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Education for Society in Educational Systems
A Comparative Study on Social Competences

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Introduction

There is a well-established sociological tradition which concentrates on the study of the ways in which educational systems *transmit* norms and values. The process of implicit transmission of norms and values has been studied through the label of *hidden curriculum* (DeMarrais & LeCompte 1999, Jackson 1985). Jay (2003, p. 6) describes the hidden curriculum as:

> those things that children learn through the everyday experience of attending school, rather than the conscious, deliberate, and evident educational objectives of the school (often found in course syllabi, lesson plans, courses of study, and other official, public documents). More specifically, it consists of the implicit messages given daily to students about socially derived and socially legitimated conceptions of what constitutes valid knowledge, "proper" behavior, acceptable levels of understanding, differential power, and social evaluation.

However, the hidden curriculum as thoroughly investigated by sociology, is not the interest of the present research. Instead, the interest of this research goes in the direction of understanding formal and institutionalized practices of transmission of norms and values. Starting from Jay's definition, the interest of the present research is about the conscious and deliberate act of transmitting *sociality*. Form an analytical perspective and coherently with the aforementioned definition, the studies on the hidden curriculum concentrate on the informal practices regarding sociality. Formal socialization, which can be described as the conscious and deliberate act of transmitting *sociality* in formal educational setting, represents the interest of the present work. In fact, formal socialization differs from classical analytical tools such as hidden curriculum or school moral order (Brint 1999, p. 20) since it refers to formal educational practices.

Starting from these premises, this research aims to explore one specific aspect of contemporary educational settings regarding *formal socialization*. This aspect is the one of social competences. In fact, as it will be illustrated in the present work, social competences can be considered a practice of *formal socialization*. In order to understand the essence of social competences, the pedagogical and sociological concept which, if explicitly involved, might reduce the distance between the elements of the discourse on social competences is

the one of socialization. From this perspective, social competences are analyzed as the formalization of socialization processes.

As firstly recommended by the "Recommendations of the European Parliament and of the Council of 18 December 2006 on key competences for lifelong learning" and as specifically regulated in Italy by the DM N. 254/2012, social competences are currently evaluated in the Italian educational system. More precisely, they are evaluated at the end of every study cycle, meaning when students are 13 and 19 years old. Social competences are evaluated in what is called "Scheda per la valutazione delle competenze": competence evaluation form. The evaluation aspect of social competences underlines the importance of this relatively new educational tool. However, the newness of the object requires a specific attention. On one hand, social competences are a potentially fruitful instrument which is implemented in order to widen the spectrum of abilities educational systems have to equip students with. On the other hand, social competences also carry an *historical weight* which cannot be underestimate.

Traditionally and from a sociological perspective, we know how socialization of norms and values is one of the most relevant themes in the studies of sociology of education (Besozzi 2006, Scanagatta 2002). Pedagogy, using a different set of methodological and theoretical tools, also reserved space for the theme of the implicit and explicit transmission of norms and values from one generation to the other (Bobbio & Scurati 2008). Also psychology, and more precisely social psychology, engaged in the study of how socially constructed norms and values shape individuals' behavior and experience (Grusec & Hastings 2014). Yet and considering the union and the interdisciplinary effort these different disciplines engaged into, no scientific consensus can be found on what social competences are. Different definitions and visions construct our current understanding of social competences.

The complexity we face when looking at social competences dwells in the essence of social competences themselves. This complexity is also part of the reason why socialization has historically been treated as an informal phenomenon. Given the multidimensionality -- including the political, moral, ideological, cultural aspects -- of its structure, socialization practices have classically been considered as an informal aspect of education. Following this logic, in formal educational settings students would socialize in an informal way and teachers would lead the socialization with their pedagogical

understanding of human relations. Within this framework, the interest of the present research lays in the potential changes which occur with the introduction of social competences in school curriculum. In other terms, this work aims to understand the spaces of meanings and practices negotiation when socialization processes go from being informal educational "byproducts" to be formal educational objects.

When looking for consensus on defining social competences, the one aspect which might bring together all these different stand-points is the one which describes social competences as something situated in time and in space (Chen & French 2008). Far from being something static or solid, social competences have to do with the individual's ability to *be* in an environment, managing to adapt to its characteristics. Following this vision, social competences can be depicted as the capability to tune-in with a specific situation and to be able to mediate between external and inner circumstances.

When getting in touch with the variability of the concept of social competences, no matter what discipline one approaches the object from, we start acknowledging how also the instruments implied in their evaluation must keep up with this complexity. If social competences are situation-adapted, context-situated and environment-based, instruments which have to be used in order to verify and evaluate them in educational contexts must embrace these characteristics. In this sense, evaluation tools have to be structured in a way in which enables educational actors to transform social competences into something that can be graded.

Furthermore, when considering Western educational settings, the inclusive and collective character of the systems (Noddings 2013) is based on the principle that in order to be graded, a competence or a concept first has to be taught. As an example, first teachers engage in the process of having students learning math, then they can evaluate the learning. In formal education, learning -- and therefore grading -- depends on teaching, in a scenario where teaching is the deliberate and intentional act of transmitting a knowledge, leaning is the introjection of the knowledge and grading is the evaluation of the quality of the knowledge which gets introjected. When it comes to practices of formal socialization and more precisely when it comes to social competences, how does this pattern translate? What is the specific content which gets transmitted and how are the results evaluated?

From a sociological perspective, the analysis carried out in this work relates to the way in which the policy which introduces social competences in school curriculum gets translated once applied to the educational environment. Moreover, the interest is on the different ways in which one aspect of a policy, namely social competences, are interpreted in light also of the lack of scientific consensus on their regard.

As aforementioned, social competence cannot be univocally defined. Yet, in educational settings they have to be graded and therefore they have to be taught. The question that emerges from this description has to do with the possibility and the ways in which a content with such a blurry body can be taught. More precisely, since social competences do not reach a scientific consensus nor at a definition lever nor at practical lever, it is relevant to observe if and how they can be considered as a teaching objective. Besides the pedagogical interest of such a research field, what becomes sociologically relevant has to do with the social factors which might play a role in shaping the teaching and evaluation practices regarding such a broad and complex object.

To start going in the direction of specifying what are the ingredients which compose this puzzle, it is necessary to mark an important differentiation. This differentiation has a great relevance both from a sociological and pedagogical standpoint. This difference is the one between content-based and competence-based education (Serdenciuc 2013). As it clearly appears, social competences belong to the second group, namely the one of competence-based education. In fact, what adds complexity to social competences is the world of competence-based education itself. In competence-based education, the ability to activate a capacity to respond to a task is what becomes educationally relevant (Argüelles 2000, Maccario 2006, Pellerey 2010). In other terms, content leaves room for the capacity to use the content to respond to an environmental requirement. In essence, competence-based education focuses on procedures which involve knowledges rather than on knowledges themselves (Castoldi 2011, Maccario 2012, Guasti 2012, Melchiorri 2012). From the point of view of social competences, this raises some unsolved queries. First, a question regards what is the content which lays inside of social competence. For example, math competence regards the capability to use mathematics in a diverse range of situation, different from the classical educational setting. The same thing is true for language competence, computer literacy, mother tongue competency. From the same perspective, what is the content of social competences?

Following this vision and from a sociological perspective, it can be noticed how disciplinary content is currently losing its position of privilege in favor of competences and skills. Lifelong learning (Jarvis 2009, Aspin & Chapman 2009), learning society (Husen 2014, Jarvis 2007, Stiglitz & Grenwald 2014), knowledge society (Stehr 1994) theories describe the link between education and society as being connected to the constant evolution of individual's capacities rather than knowledges. Therefore, competences and skills become essential. In this scenario, the role of content seems to diminish its original relevance while abilities, competence and skills, intended as the capacity to transform a knowledge into a practical activity, become essential. If competence-based education refers to the capacity to activate a knowledge to respond to a specific environmental requirement, what is the knowledge which has to be activated when it comes to social competences? And what are the practical capacities and procedures which gets activated when this knowledge becomes an ability?

Starting from these premises and descending form this complexity, the present work aims to provide sociologists of education and educational professionals with a further piece of knowledge regarding formal socialization and, more in detail, social competences. To do so, two main thematic areas are investigated.

The first thematic area regards the re-construction of a *fil rouge* regarding traditional models of socialization. From a theoretical perspective, the way in which different socialization models analyze the formal transmission of norms and values is explored. Traditionally, different socialization models analyzed transmission of norms and values differently, both from a formal and informal perspective. The analysis of models of socialization is carried out in order to create an historical anchorage which could help understanding the current practices regarding formal socialization and, in essence, social competences. Definitions, visions and theories regarding the formal transmission of norms and values which belong to different models of socialization can introduce to the complexity of the theme of transmission of norms and values. This theme, far from being ideologically neutral or politically insignificant, is actually of great relevance if the objective is to understand current trajectories regarding social competences. To this extent, Chapter one of the present work analyzes how different models of socialization (positivistic, integrationist, conflictualistic and systemic) describe the institutionalized

transmission of norms and values. A condensed version of the descriptions of the first Chapter of this work is in *Table 1*.

Table 1 – Socialization models, authors and socialization

Models	Main authors	Formal and informal Socialization as
Positivistic model	Durkheim (1925)	Moral education
Integrationist model	Parsons (1959)	Moral achievement
Conflictualist model	Bordieu, Illich, Boltansky (during the '70)	Moral *habitus* (Cultural capital)
Communicative model	Luhmann & Schorr (1999)	*New role* to norms and values

As it will be fully described, in socialization models, different ways in which educational institutions aim to transmit norms and values are described. By looking at *Table 1*, even if the time trajectory seems linear, one must keep in mind how in general models tend to overlap, coincide and sometimes confound one into the other. However, making this artificial operation of diving socialization models helps in order to follow the logic which lays behind the processes of formal socialization. If *formal socialization* is the conscious and deliberate act of transmitting *sociality* in a formal educational setting, grasping the essence of different socialization models can open a door in the direction of detecting the main features which compose one specific idea of socialization. In this sense, the positivistic way of looking at socialization is very much concentrated on the formal possibility to educate students to one specific way to inhabit society. The case of the integrationist model is one in which moral achievement helps present students -- which are conceived as virtual workers -- in the duty to serve one specific life task. From a conflictualist perspective, there is no intention to look at socialization in a formal way:

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since socialization coincides with the reproduction of an *habitus,* the interest of this current of thought is not to make a socialization pattern as formal. Rather, socialization is investigated in order to highlight -- and subsequently break -- the invisible chains of the reproduction. The communicative model goes in a different direction. In communicative model, socialization is about the ability to communicate in and within a system. Therefore, what is essential is not the content of what socialization is, rather the appropriation of the norms which govern communication and trust.

This schematic overview on socialization models, far from being exhaustive or complete at any level, offers the possibility to foresee the complexity that composes the matter of socialization both at a formal and informal level and, therefore, what epistemologically lays behind the current concept of social competences. Furthermore, the theoretical journey proposed offers the opportunity to operate a significative distinction. In fact, literature shows how works in sociology of education tend to condensate all of discourse on formal and informal socialization under the label of *moral education* (Peterson 2019). What is explored here, instead, is the possibility of moral education being one specific way in which formal socialization to norms and values is operated. Structuring a distinction between moral education and other models of socialization gives the chance to observe an evolution regarding formal and informal socialization which would otherwise remain unseen. Briefly, the first part of the present work aims to prepare a conceptual ground which explains the theoretical roots of socialization practices. This effort becomes essential in order to fruitfully interpret the empirical material which composes the main focus of the present work.

As introduced, the macro themes which are investigated in this research are two: one theoretical and the other empirical. The two themes are intrinsically related since the first one is the condition and base in order to analytically approach the second. To enter the empirical aspect of the work, it is important to underline how the encounter between the concept of social competence and the educational environment is the area that is in the interest of this analysis. The reason why this area is of a consistent sociological interest is because it might reveal different fundamental aspects. First, the way in which educational actors cope with such a complex educational object. In fact, when descending to the level of the practices, complexity has to be reduced in order for the actors to transform the concept into a practice. In this case, social competences have to be

translated by teachers into practical educational instruments which can be applied in the class and, at the end, evaluated. Second, by exploring the meeting point between the concept and its environment of application, potentialities and limits of this educational object might emerge.

Sociology of education is pledging a growing attention to the themes of competence and of competence-based education (Benadusi & Molina 2018). The reason for this attention can be detected in two areas. First, since curriculum design has always been one of the most relevant areas in the field (Priestley & Biesta 2013), the change operated following the logic of competence raises interests and questions. Critiques (Kerka 1998) and more positive readings over the theme have been explored through time. Second, the sociological interest around the theme of competence-based education seems finding its roots also in the lack of univocal, pragmatic and specific pedagogical knowledge which supports the shift from content-based to competence-based education. The objective of this research, however, does not concentrate on competence in general. Rather, on the specific aspect of social competences as part contemporary Italian curriculum. Moreover, what is under observation with the empirical aspect of the present work is the input of teachers' agency (Priestley et al. 2015) in constructing the meaning of social competence and the role of teachers' beliefs (Biesta et al. 2015) in shaping intervention regarding social competence. In order to engage in this analytical path, it is important to recognize how social competence are part of a larger policy enacted at a macro level. The area of interest is therefore the one where the macro level of the policy and the micro level of the re-signification of the policy operated by social actors meet.

In this context, Chapter two analyzes social competences as the instrument which goes in the direction of formal socialization in current Italian (and European) educational system. Research design, sample, method and results are illustrated. In essence, the theoretical category of formal socialization is explored through the practical tool of social competences. The objective of the work is to provide not only a panoramic over the current understandings of what transmission and evaluation of social competences are but also intertwine limits and conceptual validities. Results are intended to stimulate both theoretical and practical works. The possibility to study social competences as an educational tool and as interpreted by educational actors starts with a methodological assumption.

Before designing a specific research question, different methodological approach and techniques were taken into consideration. Initially, it is relevant to notice how the interest of the present research is on re-signification, conceptualization and understanding of one aspect of a policy. Therefore, the preferential standpoint is the one of the actors involved in the educational process, his or her visions and understandings. To move forward in the same direction, it is also important to specify how the research aims to deepen the knowledge regarding one specific educational object. The difference remarked here is the one between focusing on informal practices and focusing on formal practices. If the focus is on informal practices, techniques focus on long-lasting, participant or ethnographic observation (Bichi 2000, Sorzio 2006, Besozzi & Colombo 2014). As often happens in sociology of education, these techniques have proved to be efficient in discovering unrevealed levels constructing the reality of a specific social group, especially when the research question regards informal aspects of education such as hidden curriculum (Jay 2003) or symbolic interactions (Charmaz et al. 2019).

However, informal aspects of transmission of norms and values is not the interest of the present work. The present work, instead, focuses on a formal educational tool, namely social competences. The scope in studying social competences, once assessed their intrinsic complexity, it to analyze the significations and re-significations which are operated by educational actors in order to translate social competences into a practical educational tool. To do so, the interest is on those techniques which allow to explore how individuals conceptualize a tool which is already part of their professional life. In other terms, when empirically exploring informal practices, researchers would look for elements which are insightful for their categories of understanding the educational realities. However, those same categories are not part of the usual categories applied by educational actors. In the case of the present research instead, the object of study – social competences – is also directly part of the educational environment. In other terms, it is a known concept by educational practitioners. What becomes interesting in this scenario is getting in touch with the potentially diverging visions, understandings and significations which all define the same educational object. To this extend, the methodological exploration embraced also techniques which belong both to pedagogy and sociology, researching an analytical practice which could provide with specific outcomes regarding representations or conceptions.

Phenomenography proved to be a potentially powerful instrument in order to get in touch with the different conceptions (Johansson et al. 1985, Marton 1986) individuals might have regarding social competences. Traditionally, phenomenography is used as a pedagogical instrument. Its peculiarity depends on the fact that it starts from the assumption that there is a limited number of qualitative different ways in which people experience a phenomenon (Marton 1981). The reason why it is a successful pedagogical technique is because knowing the conceptions students have regarding a phenomenon can fruitfully address teaching and therefore sharpen learning. However, the interest of such a technique goes beyond pedagogy and invests also sociology. The area of sociology which might get the most out of such a methodology is the area of policy and more precisely, that area of sociology interested in policy interpretation and re-signification at a micro-level (Lin & Miettinen 2019). In essence, understanding the way in which a policy is specifically re-significated at a micro-level can improve the way in which the policy gets structured and smoothen the communicative process between policy makers and those who are practically in touch with the policy as an educational tool. In the end, what is a new policy if not a *new rule* individuals have to get used to? Following this logic, by putting re-significations and conceptions in the forefront, phenomenography might allow for a dialogic encounter between policy makers and final utilizers. Following this vision, understanding teachers' conceptions regarding social competences might shorten the distance between the policy expectations and actual educational practices.

In order to explore the conceptions of social competences in educational context, the social group which is taken in account is the one of teachers. Teaching can be described as a peculiar form of *working with humans* (Tardif & Lessard 1999). In fact, teachers do not only apply objective techniques (Dubet 1999). To this regard, Fischer notices how the teaching profession is made up of two dimensions which run parallel inside of the teaching practice: the dimension of the technical competences and the dimension of the reflexive practice (Fischer 2003, p. 165). To the same extent, the ethical, philosophical, ideological and political implications of the teaching profession make the dimension of the reflexive practice a fundamental aspect of the profession. These ethical, philosophical, ideological and political implications and the choices which depend on them regard two aspects. On one hand the socialization of students carried out in order for students to fit into a specific social system. On the other hand, teachers also have the

duty to fosters students' individuality and autonomy. These two lines compose the essence of the teaching practice, where the first regards the contents of the teaching while the second refers more to the educational relation which gets established when education occur.

As already mentioned, the introduction of social competences takes place within a bigger transition from content-based to competence-based education. For the purpose of understanding the research design, it is important to clarify that the tool of social competence is relatively new in the Italian educational panorama. Moreover, in Italy since 2017, the grade on behavior (trad. It.: *voto di condotta*) has changed its format and its relevance was therefore re-modulated. The grade on behavior was considered until 2017 the main way to grade students on their ability to be a collective part of the class and school. This grade was expressed as a number from zero to ten. Since 2017, the grade on behavior is modified and it gets no longer expressed as a grade but as a judgement, a short descriptive paragraph in which the *consiglio di classe* (class council) expresses instances regarding the behavior of each student. Before 2017, students who were graded less than 6/10 could not progress in their course of study. Now this norm is abrogated. Even if students who receive a disciplinary sanction still cannot progress in their course of study, the introduction of the judgement on behavior cannot strongly affect students' path as before. The implementation of social competences and the change of the nature of the grade on behavior makes social competence preferential when understanding how *formal socialization* pertains to contemporary Italian educational settings.

The change in grading students' behavior has effect for students from 6 to 13 years old (elementary and middle school). When choosing the social group to consider in order to study social competences, this the role for the grade on behavior is taken in account. Since the structure of socialization itself is more complex and since the rules regarding the grading behavior recently changed for students aged 10-13, middle school teachers are the one who compose the sample of this research.

As discussed, the sociological interest of social competences resides in the complexity which characterizes them both at the levels of definition, transmission and evaluation. In this direction, sociological literature linking social competences to social factors such as school ethnic composition show an interesting panorama. On one hand, studies in which ethnic school composition has an effect in the way in which social

competences are conceived (Dam & Volman 2003). On the other hand, studies in which teachers' conceptions of social competences do not vary based on school ethnic composition, rather what varies are the expectations based on students' population ethnic composition (Zwaans et *al.* 2008). These studies show how there is a growing interest in studying how social factors can have an impact in shaping teachers' conception of social competences. These factors have to do primarily with the characteristics of the students' population. In fact, depending on the characteristics of the students' population, teachers' conceptions of social competences may vary. Along with the objective of understanding middle school teachers' conceptions of social competences, another objective of this study is to understand if and by what degree Italian teachers' conceptions of social competence vary based on specific differences in when students' population.

In order to explore the Italian middle school situation regarding this theme, the geographical area of the study has to be delimitated. In this study, this operation is made based on data availability. In fact, to test whether students' population characteristics has an effect on the way in which teachers conceive social competences, data on population characteristics have to be taken in account. As for the present work, these data come from two main sources: 1) the 2017 data on the white flight phenomena in the city of Milan elaborated by Politecnico University (Pacchi & Ranci 2017) and 2) the data provided by UNIDATA, the social data laboratory of the University Milano-Bicocca. The first one is a study which provides a clear portrait of school segregation in the city of Milan. For this reason, in order to study the effect of students' population on social competences, middle school teachers in the city of Milan is the social group considered by this research. In this framework, the data on district disadvantage provided by UNIDATA Bicocca are used in order to position schools through a "district disadvantage index". In this research, only teachers from the first five and last five schools of this school ranking were interviewed. Briefly, the hypothesis behind this design is the following: a) middle school teachers' conceptions of social competences present a character of qualitative significant variation among teachers and between city areas; b) the educational/transmission aspect depends on the conception the single teacher has of social competences and therefore it varies significantly among teachers ad between city areas; c) the processes of evaluation depend on the teachers' conceptions and present significant variability among teachers and between city areas. By taking 25 teachers from high-standards districts and 25 from low-

standard districts (based on average income, nationality and housing conditions), the teachers' sample was polarized. This polarization provides the chance to test if there is a difference in the way in which teachers conceive social competences based on the typology of students' population.

In the end, fifty teachers are involved in the study: twenty-five teachers from schools located in low disadvantage index degree and twenty-five teachers from schools located in high disadvantage index degree. The questionnaire teachers have to respond to is made of three parts. The first part is composed by a *what question* (Säljö 1978), the second be questions investigating the teaching and grading practices and the third part is a vignette (Spalding & Phillips 2007). As in phenomenographic research occurs, results are displayed in form of categories of description.

From an analytical perspective, findings can be interpreted as being composed by two layers. The first layer regards the content of social competences which emerges from teachers reports. Given the complexity of this educational object and the evaluation which they are subject to, social competences definitions which emerge from this work can be a first step in trying to test whether there is an actual possibility of agreement regarding what social competences are. This is true not only for the definition aspect which is explored within this research but also for the aspects of social competence transmission and evaluation. The second layer, which is connected to the first one, is the layer of the *area to area comparison* which emerges thanks to the sample polarization. In fact, results show whether this complexity reflects into a difference in the way in which social competences are conceived, transmitted and evaluated based on students' population characteristics. If this is the case, the spatial segregation illustrated by the white flight phenomena would reflect also into a *conceptual segregation* when it comes to contents of teaching. This conceptual segregation would illustrate a situation in which the same educational object, namely social competences, assume a different significance based on the city area observed.

Final research results show how middle school teachers' conceptions of social competences do present a character of qualitative significant variation among teachers regarding the aspects of definition, transmission and evaluation of social competences. More precisely, specific categories of description where found. As for social competences definitions, categories are the following (categories run from a more basic vision regarding

social competences to a broader and inclusive one): *1. Not a school's responsibility (+ no teacher/student differentiation); 2. Discipline and subject oriented; 3. Behavior and regulation; 4. Respect and relations; 5. Doing for society and civic dimension; 6. Socialization and Intercultural capacity.* As for social competences transmission, categories are the following: *1. Not in teachers' domain; 2. Didactic and subject oriented; 3. Implicit in the interaction with the teacher; 4. Implicit in diverse collective activities; 5. Happening through group work; 6. Based on specific didactic techniques for socialization.* Regarding social competence evaluation, the following categories were identified: 1. Depending on the coordinator (not enough done); 2. Based on students' discipline and behavior; 3. Depending on observation; 4. Depending on measurements and criteria; 5. Something done collectively. As for the *area to area comparison*, a significant variance is found in the definition aspect. More precisely, there is a significative difference between the teachers who identified social competences in the intercultural dimension and those who did not. Teachers from schools located in areas with low disadvantage index are less likely to identify social competences with the themes of "*6. Socialization and intercultural capacity*" while they are very likely to identify social competences with the category "*5. Doing for society and civic dimension*". Transmission and evaluation distribution, since they are not as relevant, are not here reported. The vignette which was part of the research also is phenomenographically analyzed, leading to the creation of categories of description of the material collected. Categories are: *1. Enacted through discipline; 2. Embedded in the contents; 3. Promoted through dialogue: 3a - with the class or 3b - with the single students; 4. Happening through cultural reduction; 5. Made of conflict resolution practices.*

Even if a solid definition did not emerge, this research highlights the manyness and variability of this concept. Despite its vastity, teachers' descriptions cannot be seen as comprehensive. Among the different aspect left out, the aspect of the self-construction is one of the most evident. Marmocchi et al. stress how social competences are based on personal skills and how personal skills find their roots in socio-emotional learning and self-regulation abilities (Marmocchi et al. 2004). However, teachers showed no conceptual relation between social competence and socio-emotional learning. As Balducci and Marchi point out, assessing competence is essential in order to proceed towards lifelong learning (Balducci & Marchi 2014) and to create a learning society (Husen 1974, 2014, Jarvis 2007, Stiglitz & Bruce 2014). However, the case of social competence evaluation makes some relevant questions emerge. Among many, univocally defining the content of

social competence seems to be a starting point in order to make social competence evaluation a meaningful procedure.

The great variability regarding social competence conceptions which results through this research can be drawn back to some specific sociological theories. Among others, one aspect which should be taken into account is the one of the normative indeterminacy (Mangez et al. 2017) of the policy which introduces social competence and which makes the concept of social competence itself a non-stable element. This general indeterminacy reflects into very broad and non-comprehensive social competences definitions but also in weak transmission and evaluation practices. Literature shows a rich, complex and sometimes contradictory panorama in competence-based education evaluation (Castoldi 2009, Trincherio 2012, Castoldi 2016). Between the indeterminacy of the norm and the complexity of the dedicated academic resources, teachers are compelled to evaluate students on non-specific parameters.

The analysis carried out also shows how, especially for the level of definitions, teachers' conceptions of social competences vary based on general students' population composition. What is important to underline here is one aspect which regards not only social competences, but competence-based education in general. If competence-based education is situation-adapted, context-situated and environment-based, situation context and environment affect teaching practices. However, this affection has to be controlled in order for it to not become an interference and, in the end, undermine teaching quality. If not controlled, the nature of social-competence can have a tendency to reproduce context characteristic. This very aspect of competence-based education, and as the present research shows of social competences, can undermine justice and equality of public educational systems. Furthermore, because of the absence of a specific and solid content regarding social competences, the effect of the environment characteristics on this precise teaching practice appears clearly.

In essence, going in the direction of univocally define social competence contents and practices can have a double impact: on one hand, grant that the objective that is expected when implementing the policy, whatever it might be, gets fulfilled. On the other hand, more rich, stable and ready to use social competence definition, transmission and evaluation parameters can avoid the situation of adding to the well-known spatial segregation one further element of segregation: conceptual segregation. If social

competences are designed in order to reduce educational inequalities and prepare individuals for a more just future society, consolidating the contents and practices regarding social competences is the first step to move toward this direction.

Chapter 1

Models, Norms and Values

1. Education and Socialization: Introduction to Socialization Models

The foundation of the present work descends from the theoretical framework which bases the sociological analysis of socio-educational phenomena on the formal distinction[1] between models of socialization. What do we mean by *models of socialization*? In the attempt to make this question concrete and before analyzing models in detail, it is essential to define the sociological meaning of the terms *socialization* and *model*, considering the first term as being more complex and therefore deserving more attention within this work.

Since the present analysis moves within a specific field of study, this argumentation starts with the definition of *sociology of education*. Gallino affirms sociology of education studies "the observable relationships between different components of an educational system, such as the ideology that orients it, the pedagogical aims it proposes, its organization (...), the specific cultural contents it transmits to students, teachers' training, the internal functioning of schools (...) and the main systems, subsystems and social processes of the society of which it is part"[2] (Gallino 1988, p. 273). The relationship between education and society is therefore the main focus of the sociology of education. What Gallino also points out is that the issue of education, as a sociological investigation, is not easy to define and risks overlapping (at a definitional level) with that of socialization.

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[1] In *Le Juste et le Vrai: Etudes sur l'Objectivité des Valeurs et de la Connaissance* (1995), Boudon explains the difference between "formal theory" and "empirical theory" where the first one, even if true and because of its broadness, can never be empirically demonstrated. Here the term is used in this acceptation.

[2] Translation by the author. Given the difficulty in finding all of the cited works in English, all quoted citations must be intended as translated by the author. For original work, see the referenced work.

The overlapping of the themes of education and socialization[3] is, as we shall see later on, one of the fundamental points of Durkheim's broad contribution to the field. However, as for the theoretical and empirical purposes of this work, it is essential to engage in the process of distinction between the two themes. To this end, following the definitions proposed by Gallino, what can facilitate the differentiation between the two terms is the intellectual act of linking *education* to *educational system*. An *educational system* is defined as "the whole set of (...) institutions and organizations specialized in all types of education, training, updating, professional and cultural development in general" (Gallino 1988, p. 274).

After having shortly defined what the broad area of studies of sociology of education is and what educational systems are, a definition of socialization needs to emerge. Socialization is defined by various authors as "the process of insertion and involvement of the individual in society" (Gallino 1988, Rossi 2001, Ghisleni & Moscati 2001). Because of the overlap pf definitions between the two objects, the themes of socialization and of education have often been explored jointly through similar models. Despite the evident similarities, for the sake of this work it is proposed to consider education and socialization as two separate phenomena. These two phenomena are distinguished by the formality or informality of each phenomenon, as follows:

- education as a formal phenomenon;

- socialization as an informal phenomenon.

Despite the strong connection that characterizes them, it is useful to consider education and socialization as distinct events. This distinction must not be made solely to facilitate theoretical or empirical work, but also in order to clarify the ontological differences between the two phenomena (Donati 1991). Maccarini expresses very clearly the difference between socialization and education: "socialization is about building a personality that is adequate to live in a certain social order and make the individual able

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[3] Needless to say, it is not possible to observe *education* or *socialization* as static objects in reality. What these labels indicate are processes which have no defined boundaries. For the sake of research, social scientists can operate a motivated distinction to define them.

to recognize, legitimize and respect the rules and norms typical of that set-up" (Maccarini 2003, p. 56). Education, on the other hand, is the process that provides the individual with "the ability to act and process symbols in such a way as to 'exceed' the quality and type of social relations and overall existing forms of social life" (ibid.). As pointed out by the author, the two events have very different characteristics, objectives, assumptions and ways of occurring. On one hand, both socialization and education have to do with the capacity of the human to learn (and it was perhaps this aspect, in some cases, that generated overlap). But what is learned and the motivation for which it is important to learn it have to do with different aspects concerning human action (see *Tab. 1.1*).

Table 1.1 - Education and socialization (Maccarini 2003, p. 55).

Education	Socialization
Explicit, aware and intentional process (narrow concept)	Process that can also be non-intentional (broad concept)
Formalized process (within specialized institutions such as schools)	Every process of transmission of norms and values, also informal
Ethic dimension	Communicative competence and performance capacity
Asymmetrical relations	Symmetrical relations
Objective: exceeding human reflexivity	Objective: socially adequate modal personality through internalization of social norms

Socialization and education, however, do not necessarily have to take place in two distinct moments. On the contrary, they take place simultaneously thanks to the respective characteristics. If education is an explicit, formalized, conscious and intentional process which concerns the ethical dimension, characterized by an asymmetry of the relationship and put in place in order to create an "exceeding"[4] human reflexivity, socialization is

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[4] Maccarini exposes the theme of "exceeding" as aiming at improving and overcoming the individual's capacities (2003).

different. Instead, socialization is an informal, unintentional process which concerns communication skills and performance, characterized by the symmetry of relationships and whose goal is the internalization of social norms (Maccarini 2003, p. 55). According to this frame of reference, education and socialization are two distinct phenomena.

By describing what the domain of education is, the difference between education and socialization has now been introduced and a definition of both is provided. What now should be taken into account is the concept of *model*. By considering the term mode*l* in conjunction with the theme of socialization and in the domain of sociology of education, two different traditions consider models in different ways. 1) Socialization models as macro theoretical frameworks that direct theoretical and empirical research as in Maccarini (2003) and Besozzi (2006); 2) socialization models as distinct, specific modes of socializing individuals to norms and values as in Ghisleni & Moscati (2001). In the first case, the model is considered as a theoretical construction. In the second, the model has a pragmatic approach which aims at detecting practical ways of socialization. As for the purposes of the analysis here carried out, only the first understanding, meaning the theoretical one, is considered.

By adding up all the elements that emerged up to this point, the sociological study which implies socialization models refers to the analysis of informal, unintentional practices of introjection of norms and values whose study proceeds through sociological macro-theoretical frameworks which direct research.

This scenario would create a situation in which socialization models are useful exclusively to understand informal phenomena, strictly related to socialization. On the other hand, as it will be discussed later in the Chapter, considering socialization models in order to explore also particular educational phenomena can offer an important analytical opportunity. This means, the theoretical structure offered by models of socialization helps not only in the study of practices of socialization but also in the analysis of specific educational phenomena. Moreover, the theoretical framework of socialization models has traditionally directed its focus to educational phenomena, producing insightful research indications. The study of educational phenomena through models of socialization appears as potentially fruitful especially when educational systems move in the direction of including in their domain elements which belong traditionally to the socialization realm. This proves to be true especially when it comes to what for now will

be called *formal practices of socialization*. In other terms, socialization models can orient the study of the inclusion of informal practices of socialization into formal educational systemic procedures.

By following this line of reasoning, in this Chapter socialization models will be illustrated, referring to the authors who most profoundly contributed to the emergence of the models themselves. Nonetheless, the objective of the Chapter is not only to illustrate the models but foremost to answer some specific theoretical questions: a) how is the concept of socialization of norms and values declined within every model? b) What is the overlook of every model regarding the relation between educational systems and the education to societal norms and values? c) Is education of norms and values in the model something that belongs to socialization processes only or is it also an institutionalized, formal event? d) If it is also a formal event, how do different socialization models consider it? e) If the introjection of norms and values is something that happens mainly at the level of socialization, what happens when informal socialization practices are transformed into formal educational tools? In essence, the attempt is to retrace the path that lead to the theorization of the different ways in which socialization of norms and values has been described in socialization models in their relationship with formal educational systems. With this questions as a guide, classic socialization models will be explored.

As for the models considered, after the work of Durkheim which is included in the positivistic model, the three most recurrent models in literature that have oriented both studies towards socialization and education are the integrationist, the critical and the communicative models.

In the integrationist model, socialization takes place through the transmission of values, norms and social skills of various kinds both from one generation to the next and between different groups belonging to the same generation. Socialization means integration when it provides the tools to promote social cohesion. This vision of socialization is formalized in the first instance by Parsons and Bales (1955) and subsequently implied, within the structural-functionalist studies, to understand specific dynamics of social action.

The critical model emphasizes the imposition and hierarchical aspect of the integrationist model: the socialization of certain (and no other) norms and values is considered as a forceful act in order to favor specific powers. Mainly taken into

consideration by Marxist studies, the critical model is characterized by considering class conflict as a basis for reasoning and analyzing all socialization events, including the ones happening through education, as attempts made by interest groups in order to conserve power. In this perspective, socialization is considered as a transmission of norms and values in favor only of those who can choose, thanks to the power they have, which norms and values must be shared. The ultimate goal of socialization and of education still is to guarantee social cohesion, but this cohesion is pursued with the sole aim of favoring those who are already in a position of power.

According to the communicative model, socialization is an exchange between an individual and a context, and between the person who comes into contact with a social system and the system itself (Luhmann 1995, Luhmann & Schorr 1988). The meeting between these two entities can effectively be described as the meeting between the sphere of personality and the social system (Maccarini 2003). The sphere of personality plays a decisive role in the processes of socialization within the communicative model. The communicative model is distinguished by two levels that concern communication: the level between individuals and the level between the individual (or group of individuals) and the social system. What individuals must do to ensure social cohesion involves having the ability to communicate their individuality and, through this communication, to successfully interact with the system.

In essence, the objective of the Chapter is to understand the ways in which, historically, different models described the attempt of educational systems to make individuals introject societal norms and values. Besides the general interest of this perspective, the theoretical research of the different visions declined in each models will be informative of both the research questions and the hypothesis of the research design.

2. Positivistic Model: Socialization and Education in Durkheim

2.1 First step into Durkheim's educational discourse

Despite the fact that the very first work published by Emil Durkheim on the sociological analysis of an educational phenomena is more than 130 years old and regardless of the immense social changes that took place between then and now, Durkheim's understanding of the connection between education and society is still found of great, fresh interest. Durkheim was the first scholar to underline the intrinsically connected character between sociological studies and the field of education (Maccarini 2003, p. 69). The positivist style of the author conveys his research effort towards the discovery of those characteristics of the social reality that, if appropriately addressed, can produce collective well-being. In Durkheim's positive perspective, the pragmatic intent of sociology is to study society in order to grasp its limitations and to facilitate its progress. Following this operation, the task of the educational system is to structure itself based on the information it receives from sociology. The aim of sociology is, therefore, to inform the educational guidelines and then to re-calibrate the various social functions through education[5]. In this sense, sociology, was born as an *informer* of educational processes. Thus, the science of society can contribute to the construction of future educational paths, taking into account the characteristics of the social needs (Duru-Bellat 1996).

From this perspective, Durkheim was the first scholar to uncouple the epistemological matrix of educational studies from philosophical tradition, linking them to a new discipline, namely sociology[6]. Durkheim covered different roles in Academia, first at the Faculty of Letters of Bordeaux (1887-1902) and then at the Sorbonne for the

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[5] A comprehensive overview of the relationship between education and society can be found in *Sociology as Pedagogy: How Ideas from the Discipline Can Inform Teaching and Learning* (Halasz & Kaufman 2008). In the text, the authors illustrate the active relationship of the two fields of investigation. As for a comprehensive understanding of Durkheim's pedagogy, the reference is to Ottaway (1955) and Filloux (1978).

[6] With Durkheim, there is a turning point regarding to the "metaphysical tradition" (Cambi 2008, p. 27) that from Plato onwards connected the ontological and epistemological bases of the educational discourse on philosophy. Within the pedagogical studies of the early twentieth century that echoed Durkheimian theories, Dewey (1916, 1938) is the scholar whose works most strongly linked education with social and political instances (Cambi 2005, p. 10).

Chair of Educational Sciences (from 1902). During this time, through his writings the connection between sociology and education was made explicit, which had a concrete effect on the evolution of multiple paths of research.

In order to both grasp the main features of the widely reforming Durkheimian discourse (Cardi 2007) and in contrast with some descriptions of the author's work on the relationship between education and society defined as "generic" (Cesareo 1992), the main stages of his discourse over education are now traced. The attempt is not to exhaust the potentialities that the work of the sociologist can carry[7], rather to provide a clear overview of the assumptions that fully justify the overlap between education and socialization (Gaudemar 2001) in the sociology of Emil Durkheim. As we will see later, in fact, although successive currents of thought have divided the two terms and defined them in different ways[8], in the Durkheimian's work education and socialization are linked and inseparable themes. At the same time, this analysis's goal is also to understand how the relation between education and the introjection of norms and values is declined within the positivistic model, of which Durkheim is the most prominent exponent.

Philosophie dans les Universités Allemandes (1887), which represents a fundamental milestone in order to retrace the theoretical work of the author (Baracani 1973), *L'Enseignement Philosophique et l'Agrégation de Philosophie* (1895) and *Pédagogie et Sociologie* (1903) are the first three articles considered. The articles are then be put into theoretical dialogic relation with classical production of the Durkheimian theoretical tradition, *De la Division du Travail Social* (1893) and with *Les Formes Elémentaires de la Vie Religieuse: le Système Totémique en Australie* (1912). Last, the two most important monographic works of the author with respect to the relationship between education and society are considered: *Education et Sociologie* (1922) and *L'Education Morale* (1925), both published posthumously.

Philosophie dans les Universités Allemandes is the first of the sociologist's publications. This publication has a dual purpose: on the one hand, to provide a recognition with respect to the teaching of philosophy in the German university. On the other hand, to

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[7] To this end, Mosconi's article (1992) showcases many of the authors who have dealt with the relationship between society and education in Durkheim. Moreover, the most classic article by Fauconnet (1923) is perhaps the first one to clearly summarize the thematic points of Durkheimian work in this sense.

[8] If the two themes appear to be overlapping in Durkheim, it is with Parsons (1951) that the division between the two processes is more specific.

comment on the quality and content of morals and collectivism in contemporary France (Eliard 1993). The empirical aspect of the work focuses on the collection of data with respect to the philosophy teachings at the University of Leipzig during the winter semester of the academic year 1886-1887. From the methodological point of view, it can be deduced that, in addition to the collection of quantitative data, material is also based on direct observations made by the author.

The "pretext" and the interest for the author on the issue seems to derive from two basic motivations. The first has to do with a typical aspect of the empirical processing of the sociologist. Just as in *Les Formes Elémentaires de la Vie Religieuse* an elementary religion is analyzed to draw conclusions about the function of all religions, in *La Philosophie dans les Universités Allemandes* the "primary source" of philosophical knowledge is analyzed, to draw conclusions about the function of philosophical knowledge in general (Kardy 1988).

In the paper, Durkheim exposes all the critical aspects of the courses presented. The German situation is criticized for its methods of taxation, for the difficulties regarding the access to the teaching profession, for the lack of teaching skill, the precariousness of the research work -- all of which makes the work in the Academia an elite work. In other terms, the teaching of philosophy in German universities is largely demolished.

Towards the end of the article, however, the author clarifies the point of his case study. By doing so, the door for all future understanding of the connection between education and society is opened. The author writes: "When a German university is analyzed in detail, it is easy to find much to criticize; the general organization is far from perfect; (...) but (...) a fact hits immediately. Every university, however small, is something alive. This imposes silence on every reasoning and analysis, because life is the rarest thing in the world; there is nothing more inimitable" (p. 436). What is it that produces this kind of *life* in German Academia?

With this question in mind, the discourse then shifts from the purely educational matrix into an of exploration of the cultural characteristics of the phenomenon examined. The author individuates four specific characteristics which define the German social environment and make it more prone to collectivism if compared to the French one:

1) Lower degree of individualism. The author writes: "Since [in Germany] they did not teach the student that his first duty is to think like everyone else, he does not feel the

sick need at all that pushes us to stand out and thus isolate ourselves from one another. He does not blush to be impersonal to some extent, and has, I believe, only a rather confused idea of what we call distinction and originality, two words almost untranslatable in German" (pp. 437).

2) Minor differences among individuals due to racial laws. The author writes: "If the Germans so easily adhere to each other, it is because the individual differences are less numerous than here. We know the place occupied in German politics by the question of races" (ibid.).[9]

3) Academic production perceived as a *collective effort*. The author writes: "If we compare the arguments of the thesis presented to the Faculty of Paris in the last few years we will see that it is impossible to draw a common tendency. Each philosopher works separately, as if he were alone in the world or as if philosophy were an art. In this sense, we have much to learn from Germany" (ibid.).

4) Social sciences perceived in Germany as sciences of public interest. The author writes: "We have seen that in Germany the moral and social sciences have, if not in education, at least in public concerns a highly important place" (ibid).

In the author's analysis, it is thanks to some very specific social traits that German Academic vivacity and participation can take place. This theme is then linked to the need of reform of the French *collective spirit*. The assumption, as it will be fully discussed later, is that if the phenomena of secularization and of transformation of social solidarity are assumed to be true, social life deserves new foundations. Clark, (1968) in reference to this reformation and the university system, describes these emerging social necessities as "structural modifications throughout society leading to new needs" (p. 43). In connecting quality of education and introjection of norms and values in such a strict way, the first step for the coinciding character of education and socialization was made.

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[9] As Maniscalco writes (2003), the relationship between nineteenth century sociology and the degenerations of the concept of nationalism does exist. This boundary between what shaped a collective feeling -- the nation-state -- and nationalism is understood as the "exclusionary sentiment" (Hobsbawn 1990). This aspect played a fundamental role in the theoretical productions of the early twentieth century and still is a current topic with respect to the content of identity and sociality in connection with the nation state.

The author's growing interest regarding education and in particular the relationship between education and society does not end with the first article. *L'Enseignement Philosophique et l'Agrégation de Philosophie* (1895) is the second article written by the author that deals directly with the educational issues. The probability that the subject of philosophy will be cancelled from high-school curriculum is the fact which ignites the author's attention. The author explains how such a choice is not due only based on lack of pedagogical principles but also on a crisis of philosophy itself (Fabiani 1993). Besides the fact that philosophy had been included into France high-school curriculum for specific reasons, at the time when Durkheim was writing this set of prerogatives seem to be declining, making philosophy into a discipline that helps people to think[10] and "relax the intelligences with gymnastics". In Durkheim's perspective, this is mainly due to the methods of philosophy, often treated as a literary and non-scientific subject[11].

Durkheim subsequently identifies the main source with respect to the methodological error in philosophy: the absence of specificity in language, defined by the author as "mystic"[12]. If language is a basic tool for the social sciences and if the scholars of such disciplines tend to use it in a nebulous, vague and uncritical manner, the indeterminacy of language becomes one of the fundamental evils of the discipline itself, undermining its rigor and credibility. Furthermore, it usurps the scientific nature and determines the subdivision into innumerable micro currents that struggle to keep a common discourse based on fundamental questions to which the discipline tries to provide an answer. The social sciences are seen as prey to a very risky "anarchist dilettantism."

Surprisingly, despite the recognition of the crisis in the social sciences, Durkheim supports the need to reform the contents of the discipline and remains opposed to the abolition of it from French high schools. His position derives from the fact that philosophy covers an "eminently social function that only philosophy can satisfy". Citizens with access to an increasing amount of information are smarter, and even personally called to

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[10] The clear-cut differentiation between philosophy and psychology, initially considered as a single pool of knowledge (Pewzner et al. 2001) is still not established at the time the author was writing.
[11] For a complete overview of the relationship between sociology and positivism, see Halfpenny (2016).
[12] Fabiani (1993) in *Métaphysique, Morals, Sociologies: Durkheim et le Retour à la Philosophie* underlines the rationalist character of Durkheim's approach to philosophy and explains the heart of the author's rational discipline is precisely in the "return to philosophy" (pp. 179).

manage public affairs; therefore, the social system has a responsibility to equip them fully with all intellectual instruments. These instruments, of which philosophy is the key, are intended to allow the citizen to move successfully within the social landscape. The article also proposes an effective resolution to counteract the decline of philosophical disciplines: philosophy students must attend a preparatory year of physical and natural sciences in order to enter in empirical contact with the scientific method[13] and introject its rules.

From this perspective, it is important to mention how *L'Enseignement Philosophique et l'Agrégation de Philosophie* calls back to *De la Division du Travail Social* when it comes to the issue of *social role*[14]. In Durkheimian sociology and in essence in the positivistic model, educating means preparing for the social role. This vision is made up of two dimensions: first, the essential dimension of the human being is that of the social role *tout court*. The human being must first of all be guided and instructed in order to possess the tools necessary to cover this role (Oelkers 2004). The second dimension, not directly dealt with in the essay, concerns the dimension of solidarity, which will be touched on later in this work. Therefore, Durkheim focuses on the functional aspect of education, seen not as a harmonious construction but as implemented with aims mainly aimed at collective well-being.

2.2 Education as the Germ for Social Life

The essay *Pédagogie et Sociologie* (1903) is the opening lesson of the course on Educational Sciences held at the Sorbonne in 1902. The text constitutes a turning point in the educational production of Durkheim. If the two previously illustrated works show a highly pragmatic strength and a willingness to reform with respect to the educational themes, it is in this lesson that the relationship between education and society is made

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[13] Berthelot (1995) defines Durkheimian's contribution as "scientific sociology". Analyzing in detail the methodological type used by Durkheim, mainly with regard to the overall vision that regulates the possibility of describing a complex phenomenon by studying the simplest form accessible to the scientist in order to catch it. In its purest form and then glimpse the evolution (pp. 96). In *Durkheim et les débuts de l'ethnologie universitaire* Karady (1988) specifies the question in more detail, explaining the parallelism between simple society and archaic society (pp. 26).
[14] The concept of role is very broad within sociological analysis. To its most recent evolutions can be found in Donati (2003) and Macioti (2000).

explicit, clarifying the terms and dimensions. In definitional terms, education in Durkheim consists in a "methodical socialization of the young generations" (p. 46). The Durkheimian anthropological view expressed in the essay can be summarized as in the proposed *Table 1.1.2*. The individual is considered a "tabula rasa" and education as an action exerted on the individual by the community in order to make the perpetration of the society possible. From this perspective, sociology is described as the primary science in order for education to shape social beings. The author writes: "it is the society that traces the ideal individual that we have to achieve through education" (p. 50). Thus, establishing how both sociology and not psychology are the discipline useful in providing educational content, when educating.

Psychology in Durkheimian educational discourse, on the other hand, is described as an essential discipline in order to address educational models and more precisely, how to educate. In this scenario, psychology defines *the how* of education, while sociology defines *the why*. *Pédagogie et Sociologie* can be considered as the text in which the theoretical and defining bases for all subsequent production on educational themes are found.

Casting a glance at Durkheim's contemporary authors, it can be noticed how most of them come from the economic and political sciences: Pareto in Italy, Spencer in England, Oppenheimer and Simmel[15] in Germany. These sociologists who initiated the discipline linked this new line of research to economic and political issues rather than pedagogical ones. However, Durkheim's sociology finds its bases in education as it can be seen in his most prominent theories.

To this extent and to make a connection between Durkheim's educational interest and his most remarkable theories, *De la Division du Travail Social* (1893) answers two fundamental questions: first, what is the function of the social division of labor; second, what are the causes that determine the division. The objective is therefore to evaluate whether the specialized or divided work produce more or less benefit once compared to a more holistic, comprehensive form of work. For the sociologist, the growing specialization of knowledge and profession imposes the need for an analysis of the division of labor and the social object that specialization produces (Lastrucci 2013). The main

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[15] These authors constitute only a part of those who gave life to European sociological studies in an economic-political key. For a complete overview, see Scaglia (1992), Burgalassi (1996), Ferrarotti (2002).

function of the division, according to the sociologist, is to create social cohesion, or solidarity. Solidarity is therefore a function of the division of labor. In this scenario, with the increasing of division of labor, cooperation and solidarity need to increase. At the same time the individual, less embraced and less controlled by society, needs to find his moral unity through the corporate and professional spirit.

Without directly explaining what the connection between this new aspect of collective life and the educational system might be, the author stresses that "our first duty is currently to build a moral" (ibid., p. 399), referring to the fact that without such an effort, the survival of organic solidarity societies cannot be guaranteed. Within *De la division du travail social*, the key concept of collective consciousness[16] is introduced.

Table 1.2.1 – Durkheim, social being and educational objectives

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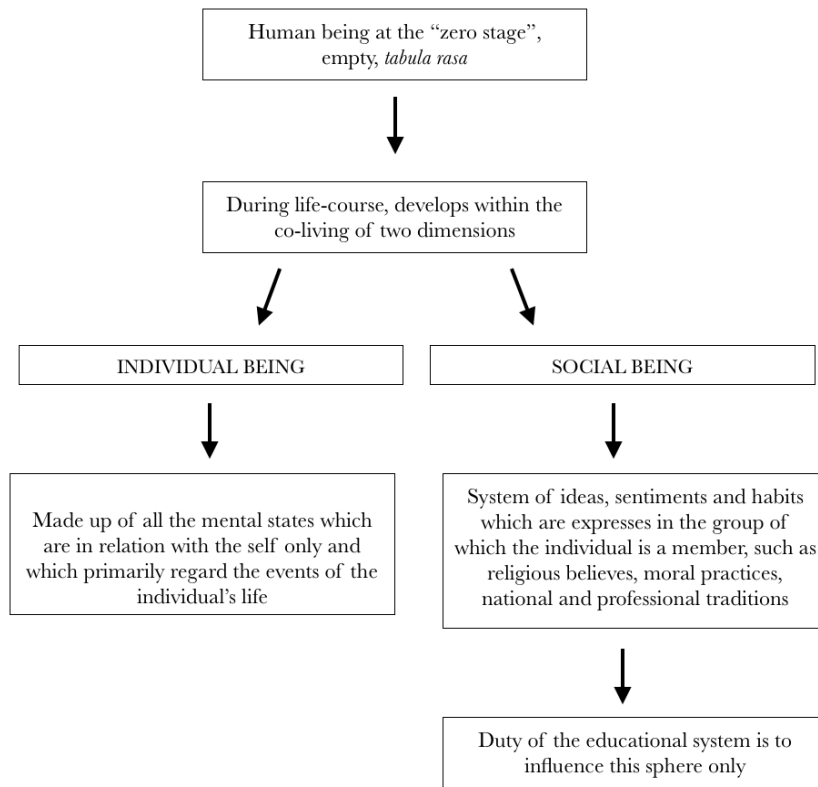
[16] In the essay of the essay *Représentations Individuelles et Réparesentations Collectives* (1898), the concept of collective consciousness and its representations is widely discussed, an aspect not addressed here.

The same theme of collective consciousness is also of fundamental relevance in *Les Formes Elémentaires de la vie Religieuse: le Système Totémique en Australie* (1912). In the text, the scholar achieves a vision of religion's purpose in society: religion, while laying the foundation for a collective consciousness, creates the conditions for social cohesion.

As described by Isambert (1992), the cult of the Durkheimian man is interpreted differently by those authors who subscribed to Durkheim, including Filloux (1977), whose interpretation refers to theories of a psycho-social nature, and Pickering (1984), who links the vision of "social religion" to the distance from nature that characterizes Western societies. Regardless of the approach, the problem that always follows Durkheim is the idea, already consolidated at the beginning of the twentieth century, that modern faith no longer exercises the same hegemony on the system of collective representations.

