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## Citizenship education in multicultural society: Teachers' practices

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### Abstract

International literature indicates a decrease in participation (Schulz & Sibberns, 2004; Birzea et al., 2005) in western societies where legal frameworks are challenged by sociopolitical and cultural changes like migration, neoliberalism and globalization (Benhabib, 2002). These changes also affect the identity construction processes of new generations, as participation, belonging, and citizenship are rooted in identity formation (Bell, 1999) and instituted through family and school. In contemporary democratic societies schools must offer a new model of citizenship with multiple possible memberships. "Whilst every individual, to a certain extent, is a product of his or her heritage and social background, in contemporary modern democracies everyone can enrich his or her own identity by integrating different cultural affiliations" (Council of Europe, 2008, 18).

This paper presents exploratory research conducted to verify if and how teachers and institutions engage in education for democratic citizenship from an intercultural perspective. We conducted qualitative conversational interviews with 47 teachers (8 preschool, 16 primary, 15 middle school and 8 secondary). Open-ended questions on their missions and what they do in class to promote citizenship education were employed to understand their beliefs about citizenship education and their practices to promote a democratic intercultural *habitus* among students. Some teachers had ambiguous or assimilationist conceptions of citizenship education, and others based it on ethics and interculturalism for an inclusive concept of citizenship. Teachers' descriptions of practical actions fell into seven major categories: belonging, recognizing differences, listening to others, managing conflicts, participation, making rules together, and building communities. Some of their good practices are not yet instilled institutionally, so teachers trying to foster a democratic *habitus* feel isolated within their institutions and wider society. Transferring universal declarations and ethics into daily practice cannot be done by teachers alone, but requires the examples and actions of adults in society at large. Also, teachers need specific training interventions to orient this work.

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## 1. Introduction

In a world of uncertainty, education must help new generations to construct a strong yet flexible identity, based on solid principles to guide them through change, because "the world is becoming inhuman, inhospitable to human needs - needs of mortal humans - when it is violently dragged into a movement that no longer offers any kind of permanence" (Arendt, 2006, p. 56, own translation). Education for democratic citizenship in multicultural contexts seems to have to confront what Hannah Arendt proposed forty years ago, or the "dark ages" of Brechtian memory (Brecht, 1977), those times in which public space is dark and the world becomes so uncertain that people don't ask anything from politics but to respond to their vital interests and their private freedom, turning their attention away from what happens in the common sphere. In contemporary society, although people have access to multiple sources of information, they tend to dwell on their own concerns and act without any vision of the common good (Dusi, 2009).

International literature indicates a decrease in participation (Birzea et al., 2005) in western societies, especially between new generations (Schulz & Sibberns, 2004), where legal frameworks are challenged by sociopolitical and cultural changes like migration, neoliberalism and globalization (Benhabib, 2002). The world is in search of a new and delicate balance between national and international, local and global, multiple allegiances and nationalist citizenships. School populations in western societies are growing "more ethnically, racially and linguistically diverse while teachers remain predominantly monoracial, monoethnic, monocultural and monolingual" (Gay et al., 2003, p. 8), and, in a world of accelerated changes, educational institutions risk anachronism and redundancy (Suárez-Orozco & Satin, 2007). In addition, there are multiple conceptions of the meaning of democratic citizenship education (civic, social, human rights, political, etc.). There is a close link between the model of citizenship which a society adopts and the practices promoted by their educational institutions (Crick, 2000). A neoliberal conception of active citizenship emphasizes becoming an actor within one's community (Kennedy, 2007). Speaking of citizenship in contemporary society means to emphasize the right to identity difference and participation in social as well as political dimensions (Cornwall & Gaventa, 2001). Faced with the withdrawal of government in many social domains, citizens of neoliberal states must be more active in order to ensure the standards and services they are accustomed and entitled to (Lawson, 2001).

In the contemporary world, schools, along with families, play a crucial role in preparing youth for lives as active citizens. Schools, according of the Council of Europe,

are responsible for guiding and supporting young people in acquiring the tools and developing attitudes necessary for life in society in all its aspects or with strategies for acquiring them, and enable them to understand and acquire the values that underpin democratic life, introducing respect for human rights as the foundations for managing diversity and stimulating openness to other cultures. (Council of Europe, 2008, p. 30).

