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KING

Knowledge for INtegration Governance

Integration Policies for Immigrants of the City of Turin, Italy

Tiziana Caponio

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KING - Knowledge for INtegration Governance

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The KING project's objective is to elaborate a report on the **state of play** of migrant integration in Europe through an interdisciplinary approach and to provide decision- and policy-makers with **evidence-based recommendations** on the design of migrant integration-related policies and on the way they should be articulated between different policy-making levels of governance.

Migrant integration is a truly multi-faceted process. The contribution of the insights offered by different disciplines is thus essential in order better to grasp the various aspects of the presence of migrants in European societies. This is why **multidisciplinarity** is at the core of the KING research project, whose Advisory Board comprises experts of seven different disciplines:

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The present paper belongs to the series of contributions produced by the researchers of the “Social Science” team directed by Rinus Penninx.

The project is coordinated by the **ISMU Foundation**.

Contacts:

Guia Gilardoni, Project Coordinator – g.gilardoni@ismu.org

Daniela Carrillo, Project Co-Coordinator – d.carrillo@ismu.org

Marina D’Odorico, Project Co-Coordinator – m.dodorico@ismu.org

Website: www.king.ismu.org

Twitter: @KING_Project_EU

ISMU Foundation

www.ismu.org

Via Copernico 1

20125 Milano

Italy

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Integration Policies for Immigrants of the City of Turin, Italy

1. THE CITY OF TURIN AND MIGRATION

1.1 Some general structural data on the city

Turin is located in the North-West of Italy, in the Piedmont region. As of January 1st 2014, the municipality has 902,137¹ inhabitants distributed across ten neighbourhoods. It is Italy's fourth largest city (Istat, 2014), and its history is closely connected with internal migration flows and the economic development of the 1960s, due principally to the automotive sector, led by Fiat. For over 40 years, Turin has been a “mono-industrial” economy: economic crises and the consequent social problems characterised the late 1970s and the 1980s (Withford and Enrietti, 2005).

Like in other automotive regions in Europe, the local economy has been facing a severe crisis in the sector since the 1990s, and for this reason several measures have been put in place both at regional and local level to facilitate the diversification of existing companies and to strengthen the capabilities of the territory and increase its competitiveness (Comitato Giorgio Rota, Circolo L'Eau Vive, 2004). The 1990s represented a turning point for Turin: a difficult transition from the Fiat system to a diversified economic structure not only favoured the development of new activities, but also contributed to invest in the promotion of the city's cultural and historical background. In 2000, Turin was the first city in Italy to elaborate and adopt a Strategic Plan for the Development of the City (*Piano strategico per la promozione della città*), which identified the diversification of the production system and the renewal of the city's international outlook as the main strategic goals to be pursued in the coming years. Concrete actions following the Strategic Plan were the renovation of the Egyptian Museum, which is second only to that of Cairo, and of the National Museum of Cinema; the 2006 Winter Olympic Games, which represented a strategic opportunity to develop the tourist sector (Torino Internazionale, 2006). Furthermore, since then, an increasing number of cultural events have been punctuating the city life, e.g.: the “Torino Film Festival”, the annual book fair (*Salone del libro*) and the bi-annual food fair, called *Salone del gusto*.

Another strategic direction of development, emphasised in particular by the Second Strategic Plan for the Development of the City approved in 2006, is the knowledge society and economy. In this respect, Turin hosts today the headquarters of the training branches of international institutions such as the ILO (ITC – International Training Centre), the UNICRI, the UN Staff College and the European Training Foundation.

As is clear, in the 2000 Turin undergone a full-scale transformation, heading to a tertiary economy and knowledge society, where services have completely replaced the manufactory sector as a trigger of local development (Belligni e Ravazzi 2012). This transition is clearly pointed out by data on the rate of annual variation of the number of firms in the Turin area per economic sector as reported in table 1.

¹ Source: www.demo.istat.it.

Tab. 1 - Annual variation rate of the number of firms in the Turin area per economic sector

	2000	2001	2002	2003	2004	2005	2006	2007	2008	2009	2010*	2011	2012	2013
Agricoltura	-0,8	0,0	-1,2	-1,6	-0,3	0,5	-1,1	-1,9	0,6	0,2	-1,1	-1,6	-2,1	-3,6
Industria	0,5	0,5	0,2	-0,3	-0,7	0,2	-0,2	-0,3	-0,2	-0,8	-1,5	-1,4	-2,7	-2,7
Costruzioni	6,4	5,8	4,7	4,1	7,3	4,9	3,5	5,8	2,7	1,9	0,8	-0,3	-1,7	-2,3
Commercio	1,4	1,5	1,0	0,8	1,7	1,3	1,2	0,6	-0,9	0,6	0,0	-0,9	-1,7	-1,3
Turismo	2,6	3,2	3,2	3,0	4,5	5,3	3,7	4,0	3,4	2,5	4,0	3,1	1,4	0,7
Servizi alle imprese	2,2	2,9	1,2	1,3	1,7	2,1	1,3	1,6	0,9	-0,1	0,7	0,1	-0,8	0,1
Servizi alle persone	2,3	2,3	2,2	1,3	3,0	2,1	1,0	1,3	2,8	2,9	2,3	2,1	0,0	0,4

Source: <http://www.rapporto-rota.it/banca-dati>

As is clear, throughout the decade industries in the primary and secondary sector have lost ground. The building sector has grown steadily until 2007, yet undergoing a profound crisis in the more recent years, while tourism and personal services have showed a constant increase, slowed down only by the current economic crisis. A more discontinuous trend seems to characterise trade firms and business services.

In 2013 the agreement between FIAT and the American Chrysler has become fully operative, and FIAT has definitively left Italy and Turin (Ires Piemonte 2013), sanctioning the end of Turin industrial era. Today, the city is engaged in the process of becoming a so-called “smart city”, following the EC call Smart Cities & Communities, i.e. a city producing high level technology while preserving the environment (<http://www.torinosmartcity.it/>). However, the current economic crisis has hit hard the city’s labour market. As pointed out in table 2, unemployment has been constantly increasing since 2008, reaching the peak of 11.4% in 2013.

Tab. 2 – Unemployment rate (province of Turin)

2004	2005	2006	2007	2008	2009	2010	2011	2012	2013
6.1	4.8	4.1	4.7	5.6	8.3	9.4	9.2	9.8	11.4

Source: www.istat.it

Notwithstanding this situation of crisis, Turin hosts the headquarters of two of the main Italian financial banks, i.e. Intesa-San Paolo and Unicredit, and their foundations (respectively Compagnia di San Paolo and Fondazione CRT) represent indeed an asset for the city. Both have been investing throughout the decade in the city economic and social development, providing an important contribution to mitigate the negative economic conjuncture.

1.2 Migration and composition of migrant population in Italy and in Turin

1.2.1 Migration and composition of migrant population in Italy

Italy became an immigration country in the second half of the 1970s, with three main immigration waves. The first wave included people from Africa (mainly Senegal, Eritrea and Somalia), the Middle East, Asia (The Philippines), and South America. The 1980s began with an increasing flow from the Maghreb. Other

nationalities also became significant, including Chinese, Peruvians, and Nigerians (Pugliese, 2002). At the beginning of the 1990s, migration flows from Eastern Europe began. People from Yugoslavia, Albania and Romania became the fastest growing group. Nowadays, Italy is undergoing a process of structural assessment of immigration. The immigrant population has changed its characteristics from a demographic, socio-economic, as well as cultural point of view (Blangiardo, 2005).