Using the strong platform of previous theories, with *Education et Sociologie* (1922) the author definitively enters the subject of the relationship between education and society. Here, the distance from the vision of education as harmonic development is again established[17] in opposition to the specific development of the individual, thus confirming the vision of education as the action exercised by adult generations on those who are not yet mature for social life. Furthermore, education's objective is to "arouse and develop in the child a certain number of physical, intellectual and moral states that are required by the political society as a whole, as well as by the particular environment to which it is specifically destined" (ibid., p. 71), or a "methodical socialization of the new generations" (ibid). In this framework, educating means socializing. To this extent and in breaking with the aesthetic philosophy that guided previous pedagogical studies, the goal of education does not consist in harmoniously developing all individual skills at best but to prepare for collectiveness[18]. Moreover, in order to promote the right degree of homogeneity, the State

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[17] Kant expresses his point of view on education, among other subjects, in the text *What it means orientate in thinking?* (1786). Although also an, heir to the tradition of Rousseau and Locke and as Durkheim, Kant intended to distinguish education as opposed to the state of nature. Kant proposed the educational process is a process that tends to harmonize the individual, thus creating a balance between the natural instincts and the demands of the state aside from nature, considering education as an acre rather than a science (Serrano 2010, pp.20).

[18] Oelkers (2004) points out that in the essay *Ecole de Demain* (1916) the author is "directed against the persisting influence of the humanistic idea of education that starts out from the unified nature of man and centers on the cult of the human personality" (p. 358).

must be able to equip individuals according to the parameters of "Respect for reason, science, ideas and sentiments that underlie democratic morality" (ibid., p. 80).

Within *Education et Sociologie* the author deals with both the role of the educator and the role of pedagogy. In both cases the internal coherence of the production remains very lively and the society is therefore the fulcrum on which descriptions the author proposes his theories. The role of the educator is one that must be eminently authoritative. Durkheim illustrates how the educator should express authority, not as an expression of violence, repressiveness or power *tout court*, but as the operator for a superior force: society (ibid., p. 87). Compared to the role of pedagogy, however, the educator must know how to shift the focus from the individual to the collective. Since there is no universal training for education, educators must also discover how to adapt to the changing demands and expectations that society places on the educational system.

2.3 The Construction of Secular Morality in Moral Education

The discourse on morals, as pointed out by Turner (1993) and LaMagedleine (1995), is one of the cornerstones of Durkheimian theory. It is with *Moral Education* (1925) that Durkheim's reasoning regarding education and morality finds its highest expression and, to a certain extent, fulfillment and conclusion. The argument proposed here seems to tie up all previous theoretical production and thus provides motivations for considering educational phenomena fully as social phenomena. In *Moral Education,* Durkheim's argument also introduces the elements which sociological reasoning can use to produce concrete advice to be used in the educational systems. The following points highlight the salient points of the author's vast theoretical path, a path that could now be summarized as follows[19]:

- The differentiation between organic and mechanical solidarity laid the bases for a comparison of the characteristics individuals must have in order to live in society.

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[19] The theories that can be derived from and used by Durkheim's work, especially from the texts cited, are vast. A further comprehensive overview of the relationship between Durkheimian theory and educational studies is found in Ravaglioli (1999).

- The theme of secularization along with the awareness of religion being the worshipping of society expanded the range of characteristics that individuals must have to live in society.

- The emphasis on the task of educational systems, in an organic and secular society, is therefore to provide a moral education that guarantees social cohesion and skills the individual needs to live in society.

From this perspective, within societies of organic and secularized solidarity, the creation of collective consciousness and common morality depends on the capacity of educational systems to provide the indispensable elements which create aggregated life. It is therefore useful to remember that when Durkheim produced this theory, the secularization and rationalization of French educational paths were still emerging and as such were still quite sensitive topics (Pantò 2000).

Thanks to Durkheim's elaboration, a lesson emerges that is still relevant: in order to *secularize* education, it is not enough to simply eliminate everything that appears to be religious. Instead, the contents of education must be transformed and replaced. The source of collective attachment has to be shifted. This observation is made in the light of a very specific question, one which appears to be as an awareness of the need for *emotional involvement in education*[20] *ante litteram*. That is, if religion is eliminated as a source of wisdom and attachment, it is necessary to substitute another rationally viable entity we now know to be the source of cohesion: society itself. Therefore, school must be "the center of excellence of the moral culture of the considered age (ibid, p. 168)".

Understanding the problem of moral education in Durkheim means understanding the problem of the secularization of the educational system. In fact, the sociologist was particularly attentive to the relationship between the growing degree of rationalism and the growing degree of individualism[21] in reference to the process of secularization. As for this regard, three theoretical focal points are illustrated by the author:

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[20] Just to name a few, one thinks, for example, of Piaget's educational theories (1947) or of the most recent contributions that link learning, emotions and the social world, such as theories on the emotional intelligence and social intelligence of Goleman (1995, 2006).

[21] Bellah describes the view of individualism in Durkheim as a "*central valeur de la societé modern*" (pp. 10), underlining the non-critical vision of the function of society in organic solidarity.

1) Rationalism and individualism are two sides of the same coin. This means that the more individuals are rational, recognizing their individuality, the more they also trend towards self-affirmation and detachment from the group.

2) From this it follows that individualism, if not balanced, becomes a form of slavery where individuals instead of serving another individual-master or an external God, start serving an insatiable inner self.

3) Finally, the goal of secularization must not be to impoverish morality by rationalizing it and giving free rein to the individual, but instead to enrich collective morality by providing the right, rational stimuli for collective well-being.

The theoretical discourse is followed by a more pragmatic approach in which Durkheim expands on the practicality of moral education:

1) *The spirit of discipline.* Viewed as an obstacle to individual freedom, discipline must be shaped during the second childhood, a period of development that coincides with primary schools. During this period, efforts must be concentrated on the exercise of morality.

2) *Attachment to social groups.* By stimulating attachment to the group, moral action is spurred, training the spirit of discipline and highlighting how acting with exclusive personal advantage cannot be considered moral. Moral acts, on the other hand, pursue impersonal ends to society's benefit. It is important to learn in other words to act for collective interest, encouraging attachment to the group[22] and underlining how moral reality is made of these relationships.

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[22] Relatively early in the twentieth century, Mitchels (1931) highlighted in his article *Emile Durkheim and the Philosophy of Nationalism* the strong connection between Durkheim's theory and the emergence of nationalist sentiment in Europe. Within the author's treatment, there is a thematic overlap between group membership and state, understood as nation-state. As noted by later critics (Baracani 1973), one of the main problems of Durkheim's approach became clear once the war crimes of the twentieth century were consummated. At this point, it had become necessary (as indeed happened) to re-discuss the concept of attachment to the group as attachment to the nation-state. To this extent, Bellah (1990), in reference to the concepts of discipline, attachment to the group and autonomy, describes the question as an overlap between "moral" and "nation", where "nation has a moral primacy" (pp. 1990).

3) Views on *moral intelligence*[23]. Moral described education means to educate the moral conscience, which requires autonomy. This autonomy, if enlightened by reason, will opt for the best possible choice, without having to impose an artificial norm. "To teach morality, in fact, is not to prejudice or inculcate it, but to explain it" (p. 256), putting the individual in the position to freely choose the best alternative which can benefit both the self and the group. Given the richness and timeliness of this vision, it is certainly possible to define moral education as the testament to the sociologist Durkheim and his approach to education.

2.4 Perspectives and Developments of the Concept of Moral Education

In the panoramic proposal with respect to the Durkheimian socio-pedagogical approach, sociology is described as that discipline useful for informing the educational processes. These processes take consistency in what the scholar defines as moral education, or an education that aims to provide the individual spirit of discipline, attachment to one or more social groups and moral intelligence understood as autonomy of individual conscience. In these terms, it is possible to understand how the overlap of education-socialization issues is completely legitimized within Durkheim's discourse.

In dealing with education, in fact, the content of the disciplines is never referenced (except by chance for philosophy, to which the sociologist dedicates a separate discussion). The author's macro objective always seems to be to describe education as a project implemented by the community, whose purpose is to create the foundations that nurture the essential logic that forms future organic solidarity. In Durkheimian's theory, the kind of social logic that education must provide for the purpose of a stable socialization finds its roots in philosophy, its methodological base in the scientific method and its expression in moral education, whose fundamental components are discipline, attachment and autonomy. In these terms, we can see how the overlap between education and socialization is not only effective but also completely justified by grasping a new social need and turning it into that which serves a pedagogical plan. In Durkheimian terms,

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[23] In defining the moral as an intelligence, the contemporary reference seems again to be that of *social intelligence* (Goleman 2006).

autonomy and social differentiation are essential dimensions for the survival of society in organic solidarity. Nonetheless, if the individual dimension in education finds ample space in the educational system, the moral (and collective) dimension will be at risk (Brezinka 1986, Corsi et al., 2004, Chistolini 2006, Broccoli 2017).

From a historical point of view, Durkheim's approach and the pedagogical sociology which followed were not fully accepted. On one side, it has to be noticed how in general the European war events reduced the space of action for all the positivist instances in social sciences (Hassard 1993); also, it is possible to affirm that once these conflicts were exhausted, the instance of moral education had been transformed into *something different*. Sociology, meanwhile, abandoned its claim to be above all the informative discipline of educational processes.

The reasoning regarding the concept of moral education and the overlapping concepts of education and socialization is fundamental in order to understand the dimension of the theme of education for society explored here. At practical level, this reasoning takes concrete form if social competences[24] are considered as the result of an evolution of the concept of moral education within the educational landscape. From this point of view, social competences are considered as: a) practical tool which can be fully described by tracing back its meaning in the evolution of the concept of moral education to today's vision of education for society; and b) an educational instrument responding to the social need of education for society. In order to understand this framework, however, it is necessary to retrace the macro steps that led from Durkheim's educational theorization on moral education at the beginning of the twentieth century to current

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[24] The European Community regulations on the subject of skills can be found in the following documents: a) Recommendation 2006/962 / EC of the European Parliament and of the Council of 18 December 2006 on Key Competences for Lifelong Learning; b) Communication from the Commission to the European Parliament, the Council, the European Economic and Social Committee and the Committee of the Regions, Improving the skills for the 21st century: an agenda for European cooperation in school subjects, COM (2008), 425 final, 2008; c) Communication from the Commission to the European Parliament, the Council, the European Economic and Social Committee and the Committee of the Regions, Rethinking education: investing in skills for better socio-economic results, COM (2012), 669 final, 2012; d) Council conclusions of 12 May 2009 on a strategic framework for European cooperation in education and training (ET 2020), 2009; e) Council Conclusions on Improving the level of basic skills in the context of European cooperation on schools for the 21st century, C 323/04, 2010.

perspective over education for society which lay the basis for the Recommendation 2006/962/EC which includes social competences, both at European and Italian[25] level.

3. Parsons and the Integrationist Model

3.1 Understanding the Integrationist Model

To understand how the concept of moral education is defined within the different models of socialization and whether it is possible to reconstruct a common thread that leads from Durkheimian theories to modern visions concerning social competences, we must analyze the author's most influential vision of the first socialization model: the integrationist model, also defined as functionalist (Besozzi 2006).

Talcott Parsons, within his vast sociological oeuvre, has treated education as a specific aspect of socialization. Although Parsons and Durkheim are seen as representative authors of the same model (Ghisleni & Moscati 2001, Maccarini 2003, Besozzi 2006), there is a marked difference in their treatment of the educational theme. To grasp the most relevant aspects of the integrationist model, it is necessary to understand the sociological vision of Parsons, considered among the most relevant authors within this panorama. In particular, attention has to be dedicate in understanding how studies of the personality structure have influenced a large part of the integrationist matrix studies. These studies originated in US sociological environment and subsequently (but with difficulty) also populated the European sociological outlook.

In Parsons' sociology, society is not considered as a monolithic whole, but rather as a complex network of dependent and interdependent subsystems (1955, p. 40). In this scenario, individuals participates in many social systems and change their role based on

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[25] For the Italian area, the main legislation on the subject of skills is represented by: a) Ministerial Decree N. 139 August 22, 2007 on the fulfillment of the obligation to education, which offers a framework of the knowledge and skills to be assumed as common knowledge for different school addresses; b) Ministerial Decree No. 254 November 16, 2012 on the goals and development of skills in the first cycle of education; c) C.M. 3 of 13 February 2015 (accompanying document to Ministerial Decree No. 254 16 November 2012) on the assessment of skills at the end of the first cycle of education.

the system they inhabit. The concept of *role* defines subsystem's purposes: each individual occupies different roles which changes as the system changes. What must be fundamentally comprehended within this discourse and that which most differentiates Parsons from his predecessors is the *circular* dimension of the proposed sociological theory. Parsonsian sociology, in fact, draws a clear parallel between self-formation at the individual level, social egalitarianism and role expectations in a scenario where every aspect feeds the next. This parallelism is principally established in the text *Family and Socialization* (1955).

3.2 Socialization and the Integrationist Model

In Parson's discourse, individual's socialization takes place along and within the process of construction of the self which, at an individual level, starts from birth. This process is based on the principle of *differentiation* (Parsons 1955)[26]. The main steps that describe the concept of differentiation can be summed-up as follows: 1) the personality (which in Parsons is described as a system of action[27]) is organized according to the *internalization of social objects*. Social objects are composed of mirrored images, experienced by the individual over a lifetime. 2) Along with the process of interiorization, the structure of personality develops through differentiation: personality, at an individual level, forms itself by the differentiation of internalized objects. 3) The interiorization of objects starts from the first internalized object, the mother, and gradually proceeds following the different phases of development[28]. 4) By experiencing life, complexity increases and therefore differentiation increases. In opposition to external complexity and instability, the stability of the individual's internal system depends on the presence of an organized internal model.

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[26] Before *Family and Socialization* (1959), ink between sociology and psychology that determines the circularity of the Parsonsian vision was exposed in *Social Structure and Development of Personality* (1958).
[27] The system of action is the organized whole of the relationship between the actor and his condition (ibid., p. 400).
[28] While Parsons was writing, the *theory of attachment* by Bowlby was still not published. The text "Attachment and loss" is in fact from 1979. Nonetheless, it is remarkable how many of Parsons' intuitions would be later confirmed and expanded by Bowlby's milestone.

For the child, to leave their mother-child dimension means to expand the social dimension, first by coming in contact with the *social object* family. Then, with other *social objects* such as the school system and the peer group, in a process of continuous differentiation. Family, school and peer groups represent the full range of significant social participation from birth to pre-adolescence. With schooling, a very decisive change for the child's development happens. Western school universalism considers the child no longer as a child in the way in which the mother had done until then, but as an individual, which means in a universal way.

In Parson's discourse, the differentiation that takes place internally for the purpose of the formation of the self happens in an analogous way at a social level, differentiating individuals not in a particular way as the mother did, but on the basis of their role within a given system. This view consists of the *circularity* of the integrationist model: the differentiation that occurs at the level of the construction of the self is reproduced at the social level. In the case of universalistic systems, such as the American or European system, further differentiations take place within the educational system that lead to the corresponding role specifications. In this sense, the family and school, together with the peer group, form a continuum of socialization. A new concept, that of role, has therefore entered into the theory.

The concept of *role* in Parsons' approach is functional to the description of socialization. Socialization is "the development in individuals of the commitments and capacities that constitute the essential prerequisites for the implementation of their future" (1959, p. 238). The commitments referred to are subdivided into two subspecies: a) commitments to put into practice the most common social values; and b) commitments to implement a specialized role within the social structure (ibid., italics of the author). If the commitments are divided into values and roles, the skills needed are in turn subdivided into the following subspecies: a) the competence or ability to fulfill specific role tasks; and b) "role responsibility", i.e. the ability to respond to other people's expectations regarding the interpersonal behavior inherent in these roles.

3.3 The Concept of Moral Achievement

To understand *moral achievement* is paramount regarding the evolution of the concept of moral education. In order to grasp its significance, it is essential to contextualize it within the contribution in which it is elaborated. *The School Class as a Social System* (1959), one of Parsons' most important contributions to educational issues, is the work where the subject of *achievement* is dealt with. In the work, the scholastic class is conceived as one of the main socialization agencies and described as part of a more complex system, namely the school. Above all, scholastic class is a unit of analysis used for the long-preferred investigation carried out in formal education. The scholastic class, from the point of view of society, is read as "an employment agency" (Parsons 1959, p. 238), referring to the positive relationship between school education and subsequent employment[29].

In the discussion, Parson's reasoning is intended to illuminate the aspects of the school class, especially elementary, which determine the distinction between groups of peers who attend or who do not attend university. The reasoning is based on the assumption that data show how success in elementary school is a net of the ascribed factors (i.e. biological) and acquired factors (i.e. status, which is however neutralized by the homogeneity of the social characteristics of the attendance basins schools elementary). Ascribed and acquired factors are the main selection criterion determining attendance at university. This success that differentiates between those who attend academic studies and those who do not is measured through *achievement* (ibid., p.240).

The author describes two types of scholastic achievement: cognitive and moral. Cognitive and moral achievement in the elementary classes constitute a continuum of non-separable meanings. Moral achievement, in turn, is described as a combination of: a) responsibility for civism within the scholastic community; b) respect for the teacher; c) consideration towards companions; d) cooperation with the companions; and e) good "work habits". These characteristics are "the foundations that prelude the ability to command and initiative" writes the author (ibid., p. 243). However, within the continuum

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[29] This position will subsequently be widely criticized by a whole series of authors who make the failure of the relationship between education and employment the main focus of their analysis. The whole conflictualist trend, also draws strength from the demolition of this assumption. Among the classical authors who support this thesis are Collins (1971), Hussain (1977), Giddens (1974).

of cognitive and moral achievement and net of the ascribed factors, the relative simplicity of the cognitive tasks that characterize elementary education give to moral education a prominent role. By reading elementary school class in this sense, it is moral achievement that determines the possibility of success in subsequent studies.

As the author points out, in addition to the school two other socialization agencies are involved in moral achievement: the family and the peer group. Regarding the family, we can see how important the fundamental condition (the sharing of values of two adults) underlying the socialization process that takes place in the elementary school really is (ibid., p. 248). In school, the child goes beyond identification with the family to acquire a new identification, of a non-biological nature, occupying a status within the new system differentiated according to achievement. This status is independent of the socio-economic position of the family of origin. In this framework, the competition of the two adult socialization agencies, i.e. family and school, provides both the adequate, internalized values individuals need to live in society and performs the task of integrating the individual within the system. It is from this understanding that the integrationist model derives primarily from the theme of socialization. In other words, the integration between family values and systemic values is vital in order to support the individual.

Value integration between school and family is therefore crucial in order avoid entering into a conflictual dimension. In fact, school and family, if bearers of common values, form a solid basis that justifies the differences of cognitive achievement in the class. The differences of achievement, a source of tension at the individual level, are legitimized and sustained within the system by the moral unity between the school agency and the family agency, making differentiation acceptable. This differentiation, regardless of factors ascribed or acquired and based on the cognitive and moral awareness of the individual "embody the fundamental American value of equality of opportunity, as it emphasizes both the initial equality and the different outcome" (1955, pp. 248). The elementary school, employing this system, is a "distribution of human resources in relation to adult roles system" (ibid.).

On top of the prevalence of weight in achievement of the moral component on the cognitive component, Parsons also underlines how a progressive educational culture, compared to a more traditional one, tends to give greater weight to characteristics such as independence, cooperation and solidarity. This reality provides moral achievement

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with even more weight during evaluation. Therefore, progressive educational culture does not represent a change of model but rather the accentuation of an aspect (moral accountability) within the same model which serves the selective differentiation of the school (Parsons 1959, p. 243).

The characteristics of the integrationist model, if viewed through Parson's work *The Scholastic Class as a Social System* are the following: a) the main function of the school is the selective function; b) selection takes place through the differentiation of status; c) the status is consolidated in the elementary school through the selective rewards based on the individual achievements; d) given the relative simplicity of cognitive achievement in elementary school (net of ascribed characteristics), moral achievement has an important weight in terms of selection; and e) the level of individual moral achievement depends on the two adult socialization agencies: school and family. Therefore, it can be concluded that in the agreement between family values and scholastic values resides the possibility of achieving a positive evaluation with respect to moral achievement. Without this agreement the child finds himself forced to conform to a new value panorama he is inadequately prepared for[30].

2.4 Confronting Moral Education and Moral Achievement Definitions

In order to test if the concept of *moral achievement* can be considered as the evolution of the concept of *moral education*, the two definitions will now be illustrated and put in comparison. The first definition is the one of moral education proposed in *Moral Education* by Durkheim, which is described as made up of the following:

- spirit of discipline;

- attachment with social groups;

- moral intelligence.

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[30] In Italy, the situation of the family school in the evaluation and growth of pupils is evidenced by the numerous ideas that relate the family situation and the BES (Special Educational Needs) diagnosis (Ianes 2005, Ianes Macchia 2008).

The second definition is the one of moral achievement described by Parsons in *School Class as Social System* which is seen as made up by the following:

- responsible civism within the school community;

- respect for the teacher;

- consideration for peers;

- cooperation with peers;

- good "working habits".

By confronting these two definitions, many aspects can be listed among the commonalities but differences also emerge. In a sense, by putting these two definitions in a dialogic dimension, it is clearer why considering the two authors as having referenced the same model, namely the integrationist, is difficult. As for the similarities, what is first noticeable is the description educational morality is a sum rather than a solid statement or definition. Both authors divide their description in blocks, each one having its own meanings and roles based on his general theory of the society each author bases the definition on. Always focusing on similarities and from a content-related perspective, both authors understand morality in education as connected to interpersonal relations. In other words, morality is found in relations with other members of the community one is immersed in. Working on the education of the morality means, in both definitions, strengthening socio-relational bonds and constructing meaningful linkages between individuals.

The relational aspect can be found in all aspects that build up moral education and more explicitly in the second point (attachment with social groups). The same relational aspect is part of the moral achievement definition, more specifically in peer to peer relations, divided between consideration and cooperation. Another meaningful similarity between the two definitions is between the concepts of responsibility and discipline. In both portrays the authors seem to indicate the individuals' potential to consider themselves a depositary of power realized in the possibility of choice. Individual choice that can have an impact at the group level and must consequently be considered the place where we look for moral education. Discipline in the first definition and responsibility in the second help us understand morality in education as an invitation for

individuals to consider the existence of other individuals in their decision-making processes.

This last similarity between the two points opens the door for the qualifying differences among the analyzed definitions. Referring to the last similarity (the consideration for the existence of other individuals) each author seems to decline very each point differently. In Durkheim's discourse, moral education exists in order to reinforce the collective sentiment in a secularized, individualistic and organic-solidaristic society. Meanwhile, in Parson's sociology, moral achievement exists as opposed to cognitive achievement and in order to stabilize certain characteristics that can enhance social cohesion.

The concept of social order and cohesion (Crespi 2008) is perceived very differently by the two authors: first, in Parson's sociology, as argued in the previous paragraph, the concept of differentiation is central. On the other hand, Durkheim's organic solidarity provides a specific understanding of what social bonds are. Parson's concept of differentiation is more connected to the working specifications needed in order for complex societies to perpetrate themselves (Magatti 1996, Addario 1998, Bortolini 1999). The dual handling of the quality of social bonds in modern society leads both authors to differentiate their definitions of what it means and what is needed to educate the morality.

The first difference that emerges clearly is the semantic difference. If moral education refers to a broader process of shaping an individual's capacity to cooperate, moral achievement appears as goal-driven, orients towards an outcome and creates a scenario where un-achievement (un-success or failure) is plausible. Secondly, moral achievement, in contrast with Durkheim's vision, is not considered as the *most desirable outcome* one educational process has. Moral achievement and cognitive achievement together give shape to educational achievement (or attainment). Moral achievement, in Parson's sociology, is not something that goes beyond and comes before cognitive achievement. Those two equally relevant elements, are the focus of educational activities and must come as a pair. This view is consistent with the sociologist's vision of differentiation: in order for differentiation to occur, cognitive achievement is fundamental and in order for differentiation to be sustainable at the individual level, moral achievement also has to be reached.

If Durkheim's attention turns towards collective cohesion in times of waning reciprocity, Parsons' effort travels in the direction of granting collective cohesion which fosters healthy social (and economic) exchanges. This partially explains why so much of Parson's definition points toward future working structures individuals will face after mandatory education. Listing good working habits, defining reciprocity through the lens of cooperation and highlighting respect for the leader (the teacher) and the peers all clearly connects moral achievement with working reality, rather than with a vision of collectiveness that expands beyond working relations.

Compared with Durkheim's moral education definition, Parson's moral achievement view is less broad, more result-oriented and focused on the individuals' introjection of qualities that will foster acceptance in a differentiated society. This author's point turns away from society itself and goes towards the reason why people need social relations, primarily found in working opportunities and ties. The difference between the two authors' understanding of the function of social cohesion is the main reason they are not seen as representatives of the same model. Parson's understanding of moral achievement is connected to the concept of differentiation, which is the basic idea that supports the integrationist model. On the other hand, in Durkheim's perspective organic solidarity is a characteristic of modern society which must be addressed and *taken care of* through a specific pedagogical framework whose main objective is to enhance solidarity rather than integration. By merging the two visions into one, the risk is to lose some very peculiar and insightful specificities of Durkheim's vision regarding moral education. Even though the two visions are often combined in many sociological accounts regarding education, it is helpful to consider them separately when it comes to moral educational issues.

Concepts of citizenship and universalism (as opposed to particularism) are considered the basis of Parson's sociology and, more generally, the basis for the integrationist model. Parson's sociology regarding the themes of citizenship and universalism is brilliantly described by Turner in equation form: "Greek humanism + secularized Protestantism = modernity = universality" (Turner 1993, p. 2). This equation, by identifying the basic ingredients of American social cohesion, tries to explain the way in which universalism us understood in modern America. This way of understanding society, and the consequent understanding of social cohesion, gave birth to the

integrationist model of socialization. As Del Grosso Destrieri notes, such a system is so culturally specific to America that it can hardly be applicable to other social scenarios (Del Grosso Destrieri 1966, pp. 298).

Despite its interest in youth culture (Parsons 1962) as Turner (1993) points out, one of the failures of the integrationist model is its inability to explain or fully take into account emerging social movements. In essence, the integrationist model, and more specifically Parsons' theory of socialization, failed to explain the radicalization processes and the students' protests of the 1960s declassifying radicalizations as driven by emotional immaturity (Parsons & Platt 1970, Turner 1993, pp. 20). In the Sixties, the integrationist model was already criticized and defined as being a hypothetical entity rather than an actual analytical tool (Leonardi 1962)[31]. This lack of explanatory aspects and the growing social challenges that followed Parsons' publications created a need to understand in a new way society in general but more specifically its socialization processes and education.

4. Conflictualist model

4.1 Conflictualist Model and its Authors

In order to understand the conflictualist model it is fundamental to understand the nature of the conflict this model is based on. As previously illustrated, Parsons' theory states that educational institutions' role is to provide labor and create the conditions for a positive intersection between schooling and employment. This vision, fully adopted by the integrationist model, ran into difficulties when explaining the cultural youth revolution of the Sixties and poorly acknowledged the power of education as both market mobilizer *and* a cultural mobilizer (Besozzi 1990, Maccarini 2003). The conflictualist model, taking one step back from the epistemic understanding of social phenomena, tried to build a model to explain social phenomena and its implicit characteristics, taken for

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[31] For a comprehensive review of the criticisms of Parsons' work, see Gallino (1966).

granted by the previous model (Cesareo 2000, Besozzi 2006). As Althusser states, it became necessary to recognize the ideological non-neutrality of the Western systems. These systems, in order to be fully understood, have to be considered based on specific ideologies which shapes all the decisions and collective acts that are in place in society (Althusser 1969). With the conflictualist model born mainly in France during the second half of the Sixties, a shift in perspective occurred in the way sociology interprets and understands educational phenomena.

Bourdieu and Boltanski in France and Illich in the United States will be analyzed to understand the major contributions to the conflictualist model. By addressing the main themes in the broad discourse on education carried on by these different authors, the attempt is to foresee a conceptual evolution of socialization of norms and values into these models. As described, Durkheim's concept of moral education can be seen as a parallel of Parson's concept of moral achievement. If the concepts of moral education and moral achievement contain socialization of norms and values in the previous models, what is the subsequent historical evolution of the way in which formal socialization has been understood by sociology? These answers are relevant for this study not only for historical content but mainly because they can trace towards understanding how formal socialization has been conceived could impact futuristically.

4.2 Bourdieu's Contribution to the Conflictualist Model

The neo-Marxist paradigm represents the basis for the conflictualtist model. In the educational scenario and following Althusser's vision (1970), the objective of institutional education is to reproduce the relations of production (ibid, pp. 19). In neo-Marxist sociology, State is a repressive agency and class struggle is the *basic conflict* through which society is understood[32]. Education is an ideological State apparatus, which aims to preserve the constituted power and ensures the reproduction of relations of production that individuals encounter after their educational route. This vision about the functioning

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[32] The neo-Marxist theoretical framework is fully developed by the authors of the Frankfurt School, starting during the Thirties and lasting until the Seventies. The authors that can provide a complete overview of the neo-Marxist/conflictualist sociological analysis are (to cite some): Adorno (1966), Marcuse (1964) and Habermas (1973).

of society as a whole greatly impacts the typologies of sociological questions. Following this framework, Bourdieu's work fruitfully transform conflictualtists' formal theory into empirical research questions. This is the case for *The Reproduction* (1970), one of the author's most well-known works in the field of education. In order to understand Bourdieu's vision and comments on education and on the evolution of the concept of moral education, the text *The transmission of cultural heritage* (1972) will also be considered.

The Reproduction mainly focuses on the theme of symbolic violence. In Bourdieu's theory, symbolic violence has a fundamental function. Through symbolic violence, in conflict, the power of one of the conflicting parts is enhanced by the symbolic value it incorporates against the non-symbolic power of the other conflicting part. In the case of interest, school institutions do carry the power of the symbol they represent and the actions they carry are *symbolically violent* when empowered by their symbolic value. Essentially, the way in which institutions preserve themselves is through the violent protection of their symbology. In order for institutionalized education to happen, the symbol of educational institution must be protected and its value enhanced compared with the symbologies other organizations might detain. The more the pedagogical authority is recognized, the higher the chances the pedagogical action can take place.

The concept of *pedagogical action* is also fundamental in Bourdieu's theory. Pedagogical action within this model is not just an event that regards schooling and didactics but it also involves hidden societal dispositions that, if identified, can help in understanding the final goal of educational institutions.

Bourdieu's theoretical contribution is based on the funding principle that every pedagogical action enacted in society favors dominant classes. As Grenfell notices, Bourdieu conceives schooling as a "mechanism for consolidating social separation" (Grenfell 2008, p. 29). It is the dominant class that selects which meanings are instilled into the next generations. Furthermore, the dominant classes choose the meanings to instill in an arbitrary way. In fact, the reason why meanings are chosen does not depend on the inner nature of meanings but on the function that meanings can have in perpetrating the dominating class.

In this framework, pedagogical action consists of educational events while pedagogical authority is formed by the agency that governs pedagogical action. Pedagogical authority, while exerting a pedagogical action, maintains symbolic violence.

In order for the educational system to function, legitimate pedagogical actions must be fulfilled by legitimate pedagogical authorities in a scenario where legitimate and dominant are nothing but synonymous. When the dominant class has a specific cognition of which meanings perpetuate its domination, the pedagogic authority reproduces these meanings through pedagogical action. To put it into Bourdieu's terms, it can be described as an arbitrary imposition by a cultural arbitrary (1970, p. 43). Also, relevant in this theory is the contact between the sociological theory that describes socio-educational settings and its connection with the labour market: the more the market legitimizes the value of the pedagogical action, the more the value of the pedagogical action is enhanced.

4.3 Habitus and Socialization of Norms and Values

In *The Reproduction*, pedagogical action is described as an act whose goal is to inculcate meanings favorable for one class rather than for society as a whole. From this perspective, there is no such thing as society as a whole: classes are at the basis of society and their conflict shapes different forms of social action. In this scenario, the work of inculcating carried on by the pedagogical authority has to last long enough to produce a durable *habitus*[33]. The concept of *habitus* -- the internalization of the principles perpetrated by a cultural arbitrary which shows a durability beyond the pedagogical action -- is one of the key concepts in all of Bourdieu's works. Wacquant divides in three ways in which *habitus* can be understood: 1) synchronic and inductive way; 2) diachronic and deductive approach; 3) field study (Wacquant 2013). In other words, the *habitus* is the internalization of the principles that serve a cultural arbitrary and this internalization and its stability are the end goals of education in society.

In this scenario, the pedagogical work consists of reproducing the social conditions that produce the cultural arbitrary, with the end result to reproduce the same structural powers that are in place in a given moment in space and time. Thus, the pedagogical work must serve the purpose of inculcating a specific *habitus*. The longer the *habitus* it inculcates lasts, the more the work is considered efficient. A relevant feature of this vision

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[33] On the concept of *habitus* Costa & Murphy provide a full understanding of its birth and its current uses (Costa & Murphy 2015).

also consists of in the individuals' capacity, within the *habitus,* to gain the ability of transferring that *habitus* into other aspects of life (Nouzelis 2010, Wacquant 2015). When this is true, it means the *habitus* is fully internalized and reproduction of the power structure is safe, with the end goal that schooling systems continue their task of inculcating and reproducing (D'Agostino 2012, Bortolini 2014).

Up to this point of Bourdieu's line of reasoning, no attention seems addressed to the issue of socialization of norms and values under one specific label. Even though, as argued before, Durkheim and Parson bring two different overviews about what purposes socialization serve, both authors apply a specific integrationist awareness to the understanding of educational phenomena. In dialogue with the integrationist model, conflictualist authors seem to ask a very specific question: what does integration mean and what should people integrate into? Furthermore, what is the purpose of this integration? These questions and the analysis which followed underlines the fact that moral education and moral achievement concepts are never neutral. Furthermore, once these concepts are implemented into educational settings as functional to societal well-being, integration can be interpreted as fully ideological concept that serves not society as a whole but rather specific members of society (Costa & Murphy 2015). For conflictualist authors, the reason why institutionalized education exists is not to improve mobility, establish democratic values or enhance social integration. Institutionalized education exists for inculcating a specific *habitus* and reproducing structures of power.

Summarily, conflictualist authors highlight systemic weaknesses without creating new positive instruments specifically describing education for society. In other words, admitting room for education for society in schooling would mean allowing reproduction a granted space for imposing its agenda on future generations.

The only area where it could be possible to identify a connection between education for society and the conflictualist vision is in the concept of *habitus* itself. If, as described by Bourdieu, *habitus* is "the internalized principles of a cultural arbitrary" (1970, p.40). Both moral and intellectual instances are present in this internalization. The reproduction that takes place through public instruction shapes individuals' moral sphere at an implicit level. Bourdieu divides his theory into explicit pedagogy and implicit pedagogy (ibid., p. 71), declaring explicit pedagogy operates on an intellectual level. Implicit pedagogy is hidden

and operates on a moral level. Mandatory education, which once leveled the field, now assumes the shape of selection and reproduction.

The second part of *The Reproduction* opens with this axiom: "The degree of specific productivity of each pedagogic work different from the one by the family is function of the distance that separates the *habitus* that it intends to inculcate from the habitus incultated by every previous form before the pedagogic work and, at the end of the regression, from the family" (p. 112). If in Bourdieu this results in a selection based on the language -- as also happens among many other conflictualist authors (D'Agostino 2012) -- in Parsons the "family effect" is directly measurable through moral achievement. In both cases, the relevance of initial conditions is broadly recognized in shaping future expectations. In Parsons, the recognition of the family effect does not lead to demolishing faith in the mobility and employability of education which are the main final interests of the system as a whole. However, in Bourdieu, by demonstrating the unaccountability of mobility through education in *The Reproduction*, the demolition of the faith in schooling is completed.

In this scenario, *moral habitus* is a concept parallel to the ones of moral education and moral achievement. However, it is fundamental to underline how the concept of moral habitus derives from a deep disillusion towards educational systems. This disillusion, not just formal but supported by accounted empirical material, makes it impossible to design an actual instrument that could possibly enhance social cohesion and morality within the educational and subsequently social system. In the end, the system itself points towards stratification and classification of society and is not neutral but ideologically driven: immoral.

What is the point of moral education or moral achievements in an immoral system that arbitrarily perpetuates conceptions more favorable to one class than to another? This question that underlines how impossible it is for the conflictualist model to structure a positive discourse regarding moral education. It is the world of the *homo hierarchicus* (ibid, p. 199) where the mobility offered by the educational system is an illusion guided by a pedagogic action pursued through verbal enchantment based on class relations, namely hierarchies. The social contradictions that constitute the basis for the conflictualist model are fully illustrated by Bourdieu: "how to account for the relative autonomy that school owns to its own function without leaving behind the class functions that it (school)

necessarily absolves in a class-based society?" (ibid., p. 250). Pedagogical, social and political conservatism boil down to reproducing as opposing to renewing, freeing up and pursuing the true values of egalitarianism.

4.4 Between Habitus and Ethos

The Reproduction can be considered a milestone for understanding the conflictualist model and its understanding of educational dynamics. The first of the two books that compose the work contains, in schematic form, the ingredients that compose the model. For these reasons, it is considered one of the most relevant works in the field of sociology of education: it opened, identified and provided a solid framework for many studies that followed (Harker 1990, Grenfel & James 1998, Bodovski 2015, Stahl 2015). At the same time Bourdieu and Passeron were writing, other contributions started emerging, consolidating the hypothesis of a widespread need for a new model for understanding educational social phenomena.

Remaining in the French context, Luc Boltanski is one of the sociologists whose production contributed to the spread of a new vision of education through sociology. The connections between Bourdieu and Boltanski are many and not just thematic. The two French sociologists had many chances to work together, especially to collaborate on a publication that merged the conflictualist model and a critique toward language as a tool for class bond and society immobilization (Boltanski & Bourdieu 1975). Besides being very well-known today for the theory of the *distant suffering* in media culture and of the *issue-attention cycle* (Boltanski 1999, 2000), at the earlier stages of his career Boltanski also conducted works on the relations between class, knowledge and education.

The first contribution from the author on education is the text *Puericulture and Class Moral* where it is discussed how the civilizing mission of childcare consists in the attempt of transforming habitual acting habits into mandatory acting habits (Boltanski 1969). In this popular contribution, the mission of the school is to civilize the new city "barbarians": the working classes. The objective, enacted both by doctors and teachers, is to rationalize private behavior within a scenario of social reformation of the working classes. The following work on education from Boltanski is *The Civilizing Mission of School: the Acculturation*

of Barbarians (Boltanski 1972a). Despite the rather old-fashioned and highly criticizing character of the content of the work, *The Civilizing Mission of School: the Acculturation of Barbarians* is interesting for this analysis thanks to its marked conflictualist characteristics.

In the text, which starts from childcare to draw on later stages of education, the teaching of domestic economy in the France of the late Sixties is illustrated. The author divides the text between two different duties of schools: on one hand defining a specific *ethos*[34], on the other hand transmitting knowledges. Boltanski does not define education for society in terms or moral education, moral achievement and or moral habitus. Here, this aspect of *ethos*, separated from the one of knowledge transmission, becomes important on its own. Instead of being inculcated it is rooted and instead of considering it as *habitus*, it is pictured as *ethos*. Under Boltanski the term *ethos* can be understood as a set of norms, values and behaviors that are interiorized by individuals, which determine social integration and, at a macro level, determine the temper and customs of a specific population (Pozzo 1984). The author claims that supporters of public education uphold the idea of mandatory collective education in order to impose that *ethos* throughout every class. The main goal of public education is therefore to create a common *ethos* serving a specific hierarchical order. In this scenario, school's purposes is teaching popular classes how to l behave, and to "leave correctly following the rules of decency" (Boltanski 1972a, p. 243) This takes place through the teaching of domestic economy, mainly imparted to girls who are believed easier to shape.

Subsequently, the term *ethos* was also revived by Bourdieu in the work *The Transmission of Cultural Heritage* (1972). Bourdieu's concept of *ethos* is system of implicit values deeply interiorized, differing from the definition of *habitus* mainly in its lack of a pedagogical aspect. Cultural heritage is transmitted through family and, far from having biological roots, is something that is completely cultural. Cultural heritage can be defined as the sum of *ethos* and cultural capital. The example provided by the author is of the elements that build up cultural capital: recommendations, knowledge, homework help, information regarding professional opportunities and capacity to imagine a future. *Ethos*

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[34] If Boltanski was one of the first sociologists to imply the term *ethos* with the exceptions used, many other scholars who followed Bourdieu and Boltanski included it as a descriptive tool. Competitive *ethos* (Nicholls 1989), national *ethos* (Al-Haj 2005), catholic *ethos* (Meyer 2011) *ethos* of legal education (Koskenniemi 2007) are some of many different declinations of the term that appeared in the field of education and society.

and *cultural capital* form the *cultural heritage* which, in the end, defines the behavior that is considered the most relevant predictor of an individual's success in school.

Through cultural heritage pupils internalize not only *ethos* and cultural capital but also, as a product of the two, a destiny: by discussing Paul Clere's findings on school and mobility in France during the Sixties, Bourdieu states the cultural level of the family, and therefore the cultural heritage of the pupil, is a stronger mobility predictor than the father's income (ibid., pp. 236) misrepresenting this   role in cultural heritage in educational settings, schools are once again perceived as perpetrators of class differences and of the acceptance of inequalities in *cultural heritage*, a component that facilitates such reproduction.

This theme, despite seeming partially distant from the concept of *moral education*, is very relevant when understanding how morality and culture relate to education. Even though today the conflictualist model cannot help but represent all the different nuances that educational environments compel sociologists to face, the concept of cultural heritage still enlightens parts of specific phenomena that will be further explored later. As Bourdieu writes, the "sociological explanation can provide a complete understanding of the different performance often ascribed to gifts" (ibid., p. 134); the empirical part of this work will move in the same direction.

4.5 Schooling or no Schooling? The Myth of Institutionalized Values

Another important and, from a conflictualist perspective, even more drastic work that appeared in the same time period is the well-known *Deschooling society* (1973) by the American sociologist Ivan Illich. This contribution collected a lot of attention for the strong proposal made by the author. In the work Illich sets about on a pragmatic attempt to lay the basis for the abandonment of public mandatory education. In the Chapter *Why we should abolish schooling institutions* (1973, p. 21) familiarises readers with the occult program of education in society, as the one of making poorer students progressively more confused about the difference between the substance and process of *things,* both physical and ideal. The main paradigm takes the conflictualist model where the role of the school is to act within the classist schema: inferior people must become accustomed with the idea

of being inferior. The classist logic embedded in school processes is the most relevant factor for arguing to abandon traditional forms of schooling in order to pursue social advancement. The *myth of institutionalized values* (ibid., p. 64) is the formula by which Illich fully describes the cryptic agenda of educational institutions: by accepting schooling, the institutionalization and planning of education is accepted.

This aspect of education in society is considered as potentially negative for two reasons. First, as it was described by all previous authors, because it reproduces social stratification against mobility. Furthermore, a fresh and relevant second point emerges through Illich's work which illustrates why *the myth of institutionalized values* can be risky. By accepting institutionalized values, there is a transfer of responsibility from the individuals in the educational context to the non-contextual institutional planners who structured the educational action. Thus, this transfer of responsibility is a cause for social regression, transforming values into predetermined commodities[35]. Through educational contextual actors' lack of responsibility "education becomes detached from the world and the world becomes non-educational" (ibid., p. 44).

In Illich's work there is an exaltation of practice-based learning, considered more of a worldly approach if compared to a more didactical way of understanding education. The dual nature of education as divided into theoretical and practical can be overcome in what the author describes as *liberal education*. Liberal education is a type of education that is for everybody, raised from popular culture and mobilized in the entire population in opposition to the current institutionalization of education in time, space and content. In this discourse, the pedagogical assumption is that what relevant skills individuals learn does not come from institutionalized education but rather from informal, spontaneous, accidental or little-structured but instructional life events. In order to free and reform education in society from class ideology and bring it back to its authentic, responsible roots requires learning through "interest nets" (pp. 36).

In this scenario, de-schooling does not mean non-educating. De-schooling is transforming education into an individual act where each member of society participates

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[35] Other myths described by the author are: the myth of values measurement, the myth of pre-packaged values and the myth of auto-perpetuating progress (which works through the universalization of expectations).

in a meaningful instructional network based on three principles: a) access to the network is free; b) the network is constituted of free reunions; and c) the educators are independent.

Despite the highly demanding program outlined by this theoretical proposal, many of the instances analyzed and solved by it have greatly influenced how education would be understood and studied after the decline of the conflictualist model. Illich's work extoled practice against didactics and considered education as a diffused function, expanding the life-span of learning. Thus, it also lay the basis for some of the most influential theories in the sociology of education of our times. To some degree, the most influential sociological contemporary theories on education such as competence-based education (Achtenhagen 2001, Arguelles & Gonczi 2000, Serdenciuc 2013), lifelong learning (Jarvis 2009; Aspin & Chapman 2009), learning society (Husen 1974, 2014, Jarvis 2007, Stiglitz & Bruce 2014) and knowledge society (Stehr 1994) found their roots in the conflictualist model. Subsequently, these roots developed into the frame of theorizing and analyzing socio-educational phenomena also in other theoretical directions.

Nonetheless, it is fundamental to understand where the seed of more recent theories first emerged. When Illich described the necessity of creating the "possibility of transforming every moment of our life in a moment of appropriation of a practice" (1970, pp. 8), the reference was not necessarily to lifelong learning or knowledge society. However far and distant conflictualist model and knowledge society theory may seem, from a theoretical perspective the emergence of the first "produced" the necessity of the second. This perspective is fully grasped by the communicative model which, in terms of models of socialization, followed.

4.6 Norms and Values as Non-Cumulative Elements

One parallel that can be traced to understand moral habitus is the one between cumulative and non-cumulative elements of culture. In this regard Cesareo (1972)[36] proposes an important distinction between cumulative elements and non-cumulative

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[36] Even if analyzed in this section, Cesareo cannot be considered a conflictualist author. His vision, solid and pragmatic, tends lie in between the integrationist model and the conflictualist model, as commonly happens with Italian authors of sociology of education during the Seventies.

elements of culture, identifying moral education as deriving from non-cumulative aspects. The cumulative elements of culture arise from the logical-empirical (intellectual) aspect of education and they are the sum and transformation of all the knowledge that composes a specific disciplinary sphere. The educational system operates diachronically with respect to the cumulative elements, as it must acknowledge and sift out the contents, then transmit the relevant ones.

The same diachronic aspect relates differently to moral education which, depending on non-cumulative aspects, is the construct of innumerable instances, often troubled and conflicted. The non-material elements of culture nourishes moral education which, lacking a specific dimension, are shaped from time to time by many different values, norms, models and ideologies. Cesareo (1972) describes moral education as that postulate on which the entire scholastic institution is based on. The author writes: "when the scholastic institution is based on intellectual, moral and, more in general, well-defined, safe and shared postulates, it has unequivocal tasks to be fulfilled and the teachers who work in it know the specific requests towards his role" (Cesareo 1972, p. 38).

Moral education -- based on secure and shared intellectual, moral and cultural postulates -- allows the institution to have an unequivocal common purpose. In this framework, teachers are carriers of content and can operate according to the requests that the content imposes on their role, knowing its limits, extensions and objectives. The author adds: "when these postulates are confused and contradictory, the scholastic institution is faced with a series of alternative strategies" (ibid., p. 39). The discourse on the alternative strategies put in place in the absence of a common and shared content of the concept of moral education is underlined by the author in an interesting way. If the cumulative elements are clearly shared after a process that introduces them within the educational system, the non-cumulative elements that shape the content of moral education do not pass through any filter that is able to receive, screen, defined and transmit them. In this sense, this aspect of education remains completely subject to individual individualities, thus seeking alternative strategies.

Consequently, educational institutions can, following Cesareo's theory, implement one of the following alternative strategies by: a) imposing only one of the moral systems; b) isolating the students; c) radicalizing conflicts; d) acknowledging the tensions; e) or developing a new synthesis. As the author points out, however, the most-implemented

approach in educational systems is found in a situation characterized by conflictual cultural pluralism and taking refuge in "ideological neutralism" (ibid, p. 39), neutrality that underlies a typically conservative ideological type. This neutrality, in fact, limits the scholastic socializing action and takes the form of a refusal, implicit or explicit by the teacher, to handle crucial aspects of collective living in a conscious and systematic way. The author writes: "By dressing in neutrality, the scholastic institution thus stands once again on conservative positions, contributing to conformist integration and certainly not criticism of the new generations" (ibid., p. 39).

Cesaereo points out one of the main orientations of the educational institution as well as economic function and cultural transmission is a neutral position (i.e. absent) with respect to moral issues. This position involves a vacuum of proposal by the educational agencies with respect to crucial issues concerning socialization. If the educational system -- due to a diachronic aspect separating creation from transmission of knowledge -- remains inadequate, the same inadequacy can be created with regard to moral contents. Approached in a neutral way, moral contents can be neutralized and effectively eliminated from the formal contents of education.

The educational crisis described by Cesareo, in addition to underlining the lack of contribution to social mobility provided by the educational system in an unequal social context (ibid., p. 22), also expresses itself in terms of ideological neutralism. The position of ideological neutralism differs from those of multiculturalism or assimilation typical of other national contexts later analyzed and is a fundamental concept for grasping some dimensions of the empirical work developed later.

4.7 Policy actors and soft governance

Descending from the conflictualist model, contemporary tendencies look at education in more aware manner from the point of view the of processes of inclusion/exclusion. From this perspective and investigating inclusion/exclusion processes, Reay (2016) starts from a simple and at the same time significant question: what is socially just education? Reay links *socially just education* to the idea of education as a *common educational good.* This standpoint concentrates on the idea that if people have a healthy conception of what a common educational good is, education as a whole can

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benefit from this vision. Reay describes socially just education as a "democratic, fair education that provides all children with the freedom to learn and realize their potential" (ibid., p. 329).

The discourse on socially just education and on the conception of the common educational good is strictly related to the idea of class. In fact, just as much as gender and race, class is involved in the psychic processes and the fashioning of the self (Reay 2005) and therefore it can become a factor of exclusion. In this sense, socially just education is a type of education which takes into account class-related inequalities in its actions and which still considers class as a potential exclusion generator. Reay (2005) also underlines how, unlike sexism or racism, classism is not considered as much a factor of damage in terms of education, to the point in which contemporary educational setting do not stress enough its role in creating an educational divide.

The discourse on class is directly related to the discourse on cultural capital. Besides the need of more critical assessment of what cultural capital is (Lareau & Weininger 2003), cultural capital is still perceived as one features of class which produces an educational divide. Cultural capital enters schools in many forms, among which parents' involvement represent an important feature (Reay 2004). In this scenario, schools tap parents' cultural capital in order to raise school reputation and resources. Thus, far from being fair and democratic, contemporary education still is affected by many of the weaknesses which have historically characterized educational. In this sense, considering class and cultural capital as factors of potential exclusion can have the effect of enhancing the reflection on how much these factors still influence education today.

However, the situation regarding measures which are in place in order to control class related factors of exclusion remains broad. If, on one hand the instrument which is applied in order to decrease the impact of the social factors of exclusion related to class and cultural capital is educational policy, on the other hand contemporary educational policy seems undergoing a period of constant negotiation.

Educational policy cannot be considered as the product of one state alone (Lawn & Lingard 2002) and this situation fosters – both physically and metaphorically – the distance between class related inequalities and educational policies. From an European perspective, themes of globalization, harmonization and identity populate the educational research panorama in a more constant manner. Policies become therefore instruments

concentrated in the constant balance between the attempt grant educational justice and the struggle to create a common educational playground. Remaining in the European perspective and form the point of view of education and class related issues, the creation of the European educational space had the effect to generate policies which have the characteristics of being extremely broad. Ball stresses the importance of local politics in order for generic policies to be translated into practical solutions (Ball 1998). In this scenario, the issue which educational policies seem to address the most in not the one to decrease tackle class related inclusion/exclusion factors. Rather, the interest is still in the area of creating a common educational European space (Lawn 2001). The soft governance (Lawn 2006) which characterizes educational policies in times of the Europeanization of education (Grek & Lawn 2009) struggles in dedicating attention to class or cultural capital related exclusion policies while condense efforts in creating its own policy space. In this scenario, educational policies transcend national perspectives (Rassmussen 2008) and, by doing so, it runs the risk of becoming always more generic. Therefore, educational differences are linked not only to inequality of access to education but also to institutional and cultural differences between different national school systems in Europe (Lundman et al. 2008) which implement European policies in different ways. By creating a situation of normative indeterminacy (Mangez et al. 2016), soft governance reflects into a new role for educational practitioners.

From this perspective, Pitzalis and De Feo use the concept of *policy actor* (Pitzalis & De Feo 2019). Policy actors are defined as "those groups or individuals who contribute by their actions to the realization of a policy. In other words, they help to convey and disseminate the meanings and concepts that define the policy and its moral and political objectives" (ibid, p. 87-88). In deepening the discourse regarding the implementation of the digital agenda in Italy, the authors stress the role of teachers as policy actors by detecting three emerging dimensions of their commitment: conversion, mobilisation and materiality. There three dimensions appear as fundamental in order to fruitfully understand teachers' capacity of action once analysed as policy actors. In a scenario of soft governance of education (Lawn 2006), the role of teachers in these three dimensions becomes essential.

To this regard, Moose clearly underlines the difference between *soft* and *hard* governance of education (Moose 2009), where the first refers to all the discourse regarding

advices and persuasion while the second regards legally binding norms governing education. The author analyses a continuum which runs from transnational agencies, which imply soft governance, to national states, which imply hard governance, to school leadership. The discourse on policy actors adds an insightful element to Mooses' description of soft and hard governance. In fact, policy actors are, in essence the final practical recommendation or norm utilizers/implementers. In other terms, being the governance soft or hard, school practitioners become the last – and in a way, the first – to mobilize knowledges, competences and attitudes in order for a specific instance to penetrate in the educational context.

Descending form this vision, it is important to try a re-assembling of the elements which compose this scenario. On one hand there is theory which underlines how educational contexts are still infused of traditional class-related sources of inequalities. These source of inequality regard mainly class/educational attainment relation and the importance of the mobilization and of cultural capital for educational success. On the other hand, soft governance of education connects local educational priorities to supranational educational goals, in a scenario where hard governance of education has a natural tendency to follow the same pattern. Thus, teachers become the policy actors who practically *realize* the policy. Therefore, policy actors might both operate in a scenario where the policy which is being realized belongs to a pattern of soft or hard policy.