Schools play a leading role in developing a mindful way of being in the world today, a "global consciousness" (Mansilla & Gardner, 2007, p. 48) which helps students to become active citizens of the world as people with a plurality of belongings. Thus our educational task has become more complex. In contemporary democratic societies schools must offer a new model of citizenship because "we have to learn to live with the otherness of others, whose ways of being could be deeply threatening to our own. How else can you offer political and moral education, if not through comparisons of this sort within civil society?" (Benhabib, 2008, p. 89, own translation). But many teachers seem reluctant to engage in promoting active and participatory citizenship among their students. Our research was conducted to verify if and how teachers and institutions engage in education for democratic citizenship from an intercultural perspective.

## 2. Epistemological approach

The present study uses narrative methods (Connelly & Clandinin, 2000) that focus on documenting knowledge of practice. The inquiry paradigm used as a framework for the current study is ecological in nature, as each phenomenon gets its meaning from the context in which it occurs. This lead to acquisition of localized knowledge, and to an elaboration of working theories which are suited to a precise natural setting (Lincoln & Guba, 1994). According to Giorgi and Giorgi "the scientific method is descriptive because its point of departure consists of concrete descriptions of experienced events from the perspective of everyday life by participants, and then the result is a second order description of experienced events from the perspective of the psychological essence or structure of

the phenomenon by the scientific researcher” (Giorgi & Giorgi, 2003, p. 251). Different authors interpret phenomenology in different ways. For some, phenomenology is a method (Giorgi, 2009), for others it is a methodology (Creswell, 2007), a theoretical perspective (Bentz & Shapiro, 1998), or an epistemological paradigm.

With reference to research, phenomenology can be located in every one of the four previous elements.

It can be an epistemological paradigm, an alternative to the idea of ‘normal science’, which is grounded in the positivist paradigm. But it can be also a methodological approach that can offer proper research procedures and original techniques, mainly for data analysis. (Mortari & Tarozzi, 2010, p. 12)

The phenomenological method of describing allows for research on the “essence of lived experiences” (Husserl, 2002, p. 175) of the main actors in teaching, so as to shed light on the essential qualities of the phenomenon under investigation and to understand the meanings that teachers create for intercultural citizenship education in the context of the practice of their profession. In our study, one of the most delicate aspects concerned inter-coder agreement between the three researchers on the core categories of the interview data in order to get at *essential meanings*, while ensuring faithfulness to the interviewees’ words. To be considered as core categories, they had to be present in all or almost all the interview data, and permit us to shed light on teachers’ practices.

### 3. Data collection and analysis

From 2008 to 2010, 47 teachers (8 preschool, 16 primary, 15 middle school and 8 secondary), from 13 schools situated in 3 regions (Lombardia, Veneto, Emilia Romagna) in northern Italy participated in the study. All participation in interviews was voluntary and anonymous. We conducted qualitative conversational interviews with open-ended questions. The research questions that guided the study were: 1) What is your mission as a teacher? 2) What do you do in class to promote citizenship education? These questions were employed to understand their beliefs about citizenship education and their practices to promote a democratic and intercultural *habitus* among students. The 47 interviews were transcribed verbatim, and the transcriptions were analyzed in order to find meaningful units of description (text segments relevant to the research objectives: teachers' practices and beliefs on democratic citizenship education). Meaningful units were labelled and grouped by each researcher, revised collaboratively for inter-coder agreement, and organized into core categories. Since the focus of the research was on practices adopted by teachers to promote citizenship education, the categories were named with verbs referring to the actions of teachers. An analysis of the coding system led to the identification of emerging categories, so the results of the study arise from an intersubjective construction derived from ongoing discussion among the researchers involved.

### 4. Results: teachers' beliefs and practices.

We have identified two major trends. On the one hand, there are teachers who hold ambiguous and/or assimilationist ideas of citizenship education in an attempt to adjust to the model of citizenship of a monocultural state. On the other hand, we find teachers who assume their basic role in educating new generations according to a model in which citizenship education - based on ethical values - is integrated with interculturalism for an inclusive concept of citizenship adequate for a pluralist society. We decided to deepen the analysis of the good practices adopted by these latter teachers. In their descriptions, some words recur more often and seem to be more important in their thoughts. Words like respect, conflict, dialogue, participation, and critical thinking represent their thoughts and practices. These teachers are concerned with preparing students to act in a world where the local and global are closely interconnected.