Extension of length of stay, gender balance, increased numbers of immigrants with children and an increased number of students in schools are some of the characteristics that outline a deep-seated phenomenon. In particular, as for the length of stay, as of 1st January 2012 the 54.3% of all valid stay permits (3,764,236) were long-term residents permits (Caritas/Migrantes 2013). In terms of gender, according to Istat, as for 1st January 2014 women were the 53% of the total foreign residents and men the 47%. Regarding the age structure, minors represented the 18% of foreign residents, and most of them arrived through family reunion.² According always to Istat, foreign children enrolled in Italian schools in 2012 were 599,322, for the majority attending the primary school (45%), but also increasingly also the first level (from 11 to 13 years old) and the second level (14 to 18) of the secondary school (respectively the 28% and the 27%).

A diachronic analysis of the data on the residence permits of immigrants from Eastern Europe, illustrates how migrations from Poland, Romania, Ukraine and Bulgaria have become more and more relevant since the late 1990s (Bonifazi, 2007; Pittau, Ricci and Silj, 2008; Cvajner and Sciortino 2009).

Tab. 3. Stay permits of Eastern European citizens as of 1st January 1992, 1997, 2002, 2007.

	2007	2002	1997	1992
Romania	278,582	82,555	26,894	8,250
Ukraine	118,524	12,618	1,310	5
Poland	78,930	32,889	23,163	12,139
Bulgaria	17,461	8,375	4,435	2,530

Source: www.demo.istat.it.

In general, migration flows have been growing in the last decade, even though the entry of Romania and Bulgaria into the European Union meant the decrease of non-EU citizens officially resident in the country (with consequences in terms of free circulation, access to the labour market, and expulsions). Table 2 provides an overview of the ten top nationalities of foreign residents as of 1st January 2014.

² www.demo-istat.it.

Tab. 4 - Main nationalities of foreign citizens in Italy (as of 1st January 2014).

Country of origin	Number of foreigners
Romania	1,081,400
Albania	495,709
Morocco	454,773
China	256,846
Ukraine	219,050
Philippines	162,655
Moldova	149,434
India	142,453
Bangladesh	111,223
Peru	109,851
Poland	97,566
Tunisia	97,317

Source: www.demo.istat.it.

At the beginning of 2014, there were almost five million immigrants (4,922,085) with a regular residence permit in Italy coming from more than 196 countries, especially East-Central Europe, North Africa, Latin-America and South-East Asia. In the debate on current immigration, attention is frequently monopolized by illegal entry, and this risks confusing a part with the whole and losing sight of the ever more extensive legal movements. According to a Istat, in 2014 immigrants in Italy represent the 8% of the entire population.

National groups can be divided into different types according to the proportion of two kinds of residence permits (employment and family reunification):

- Immigration exclusively for work reasons (Senegal, China, and Ukraine).
- Immigration mainly for work reasons with family reunification below average (The Philippines).
- A balance between the two types (Morocco, Albania).
- Relevant family migration (Romania) (Ismu, 2009).

According to the territorial distribution of residence permits, at the end of 2012 61.8% of the legal foreigners were living in the North, 24.2% in the Centre and 14% in the South (Caritas/Migrantes 2013). The region attracting more immigrants is Lombardy (1,129,185 as of 1st January 2014), followed by Lazio (616,406), Emilia Romagna (534,308), Veneto (514,592) and Piedmont (425,523). As for provinces, the higher share of immigrants is living in the province of Rome (508,241), followed by that of Milan (416,137), Turin (222,419), Brescia (169,046) and Bergamo (128,120). Rome (353,785 foreign residents), Milan (230,181) and Turin (138,214) are also the main cities in terms of foreign residents.³

In terms of groups, Chinese are over-represented in Tuscany (Prato) and Lombardy (Milan), Romanians in Piedmont (Turin), and Albanians and Filipinos in Lazio (Rome) (Ismu, 2009). As for the gender composition, there is a prevalence of female immigrants among some African groups (e.g. no Nigerians and Ethiopians), Asian groups (Filipinos), Latin American (Brazilians, Ecuadorians, Peruvians), and Eastern European groups (Ukrainians, Bulgarians, Moldovans Poles), while male immigrants prevail among various African groups (Tunisians, Senegalese, Moroccans, Egyptians). The age structure shows an extremely young immigrant population, with 66% of residents aged between 20 and 54.⁴

³ www.demo.istat.it

⁴ www.demo.istat.it

The distribution of regularly employed workers per economic sectors is as follows: 13% in agriculture, 9,2% in industry, 18% in construction industry, 6,2 % in commerce, 10,4% in the service sector and 28% in social, domestic and care services (Caritas/Migrantes 2013). In the recent years there has been an increase of the temporary job contracts, regarding the 76.7% of EU workers and the 58% of non EU workers (Caritas/Migrantes 2013). These kind of contracts are particularly diffused in the care services sector and in the building industry, which are characterised by a high degree of casual and irregular work.

The highest concentration of immigrant workers is found in domestic services, where over half of employees are immigrants, reaching around 75% in certain areas such as Rome and Milan. If we take into account domestic workers employed illegally (for example, the so-called "child-minders" from eastern countries hired on a temporary basis), the percentage is even higher. Immigrant self-employment, mostly male, is also on the rise (Ismu, 2009).

The Italian context is also characterised by a certain proportion of irregular immigrants and an increasing number of asylum seekers. As for irregulars, it is difficult to quantify the current illegal immigrant population in Italy: it is estimated that about two-thirds of foreigners in Italy have spent some time in the country under illegal residence conditions (Caritas/Migrantes 2013). Regarding asylum seekers and humanitarian reasons, figures show a growing trend in the second half of the 2000s, with a peak in 2011 due to the Lybian crisis and a decrease afterwards, yet starting from a much higher number than before. Asylum seekers were 9,610 in 2007, 17,964 in 2008, 14,600 in 2009, 20,672 in 2010, 85,344 in 2011, 45,832 in 2012, and 38,292 in 2013.⁵

1.2.2 Migration and composition of migrant population in Turin

Turin has increasingly experienced four various migration waves with differing thrusts and motivations. The first wave started in the early 1970s and included students, mainly from the Middle East, Senegal and Nigeria, and political refugees and opposition members from South America (Chile and Argentina), Eritrea and Somalia. The second wave, starting to take place also in the 1970s, was composed mainly of domestic workers: initially Somali and Eritrean women, then Filipino and Cape Verdean nationals. The third wave occurred in the period between the mid-1980s and the mid-1990s: Turin witnessed a surge in the number of Moroccans and other Africans, Asians (Chinese and Filipinos) and Latin Americans (Peruvians). The last wave concerned Eastern Europe: Albanians first, then Romanians and others (Davico, Pastore, Ronca, 1998; Ricucci, 2005).

According to ISTAT, as of 31st December 2013 there were 138,214 foreign residents in Turin, equal to 15.3% of the entire resident population⁶. Table 5 provides an outlook of the main nationalities.

⁵ www.stra-dati.istat.it.

⁶ www.demo.istat.it

Tab. 5 - Main nationalities of foreign documented citizens in Turin (December 2013)

Country of origin	N. of foreigners	% on the total of foreign residents
Romania	54,205	39,2
Morocco	18,856	13,6
Peru	9,584	6,9
China	7,594	5,5
Albania	6,174	4,5
Moldova	5,089	3,7
Nigeria	4,238	3,1
Egypt	4,215	3,0
Filippines	3,867	2,8
Brasil	1,874	1,4

Source: www.demo.istat.it.