In this scenario, policy actors have both the possibility to refer to hard or soft governance instruments. Inclusion and exclusion are phenomena which are therefore included in policy actors' domain and practices. The way in which teachers, conceived as policy actors, can "realize a policy" depends greatly on the softness or hardness of the governance which was implemented and on the actual possibility of the teacher to implement the governance.

Intending teachers as policy actors in a hard/soft governance scenario it raises new questions regarding inclusion and exclusion processes. From the point of view of *socially just education* or of the *common educational good* (Reay 2016), the encounter between soft governance and policy actors can have a double effect. On one had it can produce a locally-situated, bottom-up, problem-solving interpretation of a broader governance advice. On the other hand, it can produce a misreading by the policy actor of the governance which end up in a incorrect dissemination of the meanings and concepts that

defined the policy and its moral and political objectives as designed in governance objectives. This situation can produce the effect of soft governance missing the opportunity to tackle main sources of exclusion, as class and cultural capital, while perpetrating relevant objectives, such as the creation of a solid European educational space (Lawn 2011).

From the point of view of the analysis carried out within this research, this perspective opens some interesting pathways. In fact, social competences as an educational tool are introduced by the 2006 Recommendation which falls into the category of soft governance. On the other hand, the Recommendation is transformed into a national norm in 2015, which can be read within this framework as hard governance. Policy actors are called to apply a hard governance which compels them to apply some adjustments to their way of conceiving education, didactics and contents. However, the transition from soft to hard governance – from the recommendation to the national law – is a process which was put in place without deeply considering the role of policy actors. If, as described by Pitzalis and De Feo (2019) policy actors "contribute by their actions to the realization of a policy" and "help to convey and disseminate the meanings and concepts that define the policy and its moral and political objectives", the movement from soft to had governance regarding social competences is put in place not considering two essential elements. The first element is the systemic capacity to grant of *socially just education* (Reay 2016) after the introduction of the norm. This aspect regards the capacity to conceive education as a *common educational good* (ibid.) and to grant justice and commonality of the system after the introduction of the policy. The second element regards the capacity of the policy actors to implement the policy without undermining the two aforementioned inalienable systemic elements which are justice and commonality.

The case of social competences, as analysed in the present research, is a critical standpoint in the continuum which runs from soft governance, passed through hard governance and ends with policy actors. By analysing the conceptions of policy actors, what is taken into account is actually the encounter between global/political European discourses and the policy actors' translation and interpretation. A special attention is reserved to the evaluation of whether there discourse potentially undermine educational pillars such as justice and commonality.

5. Communicative Model

5.1 A model shift: entering the communicative framework

To understand the communicative framework, it is necessary to point out a specific question sociologists are still posing about the conflictualist model. In reference to Foucault's differentiation between knowledge and power (Foucault 1980), Mangez and Vanden Broeck (2016) ask how can it be possible to define *power* "knowing that power cannot be absent"? Since power and its distribution give solidity to the conflictualist framework, defining power becomes essential. How is it possible to define *something* that cannot be separated from *anything* is it applied to? The discourse on power generated over Foucault's questions plays an important role when applied to the authors whose theories were illustrated before now. In conflictualist sociology, definition of power is a fundamental aspect, a point where "no expression of sociability or its symbolic representations can be detached from its constitutive power relations" (Swartz 1997, pp. 6). Yet, the relationship between power and its legitimation still has yet to be solved.

Among the different aspects that led to the emergence of the communicative model, the solution to the problem of *power* is one of the most important. While discussing the concept of *steering* which will be touched on later, Luhmann poses a broader question regarding the idea of resistance to power, asking "does one see everything there is to be seen if one observes with a scheme of action and resistance?" (Luhmann 1997, pp. 47). As will be further discussed, the communicative model did not solve the incommensurable problems between the sociological relations between power, action and resistance. Rather, it designed the conditions for a radical shift of focus that considers the role of power in a different way.

All the interdisciplinary connections that constitute the basis for the mobilization of the communicative model in sociological analysis are fully exposed by the main author who wrote about system theory in sociological terms. Niklas Luhmann, in his immense work, provided very specific concepts critical to understand in order to grasping the vision over educational phenomena proposed in this model. Since we know that generally speaking "abstraction and complexity indeed characterize Luhmann's work"

(Vanderstraeten 2000, p. 3), the objective here is not to portray an exhaustive image of the communicative model, nor to fully describe Luhmann's broad contribution to the field of systemic sociology[37]. Rather, the goal is to contextualize some of Luhmann's concepts to help in give a solid shape to the communicative framework and, by doing this, to identify possible parallel meanings within the previous socialization models in order to describe the idea of education for society.

To put it into schematic terms, the theoretical works conducted up to this point attempted to describe education for society in educational context as follows:

- positivistic model -- moral education;

- integrationist model -- moral achievement;

- conflictualist model -- moral habitus.

The theoretical research that follows attempts to identify possible ways of understanding *education for society* within the communicative model. The main author that will be taken into consideration is Niklas Luhmann and the choice to focus on this author arose from two main factors: 1) his theory influenced many authors who subsequently adopted this vision; and 2) with the work *Reflexionsprobleme im Erziehungssystem,* (1979, trad. Engl. *Problems of Reflection in the System of Education*) the author focused directly on the connections between system, environment and education in systemic terms.

Following Luhmann's theoretical contribution, one first step goes towards understanding the concept of *communicative* as referring to a model. Luhmann's theory rumbles around the concept of communication, to the extent that this vision of communication is considered as a "genuinely social operation (and the only one that is genuinely such)" (Luhmann & De Giorgi 1991, pp.26). In the communicative model, the way in which communication is organized creates society. Society is, in other words, organized communication. By exposing the way other frameworks did not fully respond to the question of how social order is possible (Luhmann 1985), the main contribution by

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[37] Among the many contributions on the subject, the relationship between Luhmann's sociology and the field of education is fully exposed by Biancolella (2002) and Baraldi & Corsi (2017).

this author focuses more on explaining. Luhmann focuses on how organization of communication is the only observable feature of society, the only concrete structure that can be detected and the only one from which be sociologically can be discussed. This vision of the social world descends from a clear-cut distinction between consciousness and communication which exist in order for the model to function: consciousness regards the individual and his inner life while communication regards the net that is established among individuals (Moeller 2006, pp. 12, see *Table 1.4.1*). In other terms, individuals' inner life is organized in a psychic system (Luhmann 1989, p. 255) while the outer life is organized in a social system.

Both the conceptions of society and of the individual differ in the communicative paradigm if compared to previous ones. In the integrationist model individuals' scheme of action either does or does not fit with a specific societal expectation. At the same time, in the conflictualist model, individuals' life path in society is highly determined by their initial position which is considered as being rather static. The great change within the communicative model derives from the key distinction not between individual and society, as in the previous models, but between system and environment (Biancolella 2002).

Table 1.4.1 − Types of systems (Moeller 2006, p. 12)
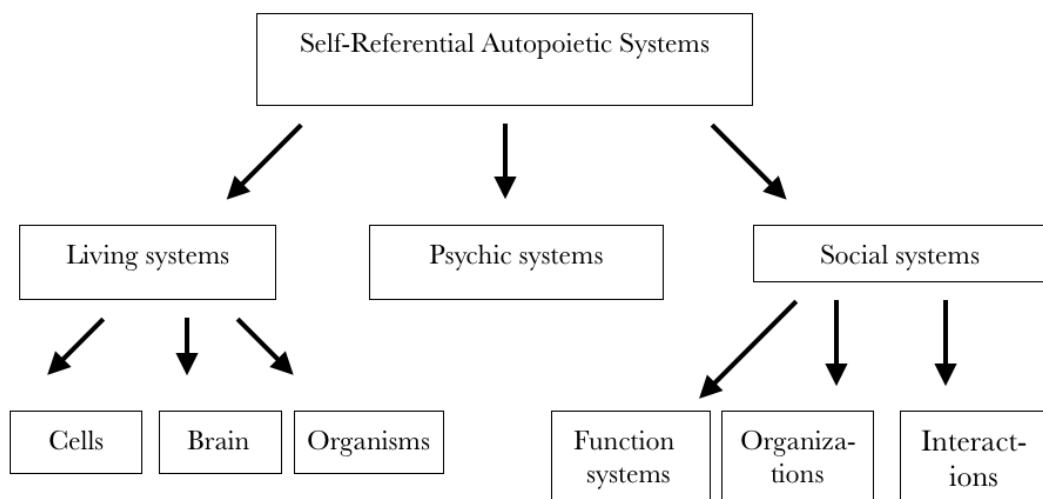
A system is organized communication with the ability to auto-reproduce itself. Reproduction, in communicative terms and in opposition to previous models, does not regard either the normative system or the perpetuation of a *habitus.* Reproduction in communicative terms regards the *autopoiesi*s of the system (Luhmann & Schorr, 1979) which consists in systemic auto-reproduction. Systems have the power of auto-reproducing themselves in a process defined of *autopoiesis[38]* where these systems, by picking and choosing elements from the environment, constantly auto-re-define their boundaries.

By trying to detect the main features that differentiate the communicative model from the previous models adopted in the field of education, some aspects are critical to recognize. When compared to the integrationist model, the communicative model operates at a different level of analysis. The superstructure that is in place within the communicative model in order to understand society through the general system theory is not a prominent aspect of the integrationist model. Nassehi describes this shift in these terms: "Like Parsons, he (ref. *Luhmann*) refers to general systems theory, but he makes a shift of emphasis from the conditions of stable systems to the dynamics of an emerging order" (Nassehi 2005, p. 181). Even with the *theory of action* (Parsons 1951), in the integrationist model the link between societal understanding and other more general functioning theories that govern systems is not as foundational. The communicative model, on the contrary, finds its strength in system theory. Despite the fact that system theory was not structured for describing society, it still appears fully applicable to the social field. In other words, in the integrationist model society is not regarded as a system that follows the same rule of other systems. In the integrationist model, society is a very specific entity that follows proper, specific rules, different from the ones observable in other fields (Luhmann & De Giorgi 1991, p. 16).

Considering another relevant difference between integrationist and systemic model, Vanderstraeten fully discusses the concept of *double contingency* in Luhmann and Parsons as one of the foundational differences between the two frameworks (Vanderstraeten 2002a). In Parson's theory, double contingency is defined as an adaptation of the individual to norms and values that shape social situations (ibid. pp. 83, Parsons 1951). In this sense,

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[38] Arnoldi describes *autopoiesis* as "the observation that constitutes the observer" (Arnoldi 2001 p. 5).

Parsonsian double contingency is seen as a negative understanding of social interaction, in which when one actor behaves correctly w it is because he was prevented by a rule intended to assist him r from acting on something. As it will be further discussed later, Luhmann's vision highly differs regarding the nature of double contingency (Luhmann 1976, pp. 509). As Baraldi and Corsi point out, in Luhmann's sociology double contingency means that "both Ego and Alter act contingently (i.e. in a way that cannot be predetermined) and assume that their interlocutors act contingently" (Baraldi & Corsi 2017, pp. 15).

In Luhmannian terms, the answer to double contingency can be solved through the concept of communication, in a scenario where norms and values lose their privileged spot. Therefore, the whole idea of socialization changes when the concept of double contingency is not based on the necessary presence of shared norms and values. In Luhmann's theory, double contingency refers to the "selection of alternative options" (Vanderstraeten 2002a, p. 84) that happens contextually between two individuals, creating a moment of sociality. This selection of alternative options opens up a possible observation of all the traits that shape social situations, not just the normative ones. In other terms, systems "use double contingency as stimulus for the restructuring or reconditioning of their own processes" (ibid., pp. 87). Here, the static nature of norms is challenged by applying the classic Parsonsian normative dimension to an interaction between two individuals. It is from these different epistemic understandings of both social reality and double contingency from which the differences between the two models arise.

When comparing the communicative model with the conflictualist model, differences probably become even more remarkable. Conflictualist sociology is mainly critical towards organizations and symbolic power. The epistemic bases of this model find meaning in the distribution of power and in the reproduction of a specific societal distribution asset. This vision creates a situation in which individuals in society are divided between those who have power and those who do not. Opposite this, in communicative terms distribution of power is not the key to understanding and observing society.

Communicative sociology recognizes conflict as a feature or quality of a type of communication that happens between system and environment. The relevance of the conflict, regarded as a part of the relation between system and environment, is that systems might be opened or closed to the conflict that emerges and is pushed forward by

the environment. Nonetheless, in communicative terms, it is not the conflict itself that shapes society. Rather, the communication that happens between system and environment, be it conflictual or harmonic, is what shapes society. In communicative terms, neo-Marxist sociology is an aspect of the communicative model society and not an exhaustive theoretical framework.

Globalization is one of the aspects of social reality that, by the end of the Seventies, was demanding new approaches to understand reality[39]. Today it is recognized how the conflictualist model and Bourdieu's theory in general had a descriptive power, coherence and insightful empirical function when contextualized within national boundaries. As Caruso describes, "In principle, 'society' as an encompassing social system regulating specific functional systems such as the economy, justice, religion, politics and education can only be conceived of as a 'world society' because of this principled boundlessness of communication" (Caruso 2008, p. 830). By making the society dependent on its communication, systemic sociology abandons national states boundaries. From the perspective of the creation of a European Educational Space (Lawn 2001) this framework becomes essential when regarding the forces that shape contemporary educational settings (Schriewer 2003).

Contextually, once state limits became penetrable, the conflictualist model partially softened its peculiar dimension, stepping away from its ultimately informative role regarding all the different nuances that populate the social phenomena analysis. Society could no longer be seen e as national society as was intended by Bourdieu, where hierarchical differentiations determined the life expectations of an individual born in one social strata. With globalization, in the communicative model and in Luhmann's terms, national state is seen as a temporary tool (Luhmann 1987, Mattheis 2012, Chernilo 2008), individuals are born outside of a system and, throughout life, they communicate with some specific systems of which national state is only one among many.

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[39] The existence of a more globalized world and the encounter with its limitations (Hirsch 1977) differs from the usage of the concept of globalization carried on by social sciences. Axford (2013) describes the term globalization as first appearing in the Twenties, but as finding academic acknowledgement during the late 1990s and early 2000s (Robertson 1992, Stiglitz 2003, Sassen 2006, Sen 2007). For an exhaustive view over the theme, see Coleman & Sajed (2013). Here, the term *globalization* is associated with the expanding of international economic and communicative networks which happened before its theorization.

Following this vision, systems are no longer hierarchically differentiated but rather, functionally differentiated. *Functional differentiation* means that systems are not differentiated based on hierarchy but rather on the function they serve. In *The Concept of Class in the System Theory* Baraldi applies functional differentiation, one of the most influential among Luhmann's concepts, to the concept of class (Baraldi 1989). Besides the specific content of the article, one point this contribution makes clear is the way in which systemic sociology is portrayed by conflictualist authors. Baraldi notes how the impossibility to merge the concepts of class and functional differentiation prevents the possibility of ancient mechanisms of reproduction (ibid., p. 75). This is testimony to the fact that conflictualist and communicative models are not just different declinations of the same vision but instead represent two separate and different visions of society.

5.2 System Theory and Education

The challenge to find common ground between conflictualist and communicative models is also due to the general vision over modern society portrayed by each model. In communicative model, modern society is described in terms of functional differentiation, meaning that it "is differentiated according to subsystems that concentrate on one function -- e.g. the economy, law, science, politics, education" (Vanderstraeten 2004, pp. 255). This means on one hand that "our society no longer has a center or apex from which communication in society can be controlled" (ibid., pp. 256) but also that the existence of systems is not based e on the concepts of class or division of labor. Functional differentiation is a product of division of labor as much as globalization. Nonetheless, in systemic terms contemporary society cannot be analyzed in terms of "division of labor, or in terms of the emergence of corresponding forms of integration or organic solidarity. Modern society maintains forms of order and orderly change without relying on society wide consensus about communal purposes" (ibid., p. 261).

As it was touched on before, the basis of the communicative model must be found in system theory[40]. System theory, in turn, is based on the distinction[41] between system and environment. This differentiation, valid not only in sociology but also in every field that assumes system theory as an operational model (mathematics, cybernetics, robotics), asks one important question: what is a system and what is an environment? Luhmann states, "systems can only be identified from their environment" (Luhmann & De Giorgi 1991, p. 19) and environments cannot be defined since they can have infinite shapes and forms. The distinction system/environment is a purely cognitive operation (Luhmann 1988, p. 62) but extremely powerful if used to analyze the social world. This power stems from the notion "everything that can exist is for every system seen as system or as environment" (Luhmann 1997, pp. 44). Aside from these complex premises, systems are detectable entities that have specific, lasting and recognizable features. Thus, systems are self-referential, reproduce themselves through *autopoiesis* and are operationally closed (ibid., p. 40).

Another essential aspect of system theory is of the role of individual. System theory never portrayed society as comprised of single individuals. The complexity of this theme in Luhmann's work is clearly exposed by Blühdorn (2000). The authors note how the communication that constitutes systems is its only observable social feature. In functionally differentiated societies, diverging from segmented or stratified societies, individuals are not assigned to "one basic structural unit" (ibid., p. 342). Instead, individuals participate in many different systems. In this scenario, no system recognizes the individual as a full person; instead, the individual's construction appears as fragmented (Blühdorn 2000). Systems are not made of people but of communications "held together by rules of communication and structures of expectations" (ibid.).

System theory and the application of the differentiation system/environment to sociological analysis impacts the understanding of educational settings and their function. In *Problems of Reflection in the System of Education* Luhmann and Schorr provide an exhaustive panorama over the conjunctions between pedagogy and society, the understanding of

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[40] The same theory is differently defined and implied in other disciplines: cybernetics, cognitive sciences, communication theory and evolution theory (Luhmann & De Giorgi 1991, pp. 16).
[41] System theory does not depend on objects but on differentiation. The notion descends from the concept of form provided by Spencer Brown in *Laws of form* in which a form is "a separation, a distinction, a difference" (Luhmann & De Giorgi 1991, pp. 169).

what it meant and what it means to educate. A central issue is the newly problematic aspects that regard the utility of education in the context of the "immanent logic of competence" (Luhmann & Schorr 1979, p. 111). The social system of teaching, as a specific functional sub-group of a general social group, is a "process that selects relations, that always reduces the complex and immense possible relations and that only by this principle can exist" (ibid., p. 132). Every communication that happens within the teaching system is interactive, influential and influenced by other communications and therefore is not rationally discomposed in independent segments or passages. The objective of the pedagogical analysis is to "detect the behavioral premises which, once established or modified, influence the educational process in a given direction" (ibid., p. 137). The technology provided by pedagogy has a dual purpose: on one hand, it predicts and guides the action in a specific trajectory. On the other, it has to recognize the unicity and specificity of every individual and every situation.

Problems of Reflection in the System of Education is a study on how classic pedagogical premises[42], based on collectivism and philanthropy, can operate effectively in a new scenario where human liberation and enhancement depend on individuals' liberation and affirmation. The pretentious significance of education consists in "realizing the universal through the particular and to set up the relationship with the world the same way in which the individual behaves with himself" (ibid., p. 153-154). This ascertainment relapses in class discipline, in which problems are understood and treated as individual problems.

In the framework described, the concept of technology is central, intended as an operational tool adopted within a system and which serves a specific systemic goal (Luhmann & Schorr 1979). The authors describe how when the individual is the center of the systemic gravitation, as it is in contemporary educational setting, no technology can be fully applied. Technological application is futile because its application would clash with the individual's unrepeatable specificity and moreover would be driven from an ideological perspective (instead of an individualistic viewpoint). This "individual ri-

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[42] The most appreciated pedagogical traditions, from the very beginning with Rousseau's *Emilio* contribution to the interpretation of more recent works by Pestalozzi (Glutek 1999) find their epistemic basis in collectivism. Luhmann and Schorr (1979) by studying the evolution of educational settings, claim that this evolution goes in the direction of a growing *individualization* (Martuccelli 2010). With this vision in mind, the role of a collectivist pedagogy applied to a system that points toward individualization seems worth to be investigated.

conceptualization" (ibid., p. 154) demands that pedagogy re-creates itself with new theoretical approaches and a new scientific paradigm that goes beyond the Kantian concept of morality[43], with the courage to face new models that emerge.

If pedagogy leaves a space for technological innovation that happens without its contribution, the risk could be that other disciplines with different humanistic approaches and epistemic bases will move into this space. In portraying a pedagogical excursus that nurtures the sociological understanding of contemporary educational settings, Luhmann & Schorr stress that from the second half of the Seventeenth century, the ideas of freedom and equality entered the educational discourse, "contaminating" educational practices. This new humanistic approach did not evolve in harmony with educational systems on an individual-driven path that led them to where they are today. In this sense, there is a conflict between Kantian conceptions of morality and current educational practices: while the first is based on the nature of collectiveness, the latter anchors its practices at the individual level.

The philosophical humanistic vision influencing teaching and learning is intimately connected with the themes of reproduction, selection and stratification analyzed by the author. As happened with the analysis conducted by conflictualistic authors, the main contradiction with educational settings is found in the *biologization of cultural characteristics*. Luhmann & Schorr very clearly highlights this situation by writing "society ascribes children to the social status of their parents, not considering their natural equality and their equal right to progress" (ibid., pp. 249). Caruso describes this tension and its consequent contradictions by using the differentiation of the "two different tasks of education in modern society, namely the social function of selection and the social function of generating continuity among generations." The author also specifies also that "these two different functions regulated by different codes are not always compatible" (Caruso 2008, pp. 831). Alternately, as Vanderstraeten notes, "educational ideals continue to clash with the logic of school education" (Vanderstraeten 2002b, p. 250).

Following Luhmann & Schorr and therefore in the picture it has been depicted up to this point, educational systems in the communicative framework and their relation to

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[43] The theme of morality in Kant cannot be exhausted here. Some of the essential references regarding the communicative approach and its incompatibility between the Kantian approach and contemporary educational systems are: Bacin (2006), Hoffe (1993), Pirillo (1987).

conflict can be laid out as follows: 1) educational systems are closed systems that auto-reproduce themselves through *autopoiesis*; 2) educational systems try to incorporate the principles of equality that characterize contemporary understanding of humanity; and 3) systemic closure and the pursuit of equality are two opposing aspects that put pressure on educational systems. Therefore, the two directions in which educational systems are pulled are: towards systemic rigidity which grants its position and governs its flows of communication; and to the contrary towards equality (which means fluidity) in the system which leads the system to adapt to the individual rather that the other way around .

The connection between equality and institutionalized education is sustained in all models that have been observed. Parsons, Bourdieu, and Luhmann all pay remarkable attention to the inability of educational settings to go beyond *cultural heritage* (Bourdieu, 1972) which allows collective instruction start "from scratch" as Luhmann & Schorr hope. New issues are raised with the universal concept of inclusion (Luhmann and Schorr 1979, p. 263) and the replicative role of systems must be addressed.

Returning to the concept of functional differentiation, educational systems, conceived as closed *autopoietic* systems, share some characteristics. Vanderstraeten describes educational systems as autonomous (meaning it has the ingredients for *autopoietic* reproduction). These systems are based on coding (since they rely heavily on face-to-face interaction) and as deal with secondary effects such as the lack of technology and the issue of the hidden curriculum (Vanderstraeten 2004). Considering the educational system in systemic terms provides the opportunity to observe not only the role of social reproduction within the systems but also to get in touch with its mechanisms of communication, *steering* struggles and limits (Luhmann 1997).

5.3 System Theory, Norms and Values

The theme of the education for society in the communicative model must be connected with *system theory* and the vision that the differentiation determined by the system/environment. In Parson's *theory of action*, social order is possible thanks to common values and the incorporation of interiorized and shared cultural models; here, the problem of social order is, in essence, a problem of socialization. The AGIL-scheme (Adaptation, Goal attainment, Integration, Latent pattern maintenance) is essentially boiled down to

this vision. As Biancolella (2002, pp. 35) describes, the problem of social order is solved differently by Luhmann. In systemic terms, values and cultural models are not the elements that grant the perpetration of social order. What makes social order possible and lasting is constant communication with the system/environment. It is not the coherence with shared or conventional meanings that makes social order last but rather the constant flow of instances that is communicated between systems and their environments of reference.

Similarly, it is not a change in values or in morality that leads to social change. Social changes happen when the type or quality of the communication between the system and environment changes, in a symbiotic scenario where the system and the communication influences each other. The process of communication is where the selection, incorporation and refusal elements into the system takes place. As Biancolella points out: "the selection process, by being continuative, has to be fast enough, must concern not too demanding themes from the reflexive point of view in order to make another connection possible. It is important to keep in mind that it is by starting from simple elements that highly complex systems can be structured, as it happens in nature through the evolutionary model" (Biancolella 2002, pp. 39).

Following this description, norms and values become a residual part of the communicative model and lose the privileged spot they had in shaping the previous framework over social cohesion. The role of education and of the other socialization agencies in granting social stability is not as central as was perceived in previous models. Moral education, moral achievement and moral habitus are not any longer considered as basic features to grant social cohesion. The end result is that society is not made up of individuals that share common norms and values and therefore education for society does not occur in socializing individuals to specific norms and values. Society, again, has to be developed in communication between the system and the environment. If a value or a norm changes it is because a system (mental or social) incorporates or changes one specific norm or value in the system. Thus, this opening or closing to a norm or a value does not happen on a moral/metaphysical level. Instead, it effectively balances a system's relationship with its environment in the constant struggle to put order in an entropic universe.

From this, the theme of education for society which emerges in terms of transmission of norms and values cannot be a concept belonging to the communicative model. In other terms, norms and values do not play a relevant role in this model. On the theoretical level, no terminology or technical tool is provided within the communicative model to describe the societal act of educating for society as a transmission of norms and values, as in the previous sociological frameworks. However, the specific connection between education for society and the communicative model is clearly outlined in the article *Learning as a norm* by Vanden Broeck and Mangez (2016). The authors describe the main characteristics of the change from normative expectations to cognitive expectations in Luhmann's sociology. Luhmann describes the shift from normative to cognitive expectations as an effect of the crystallization of world society (Luhmann 1975, p. 57).

Distancing itself from other well-known theories such as knowledge society and globalization, in Luhmann's framework society is gradually moving to a scenario where accountability is based on cognitive parameters rather than on normative ones. Facts become the aspect that shapes expectations whereas static norms lose their traditional role of privilege. The shift is from normative to cognitive expectations, observable in all human fields (religion, medicine, law), and is also a characteristic of educational systems. Therefore, educational systems do not find their systemic bases in normative expectations but in cognitive ones. As Mangez and Vanden Broeck point out, "Most of the normative certainties that shaped schools until half a century ago have lost their self-evident character. It is no longer clear what to expect from a 'good' pupil or a 'good' teacher. Neither is it clear what role each of them should play. Or what values a teacher should transmit or even personally embody, as was the case in the past. Ultimately, it is even no longer clear, nor self-evident what education should teach" (Mangez & Vanden Broeck 2016). In broader terms, the main difference between knowledge and norms and between cognitive expectations and normative expectations is in the willingness of knowledge to learn and the non-willingness of norms to learn.

With growth of communication flows, systems are more based on cognitive expectations. Systems, such as the educational one, gather information from the environment and adapt to it in order to grant systemic perpetration. This process happens without norms (while the necessity of communicative rules remains). In the case of educational systems, they organize and re-organize themselves based on environmental

characteristics in order to keep systemic operations active. Since environments can differ greatly, education is not based on the logic of one norm or f one context. Education depends on the logic of many different contexts, in a situation described by the authors as *polycontextural* (Mangez & Vanden Broeck 2016). Given this character of *policontexturality* and to go back to the specific question of power asked at the beginning of this paragraph, in communicative terms the problem that can be underlined is not about the distribution of power or the source of power. The problem systems are faced with, on the contrary, is the complete lack of power due to the powerlessness of normative acts. Mangez & Vanden Broeck describe this scenario as a "*dissolution of educational norms*" in a "*rather poly-centric world* of conflicting realms" to the point where even norms appear to sow a growing cognitive orientation.

Interestingly enough, in the system/environment balance, what comes out of system theory "accords the primacy to the environment" (Vanderstraeten 2000, p. 6). In a way, it can be noticed how it is a theory of the environment and its functioning. It is the environment that needs a system in the first place and it is from the environment that *autopoietic* systems get what they need in order to fuel *autopoiesis*. In this framework, systems use *feedback control* to "maintain their proper identity, to realize their own goals, or to change themselves, notwithstanding the active exchange of matter with their environment (ibid., p. 8)."

Systems' architecture can be found in the non-stop communicative struggle occurring in order to organize a highly untidy world. Through the circle of feedback, systems adjust their boundaries, declare acceptance or refusal of new instances, reshape or confirm themselves and responds to environmental pressure. If the environment was *silent*, systems would require no negotiation and no re-thinking of boundaries. Basically, a silent environment would need no systematic organization.

Since the objective of the system is to grant its own survival against an entropic world, whatever makes its survival more likely will be introjected in the system. Including or non-including homosexual marriages in a system has nothing to do with norms or values but with the environmental pressure and the quality and the quantity of communication flow between the system and the environment. In his famous 1992 lecture at Heidelberg University (transformed into a 2008 article), Luhmann asks and responds to the very specific question "Are There Still Indispensable Norms in Our Society?"

(Luhmann 2008). Through the example of torture, the article demonstrates how norms are essentially a social fact and therefore allow discussion and modification of norms as part of the normative constitution. The normativity of norms depends on the communication over the norms' content. Sociologically speaking, norms are crystallized communication, which can change.

The educational systems work in the same way. Since it is an *autopoietic* system, it bases its procedures on an environment with the objective of granting systemic survival. Its norms depend on the discourse that goes on between system and environment. For example, let us ponder inclusive education: here, we make systems flexible so as not to discriminate based on biological characteristics. Inclusive education is the environment's struggle for a more inclusive educational system carried out by means of communication (Braeckman 2006, Hilt 2016).

It is fundamental to add one element to this conception: external elements that go from belonging only to the environment and that become systemic, need to be translated into internal elements in order to become systemic (Vanderstraeten 2000, pp. 7). When a system includes an aspect of its environment in its own functions, the main risk is the one of distortion.

5.4 Communication, Expectations and Describing the Future

When Blühdorn (2000) describes systems as "held together by rules of communication and structures of expectations", the definition of *structures of expectations* is similar to what Luhmann would refer to as *describing the future* (Luhmann 1998). Systems finalize their operations with the goal of perpetrating their existence. Systems do not reproduce themselves based on any other logic besides survival. Since the greatest danger for a system is chaos, systems engage in in-taking from the environment (excluding it at the same time) in order to grant operational survival. Nonetheless, conditions must be met to keep systems' inner organics at work. As underlined by Blühdorn, the two factors needed are the rules of communication and the structures of expectation. When these two elements are clear in systemic procedure, closure and *autopoiesis* become smooth operational mechanisms.

Rules of communication, in systemic terms, are the parallel to what in other sociological frameworks was labeled as *norms*. Rules of communication are the parameters that keep systemic structure together. Norms, in this sense, are devices through which systemic communication is perpetrated. When describing the shift from normative expectations to cognitive expectations, Mangez and Vanden Broeck (2016) illustrate a situation in which the power of norms is losing its strength thanks to a different type of communication that makes cognition (facts and knowledge) more available on the systemic market. The more knowledge to *cognize* is available, the less norms are able impose their normativity and the more cognitive expectations grow. In a scenario of cognitive expectations, rules of communication become the fundamental instrument for systems. Thanks to their more stable character, rules of communication become the norms in a cognitive expectation scenario.

The other feature illustrated by Blühdorn to keep systems together is the structure of expectations. The structure of expectations has a lot in common with the concept of *describing the future* as illustrated by Luhmann (1998). Education itself has to do with the future because it prepares individuals for the world of the future. It is an act that is unavoidably related to the expectations of what the future will be like. Education, in this sense, dwells in a psychic dialogue with an imagined world that is not yet there. Expectations, being normative or cognitive, shape educational systems and describe a future that is perpetrated on a systemic level. An educational system's expectations depend on the future history portrayed at the level of the social system: educational choices depend on the way in which society describes itself when projected in the future. At an individual level, Luhmann describes this situation as when "an individual's psychic system exposes itself to the contingency of an environment in the form of expectations" (Luhmann 1984, pp. 267).

Koselleck (2004) depicts an insightful meltdown of the characteristics of *descriptions of the future*, perceived through time in educational settings. First, *Premodern times: good versus bad*. Christian Europe based its future on the constant anticipation of the end of life and final judgement. In educational terms, it was therefore important to learn the difference between good and evil. Second, *Modern times: teaching a body of knowledge*. Following this vision the future is a promise of progress, freedom and equality. The future looks like an improved version of the past. In educational terms schooling was introduced due to this

view of the future. School is an organization and in this formation it makes interaction between state and people possible; if there is no school it is improbable that the state and the individual interact. Third, *Late modern times: from teaching to learning*. Here, the future appears full of risks and uncertainties. Opportunities are there but risks appear as being potentially greater that opportunity. With more knowledge comes more uncertainty and also, paradoxically, more knowledge yet unlearned. How do functional systems react to an uncertain future? Education loses fixed meanings and contents and becomes about flexibility in the face of the unknown. Under this view, competence, skills and lifelong learning are the educational directions.

To go back to the heart of this Chapter, let's return to the idea of education for society as assuming a specific shape once observed through different socialization models. Since sociology is a discipline that was born with modernity, no pre-modern concept of *education for society* can be identified. At the same time, the classical concepts that were previously identified in this chapter (namely *moral education, moral achievement* and *moral habitus)* all have the characteristics ascribed to models of an early modern stage. It might be argued that *moral habitus*, together with the concept of *cultural heritage,* belongs to a late modern vision. Nonetheless, as discussed before, conflictualist sociology describes a world before globalization where the concept of the national state still had a meaning if applied to sociological analysis. Is it true then that no sociological category is available in to describe education for society in late modernity?

As describes in *Table 1.4.2,* educational tools of late modernity are described as *competence, dealing with uncertainty, anywhere, anytime, anyone with anyone.* Besides enriching the broader understanding of the empirical chapter of this research, the goal of the present chapter is also to propose the concept of *social competence* as a preferential instrument through which analyzing the concept of educating for society in contemporary educational settings.

Another salient characteristic of late modern educational systems regards their accountability. As Vanderstraeten writes, "Education contributes to career development — not that much via activities which change the 'inner world' of students (but cannot prove this influence), but via its selection mechanisms and the degrees and certificates which it grants" (Vanderstraeten 2002b, p. 250). The combination of the evolution of the concept of educating for society and the need of accountability demonstrated by late

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modern educational settings combine to make *social competences* a possibly insightful analytical tool.

Table 1.4.2 - Table elaborated by Prof. Mangez and presented during the Marie Curie Summer School SUSEES on European Sociology of Education at Università Federico II, Neaples, 2018 edition.

	Pre-modernity	**Early modernity**	**Late modernity**
The form of society	Stratified society	Encapsulation and structural coupling of functional systems at a national level (temporary if not on illusionary arrangement)	Global functionally differentiated society
Future	Decided by god, inscribed	Building the nation	Risks and uncertainty
Policy	Birth determines one's life. Religious principles, social status in hierarchy	Governing	Governance
Education (direction)	Preventing corruption "moral education"	Teaching	Learning (to learn)
Education (tools)	Stratified. Religious. Ensuring souls well-being.	Curriculum, schools, teachers and pupils, organizations and organized interactions	Competence, dealing with uncertainty, anywhere, anytime, anyone with anyone

5.5 Steering and Trust

Lastly, the concept of steering is presented in this brief overview of the main ideas that link systemic theory with the analysis to follow. Luhmann explicitly approaches the concept of steering in the article *Limits of Steering* (1997). Nonetheless, one could easily note Luhmann's entire production as a commentary on the significance of steering. With the connection between sociology and system theory, the author underlined the complex character of social phenomena. he concepts of system, environment and functional differentiation might appear as fully defined and descriptive of societal forms, but the implication that the application of these concepts had on social analysis is very profound. The way a system *autopoietically* reproduces itself is the essence of system's survival and

therefore a form of steering. Better, a form of "self-steering" (Luhmann 1997, pp. 42) which addresses the systemic need of adjusting to an environment. Systems' self-steering is perpetrated through communication. As Luhmann describes, the concept of self-steering is evident in the 19th century belief that policies could achieve what economy could not. We now know this idea contrasts with functional differentiation in which systems cannot be replaced by one another. Steering, seen as "the attempt to *reduce the difference*" (ibid., pp. 43, italic by the author) is auto-steering. No matter how complex the system can become, "the sin of differentiation" (ibid., 52) is unavoidable, meaning functional differentiation makes it impossible for one system to replace another.

In other terms, the system's purpose demands it never to questions the way in which *differences are reduced*. This kind of auto-observation is not part of the system's characteristics. What can be observed and questioned is which differences are reduced, not the way in which they are reduced. Therefore, the first limit of steering is that original functional differentiation makes systems operate based on a binary system (good/bad, equal/unequal, profitable/non-profitable). This makes systems communicate with the environment and makes them question themselves but does not allow this questioning to change the original binary logic that generated the function.

Another relevant limit in systems' steering, which consequently makes them only partially penetrable by environments, is the fact that at a social level inputs and outputs do not linearly correspond. As Luhmann puts it, "the mechanism that was presupposed by old cybernetic steering theories is missing, namely a relatively direct causality that made it possible that the output of system mechanisms reappeared almost immediately as a change of input" (ibid., pp. 50). This means faith in the application of input/output mechanisms to social settings is proved partial and limited; from a steering perspective, this means the communicative feedback loop gets interrupted by high degree of complexity in detecting what output is the result of what input and vice versa. This complexity reinforces the idea of cognitive expectation perpetrating faith that only data, information and more knowledge (in opposition to norms) save systems.

From an educational perspective, this has many different implications. Mangez et al. (2009) illustrate that the growing reliance on a cognitive approach of the policy sector can be seen as a change of paradigm in their case study of the construction of steering and evaluation policy in the education sector in French-speaking Belgium between 1989 and

2007. The new paradigm mainly relies on "external evaluation results (certifying or no), 'indicators' and 'steering panels' for the 'management and steering of the system', and the promotion of educational research" (Mangez et *al.* 2009 pp. 118). This shift is a common feature of the single EU state that composes the European Education Space (Lawn 2001). Furthermore, it is a testimony to how steering educational systems is an attempt to differentiate reduction and is based on input/output mechanisms that seem to be not fully informed on the different specificities in education.

Cognitive-based steering and its relation to knowledge production opens the door to a discussion on the connection between the communicative model and education as a social fact. In a communicative scenario, trust is based on data, information and knowledge rather than on fixed norm and values. As discussed before, in a functionally differentiated system the offer of knowledge is greater, norms lose their orientating role and rules of communication become the parameters that keep society together. In "Familiarity, Confidence, Trust: Problems and Alternatives" (2000) Luhmann fully explores the notion of trust and its role in late modern society. To do so, the author notes the distinction between the concepts of familiarity, confidence and trust. Familiarity is the cognitive process that differentiates familiar from un-familiar. It is a basic human process through which individuals can recognize, remember and learn. Something familiar is the direct opposite of something un-familiar.

Confidence is something that involves not only the individual's inner system but also its communication with the environment. As discussed when introducing the concept of double contingency in systemic terms, individuals operate a "selection of alternative options" (Vanderstraeten 2002a, p. 84) and it is this trait, rather that norms, that shape social situations. Confidence remains when alternatives do not get explored. More precisely, confidence depends on an external attribution which creates the confident situation and, in case of disappointment, the individual will react by external attribution.

The case of trust is much different. When trust is in place, one action is chosen instead of another action and, in case of attribution, the attribution is internal. Therefore, this differentiation does not depend on the quality of the choice but rather the attribution of disappointment in case the choice reveals itself as the wrong one (Luhmann 2000, p. 97). Attribution of disappointment, on the other hand, can be considered as a matter of responsibility. In the case of trust, the individual is responsible for the choice made while

in the case of confidence, the individual is not responsible for the choice which was driven by external forces. Furthermore, a parallel can be drawn: normative expectations are more aligned with a society based on confidence while cognitive expectations are shaped or shape a society based on trust. As Luhmann points out "Mobilizing trust means mobilizing engagements and activities, extending the range and degree of participation. But what does this mean, if people do not perceive a condition of trust or distrust but a condition of unavoidable confidence? They will not save and invest if they lack trust; they will feel alienated if they lack confidence" (ibid., pp. 101).

The discussion up to this point concerning steering and trust in the communicative model lead to a double-faced consideration. On one hand the awareness of the limits of steering can cause concern regarding the possibility of trust, as supported by cognitive expectations, to grant for itself raise. On the other, as touched on by Luhmann (ibid., pp. 104), the connection between the concepts of confidence/trust and the classical sociological category of solidarity is of great interest. If late modern society is characterized by a growing availability of knowledge that leads to a scenario of cognitive expectations in a trust-based boundary, what is the nature of solidarity in this description? Understanding the relation between solidarity and trust is therefore pivotal to comprehend contemporary social systems, phenomena and educational systems. Educating for society is the category which is mostly affected by this new scenario.

5.6 Education for Society: Further Definition

As previously introduced, this research project investigates the concept of education for society[44] in contemporary educational settings. To do so, a study on the way in which the concept of *education for society* was constructed and analyzed by different models in sociology of education was conducted. The path that started with *moral education* in the positivistic model became *moral achievement* in the integrationist model and moved to *moral habitus* in conflictualist model. All of these instruments were a declination of the same idea: besides the content, notions and degrees, education must lead students to the togetherness,

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[44] In the context of this production and from a terminological perspective, *educating for society* and *education for society* are intended as the same thing.

rules, norms and values that form sociality in a given time and space. This process of familiarizing students with a way of being together might be explicit, meaning through education, or implicit through socialization. The first process is intentional and stated at the curricular level while the second happens in a non-regulated way through which students introject ways, modes, practices and rules with no systematized structure supporting the teaching/learning process.

In this scenario, the concept of *education for society* attempts to describe the intentional aspect of the encounter between students and society's norms and values. This vision does not imply that informal processes are not relevant. On the contrary, the role of informal processes may be the strongest force shaping an individual's relation with society. Nonetheless, at a research level choices have to be made. The choice to explore the concept of *education for society* instead of *socialization of norms and values* comes from observing new forces that are shaping the educational discourse in contemporary educational settings, especially from a European perspective.

If one considers public education in Europe as the gate through which every individual goes before becoming an adult, exploring the concept of *education for society* rather the one of *formal socialization of norms and values* has the power to be very specific and systemized. In terms of this research, studying education means studying the educational system and not its environment. In the same way, exploring the concept of *education for society* means studying its relation to the horizon of the educational system and in terms of its formal practices.

By observing educational systems at a school level, Mangez et *al.* (2017) describe the functions of education as follows: "Beyond its functions of teaching and training, and of distributing social and vocational qualifications, the school deliberately or unintentionally transmits to each of us a set of norms, values, principles of meaning and action that contribute to the construction of our identity – and also our relation to others" (Mangez et *al.* 2016, p. 2). Thus, the function of school is divided into two subgroups: a) has the function of teaching, training, distributing of social qualifications, distributing of vocational qualifications; b) has the function of (deliberately or unintentionally) transmitting norms, values, principles of meaning and principles of action, which participate in the identity construction and the construction of relations to others.

Educating for society, as understood in this research, represents the *b* letter in this list of functions. Therefore, *educating for society* is the process that happens at the level of the educational system which aim to deliberately or unintentionally transmit norms, values, principles of meaning and principles of action which participate in the construction of identity and relation. This definition does not mean that letter *a* in the list elaborated by Mangez et *al.* does not go in the direction of educating individuals for life in society. Instead, if one observes society from a systemic perspective, one might find that functional differentiation begins in traditional subject teaching and learning. At the same time, *education for society* as defined above points to the deliberate or unintentional act of society to educate students not only for a function but also to provide them with the capacity to live in society.

Interestingly, Mangez et *al.* underline the fact that the *b* function can happen *deliberately or unintentionally,* which means either explicitly or implicitly. Although the theory of hidden curriculum (Dreeben 1968, Luhmann 1987, p. 66) would be worth it to exploring here, in this research *education for society* is looked at in light of intentional and deliberate processes which happen at a curricular level and which reflect systemic instances. In these terms, the unintentional aspect of *educating for society* is intended not an act of education but rather of socialization.

The discourse proposed by Mangez et *al.* finds its routes in a society based on uncertainties (Luhmann 1995) in which the "few works that currently explicitly raise the question of the school's contribution to the social integration of the rising generations stress the growing difficulty or even inability of today's schools to implement an 'institutional program' (Dubet 2002) of socialization" (Mangez et *al.* 2017, p. 4). In other words, the authors stress the need for studies that investigate the institutional program of socialization as illustrated by Dubet.

Dubet's theoretical contribution to the theoretical configuration of the problem which the encounter between education and socialization makes sociology face is uniquely relevant. With *Le Déclin de l'Institution* (2002) the author investigates the institutional crisis that contaminated educational systems. To do so, the authors apply the concept of "institutional program" (ibid.) that characterizes socialization processes. From one perspective, the way through which Dubet describes the *institutional program of socialization* is very close to the idea of *education for society* presented in this research. Also, relevant

aspects make the notion of *institutional program of socialization* easier to use in terms of research implications.

Using a concept that is already present in sociological tradition makes it easier for the reader to relate the results to an existing body of material and easier for the writers to argue in its favor. In other words, *standing on the shoulders of the giants* (as de Chartres and Newton would put it) always adds solidity. Despite these influences, in the context of this research seemed preferable to maintain distance between the concepts of *education* and *socialization*. By keeping Dubet's idea of *institutional program of socialization*, the notions of *education* and *socialization* would be unavoidably mixed up. In order to shape concepts that would be both inclusive and operationally applicable, the notion of *institutional program of socialization* will be fully applied only at the theoretical level. To clarify and understand the definition of *education for society* fully, it is necessary to step back to some basic definitions.

5.7 Education for Society and its Contemporary Relevance

In the work *Living together in an uncertain world. What role for the school?* Mangez et *al.* (2016) formulate what they call a "threefold hypothesis" (p. 5) about the contemporary normative indeterminacy that characterized educational systems. This hypothesis constitutes a pragmatic basis for addressing research in a contemporary educational setting, considered from a communicative model perspective and in a scenario of growing cognitive expectations. The hypothesis is formulated as follows:

1) The development and expansion of a global governance of education is capable of absorbing more and more elements through the (inevitably reductive) self-referential prism of performance.

2) The fragmentation of the educational institution into different organizations results in each taking specific normative orientations.

3) The growing complexity and diversity of the experience of socialization increasingly imposes on young people and their teachers the burden of reducing and ordering the excess of possibilities (lack of certainties) that confronts them.

The concept of *education for society* and its empirical implications explores the last part of this hypothesis. By defining a systemic observation in the world of educational practices, many conjunctions must be taken into consideration. As it formulated in the hypothesis, complexity and diversity characterize the experience of socialization. However, as discussed in the previous paragraph, education for society is a concept that draws its relevance from the distinction between education and socialization. The experience of socialization, as described by Maccarini in *Table 1.1* is a non-intentional, asymmetric, extemporary experience. From this point of view, the polymorphic quality and adaptive nature of different processes of socialization are not only expected but represent a constitutive feature of the processes themselves. In other words, to avoid transforming the issue into a semantic debate, applying the division between education and socialization to the third hypothesis means making an even sharper point. Therefore, in light of the discourse regarding the concept of *education for society*, the third hypothesis proposed by Mangez et *al.* in this work is defined as:

> A contemporary normative indeterminacy that contributes to the growing complexity and diversity of the experience of *education for society*, which increasingly imposes on young people and their teachers the burden of reducing and ordering the excess of possibilities (lack of certainties) that confronts them.

The reason why this definition of the hypothesis is considered more suitable for investigation is because if indeterminacy can be an acceptable feature of socialization, indeterminacy on the contrary cannot be considered as an acceptable feature of education. We know pedagogy is not considered a hard science and that subjectivity, variability and contextuality shape educational experiences probably beyond teacher's training, curricula and systemic procedures. However, there must be (somewhere) a limit to the range of possibilities and options that compose education. The same is not true for socialization. In the socialization process, the encounter between *black boxes* -- the individual's inner systemic organization (Luhmann 1984, p. 109) -- creates a limitless learning space. Informal communication shapes this leaning and the content of communication can go as far as the *black boxes'* content goes. Instead, in education, contents and processes have a formal shape. They are regulated by choices that were

made for the experience of learning to be as efficient as possible regarding learning content.

When it comes to the issue of *education for society*, the scenario appears even more complex. In a sense, returning to the semantic debate touched on before, education for society means making socialization processes into educational processes and therefore making informal processes into formal ones. This re-shaping can have an effect on the content. If we assume socialization is a more primal form for getting in touch with and becoming accustomed to a society's rules, norms, values and practices, when entering in the field of *educating for society*, socialization becomes a matter of education. Education's duty, with its formalized structure, is to transform the informal into the formal without losing relevant features in the process. From a systemic perspective, when the educational systems include socialization into their realm, socialization becomes an aspect of education but the essence of the two practices remains deeply diverse.

Going back to the hypothesis described earlier, contemporary normative indeterminacy makes *education for society* something potentially: a) liberated by any fixed set of norms and values; but also b) pestered for constant attention and reconfiguration of what is *for society* and what is not *for society*. Therefore, institutionalized socialization becomes a matter of trust rather than of confidence, a constant weighing of options. The process of selection among alternatives is an ongoing process that characterizes educational practices, especially at the level of the formal socialization, which is *education for society*. In this trust exercise, greater responsibility falls on teachers. Since at a systemic level what is offered is not norms and values but rules of communication, the content of communication is highly relative and arbitrary and depends on the teachers' choices. From an educational perspective, this trust game has two sides. First, it makes it possible for practitioners in different contexts to have instruments that grant them enough room for efficiently adapting their choices to the environment (classroom, single students, etc.). Yet, indeterminacy can also mean arbitrariness. It is in the balance of these two opposing forces where trust in teachers becomes relevant. Nonetheless, this situation might raise some concerns at least at the level of equity. These concerns can be resolved if a teacher's common professional basis and deontology are very solid and basic meanings are strongly shared.

Mangez et *al.* note their hypothesis can be studied at different angles, either the system/organizational level on one hand or on the other on the level of the actors involved in the socialization process, namely teachers and students. As fully exposed in next Chapter, the main focus will be on the actors and more specifically on teachers. The main hypothesis the authors suggest to further explore is that "the work of socialization has become uncertain and (…) exposed to a process of fragmentation of the educational field. In a society that no longer offers a commonly accepted vision of itself, whose cohesion is no longer based on a shared, taken for granted world view, what judgements do teachers make in their everyday interaction with their pupils?" (ibid., p. 15). To conclude and emphasize the main goal of the study by quoting the authors, "a key aim of future research will be to grasp the role that schools now play in pupils' moral socialization and to study how this process concretely works in the light of the transformations of the field and of educational organizations" (ibid. p. 21).

5.8 Educational Organization: the European Educational Space

The empirical part of this research will focus on the actors of the educational landscape and particularly upon, teachers. To fully understand the processes that characterize the teaching and learning process of *educating for society* in contemporary educational settings, first we must observe the forces that shape education at a systemic/organizational level.

From a macro perspective, Schriewer (2003) describes the internationalization of the educational processes and lists three major insights that drive changes in educational organizations: 1) international or global interconnectedness; 2) *semantic construction* of a world society; and 3) comparative and international research. Using Luhmannian theory of social differentiation, the function of the educational system consists in "*assuring each individual's capacity for society-wide communication*" (ibid., p. 281). As discussed by the authors, by considering the "tremendous importance of discourse in shaping social reality" (ibid.), the aspect of communication calls for more specificity, particularly in understanding the discourse between the global and the local.

The study of the path to a growing internationalization of educational systems can be observed from different angles. One angle observes how current educational systems are shaped by influences of globalization and internationalization. Another perspective aims to see the historical processes that led to the current asset. On this last perspective, Lawn traces the historical path from which national based educational systems led to the creation of the European Educational Space (Lawn, 2001). After describing national processes in shaping educational organization, a point in time is identified in which the process of Europeanization assumed a formal relevance. The document *Towards a Europe of Knowledge* (1997) lays the basis for the "gradual construction of an open and dynamic European educational area" (p. 1). In the document, some characteristics are described that would make the creation of the area a reality. Among others, citizens requirements would be: competence as a lifelong basis, creativity, exibility, adaptability and the ability to learn to learn and to solve problems. Additionally, a solid broad-based education and a set of skills (technological, social and organizational) conducive to innovation, plus a range of transversal competencies—including the understanding of a diversity of cultures, competence in several languages, and business-based entrepreneurship.

From these different characteristics, the discourse on *transversal competen*ces will be the most important one for this research. The historical reconstruction that led to the creation of what is currently known as the European Educational Space is fully described in "A Short History of Europeanizing Education" (Grek & Lawn 2009). After discussing all the passages that lead from the Fifty's projects to the most recent post-Lisbon era, the authors stress the idea of how "the initial idea of a common cultural identity, while still around in some policy documents (especially in culture and media) has been replaced by the creation of a common space of recording and calculation" (ibid., p. 51).

When studying Europeanization and the globalization of educational processes it is important to clarify the change of paradigm described by Lawn (2006). The paradigm shift is the one from *government* to *governance.* Governance is described as "a shift from hierarchy and state hierarchies (…) referring to a set of institutions and actors that are drawn from, but also beyond, government" (ibid., p. 280). The shift is determined by the fact that the "legitimacy of governing authority cannot be demanded but has to be negotiated and its relation with its partners in civil society is one of steering, guiding and

contracting, within recognition that supported networks are unstable and fluctuating" (ibid.).

In this scenario, governance becomes the communicative framework that makes Europeanization possible through the constant communication between system and environment. This is a continuous negotiation of meanings in which norms and values are shaped and re-shaped within the parameters of rules of communication and structures of future expectations (Blühdorn, 2000). As described by Lawn, it is a process in which national states are bypassed (Lawn, 2006, p. 281) using networking as a main structural tool. These characteristics make the educational space built in Europe one defined as a condition and not a system, object or place (Lawn 2009, p. 517). Instead, it is in what is being called as a "translucent space" (ibid., pp. 518).

