The Teaching Profession: Trends and Issues in the Italian School System

Francesca Lagomarsino*, Valeria Pandolfini**

Author information

*   Francesca Lagomarsino, Disfor, Unige, f.lagomarsino@unige.it

**   Valeria Pandolfini, Disfor, Unige, valeria.pandolfini@unige.it

The Teaching Profession: Trends and Issues in the Italian School System

Francesca Lagomarsino and Valeria Pandolfini[1]

This monographic issue addresses one of the central themes in sociological reflection on schools, the role of the teaching profession and its centrality within educational systems. It is clear that the role played by teachers within schools, their training, selection and evaluation, cannot be considered a secondary element but an essential one for understanding the system itself. Reflections on teacher and school effectiveness (Akiba, LeTendre, Scriber, 2007; Chingos & Peterson, 2011; Burroughs et al., 2019) on teacher training and selection, in primary and secondary education, are indeed topics of interest to all researchers, policymakers and practitioners working within the education system. Italian and international research has, in recent years, focused extensively on these issues, with both quantitative and qualitative and ethnographic studies. However, there always remains the great dilemma of how, and if, one can really evaluate teacher work and in what ways one can do so. We are in fact faced with two orders of problems. The first because the teacher's work does not have a single goal but multiple purposes (Lortie, 1975), so it is extremely complex to define, particularly in compulsory schools but not only, which aspects are to be taken into account and with what intensity: student skills, disciplinary knowledge, communication skills, interpersonal, empathic, and many other elements that can sometimes be at odds with each other.

The second is that, as with all educational work, the result and effect of the educational process is often observed and comes to light over time and with unforeseen outcomes; therefore, it is difficult if not impossible to grasp, on the spot, whether that type of lesson or that particular teaching style is truly effective for that specific student. Finally, teachers who work in classroom group settings, and thus not with individual students or very

[1] Francesca Lagomarsino, Disfor, Unige, f.lagomarsino@unige.it
Valeria Pandolfini, Disfor, Unige, valeria.pandolfini@unige.it

small groups, for example as in the homeschooling experiences (Di Motoli, 2020; Chinazzi, 2023), are faced with heterogeneous classes with different and specific needs that are often very difficult to manage with a single method, because what may work well for some pupils is not adequate for others (Brint, 1998).

As is evident from the studies that Luisa Ribolzi (1997; 2003; 2020) has developed throughout her career, and which has been one of her research themes, teachers are a key resource in the school system (Colombo, 2017; Argentin, 2018) both because of their role in the process of socialization of pupils and because of the issue of their effectiveness. In particular, Ribolzi's studies have focused on the role of the teacher in his or her relationship with the educational institution, based on the assumption that the teacher is placed within an organization that leads him or her to develop an adaptation that affects his or her work (Bottani, 1994; Besozzi, 2006); therefore, it is unthinkable, nor is it possible, to implement reforms or changes in the system without involving teachers and making them active as well as conscious subjects.

At the same time, within Ribolzi's reflections, one of the key themes is related to the school-family relationship; schools and the teachers must be able to propose educational models marked by shared values with families, which serve as a guide and reference for children, in fact, "the observation is observed that schools that have a strong and coherent educational proposal seem better equipped to equip children to cope with complexity" (Ribolzi 2020, p. 113). The issue is also multi-faceted, since it is influenced by cultural, policy and economic contexts and by the ideological positions that cross each society in different historical periods.

In the present special issue, attention is given both to the theoretical issues and to the methodological ones, questioning the methodological challenges and implications researchers face when conducting empirical research on the aforementioned topics. This leads to discuss the role of educational research, of conducting research 'on' and 'with' the main actors in educational and training systems: teachers, school leaders, students, families, policy makers, and stakeholders in a broader sense. As Ribolzi claimed, the role is, or could be, twofold: advancing scientific knowledge and identifying problems and potential solutions for the improvement of the educational system.

This special issue consists of eight articles, four deal with the issue of the presence of students with migrant backgrounds and intercultural process in educational systems with different declinations; two focus instead on the process of the digitalization of education; and the others on the teacher recruitment system in Italy and the concept of teachers' self-efficacy.