*I believe it to be education to be a citizen (...) I don't differentiate between education to be a citizen of a state and education to be a citizen of the world (...) It is essential to address all...the future that we have is to be good citizens...whoever we are and in whatever country we live. (P7/2-4)<sup>2</sup>*

<sup>2</sup> In order to conserve space we retain only the authors' translations of the Italian language quotes. PS=preschool, P=primary, MS=middle school, and S=secondary school teachers.

*Now say that I'm Italian, I am part of the European Union...beyond this there is a planetary identity. The exchange of information, knowledge of issues, interdependence that has been created at all levels, cultural, economic, financial, political, doesn't permit me to think in a limited way, I have to think on a global scale, because, also in other ways, I use products that come from all over the world and this means that I am part of the world. Getting into issues, they don't necessarily have to be negative, concerns me just as anything that happens in the world. (S2/2)*

According to these teachers, school should foster the acquisition of a democratic *habitus*. Ethical virtues are born from habit:

the Virtues we get by first performing single acts of working, which, again, is the case of other things. As the arts for instance; for what we have to make when we have learned how, these we learn how to make by making. (Aristotle, 1998, p. 20, 1103a)

From the descriptions collected, we see the concern to test their students in the basic forms of fundamental agency to live in multicultural societies: recognition of the Other, valuing difference, from critical thinking to managing conflicts. Human existence takes place only in a common world, in which everything is "necessarily prior to other parts" (Aristotle, 1998):

that a city then precedes an individual is plain, for if an individual is not in himself sufficient to compose a perfect government, he is to a city as other parts are to a whole; but he that is incapable of society, or so complete in himself as not to want it, makes no part of a city, as a beast or a god. (Aristotle, 1928, p. 3, 1253a)

The aim of those who perform the art of education is to provide routes that form the political dimension of human existence (Plato, 2000). In this way, these teachers believe it is crucial to acquire respectful attitudes and some form of action which constitutes a democratic intercultural *habitus*: knowing how to manage stereotypes and conflicting relations, to dialogue, to think critically, and to participate in constructing a common world.

The descriptions of actions of the teachers whose positive practices we focus on fall into seven major categories: belonging, recognizing differences, listening to others, managing conflicts, participation, making rules together and building communities.

#### 4.1 Fostering a sense of belonging

Feeling like part of a place or a group is crucial for learning. The ability to think as a group member creates security and makes a student willing to confront the tasks of development and learning:

*as an adult you feel part of sharing, even when a child enters school, he feels part of his group, he knows the members of his group and interacts with them, he looks for them and they look for him. He shares in what the group experiences, the proposed activities, he finds his space, not only physical but also symbolic, an individual space that is also collective, a space for sharing what is individual with what is collective. (PS8/36)*

*One important thing in education is to do it in a way that the child builds a sense of belonging to the group and to the context in which he lives. (P5/132)*

By belonging one feels protected and safe, which allows us to get involved, to act in the world, exploring places and relationships. Belonging demonstrates recognition, creates identity, and assures one's rights to a place in the human world. The need for affiliation is crucial, along with that of exercising one's own power to be and to act.

#### 4.2 Recognizing differences

In multicultural contexts, facing reality means teachers must take note: educational action always has to do with difference. Difference marks every class, and every pedagogical relationship. It is a difference that is expressed in the uniqueness of every child, every family, every classroom; a difference that is an expression of the diversity of individual, family, and professional cultures and social circles that structure human worlds.

*You do intercultural education all the time, because even among us there are different cultures. For example, males and females have completely different structures, the rich and poor have different*

*cultures. You can't say "A Chinese child has arrived, let's do ten hours of intercultural education." It is always done, and parents should also do it when their child is born. (P4/4)*

Difference constitutes human beings. One, in fact, is never the other. Encounter is always an encounter with the otherness of ourselves and of others. Alterity must be accepted and respected:

*Acceptance and respecting diversity is central, sharing things in common and the discovery of things that, in fact, makes us different from each other. (PS1/10)*

*The goal is the ability to live with others accepting that the other is other than me. And valuing diversity. The fact that each awareness of being different matures and that this diversity, especially in an age in which diversity is perceived as a handicap, should be lived... as a positive element, avoiding standardization and conformity. (M7/8)*

In encounters with others, we find the ambivalence of human desire that seeks belonging yet distinction. The individual is engaged: on the one hand, the need to feel similar to others and to be part of social groups, on the other hand, the need to distinguish oneself from other individuals, to be able to see oneself as a unique entity (Tajfel, 1978).