The discourse over the European Educational Space has two essences. On one hand, there is a normative attempt to harmonize different national-based educational systems to create a uniformity in the instruction processes. The idea behind this movement is that the more uniform the system, the smoother the educational outcomes. From this perspective, it is very important to trace the process from the European to the local level and to analyze the different scenarios that are opened when European instances are included into local educational settings. On the other hand, together with the issue of harmonization, literature shows a growing relevance of the role of data and regulation. Even more than this, Lawn specifies how "governing this space occurs not just by agents, data, discourse or regulation, but also by standards" (Lawn 2011, p. 269). Standards, by pointing towards harmonization, have the side effect of not being sensitive to local characteristics.

From a systemic perspective, the Europeanization of the educational systems points toward the creation of a sovra-national system whose operations tend towards harmonization through equalization. More precisely, "working through standards helps shape a 'systemless system' across education/learning in which harmonization works through measurement, indicators and benchmarks in a constant but less visible process (ibid. 270)." The issue of standardization becomes relevant in a scenario where standards have become the main parameters through which the Europeanization process takes place.

The questions arising, in essence, can be circumscribed into two areas. First, at a macro systemic level, with the question of whether harmonization can happen through data driven standardization, in light of the systemic limits of steering. Second, at a micro systemic level, what the local educational outcomes of the systemic Europeanization processes are. The first question can be explored mainly through the analysis of systemic processes, documents and communications. The second question can be explored through the analysis of the impact of systemic movements pointing towards Europeanization at the micro-educational level. Answering this second question by contextualizing it into a specific educational context is the goal of the second part of this research. The following chapter will describe the research design and the empirical research conducted to support understanding *education for society* in the context of the European Educational Space.

6. From Sociological Models to Sociological Fields

6.1 The Beginnings of Italian Research in Educational Contexts

Within the school world, teachers and students are recognized as main actors. In reality, they act within an interactive system where school managers and families also play an important role. In order to understand a teacher's role and mode of action, it is necessary to observe that the teacher is not a world in his or herself, but rather an individual who has fallen into a context with multiple characteristics, both at the level formal than informal. From this awareness, we can form a hypothesis. With regards to the formal aspect, we refer to the school system as an organization (Luhmann & Schorr 1999) which directs the work of the teacher on different levels.

The informal aspect consists instead of the sum of non-institutionalized practices, to some extent routine (Giddens 1984), which concerns the teacher's interaction with colleagues, students and parents. From this perspective, the professional teacher is seen within a network of relations, more or less institutionalized, which have an effect on his

or her mode of action. The context, that is space and time (Besozzi & Colombo 2014), in which the actors of the school world operate cannot be underestimated in the moment in which education is investigated and the ways in which it takes shape. The teacher-actor, analyzed as a reflective professional (Rossi & Toppano, 2009, Fadda 2005, Fabbri 1999) and placed in a specific context, offers a privileged glimpse of the values, constraints and choices within the contemporary educational scene.

While not considering education as a key theme of sociology, dealing with education through a sociological language allows us to shed light on a subject not completely enlightened today between scholastic teaching and the requisites necessary for the life in the contemporary age. At the level of empirical reality, there is a gap between the skills that an individual should have to consciously live the contemporary and the educational proposal put in place at school level (Butera et *al.* 2002). On the one hand we have a world that turns at a certain speed and is always on the rise, that world defined in sociology as a knowledge society (Stehr 2001). On the other hand, the educational system seems to lag behind the elaboration and implementation of concrete practices that respond to new educational needs (Demetrio & Bella 2000). Some relevant features of the contemporary world, such as the tertiarization of the economy and the pervasive aspect of technology in everyday life, impose new reasoning on educational needs. Sociology, if compared to disciplines with a more strictly prescriptive epistemological status such as philosophy and pedagogy, can have an epistemological, theoretical and methodological apparatus capable of producing scientifically relevant research with respect to the relationship between education and society.

Treating education in sociological terms can, in other words, provide ideas for reasoning with the growing need to recompose the puzzle between new educational needs and the current educational proposal. Over the years, research done in Italy about the world of education seems to go in this direction: to try to describe and interpret how the different actors that populate school's stage structure their paths and how they come into contact with the social world. Therefore, research on teachers is interesting in order to evaluate the distance that can exist between ideal practices and daily practices (Cambi & Piscitelli 2005).

The first empirical research on teachers in Italy dates back to the late seventies. In particular, reference is made to two researches concerning teachers of lower secondary

schools. These are the research of Vincenzo Cesareo of 1969 and of Maurzio Barbagli and Marcello Dei of the same year. These works inaugurate the tradition of sociology of empirical education in Italy and they do so in order to respond to a specific research question. Namely, they address the attitude of the teachers regarding the reform of secondary schools five years after the implementation of the law on the new middle school (the law of 1962 on the single middle school). In particular, Cesareo's research is based on questionnaires administered to tenured teachers and not in the cities of Milan and Bari. It is also defined as the first research with a representative sample sufficiently large enough to justify generalizations aimed at defining some characteristics of the Italian teaching body (Cesareo 1969). The research of Barbagli, on the other hand, is based on three collateral surveys, two conducted through in-depth interviews and one through a postal questionnaire (Barbagli & Dei 1969). The results of the analysis on all research shows that, at the end of the sixties, the majority of teachers still showed ample resistance to the changes proposed by the law on secondary school. Both research projects stemmed from a need to explore how a specific national directive was implemented by the social group of teachers and how the perception of change had evolved over time.

In addition to the specific applicative results that both works aimed to provide, it is important to note that both studies involved research questions which regarded both the vocational aspect of the profession and the professional aspect of the professional, both with colleagues and with the students. This brings out two important considerations that can not be underestimated when teachers are studied. First, contextualizing the profession in terms of space and time is necessary in order to understand the attitude of a teacher. Second, the relational aspect of teaching, since the first research on the subject, has been considered fundamental in order to understand the nature of the teaching profession. In this regard, in the research of Cesareo, both the choice of profession and the interpersonal relationships formed are directly investigated by the questionnaire. The profession and relationships are understood as variables that may have an effect on the degree of commitment that the individual teacher is willing to dedicate to teaching and, later, how this can affect its flexibility or rigidity with respect to the implementation of a new standard (Reguzzoni 1970).

From the first sociological surveys on education, in short, it is clear how the teacher's profession is investigated as a strictly relational profession. Precisely the relational aspect,

in other words, can be used not only directly but also as a detector of attitudes in general and those not directly attributable to the object of investigation. In this case, the relational aspect was used in order to more deeply understand the attitudes towards the reception of a national standard.

The youth protest movements that characterize the seventies and the progressive increase in mass schooling affected all sociology and in particular also the studies on teachers. The new approaches try to combine both perspectives that concern the social positioning of the teacher (the role) and that form intuitions about more individual aspects, if we want psychological of the profession (Di Raimondo Giani 1795). In those years, an interesting investigation was carried out by Livolsi and Schizzerotto who, crossing "the conception of the functions of education" and "political-social ideology", identified four types of teachers: the conservative (of good will), the permissive, the technocratic and the innovator (Livolsi & Schizzerotto 1974). The authors also note the worrying lack of preparation of the teachers interviewed, all belonging to the elementary school world, compared with the possibility of facing the demands that contemporary society asks of the school. In 1974 we can also regard the reply Ricciardi Ruoco tries to provide in his *Letter to a Professor* (1967). With *From Utopia to Integration*, the author tries to answer the questions raised by the 1967 text, going in the direction of drafting the identikit of a typical teacher. It is also interesting to mention the work of Gattullo (1981), always from a critical perspective, regarding the experience of Sessanto which modified the way of being a teacher in Bologna in the years following the protest.

6.2 The Contribution of French Sociology on Education

The French sociology of the seventies enriched the field of the sociology of education by dealing with social inequalities and reproducing them within the scholastic context. Bourdieu and Passeron (1970) deal with educational action as symbolic violence by analyzing the role of the school in general (and the teacher in particular). Here, they assign teachers and schools as reproducers of the social structure, using the key cultural capital concepts (available to the child as family inheritance) and of gift ideology

(individual gifts) as conceptual bases from which to give rise to theorization. We then move away from the purely descriptive nature of previous studies into a conflictualist framework that contrasts the human being who is socialized through the school and the school system, mainly composed of teachers, whose task it is to reproduce and maintain the established social order (Postic 2006). Under a vaunted leveling of citizen's basic skills, what educational institutions implement is an artificial selection, aimed at maintaining pre-established social structure. The theory of reproduction seeks to thematize the transmission of privileges, insisting that educational systems, through their work, do not change the distribution of cultural capital.

This theory, widely accepted by the sociology of the seventies, is now defined as excessively deterministic and is largely questioned by empirical research on the levels of female schooling in the West and of the social mobility of young scholarized immigrants (Fisher 2003). What interests us here are the concepts that have been used in order to validate this theory, namely the cultural capital and gift ideology. In fact, these concepts if properly defined can still be meaningful in educational research. The first concept, that of cultural capital, contains in itself all the implicit and explicit knowledge that the individual possesses before and independently of schooling. On a conceptual level, cultural capital can be an important tool when used to detect the initial capacities of an individual. The concept of gift ideology can still be important in order to identify the *a priori* characters of individuals who share a situation of educational socialization.

One of the author's most critical positions on Bourdieu and Passeron, who in turn investigated the effects that education can have on social mobility, is from Boudon. This author shows that differences in educational success do not depend on cultural capital but on economic and social differences (Boudon 1979). The treatment of Boudon is from a macro-sociological tradition and uses large aggregates as a unit of analysis, establishing that most industrial societies are characterized by a slow but unquestionable decrease in inequality with respect to education. This situation, as the author points out, does not guarantee a higher level of social mobility in the West due to the fact that, as the average level of education increases, the average value of the individual level of education tends not to weight heavily on the market. To this extent, the idea that mass education is a useful tool to both ensure a reduction in economic inequalities and increase social mobility is being questioned.

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Despite opposing theoretical contributions provided by these two authors, they are joined by a shared strong pessimism concerning the capacity of the educational system to significantly influence individual paths. Boudon, a critic of the determinism of Bourdieu and Passeron and a supporter of methodological individualism, comes to opposite conclusions but produces identical results *vis-à-vis* the inefficiency of the educational system with regard to collective life. From these perspectives the teachers, described as both reproducers of the constituted system and defenseless agents with respect to the possibility of producing social change, do not embody a decisive role within the social system. Even when they do so, the only role allowed to teachers is one of reproducing the differences whether they are cultural or socio-economic (Bertolini 2003).

6.3 Between Vocation and Conservativism: Teachers in Sociological Research

In the Seventies Italian research on teachers suffered from a moderate stagnation, due to some methodological and epistemological discussions about the nature of the discipline. In the eighties research began again (Lisimberti 2007). Specifically, in 1984, Alacevich and Dei reported a total of 104 studies in those years concerning school, 10 of which focused on teachers (Alacevich & Dei 1984). The issues mainly identified concern trade union affiliation, flexibility with regard to the introduction of new reforms and the vocational aspect or fallback of the profession (Besozzi 2006). A pivotal research that bears witness to this trend is that of Cobalti and Dei (1979) on innovation and adaptation of teachers.

Thanks to this research it is emphasized that teaching is often a makeshift job, a second choice or a transit job, demonstrating at the same time as "the subjects who have entered the school well, realizing their youthful aspirations, they engage a lot more than those who entered the school driven by the circumstances" (Cobalti & Dei 1979, p. 52). What most differentiates the studies produced in the eighties from previous studies is the will to go beyond the dichotomy between innovative teachers and conservative teachers. The need arises to investigate both the school and the world in order to detect critical points and real strengths. Gradually, we move away from the previous attitude that

persistently connected sociological studies on teachers and institutional reforms. In fact, interest begins to shift towards daily negotiation practices, individual and collective action spaces and the analysis of social processes.

A particularly relevant example of this new need for detection, a need that modifies the previous epistemological and methodological assumptions, is Besozzi's study of teachers' life histories (Besozzi, 1984). In this study, through indepth interviews, the dimension of teacher socialization is investigated, identified as a continuous process that continues throughout the career. Instead, from an analytical perspective a few years later, Gattullo investigates the attitudes, skills and abilities necessary for teachers in order to best carry out their profession (Gattullo 1990). He notes how a strong relationship exists between vocationality and conservatism; on one side professionalization and on the other poor conservatism.

Still from the same perspective, the first IARD survey on Italian teachers is in 1992. The IARD surveys, which continued for two more cycles in 2000 and 2008, represented an extremely useful reservoir of information used to understand the evolution of the world of teachers between the early nineties and the first decade of the millennium, mainly thanks to the information gathered through representative samples of Italian teachers. From this research, with some important but not substantive differences in the three surveys, a more feminine teaching body emerges. This feminine entity belonged to the middle class, arising from reduced social mobility and an awareness of the inadequacy of its own training (Cavalli & Argentin 2008).

6.4 Contemporary Tendencies: brief overview

From the 2000s onwards there has been an increase in surveys aimed at the school world and in particular teachers, who are now recognized as privileged interlocutors (Lisimberti 2007). Teachers' opinions are perceived as a fundamental source for effective policies and understanding from within about the fabric of the school world . The interdisciplinary interweaving between different types of approaches, from the sociological to the psychological and pedagogical, allowed studies on teachers to move

away from previous rigidity to a more human look on a profession with an important relational aspect. Some precursor studies of this new perspective are those of Cian (1996) on the perceived role of teachers and educators.

On the rise are studies that draw a link between dominant personality traits and educational styles (Biasi et *al.* 2004) and research focused on the most individual and subjective aspects of the profession often employ the autobiographical approach (Demetrio & Bella 2000). This tendency is evidence of a new dimension investigated by research on teachers, one that tends less to explain macro phenomena and more to focus on specific practices and paths. It is from this perspective that arise studies like those of Montalbetti (2005) on the reflective practice of the teaching profession. Also, those of Viganò (2005) on the discomfort at school or of Lisimberti (2006) on the issue of professional identity as constitutive of the design dimension (Lisimberti 2007).

On an even more micro level, an important study is that of Romano (2009) regarding the reflexivity of teachers. This study represents an opportunity for interesting reflection. The research combines two disciplines (psychology and sociology) when focusing on the meta-cognitive psychological type, or the person who can make mental reasoning considerations about both reality and reasoning itself (Archer 2003). Romano draws a parallel between the meta-cognitive and the way in which this type of individual experiences daily the constraints imposed by the educational system. Romano, drawing from Archer's psychological studies, defines the meta-cognitive as one who needs to act primarily according to his own values. The interesting part of the research titled *Teachers Still Reflect* (Romano 2009)   is that the analyzed sample is of only one teacher, indicating how contemporary trends of sociological studies on teachers can take on a radically micro perspective.

The attention to everyday life, the relational dynamics within the class and among the teachers and the discourse on skills are, among other themes, not yet fully explored by sociology. Therefore, these themes can find fertile ground in hermeneutical and multidisciplinary methodologies, like the one just described. Surveys on teachers have also reached a mature point, at which t they can stop joining political discourse and instead focus on their own themes, including a balance between the micro and macro visions of the phenomenon. This point could have interesting repercussions also at the methodological level. If in the English-speaking literature the study of teachers mainly

uses qualitative methodologies (Lisimberti 2007), inversely in the Italian scenario the structured questionnaire is preferred. From this perspective, thematic independence with respect to political issues could also have the meritorious effect of encouraging qualitative methodologies to enter into Italy.

Chapter 2

Education for Society: an Empirical Research

1. From education for society to researching in education

1.1 Identifying Main Research Parameters

This research focuses on the *education of norms and values* in formal educational settings. Education of norms and values in formal educational settings is condensed into the term *education for society*. Education for society is an analytical tool introduced in this research. The aim of this tool is to resume studying the definition of Mangez et *al.* (2016), who spoke of one of the two functions of educational systems. More precisely, *education for society* is the deliberate and institutionalized function of transmission of "norms, values, principles of meaning, principles of action, which participate in the identity construction and which participate in the construction of relations to others" (Mangez et *al.* 2016, p. 2). As argued before, the connection between education and society -- and especially new forms of education that have the goal of *educating for society* -- needs more research.

From a sociological perspective, there are different factors that put national educational systems in the position of implementing new forms of education in general and more specifically new forms *education for society*. These main factors are: a) Europeanization of educational processes and the creation of the European Educational Space (Lawn 2001); b) processes of globalization in general that have no formal normative aspects but of which legislators are aware of in terms of futuristic vision; c) the educational culture itself moves in the direction of lifelong learning, learning society and knowledge society. Although these factors are listed separately, they constitute a continuum that shapes educational both at a decision-making level and at the level of teaching practices.

The objective of this research is to investigate the contemporary construction of *education for society* when observed in educational settings in light of the current social forces that influence education. The theoretical framework exposed in the previous chapter illustrated how different models of socialization portray *education for society* differently. The main goal of this contribution is therefore to empirically study educational settings and to identify the contemporary forms and shapes of *education for society*. In order to explore such themes, many different paths of research could have been followed. In order to illustrate the choices that brought to the research design that was implemented in this research. The main different components that give structure to the design are now discussed to illustrate the various choices available to the research implemented in this thesis.

Education vs. socialization

First of all, a decision was made about whether to focus on formal or informal phenomena. Since this research explores educational concepts that belong to formal educational settings, the focus will be on formal education only. It is well known how most of the processes of introjection of norms and values happen at an informal level, namely the level of socialization (Maccarini 2003). Nonetheless, this research will attend to the transformation of those processes that mainly happen at an informal level (processes of socialization) into processes that happen at a formal level (education). With the theoretical framework that was previously exposed, the different forms through which various models of socialization view *education for society* were introduced. Even if the project regards the introjection of norms and values (which also happens outside formal educational settings) this research tries to understand particularly the formal processes that regard *education for society* and not the informal ones.

Brief geographical anchoring

Once the macro interest of the research was determined, to empirically study *education for society* in contemporary educational settings, the focus had to be sharpened. To do so, tools for formal practices of education for society in place in formal educational settings that seem to be pointing towards *education for society* were explored. In the case of this research, the geographical field that was taken into account is the Italian educational system. This choice is mainly a one of convenience: the PhD program within which this

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research is promoted is based in Italy and the professionals that carried out the research are primarily familiar with the Italian educational system. Also, in order to practically sustain empirical research, the Italian case seemed to be the most appropriate. Nonetheless, in light of systemic changes and critical points for studying *education for society,* the Italian case presented many interesting characteristics regarding recent changes in the educational system; this also made it an appropriate field.

Boiled down succinctly based on what was discussed up to now, the interest of this research can be constructed as: *education for society in the Italian educational system.*

Social Competences

In deepening the study on the Italian educational system, it was observed how, through time, changes happened in the instruments used in order to pursue the objective of *education for society.* Since 2015, *social competences* are one of the main instruments used for this aim. The introduction of this instrument represents a clear point in time and an interesting change in the way in which *education for society* takes place in formal education. The evaluation of social competences takes place through an instrument called a "Competence evaluation form (trad. It.: "*Scheda per la valutazione delle competenze*"). Here, the didactic aspect is processed by individual teachers, class councils (trad. It.: *consigli di classe*) and institutes. The "Competence evaluation form" has to be filled in collectively by the class council at the end of elementary school (when pupils are 10 years old) and at the end of middle school (when students are 13 years old).

The introduction of social competences takes place within a bigger transition from content-based to competence-based education. From a legislative perspective, the transition follows a path that will be explained more in detail in the dedicated paragraph. For the purpose of understanding the research design, it is important to clarify that the tool of social competence is relatively new in the Italian public educational panorama. Also, this competence (along with other competences) has to be evaluated at the end of the elementary and middle school. Thus, s*ocial competences* is here considered as an instrument that pursues the aim of *educating for society*.

There is another interesting element that makes social competences a preferential means to observe *education for society*. In Italy since 2017, the grade on behavior (trad. It.: *voto di condotta*) has changed its format and its relevance was therefore re-modulated. The

grade on behavior was considered until 2017 the main way to grade students on their ability to be a collective part of the class and school. This grade was expressed as a number from zero to 10. Now the grade on behavior has been modified: it is no longer expressed as a grade but as a *judgement*, a short descriptive paragraph in which the class council expresses instances regarding the behavior of each student. Before 2017, students who were graded less than 6/10 could not progress in their course of study. Now this norm is abrogated. Even if students who receive a disciplinary sanction still cannot progress in their course of study, the introduction of the judgement on behavior cannot strongly affect students' as before. The implementation of social competences and the change of the nature of the grade on behavior makes social competence preferential when understanding how *education for society* pertains to contemporary Italian educational settings.

Referring to the boiled-down sentence above, the object of this research is *education for society observed through the practical tool of social competences in the Italian educational system*.

Observational setting (where to observe)

The transition from content-based to competence-based education involved Italian schools of all levels (from elementary to high school), beginning with the introduction of the eight key-competences for lifelong learning. Among different school levels, Italian middle schools were considered the best environment in which to investigate the concept of *education for society*. This consideration was made based on two reasons: 1) the changing role of the grade on behavior. The nature of this evaluation changed for elementary (pupils from six to 10) and middle school (pupils from 10 to 13) but did not change for high school (students from 14 to 19). Elementary and middle schools were therefore better environments to observe connections between the concepts of social competences and behavior as here they were re-defined and re-negotiated. *Education for society* as the practical instrument of social competences was therefore more insightful when studying middle schools when compared to high schools. 2) When deciding whether to center the research on elementary or on middle schools, the latter was chosen. This is because of the relevance of the class council in the grading procedures in middle schools. In elementary schools, children are graded by two, three or maximum four teachers. Elementary school teachers spend many hours each with the students, observing them and working on the idea of

education for society. Observation can subsequently be gathered to formulate detailed views of each pupil -- later to be translated into a judgement. In middle schools, class councils are formed by up to eleven teachers, some of whom spend just one hour per week in the classroom. In this scenario, understanding this method of *education for society* appears to be more complex and worth exploring. If social competence is as an important observation point for understanding how *education for society* is defined in contemporary Italian educational settings, middle schools produced the preferential context.

To progress with the boiled-down sentence above, the object of this research is *education for society observed through the practical tool of social competences in Italian middle schools*.

Observational subjects (who to observe)

In finding possible subjects to empirically observe social competences, most of the attention was on teachers. Teachers, in fact, are considered key actors on the stage of *education for society*. In the case of social competences, this is a very relevant aspect. The aspect that makes teachers' role even more prominent than in other fields is the complexity of the content of social competences. In fact, the degree of effectiveness in basic knowledge of the competence, namely the social one, depends greatly on the vision of the teacher. This aspect of social competences pertains to the nature of competence education in general. As competences, the social ones are necessarily context-situated and experiential. Their practice is based on teachers' conception of what social competence means. As stated before, social competences are the main practical tool through which *education for society* happens in the Italian educational system. Thus, it appears essential to investigate the different ways in which social competences are understood by teachers. Many scenarios can be opened by such an investigation. By considering teachers as the main actors through which to understand social competences, some traits must be considered. These include: a) the highly diverse training middle school teachers undertake in order to become practitioners; b) the different type of teachers (if in roles, not in role, substitutes) that constitute the teachers' community; and c) the newness of the introduction of general competence-based education and more precisely of social competences.

To conclude the boiled-down sentence and resume the empirical aim of the research: the interest of the study is *education for society, observed through the practical tool of social competences as represented by Italian middle school teachers.*

1.2 Social Competence: Introduction

The objective of the research is to understand teachers' representations and conceptions of social competences. Studying social competences can shed light on the role of norms and values in contemporary educational settings. This role has a strict connection with knowledge which seems to be undergoing a period of re-framing (Hargreaves 2003, Gilbert 2005). The shift from content-based to competence-based education alone shows the type of future (Luhmann 1998) current educational systems are based on. Competence seems to be gaining a prominent role and the ability of knowing how to know (through formal competence of *learning to learn*) appears increasingly vital in a scenario of lifelong learning. In a competence-based setting, knowledge (or content) is just one factor of interest for education. Competence starts from knowledge but develops itself in context and experience, with the goal of providing students with practical skills transferable to real life. In a way, competence-based education is the attempt to reduce the gap between an education enclosed in instruction institutions to real world situations. In order to help students thrive in life and establish connections with the world "outside the school," knowledge becomes a piece of a broader canvas of competences, skills and abilities that are based on and surpassing knowledge itself. Thus, in competence-based education the attempt is to make knowledge practical before students leave school.

Competence-based education means rethinking educational goals, practices, places and pedagogies. This shifting role of knowledge affects every subject. For some competences, knowledge is actually made into another competence. This is true for those competences based directly on one subject such as mother tongue, foreign tongue, ICT, math and science. The discourse becomes more complicated when some competences (such as social competences, learning to learn, cultural awareness and expressions) do not base themselves on a specific disciplinary knowledge. When a competence is not based on a specific knowledge, it may become highly variable and arbitrary. This is what makes

considering social competences relevant: they are about formal *education for society* but they are not based on a solid set of norms and values. Rather, they are based on mobile expectations shaped on the go. If this was true, this situation would raise some concerns about: a) the possibility of grading such a hybrid concept; the b) the deontology of the teaching profession; c) the actual purpose this object is able to serve if left with no specific shared content. By taking into account what cognitive expectations are, the role of content in this shifting scenario from content-based to competence-based education needs further exploration and goes beyond the delimitations of this study. To some extent, a parallel could be made in which normative expectations are based on knowledge while cognitive expectations find more use in competence. Nonetheless, understanding the representations of teachers regarding social competences can help in detecting what the current contents of social competences are and what differences (if any) constitute the basis for this competence.

The path that started the competence engine began with the 2006 EU Recommendation. In the Recommendation of the European Parliament and Council of 2006 EU (2006/962 EC), key competences are defined as "a combination of knowledge, skills and attitudes appropriate to the context. Key competences are those which all individuals need for personal fulfilment and development, active citizenship, social inclusion and employment. (…) The key competences are all considered equally important, because each of them can contribute to a successful life in a knowledge society" (p. 14). Eight key competences are listed in this pragmatic document. They are: *communication in the mother tongue, communication in foreign languages, mathematical competence and basic competences in science and technology, digital competence, learning to learn, social and civic competences, the sense of initiative and entrepreneurship and cultural awareness and expression.* In the document, social and civic competences are listed together. Nonetheless, once the Recommendation details every competence, each is described separately[45]. In essence,

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[45] In the EU 2006 Recommendation, civic competences are described as follows "Civic competence equips individuals to fully participate in civic life, based on knowledge of social and political concepts and structures and a commitment to active and democratic participation" (pp. 16). Also: "Civic competence is based on knowledge of the concepts of democracy, justice, equality, citizenship, and civil rights, including how they are expressed in the Charter of Fundamental Rights of the European Union and international declarations and how they are applied by various institutions at the local, regional, national, European and international levels" (ibid.). Thus, the difference between social life and civic life seems to be linked to the immediacy

they are different: civic competence points towards the understanding of public practices and institutions while social competences regard the direct and contingent social level. More precisely, social competences are s divided into subgroups which specify their nature:

a. personal skills;

b. interpersonal skills;

c. intercultural competences;

d. all forms of behavior that allow people to participate in an effective and constructive way to social life;

e. all forms of behavior that allow people to participate in an effective and constructive way to working life;

f. all forms of behavior that allow people to participate in an effective and constructive way to life in increasingly diversified societies;

g. ability to resolve conflicts where necessary.

1.3 Competences in the Italian Educational System

In Italy, the 2006/962 EC was fully included in the DM N. 254/2012 which transforms the European Recommendation into a national norm. Since 2015, Italy also adopted the Competence Evaluation Form (still experimental and on hold for a final form). This form must be filled in for each student at the end of Primary School and at the end of the first cycle of First Grade Secondary School. The national adoption of this form does not substitute the previous modality of students' evaluation. Rather, it should be interpreted as a first attempt to harmonize transmission and evaluation of competences within the whole national territory (Butera et *al.* 2002).

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of the reciprocity they work with. In other words, social competence refers to close relations while civic competence refers to knowledge regarding institutionalized collectivity. As for civic competences, many studies were carried out in order to verify their trend, primarily l the "International Civic and Citizenship Education Study" (ICCS) promoted by the "International Association for the Evaluation of Educational Achievement" (IEA, last published 2016).

From a practical perspective, the evaluation of social competences happens at the class council level. This means every teacher must pay attention to the didactics of social competences in their teaching. At the same time, every teacher has to express an opinion in the evaluation process. Considering the eight key competences provided by the EU and implemented in the Italian legislation, most can be directly linked with a classic school subject. In the context of Italian middle schools, the link can be expressed as follows:

1. Communication in the mother tongue – Italian
2. Communication in foreign languages – English or French (or other foreign languages)
3. Mathematical competence and basic competences in science and technology – Math and Science
4. Civic competence – Civic education

These are the subjects that have a direct link between a competence and a subject. It is well known that the meaning of competence-based education varies from competence-based education itself. This distinction arises from the assumption that competence-based education is founded on the concept of co-responsibility. In the attempt to go beyond the subject when looking at the world, competence-based education spreads educational activity and responsibility beyond the strict boundaries of its subjects. Starting with this awareness and through the transition from one concept of education to another, it is important to note that for competences without a direct linkage to a traditional subject, the pedagogical and didactical responsibility appears more widespread.

Because of their transverse character, the practical work on these competences can be more complex. These transverse competences are: digital competence, learning to learn, social competences, sense of initiative and entrepreneurship and cultural awareness and expression. As for digital competences, one might argue that they have a connection with the subject of technology. Despite this, if we understand the character of competence-based education, we know that digital competences have a deeper role in every discipline. Besides considering every competence as worthy of attention in its

implementation and evaluation, in order to explore the contemporary role of education for society, only the transversal social competences will be part of this research.

Another aspect that contributes to the complexity of the tool of social competences is the formal/declared content of this competence. From both a sociological and pedagogical perspective, the broadness of the theme is captured in the features that compose this competence (listed in par. 1.2). The list goes from instances that have to do with a self-construction/identity/emotions in point *a*, moves through concepts that deal with the working life and ends with the notion of conflict resolution. Thus, it is relevant to notice how the concept of social competences can be studied from different angles. To increase the potential difficulties that one might find in studying social competence, along with its transversal quality and the broadness of its content, the concept of *competence* itself is relevant. It is important to notice understanding the representation of competence and of competence-based education was not the main goal of this research. Nonetheless, a byproduct of this work was illuminating the complex and sometimes contradictory panorama around the theme of competence-based education, once observed through empirical research.

One last aspect that qualifies the complex panorama of social competences in Italy regards the different types of training each Italian secondary school teacher receives. Implementing competence-based education, understanding and problematizing the content of social competences in a transverse way, despite the single subject focus, all requires a solid pedagogical and didactical competence. After all these considerations, the questions would be: do teachers have the competences to work on/with competence? What are the competences teachers must have to fruitfully implement competence-based education?

In the Italian educational panorama, different types of practitioners populate the field with the various credentials that gave them access to their position. The idea of teachers' training as a source of complexity is useful and necessary for objectivity when looking at new concepts in an educational panorama populated by stable practitioners. Given the amount of refresher courses teachers can access (often described as unsatisfactory), it is important to observe how new concepts can penetrate environments which have sediment practice traditions. Here, it is vital to notice -- aside from how representations of social competences take place -- the different ways in which teachers

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adjust to new requirements within their didactics after experiencing different typologies of training. This aspect can have a profound relevance not only in how social competences are incorporated into a specific didactic but also how are evaluated.

Considering the multidimensionality of the term *competence*, the preliminary definition that is taken into account in this research project is the one provided by the European Union. This definition is considered as starting point -- not in an uncritical or final manner -- in order to identify and delimitate the research field. In the Recommendation of the European Parliament and Council of 2006, key competences are defined as "a combination of knowledge, skills and attitudes appropriate to the context. Key competences are those which all individuals need for personal fulfilment and development, active citizenship, social inclusion and employment. (…) The key competences are all considered equally important, because each of them can contribute to a successful life in a knowledge society" (p. 14). Eight key competences are listed in this pragmatic document. They are: Communication in the mother tongue; Communication in foreign languages; Mathematical competence and basic competences in science and technology; Digital competence; Learning to learn; Social and civic competences; Sense of initiative and entrepreneurship; Cultural awareness and expression. As mentioned before In Italy, these competences are included in the DM N. 254/2012, which transforms the European Recommendation into a national norm and the relevance of the theme of competence is shown by the introduction in Italy since 2015 of the Competence Evaluation Form in the attempt to harmonize transmission and evaluation of competences on the whole national territory (Butera et *al.* 2002).

1.4 Literature Review on Competence-based Education

Recently, many disciplines such as cognitive psychology, pedagogy and sociology pledged remarkable attention to the identification of the best practices to move towards more competence-based education (Arguelles & Gonczi, 2000, Maccario 2006, Pellerey 2010, Castoldi 2011, Maccario 2012, Guasti 2012, Melchiorri 2012). The transition from content-based to competence-based education is recommended by the European Union[46]

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[46] The main European documents about competences are (in chronological order): a) Recommendations of the European Parliament and of the Council of 18 December 2006 on key

and fully supported by the Italian national legislation[47]. The pedagogic transition from content-based to competence-based education is mainly supported by the idea that it could enrich the path of growth of each student, stimulate more participation and experiential didactics and expand the potential of individuals in society (Pellerey 2010). However, this transition cannot take place without a deep comprehension of the transmission and evaluation of competences. This fact is confirmed by the growing interest in the theme of competences evaluation (Bordignon 2006, Baartman et *al.* 2007, La Marca 2009, Trinchero 2012) both in the first[48] and in the second study cycle. The main focus of this attention goes to the implementation of a national parameter for competences evaluation[49]. Nonetheless, the complexity of the theme of competence still characterizes most attempts to create order within the subject.

Hoogveld et *al.* qualify stepping into competence-based education as "the difficult task to translate abstract new curriculum principles into a meaningful sequence of authentic learning tasks" (Hoogveld et *al.* 2005, pp. 288). Rychen and Salganik (2003) underline how the concept of competence assumes different themes depending on the context where it is used. In economics, for instance, it is associated with new working forms and new labor organizations.

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competences for lifelong learning; b) Communication from the Commission to the European Parliament, the Council, the European Economic and Social Committee and the Committee of the Regions of 3 July 2008 – Improving competences for the 21st Century: an Agenda for European Cooperation on Schools; c) Towards Social Investment for Growth and Cohesion – including implementing the European Social Fund 2014-2020; e) Council conclusions on increasing the level of basic skills in the context of European cooperation on schools for the 21st century (2010/C 323/04).

[47] In Italy, norms about competences are included in the following: a) Decreto Ministeriale N. 139 22 August 2007 about compulsory schooling; b) Decreto Ministeriale N. 254 16 November 2012 about educational objectives and first school cycle competences; c) C.M. 3 del 13 February 2015 (attachment of Decreto Ministeriale N. 254 16 November 2012) about evaluation of competences at the end of the first school cycle; d) Decreto Legislativo 13 April 2017, n. 62 on competence evaluation and certification.

[48] In Italy, the first study cycle is articulated into two consecutive cycles: 1) Primary School, mandatory for all Italian and foreign children who turn six years old within 31 December of each year (enrolling is elective for those who turn six years old within April 30th of the following year). It lasts five years. 2) First Grade Secondary School, mandatory for all Italian and foreign children who concluded Primary School. It lasts three years.
(Source: Miur: http://www.istruzione.it/urp/ordinamento_scolastico.shtml)

[49] Last, the "Practical competence evaluation form", experimentally introduced from September 2015.

The concept of competence is particularly relevant in professional studies. In this regard, Eraut divides the way in which authors treat the concept of competence. On one hand, authors treat competence as "a socially situated concept" (Eraut 1998, p. 127) which can be identified with the ability to perform tasks and roles to the expected standards. In this scenario, the precise meaning of what a competence is has to be negotiated by stakeholders in a macro or micro political context. On the other hand, authors also consider competence as being individually situated, a personal capability or characteristic.

In education, competence is often associated with the professionalizing aspect of teaching and with educational reforms that point to social renovation (Rychen & Salganik 2003). Among the most accepted definitions, Pellerey (2004) describes competence as the capacity to face a task or a group of tasks, managing to activate and orchestrate one's inner cognitive, affective, willing resources and using external resources in a coherent and fruitful way. Le Boterf defines competence as the passage from know what to know how (Le Boterf 2008). This author focuses on three dimensions of competences: ability, willingness and capacity. Castoldi (2011) conceptualizes competences as a process that moves from simple to complex, from the inside to the outside, from abstract to situated. In this perspective, knowledge is considered content, while competences are a modality of learning (therefore of teaching) where content does not embody the final goal of education. Perrenoud (2003) defines the challenges of competence-based education as the capacity to consider knowledge as a resource to mobilize, to work through problem-solving processes and to move toward a less disciplinary closure.

The success of the competence-based education relies mainly on the change in teachers' function. Transmission and evaluation of competences are complex processes (Melchiori 2012) that require specific pedagogic knowledge first from teachers (Castoldi 2011). Moreover, the process of activating a competence-based education for transverse competences is very specific and requires special attention (Bortolon & Pinto 2006, Di Nuovo & Magnano 2013). In this scenario, teachers must shift their role from the classic knowledge transmitter (Hoogveld et *al.* 2005) and embrace a role as coach of vision (Kerr 1996, Pratt 1998, Enkenberg 2001, Samuelowicz 2001) and an instructional designer approach (Tennyson 2001). Serdenciuc (2013) formally divides the two didactics patterns into content-based education and competence-based education. The first focuses on

cognitive abilities and the acquisition of knowledge, the second on providing individuals with key competences necessary to actively take part into social life.

Many scientific contributions depict different kinds of overall frameworks designed to help teachers in the transition toward competence-based education, especially transmission and evaluation of competence (Gulikers et *al.* 2003, Griffin 2007). The definition of competence-based education is as complex as its didactics. As Benadusi writes, "there is not one competence-based didactic approach, rather a plurality of innovative dispositive focusing each time on one of its varied connotations" (Benadusi 2018, p. 116). The plurality of connections, interpretations and practices make competence-based education a flourishing domain of studies. A similar situation can be identified when describing one specific aspect of competence-based education, namely social competences.

1.5 Literature Review on Social Competences

Literature on social competence present specific characteristics. As for the research here carried out, some of the most relevant definitions of social competences will be exposed. Studies on social competences become very popular during the Seventies. Social competence, as analytical tool, is still implied today.

The definition of the concept of social competence starts and descends from the one of social skills. Hargie defined social skills as "the process whereby the individual implements a set of goal-directed, interrelated, situationally appropriate social behaviors which are learned and controlled" (Hargie 1986, p. 12).

When reviewing and reformulating the concept of social skill, McFall is one of the first scholars to divide the concept of social skill from the one of social competence (McFall 1982). By individuating the most common ways in which social skills are represented in models (as a trait or as a behavior), the author considers this division inadequate and finds in social competences a more appropriate descriptive tool. Social competences encompass the division between trait and behaviors and manage therefore to include both. In defining social competences, Greenspan identified three behavioral components: temperament, character, and social awareness (Greenspan 1981), all three considered as equally important for successful social outcomes.

Departing from some of the most well-know definition of social competence, Yeates and Selman explore the promotion of **problem**-solving skills in school-age children (Yates & Selman 1989). The authors note how this promotion has been not fully successful in improving social adjustment, stressing the fact that this situation is mainly due to the inadequacies of most current models of social competence in relation to cognition. Thus, the authors develop a specific model which takes into account all the previous factors. The model called *interpersonal negotiation strategies* (INS) integrates "functional (information-processing) and structural (cognitive-developmental) approaches, specifies a linkage between social cognition and action within a particular domain of social interaction, and provides for developmental, individual, and contextual variations in the expression of behavior in that domain" (Yates & Selman 1989, p. 64). By recognizing the complexity and the necessity to situate social competences in learning environments, the study by Yates and Selman represents one of the first examples of holistic and learning based approaches to social competence education.

In a similar direction, Wentzel studies social competence in school by underling the linkage between **social responsibility and academic achievement** (Wentzel 1991a). The author exposes how both theoretical and empirical work suggest that student social "can be instrumental in the acquisition of knowledge and the development of cognitive abilities" (ibid., p.1) . In this context, an overlap between the concept of social competence and the one of social responsibility is designed, in a scenario where "social responsibility is defined as adherence to social rules and role expectation" (ibid., p.2), considering social responsibility one of the main goals of education and social responsibility and learning as interdependent factors. To the same extent, Wentzel also studies the relation between social competence and academic achievement in adolescence (Wentzel 1991b). In this study, social competence is studied as a composition of three factors: social responsibility, self-regulation and peer relations.

Given the complexity of the theme and the many definitions and areas it touches on, through a systematic review Rose-Krasnor difined **social competence** "effectiveness in social interaction" (Rose-Krasnor 1997, p. 111) where effectiveness is considered both from self and other perspectives. Transcending the empirical research context and looking at practical environments in which social competences occurs, it is viewed as: an organizing, context-dependent construct with goal-specific characteristics. In this

direction, approaches to operational definition of social competences are social skills, sociometric status, relationships, and functional outcomes.

More recent studies connect social competence to emotional regulation. To this extent, Denham et al describe preschool emotional competence as the pathway to future social competence (Denham et al. 2003). In their study, the influence of emotional expressiveness, emotion regulation, and emotion on social competence is studies finding a positive correlation. As for social competence, in the study it is defined as "effectiveness in interaction, the result of organized behaviors that meet short- and long-term developmental need" (ibid., p. 238).

As discussed, recent studies mainly of psychological matrix regarding social competences moved toward considering emotional capacity in shaping social competence performance. At the same time, with the introduction of concepts such as social competences in education, sociological interest over social competence pledged remarkable attention curriculum design which implement this type of competence.

Ten Dam and Volman draw a parallel between social competence and the new role of educational institutions, among which the moral task of education seems to be of predominant relevance (Tem Dam & Volman 2003). In their work, scholars focus on "one aspect of students' development as a task of the school, namely, the furthering of students' social competence" (ibid., p. 117). By analyzing projects aiming at enhancing social competences in general secondary school and in prevocational school, researchers found different ways in which social competences are considered. Results show that in general secondary education, social competence goes in the direction of what the authors define as "art of living" (ibid., p. 132), which has to do with the contribution that every individual can make as for changing society for the better. On the other hand, prevocational project considered social competences as "life jacket" (ibid., p. 134), providing students with aspects of social competence which they did not learn at home, i.e. self-confidence, communication skills, etc. Authors interpret the results in terms of reproduction of social inequality. In a more recent paper Ten Dam and Volman operate the essential division of social competence as "competences for adulthood" and "competences for citizenship" (Ten Dam & Volman 2007, p. 293).

Concerning the sociological relevance of the theme of social competences, Hoskins (2013) underlines an important aspect of social competences. In the process of defining

social competences in an educational setting, this author stresses the critical and problematic aspect of social competences in intercultural environments. From this perspective, social competences are always the product of a specific cultural environment; therefore, institutions providing them must declare the cultural content of the social competences they offer to their students. This framework descends from the assumption that social and civic competences are never neutral. In fact, they are specifically oriented according to the political and ideological beliefs of the institution offering them (Hoskins 2013, p. 27). When accepting this perspective, what follows is a discussion about the specific ethical and political content of social competences. Considering the Italian situation, the lack of clarity regarding the modality of social inclusion makes the content of socio-relational competences particularly prone to individual interpretations.

The official Italian position regarding cultural integration cannot be described as multicultural nor as assimilationist. In this context, it becomes relevant to understand how social competences can be analyzed as a collective good or instead on the political-ideological perspective of each individual teacher. As for empirical research, this aspect of social competences can have a relevant impact and must be taken into consideration, especially during the process of operationalization.

Always in the sphere of social relevance, when analyzing the process that led to a skills revolution, Hayward and Fernandez illustrate some characteristics of the phenomena in England through historical reconstruction. In their research, they underline how this process was mainly stimulated by a need to respond to the growing unemployment rates, and the urgency to augment the positive intersection between educational offers and labor market requests (Hayward & Fernandez 2004). In this scenario, it is important to explore the relationship between a competence-based didactic and the purely utilitarian vision of education that would identify in avoiding unemployment the main role of educational institutions. Keeping the eye on social competences can be useful in preventing public education from becoming a mere employment warrantor.

1.6 Research Questions and Hypothesis: initial Formulation

Up to this point, the discussion focused on the main components that give structure to the research design, on the macro objective of the study and on the features that qualify social competences as a complex tool. This overview of the research components can help in bringing some clarity and attempts to place the research questions in their original complex context. Now, it is important now to return to the hypothesis depicted by Mangez et al. (2016), reformulated in the theoretical Chapter of this work. The hypothesis was reformulated as follows:

> Contemporary normative indeterminacy contributes to the growing complexity and diversity of the experience of *education for society*, which increasingly imposes on young people and their teachers the burden of reducing and reordering the excess of possibilities (and the lack of certainties) they confront.

The experience of *education for society* becomes complex and diverse. In this scenario, teachers (along with students) face the burden of reducing and reordering an excess of confusion and lack of certainties. This hypothesis was then narrowed in its subject: *education for society, observed through the practical tool of social competences in the way they are conceived by Italian middle school teachers.* The subject was then transformed into three research questions:

a) what are middle school teachers' representations of social competences?
b) How do middle school teachers represent social competences transmission?
c) How do middle school teachers represent social competences evaluation?

Given the different aspects of complexity mentioned before regarding competences and social competences and starting by the hypothesis offered by Mangez et al., a narrower hypothesis can be formulated that specifically corresponds to the previously identified research questions:

a) middle school teachers' representations of social competences present a character of qualitative significant variation among teachers;

b) the implementation/transmission aspect depends on the representation of social competences transmitted by the single teacher and therefore varies significantly;

c) the processes of evaluation depend on the teachers' representations and present significant variability.

The character of "qualitative significant variation" and "significant variation" presented in the contextual hypothesis point to the hypothesis of Mangez et al., more precisely to the concept of "growing complexity and diversity of the experience of socialization" (Mangez et al. 2016). The growing complexity leads to the hypothesis that, within this domain, practitioners' visions differ significantly. These differentiations depend on the selection and interpretation teachers enact in order to reduce and reorder "the excess of possibilities -- the lack of certainties" (ibid.) they are faced with on an individual level. This process of reduction and selection, since it is not operated at a systemic/institutional level, becomes an individual function. Therefore, social competence as an instrument of *education for society* becomes a chameleonic tool that freely changes shape and form.

The operational events that determine the change of shape happen mainly in two moments. First, when socialization becomes a function of the educational system. Since socialization is informal by definition (Maccarini 2003), educating for socialization or *educating for society* means transforming the informal quality of socialization into the formal shape of education. This first event has the power to shape *education for society* into something that can resemble socialization but which is not socialization. Second, when teachers operate the instruments dedicated to *education for society*, and by interpreting their content, they unavoidably re-shape them. In terms of this research, it is only in the *second* moment through which the operative instrument of social competences is observed. This means that the process of systemic inclusion of socialization into the educational realm is not part of this analysis. What is observed instead is the process through which teachers give meaning to social competences and include them into their teaching practices. This second event of re-shaping of socialization into the education is relevant when understanding how individuals interpret and shape their visions and their declared

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behaviors in situations characterized by a very clear scenario of cognitive (not normative) expectations. Studying social competences in this sense means also studying an individual's way of shaping normative and value-rich instances when faced with a cognitively driven system.

1.7 White Flight Theory: Hypothesis Remodeling

The supposed qualitative and significant variation of representations and practices this project investigates is put into dialogue with one very well-known sociological phenomena which characterizes educational systems. The phenomena of the *white flight* has been one of great interest in sociology of education, defined by Palmas as "*la fuga degli autoctoni dalle scuole etnicizzate*" (Palmas 2005, p. 512). The reason why this theory is relevant in this specific research is because there might be a relation between the teaching of social competences and the white flight phenomena. This situation could be produced by four main factors. Factor 1: the broadness/blurriness of the content of social competences as expected by the EU 2006 Recommendation and as implemented in the Italian legislation. This aspect is directly related to the growth of cognitive expectations into educational systems and the diminished role of norms and values. Factor 2: teachers, facing the "burden of reducing and ordering the excess of possibilities (and the lack of certainties)" (Mangez et al. 2016), constantly negotiate the knowledge and the content on which they base their teachings. In the case of social competences, by being transverse and broad, this knowledge might appear even more complex to grasp. Factor 3: in this scenario, teachers might adapt the content they base their teachings on to the school/classroom environment they are faced with. This factor, which has to do a lot with the character of contingency that competence-based education can have, and can produce a perverse scenario when attached to the concept of *education for society*. In fact, when a didactic approach is based on the *mélange* between knowledge and a contextual experience, once the knowledge is not solid the contextual experience might prevail. In a scenario of cognitive expectations and with a diminished role of norms and values, social competence might find its main source of legitimacy in the contextual characteristics of the school or classroom. Factor 4: this scenario would create a situation in which social competences are described, transmitted and evaluated differently depending on the type of students

schools are able to attract. In this sense, with no normative anchoring, social competence become the transmission and evaluation of the competences that refer to one social world or group. If this hypothesis is true, *education for society* becomes an education for one specific type of society whose traits are always negotiated within itself.

As for the theory, the recent study *White Flight a Milano. La Segregazione Sociale ed Etnica nelle Scuole dell'Obbligo* (Pacci & Ranci 2017) investigates the white flight phenomena in the city of Milan. In this work, the researchers explore the theme of the white flight in the city of Milan. By considering Milan as a multiethnic city, the authors describe the phenomena of white flight there as peculiar. The phenomenon is considered as a conjunction of two main factors. 1) On one hand, school segregation, described as the constitution of homogeneous groups in schools based on social, cultural and territorial affinity (Pacchi & Ranci 2017). Furthermore, in Milan, school segregation is created by two sources: a) the abolition of the compulsory school choice which was based on the school turnout area; and b) the implementation of school autonomy. The combination of these two elements creates a situation where schools compete with each other and each family's material and cultural resources creates the situation of affinity among the students of one school. 2) Territorial segregation is the second element that characterizes the phenomena of white flight in Milan. Territorial segregation refers to the high degree of density of individuals with kindred social and cultural characteristics living in one specific area. As for territorial segregation, Milan presents a double sword: the most relevant spatial inequalities are registered in the difference between the center and the suburbs. Nonetheless, suburbs also register relevant differences in disadvantaged areas and poorer families densify in specific spots. One interesting point is that foreign presence does not necessarily overlap with the most disadvantaged areas. Pacchi and Ranci refer to the city as a city-mosaic (ibid., p. 16), referring to the specific type of spread of foreign distribution in Milan. This recent work, carried out by the Politecnico University of Milan, made Milan itself into a preferential territory in which to study the connection between education for society and the white flight phenomena. In light of this discussion, the previously exposed hypothesis can be reformulated as follows:

a) middle school teachers' representations of social competences present a character of qualitative significant variation among teachers and between city areas;

b) the implementation/transmission aspect depends on the representation the single teacher has of social competences and therefore it varies significantly among teachers ad between city areas;

c) the processes of evaluation depend on the teachers' representations and present significant variability among teachers and between city areas.

2. Methodology

2.1 Introduction

The most valuable methodology needed to verify the hypothesis descending from the research questions of this project was identified based on three main points: 1) the need to harmoniously combine theory and research practice; 2) the need to address the research question with the methodology that would provide with the most insightful data; 3) the need for actual available resources, time and full-time researchers to conduct the research. The research design was ready in September 2016.

Before choosing the specific technique, a survey of the possibilities was made. Being interested in social constructions and representations, qualitative methodologies were taken into consideration. Both macro approaches and more detailed methodologies were considered. General phenomenological frameworks (Ferguson 2006, Smart 2013), Grounded Theory (Glaser & Strauss 1967, Strauss & Corbin 1990, 1997), ethnographic analysis (Clifford & Marcuse 1986, Willis & Trondman 2000, Mack & Kahn 2018), vignette research (Barter & Renold 1999, Marradi 2005, Spalding & Phillips 2007) and focus group techniques (Kitzinger 1995, Barbour & Kitzinger 1998) are the most relevant fields that were explored. All of these possibilities were found to be very insightful but, at the same time, they would leave some questions unresolved. Since this project focuses on sociology of education, educational research methods that are often applied in sociology were also taken into consideration. Out of this exploration, phenomenography appeared as a potentially efficient tool. Because of its peculiar characteristics, phenomenographic

methodology was subsequently explored as a possible, effective method to understand teachers' representations of social competences.

This choice is also based on some considerations offered by the work *What is qualitative in qualitative research* (Aspers & Corte 2019). In the paper, the authors stress some specific characteristics which are requirements for defining qualitative research. More precisely, the authors point out how qualitative research can be fully productive when new distinctions are made and when these distinctions improves the understanding of what is researched (ibid., p. 155). Qualitative research can be fully informative and can deepen the comprehension of specific phenomena when: a) it creates new distinctions, b) the distinctions are proposed following a specific and explicit process, c) the process involves a closeness to the field of study, d) the results create, in the end, an improved understanding of a phenomena. Following this description, one fundamental feature of qualitative research is the creation of relevant distinctions starting from empirical material. In this sense, phenomenography as e research method follows the aforementioned logic.

One interesting contribution on phenomenography is by Sappa and Aprea (2014). In the paper, researchers analyze: a) if and how school/work continuity and discontinuity is affected by individuals' conceptions of transferable competences; b) individuals' conceptions of vocational teaching/learning. Besides the specific results of the contribution, Sappa and Aprea trace a very insightful overview of the phenomenographic methodology. More specifically and from a sociological perspective, they identify the main differences between phenomenography and other common sociological methodologies. By considering phenomenography a methodology that analyzes content and subjective perceptions, the authors list its main characteristics. Phenomenography is described as a research practice attempting to: "a) catch the general sense of the different ways in which specific phenomena are perceived by a group of individuals (conceptions); b) identify in an analytical way the aspects of variation between conceptions (structural factors); and c) hierarchically order conceptions through an inclusive process and based on the structural factors of variation that were identified" (Sappa & Aprea 2014, p. 170). As the authors themselves point out, these characteristics were first mentioned by the researchers who started this kind of research tradition. Phenomenography was born in Sweden during the Seventies; from that point, this methodology has proved to be an

efficient tool used to understand individuals' conceptions of specific phenomena. Different research fields such as pedagogy, curricular studies, professional studies and sociology of education are therefore looking at phenomenography as a valuable and practical research instrument.