Two articles in the volume address the issue of inequalities for students with immigrant or migrant backgrounds. Here many of the aspects we have

mentioned above return; it clearly emerges how the attitudes, implicit and explicit, and expectations of teachers play a fundamental role in the processes of inclusion and educational success. Specifically, we cannot overlook the fact that intercultural skills and sensitivity (Byram, 2003; Martorana, Rania, Lagomarsino, 2021) are an essential element when foreign pupils or pupils with migration backgrounds are present in the classroom.

The article by Frisina, De Tona and Ghebremariam Tesfau proposes an interesting and original study, for the Italian context, concerning the influence of racialization processes in school inequalities, with a specific focus on orientation. While there are many studies conducted in Italy on the relationship between educational inequalities and students' migration background, less explored is the specific topic of racialization processes within classrooms. In this article the authors focus on the moment of secondary school choice and the school choice orientation process. As some studies have long pointed out, secondary school choice is a fundamental moment in determining that formative channeling that characterizes Italian schools (Eurostat, 2011; Santagati, 2012; Lagomarsino & Erminio 2019). The ethnographic research of Romito (2014) and Caroselli (2022), have pointed out very effectively how schools and teachers are often unwitting actors in processes of stigmatization and racialization, exercising a "gentle violence" that has decisive effects especially at the moment of transition to secondary school. At this stage, the possession of some cultural capital that can help with choice, even against what teachers suggest, penalizes students and families who cannot enjoy such knowledge.

Frisina, De Tona and Ghebremariam Tesfau place themselves within these reflections by proposing an exploratory study, conducted in Verona that focuses on the relationship between race, social class and educational orientation. In this work, the originality lies precisely in the choice to focus on the issue of racialization, which is usually little explored and laden with unspoken. The research highlighted two main dynamics. On one hand, systemic shortcomings in the educational framework place a disproportionate burden on teachers, who find themselves addressing structural gaps with personal resources and unpaid time. In the other hand, teachers themselves, through biases and not always intentional practices, contribute to the racialization of educational pathways. In this context, teachers play an ambivalent role because in some respects it is the individual teachers who support foreign-born students by becoming figures of reference and support, in other respects, however, they become obstacles themselves that new generations must overcome to achieve true emancipation. The authors underline the teacher biases play a central role in reproducing educational inequalities, even when they operate unconsciously. While many teachers express a commitment to equity and inclusion, findings demonstrate that implicit biases

often influence their actions and perceptions, particularly toward racialized students and those from disadvantaged socioeconomic backgrounds In this sense, the results of the work, although focused on racialization, take up and further confirm research findings that emphasize how the role of beliefs, the internalization of the meritocratic model, and the good faith of many teachers play a decisive role in reproducing those processes of inferiorization of which students of immigrant origin are often victims (see Lagomarsino & Ravecca 2014; Romito, 2016; Giliberti, 2018).

The other paper, which we can include in this group, is the one presented by Ferrari, Santagati and Barzaghi that addresses the issue of school and educational integration for Unaccompanied Minors (UAMs). This paper refers to the results of extensive qualitative research, bringing together the views of adults and those of UAMs, to explore the practices and strategies employed in educational contexts to support the learning and integration of these young individuals. Also in this article, the authors focused on the role teachers play in supporting and facilitating, or conversely hindering, an inclusive educational environment and reduce disparities. In their study Ferrari, Santagati and Barzaghi refer to the essential role played by school governance. This, however, seems to be an element that is less addressed in Italian research on these issues, which allows for a more complete picture of the complexity of school systems and, as we mentioned earlier, the role of the teacher moving between the constraints of the institution. The results of the study outline two models of governance, one that can be termed "inclusion-oriented" and another that may be viewed as "exclusion-oriented." With this dichotomy, the authors make it clear how the system choices and the institutional and management context (e.g., the choice for homogeneous classes with only foreigners or not, the presence of cultural mediators, the organization of preliminary informational meetings between teachers and UAMs, the complexity in administrative practices) in which teachers are placed, strongly affect the effectiveness of the proposed intervention giving different outcomes in terms of the possibility of inclusion and educational success. The article highlights a first contradiction concerning the presence in educational systems of UAMs, in fact, school segregation is one of the main critical issues in UAMs educational pathways. UAMs are frequently placed in separate educational tracks, isolated from Italian peers and relegated to ethnically homogeneous settings, compromising social and cultural inclusion. These mechanisms tend to be associated with the processes of racialization that involve pupils with migrant backgrounds, especially blacks, and that are also observed in the case of UAMs. In addition, there is always the contradiction between offering schooling experiences that can give titles recognized in the country of arrival or instead offering socio-professional training paths, oriented toward the rapid search for paid work that connects

