between the second half of 2011 and the first half of 2012 and it is part of the "Provincial Plan for reception in schools"<sup>2</sup> prearranged by the Prefecture of Chieti in the cooperation with the Regional School Office - Office VI - area of Chieti. It is concerned as a practical response to the need for a coordinated intervention, able to systematize the resources, the paths, the knowledge obtained from the different institutional actors working in the field with different powers and responsibilities.

Keywords: Second-generation migrants, ethnic minorities, education.

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### Introduction

Italy is facing the same problems as those countries with an older tradition of migration. The issue that is emerging with greater impact is the impossibility for the migrants to access to high-skilled jobs and achieving goals of success. Accordingly, it is necessary to constantly

<sup>1</sup> The 4 types of schools have been initialed in the following way: educational direction, ED; comprehensive institutes, CI, secondary schools of First Instance, SS1, an upper secondary degree, SS2.

<sup>2</sup>The "Provincial Plan for reception in schools," has been funded by Central Director for Immigration and Asylum of the Department for Civil Liberties and Immigration of the Ministry of the Interior, as the Responsible Authority of the European Fund for Integration of the citizens of Third Countries.

monitor and intervene on the second-generation, supporting its effort of social ascent.

Most migrants have on average a disadvantaged socio-economic position. This is one of the reasons why these migrant groups are considered ethnic minorities, who can be defined as “those groups who originally come from other countries with other cultures, and who on average have a disadvantaged socio-economic position for at least two generations”<sup>3</sup>

It is essential to invest in training and education, as exclusive tools that allow access to employment for migrants, according to two factors: the migrants in comparison to the natives are much poorer with regard to the social capital; the dynamics of the Italian labor market have so far rarely granted to migrants access to skilled jobs. The risk is that young foreigners will do the same menial jobs as their parents and to avoid this, the schools should implement or realize projects to support education, providing spaces for socialization and leadership and enabling them to feel citizens, through welcoming plans and projects.

Related to the total amount of migrant population in Italy, which is 7,5%, the second generation rate is a good fifth (a 22%) and this proportion has remained almost unchanged in the last three years<sup>4</sup>. The citizens of foreign origin living in the Abruzzo region in the last ten years have increased tenfold, allowing the regional population to have a positive demographic rate. Since 2008, the main reason for the arrival of migrants is family reunification, therefore, as in many regions of the Centre-North, the phenomenon of migration is becoming increasingly permanent. Consequently the second generations are increasing in the schools of Abruzzo. In Abruzzo at the end of 2010 there were 80.987 migrants, with an incidence of 6% on the total population (twice the average for the South), of which 19.9% are second generation, datum that will grow<sup>5</sup>, although unevenly over the territory.

In the province of Chieti, between 2008 and 2009, migrants increased a 4.6%; the foreign nationalities present on this territory are 121, the first five are: Romania, Albania, Morocco, Poland, Ukraine, the majority are women (53.66%) and 56% are under 36 years old. 46% of children born in Italy have at least one parent born abroad<sup>6</sup>. This datum is indicative of the rootedness of migration in this territory, for which it becomes inevitable and necessary that the local government authorities predispose inclusion policies in a coordinated and rational way, by giving priority to the scholastic context.

## 1. Welcome modalities

Regarding welcoming second-generation students into the school system, Italy has chosen to take the path of intercultural integration, namely the universalistic, which lies in offering services to everybody without distinction, without believing that other cultures are rigid, but, conversely, that they can be integrated with the Italian culture<sup>7</sup>.

<sup>3</sup>Van Amersfoort, 1974, Penninx, 1988.

<sup>4</sup>Cfr. UNAR – IDOS, *Immigrazione. Dossier Statistico 2013*, IDOS, Roma, 2013.

<sup>5</sup>See Caritas Migrantes, *Immigrazione Dossier Statistico 2011*, IDOS, Roma, 2011.

<sup>6</sup>See *Ibidem*.