Nowadays, immigration from Eastern European countries is the most dynamic. Table 6 provides an outlook of the development of foreign residents in Turin considering both EU and non EU citizens. As is clear, the number of the former has dramatically increased since 2007, when Romania entered in the EU and its citizens turned their status from TCN to EU citizens. In the following years, their number, as well as that of TCN has continued to increase, even though in 2013 a slight decrease has taken place in both populations.

Tab. 6 - Foreign documented residents in Turin as of December 2004-2013.

Year	TCN	EU	Total
2004	66,875	3,181	70,064
2005	75,275	3,356	78,613
2006	81,370	3,484	84,854
2007	57,952	45,843	103,795
2008	63,238	52,571	115,809
2009	68,242	55,958	124,200
2010	72,172	56,895	129,067
2011	75,431	58,438	133,869
2012	81,069	61,122	142,191
2013	80,621	59,517	140,138

Source: Prefettura- UTG del Governo and Città di Torino 2013.

As of 31st January 2013 the foreign residents in the province of Turin areas were 222,419. As is clear, in the city of Turin (140,138 foreign residents), is concentrated the 63% of the foreigners living in the province area and 1/3 of the foreigners living in the Piedmont region (total number: 425,523).⁷

At the same time, family reunification has balanced the gender ratio, and today women are more numerous than men (55,130 versus 62,403 female foreign residents in Dec 2013). However there are ethnic communities strongly characterised in terms of gender: among Peruvians (3,962 men vs. 5,622 women), Filipinos (1,772 men vs. 2,095 women) and Moldavians (1,952 men vs. F 3,137 women), women make up the majority, while Senegalese (1,144 men vs. 347 women) and Egyptians (2,617 vs. 1,598 female) immigrants are mainly men.⁸

⁷ www.demo.istat.it.

⁸ www.demo.istat.it.

As for the age structure of the immigrant population, this is composed essentially of young people. According to the 2013 Report of the Inter-institutional Observatory of the Province of Turin, there is a preponderance of immigrants in Turin around 30 years old (26% of the total foreign residents). The 47% of the immigrant resident population falls in the broader age range between 25 and 44 years old. Furthermore, the share of very young foreign residents aged between 0 and 4 has increased from 6.1% in 2012 to 8.1% in 2013, whereas the share of children aged between 5 and 9 are is constant (6.7% in 2012 and 6.5% in 2013) (Prefettura- UTG del Governo and Città di Torino, 2013).

Migrants' workers are not equally distributed in the various economic sectors. In 2011, the distribution of the 129,346 regularly-employed workers in the Province of Turin⁹ was as follows: 1% in agriculture (almost nine out of ten with short-term contracts), 21% in industry, 17% in the building sector, 5% in commerce and 56% in services (enterprise cleaning services, hotels and restaurants, private institutional health care workers for elderly and disabled people, and personal and domestic services, including home cleaning and child care) (CCIAA and FIERI 2012).

Table 7 provides an outlook of immigrants patterns of residence in the city. Whereas the average ratio of immigrant residents in the city is 15.5%, two districts, i.e. n. 6, Barriera di Milano-Regio Parco, and n. 7, Aurora-Vanchiglia-Sassi, show a ratio above the 20% of the total population, followed by district n. 4, San Donato-Campidoglio-Parella (16.4%), and n. 5, Borgo-Vittoria-Madonna di Campagna-Lucento-Vallette. The majority of the city's neighbourhoods registers a share of foreign population around the 10%, with the only exception of the city centre (district 1).

Tab. 7 - Foreign documented residents in Turin as of December 2004-2013.

District	Female	Male	Total	% on total population
1	3,652	4,367	8,019	10.3
2	4,095	5,448	9,543	9.4
3	7,839	9,399	17,238	13.3
4	7,648	8,620	16,268	16.4
5	9,799	10,366	20,165	15.9
6	12,707	12,276	24,983	23.1
7	10,152	9,759	19,911	22.2
8	3,762	4,402	8,164	14.2
9	5,190	5,887	11,077	14.7
10	2,282	2,488	4,770	12.2
Totale stranieri	73,012	67,126	140,138	15.5

Source; Archivio Anagrafico della Città di Torino. Servizio Statistica e Toponomastica

1.3 National integration policies

Throughout the 1980s and early 1990s, immigrants' integration has only blandly surfaced the public debate on immigration in Italy, since the focus was on borders control, illegal immigration and criminality (Colombo and Sciortino, 2004). Yet, the first immigration law approved in 1986 did not completely neglect the issue: the regions and local authorities were assigned the task of promoting cultural programs and social inclusion measures, yet no specific funding was provided to this end.

⁹ The only data available refers to the Province.

In this context local authorities started to play a crucial role in providing the necessary conditions for immigrant settlement and integration. As early as the late 1980s and early 1990s, many local administrations, especially in the North of Italy, started to provide free advice, counselling and other services, while national legislation was still lacking in this respect. These first efforts of local public authorities to facilitate the integration of immigrants have been complemented by the activities of a wide range of civil society organisations.

Immigrant integration policies received some political attention during the second half of the 1990s, during the first, centre-left, Prodi government. The 1998 Immigration Law had the ambition of establishing a distinctive Italian model of integration, the so-called “reasonable integration model”, implying both nationals’ and immigrants’ physical and psychological well-being on the one hand, and positive interaction between different groups on the other (Zincone, 2011). On the basis of these two principles, policies aimed at fostering individual equality and at promoting intercultural relations were devised in all the crucial spheres of immigrant incorporation, i.e. employment, health, education and professional training, housing and civic participation. Regions were held responsible for policy implementation, and to this end they had to draft, in collaboration with local tiers of government, specific immigrant integration programs to be financed by the National Fund for Immigrant Policy.

In 2002, a new law on immigration was passed by parliament (Law no. 189), which was part of the electoral manifesto of the centre-right coalition and came on the wave of massive law-and-order campaigns and “immigration alarms”. The main novelty was the introduction of a link between job contract and residence permit, implying that immigrants willing to enter legally in Italy had to obtain a job offer before leaving their country, somehow re-inventing the ‘old’ Northern European – and German in particular - guestworkers model (Caponio and Graziano, 2011). Employment clearly represented the crucial pre-condition in order to stay and get integrated in Italy. The duration of residence permits for subordinate work was decreased: while previously the usual duration was of two to four years, in the Bossi-Fini law it was reduced to one to two years.

As for immigrant integration policies, even if these were not formally revised, the division of tasks between State and regions established in 1998 was challenged by the approval in May 2001 of the federalist reform. This assigned to the regions full autonomy on matters of social policy, immigrant integration included. The National Fund for Immigrant Policy merged into a broader Social Policy Fund and since 2003, when the reform entered into force, the regions have been receiving a share of this latter and are completely responsible for establishing priorities on matters of social policy and allocating the resources. As a consequence, they are not obliged anymore to undertake specific programs for the integration of immigrants.