to how the Italian institutions perceive UAMs: they are often seen primarily as "almost-adult" irregular migrants, leading to biases that view them as a marginal group. In these pathways it is evident, as the literature has long indicated, that teachers in their daily classroom practices can make a difference, in supporting, sustaining or discouraging attendance and success in school. In particular, the ability of teachers to adopt more flexible and personalized approaches and the implementation of teaching methodologies that are better suited to the needs of unaccompanied minors. Conversely, teachers who favor traditional methods that, although well established, may prove less effective in addressing the specific learning difficulties of these students. The authors emphasize the fundamental role of peer socialization and the importance of developing a sense of belonging and active participation within the school environment, pointing out the risk of segregative models where these minors are offered educational opportunities only among foreigners or specifically among UAMs. Equally necessary is the collaboration between schools and the local community, and the creation of an effective network with different stakeholders, it can be stated that teachers emphasize the necessity for ongoing coordination between educational institutions and reception facilities.

Lei Huang's article shifts the focus to higher education, proposing an original study of the role that intercultural communication can play on the quality of university teaching. In this sense, the author takes some reflections on the role of intercultural communication (Cohen-Emerique, 2015) (also using psychological categories such as that of communicative self-efficacy and well-being), often used in studies on the presence of immigrant students, and proposes them by reasoning about university teaching and the quality of teaching within university courses. The author questions how these elements influence equity in the higher education system and does so in an original way by focusing her study on Chinese international students at the University of Turin. Although this is exploratory research and with a small sample, from the interpretations of these students, it emerges how teachers' expectations are strongly imbued with their own cultural values and patterns, see examples of individualist vs. collectivist cultural patterns. These seem to influence performance and assessment outcomes and thus study pathways. The focus on aspects related to the author's knowledge of culture of origin highlights how often the researchers themselves, and if they are not well acquainted with the contexts of origin and the cultural implicitities of reference, risk interpreting with inadequate or insufficient categories the data that emerge from the field. At the same time, there emerges the risk of an 'essentialization of culture' and its meanings, with the easy temptation to interpret in a monolithic and static way the behaviors, values and meanings that "Italians" and "foreigners" would give to their actions as belonging

to national groups. In this sense, it seems clear that it is crucial to refer to the literature of the countries of origin as well as to studies and academic collaborations with colleagues working in different national contexts, not forgetting that immigration and emigration are two closely related aspects (Sayad, 2002) and incomprehensible without each other.

The last article included in this first group of essay shifts the focus to the figure of teachers, with documentary research work with respect to the international mobility of Italian teachers. The author starts from the assumption that there are administrative barriers and obstacles that make the mobility of Italian teachers difficult. From international comparisons we can see that Italy has one of the lowest rates of transnational mobility of teachers during their careers, which is below the EU level. This finding clashes with the contributions of intercultural competence theories that instead emphasize that key elements in developing intercultural competence are the ability to grasp the complexity of multiple belongings, the ability to relativize one's point of view, managing to distance oneself from one's ethnocentrism (Martorana, Rania & Lagomarsino, 2021). Many of these skills are also developed through the experiences of travel, exchanges and encounters with the "other." Within educational contexts, foreign exchange experiences lead teachers to reflect on their own practices, educational and didactic, and to learn about and experience different ones. Desideri's article focuses on contributions from the literature, not only sociological but also pedagogical and legal, that bring the proposed theme into focus. From this contribution it emerges how the Italian school still struggles to recognize the skills of those who have trained abroad, including language skills, and how it fails to sufficiently value the formation of intercultural competencies built not on theoretical knowledge but on experiences of work and international exchange. In short, there emerges a kind of provincialism and lack of attention to those intercultural competencies, which sociological research has been talking about for some time and which the other articles in the special issue, with looks at different elements, consistently pick up on and emphasize.