*A debate on diversity came up, on the positive aspects of feeling more or less different from others, and so we have worked on this debate we have read texts that speak of stereotypes and of other cultures. Now we are dealing with diversity through poetry. (S5/14)*

Although difference makes it more difficult to encounter and dialogue with others, it is also an opportunity for more growth, a deeper self-discovery, and more significant learning (Barnlund, 2002).

#### 4.3 Listening to others

Encounters and dialogue with otherness can create spaces for personal development, generate new thoughts, new perceptions, and new visions of the world only when we are able to pay attention.

*Within my class there are people who think very differently from each other. It was necessary work on the ability to listen: I listen to the other and try not to comment, I listen to him, even if my instinct tells me "no you're wrong, it's not like this, we don't do it like this". It's about trying to understand that the other person has an idea different than mine, which must be respected before it is criticized, then you can get to the stage of commenting and discussing. (M12/6)*

The Other embodies a different perspective of the world, expresses and reflects meaningful practices, social systems, and different symbols, and is a world to know, to understand, and to approach. In this encounter, this exchange, this contamination, ideas are created. Thoughts are born in the doubt that the Other may lodge in my beliefs and certainties: "Thinking begins in what may fairly enough be called a forkedroad situation, a situation which is ambiguous, which presents a dilemma, which proposes alternatives" (Dewey, 1991, p. 11).

*Specific activities are carried out. I'll give an example concerning prejudice, religious prejudice. We started from the prejudices of the thirteenth century, then the Reformation, all in documents. The documents are important because you see unbelievable points of view. There was a boy who, after having read of the conquest of the Arabs in documents, said "but I don't understand anything any more" and I said "Good, this is a good thing" and he said "I don't understand who is right and who is wrong". Excellent, this is what we want. (S8/14)*

Doubt compels reflection: "In the suspense of uncertainty, we metaphorically climb a tree; we try to find some standpoint from which we may survey additional facts and, getting a more commanding view of the situation, may decide how the facts stand related to one another" (Dewey, 1991, p. 11). In dialogue with others, with their ideas and visions, with their stories, even in conflicts, in a permanent network of points of view, narrated and negotiated, created and recreated, thought takes shape.

*In my class, for example, I really found a place...there were students asking me. So, it's working on accepting others and respect at least two hours per week (...) this requires specific activities: in some classes it's an hour more, in others less...obviously according to the teachers and the needs, because there is little time and there is no space for dialogue... They asked for it, they really need it. (M1/38-40)*

Contemporary society, multicultural in new ways, perhaps too large for the *habitus* of western thinking, needs people capable of going beyond the antithesis, able to combine the familiar with the foreign, to live in conflict, to dwell in the *not-yet-here* (*ati-piparti, atyeti, διαπορεύεται*). In this way, it becomes essential to listen. Working together to generate thought does not begin with speaking, "but with the will to look back and pay attention" (Waldenfels, 2008, p. 70, own translation).

#### 4.4 Managing conflicts

Learning to be together with others in democratically respectful ways is a long and arduous process which requires that each student has the opportunity to test themselves, to look for a way out of the conflictual situation that has arisen with one or more companions.

*We did a good job on training in conflict, relationships, and the importance of conflict, and then we made a pact between us, between us and the children and between us, the children and the families. (...) We want the children among themselves to resolve, to find solutions, solutions that work well for both if possible. Let's see if, with the help of other children, we will be able to solve the situation, or make stimulus questions like "but you?", we are trying to promote reflection, to raise awareness of their own emotional reactions and feelings. (PS6/264 - 266)*

*I have worked a lot on this aspect, building a class-group, well-being, which also includes conflict management. This is not about eliminating conflict, but to manage it in a positive way, to make them able to succeed in confronting conflicts together. (P11/4)*

Debates and disagreements that occur among children are essential to promote the decentralization process that allows humans to understand others (Piaget, 1972). The peer group is a causal force in the social and cognitive development of children. It is a force exerted by the mediating process of acceptance, attraction, aggression, friendship, cohesion, and cooperation among children (Hartup & Rubin, 1986).