<sup>7</sup>The Italian modality of reception is distinguished from those in the countries of northern Europe, which are:

- The German education is modeled on a rigid subdivision: vocational school, technical school and high school (the only one that allows access to university). In 2006 the UN Human Rights Committee rejected the German school system, which is considered selective and segregating, accused of creating disadvantage for immigrants and individuals in poverty;
- The French model of assimilation has the aim of integrating all students into the dominant social system, through

The first topic that has been investigated in the research is just the presence/absence of the Committee "*Welcoming Intercultural*". This instrument is not very widespread in the schools in the province of Chieti, although the majority of them (55.3%) has one of among the staff. This is indicative of the fact that in this area many schools are working to give an organic rational and effective response to the inclusion of the second generations.

The importance of the data concerning the schools where the welcoming committee is absent, (44.7%), leads to reflect on the difficulties of these schools to adopt inclusive practices. These schools if not immediately in the medium term, are risking to be compelled to take emergency measures, facing in this way the situations in an inadequate manner, while they could have done serenely if they had created commissions beforehand.

In some of the analyzed schools a welcome committee is present composed in 80,9% of the cases only by teachers and in the remaining 19.1% it is of an inter-institutional type. Consequently, the schools that are open to the outside are still a few in the analyzed area. These few schools have created a network that allows them to interact constantly with different social actors, through which they can activate processes of inclusion for the second generations. The type of school where a multiple social actors' commission is more present is the SS1, where this is less present is the SS2. This type of organism is absent in almost 6 CI out of 10. This datum should be emphasized for two reasons: the CI are the most widespread schools in the area;  
*Table 1 Type of school - Presence of a committee of Welcoming in the school*

	No answer	Yes	No	Total
Educational direction		64,80%	31,60%	100,00%
Comprehensive institutes		40,70%	59,30%	100,00%
Secondary schools of First Instance		71,40%	28,60%	100,00%
Secondary degree	4,30%	56,50%	39,10%	100,00%

in this historical moment the second generations are more present in this type of school, consequently it is necessary to activate inclusive and integration processes that enable integration, through the creation of welcoming committees. This is crucial to help this particular part of the student population to achieve identity virtuous paths, so that they can building relations both with peers, and with teachers from the first day of school. Once acquired this instrument, the school is able to encourage relations among students of foreign origin and natives, feeling part of the school community and the society in which they live. In this way it's

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the elimination of all differences, because it is believed should be experienced only in the private sphere and it should just follow the French model;

- The Anglo-Saxon and Dutch model of the multiculturalism in which differences are valued, ethnic communities are guarantors of the differences, schools are free to teach what they want, but the final examinations must adhere national standards, the downside is that the individual feels oppressed under the weight of excessive social control of communities.

possible to prevent any feelings of resentment or hostility towards the country of arrival. By contrast the more positive datum regards the SS1, where this welcome commission is present in the 71.4% of the cases (see table 1). Better is the datum concerning the presence of a welcome project specifically conceived for foreign students, which is present in nearly the three-quarters of the schools.

The specific welcome project for foreign students has been prearranged in particular in the totality of the SS1 and in the 84,2% of the ED. In the other two types of schools are present in the two thirds of the cases. However, also in this case important gaps emerge. These should be remedied as soon as possible for the same reasons discussed above. These data lead us to pay particular attention to CI because in a third of these a specific project welcoming is absent, so it's possible to make the following three assumptions:

1. there are few second generation students who do not have problems of integration;
2. the phenomenon has still scarce importance, so it has not yet reached a general awareness that induces headmasters and teachers to take action in this regard;
3. the phenomenon is still not perceived in its complexity, but it is important to be careful that will not cause serious situations, whereby it is necessary to resort to emergency measures.

Having explored the way in which the welcoming plan is prepared, we can say that in 73.7% of schools where this system has been planned there are the following characteristics:

- in half of the schools a flexibility in the timing of inclusion of pupils arrived in Italy a few days before the school enrollment has been introduced;
- an activity of introduction and acquaintance takes place in the 56.6% of the schools;
- the welcoming protocol has been prepared only in a little bit more than a third of the schools;
- as expected by the protocols the parents of foreign students are involved in a quarter of the cases;
- in the 53.9% of schools intercultural paths are organized;
- only in a little more than an half of the schools specific teaching materials has been given to the foreign students.