Parallel to this decentralisation of immigrant integration policy, at the national level the mid 2000s were marked by a debate on Italian identity and against multiculturalism and Islam, following focus events such as 9/11, and even more the London and Madrid bombings. Radical positions were expressed by centre-right MPs and ministries of the then Third Berlusconi government. The Northern League Minister for Devolution Roberto Calderoli for instance, in February 2006 during a TV program showed a t-shirt reproducing one of the contested Danish cartoons on Islam as a demonstration of liberty of expression in Europe. Against these risks of radicalisation, the centre-left Second Prodi government elected in May 2006 did not attempt to restore the “reasonable integration model” anymore, but actually adhered to the new cultural definition of Italian identity, trying at the same time to downplay anti-Islam positions. This is clearly showed by the initiative of the then Minister of the Interior Giuliano Amato to promote the drafting of a Charter of the Values of Citizenship and Integration. Initially intended as a set of principles to be signed by new religious organisations in Italy, Minister Amato gradually enlarged its scope. The document was to be accepted by all foreign citizens aspiring for Italian nationality and it established an integration path that -

similarly to the French *Contract d'Accueil* - would have required “the learning of the Italian language, of the basic notions of the Italian history and culture, as well as the sharing of the principles regulating our society”.¹⁰

Such an approach to immigrant integration was reinforced by the following 4th Berlusconi government elected in April 2008, which was able to combine the new culturalist discourse with recurrent slogans on immigrants as would-be criminals and a threat for public security (Caponio, 2012). As early as June 2008, the Northern League Minister of the Interiors Roberto Maroni presented to the Senate a bill called Security Law, essentially concerned with introducing new restrictions against undocumented immigrants. At the same time, this law also formally sanctioned the new Italian culturalist approach towards integration, defined as the “process aimed at promoting civilness (*convivenza*) between Italian and foreign citizens on the basis of the respect of the Italian Constitution”.¹¹To this end, the so called Integration Agreement was introduced: to be signed by the immigrant at the moment of the issuing of the first residence permit, the IA commits him/her to achieve specific integration goals in a time span of two years, i.e. a sufficient level of knowledge of the spoken Italian language (level A2), of the principles of the Italian Constitution, as well as of Italian civic life and institutions (labour market functioning, fiscal obligations etc.).

However, the IA entered into force only in March 2012, after the implementation rules were finally approved by the Monti government. In the meanwhile, funding for the undertaking of language and civic integration courses to immigrants had already been provided to the regions on the basis of a series of special agreements signed with the Ministry of Labour and Social Policy since 2005 (Stuppini, 2012: 242). Since 2007 this kind of intervention has become more and more institutionalised thanks to the financial resources provided to this end by the EIF (European Integration Fund), that the Ministry of the Interior decided to assign to the regions.

As is clear, the culturalist frame of immigrant integration gradually emerging in the mid-2000s has both a rhetorical and institutional *coté*. The debate on Italian identity, multiculturalism and immigrant integration has run parallel to an increasing effort on the part of national executives, does not matter their political colour, to invest more and more in civic integration courses, consistently with the 2004 European Union Common Basic Principles on Integration and even more with the 2007 EIF priorities. At the same time, the National Social Policy Fund has undergone considerable cuts, leaving to the Regions less and less resources in order to undertake specific programs on immigrant integration.

2. TURIN'S APPROACH TO MIGRATION, INTEGRATION AND SOCIAL COHESION

2.1 A brief history of local integration policies

Turin was one of the first Italian municipalities which developed initiatives and projects to manage the increasing flows of migrants. Two key elements allowed that process: 1) extensive experience throughout the 1960s of internal immigration from the South and the North-East of Italy; 2) the mobilization, in response to these internal flows, of a rich network of civil society organizations, concerned essentially with coping with immigrants' first accommodation needs. These two elements combine in the figure of Fredo

¹⁰ *Carta dei valori della cittadinanza e dell'integrazione - Introduzione*, pp. 1-2.

¹¹ See also the document “Integration and security program. Identity and encounter” (*Piano integrazione nella sicurezza. Identità e incontro*), approved by the Forth Berlusconi government in June 2010

Olivero, a worker priest who in 1982 set up the first municipal office for foreign immigrants on the mandate of the Mayor of the city.

Since then the development of local immigrant integration policies has undergone three phases: the emergency and ad hoc policy (1980-1995); the promotion of immigrant participation and moderate cultural recognition (1995-2005); the undertaking of a more comprehensive intercultural approach (2006-2011).

In the first period, an ad hoc approach prevailed, in the sense that municipal initiatives were explicitly directed towards immigrants in difficult conditions, reacting to emerging social problems. As anticipated above, a specific office for foreign immigrants was set up. In the course of the 1990s, this office became part of the Social Affairs Department. In this period, relations with NGOs revealed fundamental for the delivery of most social services for immigrants, i.e. shelters, first accommodation, language courses, information, help in filling out forms, cultural mediation, guidance counselling on schools and health services for families and minors.

In the second period, immigrant political participation became a prominent issue, and the Turin administration started a series of policies aimed at somehow acknowledging immigrants' different cultures and their associations. A case in point is the Municipal Consultative Committee established in 1995, which was directly elected by immigrants who had been living in the city for more than three years. Furthermore, in 1996 the Intercultural Centre was set-up, which should have provided spaces and logistic support for immigrant associations in order to run their activities. However, the Municipal Consultative Committee was abandoned in 1997, given the scarce participation of immigrant associations in the meetings. As a matter of fact, these organizations characterized as structurally weak, and often lacked the resources to organize on a permanent basis (Caponio, Nielsen and Ribas, 2000).

Apart from the failure of the Consultative Committee, other policy actions directed at promoting a moderate cultural recognition were started in this period which actually laid the bases for the development of the future intercultural approach. The first was the set-up of the above-mentioned Intercultural Centre, whose activities were to be directed not only towards foreign associations, but also towards Italian citizens. The aim was to promote dialogue between cultures through a series of initiatives such as meetings, cultural events, art exhibitions and intercultural activities at school. The Centre became famous in its first years of activity for the city event called *Identità & Differenza* (Identity & Diversity), which is still today defined as an "intercultural practice in the artistic-cultural field".

The second policy action to be considered is socio-urban regeneration plans concerning two city districts, Porta Palazzo and San Salvario, characterized by a high density of foreign residents and immigrant commercial activities (e.g. cosmetic shops, tailors). At the end of the 1990s, native residents mobilized – somehow supported by the media – to request protection against what they defined as foreign and criminal new arrivals. Reacting against this situation, the municipality adopted a "community development approach" aimed at improving the quality of life of all residents, natives and immigrants alike, through initiatives concerning the improvement of housing, local economic activities, social life and cultural initiatives. The development of the community plans benefitted from the participation of the municipality in international networks such as the European Regeneration Areas Network - Quartier en Crise, in which today's deputy Mayor for Urban Renovation and Integration, Ilda Curti, responsible for the EU relations of the municipality of Turin since 1994, has been actively involved. In 1997 Ilda Curti was also appointed Director of the project The Gate, on the Porta Palazzo area, funded by the European Social Fund.

The third policy action to be mentioned is the promotion of intercultural initiatives initially in the primary schools to deal with the increasing number of foreign pupils, accompanied by specific projects aimed at supporting foreign minors' integration. In the footsteps of these initiatives in the education field, the city of

Turin proceeded with promoting projects addressed to adults and young people, both Italians and those with a migratory background.

These three policy actions set the stage for the last phase, characterized by the centrality of the notions of dialogue, mutual exchange and social interaction. This new turn was marked by the creation in 2006 of a Department for Integration, with the mandate of defining a coherent intercultural policy for promoting integration¹². Before, different municipal departments were in charge of the different aspect related to immigrant integration, with no coordination among them. Such a function was assigned to the new Department, which, according to the 2006-2011 mayoral programme, had the tasks of: 1) Promoting and developing the intercultural dimension as an approach affecting all policy areas; 2) Promoting the involvement of immigrants in various areas of city life, “metamorphosing” them from being (or being perceived as) recipients to being pro-active participants in city life¹³. Head of the new department, as anticipated above, was appointed the previous director of The Gate project, Ilda Curti, who is in office still today.