2.2 Phenomenography as Research Domain

To become familiar with the representations of the social actors taken into consideration, the research project uses the qualitative methodology to emphasize the subjective point of view (Flick 2007). In particular, it was decided to use the phenomenological methodology. The reasons for this choice are mainly two. On the one hand, this methodology is particularly efficient in educational contexts and in all contexts where the individuals considered have received common training or perform similar roles -- for example in educational, nursing or generally professional contexts, (Bawden & Walsh 2000). On the other hand, the very characteristics of this methodology seem to lead to results that may help provide answers to the research questions previously outlined.

In the classic article "Phenomenography – Describing conceptions of the world around us", Marton aims at putting forward research that can find and systematize the ways in which individuals interpret different aspects of reality (Marton 1981). Phenomenography is primarily a research structure designed in order to respond to educational needs. It is based on the assumption that every concept that is transmitted through education it is not transmitted into an "empty cup". The learner has his or her own conceptions of the world. In this perspective, educating cannot coincide with the act of filling a cup. Rather, educating resembles more the action of changing the content of a cup. In order to do so, it is essential to know what the current content of the cup is. Assuming the cup is empty, education is understood as pouring into it one discipline's specific, authorized conception (Marton 1981, p. 185).

A different way of understanding education is to recognize it as a process of conceptual variation, from the conception before the educational event to the conception after the educational event. All phenomenographic theory is based on the assumption that education is always a dialogue that attempts to vary the individual's non-authorized

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conception into an authorized (hopefully scientifically-based) conception. This dialogic quality makes individuals' conception highly relevant in order for education to happen; if the act of educating corresponds to the act of varying conceptions it becomes essential to understand individuals' conceptions first. This setting, taking into account very basic characteristics of human functioning, becomes an interesting way of looking at the way in which individuals understand and conceive things, beyond the educational act. Sjostrom and Dahlgren assert that "Phenomenography is not a research method but rather a set of assumptions about humans, about science and about how we can acquire knowledge about other people's ways of experiencing the world" (Sjostrom & Dahlgren 2002, p. 339). Marton describes this approach in an even broader way as a "description of thinking" (Marton 1981, pp. 198) and Marton and Booth refer to phenomenography as a way for structures of awareness to emerge (Marton & Booth 1997).

Phenomenography consists in the act of mapping the different ways in which individuals conceive the same *thing*. This vision is based on what is called second-order perspective. As Marton writes, "In the first (…) we orient ourselves towards the world and make statement about it. In the second we orient ourselves towards people's ideas about the world" (ibid., pp. 178). This differentiation is not metaphysical nor does it question the existence of reality. Rather, it admits the fact that individuals experience reality differently and that the only way to understand the way in which individuals experience reality is to systematically study it. For example, it is not possible to understand the way people conceive gravity by studying gravity or people in general. At the same time, studying individuals' conception of gravity does not imply gravity does not exist. Using phenomenography and being interested in second-order perspective means knowing that the individual's understanding of things might differ from the scientific, authorized conception of things. This aspect is very relevant in education, since it allows for more efficient variation in conceptions. Also, this aspect is interesting from a broader social science perspective.

Phenomenography claims there is a limited number of qualitative different ways in which people understand the same phenomena. This "collective intellectual" (ibid., pp. 198) is described by Marton as "a superindividual system of forms of thought" (ibid.). From a theoretical perspective, Popper (1972) assumes the existence of three worlds: the first world or the world of physical states; the second world or the world of consciousness;

and the third world or the world of objective contents of thought which evolve or decline in an evolutionary way. Nonetheless, phenomenography files all of these worlds into first-order perspective. Phenomenography regards more the distance between Popper's third world and the individual's understanding of the world. At the same time, Popper's intuition and its evolutionary essence can be kept as a basis that support phenomenography in its pragmatic program. Marton (ibid., p. 197) identifies this aspect with Liedman's (1977) description of "the ideological function of science".

The existence of a "limited number of qualitative different ways in which e phenomena is comprehended" (Marton 1986, pp. 37) by groups of individuals is the aspects that gives structure to this research method and which constitutes the collective intellectual. Researchers trust phenomenography because empirical research shows that individuals might show different comprehensions of the same thing but these comprehensions can always be organized into a limited number of qualitative different ways in which people conceive the phenomena (Marton 1975, Säljö 1975, Marton & Säljö 1976, Johansson 1985). This means there is a consistency, a sovra-structure which, if identified, can illuminate the visions of a specific object or phenomena.

As for educational research, this can justify differences in learning outcomes. In other social sciences, it can facilitate understanding conceptions, resistances and ways of coping and can describe the shape of the collective intellectual in a group of individuals. Marton (1986, pp. 37) identifies three different research areas that are of interest to phenomenographic research: 1) general learning processes, 2) educational content-oriented studies, and 3) "pure" (ibid., pp. 38) phenomenography "interested in describing how people conceive various aspects of their reality" (ibid.). By investigating teachers' conceptions of social competences, this research places itself in between points two and three. In fact, the objective of this research is to understand the educational content (as being the *content of a competence*) among a very specific social group, namely middle school teachers in Milan.

2.3 Phenomenography and Phenomenology: Approaches and Practices

Phenomenography has traditionally been used in different research fields from pedagogy to sociology. As for the sociological relevance of phenomenography, very often

this research tradition is in dialogue with a more common sociological framework: phenomenology. Literature shows a rather complex relationship between phenomenology and phenomenography (Hasselgren & Beach 1997). Phenomenology is one of the most common sociological approaches of the last century, deeply orienting researchers in many different research contexts (Costa et al. 2002). Edmund Husserl is recognized as the first scholar to formalize phenomenology in 1936. Through his work, Husserl gave voice to the crisis of optimistic epistemological positivism which appears as the most common sociological overview in Europe at the beginning of the Twentieth century. Husserl postulates that life explains science, not the other way around. This very basic concept orients the focus of his production on what he defines as *lifeworld* (Lebenswelt). Husserl's lifeworld is composed of family certainties, associations and cultural traits. The union of these aspects of human experience provides motivation to personal human behaviors.

In this theoretical framework, *representations* are individuals' elaborations of specific aspects of reality. Sociologically, this tradition was developed by Alfred Schütz. Both authors assume that the lifeworld pre-exists the scientific world, with science presuming the existence of lifeworld itself. One important aspect of phenomenology in sociology is expanded by Schütz when underlining differences between social and physical sciences: the first deals with non-animated objects, the second not only with animated ones but, furthermore, with objects that attribute meaning to themselves (Schütz 1967). In these terms, social scientists can have access only to representations. Representations are, in essence, pre-selected and pre-interpreted bits of reality (Ghivigliano 2006). By inheriting Weber's tradition, Schütz calls these representations *first degree constructions* or *ideal types*. From this perspective, social scientists' data are *second degree constructions* (Schütz 1967) since they are constructions of constructions. In order to underline the individual content of ideal types, Schütz and Luckmann also describes them as *finite provinces of meaning* (Schütz & Luckmann 1973), suggesting when the ontological structure of an event changes, the meanings that the individuals attribute to it changes as well.

This anchorage to some of the main concepts that qualify phenomenology in sociology provides the essential information to connect phenomenology and phenomenography. Literature often underlines how, despite many similarities, the phenomenographic approach never stated itself as directly descending from

phenomenology. Nonetheless, literature demonstrates how a lack of formalization can be found in univocally defining a clear epistemological approach of phenomenography (Webb, 1997). Even so, what appears clear is the main distance between the two approaches: the difference between first and second order perspective is not part of the phenomenological approach. This means, despite focusing on individuals' representations, phenomenology aims to describe the phenomena itself (first order perspective) and not the diverse conceptions people have of the social fact analyzed (second order perspective).

In these terms, Schütz's *second degree construction* does not coincide with phenomenography's *second order perspective*. The first one points to the fact that social scientists interpret individual's interpretations of reality, in a scenario where representations of reality are the only thing the can be accessed. The second, instead, states that for every object (or phenomena) there is an authorized (hopefully scientific) conception which might be different from people's conception of it.

If compared to phenomenology, phenomenography is less relative-based and more in a dialogue with the Western science based-world. As Marton writes, the hope through this methodology is to "find and systematize forms of thought in terms of which people interpret aspects of reality, aspects which are socially significant and which are at least supposed to be shared by the members of a particular kind of society; namely, our own industrialized Western society (Marton 1981, pp. 180). Therefore, such a research program is not interested in *the object* or *the phenomena* itself. Rather, the main focus is on the way people understand it in relation with an authorized conception. The outcome, therefore, is not a description of the object or the phenomena but a description of the way in which people understand the phenomena. As Marton puts it, "by investigating political power, for instance, the phenomenologist would aim at learning about political power … [the phenomenographer] would aim at learning about people's experience of political power" (Marton 1981, p. 180). In other terms "phenomenographers do not make statements about the world as such, but about people's conceptions of the world" (Marton 1986, p. 32).

Common ground between phenomenology and phenomenography is found in the intersection between the methodological tool of *category of description*, essential in phenomenography, and the concept of *representation*, one of the most commonly used in

interpretative sociology. Representations in sociology are first introduced by Durkheim when discussing the difference between individual and collective representations in the essay *Représentations Individuelles et Représentations Collectives* (1898). From that point on, the concept of representation has changed his content broadly. In Durkheimian terms, collective representations are entities that transcend the individual and belong to a wider force, namely society, that has the static power to shape, assimilate or reject different kinds of representations. Social representations are made up of all the intellectual forms that compose sociality -- from religion to moral and science -- and are the main interest of sociological studies. A more recent definition of the term is attributed to Moscovici and fully formalized in the essay *Notes Towards a Description of Social Representations* (1988). This scholar, working with a social-psychology framework, describes social representations as the elaboration that a group or a community provides itself regarding a specific social object in order to behave and communicate in a comprehensible way (Moscovici 1988). The concept of *social representation* differs from the concept of *collective representations* in two relevant aspects: specificity, in the sense that social representations embody how f a specific social group represents a phenomenon; and flexibility, meaning that social representations are not static as was supposed in Durkheimian terms (Palmonari et al., 2002). On the contrary, they are fluid and can be formed and exchanged quite rapidly. In this scenario, social representations are not opinions or attitudes, but rather branches of knowledge used by individuals to organize reality (Galli 2006). Formulated in these terms, the theory of social representation has influenced many scholars in the fields of sociology and social psychology (Jodelet 2015). For instance, Jodelet fully operates through this theoretical tool to understand representations of madness and illness in contemporary France (Jodelet 1991, Jodelet & Moscovici 1992).

When analyzing the content of social representations, the disciplinary boundary between sociology and social psychology is rather elastic. In the essay *Social Representations: The Beautiful Invention* (Jodelet 2008), while describing the different ways in which scholars used the theory of social representations, Jodelet highlights something else of note. The scholar illustrates how a specific differentiation between sociology and social psychology cannot be adopted when looking at social representations (Jodelet, 2008, p. 413). In fact, when using this theoretical tool, researchers from every field must take into consideration the cultural aspect that social representations have (Jodelet 2002, p. 112). Through the

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lens of social representations, Herzlich explores different dimensions of health and illness (Herzlich & Moscovici 2005, Herzlich & Adam 2007). In an important essay from 1984, while identifying the relevance of understanding medical contexts through social representations, Herzlich points out how the linkage between social representations and individual conduct must not be seen as linear. This means one representation does not necessarily lead to one specific behavior. In this sense, social representations should not be seen as predictive of behaviors. Instead, social representations should be used in order to "*mettre en évidence le code à partir duquel s'élaborent les significations attachées aux conduites individuelles et collectives*" (Herzlich 1987, p. 75).

From this overview, it is possible to see how the theory of representations has evolved, going from a static way of seeing social knowledge to the contemporary attitude that indicates a broader and more elastic set of characteristics that compose social parameters. From the methodological perspective, Doise (1985) points out what researchers who aim at studying representations must look for. This scholar underlines some characteristics of representations that are very similar to the characteristics of *categories of description* used in phenomenography. The process that Doise outlines follows this structure: a) individuate the common reference field of the social representation (process of *objectivation*); b) point out the different positions that individuals have inside of that field; c) individuate the social relations that are created thanks to individuals' positioning depending on their position (Palmonari et al. 2002). Even though point *c* is not part of the phenomenographic analysis, it is possible to see how the concept of social representations has moved towards both the need of individuating an analytical reference and of describing the positions compared to that reference.

Table 2.2.1 – A Comparison of Methodologies (Hales & Watkins M. 2004)

Subject of comparison	Phenomenograpgy	Grounded Theory	Phenomenology
Object of Study	Understanding of phenomenon by categories of subjects meaning of a person	Understanding of phenomenon by constructing theory that is derived from an iterative description and ordering of phenomenon	Understanding of phenomenon experiencing and reflecting upon the life world of the subjects
Research Question Example	"What are the qualitative different meanings that participants give to the experience of caring for the environment?"	What doe purple understand by the notion "caring for the environment"?	"What are the inner and outer realities that describe what it mena s to care for the environment?"
Data Collection Method	Interviews, texts	Inteviews, texts, journals	Interviews, participant observation, language analysis, texts, literature, etc.
Analytical Tool	Interpretation of sections of texts and whole accounts. *Cut and paste*	Theory driven from data through interplay between the researcher and the data whereby the relational comparison of responses-yield theory of phenomenon. *Coding of actual sections texts*	Empirical analysis of pre-reflexive experiential material and/or reflective interpretation of the aspects of meaning or meaningfulness that are associated with this phenomenon. *Determining essence of experience*
When does the analysis occur	Post data collection (may have follow up data collection to verify and expand meanings)	During and post data collection	During and post data collection
Relationship between data collection, analysis and theory formulation	All three stages are separate but intuitive interpretation can help each stage and some iterations possible	All three stages are "fused", occur simultaneously and iteratively	Variable methods
Rigor	Seeks reliability through systematic reduction of data and external checks — secondar researcher examines categories made by the primary	Seeks reliability through the positivist approach of reducing subject responses using a systematic and reproducible method of interpretation	Seeks reliability by arguing that interpretation of essences are reliable through immersing the reader within the life world of the subject

	researcher	
Generability	Limited to similar populations	Extensive across populations	Limited to the time, situation and the researcher

Table 2.2.2 – A Comparison of Phenomenography, Ethnography and Phenomenography (Watkins N. S. 2013)

	Phenomenoloy	**Ethnography**	**Phenomenography**
Approach	Distinguishes between pre-reflective and hear in reflective action	Distinguishes between pre-reflective and reflective	Does not distinguish between pre-reflective and reflective
Purpose	Describes the essence of a phenomenon using individual experiences which can be used for developing models of human action	Describes a culture by focusing on multiple emic voices which can be used for etic understanding of a culture	Describes variation of a phenomenon (meaning) within a culture (structure) focusing on collective experiences which can be used for competence development
Perspective	First order perspective	Distinction between first order key informants and second order researcher perspective	Second order, non-dualist perspective
Analysis	Inductive to identify invariant meanings and themes of the essence	Inductive to identify patterns, deductive to identify structure and format and comparative to evaluate applicability across cultures	Inductive to identify pools of meaning leading to categories of description
Outcome	Description of the essence of a phenomenon based on individual experiences	Description of a culture interpretation based on individual and personal experiences	Description of a group's understanding of a phenomenon within a structure through the development of an outcome space

2.5 Phenomenographic Research Design

Phenomenography is a research methodology which is comprised of fundamental practical features. As Hasselgren and Beach underline, phenomenography is not just "a brother of phenomenology" (Hasselgren & Beach 1997, p. 200). Its specific character can be detected in the epistemic bases that were discussed before. From those bases descends the practical research methodology that constitutes phenomenography.

Interview is the primary tool of phenomenographic data collection (Marton 1986, p. 42). Transcribed interviews (spoken words transformed into texts) is the type of data that best suites phenomenographic analysis. Through time, phenomenography has been applied to many different sources of data such as drawings (Wenestam 1982, Tamm & Granqvist 1995, Tamm 1996) or web-based material (Price et al. 2007, Prinsloo et al. 2011, Yang & Tsai 2010).

Nonetheless, the most applicable source for phenomenographic analysis are interviews collected with the specific objective of understanding the different conceptions of the specific phenomena (Bruce 1994). The content of the interview therefore must be very narrow and not expanded across any other field of interest beside the one of the research object. Needless to say, it is not possible to constrain respondents' responses in a strict way. At the same time, it is relevant for the researchers applying this methodology that the more structured the material conveyed towards one specific object is, the more specific the analysis (and therefore the results) will be. Collecting the data with the purpose of phenomenographically analyzing them means setting the ground proper data analysis. As for the questions of the interview, they have to be "as open ended as possible in order to let the respondent choose the dimension of the question they want to answer" (Marton 1986, pp. 42). Phenomenographic interviews have specific characteristics, which coincide with the one identified by Kvale (1983, p. 174). The interviews:

1) are centered in the interviewee's lifeworld;
2) seek to understand the meaning of the phenomenon in the interviewee's life-world;
3) are qualitative, descriptive, specific and *presuppositionless*;

4) are focused on certain themes;
5) are open to ambiguities and change;
6) take place in interpersonal interaction;
7) may be a positive experience (for the interviewee!).

As Bruce points out, interviews are not attempts to study mental processes or patterns of the mind (Bruce 1994, pp. 49). In addition to Kvale, Bruce reports some characteristics that are distinctive specifically for phenomenographic inquiry. Some of the most relevant characteristics of the phenomenographic interviews are as follows (ibid.):

1) the aim of the interview is distinctive – meaning there is specific interest in seeking variations in people's experience of a phenomena;
2) the focus of the interview is distinctive – referring to the relation between the interviewee and the phenomena;
3) the role of the interviewer is distinctive – meaning they help the interviewee to thematise their experience. Specifically, the interviewer helps the interviewee to: a) identify what elements of the phenomenon are to be focused upon; b) obtain a description of the phenomenon through examples and comparisons; c) to confront and clarify areas of confusion;
4) the design of the interview is distinctive.

As for the distinctiveness of the design, Säljö (1988) point out how typical ways of proceeding occur either by asking direct questions or having respondents solve or explain some kind of problem. Peculiar to the phenomenographic research is the "what question" which is described as being one of the most useful (Säljö 1979). In order to design an interview structure which elicits reflection on experience and brings out information about how the phenomenon appears to the interviewee, Bruce (1994, p. 52) suggests running pilots before running the final empirical interview.

Once interviews are collected the process of analysis takes place. First, a selection based on criteria of relevance is performed (Marton 1986, p. 42). As Richardson (1999) points out, research procedures are mainly outlined in the first works using this approach (Marton 1986, 1988, 1994, Entwistle & Marton 1994, Marton & Säljö 1984). Utterance

and repetition are the main parameters used to identify the *selected quotes*. Selected quotes are gathered to form a *pool of meanings*. In this process, selected quotes are disjointed from the original interview and treated as pieces of information. For future purposes, it is important to note the possibility, during the process of analysis, to go back to the full interview in order to grasp the significance of quotes. Nonetheless, the pool of meaning can be considered as a collection of all the instances, perceptions, ideas, stands, points of view and understandings that characterize the connection between the interviewee and the phenomena. It is now a data pool that constitutes the main source of attention. The pool of meaning is subsequently treated as a complex disordered unity that has to be reorganized. The reorganization, which happens through the study of utterances and repetition, intersubjective agreement, sorting and resorting, points toward the creation of *categories of description*. Categories of descriptions are therefore labels which indicate a larger group of selected quotes. The arrangement of categories of description around the authorized conception form the *outcome space* (Marton & Dahlgren 1976) which is the final result of the analysis (in non-comparative studies).

Connected with research design is the theme of reliability. Reliability, an issue in social research with no exception for qualitative methods (Morse et al. 2002, Golafshani 2003, Thomas & Magilvy 2001) regards data quality which, in the end, constitutes the main purpose of the research practice. Data quality, among the many variables that influence it, depends highly on sample selection. The ontological-epistemic position of phenomenography were exposed before and the shape of the question that have proved to provide with better data quality (in form of a "what" question or of a problem that elicits an informative response) were presented. Clearly, what remains out of the picture is the selection and the dimensions of the sample. By gathering most of the available knowledge regarding validity and phenomenographic research, Cope elaborates some parameters considered as references in order to grant phenomenographic research reliability (Cope 2004, p. 8-9):

- the researcher's background is acknowledged (Burns 1994);
- the means by which an unbiased sample was chosen is reported;
- the design of interview questions is justified;
- the strategies taken to collect unbiased data are included;

- strategies are used to approach data analysis with an open mind rather than imposing an existing structure;
- the data analysis method is detailed;
- the researcher accounts for the processes used to control and check interpretations made throughout analysis (Sandberg 1997);
- the results are presented in a manner which permits informed scrutiny;
- categories of description are fully described and adequately illustrated with quotes (Booth 1992).

Following this vision, reliability in sample selection mainly depends on the report (Booth 1992): in phenomenographic terms it is not relevant how *big* the group of respondents is. In fact, too many interviews on the same topic would create a redundant situation which could negatively affect the efficiency of the study. What is more appropriate within this framework would be to: a) explicit selection procedures; b) select a group of individuals which are the best respondents to report on the research question expliciting why; c) include in the sample all the potential visions (meaning justify the sample so that it includes possible different horizons over the object of study); d) always take into consideration that the dimensions of the sample affect results: too few individuals might not be enough to create a reliable outcome space. As Cope (2004) underlines, it is essential to remember reliability refers to replicability. Once replicability is granted, all the procedures are stated and justified. However, it should be taken into consideration the fact that phenomenography, by being a qualitative research method, relies on the researcher's (or group of researchers') data elaboration. Therefore, the question whether the replication of a study would produce the same categories is not a question that *makes sense* within the phenomenographic framework. If replicability must be granted, results replicability cannot be taken as a reliability parameter.

The second element that regards reliability refers to data analysis. Analysis reliability has historically been grated through intersubjective agreement (Cope et al. 1997; Johansson, et al. 1985; Trigwell et al. 1994). Besides being a very well-used tool used in qualitative methods to grant validity (Mathinson 1988, Kvale, 1994), Sandberg (1997) raises an interesting point in describing intersubjective agreement processes. The assumption behind intersubjective agreement is that *reality is out there* and researchers have

to find it. However, phenomenography is a process of discovery (Marton 1981). In this sense, discoveries can be made also by individual researchers, as long as they acknowledge and explicitly deal with their "subjectivity throughout the research process instead of overlooking it" (Sandberg 1997, p. 209). To ensure reliability, even if "there is no immersion in the culture by the researcher" (Cope 2004, p. 7) and even if this method consists primarily in a process of description and understanding within the same cultural framework, interpretation processes must be controlled and checked throughout the research process.

2.6 Phenomenography and Variation Theory

As touched on before, phenomenography is a research method that was primarily designed in order to respond to educational needs. Phenomenography as a research strategy is connected with *variation theory* (Marton & Trigwell 2000, Marton 2015). In a sense, the two serve one another: phenomenography nourishes variation theory and applying variation theory is possible through the application of phenomenographic principles to teaching and learning. According to variation theory, "distinctions as to content and function are captured in terms of differences between objects of learning" (Marton 2015, p. 248). This means learning is based on the discernment of content (and/or of function) of an object of learning. Knowing a student's conception of the object of learning is the departure point for learning; further development then proceeds through a distinction between the object of interest and other objects. Variation theory means variation in student's conceptions but also variation in constitutional bases of teaching and learning which in turn lays out a distinction. A full description of the connection between phenomenography and variation theory and on the different implications of variation theory can be found in *Necessary Conditions of Learning* (Marton 2015).

The present work is not the most suitable venue for deeply explaining the pedagogy of variation theory, mainly because a full examine would require strong pedagogical theoretical anchorage. However, in *Necessary Conditions of Learning*, specific general aspects represent an insightful tool used for this analysis. In the text, by underling how pedagogy (as an intentional cultural transmission through generations) is one of the features that makes *humans human* (Marton 2015, see also Premack 1986, Barnett 1973), a distinction is

established between learning as a by-product and learning as an aim. The process of "de-pedagogizing learning" (Marton 2015, p. 11) consists in the trend (which approximately started at the end of the Eighties) of the idea of learning as a by-product. Learning as a by-product refers to a type of learning which takes place during involvement in other activities. In opposition is learning as an aim which is structured learning carried on through a systematic effort. Marton identifies the well-known paper *Situated Cognition and the Culture of Learning* (Brown et al. 1989) as one of the first works in which learning as a by-product, thematised as *practice-based learning*, is considered as a more authentic process of learning. When conceiving learning as a by-product, the systematic effort such as the one performed in school -- in which real life practices are treated as theories to be learned -- is consequently perceived as *less authentic learning*. The de-pedagogization of learning descends from this assumption: the closer the gap between the object of learning and the actual situation in which the object of learning presents itself in real life the better learning outcomes. From this perspective, de-pedagogization does not mean that pedagogy is irrelevant. Practice-based learning, competence-based education and other pedagogical traditions which make situational educational principal still require a pragmatism and a didactic organization: in the end, a pedagogy.

What de-pedagogization means, instead, is the prevalent shift from learning as an aim to learning as a by-product. If we consider learning as an aim as the most salient character that makes humans human (as in Primark 1986, Barnett 1973), the growth of practicing learning as a by-product coincides with a kind of de-pedagogization. When learning as an aim is not considered as an essential instrument, Marton depicts two potential scenarios: a) deschooling society (Illich 1979) which is a rather non-realistic position; b) to keep traditional schooling and reduce the pedagogy oriented towards learning as an aim and instead work mainly with learning as a by-product by "emphasizing its role in connecting people, in creating opportunities for children to learn about nature and society *in situ*" (Marton 2015, p. 12). Marton illustrates some salient positions on this issue when analyzing the Swedish context. Sweden, which broadly implemented practice-based education, experienced a drop in mathematics achievements in national and international comparisons after the Nineties. Hanssons thorough analysis conducted between 1993 and 2013 shows that a decrease in teacher-led learning has been statistically associated with lower achievement in mathematics (Hansson 2011). The

intention, however, is not to assume linearity between punctual statistical educational results and one pedagogical direction. Rather, these results are important since they question the logic and choices that led national and European educational organizations to trust practice and competence-based education more they trust knowledge and content-based education.

In *Necessary Conditions of Learning* Marton also specifically points out a very clear feature of education: "there cannot be any learning without something being learned (Marton 2015, p. 22). The focus is on the object of learning to the point where there can be no learning without an object of learning. In discussing educational objectives which in these terms are the combinations of *act* and *content,* the author stresses that, in regards of skills (or competences), *act* and *content* become more difficult to identify, separate, recognize and in the end, to implement and evaluate. When addressing the issue of competence-based education and more precisely, when trying to define social competences, attention must be paid to the possibility of identifying a content of learning. Assuming there is no learning without an object, what is the content of social competences? This overview brings up questions about the specificity of the role of content in learning which are important also for the research here carried out.

2.7 Phenomenography and System Theory

To both justify the methodology chosen and trace a parallel between methodology and theory, some potentially insightful aspects are presented that connect phenomenography and system theory. Being a methodology which belongs primarily to the field of education, phenomenography is applied only secondly to other domains. Therefore, the relation between phenomenography and system theory has not been thematised or fully discussed by scholars. Nonetheless, it appears fruitful to expand on some of the possible bridges which can connect the two traditions.

In discussing the most influential aspects that constitute Luhmann's legacy, Stehr & Bechmann start from the need to avoid naïve objectivism and question the its significance of what it means in systemic terms to avoid considering society as a pre-scientific given object (Stehr & Bechmann 2002, p. 68). As the authors point out, "the most radical assumption of Luhmann's mature theoretical approach is his emphasis on differences,

more precisely on distinctions that are no longer seen as objective differences but as constructions" (ibid., p. 69). This means with systemic sociology, the focus is no longer on objects. Rather, the focus is on differences. In this sense, the world is "a horizon of possible descriptions" (ibid.) expressed by communication in the form of a network. Distinctions, in the form of labels that constitute the network, are necessarily contingent and can only be understood in context. Labels are points of reference that allow communication and therefore the formation of society, but there is not necessarily a unanimous agreement on the significance of the label. Looking at this matter from a semantic perspective, words or *ensembles* of words indicate material or immaterial elements but they are not the elements themselves. As in every rapport of such indication, specificity necessarily gets lost. If society is communication, as it is conceived in Luhmann's theory and since communication is based on a rapport of indication, every indicator could be conceived differently by individuals.

Vanderstraeten describes systemic communications as a "emergent, three-part unity" (Vanderstraeten 2001, p. 383) made of information, utterance and understanding. In the condition in which communication *is* society, individuals would indicate with the same label things that are qualitatively different, challenging the last feature of communication, namely understanding. If this description might be a potential point that connects phenomenography and communicative models, the aspect of shift from normative to cognitive expectations (Luhmmann 1986) is also enriched if looked at from a phenomenographic perspective. The shift from normative to cognitive expectations coincides with the loss of relevance of norms, values and knowledges in determining social settings cohesion. In knowledge society, if knowledge appears as the essential means of production (Stehr 2012) on the other hand it is treated *cognitively* rather than *normatively*. Definitions, contents and concepts vary depending on the context and on the specific needs of every situation. In this sense, authorized conceptions (Marton 1981), if considered as normative knowledges, lose their orienting role. This vision, rather than a theory, is a hypothesis that can be addressed through this research and, in a sense, is part of the broader hypothesis designed by Mangez et al. (2016). This vision could lead to the analysis of learning processes in cognitive-oriented systems where authorized conceptions seem to be losing their orienting power.

Also, the concept of "second-order observation" puts phenomenography and system theory in a potentially fruitful dialogue (Luhmann 2002). In Luhmann's theory -- as also described by Seidl and Mormann in 2015 -- sociology does not have any political role or responsibility. The role of sociology, instead, is to observe and describe how sociality is constructed. In this sense, "Luhmann's concept of 'second-order observation' points to the need to describe how societal problems are constructed, instead of criticizing specific social structures as repressive, illegitimate, or unjust" (Seidl & Mormann 2015, p. 3). Although little empirical research has been done through system theory (some main contributions are Rennison 2007, Wolf et al. 2010, Besio & Pronzini 2010), there might be a parallel between Luhmann's second-order observation and phenomenographic second order perspective. This similarity does not coincide with the phenomenological concept of second degree constructions. In fact, if the first two point towards a need to understanding how an individual regards objects or phenomena in a communicative sense, the second illuminates the fact that sociological analysis, by being a construction of a construction, is always indirect.

Along with the concept of second-order observation, another feature that could bridge significances between phenomenography and system theory lies in the concept of distinctions. In *Familiarity, Confidence, Trust: Problems and Alternatives* (2000), Luhmann addresses the basis of cognition. Luhmann introduces the concept of distinction in order to prove that there is a difference between trust and confidence and that, in a scenario of cognitive expectations, trust is the widespread ingredient. The movement that goes from confidence to trust follows the line of distinctions between familiar and unfamiliar. The way in which individuals shape their expectations about the world is indirectly linked to the idea of variation. Following this line of reasoning it is not a change in norms and values that orients choices in society, rather a variation in conception of a phenomena which happens through distinction.

2.8 Example of Phenomenographic Studies

After having discussed the general epistemic base and the practical implications of phenomenography, in this paragraph some relevant phenomenographic studies are presented. The relevancy of these studies was determined based on the following

parameters: a) accuracy and consistent explanation of the methodology implied; b) thematic or methodological interest for the present research.

The first study introduced is the one by Smith & McMenemy in which a phenomenographic exploration of young people's political information experiences is carried out (Smith & McMenemy 2016). The main remarkable trait of the study is the specificity through which it is reported. Authors clarify the research question: "In what qualitatively different ways do young people conceive of the sources of information which influence their political opinions and worldviews?" (ibid. p. 1). By using phenomenography, six categories of description are identified. The number of individuals who took part in the study is 23 and this "number of participants exceeds the recommended minimum number to achieve the expected degree of variations of experience among a sample population in a phenomenographic study" (ibid., p. 3), as described by Trigwell (2000).

The work by Smith & McMenemy (2016) is not the only one that investigates ICT through a phenomenographic lens. Some other examples are Mavers et al. (2002), Khan & Markauskaite (2017) and Pearson & Somekh (2003). The authors' mainly insert ICT into the perspective of individuals' experiences and representations. Phenomenography, by collecting the qualitative different ways in which individuals describe phenomena, proved to be an efficient tool in this sense.

Studies relating social groups and environmental issues also showed interest in phenomenography. Hales & Watkins, for instance, study individuals' meanings of environmental responsibility and phenomenography as a potential resource to understand individuals' conceptions. Different conceptions, after all, might restrain different environmental approaches (Hales & Watkins, 2004). Kilinc & Aydin (2009) investigate Turkish student science teachers' conceptions of sustainable development, showing how student teachers had a variety of ideas about sustainable development. The student teachers also showed a relation between gender, context-based issues, informal experiences and some specific categories of description. In the area of environment/society relation, Mann et al. (2007) explores different ways of conceiving sustainable design among 22 sustainable design practitioners, identifying five different categories of description.

To highlight relevant phenomenographic studies that can bring more clarity to the implications of this method, some examples come from the field of nurse research. Phenomenography, in fact, appears as a relevant practical research framework to investigate communities of practices[50] (Eckert 2006). By allowing researchers to have a gold-standard through which to interpret material, represented by the authorized conception, this research provides insightful results to communities of practitioners who share (or ought to share) a common understanding of specific phenomena and the objects they deal with.

Nursing, as a quantitatively relevant example, seems to have the characteristics to be often investigated through this lens. Sjöström & Dahlgren (2002) study possibilities of including phenomenography-based knowledge in their studies, concluding it is a proper way of investigating the nursing profession which can lead to improvements. Willborg (1999) in the attempt to draw attention to a more holistic approach in nursing education, analyses nurses conception of internationalization. Meanwhile Larsson & Holmstrom (2007) conclude that phenomenographic understanding gets to the essence of what it means to be an anaesthesiologist. Pointing towards a nursing education scenario, Bergman et al. (2013) investigate conceptions over anatomy in nurse training programs. Aflague & Ferszt (2010) through phenomenography attempt to include a nurse's conception of psychiatric suicide assessment into the broader psychiatric suicide assessment knowledge base, also providing insightful instruments for practice.

Another community of practice very often investigated by phenomenography is that of teachers (for example Harris 2008, Bell 2016, Cope & Ward 2002, Åkerlind 2003). For the sake of this work, the most relevant studies are ones that consider teachers as respondents and which investigate, in different forms, the concept of competence. Luz &

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[50] Eckert describes communities of practice as follows: "A community of practice is a collection of people who engage on an ongoing basis in some common endeavor. Communities of practice emerge in response to common interest or position, and play an important role in forming their members' participation in, and orientation to, the world around them. It provides an accountable link, therefore, between the individual, the group, and place in the broader social order, and it provides a setting in which linguistic practice emerges as a function of this link" (Eckert, 2006, p. 1). This definition differs from one of the most common definition of communities of practice by Lave & Wenger (1998). The feature that most distinguishes the two definitions is that while the first considers communities of practices as individual's informal membership to a group, the second draws a concrete parallel between communities of practice and situated learning. For the sake of the present research, Eckert's definition is adopted.

Marilyn explore the concept of competence among Filipino pre-service teachers (Luz & Mariylyn 2016). In the study, the authors analyze competence nota as a didactic tool. Here, they look for what pre-service teachers conceive as being the different transversal competences teachers must be equipped with in order to be effective practitioners. The authors describe the following descriptive categories of description as for teachers' competences: "1) to possess desirable characteristics of a teacher; 2) to possess professional readiness to teach; 3) to manifest positive relationship with others; and 4) to respond to environmental and social changes" (ibid., p. 102). In the same direction, Choo Goh explores beginning teachers' conceptions of competence. These conceptions fall into five qualitatively different categories: a) managing classroom and behavior; b) knowing subject matter; c) understanding students; d) reaching out for assistance and support; and e) possessing values of professionalism (Choo Goh 2013, pp. 10).

From a slightly different perspective, Jokikokko (2005) analyses not competence in general but rather conceptions of interculturally trained Finnish teachers regarding diversity and intercultural competence. In the study, three different ways of conceiving intercultural competence are gathered. The author discusses how intercultural competence is seen as: a) *ethical orientation* in which certain morally 'right' ways of being, thinking and acting are emphasized"; b) *efficiency orientation* which focuses on the ability to act and successfully cope with different situations; and c) *pedagogical orientation*, in which "competence is seen as a skill set to guide and encourage different learner" (Jokikokko 2005, p. 79). In the area of competence-based education, Koren et al. (2015) investigate experiences and implementation of CBE (competence-based education) in contemporary higher education. Different stakeholders were taken into consideration: curriculum coordinators, teachers and students at 26 different educational institutions who provide three different types of educational programs (ICT and Media, Management, Teacher Education). This study underlines the still critical character of the implementation of competence-based education (as already highlighted for example by Biemans et al. 2004 and McMullan et al. 2003) in educational systems. Out of all the literature explored, no phenomenographic studies were done specifically on teachers' conceptions of social competences, the main focus of this research.

2.9 Comparison and Phenomenography

As it is true also for this research, phenomenography has been applied in research designs involving comparison. Given its characteristics, this research approach shows reliability in relating conceptions of the same object as described by individuals who differ in specific traits. In comparative phenomenographic studies, the fundamental variable is the sampling procedure. Through the sample, it is possible to delineate the specificities of the respondents and consequently detect differences in conceptions.

In this direction, Webber et al. use the tool of comparison to understand computer literacy and relate data from two different populations of teachers (Webber et al., 2005). Populations differ based on the subject of teaching. Teachers involved in the study were academics in English and Marketing disciplines teaching at British universities. The hypothesis of the study asked if disciplinary differences in conceptions of information literacy exist based on the subject. The analysis that followed supports the hypothesis. The way in which the authors dealt with the comparison was through the following method: 20 interviews with English teachers were analyzed and afterward categories of descriptions were shaped. Separately, 20 interviews with Marketing teachers were analyzed and again, categories of description were illustrated. A conclusive paragraph then re-evaluated he main differences and similarities between the two outcome spaces formed by each category. In essence, given the sampling procedures, the comparison was carried out was through the direct comparison of the two outcome spaces and their components. Therefore, highlighting the differences in categories of description simultaneously constituted the comparison. Sampling procedures are essential in order to validate such a design. For this purpose, the authors described the respondents' details as divided between the characteristics they identified as relevant for the variation of the sample (Webber et al. 2005, pp. 7, *Table 2.2.3*).

Table 2.2.3 - Characteristics of the Marketing and English samples

	Marketing	English
Gender	8 female, 12 male	11 female, 9 male
Ages ranging between	21-30 to 51-60 years	21-30 to 61+ years
Years of teaching ranging between	0-5 to 26-30 years	0-5 to 31+ years
Research quality of Department (RAE rating in 2001 exercise)	2 to 5*	3a to 5*
Teaching quality of Department (score in last subject review)	Satisfactory to Excellent	Satisfactory to Excellent
Type of university	4 post- 1992 and 8 pre-1992 (i.e. 12 different universities)	5 post-1992 and 8 pre-1992 (i.e. 13 different universities)

In the comparison area, Dahlin & Watkins investigate conceptions of repetition in learning among German and Chinese students (Dahlin & Watkins 2000). The sample in this case was composed of 48 Chinese and 18 German secondary school students. The study was based on the fact that literature shows how Eastern students have a tendency to associate both understanding and memorizing as equal parts of learning (Hess & Azuma 1991; Marton, Dall'Alba & Tse 1996). Meanwhile Western learning approaches have a tendency to associate memorizing with surface-learning and understand with deep-learning (Purdie et al. 1996). Results show that once recitation comes in play, Chinese students focused more on the content while German students focused more on the activity of reciting itself (Dahlin & Watkins 2000, p. 65). In this case, the comparison was carried out differently. Initially, 18 interviews from the Chinese group (tot. 48) were randomly selected. Categories of description were structured and based on these 18 Chinese interviews and all the 18 German interviews. Then, the all analysis was expanded to encompass the whole sample (tot. 66), checking for possible adjustments. The authors identified four categories of description and associated each interview with the category that most represented the interview. By doing so, the comparison consisted mainly of the difference of interview distribution between categories (Dahlin & Watkins 2000, pp. 72, *Table 2.2.4*).

Table 2.2.4 – German and HKC participants expressing specific conceptions of the role of repetition (Dahlin & Watkins 2000, pp. 72)

	German	HKC
The value of recitation in later life		
A1 What is recited can be used later	22%	69%
A2 Developing powers of recitation can be useful	72%	6%
The role of repetition		
B1 Repetition helps memorising by creating a deep impression	17%	19%
B2 Repetition alone can lead to new meaning	17%	12%
B3 Repetition plus 'attentive effort' can lead to new meaning	33%	60%
B4 Repetition helps by checking one's understanding	28%	0%

Remaining in the comparative cross-cultural perspective, Wenestam & Wass studied differences in the conceptions of death held by U.S. and Swedish children (Wenestam & Wass 2007). Ten categories of description were identified out of the descriptions provided by the sample (tot. 316). Individuals were then matched with the category that would represent their description to the fullest. Distribution of individuals among categories was therefore illustrated and cross-cultural comparison took place, underlying that the two groups present more similarities than differences in category distribution.

Dahlin & Regmi compared conceptions of existence of knowledge between Swedish and Nepalese first-year university students (Dahlin & Regmi 2000). The sample was comprised of 30 Nepalese students and 16 Swedish students. The way in which comparison was carried out was similar to the study by Dahlin & Watkins (2000). After collecting the interviews, categories of description were shaped. Then, each interview was drawn back to the category that mainly describes the interview itself. A chart of percentages was therefore created. Dahlin & Regmi divided the interviews into the categories and rated each category per frequency for each cultural group. In this way, data analysis was clearly carried out, followed by a discursive data analysis in which current results are put in relation with previous theories (Dahlin & Regmi 2000, p. 54, *Table 2.2.5*).

Table 2.2.5 – Comparison of frequency (%) of interviews for each culture, by categories of conceptions of the mode of existence of knowledge Dahlin & Regmi 2000, p. 54)

	Frequency of interviews (%)	
Category	*Sweden*	*Nepal*
A1	13	0
A2	63	3
A3	6	7
A4	18	90
A4(i)	18	9*
A4(ii)	0	27*
Total	100	100

In this research, sample to sample comparison was also carried out. Practitioners teaching in different city areas constitute the two groups whose conceptions are compared in order to understand education for society in contemporary educational settings. The comparison is based on the current white-flight phenomenon in Milan (Pacci & Ranci 2017).

2.10 Research Tools: "What" Questions and Vignette

The content-related research questions of this project explores the theme of *education for society* and its current teaching and practices. *Education for society* is explored in light of the normative indeterminacy of contemporary educational settings. In order to provide an answer to the specific research questions of this project, middle school teachers in the city of Milan are the population of interest. The main objective of the study is to test a hypothesis that has more to do with formal theory (as studied under Mange et al. 2006) and to test an empirical hypothesis, formulated in light of currently implemented pedagogical practices (CE Reccomendation and Italian Legislation) and sociological empirical results (Pacci & Ranci 2017). In order to gather clear data that would lead to solid results, phenomenography (Marton 1986) is the methodology chosen. As Säljö (1979) describes, phenomenographic research can be enacted through two research paths:

a) "what" question; b) vignette. Both methodologies can be applied in contexts of comparative research.

When designing the research, a decision was made in order to give form to the interview questions. There were two basic problems. On one hand, the "what" question would present teachers immediately with a concept, the concept of social competences. By asking teachers directly about social competences through a "what" question, the risk is that different positions or visions over the theme could be lost and a *new* concept which may or may not be not part of the teachers' world could be introduced. The situation could be solved by applying the vignette methodology. However, in vignette methodology the risk is that teachers do not respond specifically about the phenomena of interest. No matter how well-designed the vignette is, if social competence is not part of the teachers' vocabulary, chances are that teachers, by articulating over the vignette, would not reveal their understanding of social competences. Nonetheless, social competence as a contemporary tool to perceive *education for society* is the used to explore the object of research.

Given this scenario, and after having explored the phenomenographic comparative literature (Webber et al. 2005, Dahlin & Watkins 2000, Dahlin & Regmi 2000, Wenestam & Wass 2007) an interview was implemented that would present individuals with both "what" questions and vignettes.

Three open-ended what questions and one vignette composed the interview. In this way, along with the content-related aspect of the research, another aspect could be developed. Along with the *sample to sample* external comparison, also a *technique to technique* internal comparison could be carried out. The main focus was, as stated before, the investigation of different conceptions of *education for society*. By implementing two diverse interview tools within the same methodological framework the objectives are threefold. First, to pursue the direction of enhancing validity. Second, to provide a broader spectrum on the different definitions of the same object. Third, to expose differences that can emerge in the usage of one instrument or another when responding to the same research question. In this sense, two comparisons were part of the study. The external comparison, which deals with the *sample to sample* comparison and responds to the substantial research questions. In this area, an analysis of data coming from both "what" questions and vignettes was taken into consideration. At the same time, an internal comparison is

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included, in a *technique to technique* vision. This minor aspect of the study can be summarized in this marginal question of the study:

Within the same phenomenographic research design, how does the use of "what" questions compared to the use of vignettes affect results?

The most appropriate hypothesis in this sense seems to be that results collected through the vignette will appear as more generic, loose and blurry if compared to the ones collected through "what" questions. If this seems true, it is not just testimony to the fact that direct questions provide sharper results (which empirical research shows is not always the case). Instead, the results can suggest it is possible for teachers to describe and argue around the phenomena social competences. Also, it is harder for teachers to apply the practice or the notion of social competences to real-life scenarios. Even if the vignette is designed to adhere to the object of study as much as possible and relate strictly to the phenomena of study, different responses can present a situation in which *social competences are easier to describe than to enact*. The quality and the distribution of the results will provide more details in order to expand on this concept.

Therefore, along with the "what" interview questions, vignette technique was implied. Literature shows various descriptions of this tool. In one of the most widely used scenario, vignettes are described as "Short scenarios in written or pictorial form" (Hill 1997, p. 177). Other definitions see these cartoons as "Concrete examples of people and their behaviors on which participants can offer comment or opinion (Hazel 1995, p.2)" and also "Stories about individuals, situations and structures which can make reference to important points in the study of perceptions, beliefs and attitudes" (Hughes 1998, p. 381).

In a sense, it is possible to define the vignettes as useful micro-stories offered to the respondent in order to encourage an answer in the interviewee without necessarily asking a question with explicit aim and therefore limiting sources of inhibitions or bias. Barter and Renold clearly summarize all these positions, defining the cartoons as "a method that can elicit perceptions, opinions, beliefs and attitudes from responses or comments to stories depicting scenarios and situations" (Barter & Renold 1999, p.2). Finch (1987, p.105) describes the vignette used in quantitative research as "a short story about hypothetical characters in specific circumstances". Bruce (1994) in dealing with the

phenomenological interview, stresses that the questions must have a dual form: they must be broad but specific with respect to the phenomenon treated. In order to encourage the respondent, it is also useful to propose problem situations that can stimulate discussion with respect to experiences and attitudes related to the phenomenon -- for example the cartoons. The vignette used in this research leaves open-ended points which require interpretation by the interviewee. In order to make the non-directive vignettes (West 1982) it is important to leave open spaces that stimulate the interviewees to provide their own point of view.

3. Research Design

3.1 Final Research Questions and Hypothesis Based on Methodology implied

Since phenomenography has its own structure and given the differences between phenomenography and other phenomenological methods, the questions of this research are structured as follows:

a) what are middle school teachers' representations of social competences?
b) How do middle school teachers represent social competences transmission?
c) How do middle school teachers represent social competences evaluation?

As discussed before, two areas of hypothesis are identified, one macro and one micro. As for the macro-area, meaning the area referring to formal theory, the hypothesis considered is the one formulated by Mangez et al. (2016). As for the micro-area, meaning the specific hypothesis formulated through the questions directly investigated and previously introduced in this research, it is now re-modeled based on the updated formulation. The final hypothesis are:

a) middle school teachers' conceptions of social competences vary significantly among teachers and vary significantly in the *area to area* comparison;
b) conception of implementation/transmission of social competences vary significantly among teachers and vary significantly in the *area to area* comparison;

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c) conception of evaluation of social competences vary significantly among teachers and vary significantly in the *area to area* comparison.

The objective of this research is understanding *education for society*, observed through the practical tool of social competences and as conceived by Italian middle school teachers. The macro-hypothesis is that contemporary normative indeterminacy imposes on teachers "the burden of reducing and ordering the excess of possibilities (and the lack of certainties)" (Mangez et al. 2016). Normative indeterminacy is explored in terms of variation of conceptions which in phenomenographic terms are gathered in categories of description to create an outcome space. The outcome space, in this sense, is the outlines the different conceptions individuals have over the same phenomena, namely social competences. The scenario of normative indeterminacy asks for individuals' cognitive ability to order and reduce the object social competences, ultimately conceived, implemented and evaluated differently.

The micro-hypothesis also includes the Milan white flight theory (Pacci & Ranci 2017) which describes a relevant degree of homogeneity of socio-cultural traits in school choice. If normative indeterminacy asks individuals to independently order and reduce the object social competences in their context, social competences and their practices could change when the context changes. This flexibility could: a) by depending on teachers' conceptions, grant teachers' independence in choosing best practices based on the context they are faced with. b) By depending on teachers' conceptions, this flexibility could prevent education from being fully egalitarian by providing some students with one kind of education and others with a different kind (each based on a different type of conception). If theoretical research describes the *second* case as generally present in situations of normative indeterminacy, more research should be done on the effect of normative indeterminacy observed in practical educational environments.

3.2 Interviews' Structure

As exposed in the dedicated paragraph, interviewing is the best way to conduct phenomenographic research. Säljö (1979) also describes two ways of conducting phenomenographic interviews which could lead to fruitful results: a) through the "what"

question; and b) through exposing the interviewee to a situation/scenario that elicits a response/reaction. In this research, together with the "what" question, the "how" question was used to understand conceptions and processes that refer to the conception itself. For the sake of this research, both instruments were implemented. Respondents were first asked to respond to three questions, then they were presented with a vignette which they were invited to elaborate on. This method is based on the fact that the dialogue between the two instruments could provide with more in-depth data. If on hand questions proved to be one of the best ways to gather phenomenographic data, adding a vignette allows interviewers to check whether data within the same methodology consistently changes when the tool changes. Both questions and vignettes were presented in Italian, translated here (copy of the actual interview questions as presented to the respondents is in *Apppendix 6 – Inteview guide*).

The questions in the first part are designed in order to let respondents expand on the themes they feel are more connected to the object of research. No other specifications were provided. When teachers went completely blank (meaning when they knew nothing of the object investigated) they were helped by a reference to the EU 2006 Recommendation which helped them relate to the objective. Interviews were fully audio recorded which means that moments of blankness about the concept of social competences was recorded (and therefore transcribed and included in the dataset). No further specific information was provided. The questions that were presented to the respondents were:

- What is your conception of social competences?
- How do you stimulate the process of social competences learning?
- How does the process of evaluation take place?

Besides having a common objective, the vignette presented to the respondents took the opposite standpoint. With vignettes, the story presented took a specific event or shortly but fully described a scenario in order to stimulate a discussion which *reveals* interviewees' visions about an object of interest. The vignette presented in this case was constructed based on the authorized conception of this research (Marton 1981), namely the definition of social competences provided by the 2006 EU Recommendation and fully implemented

in the Italian legislation. Before reading the vignette, teachers were asked to read the following instructions (*Apppendix 8 – Inteview guide*):

> *You will now read a brief description of a situation that happened to a colleague teacher from a middle school (trad. It.: Scuola Secondaria di Primo grado). After the reading, you can express verbally what this event draws you to and how you would react if this event happened in your classroom.*

Then, the following vignette was administered:

> *Samira is 12 years old and she is attending the second year of middle school. She is an outgoing and dedicated girl. Besides some slight difficulties in math and science, her grades are average. Her favorite subject is English. She has very good sport attitudes and won a couple of foot races with the school team. Samira's parents are from Tunisia. Samira's family is composed by her, her mother and father and a younger sister. They have been living in Italy for the last eight years. Samira's class is numerous and sometimes loud. Teachers sometimes have troubles in keeping the class' attention and silence lasts usually very little. Tuesday January 28, Samira comes to school wearing the hijab for the first time. Samira's family is Muslim and, since they are observing religious rules, it is time for the girl to wear the veil. Samira's attire immediately gets noticed by a couple of male schoolmates. Some of them start making fun of her. After a few days of resistance, Samira feels very uncomfortable and does not want to attend school any longer.*

In the cited documents, one in the form of recommendation and the other in the form of national law, social competences are described as being a combination of the following items: personal skills, interpersonal skills, intercultural competences, all forms of behavior that allow people to participate in an effective and constructive way to social life, to working life, to life in increasingly diversified societies and the ability to resolve conflicts where necessary. The vignette was therefore designed to combine all of these elements in a plausible and potentially realistic short story which could provide respondents with all the required elements to argue on the relevant aspects of the story. The aim of the vignette was to provide teachers with enough details to let them elaborate but, at the same time, granting enough freedom in order to let them expand on the features they conceived as more relevant.

After having presented the vignette it might be clearer why both "what questions" and vignettes were used as data collection instruments. On one hand, the definition of social competence underlines three macro areas: a) the personal and interpersonal relations area; b) the intercultural area; and c) the conflict resolution area. These areas, besides being explicit in the definition, might not coincide with teachers' conceptions. Therefore, the interview had to begin with open questions providing no/very little information to the respondents. On the other hand, in order to grasp conceptions, a potential scenario was presented. The combination both allowed to analyze differences not only in terms of conceptions but also in terms of conceptions based on the instrument implied.