If we observe how the specific methods of welcoming are used in four types of school, it emerges that, for each of these, the practices most commonly used are:

- in the ED the long times of insertion into the school, the activity of introduction and acquaintance, the organization of intercultural paths;
- in the CI the organization of intercultural paths, the long times of insertion into the school, the activity of introduction and knowledge;
- in the SS1 the provision of specific teaching materials, the activity of introduction and acquaintance, the organization of intercultural paths and the long times of insertion into the school;
- in the IS2 the provision of specific teaching materials and the organization of intercultural paths.

The examined schools share almost entirely the practices of welcoming. In fact all four types have at least one thing in common: the organization of intercultural paths, although with different intensity. Two results are very positive, both characteristics of school cycles in which

students are inserted up to fourteen years:

- thanks to the long times of insertion, the times of adaptation to the new reality of the newly arrived are respected;
- the activity of introduction and acquaintance is an instrument able to accelerate and promote the integration in the classroom, through which it is immediately established a process of mutual understanding between natives and foreigners.

The period of reception is not the same in all schools, in most cases it is variable, depending on the characteristics and needs of the students.

Among the aims of the welcome strategies put in place, great attention is paid both to the introduction of the history of the newcomer, and to the preparation of teachers dealing with the situation. Less importance is given to the facilitation of socialization and to create a climate in which positive actions prevail. It would be appropriate to give greater importance to the climate and to moments of socialization. All the schools have a strong need to be able to face the new situation with the proper tools even if this feeling is stronger in SS1 than in SS2. This model is justified by the educational deficiencies faced by the SS1 and by the difficulties that the foreign origin students can experience.

The more the school will be able to open itself towards the territory, making network with other social actors, the better it will be able to provide a complete effective and comprehensive formative response to its students. Regarding the students of foreign origin, the service of linguistic mediation is particularly important. The tasks that the linguistic and cultural mediator can perform in the school environment are:

- cooperate to the welcoming activity, mentoring and facilitating the integration of newly arrived students and of their families;
- mediating between students and teachers, providing them information about the school system in their countries of origin, the skills, the scholastic and personal history of each pupil;
- interpreting, making proposals about intercultural courses to promote the knowledge of the cultures and languages of the countries of origin.

In the area examined the opinion that the cooperation with the reality outside the school can promote the integration of foreign students is huge (more than nine cases out of ten). The social actors who are considered the most effective for inclusion of foreign students (the only ones that achieve the considerable percentage of 57.9%) are the mediators; the actions taken by the third sector, the provincial education office and by the social workers and by the ASL are considered less important.

There is also a widely spread perception that the practices of inclusion facilitate the extracurricular relationships (89,5% of respondents). The inclusive practices are considered very important in facilitating extracurricular relations, since the 47.4% of respondents answered “quite” and the 36.8% answered “much”. The contexts in which the practices of insertion are effective turn out to be: the environment of sports, peer groups, cultural associations, parishes and the families.

## 2. Education modalities of L2

The discontinuity, the non-uniformity and the lack of coordination in the teaching of L2

characterize the analysed area. The annual hours of L2 for each student are mostly up to 40 (59.2%), in 6.6% of cases are up to 100 and in 3.9% of the schools are even 200 or more. However, we can't help to emphasize that in more than a fifth of these schools not even one hour of L2 is offered. This is a significant percentage and hopefully it is supposed that in those schools there is an exiguous presence of students of foreign origin, who probably do not need the L2, because they were born in Italy or they came into our country during childhood. Not so, to these students of foreign origin who have difficulty with the Italian language will be precluded the opportunity to access to high school and then to the more skilled jobs. In a recent research about the local needs of the integration of foreign citizens, conducted by the Central Directorate for Immigration and Asylum Policies of the Ministry of the Interior, in cooperation with the Territorial Councils for immigration, it has emerged that the priorities are, in descending order, investing in Italian teaching, in schools and in access to employment.