An agreement signed with a private bank foundation, the Compagnia di San Paolo¹⁴, ensured to the Integration Department the financial resources needed in order to develop concrete policies on integration even in a context of municipal budget retrenchment. As a result, the city had the opportunity to launch three different calls, open to the plethora of associations involved in the various aspects of intercultural issues.

The first, entitled “Immigrants, New Citizens” was launched in 2006. Its financial resources totalled 1,600,000 Euro and was addressed to associations, both ethnic and inter-ethnic, for activities in the following areas: 1) Improving participation in active citizenship; 2) Labour and economic development; and 3) Knowledge and creativity in both cultural and leisure time activities. The second call for projects, entitled “Interculturalism and Training”, followed in 2008 and was specifically dedicated to the issue of education. Three sub-topics were identified: 1) Italian language teaching; 2) The intercultural dimension of education; and 3) Counselling for school teachers. The total amount available for funding projects and activities was 1,000,000 Euro. The third one, “Turin Plural”, financed programmes in three different areas: 1) Citizenship and public spaces; 2) Second generations; and 3) Women, for a total amount of 100,000 Euro.

As a result of these three calls different projects have been funded most of them paying particular attention to second generations, that the Deputy Mayor for Integration considers as key actors in the city’s intercultural discourse and usually defines as “new citizens” who have to become an active part of the socio-cultural life of Turin. The “If not now, when?” (Se non ora, quando?) project is a case in point. The project has involved twenty young foreigners in self-help advice for immigrant parents, Italian courses for students and families, updating and intercultural training for teachers.

Along with second generations, a particular attention has been paid also to the needs of immigrant groups, which according to the Deputy Mayor, in an intercultural perspective have to be considered as legitimate requests expressed by a relevant part of the new city resident population. The answers to these requests have been worked out by means of a bottom-up process, in which the municipality and immigrant associations have established partnerships in order to promote integration initiatives. A case in point is the Pellerina Park mediation process. In 2006, hundreds of Latin American immigrants started to join informally together in this park at the outskirts of the city to suit their need for socialisation on Sunday, causing

¹² Proceedings of the Communal Council, July 10, 2006, no. 05033/002.

¹³ Proceedings of the Communal Council, July 10th, 2006, no. 05033/002.

¹⁴ Proceedings of the City Council, March 13th, 2007, no. 200701461/070 “Collaboration between the city of Torino and the Compagnia di San Paolo for the development of common projects in the areas of the immigration, integration and interculturalism”.

protests among Italians because of noise, accumulation of rubbish, unauthorised barbecues etc. As a response, the Integration Department initiated a process of counselling with Latin American associations to better organise the use of the park and to allow both Italians and immigrants to benefit from it.

Another example of mediation is that concerning Muslim migrant women request to have a reserved swimming pool, to which the Integration Department answered by arranging with a municipal swimming pool special time schedules for women in general, both Muslim and non Muslim. Furthermore, the Department assisted also Muslim women selling informally home backed bread in the Porta Palazzo street market to set up a cooperative in order comply with food production health rules.

The promotion of immigrants' civic engagement has gone hand in hand with continuous attention to Italian citizens, in order to sensibilise them to the changes and challenges of an intercultural city, thereby diminishing the risk of conflicts. The project "You can learn in the square" (*In piazza s'impara*), funded by the Province of Turin, is a good example. Voluntary teachers and university students of different nationalities offer informal and free Italian language classes in the immigrants' meeting point of Porta Palazzo, as well as basic courses of Chinese and Arabic for Italian citizens. The project, started in 2008, has been repeated every year. Its main goal is that of fostering interaction between foreign and native residents in a particularly conflictual area of the city, thus continuing in a way the conflict mediation approach initiated in the late 1990s with the neighbourhood conflict management projects mentioned above.

However, notwithstanding the emphasis on interculture on the part of the Deputy Mayor on Integration and the relevance of such an approach in the promotion of innovative projects on immigrant integration, it has to be pointed out that the municipality has always provided through the Foreigners' Office information and counselling on access to social assistance services, also to those provided by NGOs. Furthermore, ad hoc services have not completely disappeared, but throughout the 1990s these became more and more specialised, targetting specific categories of immigrants such as unaccompanied minors, trafficked women and asylum seekers.

In the following we will focus our attention on the most recent immigrant integration policies, i.e. those undertaken after June 2011 by the centre-left majority headed by Mayor Piero Fassino. From a political point of view, the city of Turin has been characterised by a long period of political stability: since 1993, when the new law on the direct election of cities' Mayors entered into force, Turin has always been governed by centre-left majorities. Continuity clearly underlines also the more recent policies on immigrant integration, as pointed out by the confirmation of Ilda Curti as Deputy Mayor for Integration.

2.2 Political responsibility: elected representatives and officials

As pointed out above, the official approach of the municipality of Turin towards immigrant integration has been based since the mid 2000s by an intercultural approach intended as promotion of dialogue among different groups and prevention of conflicts, especially at a neighbourhood level. Recently, in a book-interview, the Deputy Mayor on Integration has explicitated once more her position: immigrant presence cannot but represent a structural phenomenon, given the increasing number of youngsters of an immigrant background aged between 0 and 20 years. The main goals of immigrant integration policies are identified with preventing spatial segregation, ensuring social cohesion and favoring the emerging a shared identity as citizens of Turin.

However, it is not clear how such a discourse is shared by the other political actors within the city government. For instance, in the 2011 electoral manifesto of the centre-left candidate mayor Piero Fassino, the immigration issue was treated under the heading: “Turin: capital of security”. In particular, it was stated that immigrant integration policies should have targeted legally resident migrants “who respect the rules and love the city they live in”. The necessity of specific projects for supporting “cohabitation” (*convivenza*) rather than dialogue, as one would have expected according to an intercultural approach, was explicitly stated, with a particular reference to the areas of education, housing and religious premises. However, under the heading “Turin: capital of young people”, the promotion of programmes aimed at attracting foreign students was envisioned, somehow acknowledging the necessity of encouraging the arrival of high skilled and young migrants, even though in very general and vague terms.

The centre-left candidate Mayor framing of immigration as a matter of security and cohabitation did not differ considerably from the approach of the centre-right candidate, Michele Coppola. This latter though, put a greater emphasis on criminality and explicitly pointed to the problems caused in various city districts by Roma people, revealing a framing of immigration as a problem, both under the security and the social cohesion point of view.

2.3. Administrative organization of policies

The administrative organisation of immigrant integration policy in Turin is essentially centred around the Department for Integration, established in 2006. This Department has competence over 7 different issues: policy for young people; policies of equal opportunities; coordination of the policies for multiculturalism and the integration of new citizens; urban regeneration projects and quality of life; European funds; urban fabric and streets’ furniture; authorisations for the use of public land. As is clear, immigrant integration is listed along with issues of urban policy and of equal opportunities (rights young people and women).

However, also the Social Policy Department is involved in dealing with immigrants integration issues. In fact, within this department, the Office for Foreigners and Nomad people has competence over matters of social assistance and policies for vulnerable categories such as unaccompanied minors, trafficked women and more generally disadvantaged migrants.