Another theme addressed in this monographic issue concerns the process of digitalization in education (Colombo, 2016; Santagati & Pandolfini, 2017; OECD, 2023) which, similarly to what has happened in Europe, has been influencing the Italian education system for decades. It has posed a challenge for teachers, who must navigate the advantages and disadvantages of integrating digital technologies into teaching and learning processes, as well as for the educational system as a whole. The digitalization of education raises a series of issues widely addressed in both national and international scientific literature, often with interdisciplinary approaches (sociology, pedagogy, psychology, economics). These include the implications for initial and ongoing teacher training (Bentri & Hidayati, 2023), within a framework

of lifelong learning and professional development; the assessment of digital competencies (Carretero, Vuorikari & Punie, 2017; Ghomi & Redecker, 2018); and the impact on students' learning outcomes, on their motivation to study and their participation in classroom activities (Eurydice, 2019).

Indeed, in the school context, digitalization has profoundly changed the ecology of educational practice, influencing time, space, roles, practices and relationships. This has fuelled scientific literature focused on topics such as the platformization of education (Decuypere, Grimaldi & Landri, 2021; Grimaldi & Ball, 2021) and the learnification of education (Biesta, 2004). Around the concept of the Digital School, an 'epistemic community' has emerged, as defined by Pitzalis et al. (2016), echoing Van Zanten (2004). This community consists of a multifaceted set of stakeholders and practitioners (university researchers, teachers, trainers, educational agencies, EdTech corporations, publishers) who generally maintain an optimistic view of the introduction of digital technologies in education. However, research on the integration of technology into everyday school life reveals a much more complex scenario than the optimistic rhetoric suggests (Gui, 2019). The question, explored in two articles included in this monographic issue, is whether and how the transformations connected to the digitalization introduce or reinforce existing and new constraints and opportunities in learning processes and the integration of younger generations (Pandolfini, 2020). This issue reopens the debate on a Bourdieusian perspective of the socio-cultural reproduction of educational inequalities (Pitzalis et al., 2016; Ball & Grimaldi, 2021; Pitzalis & Porcu, 2024) versus the potential of digitalization to create socio-institutional realities that generate empowerment, independently of students' socioeconomic background.

The article by Scagliusi and Cejudo investigates the perspectives of pedagogy students from the Faculty of Education at the University of Bologna, focusing on their views on digital competencies, training experiences, and strategies they consider most effective for developing such competencies. Using an exploratory approach with an online questionnaire featuring open-ended questions, the study aims to enhance understanding of future teachers' needs and expectations regarding digital competencies. This, in turn, could contribute to designing more effective teacher training programs and fostering a more reflective and critical use of technology in the classroom. The results of this qualitative study indicate that pedagogy students and future teachers have a largely positive perception of digital competencies. Most respondents recognize the fundamental importance of these competencies in contemporary education, highlighting their potential to improve teaching quality, prepare students for the future, and promote inclusion. These findings align with previous literature underscoring the essential role of digital competencies in 21st-century education (Eurydice, 2019;

OECD, 2023). However, students also anticipate challenges in incorporating digital competencies into their future teaching practices, primarily concerning the need to balance technology with traditional methods and addressing technical and training difficulties. These challenges highlight the necessity of teacher training that extends beyond mere technical instruction to include pedagogical and ethical aspects of technology use in classrooms (Bentri & Hidayati, 2023). The results suggest that while there is widespread recognition of the importance of digital competencies, challenges persist in their effective integration into teacher training and educational practice.

