CLIP: Cities for Local Integration Policies

Intercultural Policies

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Foreword

This report is part of the Eurofound project «Cities for Local Integration Policy» (CLIP), which started in 2006. Turin is one of the 35 European cities that cooperate in exchanging information on their Integration Policies, to start with in the field of housing and in the future in other areas.

The project aims to collect and analyse innovative policies and implement them successfully at the local level. It supports the exchange of experience between cities and encourages a learning process within the city network, addressing the role of social partners, NGOs, companies and voluntary associations in supporting successful integration policies. It provides objective assessment of current practice and initiatives and discusses their transferability, communicating good practices to other cities in Europe and developing guidelines to help cities to cope more effectively with the challenge of integrating migrants. CLIP also supports the further development of a European integration policy by communicating the experiences and outputs of the network to European organisations of cities and local regional authorities, the European and national organisations of social partners, the Council of Europe, and the various institutions of the European Union.

The CLIP network also means cooperation between cities and research institutes. Six research institutes in Bamberg, Amsterdam, Vienna, Turin, Wroclaw and Swansea are in charge of CLIP publications. The researchers of FIERI are responsible for this report on Turin.

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The author is completely responsible for the content of this report and for any mistakes it may contain.

1. Introduction

This module of CLIP deals with phenomena of urban life that are related to the multi-national, multi-ethnic and multi-religious structures of urban populations that challenge the ability of municipalities to establish or seek peaceful relations among different segments of the population. Therefore, the main subjects of this study are the intercultural and inter-religious dialogue and inter-group relations. After a brief overview of Italy's migratory history and national policies, the report analyses the characteristics of the migrant population settled in Turin, focussing on both ethnic and religious structure. The following chapter, which constitutes the bulk of the study, concerns the Municipality's approach and policies towards ethnic and religious minorities. Because of tensions between the Muslim community and the majority population registered in several European cities throughout the 1990s and 2000s, the CLIP network has decided to devote particular attention to this minority group. As a consequence, a relevant part of the study is devoted to the analysis of the Muslims' socio-economic structure and organisations, as well as to the relations established with local authorities. Finally, the concluding part of the study examines inter-group relations and the radicalisation processes in both the majority and migrant populations.

This study started with a review of the existing literature and database consultation. Nevertheless, the research consisted of two main stages: information collection through the so-called Common Reporting Scheme (CRS) performed by the City Agency for Foreigners, and a field visit to Turin carried out by the author with the support of the Municipality. The CRS, which is the same for all the Cities involved in the CLIP project, includes information on policy objectives, programmes and activities of the city, characteristics of relevant communities and relations with them. As far as the field visit was concerned, I

interviewed key figures in the Turin Municipality and government bodies with specific tasks in the intercultural and inter-religious dialogue, NGOs, ethnic associations, and religious communities (see Section 9). During the field visit, I collected documents produced by various bodies (e.g. the Municipality, government bodies, associations, private foundations) in order to get more precise information on their aims, activities and results.

2. Background information on the country

2.1 History of migration and composition of the migrant populations

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, family reunification, 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. Today, the immigrants have become part of the country's socio-economic fabric. They are also the origin of associations that aim to support the integration process and keep connections with their countries of origin alive.

A diachronic analysis of the data on residence permits illustrates how the origin of immigrants in Italy has moved progressively towards Eastern Europe, with migrations from Poland, Romania, Ukraine and Bulgaria becoming more and more relevant since the late 1990s (Bonifazi, 2007; Pittau, Ricci, Silj, 2008).

Of course the migratory flows follow a growing trend, but they are characterised by internal transformations. The main change took place on the 1 January 2007[1]. 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). Nonetheless, the conditions of insertion and integration in the Italian socio-economic context had not yet been improved.

Tab. 1 - Principal nationalities of foreign-documented citizens (as of December 2007).

Country of origin	Number of foreigners
Romania	625,278
Albania	401,949
Morocco	365,908
China	156,519
Ukraine	132,718
Philippines	105,675
Tunisia	93,601
Poland	90,218

Source: Istat, 2008.

[1] Among the ten countries that joined the EU in 2004, Poland is the only country sending numerous citizens to Italy, both for temporary work and for settlement.

At the beginning of 2008, there were over three million immigrants (3,342,651) with a regular residence permit in Italy coming from more than 191 countries, especially East-Central Europe, North Africa, Latin-America and South-East Asia (Istat, 2008). 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 recent estimate by Istat, Italy has been expecting an annual increase of 110,000 new immigrants, reaching more than 8% of the entire population by 2010. The immigrant population exceeded 4% in 2004 and is now around 6% (Billari and Della Zanna, 2008).

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, 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 2007, 62.5% of the legal foreigners were in the North, 25% in the Centre and 12.5% in the South (Caritas, 2008). Nevertheless, there is a different ethnic composition in each city: Chinese are over-represented in Tuscany (Prato) and Lombardy (Milan), Romanians in Piedmont (Turin), and Albanians and Filipinos in Lazio (Rome) (Ismu, 2009).

According to gender composition, there is a prevalence of female immigrants among some African groups (e.g. Somali and Ethiopians), Asian groups (Filipinos), Latin American groups (Brazilians, Peruvians), and Eastern European groups (Ukrainians and Poles), while male immigrants prevail among various African groups (Tunisians, Senegalese). The age structure shows an extremely young immigrant population in Italy, with 70% of residents falling into the 20-54 age bracket (Istat, 2008).

Although some immigrant communities are at a more advanced stage of the migration process (e.g. family reunification), this does not correspond to successful insertion in the labour market. Men are mainly employed as workers, while the women's workforce remains to a large extent absorbed in specific areas of the service sector, and at the lowest level. The economic distribution of regularly employed workers is as follows: 7.3% in agriculture (almost nine out ten with short-term contracts), 35.3% in industry, and 53.8% in the service sector (Caritas, 2008). Their employment is growing faster in services and the building industry, sectors that are characterised by a high degree of casual and irregular work.

The highest concentration of immigrant workers is found in domestic service, 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).

Nonetheless, the Italian context is also characterised by a certain proportion of irregular immigrants. 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, 2007). Readmission agreements have been signed with the main sending countries in Eastern Europe, the Balkans and North Africa, and are currently being extended to Sub-Saharan Africa and the Indian Subcontinent. The

so-called *Temporary Reception Centres* (Centri di permanenza temporanea)[2] have been established to allow officials to ascertain the identity of people who do not have permission to remain in the country, and to carry out repatriation.

From the religious point of view, the Italian scenario has deeply changed after the considerable Eastern European migration flows. Romanians, Ukrainians and Poles have modified the religious composition in the migrant population. Even if the media sometimes continue to stress the risk of Islamisation (Guolo, 2003; Massari, 2006), it is incorrect to speak of an "Islamic invasion", first of all because of the statistics: according to estimates by Caritas, Christians constitute 48% of immigrants, Muslims 37% and oriental religions 7%.

Tab. 2 - Residence permits by main religion (as of 1 January 2007)

Religion	%[3]
Catholic	22.0
Orthodox	21.7
Protestant	3.9
Other Christians	1.5
Muslim	33.2
Jewish	0.2
Hindu	2.5
Buddhist	1.9
Animist	1.2
Other religions	11.8
Total	100.0

Source: estimate on data from the Ministry of the Interior (2008).

As the table shows, it is clear that in the Italian context, the Muslim religion does not represent the main religion among immigrant groups.

Research indicates that there has been a strong geographical diversification of immigrants coming from Islamic countries after the arrival flows registered in the course of the 1990s (Saint Blancat, 1999; Allievi, 2003; Pace, 2004). The reader is warned from the start to be cautious about numbers when speaking about religious beliefs, because it means moving on uncertain ground, especially when we talk about immigrants' religiousness.

In order to define how many Muslims - and also Orthodox, Hindus, Buddhists, etc. - there are among immigrants, the method used consists of projecting the religious beliefs of their countries of origin onto those immigrants.

In practice, we suppose that the religious composition of foreign communities is similar to that in their countries of origin. We do not take into consideration how religious behaviour might change over the course of time or how religiousness during migration can change, growing weaker or stronger.

Therefore, reflecting on religion and immigration means working with estimates. The following warning should be stated before any quantitative reasoning on immigration in Italy: the number of illegal and clandestine immigrants is an estimate. This is also true for the number of people with resident permits,

[2] Law no. 289/98 established these centres, which have been changed by Law no. 189/2002 into CIE (Identification and Expulsion Centres), where illegal migrants can stay for six months at most.

[3] All the percentages are defined from the estimate for the country of origin.

because the data does not account for individuals under 14 years old or those who are thought to have an expired resident permit.

Research on the Muslim presence offers numerous cognitive elements that are useful in understanding the many internal differences, especially because generally speaking "there's no distinction between practising and non-practicing, but generally Muslims are defined as people who in some way find a more-or-less fixed point of reference in Islam for their identity" (Spreafico and Coppi, 2006: 68).

2.2 National policy context

Several studies, both demographic and economic, recognize the fact that Italy will require significant numbers of immigrants in the future (Boeri and McCormick, 2002; Unioncamere, 2008). Nevertheless, immigrants have experienced significant difficulties as a result of current Italian immigration and integration policies. Recent policy changes, from 2002 onward, have been essentially aimed at controlling borders and reducing access to the welfare system (Ismu, 2009).

An immigrant policy was first introduced only in 1998. Law no. 286/98 explicitly encourages the development of programmes and policies to favour cultural exchange. In this way, "the Law set up the National fund for Migration Policies, which in turn transferred most of it to local public administrations and NGOs" (Zincone and Ponzo, 2006: 53). Law 286/98 also provided for the establishment of a number of official bodies to facilitate the integration of immigrants. This was the case of the Commission for the Integration of Immigrants, which had the task of advising the government on the development and implementation of integration policies, inter-cultural communication and anti-racism. The Commission was composed of academics, experts on immigration issues, and of representatives of the state administration involved in developing and implementing policies for the integration of immigrants. The Commission presented annual reports to parliament on the current state of implementation of integration policies, elaborating proposals for the improvement of these policies and answering the government's questions on matters within its competence. The first Commission, appointed by the Prodi Government, expired in July 2001, after the inauguration of the second Berlusconi Government, which did not renew it.

The new law on immigration, passed by parliament on 11th July 2002 (no. 189), 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". It changed the situation considerably, increasing the limits of the previous legislation, strengthening repressive-legalist stances, and reducing the rights of immigrants and the space for integration policies. On the one hand, "the duration of residence permits for subordinate work has been decreased, with the possibility of an unlimited number of renewals. In particular, while in the Turco-Napolitano law the usual duration was of two to four years, in the Bossi-Fini law it has been reduced to one to two years" (Codini, 2005: 52). On the other hand, the new law introduces a sort of guest-worker system, as in Germany, abolishing the possibility of coming to Italy to seek a job (with the guarantee of a sponsor), introduced by the previous law.

Nonetheless, it should be pointed out that the above-mentioned Fund for Integration Policy has been practically abolished as a consequence of the recent federalist institutional reforms. In 2003, responsibility for welfare policy was devolved to the Italian Regions, which each receive a budget from the State for social policy. As a consequence, it is up to them to develop immigrant policy. The few existing studies (Campomori, 2008; Caponio, 2006) show considerable differences among the regions: only a few still have a specific budget on immigrant integration (Piedmont being one of these).