Furthermore, as stressed by our interviewees, other Departments, such as the Education Department or the Local Police and Security Department, are likely to intervene on various facets of the immigration phenomenon. In particular, as far as immigrant integration is concerned, the Education Department has been very active in promoting projects on intercultural education, in collaboration with the Department for Integration. The Local Police and Security Department on the other hand, together with the Social Policy Department, have been on the frontline in dealing with the humanitarian emergencies following the collapse of the Libyan regime in 2011 and, more recently, the Syrian war, as well as with the various crises related with the Roma camps in the peripheral areas of the city. The approach of these departments is that of finding pragmatic solutions to social emergencies, often in the perspective of reducing the possible negative impact of the various crises, especially for local residents.

Until 2011 the relations between the Integration and the Social Policy Departments were not easy since the officials of the two hardly spoke to each other. Whereas the first was oriented at implementing the Deputy Mayor approach to immigrant integration, which put emphasis on the mobilisation of second generations and on the involvement of immigrant associations, the second was far more concerned with the running of social services. Therefore, this latter department had relations primarily with Italian NGOs working with vulnerable migrants. However, in 2011, with the appointment of a new Social Services Deputy Mayor, Elide

Tisi, a greater collaboration between the two departments started to take place. The Integration Deputy Mayor is involved in all the roundtables set up by the Social Services Department, such as the one on Roma issues, refugees and asylum seekers etc.

Furthermore, the two departments, together with the Education Department, are involved in the Steering Committee (*Comitato di pilotaggio*) established in the context of the agreement (protocollo di intesa) signed with the Compagnia di San Paolo to support the development and the institutionalisation of the welfare programmes of the municipality of Turin in the period 2014-2016 (*Protocollo di intesa tra il comune di Torino, la Compagnia di San Paolo e l'Ufficio Pio della Compagnia di San Paolo Onlus per lo sviluppo e la qualificazione dei programmi di welfare*). Compagnia di San Paolo is a private banking foundation that, as mentioned above (§ 1.2), has played a crucial role since the mid 2000s in funding the initiatives of the Intergration Department. Since 2010, two agreements have been signed with the city of Turin to support the development of local welfare services more generally, covering respectively the period 2010-2011 and 2012-2013. The 2014-2016 agreement explicitly seeks to address policies in three areas: social disadvantage and assistance, education, integration and urban regeneration. According to our interviewees, the Compagnia di San Paolo has made available 5 million euros per year. The definition of the policy priorities and the identification of the projects to be funded is carried out by the Steering Committee mentioned above, where the representatives of the city government meet regularly together with executives of Compagnia. The relations between the two parts have been described as positively oriented towards collaboration.

Some of the projects promoted by Integration Department have been funded by the Province of Turin, which is responsible for allocating the funding of the Piedmont Region annual immigrant integration programmes (see above for instance: *In piazza s'impara*). Another source of financial resources which has become more and more relevant for the Integration Department in the last five years is the European Integration Fund. As we shall see below, in 2012 the city of Turin has promoted a project called "Take easy", on matters of access to health care, while in 2013 it has adhered as partner to the project SAFE, concerning the relations between immigrant children, their families and educational institutions. Italian language courses for immigrant women have also been established thanks to EIF resources.

As for the participation of target groups in policy making processes, after the short experience of the Municipal Consultative Committee established in the mid 1990s, no other formal bodies have been set up in order to represent immigrant groups. However, as pointed out above, since the early 2000s the Deputy Mayor on Integration has been paying particular attention to immigrant groups' needs and requests, encouraging the consolidation of formal associations. Partnerships have been established with various groups in order to solve emerging conflictual situations at a neighbourhood level, as pointed out by the case of the Pellerina Park (see § 2.1). However, these associations have only rarely been recipients of funds. On the contrary, most Italian NGOs working in the field have always benefitted from the financial grants allocated every year by the Social Services Department in order to enable them to carry out their ordinary activities. This form of funding, called "contribution", is not linked to a specific project, and while limited in its amount, has the symbolic function of acknowledging the work of these organisations in the social policy field. A considerable number of them is actually involved in providing services to foreign immigrants, including undocumented ones.

3. THE CITY'S PRACTICE OF (GENERAL AND SPECIFIC) POLICIES RELEVANT FOR INTEGRATION PROCESSES

3.1 The legal/political dimension of local integration policies in Turin

3.1.1 Relevance of different legal statuses for the city policies

In the official framing of immigrant integration on the part of municipal authorities, it is tacitly taken for granted that these policies cannot but target legal residents only, i.e. those who have a regular residence permit. Yet, local policies, as pointed out above, do not completely overlook the fact that a considerable share of the foreign population living in the city has a temporary status and is somehow in a condition of legal limbo. Policies targetting unaccompanied minors, trafficked women and asylum seekers, while officially presented as social assistance measures, do actually pursue also longterm integration goals. This is the case for instance of the project GIFT (*Giovani immigrati formazione Torino* – Young immigrants training Turin), which targetted unaccompanied minors of 16-17 years old, with the goal of favouring their insertion in the labour market and enabling them to get access to a regular resident permit for work reasons once they came of age. The project was carried out in 2013 and funded by the Ministry of Welfare and Social Policy.

At the same time, undocumented migrants, while not targetted by official policies, are somehow implicitly taken into account. This is clearly pointed out by the established practice of distributing every year grants to NGOs working in the social policy field, among which Catholic ones dealing – also – with undocumented migrants (see above § 2.3).

A very relevant issue linked to immigrants' legal status in the city of Turin is that of second generations access to Italian citizenship. In this respect, the Deputy Mayor on Immigrant Integration has always supported initiatives aimed at putting pressure on the national government for the revision of the current restrictive national law (see: Zincone 2011). A case in point was the petition "*L'Italia sono anch'io*" (I'm also part of Italy), undertaken in 2013 by various NGOs and associations of second generations, which aimed at collecting the 50,000 signatures needed in order to register in the Parliament a new bill revising the 1992 nationality law. The initiative was explicitly endorsed by the Deputy Mayor in various public events held in the city.

Futhermore, since 2006 and until 2013, the city promoted the project "Civil service for young migrants". It targetted non-EU and Romanian youngsters aged between 18 and 27 years old, with the goal of "providing an opportunity to the citizens of tomorrow, who cannot have access to the National Civil Service programme, to undertake an "experience of active participation to the social and cultural life of the city"¹⁵. To this end, the municipality of Turin granted 15 scholarships every year of a duration of 6 or 12 months, funded with the contribution of the Compagnia di San Paolo. This project has represented in many respect a pathbreaking initiative in the Italian context: in 2013 the Court of Milan ruled as discriminatory the requirement of the Italian nationality in order to be enrolled in the National Civil Service. Since 2014, second generations with a foreign nationality can apply for the NCS.

¹⁵ <http://www.comune.torino.it/infogio/serviziocivileimmigrati/cose.htm>.

3.1.2. *The practice of migrants and migrant organizations` (non-)participation in politics*

As pointed out above (§ 2.1), immigrants political participation became an issue in the city already in the mid-1995, when the Consultative Committee was established. This was an elective body which intended to ensure the representation of all the communities living in the city. To this end a complicate electoral system was designed which allowed immigrants to vote only fellow nationals. The issue of political participation was framed following a multicultural approach, according to which immigrants were regarded first and foremost as members of distinct communities.