In next section, each item of the definition of social competences is related to a specific element of the vignette. The vignette is separated into its basic components. Each component was chosen because it indicates one precise item of the vignette as follows:

- Personal skills: including Samira and the students who are making fun of her considered as individuals.
- Interpersonal skills: includes relations between Samira and the whole class; between the whole class and Samira; between Samira and the group of students who are making fun of Samira; among the group of students who are making fun of Samira.
- Intercultural competences: since the event refers to a specific cultural trait whose expression led to a conflict, the event itself is about *interculture* and intercultural competences. In these terms, dealing with cultural differences means dealing with intercultural competences.
- All forms of behavior that allow people to participate in an effective and constructive way to social life: in the story, different forms of behavior are presented: a) Samira's behavior (individual behavior); b) the behavior of students who are making fun of Samira's behavior (individual and group behavior); and c) the general behavior of the classroom (collective behavior).
- All forms of behavior that allow people to participate in an effective and constructive way to working life: this aspect of the definition is not directly touched on by the vignette. Touching this aspect directly would have meant shifting the

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focus towards the connection between education and employment/working life which did not seem to be the most appropriate method in order for expansive responses on social competences. The intention of the recommendation seems to be as follows: since societies are always more diversified, education has to prepare students to live in culturally and socially diversified working environments. By considering the classroom as a "working environment" and therefore by keeping a very broad conception of the term *work*, the story could also describe a diversified working environment and the emergence of a conflict inside of it.

- All forms of behavior that allow people to participate in an effective and constructive way in increasingly diversified societies: by considering the classroom as a *micro society*, diversity and the way in which an event of conflict regarding a diversity is dealt with is part of the story.

- The ability to resolve conflicts where necessary: this part of the definition points towards conflict resolution skills. The story portrays a situation of conflict and teachers are asked to respond as if it happened in their class.

3.3 Main Social Competences Features

The division of the concept of social competences into its main points serves to illustrate the character of this concept. Some of these items have specific literature references that can be utilized to orient the research and the data analysis. Other items, mainly because of their character of broadness, are not directly linkable to specific references. The items that fall into this category are: *all forms of behavior that allow people to participate in an effective and constructive way to working life*; *all forms of behavior that allow people to participate in an effective and constructive way to social life*; *all forms of behavior that allow people to participate in an effective and constructive way in increasingly diversified societies*. As for the remaining items, some indications are provided in order to anchor them to most relevant literature references.

Item 1: Personal Skills

The vignette focuses the case on one person: Samira. She is the main character of the story and the focus is completely on her even though there are other characters involved. Samira is introduced describing some characteristics that can provide information about her as an individual and about her as a student. The characteristics regard: a) her family background; b) her school subject progresses; c) other activities she engages in at school. These characteristics are provided to the respondents for the following reasons. First, to make the respondent familiar with different characteristics that belong to the main character of the story and, provide the respondent with more information to make connections with their own experience. Second, to exclude other sources of conflict between the girl, the class and the school that are not derived from the main event portrayed in the story. The second point proved to be very relevant. Since the main character was portrayed the way she was, given the specific details, the respondents focused more on the conflictual aspect rather than other reasons for the girl to not want to attend the school any longer. Last, the attempt in providing personal information about the girl is to elicit eventual responses about personal skills that can come through the situation illustrated by the vignette. Providing personal information made it easier for the respondent to consider the person in a closer way and to elaborate on the enhancement of personal skills that can derive from the situation. Besides the case of the main character, Samira, there are other chances for interviewees to expand on personal skills through the vignette. More precisely, it would be more likely that interviewees would address the group of students who are making fun of Samira. Nonetheless, since not many personal elements are provided about them, it is less therefore less likely for respondents to focus on them instead of Samira.

Finding a definition of personal skills in sociological, educational, pedagogical or even psychological literature is not a simple task. The term "personal skills", somehow, appears to be ambiguous. The main researchable domain might be the one of *soft skills*. The difference between hard and soft skills applies mostly to the human resource development agenda. The first are technical skills and involve working with equipment, data, software, etc. while the latter are about *intra-personal skills* such as one's ability to manage oneself as well as *interpersonal skills* such as the ability to handle interactions with others (Laker & Powell 2011). Personal skills apply both to competence based education

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and to soft competences and find their main field of application in the human resources language tradition. Despite this lack of pedagogical, educational and didactical content, it is important to explicit a definition to establish valid parameters in this research. Besides soft skills, *transferable skills* are also one of the closest terms individuated. Transferable skills are defined as the skills "needed in any job and which enable people to participate in a flexible and adaptable workforce" (Bennett 2002, p. 457). Bennet includes personal skills in transferable skills, "such as the ability to work well with others, the ability to organize, self-motivation, communication skills, initiative, creativity, the capacity to solve problems, and leadership" (ibid.). As easily seen, this definition is incoherent when portrayed alongside the UE 2006 Recommendation, both because it overlaps with and exceeds it. Also, it belongs to another environment, again the one of human resources.

The most relevant acknowledged in reference of personal skills to youth and education is the UNICEF *"Life skills" - Definition of Terms* in the online website area[51]. In describing the life skills, personal skills are also called into play. Life skills are defined as "psychosocial abilities for adaptive and positive behavior that enable individuals to deal effectively with the demands and challenges of everyday life." Also, the organization specifies that "life skills are divided in three areas: cognitive skills, personal skills and interpersonal skills. Interestingly here personal skills are defined as "skills for developing personal agency and managing oneself." From a pedagogical and psychological point of view this vision would be richer compared to the one usually employed by human resources theories. Referring to the construction of the self and to emotional development, which are themes that literature can provide many insights about and which are relevant in the development of psychology and pedagogy. Here, the UNICEF definition probably could best serve the purpose of the UE 2006 Recommendation.

Nonetheless, it cannot be stated clearly what the final standpoint in understanding personal skills should be. This uncertainty derives from the following reasons: 1) there is no specification in the EU 2006 Recommendation; 2) the EU 2006 Recommendation in the point 4 of considerations explicitly addresses the effort of the document as an active measure to prevent unemployment, which would reasonably categorize social skills to the category of human resources or labor market; 3) since the document is also addressed to

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[51] https://www.unicef.org/lifeskills/index_7308.html

youth, considering the human resources side and not the identity and self-construction side of personal skills would be rather reductionist; 4) among the eight competencies listed in the EU 2006 Recommendation, one of them is "Sense of initiative and entrepreneurship", which better encapsulates preparing youth or citizens to develop soft skills for the working environment then social competence can.

In light of these four reasons, in this work personal skills will be considered as deriving from the UNICEF description of "skills for developing personal agency and managing oneself". In this sense, providing the respondents with information about Samira's family, life and school situation makes teachers more informed about the student's general situation. Furthermore, this background can facilitate expansion regarding personal skills such developmental aspects and emotional regulation in light of the event that happens to her. This does not mean that arguments about personal skills as defined in the research are expected. Rather, defining personal skills allows an door open for more aspects of social competences to emerge, even those diverse from what is defined here.

Item 2: Interpersonal Skills

Interpersonal skills are also part of the vignette administered to the participants. The main character, Samira, is encountering many other actors in the story. Aside from her, there is her family and the full classroom she is in. In the classroom, there are also specific classmates who can be considered the ones who trigger her feeling of not wanting to attend school any longer. All the interactions that occur among these actors are seen in this research as "interpersonal events" because they relate two or more people. Portraying events that are occurring among different people in the story provided a chance for the teachers to expand on interpersonal skills. Their attempts to define interpersonal skills can help shed light on some differentiation of the skills that are part of the social competences. There is a difference between personal skills and interpersonal skills: the first is about the one person's development, the second about the relation between the person and the other people. In this sense, it seems appropriate that   the definition of personal skills in this research (considering it defined as either "of the identity" or "of the human resources") is more related to the field of self-construction and identity.

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There is an immense archive of scientific contributions from many different psychological fields on the connections between self-construction and interpersonal relations and the mutual necessity to exist in order for the person to fully develop. In the interest of this research, these areas will not be expanded upon [52]. Nonetheless, it is relevant to understand how skills called "interpersonal" can help in understanding what "personal" skills are, in the frame of the 2006 EU Recommendation. In fact, without personal skills that belong to the sphere of the identity and self-construction it is not possible to fully develop interpersonal skills. It is important to underline that this is an interpretation that is proposed as content for the concepts analyzed, not a specific recommendation.

As for interpersonal skills, literature shows contributions here mainly as related to job situations (Gist et al. 1991) and especially for medical professions (Kahn 1979, Duffy et al. 2004). Drawing on the psychological tradition of social intelligence, Spitzberg & Cupach define interpersonal competence as the "ability of a person to interact effectively with other people" (Spitzberg & Cupach 1989). By being one of the most well-known and clear definitions of a concept that can be very broad, this definition will be the one implied in this research.

Item 3: Intercultural Competences

The case of intercultural competence as part of the social competences is different from the two just portrayed. In the fields of pedagogy and of sociology of education different definitions are offered to understand the dimensions of this concept. In *The Sage Book of Intercultural Competence* (2009) there is a section dedicated to education and teachers' education (p. 304-320). Here, Cushner and Mahon underline how despite being a widely recognized educational goal, intercultural education has the tendency to remain in the margin in educational settings (Cushner & Mahon 2009). Scholars spend great amounts of attention defining intercultural competence which, besides being a broad concept, it is provided with a literature tradition that includes models and definitions (among many, Anderson et al. 2006, Kayes 2005). Grant & Portera draw a connection between intercultural competences and intercultural and multicultural education as necessary

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[52] To this extent, some relevant references are Burner 1995 and Bandura 1996.

instruments to prepare future generations (Grant & Portera 2010). Fantini describes intercultural competences as "a complex of abilities needed to perform effectively and appropriately when interacting with others who are linguistically and culturally different from oneself" (Fantini 2007, p. 9).

In the Italian context, Portera is one of the pedagogists whose contribution provided new ways of understanding intercultural pedagogies (Portera 2006, 2013a, 2013b). In Portera and Dusi, the authors define intercultural competences as the approach that promotes not only the idea of living together but also contact, encounter, having dialogue and confrontation with others, along with facilitating the ability to handling differences (Portera & Dusi 2017, p. 93). As for the current research, the definition that is taken into account is the one provided by Deardorff, in which intercultural competence is defined as "the appropriate and effective management of interaction between people who, to some degree or another, represent different or divergent affective, cognitive and behavioral orientations to the world. These orientations will most commonly be reflected in such normative categories as nationality, race, ethnicity, tribe, religion or region" (Deardorff 2009, p. 21).

Following this definition, the vignette relates to the effective interaction management between students of the same class who might or might not have different or divergent orientations to the world. The story outlined in the vignette, in fact, sequentially describes events that happen but does not specify how they are related to one another. The "boys making fun" and "the girl not wanting to go to school" happen one after the other but there might or might not be a casual relation between the two. In this sense, teachers are free to analyze the situation based on their sensibility and their understanding of the event, in connection with their conception of intercultural competence.

Item 4: Conflict Resolution

The vignette offers a chance to discuss conflict resolution in educational settings. Through the vignette, teachers have a chance to implement and observe didactic processes that are contextually and practically situated and be involved in the actual resolution of a real conflict. In *The Handbook of Conflict Resolution Education*, Bodine and Crawford (1998) outline the basic principles of conflict resolution in educational settings.

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Meanwhile Deutsch et al. (2006), by analyzing conflict and its nature in different context, differentiate using the source of conflict and type of conflict and propose practical resolution strategies. Conflict resolution strategies are usually very pragmatic and operational. Crawford & Bodine (1996) outline the basic principles of conflict resolution in education as: separating people from the problem, focusing on interests and not positions and inventing options for mutual gain.

3.3 Sampling Procedures, Sample and School contact

As introduced before, middle school teachers (trad. It. *Scuole Secondarie di Primo Grado*) in Milan is the social group considered by this research. The sampling procedure is essential in order to test the *area to area* hypothesis. As described in the section regarding the research questions, one part of the hypothesis states social competences are conceived, transmitted and evaluated differently based on the area of the city the school is located in. In order to prove the hypothesis, a comparison had to be carried out. The necessity to grant comparison has consequently been developed in the school selection process. The list of the 91 middle schools in Milan was downloaded from the municipality web site (http://www.istruzione.lombardia.gov.it). The list provides the name of each school and street the school is located in. Only public schools, which are the only schools in the interest of this research, are included in the list. The list, as provided by the municipality, is in alphabetical order. To test the hypothesis, the instrument used is the one of the polarization of the sample. Individual schools were ranked based on the *Disadvantage District Index* (trad. It.: *Indice di Problematicità Territoriale*). The index was elaborated based on the data provided by UNIDATA – data archive at University Milano-Bicocca. The index, based on data regarding the city of Milan, is constructed as follows: as foreign presence, housing unease and low educational qualification grow, the value of the index rises. The index is composed by the average of the following standardized indicators[93]:

- Foreign presence = % foreign population / Total resident population
(Source: Milano municipal survey, 2014)

- Housing unease = Number of buildings in mediocre or very bad preservation status / Total housing buildings / Ponderation coefficient[54]
(Source*: Census, 2011)*

- Low educational qualification = % of population with elementary school certification only / Resident population older than 6 years old
(Source: Census, 2011)

The index was constructed based on districts. Districts were then ranked from the lowest to the highest based on the ranking of the index. Schools were then connected to the districts based on the name of the street. The result was a ranking of all of the schools of the city of Milan (*Appendix 1 – Schools ranked by index*), from the ones placed in the least disadvantaged area (based on the index) to the ones placed in the most disadvantaged area (based on the index).

In order to create a polarized sample, only the first five and the last five schools of the index where included in the research. This means that only teachers who work in schools that are located in the least problematic (index based) areas and only teachers who work in schools in the most problematic (index based) areas were included in the sample. Therefore, out of the full lists of schools (91), ten schools are part of the research. The schools included in the research are the following.

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[54] Percentage of buildings in mediocre or very bad preservation status divided by total of residential buildings in the Milan municipality.

*Table 2.3.3 − Milan Middle Schools Map*
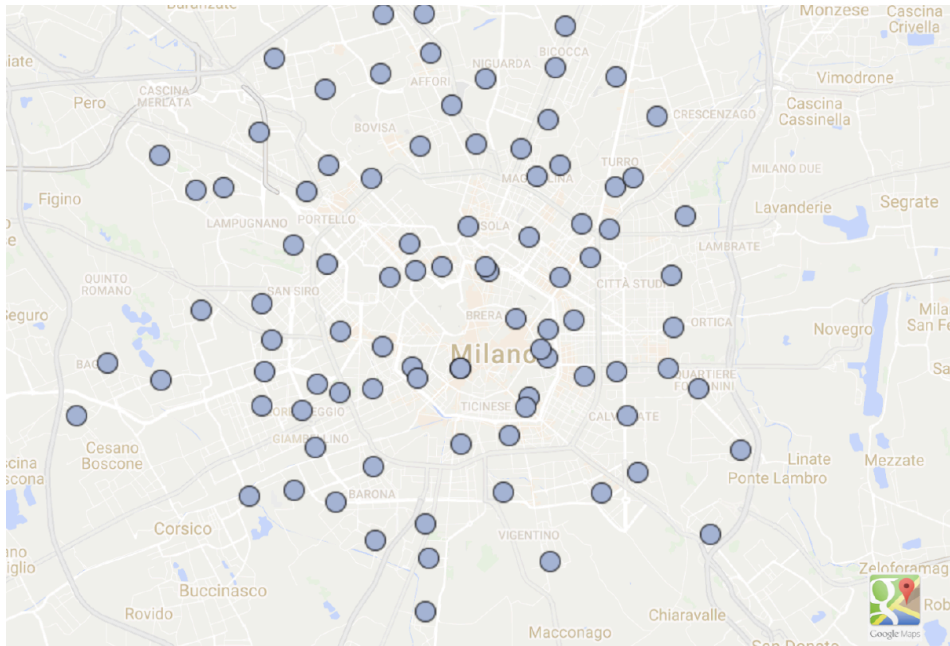
Table 2.3.4 − Milan Middle Schools included in the research

Schools in areas with higher disadvantage index included in the research

1)   Istituto Comprensivo Statale "Marcello Candia", Scuola secondaria di primo grado "Lombardini" (Lodi-Corvetto);

2)   Istituto Comprensivo "Renzo Pezzani", Scuola secondaria di primo grado "Martinengo" (Lodi-Corvetto);

3)   Istituto Comprensivo "Tommaso Grossi", Scuola secondaria di primo grado "Tito Livio", (Ortomercato);

4)   Istituto Comprensivo "Confalonieri", Scuola secondaria di primo grado "Govone-Pavoni", plesso Pavoni, (Dergano);

5) Istituto Statale Comprensivo "via Giacosa", Scuola secondaria di primo grado "Rinaldi e Casa del Sole" (Padova).

Schools in areas with lower disadvantage index included in the research

1)   Istituto Comprensivo "Armando Diaz", Scuola secondaria di primo grado "Luca Beltrami" (Duomo);

2)   Istituto Omnicomprensivo Musicale Statale, Scuola secondaria di primo grado "Giuseppe Verdi" (Guastalla);

3)   Educandato Statale Setti Carraro dalla Chiesa, Scuola secondaria di primo grado (Guastalla);

4)   Istituto Comprensivo "Cavalieri", Scuola secondaria di primo grado "Cavalieri" (Magenta-S. Vittore);

5)   Istituto Comprensivo "Linneo", Scuola secondaria di primo grado "Via Linneo" (Pagano).

After the school selection process, teachers selection process begun. Teachers were selected in order to grant the maximum variation of the sample (Green 2005, Akerlind 2005, Sin 2010) within the polarization parameters. The maximum variation is therefore granted for the following parameters:

a. sex;

b. age;

c. subject taught;

d. time of service;

e. ways in which the person became teachers.

In every school, the didactic coordinator was personally contacted via certified e-mail with the request for the school to participate in the research "Insegnanti e competenze sociali: uno studio fenomenografico". School coordinators received an invitation letter (*Appendix 2 - Invitation letter*). The structure that was usually followed worked this way: the school coordinator sent back the contact of the teachers' coordinators (trad. It.: *funzione strumentale - insegnanti*) who, from that point on, was the one who interacted directly with the researcher. The coordinator would inform all the teachers of the possibility of being part of the research. Based on the teachers who showed interest, the coordinator sent an email to the researcher. In the email, all the emails of the teachers who showed interest were included as a list. Teachers were then contacted. If the teachers that were willing to participate did not correspond to the sample requisites, the coordinator was contacted again. The coordinator would then invite another teacher who correspond to the needed characteristics to be part of the study. The single teacher and the researcher would then take an appointment at the school the teacher works in. Finally, the interview would take place.

3.4 Interviews: Setting and Running

The setting of the interviews was always the same: after taking the appointment, the researcher would meet the teacher in a classroom, kindly reserved by the teachers' coordinator. A quiet, empty room was requested if available. Initially, a couple of minutes were taken for the teacher to feel comfortable and establish a friendly contact with the researcher. The researcher would briefly introduce herself (PhD candidate), the organizational belonging (Applied Sociology PhD - UNIMIB) and the reason why the interviews were carried out (research for a PhD study on teachers' experiences).

The theme of the research was never made explicit before the interview. The school

coordinator was the only person who directly knew the content of the research, the exact hypothesis and parameters since they received a brief description of the study (as in *Appendix 4*). The interviewee was then asked to sign an informed consensus (*Appendix 3 – Informed Consensus*) and a privacy certificate (*Appendix 4 – Privacy warranty*), as suggested and provided by the UNIMIB Ethical Committee. A short note including biographical and working (teaching) information was filled in (*Appendix 5 – Participation form*). All through the interview, the researcher had a laptop opened and functioning on the table. The laptop would serve the following purposes: a) on the laptop the short bio/work note that was filled-in by the researcher (each teacher has his/her individual note); b) interviews were audio recorded through the *Quicktime Player Audio* program of the laptop. This system seemed to work efficiently: the interviewee knew they would be audio-recorded but, as a neutral instrument (compared to a recorder), the laptop prevented further sources of inhibition.

Teachers were then invited to ask any sort of technical questions they needed to feel informed before beginning the interview. Teachers showed a positive attitude and a kind willingness in the research involvement. This attitude, also granted by the opt-in character of the study, is testimony of the fact that interviewee felt relaxed in engaging in the interview. This is probably as a result of the following factors: a) they were interviewed in their natural environment; b) they received an amount of information which they understood as being reasonable for the request they received; and c) they trust the organizations involved in the procedures (Milano – Bicocca University in combination with the school they work in).

Interviews were then audio-recorded. Interviews last between 35 and 55 minutes each. Length varied greatly based on teachers' attitudes, capacity of argumentation and willingness to expand on the theme. Questions were showed to the interviewee on the laptop. A PowerPoint presentation with the questions was prepared (*Appendix 6 – Interview guide*). Each time the interviewee seemed to have exhausted one theme, he or she was presented with the next question on the laptop. This allowed the teacher to easily follow the structure of the interview. This method also allowed the interviewer to better anchor the respondent to the object of study and go back to the research questions as many times as needed. Once the question was presented, the respondent could start discussing it and expressing his or her point of view. Since phenomenographic research allows individuals

to express their understanding but is also strictly focused on one specific theme (Dortins 2002) the role of the interviewer is relevant.

Meanwhile, the interviewer: a) encouraged the interviewee to expand on areas that were enriching the visions offered on the object of study; and b) re-addressed direction once the interviewee seemed to shift focus over a whole new (or not related) object of study. Despite the fact that also the quality of focus of the respondent might be related to the understanding of the phenomenon of analysis, the role of the researcher was mainly to help the respondent elaborate on the specific theme. For example, if the teacher engaged in a full exposition on his vision over the parents' role in mathematical education, this aspect would be recorded (and therefore included in the analysis) and subsequently the focus would be re-addressed. Focus was re-addressed by either: a) re-asking the main question verbally; b) having the interview re-read the main question; c) or moving to the next question/section. In this sense, interviews cannot be defined as structured (Bichi 2002, p. 25) since an interaction between respondent and interviewer happens organically and is fundamental for good results. Nonetheless, the wheel is always in the hands of the interviewer: dialogue cannot be allowed to expand on other themes too much. This is also one of the features that marks a strong difference between traditional qualitative interviews (Della Porta 2014) and phenomenographic interviews.

In order to grant research success, two pilot interviews were conducted. Pilots were conducted in the first school that accepted to be part of the research (*Istituto Comprensivo "Tommaso Grossi"*). Pilots were conducted in order to test the feasibility and the clarity of the research structure for the participants and understand reactions to the laptop as a recording instrument. Teachers reported they forgot about the recording instrument immediately. This is also thanks to the fact that the same instrument was also used for writing (the personal bio/work note) and reading (the questions and the vignette). Pilots showed that questions were understandable and teachers easily engaged with the object of study. Also, pilots were used in order to test the acceptability of the vignette. Teachers who engaged in the pilots described the vignette as believable, plausible, understandable and in their view, optimal to easily elicit a response/reaction by educators.

The interview procedure started in February 2017 and ended in December 2017. A total of 50 interviews (five interviews per school in ten schools) were conducted. The aspect that made data collection difficult was communication: school coordinators were

not always available or easy to reach. However, once the first contact was established, the research path proceeded in a rapid way. Once interviews were collected, transcription started. Transcription took place between the collection of the first interview and the month after the ending of the collection. Interviews were transcribed verbatim and full transcription of every interview was granted.

4. Data Analysis

4.1 First Approach to the Interviews

After the collection period, interviews were fully transcribed. All parts of the audio were reported on a Word file. Both interviewer and interviewees' interventions were transcribed verbatim. Each file was named with a progressive code from 1 to 51[55]. At that stage was important that the researcher analysing the interviews was not able to make a connection between the interview iand the teacher who released it. This aspect is relevant in order for the researcher to not be influenced by teachers' area of teaching in analysing the material. Therefore, in order to avoid pre-conceptions, interviews collected randomly were further re-randomized before transcription (re-ordered following no logic). Once each interview code was separated from the order in which interviews were collected, it was impossible for the researcher to recall whether one interview belonged to a group or to another group[56]. With this random logic, all interviews were charged in the software MAXQDA.

After transcription, the content of the interviews was then analysed. The analysis followed the interviews structure, meaning that the first part of the analysis was dedicated to definitions, then transmission, evaluation and last the vignette. In phenomenographic

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[55] Since during one interview the respondent refused to be audio recorded once the interview was already running, that interview had to be deleted from the data set. Interviews are numbered therefore up to 51.

[56] As for this research, intersubjective agreement was not possible to operate. Nonetheless, the main researcher had the opportunity to spend time at the Gothenburg University and to have the help of Professor Marton whom gave some indications.

data analysis, the first step of the analysis is the gathering of the selected quotes in order to form a pool of meanings (Marton 1986, Cope 2004). In this case, first selected quotes were chosen for the definition than for transmission, evaluation and vignette. In the end, each theme is informed of its specific pool of meanings, being the aggregation of all the sentences or group of sentences that define one specific phenomena.

The procedure used to gather selected quoted was done following the principle that quotes were not strictly selected for appearing in one specific interview area. This means that if a teacher expanded on a theme in another section of the interview, the quote would be considered for the theme that seemed more appropriate for the quote itself. As an example, if a teacher expands on evaluation in the interview area of definition, the quote was mainly selected for the pool of meanings of evaluation. Nonetheless, in many cases this event is also testimony of a specific conception of the teacher about the theme in analysis. As in the example, the fact that the teacher expands on evaluation when the question was about definition is not an irrelevant attitude. The way in which this situation was dealt with could go two ways: 1) if the quote is not relevant for the theme it is found in or if it happens much later in the interview where an actual change of subject took place, it would just be considered for the theme that it suits better; 2) if the quote is relevant for both themes it would be included in both pools of meanings. This means that labelling is not exclusive, or that one quote could be labelled two times or more. This standpoint is coherent with the epistemological vision of phenomenography in which, in order to access the interviewee's world of experience, it necessary to go back to the interview and not understand selected quotes as separated from the all text of the interview (Cope 2004). Considering a quote for both its thematic connections and the place in which it appears makes possible to reconstruct the journey that lead the person to portray one specific vision. The single quote, when appearing in the pool of meanings where it does not belong to, makes the researcher go back to the interview and ask why that piece appears in that specific pool, considering now the interview as a whole. In our example, the coming up of the theme of evaluation during the definition phase of the interview can inform of a way in which the person understands the phenomena.

Aggregation of selected quotes for the four macro themes (definition, transmission, evaluation, vignette) took up to ten days. In the end and considering the full sample, 368 quotes were collected for the theme definition, 260 for the theme transmission, 247 for

the theme evaluation and 352 selected quotes were collected for the vignette. Besides the vignette, which opens up a different procedure in the respondent's, it is important to observe the differences in the number of quotes. If we consider that teachers were given the same amount of time to expand on all of the themes of the interview, this data can be informative of the different capabilities in arguing or in expanding on different themes teachers had. In trying to interpret this, it might look like defining social competence requires more words and sentences than the words it requires to define transmission and evaluation of the same object. This fact might appear singular since the definition should be a piece of knowledge while transmission and evaluation, since they are processes, should take longer. Instead, the opposite version is true: the theme of definition shows to have more building to it, more precisely more than one third more.

4.2 Selected quotes and pools of meaning

In order to describe the process of the creation of the pools of meanings, some procedures are now described. When approaching one interview, the researcher reads the whole interview first. The analysis pointed towards discovering (Marton 1986, Walsh 2000) categories of description of the following objects: definition of social competences, transmission of social competences and evaluation of social competence. As for the vignette, the object is social competence in context. Analysis was carried out by objects. By focusing on one object, the researcher would identify all the sections that had to do with that specific object. As an example, in the case of evaluation all the quotes, the sentences and the groups of sentences whose content would add information about the respondent's way of the evaluation of social competences would be labelled in the code "EVAL" in the first interview. Then, the following interview would be opened, read fully and all the selected quotes regarding the theme of evaluation labelled "EVAL". This means that both a thematic and a full interview approach were adopted during the analysis. The thematic approach presupposes that for every interview, what the researcher is looking for is pieces of information about one specific theme. The opposite of thematic approach would be individual's approach where, no matter of what themes are part of the research, the researcher sticks with any theme that comes up from the interview itself. This aspect is the one that differentiates the most phenomenography from

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Grounded Theory approach. In Grounded Theory, the researcher digs into the material with a complete open mindset. In this research, and in phenomenography in general (Glaser & Strauss 1967), the researcher is well aware of what they are looking for in the research, the theoretical background that informs the different choices is clearly stated and hypothesis are formulated and orient the research.

The process of collection of selected quotes to form a pool of meanings was done for each one of the four main objects of study. Quotes from the interviews were labelled as "DEF", "TRASM", "EVAL", "VIGN". This process was made easier by using the software of MAXQDA which makes labelling faster and more precise by automatically gathering all the selected quotes into one separate window which is immediately browsable. In this way, it is also possible to easily control step by step the content of the pool in the forming. At the end of this part, four pools of meaning were created, one for every specific thematic field.

Selecting the quotes and labelling the quotes to form pools of meanings is a delicate process. The validity of this process is often granted by intersubjective agreement (Webb 1997). In this case, resources could not grant two or more researchers to engage in the process of quotes selection and identification of the categories. Nonetheless, besides being questioned in general (Morse 1997) the concept of intersubjective agreement is particularly relevant on phenomenography. In fact, as Sandberg points out, intersubjective agreement presupposes a kind of ontology in which *the world is out there* (Sandberg 1997, Cope 2004). By identifying categories of description through conceptions and by understanding conceptions as aggregations of different ways in which the world is perceived, it becomes critical how a constructionist vision dominates this paradigm in general. In this sense, Sandberg points at *interpretative awareness* as a valuable alternative (Sandberg 1997). Following this vision, only one researcher, namely the author, engaged in the process of selection of quotes and creation of the categories of description. In essence, validity of the study in this case is mainly granted by providing details of every choice made in the research, from sample selection to methodology to analysis (Cope 2004, pp. 8-9).

However, one aspect that could integrate the validity of the study is the fact that during the research period the researcher spent two months (April and May 2018) at the Faculty of Pedagogy at the University of Gothenburg, Sweden. Faculty of Gothenburg is

the place in which phenomenography was developed and still is one of the most advanced departments in applying this methodology. Besides running most of the analysis independently, two separate actions helped in sharpening the research focus: a) a seminar for the Pedagogy Department's staff on the data of this research in which phenomenography expert scholars expressed positions and perspectives over the way in which the material was collected and analysed; b) individual meetings with Professor Marton and Professor Larsson were helpful in shaping the direction of the analysis. Since the period at the Gothenburg University, analysis changed greatly and categories assumed a much clearer shape.

4.3 Categories of description

Once pools of meanings for every object are created, categories of description must be detected. This aspect of the research is one of the most delicate, especially when it is not done through intersubjective agreement. Having solid categories of description which can fully represent respondents' vision of the phenomena determines the final quality of the work. The path that was followed in order to grant this result was the one to start with macro-inclusive categories. Those categories, which at the beginning where one or two macro aspects of the phenomena, were taken as an initial parameter to sort the material. Quotes, then again, were re-labelled depending on their area of belonging. One very clear example of this process was done in order to create the final categories for the phenomena of definition of social competences. First, all the quotes which had to do with *no vision / no idea / never heard before* were divided form every other definition which provided a content. Since the quotes referring to that area were very few, it became a whole category by itself. Quotes which, instead, provided content details and information about social competences as if the respondent knew or elaborated in the concept before were then analyzed. The process of the emersion of the categories of description happens through a process of sorting and resorting (Marton 1986, Akerlind 2006). The "limited number of qualitative different ways in which individuals experience a phenomena" (Marton 1986), besides being a reality in itself, as for the researcher this assumption requires a great amount of attention to structure categories which can be authentically informative of the

qualitative different ways in which the phenomena is experienced. Sorting and re-sorting, therefore, constituted a very haunted practice.

In the next section, categories of description divided per objects are exposed. Every category is also associated with a code which will be useful for further distribution talbes.

Social competences (SC) Definition

A1 - SC as: Not a school's responsibility (+ no teacher/student differentiation)
A2 - SC as: Discipline and subject oriented
A3 - SC as: Behavior and regulation
A4 - SC as: Respect and relations
A5 - SC as: Doing for society and civic dimension
A6 - SC as: Socialization and Intercultural capacity

Social competences Transmission (SCT)

B1 - SCT as: Not in teachers' domain
B2 - SCT as: Didactic and subject oriented
B3 - SCT as: Implicit in the interaction with the teacher
B4 - SCT as: Implicit in diverse collective activities
B5 - SCT as: Happening through group work
B6 - SCT as: Based on specific didactic techniques for socialization

Social competences Evaluation (SCE)

C1 - SCE as: Depending on the coordinator (not enough done)
C2 - SCE as: Based on students' discipline and behavior
C3 - SCE as: Depending on observation
C4 - SCE as: Depending on measurements and criteria
C5 - SCE as: Something done collectively

Social competences trough VIGNETTE (SCV)

D1 - SC(V) as: Enacted through discipline
D2 - SC(V) as: Embedded in the contents
D3 - SC(V) as: Promoted through dialogue D3a - with the class
                                        D3b - with the single students
D4 - SC(V) as: Happening through cultural *reduction*
D5 - SC(V) as: Made of conflict resolution practices

In the next section, every category is explained and defined. For every aspect analyzed of the object social competences, the number of quotes that informs its own pool is stated. For every category of description, the following information are also provided: 1) number of quotes that inform every single category; 2) some quintessential quotes which characterize the category explicitly (a selection); 3) borderline quotes are discussed. The report on borderline quote is an essential practice in order to grant research validity. As previously discussed, intersubjective agreement is a common practice in order to grant validity in qualitative research (Maxwell 1992, Swanborn 1996). However, when discussing phenomenographic approaches, Sandberg stressed how the epistemic bases of phenomenography is based on the assumption of discovering individuals' conceptions of reality and not describing an object *as it is in the real world*. This means, besides being a very common warrantor, intersubjective agreement might not be the best instrument for phenomenographic analysis. Nonetheless, validity must be ensured. One of the ways in which this can happen is through what Sandberg defines as interpretative awareness (Sandberg 1997), as "the researcher accounts for the processes used to control and check interpretations" (Cope 2004, p. 8). The report of the borderline quotes, where present, goes in the direction of highlighting the possible areas in which interpretation is harder and in which quotes do not fall into one category unambiguously. Borderline quotes are individuated as bordering the category in which they are specified as bordering and the following category. As for social competence definition, as investigated through "what question" and vignette, categories of description progress from the most distant to the least distant in relation to the authorized conception. The authorized conception, as illustrated before, is the legislative definition of social competence as described in the EU 2006 Recommendation and as included in the Italian DM 254/2012). As for the other aspects of social competences analyzed in this research (transmission and evaluation), since there in no normative common reference to follow, categories are ranked from the most basic to the most advanced ones based on the literature references provided.

Along with borderline quotes, also representative quotes are presented. Reporting representative quotes goes in the direction of: a) presenting the results are presented in a manner which permits informed scrutiny (Cope 2004, p. 8); and b) responding to Booth's methodological requirement following which categories of description are fully described

and adequately illustrated with quotes (Booth 1992). For every category, only relevant quotes are provided, where relevant means that a group of quotes which best depicts the content of the category if offered to the reader.

4.3 Categories of description: social competence definition (SC)
Tot. 368 quotes

A1 - SC as: Not a school's responsibility (+ no teacher/student differentiation)

In this category, quotes describe a situation in which there is no familiarity with the concept of social competences at all or in which the differentiation between teacher's social competences and students' social competences is not clear. Quotes refer to social competences as teachers' social competence rather than a competences educational institutions have to be able to provide to students.

Rappresentative quotes[57]

Int. 32: "A me dà fastidio, perché sono una che preferirebbe, ma so che non è possibile, nella scuola concentrarmi esclusivamente sull'aspetto didattico disciplinare".

Int. 42: "li devi coinvolgere quindi sicuramente l'aspetto emotivo, umano, relazionale, tutto quello che ti pare rimane il fatto che vorrei fare il docente di inglese e non è che voglio scostare da me tutto ciò che non è strettamente legato perché è certo che le competenze sociali, civiche, cittadinanza legalità fanno parte del mio ruolo però non so quanto veramente mi spetti".

Int. 24: "la capacità, diciamo, dell'insegnante di relazionarsi con il contesto umano che ha di fronte, e la capacità che l'insegnante ha di comprendere il materiale appunto umano con cui deve lavorare".

Int. 49: "Mah, diciamo, potrebbe essere una capacità di risolvere problemi di interazione con i colleghi nel mondo del lavoro, disponibilità."

Borderline quote

Int. 31: "Quando insegni, quello che devi tenere presente è sicuramente il tipo di substrato sociale in cui sono cresciuti i ragazzi, il tipo di background che hanno a livello di

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[57] Selected quotes are not translated in the present work. In order to not alter the content of the quotes they were kept in the same language as they appeared in the first analysis. Future projects based on the present research (i.e. articles for international journals) might require a translation.

preparazione formativa i genitori, ma anche la preparazione che hanno loro. Questo penso, non so se sono fuori tema".

A2 - SC as Discipline and subject oriented

In this category, social competences are fully associated with the content of the subject of teaching. Quotes report of social competence not as an object in itself. Quotes report of social competences as overlaid to a subject of teaching or to the content of a discipline.

Rappresentative quotes

Int. 17: "la competenza sociale si esprime anche solo nel desiderio di suonare".

Int. 20: "a me interessa più che insegnare il disegno, il collage, questi sono dei pretesti, interessa insegnare un atteggiamento, un pensiero creativo, un atteggiamento creativo nei confronti del lavoro che può variare. Il pensiero creativo è la capacità di guardare le cose da più punti di vista".

Int. 45: "competenza sociale è saper usare la lingua, capire che è uno strumento vivo e lavorare anche un po' in maniera autonoma".

Borderline quotes

Int. 31: "Qua siamo in una scuola medio - alta come livello, i genitori sono acculturati, mediamente tutti laureati, quasi tutti e c'è un certo benessere sicuramente, non stanno male. Tenendo presente questo, il livello culturale dei ragazzi è adeguato alla scuola, per cui hanno certamente alcune difficoltà, però mediamente riesci a fare lezione ad un certo livello".

A3 - SC as: Behavior and regulation

In this category, social competences are associated with the behavior considered as the way in which one individuals enacts in one environment, and regulation considered as the individual's capacity to modulate the behavior.

Rappresentative quotes

Int. 11: "i ragazzi devono capire che quando si sbaglia in maniera volontaria si va incontro

ad una serie di regole, o meglio, ad una questione di buon comportamento, che al di fuori di questa scuola non ci sarà nessuno che ti dirà: "Tu hai sbagliato, non ti preoccupare, va bene così, la prossima volta…". Non è così, lo sappiamo fin troppo bene che fuori la situazione è decisamente peggiore, è più facile che fuori ti puntino il dito contro, piuttosto che ti accolgano".

Int. 16: "Per i ragazzi, sembra quasi che il benessere è il non avere regole, mentre il malessere è la regola imposta dalla scuola, quindi dalle regole di comportamento come alzare la mano per parlare, non sovrapporre le voci e così via. in questo schiacciamento, ognuno di questi ragazzini ha il problema di emergere: "Emergo, esisto; non emergo, esisto di meno".

Int. 18: "La consapevolezza, cioè sapere che ci sono delle regole da rispettare, sapere che non è che sono regole che ti punisco se non le rispetti, sono regole che servono a te, perché non sei un animale solitario, sei un animale che sta in gruppo, che stai con gli altri ed il tuo comportamento deve tenere conto del fatto che c'è una sfera tutta tua e che stai a contatto con quella di molte altre persone".

Int. 24: "Sì, il saper rispondere a dei quesiti, cioè il saper rispondere a delle richieste che vengono fatte dall'insegnante nella maniera opportuna, indipendentemente che siano richieste tra virgolette giuste o non giuste, però comunque sia, noi dobbiamo sapere in una società rispondere a ciò che ci viene richiesto, indipendentemente se lo condividiamo o meno".

Int. 37: "Beh poi c'è il rispetto delle regole che alcuni hanno assimilato, altri no. E anche lì, chi li ha assimilate riesce ad avere una visione serena delle regole e anche a, cioè davanti a una regola assurda chi è abituato a rispettare le regole è tranquillo, per cui si permette anche di segnalare che la cosa non va bene. Invece chi non ha questa competenza spesso si pone in maniera un po' prevenuta".

Int. 39: "un alunno in grado di rispettare le regole fondamentali, basilari dell'organizzazione scolastica nonchè in grado di ascoltare l'adulto, che in questo caso sarebbe il docente".

Borderline quotes

Int. 32: "Penso alle relazioni interpersonali, sapersi comportare, sapersi relazionare agli altri, saper rispettare l'adulto, riuscire a vivere in società, riuscire a vivere bene insieme agli altri, rispettando le regole, rispettando il prossimo, in modo tale che non si creino dei conflitti".

Int. 43: "riesce a relazionarsi in modo corretto con le persone che ha intorno capendo per esempio che c'è un abbigliamento adeguato ad ogni luogo, c'è un tipo di lessico, un registro lessicale adeguato ad ogni luogo".

Int. 45: "Immagino uno studente che sappia rapportarsi con gli altri, con i pari, e anche con i docenti o con gli adulti usando un approccio corretto, quindi anche rapportato

appunto alle fasce di età con cui ha a che fare, anche, voglio dire, e i ruoli con cui ha a che fare, quindi una persona competente sa utilizzare diversi linguaggi verbali e non verbali a seconda delle persone con cui si rapporta".

A4 - SC as: Respect and relations

In this category, quotes describe social competences as individuals' capacity to respect three domains: things, classmates and teachers. Social competences are based on relations and are practiced through relations. In these relations, respect is the basic key for the relation to be successful.

Representative quotes

Int. 2: "competenze di relazione, cioè nel senso sociale, società e per far parte di una società bisogna saper interagire, saper interagire in maniera corretta, nell'ascolto e nel rispetto dell'altro, che è una cosa che non è scontata. E' una delle competenze a cui puntare, ancora di più delle competenze pratiche nei vari ambiti dell'insegnamento, è proprio l'obiettivo prioritario".

Int. 8: "sono molto attenta la tema del rispetto, e del rispetto, sì, non solo delle regole che arrivano dall'alto, ma proprio del rispetto tra pari. (…) Siamo in un quartiere del centro di Milano, quindi le problematiche sono quelle legate a una fascia sociale abbastanza alta, e devo dire che nel mio lavoro con la classe, con i ragazzi, cerco sempre di potenziare molto quelli che sono gli atteggiamenti di solidarietà, gli uni verso gli altri, che magari non sono quelli più... come dire, quelli ai quali loro sono più abituati a pensare".

Int. 8: "e così, nei meccanismi relazionali, a volte, soprattutto in questa fascia d'età, bisogna cercare invece di far riflettere i ragazzi su che cosa significa anche spendersi per gli altri".

Int. 12: "competenze sociali potrebbe voler dire dare un'idea ai ragazzi di quello che è la realtà sociale, la vita di relazione, quello che trovano al di fuori della scuola, rispetto delle regole, rispetto degli altri".

Int. 14: "è una cura, rispetto della persona, di sé stessi, del materiale".

Int. 18: "è stato molto difficile mettere insieme gli individui totalmente senza nessuna capacità di relazionarsi o quasi, perché il contesto della classe dalle elementari alle medie cambia un po', per cui devono mostrare di essere capaci di approcciare gli altri, cosa che non era scontata".

Int. 21: "Competenza sociale per me è questo, vivere insieme, rispettandoci. All'inizio, si

fa un po' fatica, perché i ragazzi reagiscono in modi diversi, con modalità differenti. 'Io non vado d'accordo'. 'Non mi interessa. Tu non alzi la voce, glielo fai capire, non alzi le mani, mai in nessun momento, mai'. Questo è il rispetto, per me è questo".

Int 27 "Come relazionali è saper lavorare insieme agli altri, saper condividere le esperienze, saper accettare l'esperienza degli altri, dei compagni, insomma".

Int. 29: "La componente sociale è la capacità e di entrare in relazione con l'altro".

Int. 30: "Allora, diciamo, uno che sicuramente ha a cuore quello che pensa il compagno, quindi tiene bene in vista le esigenze dei compagni, quindi non sono soltanto io, da solo, perché purtroppo viviamo in un mondo di egocentrismo pazzesco, per cui avere attenzione nei confronti dei compagni o comunque di chi mi sta a fianco, che magari ha anche delle difficoltà, è fondamentale, secondo me".

Int. 35: "Mi viene in mente la relazione, la capacità di entrare in relazione con gli studenti, con i colleghi, con i genitori, entrare in relazione in modo produttivo, riuscire a costruire insieme un percorso di vita, di crescita, di apprendimento".

Int. 34: "Uno studente che sa stare al suo posto all'interno di una piccola società, perché la classe è un micro-mondo, un microcosmo che via via poi potrà rispecchiare la società reale più ampia, quella del mondo del lavoro, la famiglia. Sono tutti esempi di piccoli mondi, a mio avviso, dove deve imparare ad acquisire determinate competenze per interagire in modo corretto, per essere capito anche dagli altri, rispettato ed avere rispetto tu a tua volta degli altri".

Int. 46: "Parte dalla relazione, dalla capacità di essere in grado di gestirla la relazione. Se non c'è la capacità di gestire la relazione non c'è una piena realizzazione sociale".

Int. 47: "Allora, diciamo, a me viene in mente la capacità per esempio di relazionarsi con gli altri, di stare insieme agli altri, di ascoltare l'altro, quindi di ascoltare il compagno, l'insegnante, quindi anche emotivamente, quindi partecipare a eventuali disagi dell'altro, eccetera, quindi proprio l'interazione di ciascuno, interagire in modo positivo con gli altri, saper interagire in modo positivo con gli altri, quindi saper lavorare in gruppo, saper gestire un gruppo".

Int. 50: "Socialmente competente lo vedo una persona empatica, cioè una persona che riesce comunque a dare, diciamo, ascolto all'altro, e anche preparato, diciamo, culturalmente, però comunque che riesce a percepire e a essere sensibile verso l'altro, verso il compagno, e si rende disponibile ad eventuali bisogni, insomma, della classe in cui è inserito".

Borderline quotes

Int. 15: "La necessità della relazione con l'altro che sia esso un singolo soggetto, che sia esso un gruppo, una classe, una società".

Int. 19: "le competenze sociali andrebbero insegnate nelle scuole più problematiche, a parte che qualche problema c'è anche nelle scuole migliori, magari come questa, che non è una scuola problematica, però il docente non può preoccuparsi soltanto di fare la lezione, di insegnare quei concetti, senza guardare un minimo il contesto".

A5 - SC as: Doing for society and civic dimension

In this category, quotes describe social competences as individuals' pro-social capacity and individuals' awareness of being in group with along with a reference to civism. Social competences and civic competences are overlaid.

Representative quotes

Int. 2: "Le competenze sociali non riguardano, secondo me, solo lo stare in un gruppo; la relazione è la base, perché le competenze sociali si possano sviluppare, però riguardano anche il fare per la società".

Int. 4: "Poi, secondo me, sono intrinseche quelle civili. Quando penso "civili", penso al rispetto delle regole, al rispetto dell'altra persona, al rispetto dei ruoli. Mi viene in mente il cyber bullismo, ma anche al lavoro, a scuola il prevaricare è una mancanza di competenza sia civile che sociale, per me sono molto intrinseche. L'interazione è rispetto di tante cose, rispetto degli individui e rispetto anche di regole, perché le regole portano a rispettare determinate dinamiche".

Int. 5: "è un punto nodale sul quale si possono sia avvolgere, incastrare le cose e non funzionare bene, ma anche snodare, nel senso che quando è acquisita quella consapevolezza che il nostro lavoro - soprattutto quello della scuola dell'obbligo- deve innanzitutto trasferire la consapevolezza che il successo formativo non è contenutistico, ma è la dimensione civica a cui noi dobbiamo puntare".

Int. 22: "E socializzazione mi viene in mente anche il contesto sociale da cui provengono gli utenti, cioè provengono gli alunni, quindi tenendo conto appunto del contesto sociale, integrare, il compito è quello di integrare ai fini di una buona socializzazione della classe, integrare i diversi contesti, le contestualizzazioni sociali, diciamo, e personali, in questo più ampio quadro che è la classe".

Int. 23: "Sì, diciamo che una persona, un ragazzo che sia socialmente competente, penso che abbia la possibilità di avere uno sguardo un po' più aperto su ciò che lo circonda, e che riesca a fare dei collegamenti con la propria realtà, ecco, che ne sia capace, che sappia vedere un po' più in là del proprio naso, insomma, questo penso, e quindi nel momento

in cui io so e capisco quello che mi succede intorno, posso anche vedere come posso fare per migliorare una certa situazione piuttosto che un'altra, credo".

Int. 25: "in questa età la mente si forma, vengono magari a essere molto più chiare negli anni a venire, però in questa età comincia già a plasmarsi una prima forma delle conoscenze che un ragazzo deve avere in merito a ciò che è giusto e ciò che è sbagliato nella società".

A6 - SC as: Socialization and Intercultural capacity

In this category, social competences are described as the capacity to engage in relation with cultural diverse individuals. The possibility of dialogue between different cultural groups in what gives structure to social competences. This aspect of social competence is put in relation with the growing complexity of contemporary social reality.

Representative quotes

Int. 3: "Ragazzi di 11-12-13 anni sviluppano le loro competenze sociali di saper vivere e riportare fuori in contesti interculturali. Non è una competenza sociale e civica inerente ad una nostra cultura, ma ad ambienti culturali diversificati".

Int. 22: "Abbiamo diversi alunni che sono arrivati qua da noi in questo contesto non solo milanese ma anche proprio italiano da pochi mesi o da poche settimane. Quindi è un... diciamo, un cantiere aperto sempre questa scuola, e questo è fondamentale, ecco, perché questa specificità, diciamo, di questa scuola o come di altre scuole di quartieri diciamo borderline, deve tener conto... si valorizza, diciamo, e cresce proprio intorno a questa capacità di integrare le diverse anime, le diverse culture e le diverse conoscenze di base".

Int. 26: "Allora, per competenze sociali, è la capacità che ha un ragazzo di sfruttare le sue conoscenze, le sue abilità nella realtà, quindi il modo di interagire con gli altri, il modo di esporsi, il modo di mettersi in gioco con gli altri, il modo di socializzare con i compagni, con persone più grandi, più piccole, proprio il suo utilizzare le proprie conoscenze per farsi conoscere rispetto agli altri o con gli altri".

Int. 33: "Quindi, il loro imparare, quando sono a scuola, a socializzare nel modo corretto con tutti, con i compagni, con i professori, con gli adulti che incontrano".

Int. 36: "In questo tipo di scuola, secondo me, è un ragazzino/una ragazzina che è riuscito ad entrare in relazione con tutti i compagni di qualsiasi cultura e non è facile. Quest'anno, ho preso una seconda; l'anno scorso, sono uscita con una terza e la prima che avevo all'inizio era composta per metà da quasi tutti appena arrivati e non è stato facile integrare i ragazzini, ce n'erano 2-3 Italiani e poi anche altri parlanti di seconda generazione.

Escono fuori dei ragazzini, secondo me, molto maturi, perché prima di tutto imparano ad accettare la diversità, ma la diversità non solo da un punto di vista del ragazzino disabile, ma la diversità anche per quanto riguarda le diverse etnie, le diverse origini, le diverse culture".

Int. 37: "La prima che mi viene in mente è gestire i conflitti. Nel senso, a scuola specialmente i ragazzini hanno tanti conflitti tra di loro perché sono anche intolleranti rispetto ai piccoli rigetti dei compagni. Io trovo che qui l'ambiente è molto misto, molto vario e quindi questa competenza è diffusa rispetto ad altre scuole dove magari c'è solo uno straniero e allora tutti dicono poverino".

Int. 38: "Beh, saper vivere in una comunità con diverse etnie, sapersi relazionare con l'altro anche se proviene da un mondo diverso, da una nazione diversa, da una cultura diversa".

Borderline quotes

Int. 5: "si cerca di rafforzare delle competenze che riguardano la costruzione del sé, l'autostima, la relazione con gli altri, l'assertività, il prendere decisioni, la gestione dell'ansia, della rabbia, perché queste formano quella struttura del ragazzo".

Int. 34: "Se magari un compagno ti fa arrabbiare, in quel momento devi imparare a gestire la frustrazione del voto inferiore al suo, la frustrazione dovuta anche al fatto che lui non ti abbia invitato al compleanno, sono tutte delle piccole situazioni - chiaramente sono piccole, perché a noi sembrano piccole - che per loro sono grandi e sono tutte cose che devono imparare. (…) anche gestire l'ansia, che dipende chiaramente dai vari soggetti che ci sono in classe, perché, come ho detto prima, ci sono vari individui che rappresentano vari mondi, vari vissuti eccetera, eccetera. Ognuno avrà le sue problematiche e dovrà imparare pian pianino - nel corso del triennio, dei tre anni - a gestire, modificare, smussare degli angoli, che possono essere un po' spigolosi, del carattere, questo vuol dire diventare un elemento sociale".

Int. 48: "per cui sviluppare anche delle competenze trasversali importanti che siano quelle dell'autonomia, del senso del sé, della consapevolezza di sé stesso e degli altri".

4.4 Categories of description: social competence transmission (SCT)
Tot. 260 quotes

B1 - SCT as: Not in teachers' domain

In this category, the transmission and the education to social competences is not a teachers' or a schools' duty. Other agencies have the responsibility to educate individuals to *live in society*.

Int. 19: "Più aiutare, se ci sono difficoltà, e interessarmi; materiale strettamente per le competenze sociali non saprei, non saprei neanche come fare".

Int. 31: "Non saprei".

Int. 50: "Non saprei".

B2 - SCT as: Implicit in the interaction with the teacher

Quotes from this category illustrate a scenario in which the teaching of social competences does not depend on didactic techniques, rather it is embedded in the behavior of the teacher. Teacher's presence and way of dealing in different situations guides students' social competences learning. The person of the teacher is the main source of legitimacy.