In the activation of courses of L2 within the school is determining the presence of the specific welcome project for foreign students, which turns out to be the most important way to ensure a virtuous path of integration of young people of foreign origin. The numbers of schools that didn't activate even an hour of L2 where this has been made operational are relatively low, only the 14.3% of cases; on the contrary, in schools where there is a specific welcome project, only a little more than a third have planned to have an L2 teaching, which, however, provide a maximum of 40 hours (see table n.2). This datum confirms the urgent need to extend specific welcoming projects for the foreign students in all schools.

*Table 2 Hours per year dedicated to each student to teach Italian as L2 - Presence of a welcome project specifically for foreign students*

	No answer	Yes	No
No answer	66,70%	3,60%	11,80%
No hour		14,30%	52,90%
Up to 40 hours	33,30%	67,90%	35,30%
Up to 100 hours		8,90%	
Up to 200 hours		1,80%	
Over 200 hours		3,60%	
Total	100,00%	100,00%	100,00%

The lack of uniformity in L2 teaching is a symptom of the scarce or non existent availability of finance in schools and brings with it the inability to take into account many of the dynamics that leads to the phenomenon of migration. This is due to the high incidence of second generation on the population total migrant, and demonstrates the enormous difficulty of these schools being able to utilize new ways of teaching.

The lack of finance, as well as the difficulty to create networks with stakeholders in the area, is also apparent for the way in which are managed the hours of Italian as a second language, since in more than three-quarters of the cases this task is entrusted to a teacher of the school. Only the 10,5% of schools that choose to use the support of an external facilitator and the 2,6% includes the involvement of a teacher with partial detachment. Many respondents described a

situation in which there are several social actors involved in the teaching of L2, this datum confirms the confusion, the difference in educational provision and the lack of appropriate and uniform policies in the province of Chieti.

The students involved in projects of L2 so far have been handled mainly in small groups (63.2%), in accordance with good practices to make this service effective, the percentage of those who said that the boys were followed up individually is relevant: 43,4%.

In order to organise the working groups the following criteria have been used (in descending order): language skills (56.6%), the age of the students (27.6%), the language spoken (11.8%), the class in which they were included in the country of origin (5.3%).

It is evident that much attention is paid to the characteristics and needs of students and this has to be correlated with the flexibility that many schools use for the time of insertion. From the intersection of these data with the types of schools, the most characteristic data are: the age of the pupils is especially important for the CI, language skills and the language spoken assume some importance in the SS1, while particular attention is paid to the class in which they were placed in the country of origin in the ED.

The hours dedicated to teach the Italian language to foreigners is considered inadequate and insufficient by the 59.2% of respondents.

### 3. The didactics

The research revealed a significant predisposition of the respondents (90.8%) to experiment with new teaching methods; due to the presence of foreign students. This highlights both a dialogic and cosmopolitan propensity and demand for more services for these types of students.

Teachers from ED and C1 are more inclined than SS2 teachers to consider that the presence of the second generation students is an incentive to experiment new teaching approaches. This should lead us to reflect about the reason why most of second generation students choose technical and vocational schools instead of the high schools, unlike what happens between their native peers. In the school year 2009/2010, in fact, the foreign students enrolled in technical schools were the 37.5%, those enrolled in technical schools were the 40.9% and those enrolled in high schools were the remaining 21.6%. Among half of high schools (nearly the 10%) choose the Second Level College of Science; in these case students of migrant origin are generally very gifted and reach, in fact, better average results than italian students. Considering the types of schools, the belief that the presence of foreign students might lead to experiment with new forms of organization has spread among all workers of the ED and CI, in the 85,7% of the SS1 and of the 69.6% of SS2.