Despite these inconsistencies in national and regional policies, in this context local authorities have always played 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. As will be explained, this is the case of the city of Turin.

The 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. In fact, in many cases these organisations have proved to be the best positioned to provide immediate and concrete solutions to the practical problems commonly experienced by immigrants. In most cities, there is close cooperation between local government and the NGO sector on integration initiatives. This illuminates one of the main characteristics of Italian immigration policy: in a situation of a lack of intervention by the central government, there has been great self-promotion of associations and the NGO sector. In this way, some needs relating to the increasing number of immigrants were satisfied just in time. The side effect of this *modus operandi* is the fragility of these initiatives: they are carried out under annual funding, without any continuity or final evaluation of their efficacy.

Finally, with regard to inter-religious dialogue, the main debate concerns relations with Islam. In Italy, the recognition and rights of religious minorities are regulated by bilateral agreements between the state and representative bodies of religious groups. Muslims have not as yet succeeded in reaching an agreement with the state, although they constitute the second-largest religious group in Italy. According to Aluffi Beck-Peccoz (2004: 138), "laws currently in force can give satisfactory answers to some of the basic needs of Muslims", e.g. mosques, cemeteries, ritual slaughtering, and supply of halal food. Without the agreement, however, Muslim communities cannot enjoy the benefits that such agreements bring. These include the right to abstain from work on religious holidays, to appoint teachers to public schools to provide religious instruction, to allocate a quota of personal income tax to the Muslim community, and to observe other religious rites.

Four Muslim organisations are involved in promoting an agreement with the State. The main one is the *Union of Islamic Communities in Italy* (Unione delle Comunità Islamiche d'Italia - UCOII), a federation of about 60 mosques across the country. The *Islamic Cultural Centre of Italy* (Centro Culturale Islamico d'Italia) is the second largest Muslim organisation in Italy, mainly supported by Islamic States. It is not an association, but a religious legal entity, recognised by a decree passed by the President of the Republic. This Centre is based in Rome at the Great Mosque, and promotes the official Islam of the those States that have adopted the *sharia*. The other two organisations, the *Association of Italian Muslims* (Associazione Musulmani Italiani - AMI) and the *Muslim Religious Community* (Comunita Religiosa Islamica - Co.Re.Is.), are predominantly composed of Italian citizens who have converted to Islam (Aluffi-Beckoz, 2004).

In recent years, a new organisation has emerged on the national level called *Young Muslims of Italy* (Giovani Musulmani d'Italia - GMI). It is a federation of young Muslim groups set up in various Italian cities that are involved in the debate on Islam in Italy and it represents the second generation of Muslims (Frisina, 2007).

Due to the increasing number of Muslims, their associations and their demands, the *Italian Islamic Council* (Consulta per l'Islam Italiano) was set up by the Ministry of the Interior in 2005. It was considered a way to create an "Italian Islam" or "a community peacefully included in the economic and social fabric of our country, free to profess its religious creed and preserve its own identity, but at the same time, completely respectful of our values and our laws" (Cesareo, 2006: 24).

The 2007 publication of the *Charter of the Values and Significance of Citizenship and Integration* (Carta dei Valori della cittadinanza e dell'integrazione) can be considered another step in the creation of an "Italian Islam". A Scientific Committee, composed by Italian experts on Islam, formulates the Charter, promoted by the Ministry of the Interior. It sets up the values and principles "for all those wishing to have permanent residence in Italy irrespective of whatever religious, ethnic and/or cultural group or community to which they may belong" (art. 1).

Summing up, in Italy, even after the 2002 reform, we are looking at a "reasonable integration model" (Zincone, 2000) that allows for the development of both intercultural and inter-religious dialogue and takes place primarily at local level.

3. Background information on the city

3.1. Brief description of the city

Turin is located in the North-West of Italy, in the Piedmont region. The municipality has 908,902 inhabitants distributed across ten neighbourhoods with varying population densities[4]. It is Italy's fourth largest city (Istat, 2008), 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 investing in the promotion of the city's cultural and historical background: the Egyptian Museum, which is second only to that of Cairo, the National Museum of Cinema, together with its "Torino Film Festival". Along the same lines, the 2006 Winter Olympic Games represented a strategic opportunity to invest in infrastructure and to improve the diversification of the economy by promoting international cultural events and developing the tourist sector (Torino Internazionale, 2006).

Today, Turin is undergoing a full-scale transformation, now that Fiat has entered the realm of new technologies and the city has become a centre of international importance in the ICT sector (Comitato Giorgio Rota, Circolo L'Eau Vive, 2008).

Turin is also characterised by a sizable and heterogeneous immigrant population, which is changing the landscape of the city. Urban regeneration processes, migration flows, and transformation due to the increase of the ethnic economy, as well as the shift from the automobile-oriented economy to a knowledge-based and ICT economy are examples of converging processes that affect the urban social fabric in profound ways. They add new dimensions to the already existing economic, social and cultural diversity.

3.2 The city's migrant population and its characteristics/main groups

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, 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).

Some of the main characteristics of the current immigrant population are as follows:

[4] Data as of 31 December 2007, Statistics Office of the Turin Municipality.

- High rate of families with plans to remain.
- High rate of pupils from migratory backgrounds attending school.
- Increasing participation in the labour market, both as employers and employees (Allasino, 2008).

According to the data of the Statistics Office of the Municipality of Turin, by the end of 2007 there were 103,795 foreign residents, equal to 11.4% of the entire resident population. The main nationalities are Romanian, Moroccan, Peruvian, Chinese, Albanian and Filipino.

Tab. 3 - Main nationalities of foreign documented citizens in Turin (as of February 2009).

Country of origin	Number of foreigners	% on the total of foreign residents
Romania	41,159	39.7
Morocco	16,416	15.8
Peru	6,364	6.1
Albania	5,050	4.9
China	4,305	4.1

Source: elaboration on data of the Statistics Office of the Municipality of Turin.

Nowadays, immigration from Eastern European countries is the most dynamic. This is in part due to the most recent example of moonlighting as a result of the so-called "Bossi-Fini legalisation", which allowed a large number of people who had entered the country illegally to regularize their status (Rava, 2007).

Every year, it becomes clearer that foreigners' presence in Turin, as in the rest of the region and in Italy, is more and more a structural phenomenon. The labour market, household life, the structure of services and schools, the organisation of cultural and religious spaces and requests for political participation represent some of the areas of society characterised (and sometimes modified in their organisation) by work, activities, and everyday actions of immigrants well-adapted to the socio-economic fabric of the city (Ricucci, 2008).

At the same time, family reunification has balanced the gender dimension, although there are ethnic communities strongly characterised by gender: among Peruvians and Filipinos, women make up the majority, while Senegalese immigrants are mainly men.

If we analyse the age structure of the immigrant population, it is composed essentially of young people. According to the head of the Municipality of Turin's Office of Statistics: "We notice a preponderance of immigrants in Turin around 30 years old (30.7% of the total of foreign people in 2007, and up to 31.5% compared with 2005) whereas the other age ranges have changed little as proportion of the total (i.e. children from 0-9, 13.6% of the total of foreign people in 2005, 14.2% in 2006; 9.1% of adolescents in 2005, 9.5% in 2006, 5.6% of 50-year-old people in 2005, 6.2% in 2006)" (Rava 2007, 81).

Tab. 4 - Minors and young people without Italian citizenship in Turin by age (as of 31 December 2007).

Age group	Resident citizens (Italians + Foreigners)	% of foreigners
0-4	38,258	22.1
5-9	35,190	16.9
10-14	32,913	14.1
15-19	34,970	44.8

Source: Cammarata, 2008, 57.

Migrants' insertion in the labour market is not equally distributed in the various economic sectors. The distribution of the 30,378 regularly-employed workers in the Province of Turin[5] is as follows: 2.8% in agriculture (almost nine out of ten with short-term contracts), 13.6% in industry, 25.6% in the building sector, 5.7% in commerce and 51% 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). The highest concentration of immigrant workers is found in domestic labour, where over half of employees (an estimate, according to data from Inail, the Italian Workers' Compensation Authority) are immigrants (Di Monaco, 2008). There is also an increasing number of self-employed persons (Prefettura-UTG del Governo and Città di Torino, 2008).

With regard to religion, Islam represented the main religious affiliation among immigrants until 2003: since that year, the increasing arrivals from Eastern Europe have gradually changed the religious scenario. Even if Muslims now represent the second largest religious group among immigrants, they continue to attract the attention of the media and Italians in general.

The issue of ethnic and religious associations is not easy to write about in the Turin context. Even if numerous ethnic and inter-ethnic associations have been formed over the years, little is known about their history, evolution and characteristics. Various attempts have been made to file and record them but have yielded only a partial picture of a situation in a continuous state of flux (Ires Piemonte, 1998; Cicsene, 2001). This scenario has evolved from the beginning of the 1980s to present day, and the great variety of associations can be divided in the following way:

- Political associations, important during coups, independence wars and civil wars, dealing with countries of origin (Somali, Eritrea, Kurdish, Chilean, Peruvian).
- Thematic associations, e.g. Somali women's association (Shabel).
- Corporative-national associations, e.g. Hassania, an association set up by Moroccan entrepreneurs in Italy.
- Ethnic associations that can be divided into two groups. The first group is made up of associations that have specific relations with countries of origin (e.g. Fratia formed by Romanians, Vatra by Albanians, Hamal by Moroccans). The second group consists of organisations that are exclusively involved in providing support to their co-ethnics (e.g. the Filipino organisation Acfil).
- Intercultural associations, e.g. Alma Mater, Asai.
- Religious associations, e.g. Muslim Cultural centres organised by origin, by gender, and by political orientation.

Although ethnic associations are an important point of reference for immigrants, they are having trouble breaking through, not only because they lack their own exclusively dedicated human resources. They are often managed by individuals who may not understand what it means to head up an association in Italy, which public bodies to turn to, and how to acquire information and funding. Foreign associations are key elements in welcoming immigrants and promoting their integration.

Some organisations are beginning to diversify their activities. Through social initiatives, they also act as lobbies that promote the role of their communities in the city. These associations, like the Albanian Vatra and the Romanian Fratia, are supported by their countries of origin in the task of promoting the integration process.

[5] The only data available refer to the Province.

There are also ethnic churches, which are considered informal associations regardless of whether they are Catholic or Evangelical. It is interesting to observe the increasing presence of Pentecostal Churches, which are important points of reference for Africans, Nigerians in particular. According to a recent survey, there are twelve of these churches in Turin (Berzano, 2009).

Relations between groups have been generally weak, and each group has been looking for a specific relationship with the city. In recent years, there has been a wide consensus on the high quality of collaboration and networking among ethnic associations in the Turin area. Due to the continuing decrease in financial resources, there are more and more initiatives promoted by various associations working together. Unfortunately, these networks can be ineffective, as collaboration on policymaking is problematic. The reasons for so many associations are: 1) the weakness of representation in immigrant communities; 2) the lack of leaders who are able to speak Italian and interact on the integration issue, shifting from primary needs to other matters; and 3) a generation of Italians involved in intercultural associations but unable to sustain the development of new leaders with migratory backgrounds.