The article by Farinella and Carbone discusses the role of digital technologies in fostering inclusion. Based on qualitative research involving 50 teachers in Messina, Italy, it examines how digital technologies were used during the COVID-19 pandemic to support inclusive education. Strategies for using digital tools to address educational inequalities, particularly among disadvantaged groups, are explored. The results highlight the primary weaknesses caused by the sudden acceleration of digital adoption due to the COVID-19 pandemic. Teachers faced a forced shift to digital tools and distance learning in an environment of uncertainty, disorientation, lack of preparedness in digital tool usage, and insufficient digital infrastructure and devices. The research found that teachers felt abandoned and disoriented in the face of the dematerialization of school, which led to the loss of the spatial, temporal, and relational coordinates provided by the socio-material structure of the classroom and the taken-for-granted educational practices associated with it. A key recommendation from the research is that without institutional support, leaving these processes to individual initiatives and commitment risks exacerbating the individualization of teaching. This, in turn, could increase the sense of isolation among teachers and students, lead to disparities in teaching quality, and exacerbate educational inequalities. The findings from Farinella and Carbone's research align with other studies examining educational processes during the COVID-19 pandemic (Colombo, Rinaldi & Poliandri, 2020; Landri, 2021).

The theme of digitalization has been considered by Ribolzi with a perspective that captures the complexity of the education system and the intricate interconnections between its various aspects and levels. Unlike most studies that focus on the individual level (teachers and/or students) to assess impact, a multilevel approach is necessary to avoid reducing digital technologies in education to a question of whether students learn better now than before. Change and outcomes concern the educational system as a whole. Thus, a more realistic understanding of how impact interrelates across different levels - macro (national and local), meso (institutional and learning environments), and micro (teacher and student practices and outcomes) - is crucial. There is no doubt that educational relationships have increasingly been

shaped by electronic and digital innovations, influencing the socio-material space of the classroom (Viteritti & Landriscina, 2016) and teaching-learning strategies. This shift has moved didactics from a transmissive or highly directive model to an interactionist/constructivist approach centered on dialogic exchange, the negotiation of meanings, and collaborative knowledge construction (Ribolzi, 2002). Moreover, the theme strongly recalls teacher training, a crucial issue for Ribolzi, emphasizing the international dimension of the matter. On this point, reference can be made to the European frameworks DIGCOMP and DIGCOMPEDU (Carretero et al., 2017; Ghomi & Redecker, 2018), which provide structured guidelines for the development of digital competencies. These frameworks stress the need for technology integration into teaching practices in a coherent and contextually adapted manner, reinforcing the notion that digital competencies should not be taught in isolation but as part of a comprehensive pedagogical strategy.

The other articles composing the special issue address two key elements for the quality of teachers' professionalism: one essay investigates the institutionalized precariousness in teacher recruitment and its effects on the school system; the other one examines the concept of teachers' self-efficacy.

The first article, by Blancato and Argentin, examines the recruitment system for teachers in Italy through the "Messa A Disposizione" (MAD) mechanism, a flexible recruitment channel for temporary teachers. Through a survey of 432 MAD teachers, the study outlines their demographic diversity, motivations, and aspirations. The study discusses challenges such as precarious employment, geographic mobility, and the systemic impacts of temporary contracts on school stability and student learning. The authors question whether MAD represents a temporary and transitional job for individuals or whether it serves as a way to get closer to teaching with the goal of a future permanent entry into the school system. The study highlights the dual nature of MAD, serving both as a strategic choice for professional development and as a response to teacher shortages in hard-to-staff schools. Often, MAD may be used by teachers as a tool for "job testing": the time spent in school can provide an opportunity for career exploration, allowing them to confirm or reassess their vocational inclinations. The results of the research suggest that MAD effectively functions as a recruitment channel for future teachers and is primarily used by those who aim to enter and remain in the teaching profession. Conversely, the use of MAD as a tool for obtaining a temporary job appears to be limited to a few cases.

On this point, as Blancato and Argentin well highlighted in their essay, it is useful to recall Ribolzi's (2003) perspective, expressed well before the introduction of highly specific tools such as MAD. In her reflections, she highlighted the importance of two factors closely connected to the quality of education systems: on the one hand, initial teacher training and in-service

professional development; on the other, the motivational aspect, which has been widely discussed in the article. Secondly, the topics covered in the article recall the theme of school autonomy, a key concept for Ribolzi. Indeed, school principals directly select teachers, without the intervention of other national or local offices of the Ministry of Education. In this sense, MAD represents an element of autonomy for schools, the necessity of which is often emphasized to ensure the quality of the school system (Ribolzi, 1997).