The innovation of organizational forms made by the second generations is taken into account by all the schools where the welcome plan is inter-institutional and by 94.1% of the schools with a teachers welcome committee. The great difference between the types of schools is that teachers of younger pupils are more flexible and willing to change their approach to teach; on the other hand their colleagues of SS2 have shown a more rigid approach. This is in contrast with the operational strategies mentioned by official documents on intercultural education which suggest to focus on the following relevant aspects:

1. the creation of an open and dialogic environment to foster the relationship between stakeholders;

2. intercultural engagement in disciplinary and interdisciplinary teaching;
3. interaction and exchange through the execution of integrative interventions of the curricular activities, even with the support of various organizations and institutions;
4. integration through the adoption of focused strategies toward the foreign students<sup>8</sup>.

The methods to facilitate participation in the dynamics of the class are: workshops, the work in mixed group, individualized work, work project, the collective lesson.

Teachers asserted to use different methods with integrated approaches according to students needs and with the directions of the ministerial circular. They also activate the good practice for intercultural education, a crucial opportunity to review the general approach with students and in particular with students of foreign origin. Specifically, teachers should review the educational curricula of their students taking into account the educational system of their countries of origin. They should also focus on communication because of the complexity provided by a huge number of ethnic groups in our country. As a matter of fact an effective teaching approach also includes the ability to adapt to the communication style of people using different cultural and communicative codes; for this reason it is essential that teachers acquire a great empathic ability. The educational management in this kind of environment is a complex task, as teachers have to work with students from several countries, cultural as well as different needs.

By analyzing the instruments adopted mainly in four types of schools emerges that: the collective lesson is considered more appropriate in the SS2, the work of mixed group and workshops in ED, the individualised work and projects in the IC.

The presence of young people of foreign origin has determined a change in teaching in the 89,5% of respondents. The progressive increase of students leads teachers to change their teaching approach and working methodology. As a matter of fact teachers, followed by educationalists and sociologists of education, were the first to be interested in second generations issue. Teachers deal daily with those students who have to rebuild a new identity and, very often face different codes of communication.

By examining teaching approach change the first way is to use a simpler language (67.1%), then the use of intercultural content (57.9%) and a more concrete approach to experimentation and direct observation (44.7%). Considering different types of schools it emerges that:

- the interdisciplinary link, the more concrete approach of experimentation and the direct observation were more decisive in ED,
- the intercultural contents and differentiation were the most important in the CI,
- the approach to the teaching of the Italian language, the simpler language, new ways to test the learning, the lengthening of the procedures have been crucial in SS1,
- The more concrete approach to experimentation and differentiation were considered fundamental in SS2.

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<sup>8</sup> Ministerial Circular 73 of 2 March 1994 is called "Intercultural dialogue and democratic cohabitation", in which the intercultural issue is presented in all its complexity, as it emphasizes the idea of intercultural education as "an educational perspective for everyone." In the circular are taken into account the guidelines of the Council of Europe, according to which intercultural education should be the highest educational response to the multicultural society. The document also indicates the steps that school must take to deal with all the needs of the new society. In the circular the operational proposals are varied: the creation, within the school, a climate of report that makes easier the integration between students and their teachers, special training for teachers (Nesti, 2006).

This framework underlines the importance for SS1 to find a new approach in teaching Italian language as some students enrolled have already studied in their countries of origin. For this reason it is not a priority for primary schools in the province of Chieti as children enrolled were born in Italy or are very young so they have no problems with the Italian language.

To teach Italian as a second language, the 77.6% of the teachers follow the good practice of using educational publications or materials.

#### 4. Relationships

The presence of students of foreign origin has determined the positive effect of arousing interest in other cultures and social issues and improving the learning of certain disciplines; the interest in the language is less important. The positive dynamic, concerning the preparation and the opening to other cultures is very important as the main prerequisite to enable inclusion programs identifying the theoretical framework of reference in the cosmopolitanism.