Numerous immigrant services are provided by the City of Turin. These include employment advice, assistance in using public goods and services, such as housing and health care, and Italian language lessons. The efforts of local public authorities to facilitate the integration of immigrants are complemented by the activities of a wide range of civil society organisations, both ethnic and inter-ethnic. In fact, in many cases these organisations are the best positioned to provide immediate and concrete solutions to the practical problems commonly experienced by immigrants.

Associations are certainly a point of reference for many immigrants, especially in the initial phase, when language difficulties and suspicion of services different from their country of origin may encourage immigrants to go where they can find people from the same country (e.g. parishes, mosques, informal meeting places, associations). Over the years, Turin has seen a change in the role of ethnic associations: they are now less concentrated on initial needs on immigrants when they arrive, and more on social and cultural promotion of the community, especially its youngest members.

Although multicultural meeting places have been created where both adults and children can socialize and understand and confront other cultures, it is still not enough. Meeting places that were conceived and created for Italians, especially for young people, must open up to new requirements. They have to adjust to adults and children, men and women who speak Italian at different levels and have their own cultural heritage, and who want to feel accepted and appreciated.

The City of Turin recognizes the importance of social inclusion measures and of providing a supportive context for immigrants to participate in socio-economic and cultural life. Activities promoted by associations represent an important tool in the integration process of immigrants in Turin. Specifically, their role is considered crucial in the first phase of migration, offering the following services: information, help in filling out forms, Italian language courses, cultural mediation, guidance counselling for families and minors, and information meetings on various themes like schools and health. The City generally recognizes the important role played by these associations, promoting their activities through financial support[6]. One relevant example is the agreement signed by the city's Department of Integration Affairs and the "Compagnia di San Paolo", a private foundation, aimed at funding projects dealing with an organised and coherent integration policy in the city (see 4.3). It is an important policymaking instrument for the Department of Integration Affairs, which is not provided with its own budget.

[6] It is impossible to outline the budget of the local authority for intercultural activities because each city department can fund initiatives dealing with the numerous facets of intercultural issues.

3.3. The city's Muslim population and its characteristics

As above-mentioned (see section 2.1), it is difficult to outline the characteristics of the Muslim population because there are no available statistics based on religion. The following table shows data on people settled in Turin coming from countries with a Muslim population.

Tab. 5 - Turin. Data on foreigners coming from Muslim countries (as of 31 December 2007)

Nationality**	Total	% female	% under 14*
Albanian	5,050	45.3	19.8
Moroccan	16,416	40.1	23.6
Egyptian	3,014	36.6	36.0
Tunisian	1,519	36.2	29.1
Senegalese	1,293	14.7	9.7
Cameroon	321	50.2	20.2
% on the total foreign residents	26.6	21.1	34.5

* Minors under 14 are not allowed to hold autonomous residence permits.
** Table shows only the most numerous nationalities from Muslim countries living in Turin.
Source: Cammarata, 2008.

According to qualitative studies (Garelli et al., 2001; Pace, 2004; Negri-Scaranari, 2008), the Muslim population in Turin can be divided into three groups:

1) Albanians: they have a very low rate of attendance at the mosque (Negri and Scaranari, 2008). It is logical that following the negative stigmatisation suffered by Albanians during the 90s, they have chosen an "assimilation strategy" of integration (Romania, 2004).

2) Moroccans, Egyptians and Tunisians: they represent the majority in the Muslim population in Turin. There are no significant differences among the Maghreb groups in their way of being Muslim in Turin.

3) People coming from Sub-Saharan countries: the most numerous are immigrants from Senegal, the Ivory Coast and Somalia, followed by Cameroon, Ghana, Mali and Nigeria. They represent the most secularised group of the Muslim population, both in first and second generations. A large and well-known Muslim brotherhood, the so-called "Murid brotherhood" has played an important role in the integration process of Senegalese who arrived in Turin in the 80s (Castagnone, Ciafaloni, Donini, Lanzardo, 2005).

Recently, more attention has been dedicated to Moroccan youth. An interesting development among second-generation immigrants is the polarisation that is taking place in relation to the significance of Islam. A growing number of second-generation youngsters are opting for a more secular way of life, while an increasingly large group is choosing a more conscious form of Islam. For young people of the second generation who often have little social network, Islamism can provide a transparent, supportive, and all-embracing frame of reference (Negri and Scaranari, 2008).

Socio-economic status varies among the various Muslim communities. Some Moroccans come from the poorest areas of their country (Kouribga), with very low educational attainment and an unqualified job profile; others are qualified and work in Turin as cultural mediators or self-employed persons. Upon their arrival in Turin and the rest of Italy, the Senegalese were generally peddlers. In Ambrosini's words, they have gone " from peddler to plumber to professional" (2005). Egyptians and Tunisians started out working in restaurants and in the construction sector, and now a lot of them are entrepreneurs. Albanians are spread out in various sectors, and many of them are women. This is the main difference in comparing the socio-economic status of the various Muslim communities (Prefettura - UTG del Governo and Città di Torino, 2006; 2008).

In Turin, there are no buildings formally defined as mosques. Instead, apartments and garages used for religious purposes. This absence is attributable to two reasons: the reaction of local residents and the lack of funding. Because there is no formal agreement between the Italian government and the representatives of Muslim communities in Italy, the funding of Muslim activities is forbidden, unlike other religion such as Judaism and Buddhism.

It is worth mentioning that Muslims by and large view these meeting places as "mosques". These centres are mainly located in the areas of Porta Palazzo and San Salvario and they are well attended, especially on Friday. The vast majority of these centres are linked, formally or informally, to the *Union of Muslim Communities and Organisations in Italy* (UCOII). According to the research and to the interviews, their number varies from six to eight. A study carried out by Belluati (2007: 143) reported eight prayer centres:

- Moschea della Pace in Corso Giulio Cesare 6
- Moschea di Corso Regina 160
- Moschea di Torino in via Baretti 31
- Moschea di Via Cottolengo 2
- Moschea di Via Piossasco 10
- Associazioni Culturale Islamica in Piemonte in via Saluzzo 18
- Associazione Islamica delle Alpi in via Chiavasso 10
- Centro Mecca – Casa del Dialogo Interculturale in via Botticelli 104.

They are cultural associations that have signed rental contracts with private owners in order to have places to pray. They host Friday prayer meetings, Koranic schools, information centres, and they sell books and religious objects. The locations are generally insufficient, either unsuitable for a large number of people or inappropriate for attendees because of their unattractive location (near rundown factories and apartments, abandoned commercial buildings, etc.).

In addition, the Muslim Religious Community (Co.Re.Is.) is interested in setting up a system of alliances and cooperation with some of the Islamic immigrant groups. In Turin, Co.Re.Is. recently organised and promoted a series of activities, including discussions on the Interior Ministry's recent Charter of the Values and Significance of Citizenship and Integration[7]. Although it is a particular organisation both in terms of culture and the origin of its faithful, it is certainly an interlocutor and a recognised presence within the Islamic immigrant world. It is also extremely integrated in local social and political life.

In conjunction, there is a recognised political and cultural presence of intellectuals and professionals coming from above all the Middle East, prevalently not religious, politicised and with Italian citizenship, who take part in the public debate, by offering themselves as representatives of Islamic immigrant groups with public institutions.

In the eyes of the City, there is no Muslim religious organisation that is more important than the others. This point of view is focused on the kind of activities and their relevance in the integration process of Muslim people. In this way, interviews collected during the field visit have stressed the positive steps taken by members of the "Moschea della Pace" to introduce themselves to the neighbourhood: organising blood

[7] For more information, see Section 2.2.

donations; opening their doors to visits, improving contacts with the municipality in order to explain their activities and outline integration projects.

For some years, in fact, people have been talking about the idea of a "Great Mosque – one for all", which would unify and institutionalise a place of worship for Muslims living in Turin. The idea first took shape at the end of the 1990s, but 9/11 and its aftermath slowed down public action and made everyone more cautious.

Nevertheless, this attempt to gather together, unify and simplify relations with the "Islamic Archipelago"[8] had serious weaknesses:

- It undervalued national, religious, cultural and social differences.
- The lack of a religious hierarchy in the "Islam of Dar al-Kufr" (i.e. in a non-Muslim country) and the lack of interlocutors who could be recognised by the institutions as representatives of the Muslims living in the city.

In any case, activities promoted by Muslim religious organisations are considered by the City a useful support for the welfare of local Muslim communities: they offer meeting-places, provide after-school activities for children and adolescents, represent an important information point for neo-immigrants. As Garelli et. al. (2001) showed, Muslims join the cultural centres to look for a job and exchange news on the local city services.

Representatives of the Muslim communities have assumed a low profile in relations with the media and public institutions, especially since 9/11. They condemn media attitudes towards Islam, as the media often do not even know who the real Muslim representatives are. The case of Bouricht Bouchta was reported in a lot of interviews. Bouricht Bouchta, a former imam of the most attended "mosque" in Porta Palazzo, was considered by the media to be the official spokesman of the Muslim Community in Turin. Local institutions also believed he was the formal representative of the Muslims. According to Belluati (2007), this imam embodied all the useful characteristics from the media point of view: the traditional clothes, a polemical attitude, and his religious discourse. His ability to present himself and his interpretation of Islam as the position assumed by all the Muslims in Turin was over-represented in the media, favouring the emergence of a "local Islam", without variety, with only one leader. The reality was different: the great majority of Muslims involved in religious, social, and cultural associations, were disillusioned by Bouchta's positions and distanced themselves from him. This episode outlines a risk for Turin's Muslim community: the lack of representatives allows the emergence of leaders who are essentially appointed by the media, and who do not have any real relations with the community.

4. Local intercultural policies in general

4.1 General approach and responsibility for relations to ethnic and religious organisations in the city.

The Turin context is characterised by a great variety of associations, both ethnic and religious, that deal with the migration issue. The tradition of receiving migrants, rooted in the experience of people coming from Apulia, Calabria, Campania and Veneto, helped Turin to accept the challenge that the new immigration started to present. This was a challenge that religious orders and Catholic volunteer organisations (Cottolengo, Caritas, Sermig, Vincenziani, Camilliani) tried to face, sometimes spontaneously, at other times

[8] In this way, the Counsellor for Integration Affairs of the City, Ilda Curti, defines the heterogeneous world of Muslim associations.

trying to adjust to the needs of different cultures, modifying their methods of intervention. Since the mid-1980s, a lot of ethnic associations have come into being. Various city departments have involved associations in improving their services and their activities. This methodology is defined as an "un-institutionalised method": spontaneous networks have developed in order to deal with specific emergencies: asylum seekers from the former Yugoslavia, unaccompanied minors, trafficking women. Each department has a specific association network with which to collaborate in implementing activities and promoting projects.

In 2007, a specific counsellor position was created to deal with all issues concerning the integration process of immigrants in the Turin area. The Counsellor for Integration Affairs is a new figure in the Municipal Council. This is the result of the long experience of Turin in managing migratory issues.

According to the Counsellor for Integration Affairs of the Municipality of Turin, the management of migratory phenomena by the local authorities can be defined as an "*ad hoc* approach". To better understand Turin's policy, we can look at the development of the City's approach to relations with ethnic and religious associations. It is possible to distinguish three main periods:

1) The emergency policy (1990).