The second article, written by Manzella and Argentin, introduces and validates the Teachers' Guidance Self-Efficacy Scale (TGSES) and explores factors influencing guidance self-efficacy among Italian lower secondary school teachers. Based on a survey of 2,609 Italian teachers, the research highlights the scale's reliability and identifies factors such as age, subject taught, and prior training as predictors of self-efficacy. The study underscores the critical role of teacher guidance in shaping students' educational trajectories and addressing educational inequalities. These topics are discussed with specific reference to Italy's stratified school system. The article emphasizes the need for targeted teacher training to enhance guidance efficacy, positioning TGSES as a valuable tool for further research and policy-making. This topic recalls the theme of equity in education and the crucial role of teachers in ensuring equal educational opportunities for all. Indeed, inequalities in access to education, selection, and success, as defined by Ribolzi (2020), are accompanied by mechanisms of reproduction within the school system and among the actors operating within it. As Ribolzi (1981) observed, the challenge for teachers is to identify their role in students' academic success, a role that cannot be passive and goes far beyond simply teaching their subject in the classroom. At the same time, guidance is relevant not only because of its impact on educational inequalities but also due to its connection with the effectiveness of the school system. Actors within the school context can influence students' and their parents' educational choices (Ribolzi, 1981), contributing to their subsequent success or failure, for example, by influencing school dropout rates. Moreover, teachers' attitudes, expectations, and behaviors vary towards students of different social backgrounds, as seen in biased grading standards (Ribolzi, 1981; Triventi et al., 2016; Romito, 2016).

In conclusion, we hope that this monographic issue can serve as a stimulus to foster discussions and debates on some aspects that were particularly important to Ribolzi: i) empirical research, to which she dedicated herself with enthusiasm and passion; ii) the European and international dimension, which she always approached with great openness; iii) the central role of school in the society; iv) the quality of teachers' professionalism and the teacher recruitment and training system; v) educational equity and inequality; vi) the challenges in the actual society connected to the widespread pres-

ence of students with immigrant or migrant backgrounds and the digitalization of education.

Ribolzi's vision of educational processes was broad and polycentric, and this monographic issue can only touch upon a limited part of the themes on which she conducted studies and research. Our hope is that this collection of essays can contribute to promoting and reaffirming the role of sociology and, more specifically, the importance of conducting sociological research in the field of education.

To echo Ribolzi's own words (1993):

> *Sociology can be a valuable 'social tool', in addition to being a science with theoretical dignity and its own precise epistemological status. In a context of rapid and often confusing evolution, a systematic understanding of what is happening and the possible interpretations that can be given is a useful contribution to better controlling the complexity of the system. And it is precisely this ability to exercise control that seems to be most needed by those who operate within educational agencies and institutions* (p. 5)

Finally, we hope that Luisa Ribolzi's message reaches the younger generations of sociologists of education - whose training was always of great importance to her - so that they may consider this monographic issue as an opportunity and an incentive to deepen their understanding of Ribolzi's writings and the significant contribution she made to sociology and, more specifically, to the sociology of education.

References

Akiba, M., LeTendre, G., & Scribner, J. (2007). Teacher quality, opportunity gap, and national achievement in 46 countries. *Educational Researcher, 36*(7), 369–387. https://doi.org/10.3102/0013189X073087

Argentin, G. (2018). Gli insegnanti nella scuola italiana. Ricerche e prospettive di intervento. Bologna: Il Mulino

Ball, S. J., & Grimaldi, E. (2021). Neoliberal education and the neoliberal digital classroom. *Learning, Media and Technology*, 47(2), 288–302. https://doi.org/10.1080/17439884.2021.1963980

Bentri, A., & Hidayati, A. (2023). Improving digital pedagogy competence through in-service training for elementary school teachers. Journal of Physics: Conference Series, 2582(1). https://doi.org/10.1088/1742-6596/2582/1/012064

Besozzi, E. (2006). Società, cultura, educazione. Teorie, contesti e processi. Roma: Carocci.