Taking into account the types of school, the following aspects emerge:

- the major interest to social issues is an effect that is observed mostly in the SS2 (65,2%);
- the increased interest in the language is crucial especially in the ED (42.1%), but not at all in the SS1 and in a negligible manner in the other two types of schools;
- the support to the learning of certain subjects is close to 30% only in the CI;
- a greater focus to other cultures has a positive effect on all the ED and in the 85,2% of the CI.

From the analysis of these data, many differences emerge between the four types of schools, such as the total lack of interest towards the language in the SS1. This is difficult to interpret, but considering that this type of school doesn't have a great prestige, this outcome is intriguing because it connects with the low percentage, just over the 18%, of those who work in these schools and who believe that the allocation of hours available for teaching Italian as a second language is insufficient. The strong inclination to approach other cultures clashes with the low datum concerning the support to the learning of certain disciplines. This explains an inclination to confront with the novelty, which is held back by the inability to go in this direction: this because of the prejudice that it is necessary to follow the ministerial programs and that it is impossible to change. With or without a specific project of welcoming foreign students, the positive effect is an increased interest for other cultures.

On the other hand the negative effect is the difficulty of relationship in half of the surveyed schools. It is important to note also the prejudices and the stereotypes, registered in the 23.7% of the schools and the difficulty of acceptance of diversity emerged in 13.2% of cases. The high incidence of difficulties between native and foreign-born students indicates a more general difficulty of approaching these new citizens. On the one hand, in the province of Chieti, this phenomenon is relatively recent compared to the Centre-North, therefore, the native students are likely to be influenced by the speeches of mistrust towards migrants listened in familiar environment, on the other hand, this result should push the school, the local governments and the third sector to implement actions aimed to the inclusion. The school cannot be left alone in the management of the second generation integration, but it should be one of the socializing agents within a network in which natives and citizens of migrant origin are given the opportunity to interact. We cannot ignore the 23.7% of situations in which prejudices and stereotypes have emerged. These should be placed within a context in which in the recent years the aggressive and discriminatory action towards foreigners carried on by the majority of the mass media has had its

effectiveness in instilling in the Italian citizen a strong prejudice or a great sense of distrust towards migrants. Discriminations against foreign citizens, in fact, can be expressed with different forms of mental, cultural and political attitude. Everything depends on the social context in which the migrant arrives, because it is exactly the society that establishes the criteria to divide people into categories, attributing in this way to the other his "social identity". If a person is downgraded from a concept of a complete person to that of a marked and discredited person, he is automatically assigned a stigma which assumes a deeply derogatory attribute<sup>9</sup>. In contrast, the normal person is someone who does not diverge for some negative trait from the behaviors that we expect from him. The attitude of those who believe to be "normal" towards those who have a stigma is often influenced by the fact that the first looks at him as a "non-human". Consequently, they create an ideology, which should explain his inferiority and aims to define the danger that such a person symbolises rationalizing sometimes an animosity based on other differences, like that of the social class<sup>10</sup>.

*Table 3. Type of school - the presence of foreign students leads to change the student-teacher relationship*

	No answer	Yes	No	Total
Educational direction		100,00%		100,00%
Comprehensive institutes		96,30%	3,70%	100,00%
Secondary schools of First Instance		85,70%	14,30%	100,00%
Secondary degree	21,70%	65,20%	13,00%	100,00%

The highest percentages of presence of the adverse effects considered were identified in the SS1. This datum is highly alarming because during the pre-adolescence the person starts to define his identity and if he has the awareness of being perceived negatively, he will encounter serious problems in his path of growth both relational, and of self-definition. The difficulty of relationship is the most common adverse effect both where the commission is composed solely of teachers, and where is inter-institutional, but we must consider that where this latter is relevant, the percentage composition of prejudices and stereotypes (37.5%) is relevant. Clearly, the inter-institutional committees have to change something in their action and focus more on relationships, not forgetting to work inside the network with social actors external to the school.