2) The creation of a network of specific services, based on the interaction between the municipality and the third sector (1990 - 1995), implementing an interesting "welfare mix" model.

3) A period of consolidation since 1995. This period can be divided into two sub-period: a) 1995-1999, during which the municipality improved its relations with associations, supported the insertion of cultural mediators in its offices, developed training courses for civil servants, and expanded its attention to the migration issue, from labour to family services, from school to welfare support; b) 2000 to present day. In this period there has been a consolidation of activities in the Porta Palazzo and San Salvario areas in order to reinforce positive relations between autochthonous people and immigrants. Attention has also turned to the integration process of the second generation, accompanied by a necessary focus on the increasing number of asylum seekers.

In general, this "*ad hoc* approach" has meant that municipal interventions were explicitly directed towards immigrants in specific difficult situations, reacting to emerging social problems by mobilizing all the main local actors, public and private, interested in the specific issue.

During the last 10 years, however, the consolidation of intercultural discourse has taken place in tandem, generating a large number of practices, projects and experiences mainly based on the notion of dialogue, mutual exchange and social interaction[9]. Intercultural policies are considered by all the stakeholders we interviewed as part of the general integration strategy for immigrants. In this way, the creation of an Intercultural Centre is significant of the strategic role assigned by the City to the initiatives aimed at promoting awareness among all citizens of changes and new challenges resulting from the evolving composition of the resident population. The idea is that each policy should be defined taking into account the various and heterogeneous intercultural facets existing in the city: in this way the initiative "Torino Plurale" (Turin Plural) can be considered a good example of how the Municipality of Turin is involved in the difficult passage from addressing specific policies for immigrants to defining general policies in an intercultural way.

According to the mayoral programme for 2006-2011, it is necessary to:

1) promote and develop the intercultural dimension as an approach affecting all policy areas;

[9] See interview with Ilda Curti and her report written for the meeting.

2) promote the involvement of immigrants in the city life in various fields: social, cultural, and economic. Immigrants should make the move from being recipients to being participants and promoting activities.

By involving associations, NGOs and immigrants' communities, the local authority in Turin has developed projects, initiatives and policies. Through its various departments, the City has been instituting action programmes for local integration policies in recent years, including the organisation of special integration offices within the municipal administration and the establishment of working groups and councils on this issue. The participation of ethnic associations has been encouraged, but it remains at consultation level. Comments on this participation are generally positive, but interviews refer to the difficulties of ethnic associations in moving from the level of self-promotion to working on general issues concerning all immigrants. Lack of fluency in Italian continues to be an element of difficulty, as well as the involvement of immigrants dealing with the first migration wave of various nationalities. Sometimes participants are not representative of the multifaceted nature of the various communities. This has been the experience of the Regional Consultative Body as well as the experience of the one set up by the local authority in 1996. The Municipality of Turin, in fact, was one of the first Italian cities to support this kind of experience (Asgi and Fieri, 2005).

Nowadays in Turin there is no "formal" consultative body for ethnic associations and immigrants: their ideas and requests are collected in meetings organised on specific issues by the various Departments. The municipality and ethnic associations meet together in a formal context organised by the Prefecture and called *Local Council for Immigration* (Consiglio Territoriale per l'immigrazione). It is a consultative body, which involves institutions, trade unions and associations to discuss and improve the social integration of immigrants. Participants in this Council are divided into four sub-groups that deal with different issues: minors, administrative procedures, immigrant insertion in the labour market and social integration.

4.2. Issues, demands and interests

Over the years, Turin has seen a change in the role of ethnic associations. They are now less concentrated on initial reception needs of immigrants and more on the social and cultural promotion of the community, especially its youngest members. Among the various issues with which associations are concerned, three have to be stressed:

- Lack of involvement.
- Lack of meeting places.
- Lack of funding to support daily activities.

All ethnic and religious associations commonly experience these issues. Specifically, all organisations are interested in becoming a reference point for the City on the various issues concerning integration processes. This desire is considered legitimate, but it is difficult to put into practice, as the Municipality of Turin is not familiar with many of the associations. As a result, the City has developed a process for mapping their characteristics, activities and relations with the ethnic community. There is now a citywide database on all available venues for special events and each association can request a meeting place for weekly and monthly activities, meetings and debates. Promoted by the city departments of Integration Affairs and Youth Policies, this initiative tries to satisfy the demand for places to meet. The most desirable is of course to obtain a meeting place free of charge, or at least at a very low cost.

The request for meeting places is common to *all* associations, whether cultural or religious, ethnic or inter-ethnic. This does not mean that there is a specific "space-competition" problem between Italians and foreigners: there are in fact examples of associations sharing the same space at different times (e.g. the intercultural association ASAI shares its premises with the Colombian Association).

In recent years, Turin has been faced with a new phenomenon. Every Sunday, in various public parks, hundreds of immigrants join together to eat, dance and talk about their lives. It suits their need for socialisation, especially among Peruvians. The attendance is over 12,000 every Sunday.

This custom is becoming a social problem, a cause of protests among Italians because of the noise, the amount of rubbish and the use of parks as barbecue areas without any suitable facilities.

In answer to the requests of both Italians and immigrants, the local authority has developed an initiative of counselling, addressed specifically to the Peruvian community (the main user of the "Pellerina" park) to better organise their use of the park.

Two activities have been carried out:

1) Creation of a specific area equipped for hosting parties and meetings in the "Pellerina" public park.

2) An association has been created so that there is somebody responsible for the organisation of the meetings and for security and observation of the rules.

This example underlines the City's strategy towards associations: answers to associations' requests have to be worked out by means of a bottom-up process, in which the municipality and the associations define partnerships in order to promote integration initiatives. This methodology is a very new way of building a relationship between the City and ethnic and religious groups. Another example is an initiative addressed to women, both Muslim and non-Muslim: a women-only swimming pool recently opened in Turin. Satisfying the specific request of a meeting point specifically for women, the City has come up with a solution in collaboration with various immigrant associations.

Nevertheless, the matter of funding is complex. All the associations need financial aid to promote their activities, develop initiatives, and succeed in offering help to Turin's immigrants.

4.3 Form of relations and dialogue

Relations between the municipality and ethnic and religious associations are not institutionalized. Each city department contacts associations either to answer questions dealing with their ethnic community or to be involved in specific projects.

Until 2008, there was a grant system specifically for the various city departments. A general decrease of funding has led associations to request funding from private organisations, especially from foundations. In this way, numerous and sometimes overlapping initiatives have been funded without any kind of synergy with City policy.

Ever since the Department of Integration Affairs signed an agreement with the above mentioned Compagnia di San Paolo in 2008, the department must be involved in all initiatives dealing with integration, intercultural policies, and inter-group relations developed in Turin. In this context, two calls for proposals for integration initiatives have been addressed to ethnic associations in the last two years.

The first, entitled "Immigrants, New Citizens" was launched in 2006. Its financial resources totalled 1,600,000 Euro and it 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 area and leisure time.

Thirty initiatives have received funding, increasing opportunities to assess the integration process in the city of immigrants, especially of the younger generations.

The second call for projects, entitled "Intercultural and Training", followed in 2008 and was specifically dedicated to the issue of education. Also in this case, the call was divided into three sub-topics: 1) Italian language teaching; 2) the intercultural dimension of education; and 3) counselling to better define the education paths of immigrant pupils.

The total amount available for funding projects and activities was 1,000,000 Euro. Twenty-four projects promoted by schools, institutions and associations received funding.

On the other hand, there are no measures for preventing exclusion. At the beginning of the 1990s, a training course was offered for civil servants, teachers and urban police to promote knowledge of various nationalities and improve intercultural abilities in daily work. The course was part of a European project called "LIA – Local Integration Action", promoted by the Municipality of Turin and directed by the city's Intercultural Centre, which aims to improve intercultural relations. The activities of the Intercultural Centre are not only directed towards foreigners, but especially to Italian citizens. The aim is to promote dialogue between cultures through a series of initiatives, such as:

- Opportunities to meet people of various ethnic and cultural origins (meetings, cultural events, etc.).
- The production and diffusion of material on multi-cultural themes (art exhibitions, meetings, publication of a magazine and a multicultural calendar).
- Logistic and organisational support for immigrant associations.
- Proposals for intercultural activities that pupils will take in school.

In ten years, the role of the Intercultural Centre has gradually changed in order to face new challenges. It informs Italians of recent changes in migration phenomena and helps adolescents and young immigrants in discovering their identities.

The Intercultural Centre has been an important point of reference for associations due to its organisation of a city event called *Identity & Diversity* (Identità & Differenza): from 1997 to 2002, this event has represented a kind of Intercultural festival in the city, aimed at conveying knowledge of the different ethnic, religious and cultural aspects of migration in Turin to all its inhabitants. The experience of the Intercultural Centre illuminates the relationship between the City and associations in general: they carry out a dialogue and cooperate on specific issues, especially in the face of emergency situations or crises in the migration field. One example of this is the partnership that developed in the late 1990s among various city departments (Welfare, Education, Minors), ethnic and inter-ethnic associations (Sanabil, Asai, Alma Mater) and other organisations (juridical, research) to address the increasing number of unaccompanied minors arriving in Turin from Albania, Morocco and Romania. Another example is the issue of trafficked women: the City coordinates a network of various associations, involved in receiving, supporting and offering general assistance to women from Nigeria and East-Central Europe. Because the network has been part of an European project on this issue, the collaboration had become somewhat institutionalised.

From the point of view of religious associations, specific attention to religious pluralism has increased in recent years. The Inter-Faith Commission was set up during the 2006 Winter Olympics and assembles representatives of the main faiths at local level. It is quite representative and offers a platform for an exchange of ideas.

In Turin, there is an informal inter-religious and inter-cultural dialogue. Caritas periodically brings Christian associations together to discuss various issues (in recent years, the main focus has been on the second generations) and promote initiatives like the annual "Festa dei Popoli". In this case, there is no City

representation. But associations sometimes organise roundtables on intercultural dialogue and invite representatives from the municipality.

Turin promotes this form of partnership: the network methodology has been a *leitmotif* for both the municipality and other local institutions to improve collaboration and reduce the duplication of initiatives. Nonetheless, apart from collaboration at the association level, there is no formal cooperation supported or organised by the municipality of Turin.

Most associations keep a low profile and do not take many initiatives. In addition, they are not particularly proactive in improving relations with their own compatriots or other immigrants. Apart from the organisation of annual religious or secular holidays such as the Peruvian Feast of Our Lady, Chinese New Year, or the end of Ramadan, there has been little activity of note. That said, these events are generally supported by the City. For example, the municipality offers a large meeting place (Palazzetto dello Sport) where each immigrant community (e.g. Chinese, Muslims, Senegalese) can celebrate their events.