Rappresentative quotes

Int. 7: "Io uso tantissimo il fatto di avere un figlio che ha delle problematiche pesanti".

Int. 9: "Poi, secondo me, le competenze sociali a scuola emergono in tanti modi, emergono nel modo in cui io mi rapporto a loro, perché comunque io sono un esempio."

Int. 10: "sicuramente, la prima cosa è l'atteggiamento nei confronti loro, quello che predichi devi fare, nel senso che se per fare educazione fisica ci vogliono le scarpe da ginnastica, non posso andare in jeans e camicia".

Int. 11: "io preferisco che i ragazzi inizino ad abituare alla realtà e non a vivere in una campana di vetro. In tal senso, cerco di portare anche la mia esperienza come persona".

Int. 20: "Io uso molto me stessa, poi se ho da fare degli esempi uso moltissimo l'autoironia e tantissimi esempi che sono accaduti nella mia vita, per cui espongo me stessa come esempio".

Int. 32: "Magari, dico anche qualcosa che riguarda la mia vita, se emerge un problema che io stessa ho vissuto in passato, lo porto fuori e cerco di farglielo capire in questo modo".

Int. 34: "Quindi, avere dei toni di un certo tipo, magari pacati; far vedere che quando si deve dire una cosa, si deve dire in un determinato modo, perché verrai hai ascoltato di

più, perché avrai comunque dei risultati positivi rispetto all'interazione urlata piuttosto che sovrapposta, quindi con l'esempio proprio, non ci sono altre metodologie. cercare di richiamarli su quello che è l'atteggiamento corretto da tenere. Direi, quindi, costantemente col richiamo e con l'esempio, questi sono i metodi che vengono utilizzati".

B3 - SCT as: Didactic and subject oriented

In this category, quotes inform that there is no difference between the transmission of the content of one specific discipline and the transmission of social competences. No specific techniques or didactic practices are explicated and the transmission of social competences happens contextually to the subject teaching.

Rappresentative quotes

Int. 1: "Di recente ho fatto nelle terza medie la genetica, per cui ho parlato delle varie caratteristiche che collegano la genetica al colore della pelle. Partendo dagli elementi più semplici di Mendel che studiano un carattere che è specificato solamente da un gene e facendo l'esempio del fiore, sono arrivato al colore della pelle, perché questa è una scuola dove, a volte, in una classe ci sono anche oltre 10 nazionalità, con provenienze parecchio diverse, dal Sud America, all'Asia, al Nord Africa. Lì occorre far capire ai ragazzini che il colore della pelle, a livello genetico e sociale, non ha alcuna importanza, è soltanto un'infinitesima parte del patrimonio genetico, quindi, non ha niente a che fare con la personalità di ognuno di loro".

Int. 3: "Partendo dall'insegnamento della civiltà, quell'ora di civiltà che si fa nelle scuole, nella cattedra di lettere è prevista un'ora di civiltà, questo, unito magari all'insegnamento di geografia, sto pensando al classico manuale di geografia dove in ogni unità, dopo aver descritto lo Stato dal punto di vista economico e politico si entra poi nel punto di vista sociale, religioni, le usanze etc., lì si potrebbe sottolineare la diversificazione tra i vari stati e il sapere vivere in questo mondo che ormai nel 2016 è più extra culturale che uni culturale".

Int. 5: "Penso a un modo educativo, che passa attraverso delle conoscenze civiche, perché la conoscenza è alla base".

Int. 13: "Non è semplicissimo per quanto riguarda la matematica e scienze, perché è chiaro che sono delle materie in cui sia ha un linguaggio specifico, però, secondo me, anche il fatto di sapere stare insieme, comunque per quanto riguarda le scienze, dare degli approfondimenti che riguardano l'obiettivo salute, ora che stiamo facendo in seconda l'anatomia e fisiologia umana".

Int. 20: "Sì. L'arte ha un obiettivo anche di carattere civile, cioè deve essere un po' al servizio, in questo caso, dal punto di vista educativo, di una società. Quindi, per me non è tanto la tecnica, perché poi sappiamo ci sono quelli bravi, quelli meno bravi, per me è liberare".

Int 22 "Magari un po' di meno con discipline come matematica o come tecnica, ma sicuramente con quelle umanistiche sono più attuabili queste dinamiche qua".

Int. 23: "ogni volta, dato che faccio poi due materie, arte e tecnologia, cerco sempre di collegare quello che facciamo con il presente, e sensibilizzare i ragazzi, per quanto riguarda tecnologia, riguardo all'uso consapevole dei materiali, al pensare in maniera ecologica, quindi quando faccio anche un semplice materiale, come fosse il legno".

Int. 33: "A volte, in scienze spesso si toccano gli argomenti delle malattie, quindi anche solo affrontare determinati temi può aiutarli un pochino ad aprirsi e ad accettare le cose con più serenità. Se hanno avuto dei casi di conoscenti, familiari, amici o anche solo per sapere come comportarsi se uno si fa male o che può essere di aiuto alla società, insomma modo sono nozioni che possono essere utili".

Int. 46: "Bè, allora, all'interno della didattica il mezzo principale è ovviamente la disciplina insegnata, e insegnando io una lingua, insegnando io una lingua, cerco sempre di cogliere le situazioni e di inquadrarle dentro a un contesto".

Int. 47: "Allora, prevalentemente, con matematica, diciamo, forse diventa un po' più complesso, perché facciamo la lezione e comunque sì, diciamo, è un po' diverso, però forse in scienze si riesce un po' più forse con scienze... diciamo con matematica è complesso, la lezione è un po' più rigida, io sono alla lavagna, loro sono in silenzio, ascoltano, eccetera. Con scienze, diciamo, parti soprattutto in terza, dove i temi sono un po' più... per esempio le dipendenze, le droghe, l'alcool eccetera, l'AIDS, appunto, la riproduzione eccetera, sono un po' più coinvolti".

B4 - SCT as: Implicit in diverse collective activities

In this category, quotes indicate transmission of social competences as happening through diverse collective activities.

Rappresentative quotes

Int. 12: "Sicuramente, penso alla filmografia, andare a recuperare magari certi film, certe cose anche datate, ma che hanno un senso; alla musica, perché è un filone che a loro piace molto - a questi ragazzi piace molto il rap, piacciono molto questi cantanti che sembra che trasmettono questi ideali, queste cose molto ritmate - alle attività espressive".

Int. 14: "Io ho anche l'abitudine di fare cose anche fuori dalla scuola, per chi ha voglia. Per esempio, è uscito un bel film, portare tutta la classe mi diventa complicato, perché devo essere sostituita, allora ci vediamo al pomeriggio, cinema, pizza oppure spettacolo teatrale, chi vuole viene, vengono sempre gli stessi. Questa è un'altra palestra di socialità, perché non viene tutta la classe, vengono soltanto quelli fortemente motivati che costituiscono una seconda classe all'interno della classe e questo al mattino fa la differenza, perché questo è il gruppo che ha partecipato a queste iniziative".

Int. 16: "la realtà vista attraverso i film. Il teatro mette in scena qualcosa di vero; se mette in scena qualcosa di finto, la gente non parla o, perlomeno, coglie non c'è spessore".

Int. 27: "Questo, soprattutto in prima siamo partiti con un bel progetto e quindi sabato scorso abbiamo per esempio ridipinto l'aula, e questo ha creato... comunque secondo me ha aiutato a sviluppare delle competenze sociali".

Int. 28: "il pranzo multietnico. Poi però riuscivi magari, parlando, attraverso una ricetta, attraverso un gioco, attraverso un viene che facciamo, tu mi racconti del tuo paese, tiriamo fuori, allora veniva fuori, guardavamo su internet, lì avendo la possibilità di accedere si vedeva, si capiva e gli altri dicevano ah sì è vero, lì fanno così, cosà, associata a quella tradizione, imparare magari un po' di lessico, geografia eccetera, eccetera".

B5 - SCT as: *Happening through group work*

In this category, quotes indicate transmission of social competences as happening through group work based on discipline content.

Representative quotes

Int. 2: "Intanto, nelle mie materie, faccio dei lavori di gruppo, che servono proprio per aiutarli al rapporto interpersonale".

Int. 9: "Secondo me, è molto difficile, nel senso che a scuola ci sono tante belle regole, ci sono anche tanti studi teorici su questo argomento, poi ci si trova un po' a lavorare con la quotidianità, nel senso che ogni classe, ogni ragazzino è molto diverso uno dall'altro. Sicuramente, a me piace molto fare lavorare i ragazzi in gruppo".

Int. 18: "Quindi, lavori di gruppo impostati per come si può, negoziazione delle scelte, dei significati, delle procedure, se riesco a lavorare così vengono fuori tante cose belle, perché sicuramente scatta il conflitto e sicuramente se lo devono risolvere, perché altrimenti non ce ne usciamo".

Int. 39: "ce ne sono, il lavoro in collaborazione, quindi attività che possano svolgere a due o tre. Facendogli in qualche modo interfacciare tra di loro e colmando quelle che sono le rispettive difficoltà".

Int. 46: "lavoro di gruppo Perché è comunque una società già abbastanza individualista e quindi basata esclusivamente sul mito... sul narcisismo, no? infatti stiamo facendo proprio appunto il mito di Narciso per spiegare che non possiamo noi specchiarci e dirci quanto ci amiamo e quanto ci vogliamo bene senza condividerlo con gli altri, e far sì che anche gli altri ci giudichino in qualche modo, anche il giudizio degli altri può essere utile, in questo senso. Per cui tutto questo guardarsi allo specchio è un po' il tema dell'anno, quindi mettersi in relazione con l'altro anche attraverso, banalmente o forse no, l'epica, piuttosto che anche, per quanto riguarda la storia e la geografia, il fatto di dire... siamo tanti, ho una classe in cui ho almeno sette etnie diverse, e sono diciassette, unica italiana".

Int. 51: "Di solito questi lavori di gruppo sono volti proprio alla costruzione o di modelli tridimensionali oppure di cartelloni che poi loro utilizzano per esporre i contenuti di una data, diciamo, parte di programma ai propri compagni e al docente".

B6 - SCT as: Based on specific didactic techniques for socialization

Quotes from this category illustrate a scenario in which some specific didactic techniques are implemented in order to transmit social competences.

Rappresentative quotes

Int. 2: "dall'inizio dell'anno, nella prima che coordino abbiamo stabilito dei ruoli che servono, dei compiti di realtà che servono a contribuire alla società, per cui c'è chi si deve occupare del riciclaggio, chi si deve occupare di sistemare l'aula alla fine delle lezioni, chi si occupa di risparmio energetico, quindi di spegnere la luce e via dicendo".

Int. 4: "Sì, ho delle modalità, innanzitutto la "modalità specchio", che funziona. Che cos'è la "modalità specchio"? Io con la "modalità specchio" vado a migliorare la consapevolezza".

Int. 14: "Per esempio, abbiamo provato ad introdurre l'apprendimento cooperativo, che è stata un'esperienza sociale interessante, perché questi gruppi sono stati costruiti da noi in modo che fossero eterogenei, quindi, con competenze diverse, problematiche diverse all'interno di ciascun gruppo".

Int. 25: "Attraverso dei compiti che sono collegati con la realtà, questo è, diciamo, un mio metodo, ma penso che sia il procedimento corretto. Compiti che sono collegati con la realtà, compiti che sono collegati con il mondo che ci circonda. Quindi attraverso la vita quotidiana, attraverso degli esempi quotidiani".

Int. 35: "in generale, abbiamo creato, all'interno della classe, una serie di incarichi, quindi la ritualizzazione di tutta una serie di azioni che, di solito, vengono un po' lasciate all'iniziativa dei singoli - dall'aprire la finestra piuttosto che distribuire il materiale eccetera - e soprattutto un'interfaccia, io lo chiamo il braccio destro degli insegnanti, il quale gestisce le problematiche della classe in rapporto agli insegnanti".

Int. 18: "il dibattito all'americana".

Int. 21: "laboratori".

Int. 30: "giochi di gruppo, giochi di imitazione, giochi emozionali, giochi di collaborazione, socializzazione".

Int. 36: "Si fanno spesso dei lavori, soprattutto magari in prima, quest'anno abbiamo iniziato un po' anche in seconda, perché è una classe che non conoscevo, dove ogni ragazzino deve mettersi in gioco, cioè parlare di sé ai compagni tramite una serie di attività pratiche, disegni. "Io sono" è un lavoro che abbiamo iniziato quest'anno, presentare chi sei anche se sei straniero, magari solo con i disegni, la bandiera del tuo paese, di dove sei, le cose che ti piacciono e poi ogni ragazzino deve esporre al resto della classe, quindi c'è anche un discorso di buttarsi, perché non è facile per un ragazzino appena arrivato parlare davanti ad un contesto classe, dove magari sono tutti lì come per dire "ma chi sei".

Int. 41: "io penso che uno degli aspetti proprio, un po' semplificando, sia la gestione dei conflitti perché comunque ci rendiamo conto che in alcuni casi, soprattutto con i ragazzini che magari stanno imparando l'italiano e si rapportano poco, possono nascere delle fisicità loro, un rapportarsi molto fisico perché non conosce la lingua che può infastidire gli altri ragazzi".

Int. 48: "ascolto, delle proposte, delle discussioni in classe, e non è una perdita di tempo, il circle time, che poi vabbè quello è un discorso anche molto tecnico dello stare in cerchio e guardarsi in faccia, però a volte serve, piuttosto che proprio banalmente da un discorso che parte da un argomento storico, passare poi all'argomento dell'attualità".

Borderline quotes

Int. 37: "Facciamo per esempio nelle ore di matematica, abbiamo fatto l'esercitazione l'altro ieri, è il lavoro in cui loro devono sviluppare le competenze sociali oltre che matematiche perché le arriva alla classe intera, in quanto squadra unica, otto problemi, devono dividersi in gruppo, distribuirsi i problemi, risolverli, spiegarli e consegnare in busta chiusa in assenza dell'insegnante tutto".

4.5 Categories of description: social competence evaluation (SCE)
Tot. 352 quotes

Quotes from this category illustrate a scenario in which the evaluation of social competences is done by the class coordinator (generally the Italian teacher).

Representative quotes

Int. 1: "E' una parte che, anche se si partecipa, l'insegnante che maggiormente riesce a valutare questo è la docente di italiano, delle materie letterarie".

Int. 4: "Io, personalmente, non l'ho compilata; la fanno quella di lettere, di solito".

Int. 7: "Quelle sociali, in realtà, purtroppo noi insegnanti spesso le deleghiamo all'insegnante di Lettere, poi ogni tanto se ne discute".

Int. 8: "Questa è una parte un po' carente, secondo me, del nostro lavoro, perché dovrebbe esserci un lavoro di preparazione molto più capillare di confronto all'interno del Consiglio di Classe. Detta come va detta, alla fin fine la posizione del coordinatore di lettere".

Int. 9: "In realtà, è un voto che l'insegnante che ha più ore tende a dare un po' da solo e poi a fare partecipi gli altri, che si limitano a dire: "Va bene, non va bene". Secondo me, questo è un po' un errore, perché tutto quello che riguarda l'alunno dovrebbe essere discusso collegialmente, è un errore e un limite della nostra scuola".

Int. 10: "Quello lo fa il coordinatore".

Int. 8: "Bisognerebbe veramente strutturare meglio il cammino che porta a questa valutazione, attraverso un confronto un po' più capillare tra gli insegnanti, anche perché in questa fascia di età secondo me sono estremamente importanti le valutazioni, cioè quelle materie in cui i ragazzi possono esprimersi in maniera alternativa rispetto a quelle che sono le materie della didattica tradizionale, quindi l'educazione fisica, l'educazione musicale".

Int. 9: "i consigli di classe si riducono a delle riunioni molto veloci, in cui non c'è tempo, ci sono altre problematiche da risolvere, non ci sono momenti di programmazione comune. Questo, secondo me, è un limite fortissimo che nella scuola c'è. La mancanza di tempo ce la creiamo un po' noi, perché prendersi due ore al pomeriggio e discutere tranquillamente si potrebbe fare, però c'è l'idea che il lavoro dell'insegnante sia un po' un'altra cosa e questa collaborazione, secondo me, manca molto".

Int. 14: "Noi dobbiamo conciliare il modo in cui siamo stati abituati a lavorare per anni, con una cosa che per adesso è un po' calata nell'astratto, soprattutto la valutazione".

Int. 18: "o ho ancora un sacco di dubbi sul modo in cui queste competenze vengono proposte dall'alto, da chi ci suggerisce un tipo di didattica e da come noi poi riusciamo ad attuarle".

Int. 46: "No, allora, guardiamo sostanzialmente più alla parte educativa che alla parte, diciamo, legata alle discipline. È un'operazione che dentro alle scuole non si fa, dal mio punto di vista, forse con il dovuto tempo a disposizione".

Int. 4: "Poi, c'è il problema del voto di condotta. Alcune di noi lamentiamo che nel voto di condotta vengono inserite tacitamente le competenze, c'è un miscuglio, non c'è una linearità voto di condotta-competenze, nessuno riesce a fare una valutazione oggettiva. E' complesso stilare le competenze, mediante dei criteri giusti, è sempre difficile, è sempre difficile oggettivamente identificare competenze esistenti e non esistenti. Questo è il nocciolo del problema, che abbiamo sempre avuto ogni anno, lo stilare le competenze, che poi combaciano, non combaciano, il voto in condotta".

Int. 35: "Ora come ora, secondo me, le competenze sociali non possiamo valutarle. Quel numero che noi scriviamo lì o quel giudizio che noi scriviamo lì è un giudizio che è basato su un'impostazione antica "non è conflittuale con i compagni", "è disponibile ad aiutare i compagni", "se ci sono dei momenti di conflitto, per quanto riguarda i lavori di gruppo, lui riesce a tirarsi indietro, mediare, mettere da parte le proprie esigenze per favorire quelle del gruppo", ma a mio avviso questa è una valutazione estremamente parziale".

Borderline quotes

Int. 42: "allora, solitamente c'è il coordinatore che molto spesso `è il docente di lettere, ma non è detto e se il coordinatore non è quello di lettere, tutti e due fanno una proposta e noi discutiamo, o valutiamo oppure approviamo quello che viene detto. Quindi è abbastanza a valle il nostro intervento".

C2 - SCE as: Based on students' behavior and capacity of regulation

In this category, evaluation of social competences is put in direct relation with behavior as the way in which on individuals enacts in one environment. The capacity of regulating the behavior determines the social competences evaluation.

Int. 7: "Le competenze per quanto riguarda il sociale, si discute un pochino e si vede come si comportano in classe, come si comportano con i compagni, come si relazionano con i docenti".

Int. 16: "Il voto di comportamento è la valutazione dei comportamenti sociali. In genere, viene valutato la puntualità, la capacità di stare nel gruppo, il fatto di non disturbare, il fatto di fare i compiti, i ritardi e tutto questo rientra in un unico voto, che è il

comportamento".

Int. 43: "ecco generalmente, competenze sociali direi che è più legato al comportamento. in uno spazio normale non si mette a urlare, non si mette a sfasciare oggetti, non si mette ad aggredire persone, sappia parlare ed esprimersi in modo adeguato, quindi le cose che assolutamente non si devono fare non dovrebbe farle, in generale".

Int. 50: "Perché noi, competenze sociali, sono trasformate penso in questa fase qua di comportamento generale".

Borderline quotes

Int .15: "quando un ragazzo ha indubbiamente spiccate qualità dal punto di vista musicale o mostra particolari talenti, noi segnaliamo che il ragazzo potrebbe seguire un percorso di studi musicali".

Int. 31: "Sicuramente, i parametri generali sono, per quello che riguarda la mia materia, quelli che sono sì legati alla materia, ma soprattutto all'aspetto di orientamento anche personale e la piccola maturità personale rispetto a quello che propongono i mass media".

C3 - SCE as: Depending on observation

Depending on the quotes of this category, the evaluation of social competences is based on teachers' observation. Teachers observe students and formulate judgements. The evaluation of social competences is strictly related to the observation of the teacher.

Representative quotes

Int. 2: "Quello che mi viene più facile da pensare è l'osservazione, sia nei momenti strutturati che destrutturati. un'osservazione ponderata da parte mia, ma non necessariamente comunicata".

Int. 42: "allora tantissimo peso ha la gita di fine anno di terza media e l'osservazione di come i ragazzi si comportano fuori dalla scuola in un periodo molto lungo che non sia l'uscita giornaliera per cui alle dodici si torna a scuola".

Int. 3: "Guarderei il singolo e la classe. La maniera che abbiamo di rapportarci a loro è quella di 1 a 1 ed 1 a 1 con la classe, nel senso che noi li vediamo nell'ambiente classe, non li vediamo fuori dalla classe. L'ambiente classe è abbastanza sufficiente per poter valutare una competenza sociale e civica. quindi, valuterei lui tralasciando la parte didattica, la parte culturale, ma guardando proprio com'è cresciuto come persona,

guardando il processo dagli 11 ai 13 anni e vedendo che cosa è cambiato, che cosa non è cambiato e come si rapporta lui nell'ambito sociale e civico, che sembra nulla, però, in realtà è abbastanza per poter valutare il ragazzo".

Int. 5: "Loro dovrebbero riuscire in tre anni, più cinque delle elementari, a fare questo, ad autoregolarsi".

Int. 24: "La capacità di relazionarsi con l'insegnante, quindi le strategie che lo studente mette in atto per relazionarsi con l'insegnante, e come si relaziona agli altri. Quindi se è una persona che magari tende a lavorare in maniera più individuale, e anche se tende a lavorare in maniera più individuale, se cerca un dialogo con l'insegnante o aspetta che sia l'insegnante sempre a dirgli cosa e come deve fare".

Int. 48: "Certamente sì, certo, con i vari step che sono stati raggiunti, è chiaro che un minimo di obiettivo c'è, cioè sulle competenze sociali, è chiaro che loro, soprattutto perché andranno a formarsi in una scuola professionale la maggior parte, le competenze sociali sono quelle: "Sono in grado poi", visto che c'è l'alternanza scuola-lavoro fin dal primo anno nelle scuole dei CFP, "sono in grado di poter assumermi la responsabilità non solo di andare a scuola, ma anche di recarmi sul luogo di lavoro?".

Int. 49: "E quindi viene valutato sia, diciamo, l'interazione che c'è tra lo studente e l'insegnante, cioè la partecipazione attiva, la domanda, l'intervento, la richiesta anche di aiuto o di comprensione dell'esercizio, e la disponibilità ad aiutare il compagno piuttosto che a lavorare con altri".

Int. 9: "Primo, uso tantissimo l'osservazione, cioè io li osservo come si comportano, come stanno in classe, come stanno nel gruppo".

Int. 45: "È un po' un insieme di cose, non saprei, in realtà io credo che la difficoltà nel definire cosa sia una competenza sociale sia proprio questo per noi, perché è proprio un complesso formativo, una serie di azioni, ripeto, è tanto un lavoro di osservazione, proprio. Quello per me è difficile, devo dire la verità, cioè proprio trasformare tutto questo lavoro di osservazione in una rubrica proprio di lavoro, di così, questo per me è difficile, lo ammetto".

C4 - SCE as: Something done collectively

In this category, no matter what is the parameter used to evaluate social competences, what qualifies social competences evaluation the most is the dialogic process that happens among teachers. Different perspectives over the same students compose the evaluation.

Int. 5: "Le valutazioni dei vari campi partono un po' dagli esiti e poi se ne discute in consiglio di classe, perché la compilazione delle competenze, la certificazione che facciamo in terza media è un punto di confronto con tutti i colleghi".

Int. 36: "Sì, ma la compiliamo tutti insieme".

Int. 36: "Secondo me, il suo apporto all'interno della classe è la cosa basilare, che cosa ha dato lui di positivo, che cosa ha messo in gioco di positivo nel gruppo classe, perché uno può essere anche bravo, però anche il bravo magari è asettico, pensa per sé, faccio il mio lavoro, vado avanti per la mia strada, però non sono di supporto agli altri".

Int. 37: "beh sì, se sa comprendere le ragioni degli altri, se sa gestire i conflitti, se sa collaborare con gli altri".

Int. 38: "allora al fine di valutarlo innanzitutto appunto se è capace di stare in un gruppo, se accetta le opinioni altrui, se chiede spiegazioni, se non capisce appunto anche le spiegazioni. se conosce i suoi diritti e i suoi doveri. E se li mette in atto".

Int. 40: "Sempre il rispetto delle regole sicuramente, l'ho già detto più volte. Quello dell'acquisizione del regolamento, potrebbe essere un altro obiettivo, i rapporti".

Int. 41: "Le competenze sociali invece rientrano in un quadro più vasto anche di valutazione delle relazioni tra di loro, innanzitutto, ma poi anche appunto la partecipazione ai progetti, la capacità di sapersi gestire anche, la maturità personale, il saper evitare anche frequentazioni che potrebbero essere nocive".

Int. 17: "abbiamo sempre pensato insieme, ragionando sul fatto che se uno ha una percezione spesso è una percezione parziale, per cui, ragionando invece su un quadro più ampio e pensando su una base più ampia, la possibilità di dare un quadro delle competenze definito, chiaro e poi tendenzialmente veritiero per quello che serve,è più semplice e anche più formativo, perché io posso cogliere dal collega quello che magari mi era sfuggito, perché nella mia materia non si verificano certe dinamiche".

Int. 21: "Eh, sicuramente, sempre collegiale e discussa anche molto la cosa: "Tu cosa dici, come lo vedi, il grado di relazionarsi con gli altri, è un ragazzino egoista oppure dà la disponibilità agli altri, in che modo la dà". Abbiamo condiviso sempre".

Int. 51: "ma per diciamo un gruppo di materie affini, per cui devi metterti d'accordo con i colleghi per poter capire nelle diverse situazioni, il ragazzo o la ragazza come si posizionano da quel punto di vista. È un po' difficile a volte tradurre, diciamo così, in effetti, in competenze delle valutazioni che tu fai sui lavori, nel senso che molto spesso la difficoltà per noi docenti è un po' quello, anche perché nel mio caso ho modo di stare coi ragazzi due ore alla settimana, per cui è vero che nell'arco del triennio poi li conosci, però è anche vero che molto spesso queste competenze di cittadinanza che sono appunto trasversali, emergono in maniera diversificata in relazione al tipo di, diciamo, attività che

si svolgono".

C5 - SCE as: Depending on measurements and criteria

In this category, evaluation of social competences is done through school grids. Indicators are provided which help teachers orienting themselves.

Int. 25: "La valutazione delle competenze sul piano sociale.... ovviamente ci sono degli indicatori di competenza, quindi viene, come dire, decisa dal punto di vista collegiale, decisa insieme. Bisogna vedere ogni Consiglio di Classe che indicatori di competenza ha adottato. Spesso ci si rifà all'indicazione nazionale per il curriculum, quindi in questo caso per competenza sociale, non ricordo le parole esatte, però sono sempre riferite alla cittadinanza, sono sempre competenze".

4.6 Categories of description: social competence vignette analysis (SC(V))
Tot. 352 quotes

D1 - SC(V) as: enacted through discipline

In this category, social competences are enacted through disciplinary and sanctions.

Representative quotes

Int. 24: "In quel caso punire tra virgolette i ragazzi, in maniera proprio esemplare, in modo tale che loro capiscano immediatamente che se si comportano in quel modo verranno puniti, e comunque sia la scuola non accetta questa situazione".

Int. 25: "Quindi, come dire, vanno intrapresi due tipi di percorsi, uno è un percorso, diciamo, severo, del tipo ammonimenti contro i ragazzi che scherniscono la ragazza in questione. L'altro percorso, ma quello è un problema di fondo, perché già l'abbiam visto, che questa classe è una classe chiassosa, quindi l'abbiam già visto che già c'è un problema a monte, un problema di disciplina della classe che la classe non ha. Quindi un conto è diciamo l'ignoranza, un conto poi finisce... diciamo, i ragazzini che ti prendono in giro perché sono ignoranti, perché non conoscono, perché hanno paura, finisce questo limite, magari entrano nel confine del bullismo, del tipo: 'Questa è sola, adesso la bullizziamo'".

Int. 28: "E che comunque se io entrassi subito dopo faccio capire ai ragazzi che questa cosa va sanzionata a livello anche forte, nel senso non deve essere una nota, piuttosto che una sospensione eccetera, poi dipende, però va subito presa, nel senso che tu come docente fai subito un intervento facendo capire alla classe che queste sono cose che non

devono accadere".

Int. 39: "noi abbiamo solamente le note come strumento punitivo, tutto quello che possiamo farli e poi richiamarli cercando di spiegare loro che invece bisogna rispettare le diversità e le differenze culturali".

D2 - SC(V) as: embedded in the contents

Social competences, in the quotes which shape this category, are developed and enhanced through contents. It is through the proposal of content-related experiences that social competences are enhanced.

Representative quotes

Int. 4: "Farei una lezione sull' educazione civica".

Int. 5: "affronterei in classe un discorso proprio di tipo culturale, andiamo a vedere cosa è l'hijab, cosa rappresenta, anche perché le vostre mamme lo indossano, che cos'è? Qui può esserci il conflitto religioso, culturale ed è la gestione del conflitto che è fondamentale da parte dell'insegnante, per cui farei proprio un lavoro in classe. Proporrei delle immagini in cui ci sono anche donne famose con l'hijab, potrei sottolineare anche la bellezza che può avere una donna che indossa l'hijab, arriverei veramente a scardinare il concetto di differenza e quello, invece, di accoglienza anche di queste diversità".

Int. 9: "Ogni volta che mi capita di avere problemi di origine diversa, può essere la presa in giro su una ragazzina, se uno è più debole se uno è più forte, io cerco sempre di dargli un background storico, un background culturale. Quando insegno, per esempio, storia, metto sempre l'accento sul fatto che ci sono dei momenti in cui tutte le civiltà hanno avuto dei problemi nei confronti l'una dell'altra e tutte le civiltà, in particolare la nostra, è stata aggressiva nei confronti di altre".

Int. 9: "leggendo magari anche dei racconti, ce ne sono tantissimi, parlando di personaggi anche importanti della cultura islamica. Ci sono un sacco di testi, un sacco di libri che raccontano come portare il velo possa essere anche una scelta, non solo un'imposizione della famiglia".

Int. 10: "Qui bisognerebbe fare una lezione, fermarsi un attimo, parlare un po' al di là della materia, perché la cosa che dico a loro è: "Siamo sempre esseri umani, quindi dobbiamo essere rispettati a prescindere. Ognuno la può pensare come vuole, siamo in un mondo libero e democratico, quello è il suo tipo di abbigliamento".

Int. 14: "Vediamo di conoscerla meglio questa cultura in tutti i suoi aspetti, però, bisogna dire, che da parte delle ragazze musulmane spesso questa volontà di condividere non c'è".

Int. 26: "Secondo me una collaborazione tra colleghi, realizzare dei piccoli progetti, magari dei giochi dove sono coinvolti tutti, oppure, che so vedere un film vedendo le tradizioni di ogni religione, le differenze, le loro opinioni, delle critiche costruttive piuttosto che…".

Int. 27: "Quindi forse come un lavoro di compresenza e con un'attività, sì, Ok, far capire le diverse tradizioni religiose e quindi il rispetto, ma poi appunto conoscere magari una religione più vicina a noi che comunque ha anche questa delle tradizioni che magari lo diamo per scontato".

Int. 29: "Li porterei a parlare con le persone della sua religione, li porterei fuori da qui. Li porterei a contatto con quella realtà. Che magari non sanno neanche quali sono le motivazioni reali. Poi ci sono moltissimi libri su cose di questo tipo".

Int. 31: "Farei un lavoro sui ragazzi, sulla classe, su cosa vuol dire la tolleranza e il rispetto degli altri, un po' questa cosa qua, un po' questo, perché poi alla fine questa è una mancanza, è una esternazione, è un modo di discriminare un po' l'altro".

Int. 15: "Questo anche nella musica, perché Rossini ci scrive un'aria sulla calunnia, che è quel sottile venticello che anche se sai che non è vero, ti instilla Il dubbio".

Int. 17: "In una situazione del genere la prima cosa che andrebbe fatta sarebbe un bel lavoro, almeno nel mio ambito musicale, sulle musiche orientali, mediorientali, piuttosto che un lavoro strutturato sulle multi etnicità, sulla coesistenza di tante realtà culturali in un unico nucleo".

Int. 18: "In generale sceglierei un testo, un testo che mettesse a confronto, che proponesse una riflessione di tipo interculturale, un testo di storia o un video, un film, un bellissimo cortometraggio a sfondo etnico- sociale che stanno girando tanto, insomma prendere una cosa del genere. Dalla riflessione sul testo lontano ma non estraneo alla questione, poi, dovremmo cercare di riavvicinarci in modo non troppo diretto, sempre non direttamente collegato a questo e basta, poi io la lascerei lievitare questa cosa, lascerei che lievitasse lentamente senza trarre conclusioni".

Int. 21: "Io non ho problemi perché quando mi è capitato, e mi son capitati questi... bè, bisogna vedere anche come si pone in questo caso quella ragazzina nei confronti degli altri, perché ci sono le due parti, c'è il contesto classe, no? e in questo senso, almeno, da parte mia ma anche da... di solito l'insegnante di italiano, quando viviamo una situazione del genere, è chiaro che trattiamo in classe il tema del rispetto dell'altro, rispetto dell'altro vuol dire non solo idee e culture diverse, religioni diverse eccetera, ma anche l'abbigliamento, no? son temi che vengono trattati spesso anche qua".

Int. 45: "Eh, bella cosa, penso che la legherei alla mia materia scolastica, anche, ci sono dei bellissimi video in tedesco dove si vedono scuole multiculturali di ragazze che portano l'hijab, dove viene spiegato appunto che ci sono famiglie con migrazioni, quindi con un retroterra culturale di immigrazione, e quindi probabilmente partirei facendo vedere un

video di quel genere, in quel caso legandolo alla mia materia".

Int. 48: "Chiaramente ci sono ormai talmente tante letture, talmente tanti articoli di giornale, soprattutto anche romanzi scritti da scrittori appunto tunisini oppure immigrati, no? in Europa, che hanno parlato di discriminazione, quindi farei leggere, farei parlare loro delle loro esperienze, però io ho sempre lavorato in scuole multietniche ad alto tasso, chiaramente, noi abbiamo qua un settantacinque per cento di alunni provenienti da altri Paesi, quindi non riesco ad immaginare una scuola di ragazzi solo italiani, non ho mai lavorato in scuole di questo tipo, o con prevalenza italiana. A parte che io credo che loro siano italiani a tutti gli effetti nel momento in cui nascono e vivono qua, sono italiani, hanno una cultura italiana molti di loro, e io ho ragazzini musulmani che sono comunque ragazzini europei a tutti gli effetti a livello culturale".

Int. 50: "Farei un piano, farei un piano di azione, magari con dei filmati, no? un po' più al loro livello, perché insomma, le lezioni cattedratiche poi servono fino a un certo punto, però comunque con filmati o con, non so, drammatizzazioni, o messi nelle condizioni di... o fare parlare lei".

Int. 51: "Io credo che potrei proporre alla classe di fare un lavoro proprio su queste tematiche, magari di solito si cerca, nel caso in cui ci siano delle occasioni così, insomma, di curiosità da parte loro, di piegare fra virgolette il programma alla trattazione di questi temi, no? per esempio, mi viene in mente che nel secondo anno, adesso la ragazzina ha dodici anni, quindi è in seconda media, nel mio caso uno degli argomenti che si trattano in quella classe sono... sono due gli argomenti che potrei usare, o la dieta, in generale, e quindi proporre un lavoro alla classe di conoscenza reciproca, e magari basata sulle tradizioni culinarie, oppure anche l'abitazione, cioè il tema dell'edilizia, per cui magari fare un lavoro sulle case, sulle abitudini abitative".

D3 - SC(V) as: promoted through dialogue with the class or with the single students

In this category, the way in which social competence are intended is dialogic. This dialogic understanding can involve either single students or the whole class (the division between *with the class* and *with the single students* is kept in this section while in the distribution section the category is considered as a whole).

Representative quotes
Dialogue with the class

Int. 2: "Quindi, piuttosto che additarli e fare un lavoro specifico - tanto male non fa - un lavoro di integrazione di culture fa bene anche a quelli che non si sono esposti prendendo in giro la ragazza. Lavorerei sul gruppo, coinvolgendo anche la ragazza offesa".

Int. 5: "Si vede il conflitto, assolutamente. Questo è un problema che va affrontato a livello di consiglio di classe, a livello di classe, perché quando c'è un conflitto, la cosa di cui bisogna essere consapevoli è che siamo tutti implicati, non è una questione Samira-classe, Samira-insegnante".

Int. 7: "Sono queste le occasioni di confronto, io se non ce l'ho in classe le prendo da giornale, pur facendo matematica e non educazione civica, ne parlo sempre, ho parlato della donna che si è uccisa per i video su internet, parlo di tutto quello che succede, almeno hanno un riscontro, altrimenti diventano dei tabù, c'è il ragazzino che fa la battutina cretina etc".

Int. 8: "poi parallelamente lavorare sulla classe e cercare di far capire che questo atteggiamento è sbagliato, del loro compagno, ma non va stigmatizzato il compagno ma appunto l'atteggiamento, e che cosa possono fare per risolvere questo conflitto, quindi questo mi viene da dire".

Int. 9: "Se io avessi una situazione del genere, innanzitutto ne parlerei in classe, affronterei il discorso sia con Samira - chiamiamola così - presente sia magari in un momento in cui lei non c'è, per capire il motivo di questa presa in giro".

Int. 11: "In primis c'è proprio la comprensione verbale".

Int. 12: "L'approccio, che abbiamo avuto con la mia collega, è stato quello di parlarne da subito con i compagni. Era una classe abbastanza multietnica, per essere una classe del centro, c'erano diverse etnie, diverse religioni e questa spiccava particolarmente, perché era l'unica bimba musulmana che veniva con il velo e ne abbiamo parlato da subito, abbiamo cercato di affrontare l'argomento subito. Poi, arrivata di qua alle medie, ho scoperto che il velo non lo porta più, quindi è bellissima, ha dei capelli bellissimi, perché ha deciso che vuole farsi vedere".

Int. 13: "sarei dispiaciuta in quanto loro non hanno colto i messaggi che giornalmente io do al di là della mia materia. Un po' tutti i docenti in questa scuola mandano questi messaggi per abituarli alla fratellanza, all'accettazione dell'altro, all'accettazione del diverso che può essere la cultura, la religione, la lingua o l'aspetto".

Int. 16: "A Milano, in dialetto milanese, la ragazza viene chiamata tusan e tusan sono le ragazze. Da dove viene questa parola? Tusan significa ragazzina, ma perché veniva chiamata così? E' una cosa che risale a parecchio tempo fa, presumibilmente è una storia che addirittura ha origini medievali. Tusan viene da tusare, tagliare. Le ragazzine, che avevano le mestruazioni per la prima volta, venivano tosate. Questo sta a significare che quel taglio di capelli era una forma di protezione, era un segnale. Non era più una bambina, era una donna, con tutte le cure e tutte le attenzioni che una donna deve avere. Questa cosa qua sta ad indicare che quel velo, secondo i musulmani, è una forma di protezione".

Int. 16: "No, io lo farei nel momento in cui arriva Samira col velo. Prima, perché prima

mi permette di andare oltre all'immagine, l'immagine del capo col velo. L'altra cosa, che potrebbe essere interessante, è la moda dei veli, perché loro si sbizzarriscono, basta trovare in internet qualche immagine, ognuno la personalizza. Noi vediamo tutti come veli, ma i veli sono tutti diversi".

Int. 20: "Sicuramente non vado a rimettere attenzione sul problema, il velo, che cos'è il velo, anzi, sposto dicendo: "In Scozia si mettono la gonna piuttosto che di lì fanno qualcos'altro per aggiungere alla diversità altre diversità. Comunque, dipende dai casi, a volte se ho la possibilità di chi è in difetto che sta ridendo di qualcosa, magari con molta delicatezza, perché rigirare il calzino di botto crea anche uno scompenso, però, se c'è la possibilità di ispirazione in quel momento, potrei rigirare dicendo: "Guarda, che tu facendo così a me fai venire da ridere".

Int. 21: "Di agire sicuramente parlando, parlando ai ragazzi. In seconda media, la ragazzina faceva già parte del gruppo, quindi la ragazzina era già conosciuta. "L'avete conosciuta così, senza velo; la vedete adesso col velo, ma è sempre lei, non è cambiato assolutamente niente".

Int. 28: "Allora io, una situazione del genere lavorerei con il consiglio di classe subito se succedesse a me ne parlerei con i ragazzi. Cercherei prima di tutto di far capire che questa ilarità, commenti eccetera, a prescindere dal velo, non si fanno per qualsiasi altra cosa, quindi se un bambino venisse con una scarpa, perché a volte queste cose accadono per la scarpa".

Int. 32: "Cercherei di far capire che non è giusto comportarsi così, che siamo diversi, ognuno ha le sue tradizioni, la sua cultura, qualcosa mi verrebbe in mente da dire, ma non sarebbe facile. Questo è uno di quegli aspetti che, lo dico con tutta sincerità, non mi piacerebbe affrontare".

Int. 36: "Si fa tutto un discorso alla classe, non dico in presenza della ragazzina, magari quando la ragazza non c'è, si fa un discorso classe mettendo in risalto che ognuno ha una propria fede, un proprio io. Io posso essere buddista e non è detto che vada in giro tutta… oppure posso appartenere ad un certo tipo di religione, però non con la ragazzina presente".

Int. 38: "beh io certamente riunirei la classe, la fermerei dal lavoro che si sta facendo e adesso parliamo di quelle che è il rispetto dell'altro. Perché è giusto capire che una realtà diversa dalla nostra ha altrettanti diritti e quindi merita il rispetto dovuto".

Int. 44: "Tutti devono sapere tutti. Se anche ci dobbiamo chiamare, ma lo facciamo davanti a tutti. È ovvio che poi l'insegnante deve mediare, deve fare capire la differenza tra, il perché, anche la, come dire, magari la ragazzina viene preso di mira per l'hijab e dico ma tu potresti venire preso di mira per un'altra cosa".

Int. 46: "Bè, parliamo di una ragazzina che è in età di scuola dell'obbligo. Quindi configurerebbe un'omissione, ma bisognerebbe assolutamente lavorare sulla ragazzina, ma sul gruppo, principalmente sul gruppo, in maniera tale da ricostituire un ambiente

che sia un ambiente... quelli che noi a scuola definiamo inclusivi, accoglienti, no? in modo tale che la ragazzina possa percepire, come dire, l'incidente culturale. Cioè io posso stare a parlare con lei, non è un problema, devi capire che per noi questo non è un problema, e se tu vivi qui e se tu intendi vivere qui e sei nata qui, cioè diventare membro di una comunità, cittadino di un Paese, significa entrare anche dentro certi meccanismi, e saperli gestire anche se ti creano disagio, poi il disagio sparisce un po' alla volta, parliamo di bambini di dodici anni".

Int. 47: "Sì, allora, sicuramente è quello di parlare anche, diciamo, in assenza dell'alunna, ecco, parlare un po' ai compagni, diciamo quelli che la prendono in giro, che ridono eccetera, e quindi far riflettere sul significato, no? che ha per la ragazza, diciamo, quel tipo di abbigliamento, e quindi far riflettere sulle diversità eccetera, quindi questo".

<div align="center">

Representative quotes
Dialogue with single students

</div>

Int. 1: "Penso farei dei colloqui singolarmente con i ragazzini che hanno avuto delle ilarità o hanno preso in giro questa ragazzina col velo, la gestirei in questo modo. Eviterei di intervenire in classe".

Int. 8: "c'è un lavoro da fare su due fronti, cioè cercare di agire sul singolo ragazzo in maniera isolata dal resto della classe, parlare, cercare di capire da dove deriva questo suo problema, cercare di farlo mettere nei panni degli altri: "Come ti sentiresti tu se tutti i tuoi compagni ti prendessero in giro per un tuo modo di essere, una cosa che tu senti come tua? Sei sicuro di non comportarti così perché magari in qualche momento tu ti sei sentito e sei stato trattato in questo modo? E adesso poterti rivalere sulla tua compagna in qualche modo ti dà un senso di rivalsa?"".

Int. 13: "Penso che li guarderei molto male come prima cosa e spero poi che dal mio sguardo capiscano che non sono assolutamente contenta di loro. Se naturalmente ciò non bastasse, probabilmente li prenderei fuori dalla classe e parlerei loro personalmente".

Int. 15: "incontrerei anche i compagni che mettono in atto quelle azioni, quindi, l'ilarità, i commenti irriverenti eccetera, come ho già fatto. La finalità è quella di far prendere loro coscienza che siamo tutti essere umani, tutti uguali, tutte persone di serie A".

Int. 15: "Cercherei di parlare con quelli che prendono in giro per spiegare ed anche con la ragazza per dirle che avrei parlato con loro, di passarci un po' sopra. Cercherei di consolarla un po', dicendole che persone così ne incontrerà sempre, purtroppo".

Int. 19: "Cercherei di parlare a parte con le persone che hanno preso in giro la ragazza, in un momento non di lezione, non davanti alla classe, ma cercherei di prenderli da parte in un altro momento, per esempio a ricreazione, per cercare di capire qual è il motivo del loro comportamento, della presa in giro. Gli farei degli esempi che anche loro potrebbero avere un comportamento diverso dagli altri, quindi magari essere presi in giro anche loro; gli farei capire che è un atteggiamento sbagliato, sperando che lo comprendano, più che sgridarli lì. Se uno fa dei commenti del genere, magari anche per mettersi al centro

dell'attenzione, rispondere in classe potrebbe essere per loro inutile, magari la ragazza si sentirebbe ancora di più a disagio".

Int. 34: "Parlandone il più possibile, magari ribaltando la situazione, almeno questo è quello che faccio io nel concreto. Proprio ieri, mi è successo, prendendo i due personaggi che si sono comportati male, ribaltiamo la situazione. Diciamo: "Se voi foste a posto di…vi sentireste come? Provate ad esternare le vostre emozioni, il vostro sentire, come vi sentireste voi al suo posto, vi farebbe piacere o no?".

Int. 34: "Nel momento in cui parla e si cerca di far capire dove c'è l'errore da parte di uno o dell'altro loro acquisiscono molto prima la regola, rispetto alla punizione che se viene lasciata lì, se non ripresa poi tutta la parte della discussione della carenza".

Representative quotes
Dialogue with Samira

Int. 3: "Prima di tutto agendo ad uno ad uno con la ragazza ed in un secondo momento, con il gruppo senza la ragazza. Nel rapporto 1 a 1 affronterai con lei l'argomento culturale, nel senso guarderei i lati negativi ma anche lati positivi della sua cultura, non del velo, in dettaglio sottolineando quelli positivi, quindi, il senso di appartenenza, il senso di legame, l'essere qualcuno, appartenere ad una cultura che ti dà un'identità".

Int. 5: "Innanzitutto, in un momento in cui non verrei vista, chiamerei Samira in disparte - fuori o magari cercherei un momento con lei - per cercare di capire l'evoluzione della cosa e come sta vivendo questo aspetto".

Int. 10: "Prima, parlerei con la ragazzina, le spiegherei che ci sono dei problemi che piano piano si risolveranno. Non bisogna mollare assolutamente, perché nella vita ci sta sempre il confronto e l'essere giudicati dagli altri, ma se uno ha un'idea, la deve portare avanti, fino alla fine. Alla ragazzina direi che nella vita ci sono delle idee, che vanno rispettate, e delle scelte, che vanno portate avanti e non bisogna arrendersi al primo intoppo, perché di intoppi ce ne saranno sempre, l'importante è fare sempre la cosa migliore per sé. Indossare un velo non è un reato, perché non stai facendo del male a nessuno. E' la tua religione, tu credi in quella cosa, perché tu non devi fare quella cosa? Nessuno ti deve imporre e tu non devi neanche toglierlo, perché loro non comandano su di te, ma sei tu che comandi su te stessa, cioè le scelte le fai te. Tu sei una persona, loro sono altre persone".

Int. 11: "Con la ragazzina l'approccio sarebbe molto più complesso, perché sarebbe cercare di farle accettare la sua cultura, perché ad un certo punto potrebbe scattare in lei anche un rifiuto, un odio nei confronti di quello che sta vivendo da parte della famiglia edin più, cercare di proteggerlo il suo disagio".

Int. 12: "Chiederei a Samira se mi dà il permesso di parlare in classe con i compagni".

Int. 15: "Uno può essere l'incontro con la ragazza da sola, perché chiaramente se vive un momento di disagio è il caso di trattarlo un po' per vedere che cosa vive a livello emotivo,

perché quando succede questo, una persona si sente sbagliata, non è inserita in società e questo dà tante ansie, paure, perché uno si sente escluso e quindi viene meno la sopravvivenza di cui all'inizio".

Int. 19: "Cercherei di parlare con quelli che prendono in giro per spiegare ed anche con la ragazza per dirle che avrei parlato con loro, di passarci un po' sopra. Cercherei di consolarla un po', dicendole che persone così ne incontrerà sempre, purtroppo".

Int. 24: "Ok, allora, innanzitutto parlare con la ragazza per capire che non è lei il problema ma sono le persone ignoranti che sono il problema, e quindi a lei far capire che la vita di per sé non è mai semplice, quindi di fronte a un problema cercare sempre di rialzarsi, quindi è meglio avere sin da subito delle situazioni problematiche e mettere in atto delle strategie di superamento. Quindi non fuggire di fronte a un problema, ma affrontarlo, e quindi cercare in qualche modo il dialogo con le persone, e soprattutto capire che il problema non è lei, ma sono quelle persone che hanno avuto un comportamento idiota".

D4 - SC(V) as: Happening through cultural reduction

In this category, social competences are intended as a cultural dialogue and the activation of social competences happens through making culture relative. Cultures, which have all the same weight, are made similar. This happens mainly through funny examples offered to the class.

Representative quotes

Int. 2: "Proverei a fare un lavoro sulle tradizioni culturali intese in senso lato, non solo di carattere religioso, ma usi e costumi che ci sono in varie parti. Guardando la provenienza dei miei studenti, proverei a sottolineare qualche uso della loro cultura per fargli notare come, visto da un punto di vista esterno, potrebbe risultare strano, ridicolo".

Int. 3: "Tu critichi lei con il velo ma tu magari, nella tua famiglia, parlo sempre dei cinesi, avete l'usanza di lavorare h24 senza riposarvi mai. Tu nella famiglia rumena hai l'usanza di vivere in un camper, che fa parte della tua cultura, non è per una questione economica che lo fai. Sottolineerei le differenze di ognuno e sottolineerei il fatto che sono delle differenze che non vanno ad implicare uno sgravo su un'altra cultura, ognuno ha la sua cultura, la rispetta, gli dà un'identità e quindi rimane così. Agirei su questi due fronti, gruppo e ragazza presa singolarmente".

Int. 11: "poi sono anche abbastanza largo con i ragazzi, sarei capace un giorno di portare tante sciarpe in classe e farle indossare a tutti nella mia ora, vorrei che voi sperimentaste sulla vostra pelle quello che è il disagio di questa ragazza, perché forse solo così riuscirete a capirlo, molte volte le sole parole non bastano".

Int. 20: "E' un po' come dire "Voi vedete l'indiano che fa la danza della pioggia e ci vien da ridere" ma guardate che l'indiano che vede voi che fate l'inchino, mettete sta roba in bocca, poi vi si appiccica sul palato dice: "Ma cos'è sta roba?", quindi, fargliela guardare con gli occhi di un'altra persona".

Int. 41: "E poi non lo so, a volte i ragazzi vanno anche un po' stupiti, quindi magari gli chiederei di disegnare un copricapo che loro vorrebbero avere, per fargli magari che magari uno si vorrebbe mettere un cappello stranissimo e non lo fa e che potrebbero avere il desiderio anche loro di…qualcosa che li spiazzi un po' per farli riflettere sulla situazione".

Int. 42: "Come intervenire una volta ottenuta la loro attenzione, sicuramente sono anche molto sarcastico e quindi sicuramente troverei la presa in giro, verso la persona che prendeva in giro la Samira, quindi creare la situazione inversa per cui ecco come ci si sente quando qualcuno ti prende in giro, e quando qualcuno ti prende in giro per qualcosa che per te è scontato, che fa parte della tua persona, della tua cultura. Per cui agirei in questa maniera, piuttosto che in maniera più intellettuale spiegare le ragioni dell'hijab e puoi contestarlo, può non piacerti, puoi anche disprezzarlo perché magari per te è legato a una sottomissione della donna al potere patriarcale, ok, ma intanto Samira lo porta e finché non deciderà da sola di non poterlo più è suo diritto farlo".

Int. 45: "E poi passerei col valutare probabilmente in maniera forse un po' cattiva, voglio dire, anche l'abbigliamento di tutti, nel senso dire: "Tu potresti essere criticato perché ti metti magari dei pantaloni rosa piuttosto che non un…" cioè vorrei puntare l'attenzione sul fatto che tutti possiamo essere criticati comunque per qualcosa, essere oggetto di critiche. Detto questo, poi punterei sulla tradizione religiosa, sicuramente, dicendo che vanno rispettate, e farei un po' di step sempre legati un po' anche alla mia materia, ripeto".

D5 - SC(V) as: Made of conflict resolution practices

In this category, the event is understood as an event of conflict which is specifically one aspect of social competences. With this awareness, conflict resolution techniques are implemented.

Int. 5: "Il conflitto, comunque, rimanda ad una nuova nascita, un qualcosa che da lì può nascere di nuovo; non è una guerra dove ci sono i morti, il conflitto fa anche bene, va saputo gestire. L'insegnante, come un buon dirigente, non deve assolutamente rimandare un vincitore e uno sconfitto in questa situazione; deve trovare il modo per fare emergere degli aspetti nuovi".