Yet, the failure of the Consultative Committee lead to a profound revision of such an approach. In 2005, a deliberation of the City Council proposed a revision of the City Statute which aimed at admitting foreign residents in the city for at least 4 years to district level elections. The proposal was opposed by 5 districts on a total of 10 and was finally rejected by the Council of State, which firmly denied that municipalities could intervene on matters of voting rights, being this a competence of the national state.

Hence, in the mid-2000s immigrants political participation was redefined as an individual right, implying the inclusion of immigrants and their participation into general elections at the district level, rather than special rights and groups' representation. Such an approach appears to be consistent with the support of the Deputy Mayor on Integration Affairs to the initiatives aimed at leading to a revision of the nationality law (see above § 2.1) and, more generally, with the discourse on second generations as "citizens of tomorrow".

3.2. The practice of policies in the hard socio-economic domains

3.2.1. *Migrants and work and entrepreneurship*

Access to employment is indeed a key issue underlying the immigrant integration policies of the municipality of Turin. Vocational training is usually envisaged in all the programmes targeting particularly vulnerable categories of migrants, such as: unaccompanied minors, trafficked women, refugees and asylum seekers (see above § 3.1.1). The labour market is regarded as the main route towards integration and specific measures to strenghten immigrants opportunities to enter it are crucial in most of the examined projects.

Furthermore, the issue of foreign young people unemployment is central in the municipality policy agenda. In the last 5 years the Social Services Department and the Integration Department have carried out various vocational training programmes explicitly adresssing young immigrants and second generations searching for a job. In the case of the projects promoted by the Social Services Department, these have targetted young immigrants in disadvantaged social conditions. Further opportunities of vocational training are offered by the general programmes adresssing young disadvantaged people run by the Social Services Department, which explicitly mention as beneficiaries immigrants and natives alike.

Another project explicitly adresssing immigrant employability is the *Extra-Titoli* information desk, which provides counselling and assistance to those immigrants who are willing to undertake the complex procedure of recognition of the diplomas and qualifications obtained in their countries of origin. *Extra-Titoli* was opened in February 2012 in the context of the socio-economic axis of the Urban Project Barriera, targetting the densely populated North area of the city, where there is concentration of immigrants and disadvantaged Italian families. The project is going to come to an end in February 2015, but the *Extra-Titoli* help desk will continue to be funded by Compagnia di San Paolo.

With reference to ethnic entrepreneurship, the City Administration tends to consider ethnic entrepreneurs as part of the more general category of entrepreneurs, and no specific policies have been promoted to address their specific needs (Tarantino, 2010). Two City's Departments are involved in the definition of measures and rules applicable to entrepreneurship in general: the Department of Trade Affairs (*Assessorato al Commercio*) and the Department for Labour Affairs (*Assessorato al Lavoro*) and the Department for Integration Affairs (*Assessorato all'Integrazione*). The first one hosts the Business Front Office (*Sportello Unico per le Imprese*), which is in charge of offering services to local businesses and future entrepreneurs such as help in terms of orientation and support in dealing with public bureaucracy, help on various aspects connected to the establishment of a businesses (setting up of business plans, choice of the right company name, etc), support in access to financial services like start-up loans etc. Ethnic entrepreneurs can have access to these services. However, the City's Department of Integration Affairs has been playing an important role in helping set up migrant and business associations. At a district level, the Local Development Agencies (*Agenzie di Sviluppo Locale*), joint ventures between various public institutions, NGOs and private local actors, are particularly relevant in promoting the economic and social development of the city's neighbourhoods, and the promotion of services to improve the competitiveness of small and medium local enterprises and to attract capitals are part of their mission. With reference to ethnic entrepreneurs, an important role is played by the San Salvario Local Development Agency, the Via Arquata Development Agency and the Development Agency named "The Gate", since these are active in districts characterised by a high concentration of resident immigrants and therefore ethnic entrepreneurs are among the main clients. Local Development Agencies often have regular relationships also with migrant associations present on the territories within their competence.

3.2.2. Migrants and education

As mentioned above (§ 2.1), the municipality of Turin has always been very active on matters of education, and a particular emphasis has been put on intercultural mediation. Such an approach continues to be relevant today, as clearly pointed out by the project "SOS School", carried out in the Porta Palazzo area, where there is a considerable concentration of immigrant families. The goal is that of sustaining immigrant children school integration through activities of individual tutoring and mentoring. Furthermore, the municipality has also promoted projects of intercultural mediation in those school of the city which show a high ratio of foreign students.

A different kind of initiative is "A number of mums go to school" (*Un PO di mamme vanno a scuola*), which has been offering since 2012 Italian language classes to migrant women with young children (0-6 years old). The project is funded by the European Integration Fund and since 2013 has been part of the regional network of Italian language courses "Petrarca", funded also by the EIF.

3.2.3. Migrants and housing

Since the first mass arrivals of the early 1990s, the municipality set up first reception centres for newcomers initially taking advantage of the funds of Law n. 39/1990. These centres are still working today and they are run by Italian NGOs on the basis of public contracts. Their goal is that of providing a temporary housing facility for a period of maximum 6 months, in order to allow the immigrant to find a more permanent accommodation in the private market. Furthermore, since the end of the decade, the offer of first reception centres has been expanding, addressing the different needs of specific categories such as unaccompanied minors, trafficked women and asylum seekers. In these ad hoc accommodations, housing is usually provided along with individual programmes of social integration implying the learning of Italian language and vocational training (see above: § 3.2.1).

Apart from these ad hoc, temporary solutions, no other longterm housing policies adress specifically immigrant residents, since immigrants can apply for public housing and other services adressing the resident population housing needs in general. As for public housing, according to the Regional Law n. 3/2010, in order to apply immigrants have to demonstrate to have been resident in the regional territory for at least 3 years. According to the data of the Observatory on Housing Conditions in Turin (Città di Torino – Direzione Politiche Sociali, 2013: 50), the share of public housing units assigned to foreigners has increased in the recent years, and in particular in 2012 and 2013. Among the foreign beneficiaries, the share of EU citizens has been increasing since 2007, i.e. with the entrance in the EU of Romanians, which is the main foreign group in Turin (see § 1.2.2).

Tab. 8 – Share (%) of beneficiaries of public housing per nationality (2003-2013)

	Italians	EU citizens	TCN
2003	87	1	13
2004	89	0	11
2005	86	0	14
2006	87	0	12
2007	82	1	17
2008	84	2	15
2009	80	3	18
2010	82	3	14
2011	87	3	10
2012	76	5	19
2013	64	8	28

Source: Città di Torino – Direzione Politiche Sociali (2013, 50)

Another service which in the course of time has been dealing more and more with foreign immigrants housing needs in Turin is the Lo.Ca.Re Office, which is aimed at favouring access to the market of private renting (for details see: Città di Torino – Direzione Politiche Sociali, 2013). To this end, special guarantees are offered to private owners who decide to rent an apartment through the office, covering for instance renters’ insolvency or damages of the property. On the other hand, renters can have access to grants which cover at least in part renting costs. According to our interviews, the number of foreigners among the applicants for the Lo.Ca.RE office services has been increasing throughout the 2000s (see also: FIERI 2006).

Furthermore, the municipality has promoted various social housing projects aimed at fostering social mix in neighbourhoods with a high density of resident immigrants (Città di Torino – Direzione Politiche Sociali, 2013: 34-35).