Besides these well-attended events, relations between associations and immigrant citizens are weak in Turin. In contrast, there is considerable participation in the activities carried out by inter-ethnic organisations. In the Turin context these associations can be divided into three categories:

- Gender organisations, such as Alma Mater, an Intercultural Centre for Immigrant Women. The Centre offers information and orientation towards services and self-help groups, mainly addressed to women. It also provides intercultural activities such as a documentation centre and a theatre. Economic activities by immigrant women are also encouraged and there are two co-operatives managed by immigrant women who run a Turkish bath, a laundrette, catering and dress-making services;

- Juvenile organisations, such as ASAI (Intercultural Association), Sanabil and Alouan Centres. These three intercultural centres are promoted by inter-ethnic associations; they work to support the social and vocational path of foreign youngsters, improve their cultural and language skills; boost their self-confidence, and enforce youth empowerment. They also promote intercultural dialogue as a resource for social cohesion and responsible participation, and combat social isolation and discrimination by offering learning opportunities;

- Mediator organisations, such as Harambee, Amecu, Senza Frontiere. These organisations are characterised by the presence of cultural mediators with different ethnic backgrounds[10].

Turin's attitude toward these organisations is ambiguous: on the one hand, the City recognizes their key supporting role in the development of intercultural policy and in the reception and integration processes. On the other hand, the municipality is trying to re-orient their activities towards new needs. It also wants to avoid overlap between the initiatives it promotes and the projects realised by the organisations. In the current economic situation, the City is investing its funds very carefully. The last thing it wants to do is pay twice for the same activities.

Nonetheless, these organisations have provided a great deal of support for the welfare of local immigrant communities, and they have also improved relations between the majority population and ethnic minorities. The *Identity & Diversity* event and the *Six Nations football championship* (Torneo delle sei nazioni) are both examples of city initiatives addressed to the citizens, in which the involvement of both ethnic and inter-ethnic associations has been essential. It is useful to recall other activities organised by the Intercultural Centre that were aimed at developing knowledge of "new residents" in Turin. These include *Open Door to*

[10] Migrants are also involved in trade unions: in two out of three organisations, the head of the department dealing with migrant workers is a foreigner.

Maghrebi Islam (Porte aperte sull'Islam del Maghreb), an activity aimed at discovering the Moroccan daily life and addressed to junior and senior high-school classes. Similarly, the Centre distributes its multi-ethnic and pluri-religious calendar. Since 1997, there has been the *Worlds Faraway-Worlds Nearby* (Mondi vicini-mondi lontani) film festival, which presents directors who are able to recall the smells, tastes and identities of Turin immigrants' countries of origin. The religious issue is also worth attention. The municipality promotes "Turin Spirituality", conferences on religious matters in Turin and in the contemporary world, aimed at spreading knowledge of the various religions co-existing in the city area.

Multicultural events and debates to improve relations between minorities and the majority are also organised by ethnic and religious associations, immigrant and otherwise. To develop their initiatives, these organisations usually apply to the various city departments and to the various calls for projects at the local, national and European level, both from private foundations and public authorities. Each year, the various city departments every year have one or two funding periods, in which funding applications can be submitted by associations to support the City in its integration policy.

Among the various initiatives promoted in Turin, the following activities are generally considered good examples of cooperation between associations and the municipality:

1) A network for unaccompanied minors: at the end of the 1990s, a partnership among ethnic associations, various city departments (Social Services and Education) and ASGI (Association for Legal Studies on Immigration) developed an integrated system of activities to support the integration of minors arriving mainly from Albania and Morocco. The traditional experience of collaboration between institutions and the private sector has represented an opportunity for a successful response;

2) The project *Magic carpet* (Tappeto volante), set up in the San Salvario area in 1999. Its objectives include the creation of a social and educational context in which the city, schools and associations collaborate on an educational project focussed on the integration of resources and on the involvement of all family units and children living in the area. In order to reach this target, the initiatives tested are: a) the development of educational training paths for the learning of the Italian language; b) neighbourhood school co-operation to improve the response to students' demand for training; and c) the creation of a network of associations and neighbourhood schools. The main intervention lines do not only concern educational activities, but also connections and relationships with parents, limiting dropping out and failure, and study and research into instruments favouring citizens' participation in school life;

3) The initiative *If not now, when?*[11] (Se non ora, quando?) is aimed at supporting and reinforcing processes of inclusion of foreign citizens so as to promote their integration. This project has involved twenty young foreigners in promoting various activities such as Italian courses for students and families, updating and research for teachers. They have been accompanied in their activities by two mediators and coordinated by the Integration Affairs Department to favour creation of a civic network between immigrants and increase their sense of belonging to a town community.

All three examples are considered successful because of a) the strong partnership between the City and the associations, b) the involvement of immigrants as participants and not as recipients, c) the involvement of local residents as participants (e.g. case n. 2) or in participating in activities organised by immigrants (e.g. case n. 3).

The city 's experience in developing co-operation with ethnic and/or religious associations has been quite positive. Nevertheless, there has been some difficulty in getting Chinese associations to participate in and organise activities. Recently, the Department for Integration Affairs has been quite successful in improving

[11] Thanks to a grant from the Ministry of Social Affairs, this project has a budget of 400,000 Euro.

the involvement of the Filipino association in the city's integration projects. This has happened thanks to the policy of getting to know all the ethnic associations promoted by the Counsellor of the Integration Affairs Department, as well as the Filipino association's new policy of supporting its members' integration, especially considering the increasing number of adolescents and children.

4.4. Relationship between different ethnic groups in the city

The municipality of Turin has paid attention to the reactions of the local majority population towards immigrants. Local Development Agencies promoted by the City in various urban areas are involved in collecting issues and demands by local residents and in promoting collaboration. In both the Porta Palazzo and San Salvario neighbourhoods, the issues of security and control are substituted by demands for legality shared by ethnic and religious associations. At the end of the 1990s, when the issue of unaccompanied minors became an urgent situation, ethnic associations such as Diafa al Maghreb and Sanabil, inter-ethnic groups such as Asai and Alma Mater, Catholic organisations such as Caritas, the Vincenziani and the Fratelli delle scuole cristiane collaborated to support these minors, help Italians to understand their situation, and promote security in general.

This is only one example of collaboration among associations. Generally speaking, there have never been any real conflicts among the different organisations. There are, however, numerous conflicts among illegal ethnic organisations that are trying to control certain areas of the city or part of the black market. During the past two years, some news of Moroccan youth gangs has been reported in the Valentino Park, a large park near the Po River.

4.5 Public communication

The City of Turin[12] has been developing communication through ICT, providing the translation of its website in different languages. The website features a special section called "Città Agora", which offers translated news. According to Ilda Curti, Counsellor for Integration Affairs, it is necessary both to learn to communicate intercultural issues in a easy way and to offer possibilities of visibility for ethnic associations for improving their knowledge among city residents. Two initiatives are being promoted by the City to foster these goals. The first is a monthly web-newsletter, called "Torino plurale", where associations can present themselves and their activities. To increase the diffusion of this news, a summary of the newsletter is also available in the multi-lingual information magazine "Popoli news", written in Italian, Arabic, Chinese and Romanian.

The second initiative is the involvement of youth from Morocco, Romania, the Philippines etc. in the communicative actions promoted by the City on its intercultural activities, especially in areas where cohabitation between Italians and foreigners can be difficult. Neither these initiatives nor news of association activities were reported by the media.

Generally speaking, journalists contact ethnic and religious associations in order to comment on events dealing with migration issues.

Few members of ethnic groups are involved in the local media as journalists. The writer Younis Tawfik collaborates with the local Turin newspaper, "La Stampa". He is an Iranian, who lives in Turin and works in the inter-cultural sector, promoting a cultural centre called "Dar Al Hikma". Viorika Nechifor and Karim

[12] Counsellors and other city's representatives are involved in presenting studies and initiatives referring to the intercultural issue according to their institutional role (e.g. presentation of an annual study on ethnic business, presentation of the annual report of the foreign population resident in Turin, comments on the report of the socio-economic situation in the region).

Metref are also journalists from abroad who work for local media: both write for the weekly dossier of "La Stampa", which offers a small amount of news in Romanian and Arabic.

Through its Intercultural Centre, the municipality was involved in a European project called "Migra" from 2002 to 2004, which aimed to prepare ethnic journalists to work for local newspapers. Six journalists took intensive courses and workshops, but not one of them has been hired as a journalist for a local newspaper. They set up an inter-ethnic association called Piemondo, which realised a project analysing how local media report news on migration issues. At the end of the project, which was funded by the Province of Turin, a discussion with Italian journalists writing on these themes was organised. The discussion revealed that there is a lack of journalistic training in intercultural matters. Nevertheless, in some cases, journalists have a personal interest in improving their knowledge of the subject, while in others there is a kind of on-the-job training.

In 2008, an agreement was signed among Paralleli (a non-profit organisation in Turin[13]), the Italian Journalist Order, and the University of Turin aimed at promoting research on intercultural news in Piedmont. The research project has three goals:

- To review the various local media at regional level to identify the offer of intercultural media products;
- To investigate the level of development of an awareness of an "intercultural culture" among media workers (press journalists, web, tv and radio operators);
- To monitor the demand of participation of immigrants, involved in intercultural activities.

The main goal is to identify the characteristics of information on intercultural issues in the local society at three levels: among immigrants and ethnic communities (news about immigrants for immigrants); among the Italian media (news written by Italian journalists for immigrants); among immigrants directed to Italians (news written by immigrant journalists for Italians).

Babelmed is an on-line magazine, available in different languages. It is the result of a European project, in which the above-mentioned Paralleli is involved. The aim of the website is to offer cyber-space articles, essays, interviews, and news on migration in the Mediterranean area, providing the web-user with a global vision of migration, integration, intercultural and inter-religious issues.

Local TV generally pays attention to the main events organised in the city on the migration issue, both promoted by local institutions and by ethnic associations. Coverage includes a presentation of the annual report on the immigrant population resident in Turin, Chinese New Year celebrations, and the Muslim feast at the end of Ramadan. There are few local ethnic media as well. The most numerous are the newspapers published in various languages. There is the abovementioned inter-ethnic magazine called "Popoli news", written in various languages by non-Italian journalists and featuring news that is useful for people living in Turin. Another newspaper is called "Tutti i colori". Shifting to the radio, there is a radio programme broadcast by a Colombian journalist aimed at news on the life of immigrants in the city. Ethnic associations are taking advantage of the new ITC opportunities to develop their activities: several of them have either websites or Facebook profiles. The two city departments of Integration Affairs and Youth are promoting a project for developing local information, offering a place where it would be possible for all associations to use videos, internet and other ITC opportunities.

[13] More information is available on the following website: www.paralleli.org.

4.6 Summary and lessons learnt

To sum up, Turin is a pioneer in social policies for immigrants, but the "*ad hoc* approach" has two main weaknesses:

1) A lack of integration between different policies: the new challenge is to overcome the sectorial approach of services and interventions, directed only towards people with a migratory background;

2) A lack of a systematic approach. More than 90% of initiatives focused on the migration/integration issue are developed through a partnership among local authorities, schools, NGOs and associations (both intercultural and ethnic). This kind of partnership illustrates one of the main characteristics of the Italian scenario in the migration field: in a situation of a lack of institutional initiatives, there is great self-promotion of associations and the third sector. In this way, some needs, dealing with the increasing number of immigrants, are satisfied just in time by associations instead of by institutions. The side effect of this *modus operandi* is the fragility of these kinds of initiatives: they are carried out under annual funding, without either any continuity or any final evaluation of the efficacy of the actions. Recently, some funding provided by local authorities required a final report on the activity: this was only a self-declaration written by the grantee organisation, without any serious evaluation carried out by experts.