The presence of foreign students has been an important element of change in the

<sup>9</sup>According to Erving Goffman, there are three different types of stigma: "the physical deformities; the objectionable aspects of the character perceived as a lack of will, uncontrolled or unnatural passions, such as mental illness, criminal convictions, the daily use of drugs, the 'homosexuality, unemployment, suicide attempts and radical political behavior; the tribal stigma of race, nation, religion, that can be transmitted from generation to generation in the same way and contaminate all members of a family." See Goffman, E., *Stigma*, Ombre Corte, Verona, 2003, pp. 14-15.

<sup>10</sup>*Ibidem*.

relationships pupil-teacher in fact, according to the respondents, this relationship was modified in the 86,8% of the cases (see table 3). The change has occurred in all the schools where the composition of the welcoming commission is of type inter-institutional and in the 85,3% of those composed solely of teachers. The schools where this change is relevant are all the ED, instead, the lesser change is identified in the SS2. The latter case leads us to make the following three assumptions:

1. teachers aren't willing to afford the changes made by the second generation;
2. the relatively low number of second generations in this type of school has not yet determined the need for a change;
3. the second generation arrived to the high school has completely assimilated the Italian uses and customs, and does not require a change of attitude of their teachers.

Where a welcoming project is present the change is recorded in 92.9% of cases and where it is absent in 76.5% of situations. This difference is a further confirmation of the need to activate in every school the welcoming project, because it acts as a mediator and as an agent of a change that can occur without trauma.

Where the welcoming commission is made up only from the teachers, the relationship teacher-student has changed especially with regards to an increased sensitivity towards diversity and a greater care of the context for the insertion. In those cases where the welcoming commission is inter-institutional the improvements are connected to the adaptation to the needs of foreign children, the attention to the specific characteristics of the students, the care of the context for the insertion. This difference highlights how an inter-institutional commission is able to perform a more comprehensive work and to have a global view of the student.

In all the schools the main change concerns the increased attention to the specific characteristics of the students, but it is interesting to note that where there is not a welcoming project the increased care for insertion context is recorded only in the 17.6% of cases. This percentage is very worrying, because where there isn't a welcoming plan it is not given due consideration to the inclusion phase and its context, fundamental prerequisites to provide to the second generations the chance to conduct a virtuous path of inclusion.

## Conclusion

From the analysis of the 76 schools in the province of Chieti emerged a framework that is highly contradictory. The first negative element is the strong territorial imbalance in the provision of educational and welcoming services to the pupils of foreign origin. The positive aspects that emerged are:

- a significant tendency on the part of respondents to approach with a positive attitude to these new citizens;
- a good understanding skill of the dynamics inside the classes and the training needs of these kinds of students.

Regarding the negative aspects, before blaming anyone in particular, it is necessary to specify that the context in which headmasters and teachers act is that of autonomy. As it emerges from the research, the 'myth' of the deregulation (and to some extent of the outsourcing), which has resulted in the practices of autonomy, has had as its downside the lack of coordination in offering the same kind of services in all the provincial territory (which compared to many other parts of Italy is relatively small), if not regional. This imbalance has emerged in a macroscopic

case: the excessive variety of supply of L2 modules.

Within the territory of the province of Chieti there are distained nomads that often 'sail on sight', which can determine educational very different outcomes not only between natives and second generations, but also among the latter according to the territory in which they live.

Another important issue to point out, is the limited provision of welcoming commissions therefore, a limited openness to the territory. A more complete form of welcoming is the main antidote to forms of hostility, racism and conflict. The datum on situations of prejudice and stereotypes emerged, the 23.7%, is certainly not very high, but it is not to be underestimated. The low attention paid to the paths of socialization of the students, on which there should be greater investments is due to welcoming protocols that have a predominantly formal valence, made more to respect bureaucracy procedures, than in order to achieve real outcomes.

The work to be done in the future will not be easy, however, if it doesn't plan a comprehensive intervention, it is likely to produce discontent among the new citizens. It's necessary constantly to pay attention to the second generation, not only for short periods or with extemporaneous projects. Energy and resources must be dedicated to all the students of migrant origin, starting from first grade.

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