3.2.4 Migrants and health

As regards health, even though this not a competence of the municipal level in Italy but rather of the regional one, the municipality of Turin has always been active in promoting projects aimed at facilitating immigrants access to health services in collaboration with the Local Health Agencies, which are the branches of the Regional Health System responsible for services delivery.

A case in point is the project “Take easy”, funded in 2012 by the Ministry of the Interior in the context of the implementation of the FEI programme. The goal of the project, promoted by the municipality of Turin and in particular by the Permanent School for Vocational Training of the Social Services Department, is that of creating a network among the actors actively engaged in the delivery of health services to immigrant and promoting their intercultural professional training. Issues related to cultural difference and immigrants’ rights are regarded as crucial in such vocational training programmes.

3.3. *The practice of handling cultural and religious diversity and social cohesion*

As pointed out in § 2.1, since 2006, with the creation of the Integration Affairs Department and the appointment of Ilda Curti as Deputy Mayor, the practice of handling cultural and religious diversity in the city has been inspired by an intercultural approach aimed at promoting dialogue and preventing conflicts in the city’s neighbourhoods. To this end, active participation of immigrant associations and second generation’s into the city life was envisaged, and a number of projects were put forward in order to sustain immigrants’ mobilisation in the public sphere. The funding provided by Compagnia di San Paolo has always been crucial for the undertaking of such policies.

A first line of action funded by the 2014-2016 agreement with the Compagnia di San Paolo is the Neighbourhood’s Houses (*Case del quartiere*), which are public spaces hosting various activities and providing services at a neighbourhood level. In Turin there are currently 10 *Case del quartiere*, opened to immigrants and natives alike. Usually, immigrant associations participate in the activities promoted by the *Case del quartiere*, and in general these are regarded by the city administration as a focal point for social integration and community cohesion.

A second line of action is second generation and immigrant youth integration. A case in point is the “Civil service for young migrants” (see above § 2.1), and, in this context, the Pixel Project, aimed at supporting civic participation at a neighbourhood level through the everyday management of common spaces and gardens. The training projects entailed an internship in one of the city’s urban regeneration projects and targetted native and immigrant youngsters alike. In a similar vein, the YEPP (Youth Empowerment Partnership Programme) project, carried out by the city of Turin in the context of an international partnership since 2001, has the goal of promoting young people empowerment in two neighbourhoods with a consistent share of immigrants, i.e. Porta Palazzo and La Falchera.

As is clear, the philosophy underlining the intervention of the Integration Affairs Department is that of avoiding ad hoc measures. In this perspective, interculturalism is intended as a method implying exchange and mutual knowledge which should favour social cohesion and empowerment more generally. Yet, according to the Integration Affairs Deputy Mayor, such an approach is not easy to pursue in the current context of economic crisis, since more urgent concerns like unemployment and poverty come to the fore.

Another example of the city’s intercultural approach is the project, continued year after year with the funding of the Province of Turin, *In piazza s’impara*, already described in §2.1. The main characterising feature of this project is its attempt to favour the exchange between Italian people and immigrants living in

the Porta Palazzo area through basic language classes in Italian, Chinese and Arabian languages. Rather than simply providing a language course, the project is explicitly aimed at fostering intercultural exchange and mutual knowledge through the means of language.

The city has also adhered and supported the project “Guess who’s coming to dinner” (*Indovina chi viene a cena*), promoted by the *Rete di oralità popolare* (Network of Oral History) and which has been started in Turin. Twenty immigrant families are collaborating in the project: every last Saturday of each month they host in their own houses Italians or other foreigners who are interested in learning more about their culture and lifestyle. Dinner is just an opportunity to meet ‘the other’. According to our interviews, every month at least 80 Italians are involved in these intercultural dinners, and guests are required to contribute to the dinner’s expenses. In 2014, on the basis of an agreement with the CRT Foundation, the money collected by the families has been doubled and used to fund scholarships for young Piedmontese students, not necessarily of an immigrant origin.

4. ANALYSIS AND CONCLUSIONS

The analysis of the integration policies of the municipality of Turin reveals the emerging and consolidation of two competing frames since the mid-2000s: the intercultural frame as defined by the Deputy Mayor of the Integration Affairs Department; the social assistance frame underling the everyday policies and practices carried out by the Foreigners’ and Nomads Office and the Social Policy Department more generally. Whereas the first looks pro-actively and positively to second generations and stresses issues like civic participation and political empowerment, the second is far more re-active, targetting situations of social disadvantage such as unaccompanied minors, marginalised Roma communities, trafficked women and the like.

In the mid-2000s the intercultural frame has characterised indeed as particularly prominent, because of the endeavour of the Deputy Mayor to promote a new understanding of immigrants’ integration in Turin, emphasising its future of a more and more diverse city. To this end, the Integration Affairs Department could rely upon the funding of a private institution, the Compagnia di San Paolo, which actually has been a crucial actor in bringing about intercultural and social cohesion policy in Turin.

However, at the beginning of the new decade, and even more so in the last 2 years, matters of social assistance and humanitarian emergency have become more and more central in the city policy agenda. The analysis of the City Council (*Consiglio Comunale*) and City Executive (*Giunta Comunale*) resolutions clearly highlights how the Social Policy Department has been constantly involved, through the Foreigners’ and Nomads Office, in providing services to the so called ‘most vulnerable categories’, among which asylum seekers emerge on the fore because of the Northern African crisis first and of the current Syrian crisis.

This does not mean that the intercultural framing of immigrant integration has been abandoned. As revealed by our interviews, the Integration Affairs Department has been able to carry out most of its interventions relying upon the triennial agreement (2013-2015) signed with the Compagnia di San Paolo for the funding of social policy more generally. In this context, interculturalism has been intended primarily as a working method to be implemented at a neighbourhood level which implies exchange and mutual knowledge. As pointed out by the *Case del Quartiere* and the YEPP project, the measures target Italian and immigrant residents alike and are aimed at strengthening social cohesion and community empowerment.

Furthermore, the intercultural discourse underlies most of the projects carried out on educational matters. School is explicitly considered as a fundamental actor of second generations processes of social inclusion. In this context, intercultural education is intended as a instrument which can strenghten mutual understanding between children of different origins, as well as between immigrant children and their families on the one hand and the education system (teachers etc.) on the other.

As for the Foreigners' and Nomads Office, the specific interventions targetting integration processes are of two kinds: vocational training for young immigrants; Italian language courses for newly arrived immigrants and for women with young children. Integration is therefore essentially intended in terms of access to employment and inclusion into the labour market, and ad hoc services are provided at this end.

In terms of governance, the municipality of Turin has constantly undertaken relations of partnership with various local NGOs and, since 2006, also with immigrant associations, even though relations with these latter are of a more informal kind. These horizontal networks have been somehow uploaded into the city vertical governance relations, i.e. with other levels of government. This is the case of the network established around the project "A number of mums go to school", where Catholic NGOs and education institutions such as the Centres for Permanent Adult Education are involved. This project has entered in the regional network for the teaching of the Italian language called "Petrarca", and takes advantage of the national and EU funding on matters of language learning.

However, the main characterising feature of the governance of immigrant integration policy and of social policy more generally in Turin is the crucial role of a private institution as the Compagnia di San Paolo. Compagnia does not only provide funding but, as stressed by our interviewees, actively participates in the drafting of the annual policy programmes. Therefore, through this horizontal partnership, the city administration can somehow counter the negative impact of the economic and public budget crisis on social policy, continuing projects and initiatives also on immigrants' integration that would be otherwise difficult to carry on.

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