5. Local intercultural policies towards Muslim communities

5.1. Major issues, demands and interests

The growing presence of Muslims in the Turin context stresses relations with "ethnic diversity", especially in the areas where the incidence of immigrants coming from the Maghreb is higher and where there is an Arabic presence visible through ethnic shops, women wearing the chador, and men wearing long robes. In these areas, committees of local residents convey their concerns to the city regarding the activities of shop owners or the men loitering outside them, or what kind of speeches are being made during Friday prayers. The issues of control and safety have been on the agenda for many years, especially during the period of activity of the abovementioned imam Bouchta. Currently, these issues are less evident thanks to the City's policy of social-regeneration in those areas, aimed at promoting intercultural dialogue. According to Muslim organisations, however, there is a common interest in presenting a "moderate Islam". All the activities dealing with professing religion and organising social activities are developed in collaboration with the local institutions, while keeping the neighbourhood and its perceptions in mind. For example, the openness of the Moschea della Pace in the Porta Palazzo neighbourhood has been accompanied by activities aimed at explaining and presenting the Muslim Centre to the Italian residents living in the area. It is a specific interest of Muslim organisations to demonstrate their desire to promote integration. Surveys on Muslims living in Turin confirm that all they really want is the freedom to practice their religion. They want Islamic festivities to be recognised and to be able to eat food according to the Koranic laws in public canteens. They are concerned about getting their religion taught in schools, and about securing places to pray. These elements are more important to them than legitimising Islam on a national level (Garelli & al. 2001; Negri & Scaranari 2006). In short, the desire to keep their own religious tradition does not contradict their willingness to integrate and respect Italian law.

Nevertheless, there is no survey on what Italians think about all of this. The interviewees feel that Italians are not interested in the religious needs of Muslims. Instead, they are worried about the terrorism danger propagated by the media after 9/11.

The disputed question of Islamic extremism would seem to be a problem that has not been analysed properly.

Recent statements made by some Muslim public figures on terrorism and the war in Iraq have caused great controversy in the media, but they are more attempts to gain visibility and to oppose local authority than an expression of widespread opinion among Muslim immigrants. These declarations are emphasised by those Italians who entertain an unfavourable opinion of immigration, but sometimes also by well-meaning political representatives who believe that these people are reliable interlocutors.

There is a widespread feeling among our interviewees that the Islamic religion continues to be perceived by Italian people in two opposite ways: on the one hand, Islam continues to be represented as a potential problem, a strong extraneous element, even if many immigrants practice their religion in private and do not even attend a mosque; on the other hand, the idea of a multicultural city is growing – one in which there are different communities with various languages, traditions and religions.

The attitude of the City towards these two positions is clear: in order to respond to the majority's demand for security and to support the integration attitudes of the Muslim associations, it is necessary to upgrade mosques from flats and garages to real meeting places.

In 2006, in the context of an important city renovation project, the municipality of Turin chose a former industrial site to build a multifunctional centre. In that neighbourhood, a "Casa delle Religioni" would be included with the aim of satisfying part of the various requests for space made over the years by various religious associations.

In April 2009, Turin Mayor Sergio Chiamparino announced a project to build a mosque that would be financed by the Moroccan government. This plan generated criticism from both the Northern League and an Islamic professor, who is against the influence of the Moroccan king on the choice of imams (Longhin 2009).

5.2 General approaches and policies improving the relations with Muslim groups

Muslim groups are not considered any different than other associations. Considering their relevant presence, the municipality is interested in knowing about their activities and in promoting collaboration. As a result, contacts between the local authority and these associations are divided into two categories. First, there are institutionalised contacts when the various city departments organise meetings or initiatives with ethnic and religious associations working in the integration field. Second, formal contacts can be requested by associations to present their requests (e.g. meeting places, funds). These contacts have increased in recent years due to the efforts of Muslim associations to develop a new image of their presence in Turin, especially after the Bouchta episode.

Relations with the Cultural Department and the Integration Affairs Department are relevant: in both cases, these are non-institutionalised contacts. One interesting initiative was carried out by the Integration Affairs Department as a result of a consultancy activity aimed at outlining the religious situation in the city. It involved collecting requests and demands (most of which were related to obtaining religious meeting places) and better understanding the needs of Muslims. This activity represents the only "formal" occasion on which Muslim organisations can talk to the City. As mentioned above, there is no consulting body or representative in the City Council. Their requests and demands are generally addressed directly to the various departments as well as to other associations: because of an agreement with the Italian government, there is no special treatment reserved to religious associations, whether they are Catholic or not. Coming back to the idea of building a "Casa delle religioni", this project is being developed to respond to the various demands for prayer places addressed to the municipality by Muslims, Buddhists, and followers of Soka Gakkai. And in the same way, the City gives support to organise public events (e.g. the city event for the end of Ramadan).

There is little news about support from abroad for Muslim organisations in the Turin context. It is known that there were initiatives promoted and paid for by the Moroccan government (e.g. Moroccan teachers arrived at some Turin schools to teach Arabic to pupils with an Arabic background). Evaluations of this initiative have been contradictory among the institutions involved due to the difficulty of inserting these teachers into the ordinary school programme and to the absence of any kind of control of their teaching in Arabic. After two years of failed experimentation, in which Moroccan teachers were not involved in the schools, there is a new attempt now taking place (during the 2008-2009 school year) under the guidance and supervision of an Italian teacher. The number of pupils enrolled in this Arabic language course is large: parents from Arabic countries prefer to enrol their children in Arabic courses held in the schools rather than sending them to the Arabic courses available in the mosques, where they are not sure what kind of teaching they will get (Comitato oltre il razzismo, 2008). This fear is not generalised: there are also parents, especially believers, who send their children to the Arabic course in the mosque. This initiative can be considered as part of the City's policy for improving relations between groups. In fact, the proposal of mother-tongue language courses in the school has two goals: on the one hand, it is an answer to the request of Muslims (and others) to promote knowledge of the heritage language among the second generation; on the other hand, it represents an answer to demands for transparency by the local population.

Other concrete initiatives concern information and debates: the municipality promotes conferences through its Intercultural Centre for city residents. Another example is the video called *Candid Islam*, which presents stories of Muslim women living in Turin.

Is this context, a special role is played by Muslim women and young people. Both are involved in presenting the daily life of Muslims to the majority population. The City is encouraging these efforts, but it is difficult to give them support.

The attitude of the police towards Muslims has changed over time. During the 1990s, specific attention was paid to the increasing number of people coming from Morocco and becoming more visible in their attendance at mosques. It was also the period of protests by local resident committees, during which the city police was asked to intervene to ensure security. Currently, the situation seems to be more relaxed. It is clearer than in the past that Muslim does not necessarily mean criminal: the City has held various training courses for its employees to improve their knowledge of the characteristics of the new residents in Turin and to learn different customs and habits that can cause misunderstandings.

There is an increasing need to get to know the Muslim population better. This is why various institutions study this issue, including Municipality, Province, Region, and bank foundations. Attention had been paid to religious attitudes (how does religious behaviour change due to the migration process?) and to the development of Muslim organisations. Recently, attention has been dedicated to Muslim youth organisations (Frisina 2007). The different research reaches the same conclusions: religion plays an important part in the life of Muslims in Turin, who find their identity in the faith they have been raised in and consider it the focus of their way of life.

Nevertheless, the group has become more articulate. Different ways of believing coexist: some are believers and practising, even during emigration; others are believers, but with discontinuous practice, while still others experience their religion in an interior way or they are indifferent.

Focussing on the survey carried out by Garelli et alii (2001), it is possible to outline some characteristics of Muslims living in Turin.

More than 80% of the samples in this survey declare that it is not hard to be a good Muslim in emigration, showing a good ability to adapt to the Italian context.

For some, the mosque represents a place for "spiritual refreshment"; for others, it is a meeting place for the community, a place to find their true identity, and an important information centre as well. For some others, on the other hand, it does not perform any function and they do not attend.

Because Islam is characterised by precisely regulated and codified ritual practice more than by a system of faith and dogma, what was asked of the people interviewed was to point out what is the behaviour that characterises most the identification of the real Muslim (ideal representation). The aspects stressed by the interviewees were: "to respect the s*haria*", which is to comply with the divine law, "do not hurt anybody, be a peaceful man, respect other people", and " to read the Koran". Trailing behind these were aspects such as "to transmit the Islamic faith to children", "to attend the mosque", "to work well", "to avoid forbidden food". And last, "to obey and respect the laws of this country" and "to spread and promote Islam".

Going from the level of what ought to be to what is, in everyday life, the practice most followed is Ramadan, followed by *zakat* (the annual charity to the poor and the needy) and by daily prayers, at the right times or when it is possible.

The willingness to integrate is also shown by the fact that most of the Muslims interviewed during the survey acknowledge that they feel better in Turin than in their own country. The process of integration also involves the second generation, and therefore most Muslim parents would like their children to attend an Italian school, where their Islamic religion is among the subjects, as well as (second in order of importance) the Arabic language. Respecting the laws and the willingness to integrate does not mean willingness to accept mixed marriages. In fact, among the people interviewed who were not married, less than half were favourably disposed towards marriage with somebody who is not Muslim; at the same time, the majority of married people would be opposed to their daughter marrying a non-Muslim Italian man.

As far as their demands are concerned, Muslims stress those aspects that would allow individual religious practice, rather than agreements that could give more legitimisation to Islam on a national level.

In short, the desire to maintain their own religious tradition does not contradict their willingness to integrate and respect Italian law.

5.3. Good practice examples of concrete activities and measures improving the relations with Muslim groups

For some time now, Turin has practised policies and programmes that recognise religious pluralism as an element of dialogue, mutual recognition, respect and relations among various religious communities in the city:

- The Inter-Faith Commission, which was set up during the 2006 Winter Olympics, gathers together representatives of the main faiths at the local level. It is quite representative and offers a platform for an exchange of ideas.
- For more than ten years, the right to eat special foods in public schools has been recognised for pupils of different religions.
- Since the mid-1990s, there has been a public ritual butcher (kosher/halal).
- The city has set a public area in cemeteries for the faithful who request it.
- Ministries of other religions are admitted and recognised in prisons and hospitals.

- There are many occasions for inter-religious dialogue, common initiatives and cultural festivals connected to various religions (e.g. from Ramandan to Orthodox Easter).

The definition of a specific department dedicated to Integration Affairs is significant in explaining the efforts of the city in promoting inter-group relations. In the last two years, the local authority has invested time and energy in improving its knowledge of the various and numerous ethnic and religious communities living in the Turin area. In this way, a special effort is being made to build relations, to empower Muslim associations in their ability to use the media, to interface with local institutions, to present themselves to the majority population (e.g. organising meetings with Muslim associations, encouraging their participation in the city's events and in training activities). According to Ilda Curti, Counsellor for Integration Affairs, it is necessary to see these organisations as partners for "building integration" and mutual acceptance between the Muslim minority and others. The case of "Moschea della pace" represents a good practice in relations between the City and a Muslim organisation.

It is a long process, in which a programme of education addressed to Italians is necessary: they need to be guided in understanding the changes and the challenges of Turin, especially because of its new religious pluralism. Part of this programme is developed by the Intercultural Centre. Among its numerous initiatives, the already mentioned activity *Open Door to Maghrebi Islam* for junior and senior high-school classes is interesting. Through this activity, both Italian and non-Italian students learn what it means to live as a Muslim and compare their daily life with the daily life of a Moroccan Muslim.