#### 4.5 Promoting particip-action

Particip-action is always built in communicative relations, which take place in shared spaces, in the being-together-with-others. Self-discovery and consciousness of the world implies leaving behind one's private world (*idion*), a confrontation with the other, the particip-action in a common world (*koinón*). This particip-action implies giving more than taking (Esposito, 2006), the need for *inter-being*, in order to exercise one's own power in the world of men.

*Since last year the Town Council initiated a project on citizenship, on belonging, on participation. A sense of belonging to a group emerged, and the need for rules. We worked on a constitution, and I also signed it. We are making progress in sharing. (P9/30-32)*

*My actions are intended to ensure that there is no child who feels uncomfortable because he is marginalized, because he doesn't feel part of the group (...) and for this we refer to all the parts that concern cooperative learning, it's a methodology to succeed in making everyone participate. (M11/4)*

*I am concerned about participation more than anything else, trying to make students participate in a positive atmosphere. So that everyone can say "I also feel part of my class group". (S6/4)*

Taking part in joint projects, sharing spaces, ideas, emotions, and goals, requires everyone to trust each other. In dialogical particip-action, one relies on the promise of the other and oneself. One experiences trust, recognition, and

conflict; meets other points of view, discovers an unexpected self, stumbles onto his own and others' errors, and engages with forgiveness. Particip-action is based on the action of relationships and on communic-action, and is a constitutively transformative experience (*erfahrung*), generating changes among its actors and the world they inhabit.

#### 4.6 Making rules together

Taking part in the life that takes place in a shared space means sharing rules which make it possible to be together with others. Human relations are laced with conflicting desires for success and the need of recognition, in a web where the presence of rules that foster mutual respect and shared action are necessary. Thus an essential element of children's school experience becomes an encounter with rules:

*Openness and freedom in the sense of few rules but firm and decisive ones. Don't crowd children with an infinite number of rules, but a few, such as the classic, after you use a game you clean up and put it in the proper place; when we're all on the carpet to do the calendar everyone is silent because it is a time when we have to look at the calendar and listen to each other... Few rules, simple, but you need to be inflexible on these, in the sense that if a rule is decided it's decided together, there is a reason for it and so it should not be changed. (PS3/22-24)*

Teachers protect, contain, and confirm while giving children the ABCs of the norms of social life, each in their own teaching, in a personal way, little by little, so the world can be protected "from the wave of innovations that explode with each new generation" (Arendt, 1999, p. 243, own translation).

*What do I do! Little by little, I use this resource of a heterogeneous age group, so with the older ones who are already familiar with the environment and the rules of the environment, through them, day by day, we discover how we really have to live in this environment, not that we just say that these are the rules...but it's a lived experience...(PS5/28)*

*We educate through a greater awareness of the ethical dimension of living together. There will not be more rules to increase the paternal function of school, but a rethinking of the way in which we organize ourselves with rules. And from this point of view, school can be a beautiful workshop because it is a place where students experience the consequences of their own actions. (S7/129)*

Explaining the rules serves to point out the limits of encounters with others, these boundaries themselves foster the encounter with the other, rendering it fertile for reciprocal education. By asking questions you activate thinking, the capacity to question oneself and to interrogate the world around us, and we help the child to reflect on the consequences of their actions.

*For example, sometimes I put them in a circle "tell me, how do you think you behaved today?". "I didn't behave well". "But why did you not behave well? What happened? Is there something that is not right, that made you angry, is it me?" and I have to say that it is a method that is long and tiring, but I tell you it repays you at the end of three years, because they are long distances, there are no immediate results in a method like this, but you give it a few years, and the feedback that I have at the end has always been very positive compared to my practice of many years ago that was "kids, now that's enough! Sit down and behave!" (PS3/72)*

Learning to be with others is a long and arduous process in which everyone must be given the opportunity to make mistakes and learn from their own mistakes. From this perspective, the strategy to favor in problematic situations, when relationships are being tested and when rules are broken, is to stimulate reflection on their own actions and to elicit the idea from them.