Biesta, G.J.J. (2004). Against learning. Reclaiming a language for education in an age of learning, *Nordisk Pedagogik.* 23, 70-82. doi:10.18261/ISSN1891-5949-2004-01-06

Bottani, N. (1994). Professoressa addio. Bologna: Il Mulino.

Brint, S. (1998). Scuola e Società, Bologna: Il Mulino.

Burroughs, N., Gardner, J., Lee, J., Guo, S., Touitou, I., Jansen, K., & William Schmidt. (2019). A Review of the Literature on Teacher Effectiveness and Student Outcomes. In Teaching for Excellence and Equity (pp.7-14). IEA Research for Education, vol 6. Springer, Cham. https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-030-16151-4_2 .

Byram, M. (2003). *Intercultural competence.* Strasbourg: Council of Europe Publishing.

Caroselli, A. (2022). Palestre di precarietà. Una etnografia delle pratiche conflittuali nella formazione tecnica e professionale. Verona: Ombre Corte.

Carretero, S., Vuorikari, R., & Punie, Y. (2017). *DigComp 2.1: The Digital Competence Framework for Citizens With eight proficiency levels and examples of use.* Luxembourg: Publication Office of the European Union. https://doi.org/10.2760/38842

Chinazzi, A. (2023). A Social Contract for Home Education: A Framework for the Homeschooling Debate. *Encyclopaideia*, *27*(65), 35-48. https://doi.org/10.6092/issn.1825-8670/15312

Chingos, M.W., Peterson P.E. (2011). It's Easier to Pick a Good Teacher than to Train One: Familiar and New Results on the Correlates of Teacher Effectiveness. *Economics of Education Review*, *30*(3), 449-465.

Cohen-Emerique, M. (2015). *Pour une approche interculturelle en travail social Théories et pratiques*, Politiques et intervention sociales. Presses de l'EHESP.

Colombo, M. (2016). Introduction to the Special Section. The Digitalization of Educational Practices: How Much and What Kind? *Italian Journal of Sociology of Education*, 8(2), 1-10. doi: 10.14658/pupj-ijse-2016-2-1

Colombo, M. (2017) Gli insegnanti in Italia. Radiografia di una professione. Milano: Vita e Pensiero.

Colombo, M., Rinaldi, E., & Poliandri, D. (2020). Gli impatti dell'emergenza COVID-19 sul sistema scolastico-formativo in Italia, *Scuola Democratica*.

Decuypere, M., Grimaldi, E., & Landri ,P. (2021). Introduction: Critical studies of digital education platforms, *Critical Studies in Education*, 62(1): 1-16. · https://doi.org/10.1080/17508487.2020.1866050

Di Motoli, P. (2020). Fuori dalla scuola. L'Homeschooling in Italia. Roma: Studium Edizioni.

Eurydice (European Education and Culture Executive Agency), (2019), *Digital education at school in Europe*, Publications Office, 2019, https://data.europa.eu/doi/10.2797/339457

Ghomi, M., & Redecker, C. (2018). *Digital Competence of Educators (DigCompEdu): Development and Evaluation of a Self-Assessment Instrument for Teachers' Digital Competence.* Berlin: Joint Research Center.

Giliberti, L. (2018). Processi di razzializzazione ed esclusione educativa. La gioventù dominicana nella scuola spagnola. *Etnografia e ricerca qualitativa.* 2/2018. 277-296, doi: 10.3240/90882

Grimaldi, E., & Ball, S. J. (2021). Paradoxes of freedom. An archaeological analysis of educational online platform interfaces. *Critical Studies in Education*, 62(1), 114-129. https://doi.org/10.1080/17508487.2020.1861043

Gui, M. (2019). *Il digitale a scuola. Rivoluzione o abbaglio?* Bologna: Il Mulino.