There are also some initiatives that have indirect positive effects on relations with Muslims in the city. Italian language courses, training courses about city services and empowerment processes are promoted by the City and addressed to Maghreb women. Giving tools to these women to use city services and to develop relations with other women is recognised as an important strategy against stereotypes concerning Muslim women. A lot of these women's stories are collected in various videos, such as *Candid Islam*, funded by the municipality and shown at the cinema to Turin residents. Apart from these women, there are other highly-qualified Muslim women who work with ethnic associations and have come to Turin to rejoin their families or look for work. A little group of these women is reunified in the Hamal Association, which is involved in the difficult task of promoting activities at a city level in collaboration with the youth association "Giovani Musulmani d'Italia".

5.4 Public communication

There is no specific City strategy for public communication on Islamic issues in the media. It is clear that it is necessary to improve knowledge and comprehension of what it is to be Muslim among Italians, and this is why conferences and debates have been organised by the municipality through its Intercultural Centre.

Considering local media, attention to Muslims refers to special events (the beginning or the end of Ramadan, the presentation of specific projects addressed to them) or to new initiatives promoted by the City and ethnic/religious organisations. As mentioned above, there are personal contacts by the journalists with Muslim organisations and sometimes the writer Jownis Tawfic comments on local and international episodes that deal with Muslims. Up until now, there have been no media exclusively dedicated to Muslims. In all ethnic newspapers, there is news about the Muslim community as well as others.

5.5 Summary and lessons learnt

Relations between the City and Muslim organisations are improving. In the past (especially in the 1990s), knowledge of the diverse and large world of Muslims in the city was not sufficient. This is why an imam, without any recognition by Muslims living in the Turin area, became a representative for institutions. Nowadays, thanks to studies, research, and the emergence of a new generation of Muslim leaders, positive

and collaborative relations are developing between the municipality (especially the Integration Affairs Department) and the more active Muslim organisations. The expulsion of Bouchta, the self-proclaimed representative of Muslims in Turin, has had positive effects both inside Muslim communities and in the City's perception of Muslims. In fact, Bouchta's speeches were considered fascist and he was accused of supporting terrorism. He became famous when, speaking about 9/11, he called Bin Laden's collaborators "Muslim brothers". His speeches were condemned also by the great majority of Muslims living in Turin, and his expulsion opened a new era in relations with the municipality.

6.1 Radicalisation tendencies within the majority population

6.1.1. Radicalisation tendencies: who and what

In the last twenty years, public opinion toward minorities in Turin, immigrants in particular, has undergone a major transformation. Two decades ago, when the research published in *Rumore* (Ires Piemonte 1992) was in progress, a majority of citizens were indifferent, but generally benevolent, toward immigrants. Now, due to the economic crisis, rising unemployment, the rising number of senior citizens and immigrant teenagers and babies, the rising fear of criminality, in a *non*-violent city like Turin, the majority of citizens are, presumably, against minorities and immigrants. It is *not* a mass radicalisation, and right-wing militant groups are not growing in importance. In the various city districts, people live in peace more than they did ten years ago. But something has changed in the press, in the elections, in the streets, in public transportation, in the police, even in the behaviour of some administrators, who in Piedmont, in the Province and Municipality of Turin, are from the centre-left.

There have been indications of the existence of a degree of fear of foreigners, accompanied by a strong identification of the foreigner with his/her place of origin: in the case of Turin, with Moroccans and Romanians. The group that has received the worst press is the Roma, followed by the Albanians (Allasino & Ricucci 2003). Their overall image in the 1990s was extremely negative in the press and in conversations (Melchionda 2003). The number of Albanian deaths, and homicides in which the Albanians are blamed, is beyond measure. The Albanians have taken control of a significant part of prostitution and they clash with Italians and Nigerians (Barbagli 1998; Barbagli & Gatti 2002). The fear and moral panic about violence in the city and its connection with foreigners became a dominant element in the news and the politics of Turin in the 1990s. In the following years, the situation gradually changed: civil protests against immigrants were replaced by a gradual social cohesion, excluding the Roma. The anti-Roma (and recently also anti-Romanian) sentiment continues. As reported by some interviewees, Roma are negatively perceived due to their way of life, their begging and their otherness, and Romanians are often confused with Roma, especially after violent episodes that are exploited by politicians and sensationalised by the media.

Discriminatory attitudes in the native Turin population have been documented in relation to internal migration in the 1960s, from southern and north-eastern regions of Italy (Ires 1992).

As for today, city administrators usually speak of a demand for security. A demand for a "security" policy arose in some disadvantaged neighbourhoods (especially in San Salvario and Porta Palazzo), where the living conditions of both Italian inhabitants and immigrants increased the difficulties of cohabitation. The request for "security" control of immigration entered the political agenda, and local communities pushed for a strong, visible and short-term solution (Maritano, 2000).

During the 1990s, Turin faced a radicalization tendency, especially in the San Salvario district. This neighbourhood, with the main railway station and Valentino Park as its boundaries, is characterised by temples and socio-cultural institutions belonging to various religions (Waldensian, Catholic, Jewish, and

recently Islamic), by a strong integration network, and by immigrants. In the last century, these were farmers from the outskirts of Turin; over the last decades, they have come from Veneto, Friuli and southern Italy; and these days, they are foreigners). The arrival of foreigners and the spur of commercial activities with ethnic connotations (cosmetic shops, tailors, etc.) and interethnic mixed clientele (food shops, clothing, telephone services, etc.) have earned this area the nickname of the "Latin Quarter" (Bocco 1996). Such settlement did not happen unnoticed and quietly: especially towards the end of the 1990s, it was characterised by the mobilisation of older residents – supported and encouraged by the media – who rediscovered an identity and local belonging and requested protection and security against "foreign and criminal new arrivals". Reacting against this new situation, local Italian residents have begun to organise themselves, demanding protection. At the beginning there were informal groups, but step by step they were substituted by local committees. These protests were supported by right-wing parties, especially the Northern League and the National Alliance: in this way, the radicalisation tendency has become politicised and the "San Salvario issue" became a political issue in the City Council. The episodes of San Salvario were followed by similar experiences in the area of Porta Palazzo, where the presence of foreigners was accompanied by a religious aspect: the great majority of immigrants settled in that context were (or seemed to be) Muslims. Local committees were formed by Italian residents, guided by Rosita Fop, an Italian woman from Veneto who lived in the core of Porta Palazzo near the first "mosque" (Paci 2004).

The cases of San Salvario and Porta Palazzo have a lot of similarities. Members involved in the committees were generally Italians coming from the south and the north-east. They were adults, from 40 to 60 years old, of mixed gender, living in these areas since they arrived in Turin. The great majority owned their homes and could be defined as members of the middle class. In San Salvario, there was also a participation of professionals and members of the upper class. The main issues of agitation were shared: demands for security, more control of crime, drug pushers, etc. In order to support their demands, these committees organised meetings, debates, participation in TV and radio programmes. They used to amplify every negative episode dealing with immigrants in the area: a bag-snatching was used to stress the increase in crime and insecurity due to migration, not to mention men standing at street corners. Their voices were heard especially by right-wing political parties. In fact, in these districts the councils at the sub-local level have been led by a centre-right coalition since the late 1990s. But the agitation of that period was mainly supported by the media, which used San Salvario and Porta Palazzo to link the migration issue to crime. Much space in the newspapers was dedicated to the protests and rarely the voices of associations, Catholic or lay, were heard in the media. In this way, activities promoted by Catholic parishes in San Salvario, together with the Jewish Community and the Waldensian Church, were underestimated. By the way, these organisations have worked to build a new climate in both areas, in accordance with the City policy aimed at promoting social cohesion.

Little information is available on these groups. Studies carried out by Belluati (2004) and Maritano (2000) on the San Salvario case are useful in understanding how protests evolved. There are no socio-political studies on Porta Palazzo; we can refer only to city reports carried out by associations and NGOs working in this area (Cicsene 1997; Cicsene 2002).

6.1.2. General approach, policies and measures towards these groups

In the 1990s, the lack of social networks between people sharing the same neighbourhood was dangerous in order to manage social and cultural conflicts and to avoid the issue becoming exclusively one of security. In the urban areas mentioned above, the municipality adopted a holistic approach to improve the quality of life for everybody (e.g. housing, economy, social life, cultural initiatives, renewing public spaces, new functions for buildings), adopting a "community development approach". The main goal was to build a social compact in order to promote a new social cohesion process on the basis of collaboration among the various formal and informal organisations living in the area. These included parishes, ethnic associations, local resident committees, entrepreneurship committees, and youth and elderly groups. In the process, different city

departments were involved: at the beginning, there was the Counsellor for Suburban and Urban Development, then the Counsellor for Urban Crises, and now the responsibility belongs to the Counsellor for Integration Affairs. This policy has been set up in collaboration with various associations and NGOs working on the issues of urban policies and social cohesion. The most important of these organisations were CIE, Cicsene and Amapola, which were involved in local agencies either on behalf of the city or as consultants. A special role was assigned to the association called The Gate.

Dynamic "community plans" – organised in local agencies - have been designed by local authorities and funded by the European Social Fund to promote: 1) a new social compact across generations, old and new residents, the young and the elderly; 2) educational initiatives inside and outside schools, promoted by networks of schools and associations, to deal with the construction of a strong educational community capable of opposing illegal behaviour; and 3) forms of youth participation, aimed at developing a civic attitude and behaviour as well as respect for the law.

If they are to play an active role in the transformation of neighbourhoods, the empowerment of people, inhabitants and local actors is still the main task of the local agencies. They use different methodologies, tools and instruments to support the needs of local communities (Belluati, 2004). Among the initiatives promoted by the City, three are considered highly significant:

Project "The Gate" – Turin

In June 2002, a proposal was presented to the Mayor of Turin that foresaw the transformation of The Gate from an urban pilot project into a local development agency, a tool for public administration to be used within the framework of the most complex development projects in the suburban sector. The project has been updated with a series of continuing innovative initiatives compared to the experience gained in the neighbourhood. By visiting the website, one can examine in depth the areas (economic, social, cultural, built environment and sustainable environment) in which the project intends to operate and the services that it will offer (social support unit and territorial consulting). In 2003, the municipality of Turin subscribed to the proposal of the transformation of The Gate into a local development agency. The Gate project was then integrated within the framework of the most complex development projects in the Suburban Department. This was because its main purposes are the struggle against social exclusion, development of the community, and improvement of the environmental quality of a decaying district.

Porta Palazzo and children: in co-operation with the "Polo Educativo" – Turin

The project "La Porta dei Legàmi" is presented as a fundamental example of the experimentation proposed by the educational system of the city of Turin, which has as its objective the establishment of a "Polo Educativo" in the Porta Palazzo – Borgo Dora area. This is aimed at "...increasing value relating to specific gender, ethnicity, cultural and religious issues that characterise the history and past of every child". The initiative aims at providing access to education services for immigrants, the use of cultural mediation and the training of staff, through the development of a study during the academic year 2002-2003 on shared actions within the area's school system.