#### 4.7 Building communities

According to the original meaning of the concept of *communitas*, what is shared by its members is a subjectivity that feeds on alterity. The original *munus* highlights the relational nature of man, our necessary participation in the other as part of oneself, the ontological interdependence between different individuals. The identity of human beings is

constructed and expressed in relationship with others, in social contexts. School is one of the most important contexts in which members of new generations discover themselves through discovering others. It is a community that grants rights to their members and a sense of mutual belonging:

*The community creates a group of people, kids who, even if they fight sometimes, get along if they help each other. (P13/22)*

*The task of the teacher is above all to stabilize the conditions so that they can stay together and grow together. A teacher must foster minimal social skills, explain them explicitly and also use appropriate discipline to help them mature. This is a way to involve them, to establish contact with them and among them. (M9/40)*

*I think it's important to build the learning group. This doesn't happen without efforts on the part of the teacher and the children. The group needs to be accompanied to become a group that learns willingly together, effective for everyone, in which everyone knows how to support and be a resource for others. (S7/176)*

As Dewey wrote, "the development within the young of the attitudes and dispositions necessary to the continuous and progressive life of a society cannot take place by direct conveyance of beliefs, emotions, and knowledge. It takes place through the intermediary of the environment" (Dewey, 2004, p. 24).

*Since last year our school participated in the Community Council of Children (CCC), it is an experience that helps young people understand and actively participate in democratic citizenship. There were elections in the school. Each class elected their own candidate and each candidate presented his own program and then there was a democratic vote. The whole Executive Board participated in the first municipal council of the town. It was the task of the Executive Board of the CCC to present issues to the City Council. Perhaps this is a way to introduce youth to politics. Or at least to what is a participating citizen. It is a good opportunity for the kids to understand the management of the school gym, not only regarding the school but in the community, a far greater reality. (P11/36)*

We need an environment that involves action, in words, and in the practice of a democratic *habitus*, based on confrontation, discussion, planning, and taking mutual responsibility. For a community to work, the members must participate in the continuous construction of it (Ross, 2007).

#### **4. Discussion and Conclusions**

These seven core categories illustrate positive ways in which some of the teachers interviewed attempt to foster a democratic *habitus* among their students through citizenship education from an intercultural perspective. However, in the words of many teachers, we see ambivalency and contradictions that seem to illustrate an interpretation of the intercultural approach which is at times inaccurate. For example, an orientation to be used only in the presence of children of immigrants, or a practice that is interpreted as folklore. We also note a neo-assimilationist, nationalistic understanding of citizenship education. Educational establishments seem to bear the legacy of a tradition that conceptualizes democratic education in terms of transmitting an established order with which the student is required to comply, for social cohesion. "What society really, ideally, wants is a citizenry that will simply obey the rules of society" (Baldwin, 1985, p. 326).

Also for this reason, among teachers there is a perception of inadequacy with respect to the complexity of the task they are asked to perform. For some, this results in a refusal to be challenged by the demands that new socio-cultural and economic structures require; the constant increase in complexity and diversity. Teachers are also conditioned by the institutional constraints that impose limits on their actions: programs to complete and little time to promote dialogue with and among students who need this. In fact, schools have difficulty in promoting participatory attitudes among young people. Some of their good practices are not yet instilled institutionally, so teachers trying to foster a democratic *habitus* feel isolated. In schools and in society, the institution itself seems to leave intercultural citizenship education up to the initiative of individual teachers.



*So public school has the general objective, also sanctioned by the Constitution, to educate and train future citizens in the values of democratic life. In respect to the values of democratic life, the school must be very convinced and proactive in trying to get students to experience and live with others, because public school is the space, I think, ideal in these times to meet each other and build communities. The values of the public school are the values of democratic citizenship, of coexistence, acceptance, confrontation, overcoming prejudice, and this is a role that the school must fulfill. Teachers must have ethical commitment and on this, even with respect to the family, must make firm decisions, but not imposing judgment, but with proactive firmness and authority. (P3/151)*

So "experimental democratic education can guarantee social integration in highly differentiated contexts" (Gundara, 2006, p. 25). The search for rules and norms to be shared by individuals who have different ethical perspectives is not a new attempt for humanity; numerous attempts have been made. However, the various universal declarations clash with the practical dimensions of living with others: concrete daily actions. No real ethical order can exist beyond actions. Stating ethical principals does not have the force of fact; the words of teachers are not sufficient *per se*: educational responsibility demands testimony, examples, and actions. Democratic society can only exist if the individual can act and have power. "What is specific to democratic order is that it must be created with the participation of all" (Zambrano, 2000, p. 196, own translation).

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