4.7 Categories of description and teachers' distribution

Table 2.4.1 - SC teachers distribution through categories in %

Categories and area comparison in %		
Category	Top n. Teachers %	Bottom n. Teachers %
A1	8	12
A2	16	12
A3	12	12
A4	24	16
A5	36	16
A6	4	32
Tot.	100	100

Table 2.4.2 - SCT teachers distribution through categories in %

Categories and area comparison in %		
Category	Top n. Teachers %	Bottom n. Teachers %
B1	4	-
B2	36	32
B3	16	4
B4	28	24
B5	8	8
B6	8	32
Tot.	100	100

Table 2.4.3 - SCE teachers distribution through categories in %

Categories and area comparison in %		
Category	Top n. Teachers %	Bottom n. Teachers %
C1	-	4
C2	24	4
C3	52	44
C4	8	8
C5	16	40
Tot.	100	100

Table 2.4.4 - SCV teachers distribution through categories in %

Categories and area comparison in %		
Category	Top n. Teachers %	Bottom n. Teachers %
D1	16	12
D2	28	20
D3	36	32
D4	20	12
D5	-	24
Tot.	100	100

4.8 Analysis of the categories of description

Starting from the categories of description discovered through the interviews analysis, the following paragraph aims at putting into relation the empirical results with the hypothesis of this work. First, results regarding the different descriptions provided by participants are discussed. These results are discussed in light of the theoretical framework proposed. As previously outlaid, the object of this research is the study of education for society, observed through the practical tool of social competences as conceived by Italian middle school teachers. The macro theoretical hypothesis provided by Mangez et al. (2016) and reformulated in light of the formal theory discussed in Chapter 1 is the following:

> Contemporary normative indeterminacy contributes to the growing complexity and diversity of the experience of *education for society*, which increasingly imposes on young people and their teachers the burden of reducing and reordering the excess of possibilities (and the lack of certainties) they confront.

The research questions are the following:

a) what are middle school teachers' conceptions of social competences?

b) How do middle school teachers conceive social competences transmission?

c) How do middle school teachers conceive social competences evaluation?

Research questions corresponded to the following empirical hypothesis:

a) middle school teachers' conceptions of social competences present a character of qualitative significant variation among teachers and between city areas;

b) middle school teachers' conceptions of social competences transmission present a character of qualitative significant variation among teachers and between city areas;

c) middle school teachers' conceptions of social competences evaluation present a character of qualitative significant variation among teachers and between city areas;

In the following sections, research questions, hypothesis and results are put in conjunction. More precisely, the following part regards definitions.

Social Competence Definition Results

Social competence definition is explored through two applications: 1) what question; b) vignette. Results descending form the two applications vary between them and the processes in which teachers engaged in order to describe the objects that was presented to the took different directions. In the *what* question, since the direction was more obliged, teachers managed to stick to the subject of interest. Besides the different degree of analysis respondents provided, only few cases (n. 5) were not able to relate to the object of social competence at all. However, once presented with the vignette, no teachers related the content of the vignette the any of the aspects that compose the teaching, learning and evaluation processes regarding social competences. The hypothesis that teachers did not relate the vignette to social competences because of the content lack of specificity of the content of the vignette does not look realistic. As fully illustrated, the vignette was specifically designed in order to indicate each one of the aspects that compose social competences. All parts of the definition of social competences were divided and transformed in one aspect of the story. Therefore, teachers had many possibilities to relate the content of the vignette to the object of social competences, either in the aspect of definition, transmission or even evaluation, which anyhow did not happen. This means that, in terms of definitions coming from the two sections, results vary greatly.

As for results coming from the *what* question, they are fully exposed in *Table 2.4.5*, which reports categories of description and definitions. Here it can be observed how definition of social competences vary greatly among them. This result is influenced by some by a specific characteristic of the teachers' population which is the diversity in training teachers receive before becoming professionals. However, it is important to notice that the construction of the sample followed the rule of maximum variation and that one of the parameters was "way in which the profession was entered". Nonetheless, by observing the results one might notice that there is a significant variation in the way in which middle school teachers describe the same object of learning, meaning social competences. To describe it in a progressive way which moves from less specific to more specific conceptions, it can be notice how the difference runs from the non-recognition of the object as part of the participant's duties to a broad, cultural, inclusive definition. This last definition denotes not only an awareness but also the capacity to take the responsibility to make social competences a didactical practice. In between these two extreme positions, further categories emerge. More precisely, categories related to the content of the subject of teaching of each professor, relate to associating social competence to students' behavior, associating social competence to fully respect others and having healthy relations, relating to the capacity to work cooperatively with in civic sense. Besides not knowing the reason why teachers portray social competences in such diverse ways, the result is the one of a significant variation between conceptions.

This significant variation between conceptions is also insightful when put in relation with what is the authorized conception of social competence in this research. By taking the norm of reference and dividing it into its components, *Table 2.4.6* shows what the normative reference of social competence is. In this sense, not only a significant variation emerges but also a profound distance between how social competences are conceived by practitioners and the formal constitution of the same object. More precisely, if interpersonal skills and intercultural competences were, by some teachers, included in their descriptions, no respondent expanded on personal skills and conflict resolution skills. Also, in the descriptions provided by teachers, social competences and civic competences appear as overlaid in the category *Doing for society and civic dimension* while they are kept separate and as belonging to two different domains in the norm.

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By describing the categories that emerged and the authorized conception of social competence, another relevant different emerges. This difference lays in the fact that teachers who provided meanings regarding social competences provided partial descriptions, leaving out of the picture relevant aspects of the object of study. Drawing back to Mangez et al. (2016) hypothesis, it can be observed how the broadness of the norm regarding social competences entitles teachers to include and exclude aspects of this object autonomously. By not defining precisely *what* social competences are at a normative level and by not providing univocal significance to the items that compose the social competence reference (to the extent to which for some of them no scientific definition exists as denoted in *Table 2.4.6*), teachers are the ones who engage in the process of modeling and remodeling of the object, based on their capacity and on the educational environment they are faced with.

Table 2.4.5 - Categories of description: social competence definitions as emerged through this research

Social competences Definitions as emerged through this research	
Categories of description	**Full description of the category**
Not a school's responsibility (+ no teacher/student differentiation)	no familiarity with the concept of social competences at all or in which the differentiation between teacher's social competences and students' social competences is not clear
Content/subject oriented	social competences are fully associated with the content of the subject of teaching
Behavior and regulation	behavior (considered as the way in which one individuals enacts in one environment) and regulation (considered as the individual's capacity to modulate the behavior)
Respect and relations	capacity to respect three domains: things, classmates and teachers Social competences are based on relations and are practiced through relations

Doing for society and civic dimension	individuals' pro-social capacity and individuals' awareness of being in group with along with a reference to civism
Socialization and intercultural capacity	the capacity to socialize in general and with cultural diverse individuals

Table 2.4.6 - Authorized conception: social competence definition in normative documents

Social Competences Definition EU/Italy normative documents (2006/962 EC and Italian legislation 194/2015)	
Items	*Most appropriate definition* **(in sociological and pedagogical literature)**
Personal skills	skills for developing personal agency and managing oneself (UNICEF 2006 "Life Skills")
Interpersonal skills	ability of a person to interact effectively with other people (Spitzberg & Cupach 1989).
Intercultural competences	the appropriate and effective management of interaction between people who, to some degree or another, represent different or divergent affective, cognitive and behavioral orientations to the world. These orientations will most commonly be reflected in such normative categories as nationality, race, ethnicity, tribe, religion or region" (Deardorff 2009, p. 21)
Behavior that allow to participate in social life	- no literature reference
Behavior that allow to participate in working life	- no literature reference
Behavior that allow to participate in increasingly diversified	- no literature reference

societies	
Conflict resolution skills	separate people from the problem, focus on interests and not positions, invent options for mutual gain and se objective criteria (Crawford & Bodine 1996)

Social competence definition results regarding vignette analysis show not a completely different scenario. One hand, when asked about social competence directly, most of the teachers report of social competence as something that is part of their *meanings as practitioners.* However, when presented with a scenario which shows an example of an event that regards social competences, no connection between the event and the concept of social competence is made. Nonetheless, besides not mentioning social competences, some of the categories of description that emerge are very similar. The concepts of discipline and of remaining attached to subject contents are still in place. What is new are the aspects of dialogue and of cultural *relativisation.* As for conflict resolution, besides being one of the categories that emerged, it is important to notice that only one teacher reported on that theme while expanding on the vignette. This fact supports the previous vision following which the way in which social competence is perceived in educational settings is partial compared to its normative reference.

What emerges from the categories of the vignette is also that personal skills are not taken into account. As in the definition to the *what* question, in fact, personal agency did not quite emerge. Even though in the part relating to dialogue teachers also touched on dialogue with the single individuals, enhancing, cultivating, supporting personal agency did not seem to be a priority. Rather, what teachers focused on in the dialogic part is trying to make the offended character if the vignette to feel better rather that working on the events as a trigger for stimulating personal skills. In a similar way, when it come to the dialogic aspect and the boys who were offensive, the dialogue would be about acknowledging that they were wrong or they made a mistake and make sure it will not happen again. Therefore, by lacking in a specific didactic content and of a direct relation with a subject of teaching, social competences seems to find most of their applicative ground in real collective situations. However, teachers did not show an ability in drawing

back the real situation to an occasion for working on social competences. Even so, teachers' conceptions of social competences varies greatly among teachers and diverges greatly from the authorized conception to the point where the connection between the event and the educational tool is lost.

What is also relevant of the vignette outcome is the aspect of cultural *reductionism*. Cultural reductionism appeared as a frequent tool for teachers use in order to illustrate to students how the evaluation of the value of things is intrinsically culturally driven. This result also goes in the direction of confirming Hoskins (2013) vision regarding the non-neutrality of social competence. It can be easily noticed how the surface of this approach goes in the direction of multiculturalism. Nonetheless, as for complex cultural phenomena, reducing cultural traits to other traits that belong to the mainstream culture of a given environment can actually be red as a *hidden process of assimilation*. Cultural reduction and cultural relativization are two different processes. The first points toward reducing cultural traits of every culture in analogy with the mainstream culture, while the second recognized cultural traits *de facto* and not necessarily as in relation to the mainstream culture. The hidden process of assimilation progresses through cultural reduction.

Results regarding social competence definition are also connected with a methodological question part of the present research. The question is:

Within the same phenomenographic research design, how does the use of "what" questions compared to the use of vignettes affect results?

The following table puts in direct dialogue the two collections of categories of description which emerged from the research using the two methodologies. In connection to what discussed later, there one of the categories of the *what* question is "Not a school's responsibility". However, no teachers described the vignette event as something teachers should not be in charge of dealing with or facilitating. This underlines the lack of familiarity teachers still have in regard of social competences. The concepts of discipline in the sense of subject and/or content appear in both groups. Nonetheless, it is also relevant to notice how once teachers are presented with an hypothetical realistic situation, the behavioral aspect is not as prominent and is substitute from a more dialogic approach.

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In terms of outcome, besides similarities and difference that were outlined, it can be noticed that within the same methodology, *what* question and vignette produced two different outcome spaces. On one hand this difference has to do with the object of this research: by being a quite new and challenging object of learning, social competence receive two different treatments in the two detections. However, the inner nature of the two approaches also suggest that the process the respondent engages in when providing information diverges based on the type of question. This result can illuminate one aspect of phenomenographic methodology. This result can be particularly useful when researchers do not yet know the degree of familiarity respondents have regarding one object of study. By separately asking a *what* question and then a vignette regarding the same object two objectives are achieved. First, responses are both directly related to the object of study as intended by researcher and also fully portrayed as intended by the participants. Results are therefore more exhaustive then when only one application is implemented. Second, the distance between the object as asked and categorized by the researcher and the object as freely depicted by respondents is provided.

Table 2.4.7 - Categories of description as emerged from what question and vignette

Categories of description through "what" question	Categories of description through vignette
A1 - Not a school's responsibility (+ no teacher/student differentiation)	-
A2 - Discipline and subject oriented	D1 - Enacted through discipline
A3 - Behavior and regulation	D2 - Embedded in the contents
A4 - Respect and relations	D3 - Promoted through dialogue
A5 - Doing for society and civic dimension	D4 - Happening through cultural reduction
A6 - Socialization and Intercultural capacity	D5 - Made of conflict resolution practices

As for results regarding transmission and evaluation, the lack of clarity observed at the level of definitions coincides with the lack of unity in understandings and practical modalities. The aspect of definition, both through vignette and trough *what* question, along with the qualitatively significant variation between categories, presented a situation in which teachers showed a specific awareness in social competences. Besides the difference detected between the cognitive and the normative aspect of social competences, teachers showed positions and interests. The same awareness cannot be described as for the areas of transmission and evaluation. These two aspects were both treated through what questions which made it easier for the teachers to get in touch with the object of study. However, responses regarding these two areas are more confused and present inconsistencies, especially if one considers that social competence evaluation is mandatory in Italy since 2015 (CM 3/2015).

As for transmission, one broad distinction exists between teachers who could make a distinction between content-based and competence-based education and those who could not make this distinction. This difference marks a first line. Teachers who more prominently remarked the first three (B1, B2, B3) categories struggled in dividing social competence from the competence which is more directly in relation to their subject of teaching. When this happens, there is an overlap of meanings: teachers cannot distinguish between competence-based education relating to their subject of teaching and competence-based education for social competences. Besides the fact that these aspects constitute a continuum in the educational practice, at an analytical level the impossibility to make a distinction made teachers expand on their competence-based practices rather than on the effort they put in order to achieve social competence education. This situation is due to a lack of specificity in implementing competence-based education, with very scarce consideration for teachers' preparation. As for teachers who could operate the distinction between competence-based education and social competence education, transmission seemed to be carried out mainly through group work. Only few teachers (B6) actually provided insights about specific techniques to enhance social competence education. This situation, besides being caused by teachers' lack of preparation in this specific aspect, can also be read as an effect of the non-existence of the normative

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references which regulate social competences transmission (and competence in general). As for social competence, this condition goes in the direction of reinforcing Mangez et al. (2016) hypothesis and puts the burden of reordering and reframing the experience of education for society on teachers and students.

Finally, the theme of evaluation seems to be tying together strengths and weaknesses highlighted up to this point. The universe of social competence evaluation s very vast and goes form something that depends on the coordinator (C1) to a process in which the all group of teachers is involved. Again, teachers who could not make a distinction between competence-based education and social competences referred mainly social competence to behavioral aspects (C2). This condition is the result of the fact that competence evaluation is still a work in progress, of which is testimony the fact that the CM 3/2015 is experimental.

4.9 Distribution analysis

In the following section, research questions, hypothesis and results are put in conjunction. More precisely, the following part regards teachers' distribution regarding the spatial analysis. The theme of social competence in relation to the degree of equity that characterizes educational environments is a theme which has a literature tradition. Among others, *A Life Jacket or an Art of Living: Inequality in Social Competence Education* by Dam and Volman (2003) and *Social Competence as an Educational Goal: The Role of the Ethnic Composition and the Urban Environment of the School* (Zwaans et al. 2008). Both works fully analyze the characteristics of the object social competences in relation to the broader theme of moral education and study the way in which ethnicity and urban characteristics condition social competence teaching and learning practices. Both studies conclude that social competence practice are influenced by environmental characteristics and ethnic specificities. More precisely, the study by Dam and Volmand, results show that the meaning of the competence social competence varies depending on the typology of school it is investigated in. In their study, researchers compare definitions coming from projects implemented in general secondary schools and from vocational schools (in Italy *professional schools*). What they find is that in general secondary education schools, emphasis of the projects is on social competence as an art of living, stressing the potential each and every individual can have in making the world a better place. On the other hand, vocational

school projects emphasized what researchers called the life jacket aspect of social competence, providing student with self-confidence and other individual characteristics which are not provided from the family. Besides the results in terms of categories which emerge from the research, what is relevant is the way in which researchers analyze the results. What they conclude, in fact, is that there is a potential factor of social inequalities reproduction within the theme of social competence. As the authors write: "The "life jacket" that is offered to students in the lower school types can easily become a "straight jacket"; students are taught how to behave in an appropriate manner" (Dam and Volmand 2003). However, researchers also focus on the fact that the collection of always more specific type of data can help in monitoring the situation towards which social competence is evolving. As every educational act, social competence education can have the power to emancipate individuals from their initial position or to reproduce the structures of power that are in place. The special analysis conducted within this research confirms Dam and Volmand's findings. Data show a difference in the way in which social competences are conceived by teachers who work in different areas. This means there is a non-equal treatment of social competence which is in place.

The second study that was mentioned, is the one by Zwaans et al. (2008) which regards more specifically the relation between ethnic, urban and environmental composition and social competences as an educational goal. Researchers found that teachers working in more complex school environment (as for ethnic heterogeneity of the student population and the urban environment of the school) "consider a number of social-competence goals to be less attainable for their students" (ibid., p. 2218). The results are discussed in the light of research on the competences young people need to participate in a multi-cultural society and the implications for teachers and teaching. The study does not show a difference in the way in which teachers teach social competence. Rather, they underlie a difference in terms of what teachers expect from students in terms of social competence.

This second result is not in line with the findings of this research in terms of teachers' distribution through categories of descriptions. As illustrated in *Table 2.4.1*, teachers distribute differently regarding social competence description (based on the *what* question). In fact, teachers form more disadvantaged areas concentrate on the category of intercultural education more compared to teachers from less disadvantaged areas.

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Conclusions

Within this work, different aspects regarding the same object of research were analyzed. As for the theoretical part, two main objects were explored. In Chapter one, focus is on the way in which different sociological theories, as illustrated by classical socialization models, treat education for society. The best definition for education for society is the one provided by Mangez et al. (2016). The authors describe one of the functions of education as the deliberate or unintentional act of transmitting "norms, values, principles of meaning and principles of action, which participate in the identity construction and the construction of relations to others" (Mangez et al. 2016, p. 2). These authors do not talk directly of education for society -- since it is a concept designed in this research. However, in their argumentation regarding functional differentiation and education, the authors expand also on this function of education. In this sense, the proposal of the concept of education for society represents the attempt to give a new observational point to the processes of formalized socialization. Thus, education for society can be considered as a neologism since it is raises from "the practice of creating new words or new meanings for established words" (Webster's New World College Dictionary 2010).

The use of the concept *education for society* seems similar to the way in which the concept of *moral education* has been traditionally implied[58]. Many authors in the field of sociology of education used and still use this conceptualization in order to study the ways in which educational systems or institutions transmit norms and values (Nucci et al. 2014). However, within this work, another concept, namely the one of education for society, is implied. The reasons for this choice resides in two main areas.

First, the concept moral education coincides with one specific approach to what we call education for society. As illustrated in *Table 1*, moral education is the specific way in which education for society is conceived in traditional positivistic models. To confirm this, Durkheim directly talks and expands on moral education. From a terminological perspective, associating the deliberate, intentional act of educational institution to

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[58] The same theme overlap can be underlined as between *education for society* and *character education* (Ryan & Bohlin 1999, Althof & Berkowitz 2006). Further research is needed on this theme.

transmit norms and values with one out of the many models of socialization seems reductive. What could be more exhaustive, instead, is considering moral education as one of the ways in which educational institutions pursue the objective of education for society. This perspective could facilitate the way in which researchers and practitioners look at formal practices of socialization. Very often, in fact, moral education seems a very detached category, far from the reality of the experiences of teaching and learning.

Along with this and in regard to the second aspect of the choice of designing the concept of education for society, moral education draws back to the moral aspect of the experience of education. This side is made both of a private and public sphere and in it the ground can become slippery from an analytical perspective. By considering education for society as a potential instrument, instead, the moral aspect loses its privileged. Through this shift, what can become more visible does not necessarily have to do with the moral side of education. Rather, the final results of the educational act regarding the capacities individuals must be equipped with in order to fruitfully inhabit the social world goes in the forefront. With this framework, it is not implied that these mentioned capacities do not depend on what educators and educational institutions understand as being morally valid or invalid. However, the moral value of education, besides being intrinsically relevant and worthy of attention, it is not necessarily in the realm of sociology of education as an object of study. What is -- and what should always more be -- competence of sociology of education and what can be detected by implying the concept of education for society is the specificity of content of what a certain social group expects individuals to be equipped with in order to positively engage in living in society.

By studying education for society, it is observed how different socialization models describe it in different ways. In positivistic term, education for society is moral education, as composed by spirit of discipline, attachment with social groups (Durkheim 1925). In integrationist terms, educating for society is moral achievement as made up of responsible civism within the school community, respect for the teacher, consideration for peers, cooperation with peers and good "working habits" (Parsons 1959). When entering the conflictualist framework, education for society is described as the transmission of a moral *habitus* counterbalanced by a rigid amount of cultural capital. In this scenario, no list of basic qualities is provided and the general perception is that moral *habitus* happens mostly through hidden curriculum processes (Jay 2003). When entering the communicative

model, again no instrument seems to be designed to study education for society. However, this does not mean that the moral aspect of education disappeared, nor that educational institution quit providing students with capacities for social well-being. Rather, norms and values are not considered the basic elements which grant social cohesion any longer. What grants social cohesion, instead, is communication and its flow in order to pursue systemic stability. Education for society, in these terms, seems to have a new meaning which is not based on solid common and shared norms any longer but on contextualized practices of learning togetherness. Besides this remodeling in considering norms and values as shapers of social cohesion, questions remain about the way in which education for society is described within the communicative model. When observing social competence, however, one aspect appears clear: the content of this educational tool seems to go in the direction of *practical inclusion*.

In order to understand this broadening of what is considered as being part of educating for society, positivistic definition, integrationist definition and social competence definition are put in comparison in the following table (*Table 2*).

Table 2 – Education for society components in first two models and social competence definition components.

Positivistic Model	Integrationist Model	Social Competence Definition
Spitit of discipline	Responsible civism within the school community	Personal Skills
Attachement with social groups	Respect for the teachers	Interpersonal Skills
Moral Intelligence	Cooperation with peers and consideration for peers	Intercultural competence
	Good working habits	All form of behavior for social life, for working life, for life in increasingly diversified society
		Conflict resolution skills

By analyzing *Table 2* it is possible to draw some conclusions. First of all, by not expliciting a positive and pragmatic approach is in terms of education for society, conflictualist authors left a blank space. The dialogue between models of socialization and formal socialization practices would have benefit of a content proposal by a way of

perceiving society which questions power. However, no contribution of such a matrix were found in the sociological field. Critical pedagogy is probably the discipline which introjected and made practical the conflictualist instances (Darder & Baltodano 2003). Some of the experiences emerging from these visions saw the light and become operational, always remaining an option to mainstream trends in education. From the same table, what it is also possible to foresee is besides being often associated with moral education, in social competence nothing is left of the original moral content. In fact, social competence definition has more similarities with integrationist items rather than with moral education ones.

By describing *Table 2* from the point of view of normative indeterminacy as described, all three definitions appear being equally broad. However, it is important to underline how they are three different objects in reality: the first two are sociological theories while the last in the content of a norm which orients students' evaluation. From this perspective, it can be observed how norms also can assume a broad overlook. When the same kind of overlook is assumed by a norm, negotiation and interpretation procedures become essential.

When discussing education for society and its tendencies, attention has to be granted to the Europeanization of education in what is called the creation of a European Educational Space (2011). Social competences, as a tool for education for society, normative speaking have a strong European component. The object social competence also follows in what Schriewer calls the *semantic construction* of a world society (Schriewer 2003). This aspect has an influence on the difference between social competences and other descriptions of education for society.

Studying education for society also means studying one very specific aspect of the description of the future (Luhmann 1998). Understanding the type of education for society social systems provide students with means bringing to the light all of those aspects (sometimes silent) which give structure to this type of education. Needless to say, moral education, moral achievement, moral *habitus,* all base their approach on a body of knowledge which provides also with a futuristic scenario. By studying social competence as a tool for education for society and by analyzing it as the result of the mixing of all of the concepts which came before, it is possible to individuate a specific necessity in

designing this educational tool. When discussing the difference between cumulative and non-cumulative elements of culture, Cesareo stresses specifically one aspect of non-cumulative elements of education. Non-cumulative elements, in this author's reading, have the limit to not be acknowledged and shared as instead cumulative elements (knowledge) are (Cesareo 1972). Cesareo illustrates the following responses to this situation: a) imposing only one of the moral systems; b) isolating the students; c) radicalizing conflicts; d) acknowledging the tensions; e) or developing a new synthesis; f) cultivating ideological neutralism. In the framework of education for society, social competence can be perceived as one of the first attempt to cumulate what traditionally have been treated as non-cumulative elements. More precisely, the attempt with social competences is to escape all of these situations which tend to happen when there is no clear agreement. To do so, tacit and non-cumulative elements, through social competences become explicit and cumulative elements. The relevance of this shift permits to discuss about education for society not only in terms of formal theories regarding socialization models or in terms of hidden curriculum but also in terms of specific objects of teaching and learning which teachers must transmit and students must be provided with. The introduction of social competence at a curricular level also reveal a specific description of the future. A future in which there is a growing awareness of the fact that traits that are necessary in order to fruitfully leave in society cannot be vague, arbitrary, depending on individuals' moral standards or based on individuals' cultural capital.

The introduction of social competence in curricula is testimony to a new phase in dealing with education for society, a phase in which the need to let instruments for education for society out of the shade. Social competence (and competence-based education) can easily be read as a submission of educational systems to market logic (among others, Lodigiani 2011). This view, essentially conflictualistic, would highlight some aspects of the logic rhetoric and is relevant in order to grant meanings to educational action. However, with social competence especially, more interesting seems the perspective of providing this new and potentially powerful instrument with empirically based multidisciplinary results which could help professionals in the hard task of educating for society.

As discussed, Chapter one provides a panoramic over education for society as a theoretical tool and its connections with the practical contemporary tool of social

competences. In Chapter two, focus is on one specific way in which educational for society assumes a practicality in contemporary educational settings through an analysis of the different conceptualizations of social competences. To this extent, it is necessary to highlight how there is a difference between these three elements: 1) education for society as a macro-concept; 2) education for society as specifically described by single models of socialization; 3) practical tools that go in the direction of education for society. Social competence falls in the third category. This means, social competences in their structural and operational level do not carry the necessary qualities to become descriptive of a more general contemporary approach to education for society. However, what the analysis of this object can do is shading some light over the possible ways in which education for society is structured in systemic terms.

As described by Blühdorn, in functionally differentiated societies individuals are not assigned to "one basic structural unit" (Blühdorn 2000, p. 342). The introduction of social competence in education can be read as an attempt to go in the direction of providing individuals with the capacity to positively engage in many systems, including the educational one. When discussing the "immanent logic of competence" (Luhmann & Schorr 1979, p. 1119), Luhmann and Schorr highlight this aspect which has to do with a growing awareness of the capacities individuals have to be provided with in order to engage in differentiated societies. However, normative indeterminacy (Mangez et al. 2016), together with a rise in cognitive expectations (Luhmann 1986) can have an impact on the logic of competence. If, as described by Cesareo, education for society has traditionally been based on implicit and non-cumulative elements (Cesareo 1976), social competences offer a new scenario in which specificity and accumulation is possible. However, when normative indeterminacy and a rise in cognitive expectations are included in the competence-based picture, the chances education for society can be transformed into an explicit and cumulative process seem to decrease. Focus of Chapter two and, more generally of the empirical exploration of this research, is to consider what are the current logics behind the concept of social competence in the way in which they are treated by educational practitioners today.

The hypothesis that is explored with the empirical part of the present work is the one that given the characteristics of competence-based education – and therefore of social competences – specific social factors can have an impact in the way in which social

competences are conceived, transmitted and evaluated. To do so, middle school teachers are the involved in the research, in the attempt to analyze their conceptualizations and reported practices. The social factor included in the picture is the white flight phenomena as illustrated by Pacci and Ranci (2017). Given the practice-based and environment-based character of competence-based education (Fioretti 2010, Fioretti 2013), hypothesis is that social composition of the school area can have an impact in the way in which teachers deal with social competence. To this regard, findings are discussed.

Within this research, social competences are analyzed by these three parameters: definition, transmission and evaluation. By following the categories of description that emerge in this work, some conclusions can be traced. As for the aspect of definition, two instruments were implied within the same methodology: "what" questions and vignette. Results coming from the "what" show a multi-dimensional scenario. First, definitions of social competence vary greatly among teachers. This condition is valid not only when the *area to area* hypothesis is applied but also when the whole sample is taken into consideration.

As for the *area to area* comparison, literature shows a double-faced perspective. On one hand, studies in which school composition has an effect in the way in which social competences are conceived (Dam & Volman 2003). On the other hand, studies in which teacher's conceptions do not vary but expectations vary based on students' ethnic composition (Zwaans et *al.* 2008).

Results from this research regarding social competence definition through "what" question show that teachers who work in areas with a lower disadvantage index are less likely to draw social competence back to themes regarding intercultural education and intercultural capacities and focus their attention more on the civic side on social competence. At the same time, teachers working in areas with higher disadvantage index are more prone to describe social competences in terms of intercultural capacities and intercultural education. Thus, as for the definition aspect – and confining the results within the sample of this research – middle school teachers' conceptions of social competences present a character of qualitative significant variation among teachers. The high degree of variation can be read as an indicator of the effects of normative indeterminacy (Mangez et al. 2017) that characterizes contemporary educational settings.

When the *area to area* comparison is implied, middle school teachers' conceptions of social competences present a character of qualitative significant variation also between city areas, showing the effects of the white flight in Milan (Pacci & Ranci 2017) on social competences. By reading social competences as a tool which points towards the direction of education for society, it can be observed how students attending schools located in different city areas receive a different kind of education regarding capacities they have to enhance in order to fruitfully inhabit society. More precisely, distribution of teachers in categories of description shows how teachers from schools located in higher disadvantage index define more frequently social competences as "socialization and intercultural capacity" than teachers working in lower disadvantage index.

This result questions two different types of logic which belong to two different academic tradition which are pedagogy and sociology. Form a pedagogical perspective, this result questions the logic of the connection between experience-based (Andresen et al. 2000) context situated educational practices (Gonczi 1999) (in this case competence-based education) and the essentially egalitarian character of education al systems. From a sociological perspective, this result can be read as in two main directions. First -- and as sociological results in education often show (Morrow & Torres 1995) – this result confirms the conflictualist theory of reproduction. By perpetrating one specific *habitus*, schools do not provide individuals with the same kind of education for society. Theoretically, the introduction of social competence in educational systems seem to go in the direction of letting the *hidden curriculum emerge.* However, despite the explicit and cumulative character of social competence, the *habitus* perpetration depends on the cultural capital of the family of origins. Also, results show a communality with the theory of the self-fulfilling prophecy (Merton 1948, Jussim et al. 1996, Jussim & Harber 2005).

The second sociological perspective that can be involved, as it was also for the previously analyzed hypothesis, is the one of the communicative model and of system theory in general. By applying the concept of normative indeterminacy (Mangez et al. 2017) it becomes clear how cognitive expectations, which are a typical trait of contemporary society if explored from a systemic perspective, are assuming a growing relevance in educational systems. Norms and values decrease their relevance (Luhmann 1986), tools become increasingly context situated, in a scenario in which educational instruments become labels whose content must be negotiated moment by moment. The

diversity of understanding of the different aspects of social competences shows how teachers engage in many cognitive processes which produce different results regarding the understanding of the same object. In this specific case, social composition has an influence in the way in which teachers describe social competence.

Social competence definition based on the vignette analysis shows a quite different scenario. First, the *area to area* comparison loses its relevance and distribution does not show relevancies regarding social competences definition. Nonetheless, some elements that raise from the descriptions provided through the vignette appear as relevant. First, teachers never engaged in the attempt to draw a connection between the items that formally compose social competences and the event depicted in the vignette. This can be testimony to the fact that, besides being a normative construction, teachers do not utilize the instrument of social competence in their analysis of events which regard sociality. This fact could potentially be less problematic if teachers were not required to evaluate social competence as they are since 2015 (CM 3/2015). Since there is no specific subject whose content can be drawn back to social competences and given the practice-based character of competence based education, actual conflictual social events could become one of the instruments which could go in the direction of working on social competence. Since the connection between the vignette event and social competence was never made, it can be deduced how, in the sample analyzed, social competence is not a preferential filter through which analyzing sociality.

As for the specific categories emerging from the vignette analysis, a reflection can be made on the difference between cultural reductionism and cultural relativism. Donnely describes cultural relativism as an undeniable fact since "moral rules and social institutions evidence an astonishing cultural and historical variability" (Donnely 1984, p. 400) and therefore cultural relativism "is a doctrine that holds that (at least some) such variations are exempt from legitimate criticism by outsiders, a doctrine that is strongly supported by notions of communal autonomy and self-determination" (ibid). Cultural reductionism, instead, draws the attention to the reduction of specific traits of one culture to the elements of the mainstream culture. Cultural reductionism, from a sociological perspective, is implied when studying media culture (Mills & Keddie 2010) and more in general in the studies on representations (Hall 1997). In this case, highlighting the difference between cultural relativism and reductionism can have an impact in understanding the meaning

of the category "Happening through cultural reduction" which emerged within this research. The act of drawing back students' cultural traits to other traits judged as more "normal" by teachers is an interesting phenomenon which, by itself, could deserve more empirical attention. From the point of view of the identity development also, the effect of cultural reductionism can be read in light of global processes (Friedman 1994). Sociologically, this tendency points towards two main directions. On one hand it fosters the hidden curriculum theory (Jay 2003) which the explicit appearance of social competence seems to not counterbalance effectively. On the other hand, to go back to Cesareo's classifications, cultural reduction is in between "imposing only one of the moral systems" and "cultivating ideological neutralism" (Cesareo 1972). Given the normative indeterminacy (Mangez et al. 2016) and the individual processes of cultural negotiation teachers have to engage in, despite formally pointing toward intercultural principles, social competences are not empowering teachers in reaching new meanings regarding cultural relativity.

As for the aspect of transmission, results show a relevant variability in conceptions which runs from transmission as being not a teachers' duty to teachers who listed specific techniques for enhancing social competence education. The *area to area* comparison distribution did not produce relevant results. What is relevant in the distribution in the categories that emerged is that most of the teachers concentrated on the category "Implicit in the interaction with the teacher". Which means, teachers in this category understand their specific behavior as the most important feature in order to transmit social competence. This aspect, given its arbitrary character, cannot help having an impact on social competence evaluation.

Social competence evaluation, together with the evaluation of the other eight key competences which are evaluated at the end of each study cycle (DM 254/2012), is undergoing a period of experimentation. As for the interest of this study, middle schools are provided by the Ministry with a form for competence evaluation which schools can decide to use or to use other methodologies. The complex panorama which emerged in the theme of social competence evaluation finds its roots in this transitional moment in which competence-based education finds itself in. However, the great variability regarding social competence evaluation is also due to some specific aspects which were highlighted before form the results of this research: a) normative indeterminacy which

makes the concept of social competence itself a non-stable element, from which descends b) great variation in categories of description, as presented in this research. These two elements concur into making social competence evaluation a blurry and fragmented practice. Moreover, literature shows a rich, complex and sometimes contradictory panorama in competence-based education evaluation (Houston 1974, Wolf 1979, Castoldi 2009, Trincherio 2012, Castoldi 2016). Between the indeterminacy of the norm and the complexity of the dedicated academic resources, teachers are compelled to evaluate students on non-specific parameters whose didactics is often based on teacher's own social competences and whose definition often depend on general students' ethnic composition. Marmocchi et al. stress how social competences are also based on personal skills which find their roots in socio-emotional learning and self-regulation abilities (Marmocchi et al. 2004). However, teachers showed no conceptual relation between social competence and socio-emotional learning which makes social competence evaluation incomplete. As Balducci and Marchi points out, assessing competence is essential in order to proceed towards lifelong learning (Balducci & Marchi 2014) and to create a learning society (Husen 1974, 2014, Jarvis 2007, Stiglitz & Bruce 2014). However, the case of social competence evaluation makes some relevant questions emerge. Among many, univocally defining social competence seems to be a starting point in order to make social competence evaluation a meaningful procedure. As Marton underlines in the work *Necessary Conditions of Learning*, there is no learning without a content of learning (Marton 2015). This pedagogical standing point questions the logic of competence-based education in general. More precisely, when it comes to social competences, this postulate of learning questions the *what*, the content of social competences. What is there to be learned and what is the content of social competences? What is the degree of validity and accordance regarding this content? The present research worked in this direction: pointing out the complexity and the variation in definition provided a thermometer through which measure the need for specificity within the social competence box.

This research provided a panoramic over the theme of education for society through the practical tool of social competence as investigated in contemporary educational settings. Strengths and weaknesses of social competences emerged. Through this, strengths and weaknesses of what it means to educate for society and what are the

future visions regarding this aspect of the educational panorama also emerged. The research has the ambitious goal to univocally define social competence contents and practices which, as it clearly appears, was not fulfilled. Nonetheless, the different categories of description which emerge provide teachers and researchers with new meanings regarding what education for society is in contemporary educational settings. The portray which emerges is of a great variety of conceptions which can be aggregated and which tend to be based on environmental characteristic, especially regarding social competences definition. In a futuristic perspective, if social competences are designed in order to reduce educational inequalities and prepare individuals for a more just future society, consolidating the contents and practices regarding social competences is the first step to move toward this direction.

Appendix

Appendix 1 – Schools ranked by index

Index construction

From the total of the districts of Milan, the following districts were eliminated: Parco Sempione, Stephenson, Giardini Porta Venezia, Parco Nord, Sacco, Cascina Triulza – Expo, Parco Agricolo Sud, Parco dei Navigli, Parco delle Abbazie, Cantalupa, Parco Bosco in Città, Ronchetto delle Rane, Parco Forlanini – Ortica, Triulzo Superiore, Quintosole.

This choice was made because they are mainly composed by green-park areas or because only marginally populated. Out of 88 districts, only 73 were left. Indicators were synthetized in a *Disadvantage District Index*: if the foreign presence, the building unease and the low study level grow, the index grows. The index was built through the average of the standardized indicators. In the following table, type of schools involved, names od the institutes involved, name of the school (SSPG – Scuola Secondaria di Primo Grado), district and index position are listed. Schools which refused to be part of the research are also included. Two schools were excluded because of their characteristcs (school for blind pupils and "educandato").

TYPE	INSTITUTE NAME (only for included schools) and REFUSALS	SSPG	DISCTRICT	INDEX
STATALE	Istituto Compensivo Statale "Marcello Candia"	SSPG "Lombardini"	LODI - CORVETTO	1,49
STATALE	Istituto Comprensivo Statale "Renzo Pezzani"	SSPG "Renzo Pezzani"	LODI - CORVETTO	1,49
STATALE	Istituto Comprensivo Statale "Sorelle Agazzi" (REFUSAL)	SSPG"Gandhi Rodari"	COMASINA	1,27

STATALE	Istituto Comprensivo Statale "Tommaso Grossi"	SSPG "Tommaso Grossi"	ORTOMERCATO	1,27
STATALE	Istituto Comprensivo Statale "Confalonieri"	SSPG "Govone-Pavoni"	DERGANO	0,92
STATALE	Istituto Comprensivo Statale "Maffucci" (REFUSAL)	SSPG "Maffucci"	DERGANO	0,92
STATALE	Istituto Comprensivo Statale "via Giacosa"	SSPG "Rinaldi" e "Casa del Sole"	PADOVA	0,89
STATALE		SSPG	FORZE ARMATE	0,83
STATALE		SSPG	GRATOSOGLIO - TICINELLO	0,83
STATALE		SSPG	QUARTO OGGIARO	0,78
STATALE		SSPG	QUARTO OGGIARO	0,78
STATALE		SSPG	VIGENTINA	0,71
STATALE		SSPG	EX OM - MORIVIONE	0,66
STATALE		SSPG	BAGGIO	0,61
STATALE		SSPG	BAGGIO	0,61
STATALE		SSPG	AFFORI	0,53
STATALE		SSPG	AFFORI	0,53
STATALE		SSPG	LORETO	0,44
STATALE		SSPG	LORETO	0,44
STATALE		SSPG	LORETO	0,44
STATALE		SSPG	VILLAPIZZONE	0,43
STATALE		SSPG	VILLAPIZZONE	0,43
STATALE		SSPG	VILLAPIZZONE	0,43
STATALE		SSPG	RIPAMONTI	0,38
STATALE		SSPG	BRUZZANO	0,31
STATALE		SSPG	LORENTEGGIO	0,28
STATALE		SSPG	GIAMBELLINO	0,22
STATALE		SSPG	STADERA	0,2
STATALE		SSPG	STADERA	0,2
STATALE		SSPG	MACIACHINI - MAGGIOLINA	0,19
STATALE		SSPG	MACIACHINI - MAGGIOLINA	0,19
STATALE		SSPG	VIALE MONZA	0,18
STATALE		SSPG	VIALE MONZA	0,18
STATALE		SSPG	NIGUARDA - CA' GRANDA	0,08
STATALE		SSPG	NIGUARDA - CA' GRANDA	0,08
STATALE		SSPG	NIGUARDA - CA' GRANDA	0,08
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STATALE		SSPG	PARCO LAMBRO -	-0,18

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STATALE	Istituto Comprensivo "Diaz"	SSPG "Beltrami"	DUOMO	-0,96
STATALE	Istituto Omnicomprensivo Musicale Statale	SSPG "Verdi"	GUASTALLA	-1,08
STATALE	Educandato Statale Setti Carraro dalla Chiesa	SSPG	GUASTALLA	-1,08
STATALE	Scuola Media Statale per Ciechi (EXCLUDED)	SSPG	GUASTALLA	-1,08
STATALE	Istituto Comprensivo Statale "via della Commenda" (REFUSAL)	SSPG "Luigi Majno"	GUASTALLA	-1,08
STATALE	Istituto Comprensivo Statale "via della Commenda" (REFUSAL)	SSPG "Luigi Majno"	GUASTALLA	-1,08
STATALE	Convitto Nazionale "Pietro Longone" (EXCLUDED)	SSPG	MAGENTA - S. VITTORE	-1,08
STATALE	Istituto Comprensivo "Bonaventura Cavalieri"	SSPG"Cavalieri"	MAGENTA - S. VITTORE	-1,08
STATALE	Istituto Compensivo "via Linneo"	SSPG "Via Linneo"	PAGANO	-1,2

UNIVERSITA' DEGLI STUDI DI MILANO

BICOCCA

Milano, 20 Dicembre 2016

Alla cortese attenzione dell'Istituto Comprensivo Statale "Via della Commenda"
Scuola secondaria di primo grado "Luigi Majno"
Nella persona della Dirigente, Dott.ssa Lorenza Terenziani

Oggetto: ricerca promossa dall'Università Milano-Bicocca

A seguito del processo di selezione territoriale svolto sulla città metropolitana di Milano, con la presente si comunica che l'Istituto Comprensivo Statale "Via della Commenda" ed in particolare la Scuola secondaria di primo grado "Luigi Majno" è stata scelta come unità di rilevazione per il progetto di ricerca "Insegnanti e competenze socio-relazionali: uno studio fenomenografco" promosso dall'Università Milano-Bicocca.

La ricerca viene promossa all'interno del XXXI Ciclo di Dottorato in Sociologia Applicata e Metodologia della Ricerca Sociale ed è svolta dalla Dott.ssa Alice Spada, dottoranda presso il dipartimento di Sociologia dell'Università Milano-Bicocca.

Il progetto tratta di come le competenze di "consapevolezza ed espressioni culturali" e "competenze sociali e civiche", ovvero due delle otto *competenze chiave* della Comunità Europea (Raccomandazione 2006/962/CE), vengono trasmesse e valutate nella Scuola Secondaria di Primo Grado. Tale ricerca viene svolta alla luce della recente introduzione della "Scheda pratica per la valutazione delle competenze" istituita in via sperimentale nel 2015 (C.M. 3 del 13 Febbraio 2015 in materia di valutazione delle competenze al fine del primo ciclo di istruzione).

L'adesione al progetto comporta l'intervista da parte del nostro gruppo di ricerca a 5 insegnanti che

svolgono la professione presso il vostro Istituto. Gli insegnanti saranno scelti tramite campione ragionato al fine di garantire la massima eterogeneità del campione. L'intervista è della durata di un'ora. L'anonimato degli intervistati verrà garantito durante tutti i passaggi della ricerca e la valutazione degli aspetti etici del progetto è affidata al Comitato Etico dell'Università Milano-Bicocca.

Una volta raccolti i dati presso gli Istituti presi in esame, per le realtà che lo desiderano è possibile organizzare un incontro finale di restituzione dove verranno illustrati i risultati della ricerca. Trattandosi di un tema fondamentale per la comunità educante, molti Istituti decidono di organizzare tale incontro restitutivo, anche al fine di accorciare il divario tra produzione scientifico-accademica e pratica educativa concreta.

Al fine di rendere il processo più chiaro segue ora una scansione temporale, seppur approssimativa, del progetto di ricerca:

- Febbraio/Giugno 2017: raccolta delle interviste (presso gli Istituti selezionati).
- Luglio/Dicembre 2017: elaborazione del materiale raccolto (senza coinvolgimento degli Istituti).
- Gennaio/Giugno 2018: incontro, momento di restituzione al quale possono partecipare tutti i docenti (presso gli Istituti selezionati).

Nel caso in cui il vostro Istituto si dimostrasse disponibile a partecipare al progetto, si prega di contattare la Dott.ssa Alice Spada all'indirizzo a.spada12@campus.unimib.it o al numero +39 340 2772553 al fine di organizzare i passi successivi (eventuale attivazione di una convenzione e successiva selezione degli insegnanti).

Con la speranza di una vostra adesione, porgo cordiali saluti.

Grazie della cortese attenzione,

Dott.ssa Alice Spada
Dottoranda presso Unimib

UNIVERSITÀ DEGLI STUDI DI MILANO - BICOCCA
DIPARTIMENTO DI SOCIOLOGIA E RICERCA SOCIALE
Piazza dell'Ateneo Nuovo, 1 -   20126 Milano

CONSENSO INFORMATO ALLA RICERCA

INSEGNANTI E COMPETENZE SOCIO-RELAZIONALI: UNO STUDIO FENOMENOGRAFICO

FOGLIO INFORMATIVO PER LA PARTECIPAZIONE

Gentilissima-o,
Le vogliamo proporre di partecipare ad una ricerca. E' Suo diritto essere informata/o circa lo scopo e le caratteristiche dello studio affinché Lei possa decidere in modo consapevole e libero se partecipare. La invitiamo a leggere attentamente quanto riportato di seguito. I ricercatori coinvolti in questo progetto sono a disposizione per rispondere alle sue domande:

Dott.ssa Spada Alice	a.spada12@campus.unimib.it
nome	mail

Prof. Stefanizzi Sonia	sonia.stefanizzi@unimib.it
nome	mail

Qual è lo scopo di questo studio?
Lo scopo generale del presente studio è indagare le concezioni degli insegnanti delle Scuole Secondarie di Primo Grado rispetto alle competenze socio-relazionali.

Come si svolgerà lo studio?
Lo studio sarà condotto attraverso interviste semi-strutturate ad un campione ragionato di insegnanti delle Scuole Secondarie di Primo Grado del comune di Milano.

Per quale ragione Le proponiamo di partecipare?
Le chiediamo di partecipare in quanto insegnante e in quanto professionista dell'educazione.

Lei è obbligato/a a partecipare allo studio?
La Sua partecipazione è completamente libera. Inoltre, se Lei dovesse cambiare idea e volesse ritirarsi, in qualsiasi momento è libera/o di farlo senza dover fornire alcuna spiegazione.

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Quali sono i passaggi necessari per partecipare allo studio?
La partecipazione allo studio avviene previa dettagliata informazione sulle caratteristiche, sui rischi e benefici dello stesso. Al termine della fase informativa Lei potrà acconsentire alla partecipazione allo studio firmando il modulo di consenso informato. Solo dopo che Lei avrà espresso per iscritto il Suo consenso, potrà attivamente partecipare allo studio proposto.

Che cosa Le verrà chiesto di fare?
Il progetto di ricerca prevede un'intervista semi-strutturata.
La durata complessiva dell'esperimento sarà di circa 45 minuti.
Le verrà chiesto di dialogare con il ricercatore rispetto ad una serie di questioni educative.

Quali sono i possibili rischi ed i disagi dello studio?
Non vi sono rischi noti.

Quali sono i possibili benefici derivanti dallo studio?
Lo studio permette al partecipante di esprimere il suo personale punto di vista rispetto ad alcune questioni educative, approfondendo quindi la conoscenza in materia. In aggiunta, il totale delle interviste costituirà un corpus di analisi utile per l'avanzamento degli studi in sociologia dell'educazione.

Come viene garantita la riservatezza delle informazioni?
Lo sperimentatore Le chiederà di fornire alcuni dati personali, quali genere, età, anni/mesi di servizio, modalità di accesso alla professione. Queste informazioni, così come i dati che emergeranno nel corso della ricerca, sono importanti per il corretto svolgimento dello studio. La riservatezza di tutte le informazioni sarà garantita dall'aggregazione dei dati la quale garantisce la non rintracciabilità del singolo individuo.

Come saranno usati i Suoi dati personali?
I dati raccolti saranno utilizzati in forma anonima ed aggregata, in modo da non poter risalire ai dati dei singoli individui, per lavori di tesi e/o pubblicazioni scientifiche, in accordo a quanto è stabilito nella "Autorizzazione al trattamento dei dati personali per scopi scientifici", che firmerà separatamente, se deciderà di partecipare.

UNIVERSITÀ DEGLI STUDI DI MILANO - BICOCCA
DIPARTIMENTO DI SOCIOLOGIA E RICERCA SOCIALE
Piazza dell'Ateneo Nuovo, 1 - 20126 Milano

La ringraziamo per la Sua disponibilità

DICHIARAZIONE DELLO SPERIMENTATORE

Io sottoscritto/a .... dichiaro di aver fornito alla/al partecipante informazioni complete e spiegazioni dettagliate circa la natura, le finalità, le procedure e la durata di questo progetto di ricerca. Dichiaro inoltre di aver fornito alla/al partecipante il foglio informativo.

_____

Firma   Data

FIRMA INFORMATIVA

Io sottoscritto/a .... dichiaro di aver ricevuto informazioni che mi hanno permesso di comprendere il progetto di ricerca, anche alla luce degli ulteriori chiarimenti da me richiesti. Confermo che mi è stata consegnata copia del presente documento informativo.

_____

Firma   Data

Comitato Etico UNIMIB _Matrice_consenso adulti_ versione 10 del Maggio 2016   3

Appendix 5 – Participation form

UNIVERSITÀ DEGLI STUDI DI MILANO - BICOCCA
DIPARTIMENTO DI SOCIOLOGIA E RICERCA SOCIALE
Piazza dell'Ateneo Nuovo, 1 - 20126 Milano

ESPRESSIONE DI CONSENSO INFORMATO

Sigla partecipante _____

Io sottoscritta/o _____

- Dichiaro di aver ricevuto spiegazioni esaurienti in merito alla richiesta di partecipazione allo studio sperimentale in oggetto e sufficienti informazioni riguardo ai rischi e ai benefici implicati nello studio, secondo quanto riportato nel foglio informativo qui allegato.
- Dichiaro di aver potuto discutere tali spiegazioni, di aver potuto porre tutte le domande che ho ritenuto necessarie e di aver ricevuto in merito risposte soddisfacenti.
- Sono stato inoltre informato del mio diritto di ritirarmi in qualsiasi momento dalla ricerca stessa e di avere libero accesso alla documentazione relativa alla sperimentazione ed alla valutazione espressa dal Comitato Etico.

Pertanto, alla luce delle informazioni che mi sono state fornite:

☐	ACCONSENTO	☐	NON ACCONSENTO	A partecipare allo studio
☐	ACCONSENTO	☐	NON ACCONSENTO	All'audio registrazione
☐	ACCONSENTO	☐	NON ACCONSENTO	Ad essere informata/o su eventuali risultati utili alla mia salute derivanti dallo studio stesso

LUOGO DATA _____   FIRMA DEL PARTECIPANTE _____

LUOGO DATA _____   FIRMA DEL RICERCATORE _____

Appendix 6 – Interview guide

UNIVERSITÀ DEGLI STUDI DI MILANO
BICOCCA

Progetto di ricerca
Università Milano-Bicocca
Dipartimento di Sociologia e Ricerca Sociale

"Insegnanti e competenze socio-relazionali: uno studio fenomenografico"
Dott.ssa Alice Spada
Prof. Sonia Stefanizzi

<u>Informazioni del rispondente Intervista XXX</u>

Firma consenso informato XXX
Sesso XXX
Età XXX
Istituto XXX
Anni di servizio XXX
Materia di insegnamento XXX
Altre attività XXX

Quale è la tua concezione di competenze sociali?

Come incentivi l'apprendimento delle competenze sociali?

Come attui il processo di valutazione rispetto all'apprendimento individuale delle competenze sociali?

Ora leggerai una breve descrizione di una situazione accaduta ad un tuo collega insegnante di una Scuola Secondaria di Primo Grado. In seguito alla lettura, esprimi verbalmente ciò a cui questo evento ti rimanda e come avresti agito se tale evento fosse accaduto nella tua classe.

Samira, 12 anni, frequenta la seconda media. E' una ragazzina solare e volenterosa ed i suoi voti, nonostante alcune lacune in matematica e scienze, sono nella media. La sua materia preferita è inglese. Ha ottime attitudini sportive e ha vinto un paio di gare podistiche con la maglia della scuola. I genitori di Samira sono tunisini. La famiglia di Samira, composta dai genitori e una sorella più piccola, vive in Italia da otto anni.
La classe seconda frequentata da Samira è una classe numerosa ed a volte rumorosa. Gli insegnanti spesso faticano ad ottenere l'attenzione del gruppo classe e, anche quando vi riescono, il silenzio concentrato dura non più di una decina di minuti.
Martedì 28 Gennaio Samira per la prima volta viene a scuola indossando l'hijab. La famiglia della ragazzina è mussulmana e, osservando le regole di tale tradizione religiosa, è arrivato il momento per la ragazzina di indossare il velo.
L'abbigliamento indossato da Samira scatena fin da subito l'ilarità e il commento irriverente di alcuni compagni di classe, soprattutto maschi. Un gruppetto di loro inizia a prendere di mira la ragazzina la quale, dopo i primi giorni di sopportazione, lamenta ora un forte disagio e sostiene di non voler più frequentare la scuola.

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