Lagomarsino, F. & Erminio, D., (2019). Più vicini che lontani. Giovani stranieri a Genova tra percorsi di cittadinanza e questioni identitarie. Genova University Press.

Lagomarsino, F. & Ravecca, A. (2014), Il passo seguente. I giovani di origine straniera all'università. Milano: Franco Angeli.

Landri, P. (2021). The big acceleration in digital education in Italy: The COVID-19 pandemic and the blended-school form. *European educational research journal*, 20 (4): 423-441

Lortie, D. C. (1975). Schoolteacher. A Sociological Study. Chicago: University Press Chicago.

Martorana, F., Rania, N., & Lagomarsio, F. (2021). Which intercultural competences for teachers, educators, and social workers? A literature review. *International Journal of Intercultural Relations.* 85(4):92-103.https://doi.org/10.1016/j.ijintrel.2021.09.003

Matthew, M., Chingos, P., & Peterson, E. (2011). It's easier to pick a good teacher than to train one: Familiar and new results on the correlates of teacher effectiveness. *Economics of Education Review.* Volume 30, Issue 3, 2011, 449-465, https://doi.org/10.1016/j.econedurev.2010.12.010

OECD (2023), *Shaping Digital Education: Enabling Factors for Quality, Equity and Efficiency.* Paris: OECD Publishing. https://doi.org/10.1787/bac4dc9f-en.

Pandolfini, V. (2020). *Disuguaglianze digitali.* In Giancola O. e Salmieri L. (a cura di), Sociologia delle disuguaglianze. Teorie, metodi, ambiti (pp. 215-224). Roma: Carocci.

Pitzalis, M., & Porcu, M. (2024). Digital Capital and Cultural Capital in education: Unravelling intersections and distinctions that shape social differentiation. *British Educational Research Journal.*1−24. https://doi.org/10.1002/berj.4050

Pitzalis, M., Porcu, M., De Feo, A., & Giambona, F. (2016). Innovare a scuola. Insegnanti, studenti e tecnologie digitali. Bologna: Il Mulino.

Ribolzi, L. (1981). Per una ridefinizione del ruolo degli insegnanti della scuola secondaria superiore. *Studi di Sociologia*, 19(1), 57-75.

Ribolzi, L. (1993). Sociologia e processi formativi. Brescia: La Scuola.

Ribolzi, L. (1997). Il sistema ingessato. Autonomia, scelta e qualità nella scuola italiana. Brescia: La Scuola SEI.

Ribolzi, L. (2002). Formare gli insegnanti. Lineamenti di sociologia dell'educazione. Roma: Carocci.

Ribolzi, L. (2003). Il compito degli insegnanti nella scuola della riforma. *Annali dell'istruzione*, 1/2: 68-75.

Ribolzi, L. (2020). *Crescere nella società. Lineamenti di sociologia dell'educazione.* Milano: Mondadori Università.

Romito, M. (2016). Una scuola di classe. Orientamento e disuguaglianza nelle transizioni scolastiche. Guerrini e Associati, Milano.

Santagati, M. (2012). Scuola, terra d'immigrazione. Stato dell'arte e prospettive di ricerca in Italia. *Mondi migranti.* 2/2012, 41-85. DOI:10.3280/MM2012-002003.

Santagati, M., & Pandolfini V. (2017). Education. In L. Lombi e M. Marzulli (a cura di), Theorising sociology in the digital society. (pp. 66-81). Milano: FrancoAngeli.

Sayad, A. (2002). La doppia assenza. Dalle illusioni dell'emigrato alle sofferenze dell'immigrato. Milano: Raffaello Cortina Editore,

Triventi M., Panichella N., Ballarino G., Barone C., & Bernardi F. (2016). Education as a positional good: Implications for social inequalities in educational attainment in Italy. *Research in Social Stratification and Mobility*, 43, 39-52. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.rssm.2015.04.002

Van Zanten, A. (2004). Les politiques d'éducation, Paris: PUF.

Viteritti A., & Landriscina R. (2016). Sociomaterialità in classe pratiche di innovazione didattica. *Scuola Democratica*, 1, 93-115.https://www.rivisteweb.it/doi/10.12828/83014