"Casa dei conflitti" (House of Conflicts)

A team of intercultural mediators has been trained to interact directly with immigrants, both adults and minors, and Italian citizens to understand emerging trends, anticipate disputes, find a common ground and build mixed initiatives. The main partner of the City in this project is Gruppo Abele, an association with significant experience in the field of human conflict. In three different city areas, Gruppo Abele has opened a "Casa dei conflitti" (House of Conflicts), where experts and volunteers help people to manage diversity and to negotiate neighbourhood conflicts.

6.1.3. Relations between groups

Turin is characterised by a long tradition of associations welcoming and promoting social cohesion. This tradition emerged in reaction to radicalisation against immigrants. A key role was played by Caritas, guided by Fredo Olivero, who set up the first Office for Foreigners in the city with the mayor in 1982. Old and new associations were mobilised to promote a diverse image of immigrants in the city. It is interesting to note the birth of the network against racism, a formal network in which ASGI (a judicial association), representatives of the Jewish community, the Gruppo Abele, and ethnic associations such as Sanabil and Alma Mater were involved. This network based on and supported by a European project, was an important point of reference for promoting actions against anti-immigrant attitudes for two years.

These associations have tried to 1) answer the telephone calls of victims of acts of racism, especially by police or public institutions; 2) inform the organisations to which the alleged victim belongs of the guilty parties; 3) elicit the consensus of the organisation against the act; and 4) obtain a public statement and some form of moral compensation for the victim.

Some administrators, in particular those coming from activities in NGOs or voluntary associations, think that there is a dangerous tendency towards xenophobia, in particular against Roma people and undue fear of petty crime. They support meetings against anti-Roma groups, protect organised refugees, and make public speeches against racism. The danger does not lie in small groups, but in the attitudes of an aging population, which reacts to uncertainty by voting for xenophobic parties or for the right-wing in general.

Activities against xenophobic, Islamophobic and anti-Semitic tendencies are generally organised by networks of organisations, in which both Italian and ethnic associations, trade unions and Christian churches are involved. For example, meetings and initiatives aimed at promoting “Equal rights for all” during the “Year against Racism” were set up by all these associations together. Petitions against the repatriation of unaccompanied minors and actions supporting asylum seekers’ integration are other examples of cooperation in which immigrant organisations are involved. In the past, there was also a specific interethnic organisation called Harambe, which worked on preventing xenophobic tendencies. Alma Mater is another example: as already mentioned, it is an intercultural women’s association which has promoted a project aimed at the insertion in the labour market of highly skilled immigrant women in banks and other skilled services. This project was designed in order to go beyond the racism and discrimination that women generally suffer in looking for a job, especially if they are coloured. Both the City of Turin and the Piedmont Region support the project.

In any case, Turin cannot be considered a city with a high rate of xenophobic, Islamophobic and anti-Semitic tendencies. Episodes of violence occur, generally due to intra-group rivalry (e.g. among Moroccan pushers) and petty crime. The city has a local police force that generally is not involved in these cases, and only a few questionable episodes have been reported. Violence also takes place in private households: there is an increasing rate of domestic violence among immigrant families (Istat 2006). In these cases, however, it is impossible to intervene.

6.2 Radicalisation within the migrant and/or minority population

6.2.1 Radicalisation tendency: who and what

In the history of relations between the city and the migrant population, there have been no relevant radical or extremist tendencies. If we look at specific issues in which immigrants are more involved, e.g. during legal procedures, there have not been significant protests. From the religious point of view, Muslim associations generally keep a low profile in expressing their positions. Two cases are cited by the interviews. The first deals with the case of the imam Bouchta, which we mentioned above. According to Digos, a police special

branch, Bouchta was involved in people recruitment supporting Moroccan extremists, and this is why he was expelled. The second case regards another imam, linked to the Murid community. He was expelled in 2003, accused of raising funds for men who carried out the multiple suicide bombings in Casablanca in 2003.

According to police reports, these cases were not supported by large organisations. No news was reported about other people involved in the two cases: the focus was only on the two imams, who arrived in Italy in the mid-1980s. They became points of reference for the first generation of immigrants: Bouchta guided the Muslim worship held in Porta Palazzo, which was attended especially by people who arrived from the Moroccan countryside. His fame was due both to his radical vision of Islam and to his ability to be perceived as a representative of Muslims in Turin by the media. The other imam, Jilly Fahal, was the leader of the Murid group. During the 1980s, he played an important role in promoting Senegalese integration in the city, becoming a leader in the community. At the end of the 1990s, he moved from Turin to the metropolitan area, where he set up a "mosque", continuing to play a key role in the Senegalese community. Like the Moroccans who followed Bouchta, these mosque-goers were characterised by a low educational profile and worked in the less-qualified sectors of the labour market. The main difference between the two groups was family characteristics: among Moroccans, the great majority were married, with their families reunited. As mentioned above, in neither case was there any violence: both imams used their words and their preaching to develop their points of view. There was debate among Muslim associations due to the use of *zakat* (the Muslim donation) by the two imams. Muslim community money became another instrument used to support their interests and their activities: some people involved in ethnic and religious associations blamed Bouchta in particular for using *zakat* for personal purposes.

Generally speaking, these two cases have not had much influence on the city. The same Muslim organisations in the city distance themselves from these former imams. The effects of the attention caused by these episodes spread out both to the majority and to the Muslim minority population. On one hand, there has been a re-emergence of requests for security, especially in the Porta Palazzo area. On the other, Muslim associations have begun to improve their relations with the city in order to promote their activities and to offer a new Muslim image: moderate, interested in integration and collaboration to increase safety.

There is no research available on these cases.

6.2.2. General approach, policies and measures towards these groups

The City immediately distanced itself from Bouchta's speeches, and initiatives to increase control in the Porta Palazzo area were taken. Two political parties, the Northern League and National Alliance, promoted public debates on the "Muslim danger", on relations between Muslims living in Turin, and international terrorism. There was no specific policy against Bouchta's attitude. He was expelled in 2005, by order of the Minister of the Interior, Nicola Pisanu. It was an application of the anti-terrorism decree, passed in the Italian Parliament to oppose terrorist activities.

6.2.3. Relations between groups

Activities promoted by Bouctha were rejected by all Muslim associations. Manifestations were organised in order to react to and dissociate from his speeches on Bin Laden (see above). But there were also important leaders of the community who were strongly against his stand on the *chador*, *zakat* and Islam, such as Sued Benkhdim, former president of an ethnic association called Diafa al Maghreb. Benkhdim was also against his expulsion, on the grounds that he had objectionable opinions and was an extremist, but was non-violent.

6.3. Communication strategy concerning radicalisation

There is no specific communication strategy regarding how the media report news on radicalisation, xenophobic, Islamophobic and anti-Semitic groups. The City is careful how it uses the media in respect of all

religious and ethnic origins. The municipality supports projects against racism: e.g. on its website, there is information on the initiative "Focal Point", a special service for reporting all racial and discriminatory behaviour.

Focusing on the media, it is generally impossible to speak about a strategy when they report news about radical groups. In the Bouchta case, it is possible to divide the journalists' style into two: on the one hand, some journalists overstressed the role of the imam in the Turin Muslim community, reporting a false image of Muslims in Turin; on the other hand, journalists who are generally involved in migration news have presented the various voices of Muslims.

6.4 Radicalisation: Summary and lessons learnt

Developing projects aimed at improving a bottom-up approach is considered a successful strategy. "The Gate Project" and the Local Agency in San Salvario achieve good results. Their initiatives developed for improving ethnic relations, supporting knowledge of changes (at demographic, economic and cultural levels), and presenting the challenges both of the present and the future are appreciated by the population living in the areas. Networks have been established between ethnic associations and local resident committees to implement integration projects and to combat illegality and crime.

Some efforts need to be addressed to promote trust and to combat stereotypes: racism and discriminatory speeches are widespread among young people, especially those who are enrolled in vocational schools, where there is an increasing presence of students of various ethnic origins. Thus, activities promoted by the city are generally less successful due to the lack of instruction on this issue among teachers and a reduction of funds dedicated to these activities.

Focusing on relations among groups, there is nothing to say due to the fact that the only significant case was that of imam Bouchta.

7. Conclusion: key challenges, lessons and learning for CLIP

The city has recognised the growing importance of the immigrant population in the Turin context since the mid-1980s. Since then, policies have been developed in order to face the socioeconomic transformations resulting from the immigration process. In the process, one of the most important characteristics of the city of Turin emerges: the strong collaboration between institutions and associations, both ethnic and interethnic, cultural and religious, working in the social, education and leisure areas. Turin is facing various some key challenges:

- To continue building social cohesion in a difficult economic period: the rate of unemployment is rising with the number of Italians looking for work;
- To develop intercultural abilities among social servants, teachers, citizens, Italians and foreigners;
- To promote knowledge of the various facets of the immigrant population living in Turin: from the first generation to the second; from Muslims to Orthodox; from cleaners to ethnic entrepreneurs; from people with the right to vote to asylum seekers.

The most important lesson emerging from the Turin experience is the importance of a network of associations and institutions working together to define and implement integration in an intercultural way. As an educator said, "We don't have a specific intercultural policy: we are intercultural in our way of working, in our activities, in our mentality. We organise the celebration of the end of Ramadan as well as Easter Mass.

We discuss the difficulties of growing up as immigrant adolescents as well as discrimination in access to work. The main characteristic of our job is to 'work with', not 'work for'[14]". Judging from results, the approach taken has numerous strong points:

- A bi-dimensional approach: initiatives are numerous and various, focusing not only on the reception time span but on the subsequent integration itself;
- Attention to improving the involvement of immigrant/ethnic associations in general projects, not only addressed to single minorities (e.g. Chinese) or specific groups (e.g. Muslims);
- A view at the sub-local level: focusing attention on the factual implementation of strategies and not only on their concept/promotion, allowing the municipality to better understand immigrant associations' and administrators' difficulties when defining strategies, interventions and policies within the societal area.
- The definition of interdepartmental meetings and projects: a comparison with workers coming from different fields enable the municipality to better understand the potentialities and shortcomings of the strategies implemented in various societal fields.
- The involvement of NGOs, which work with immigrants, allows the municipality to better investigate the needs and problems of foreign people and to evaluate the proposed strategies.

It is important to continue to support programmes concentrating on the following core areas: language acquisition, education, integration into the labour market, social counselling and social integration. Nonetheless, the integration programme is not a one-time project but a continuous, dynamic process open to address other issues as they become important. In this way, projects intended to promote civic education, participation and solidarity among the second generation represent a willingness to think beyond current problems and aim towards the future.

[14] Meeting at Asai Centre.

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9. Interviewed persons

(Dates of field visit: 9-15 March 2009)

Participants in the roundtable organised by the Turin City Council

Marisa Cortese (Turin Integration Department)

Aurora Vitagliano (Foreigners and Nomads Office and city representative for CLIP)

Roberto Saperi (Head of Turin Foreigners and Nomads Office)

Donatella Giunti (Prefecture of Turin)

Anna Ferrero (Intercultural Centre, City of Turin)

Carla Martoglio (Welfare Department, Piedmont Region)

Carla Bonino (Turin Educational Services Department)

Giovanni Magnano (Senior Executive of the Turin Public Housing Department)

Laura Campeotto (Social Services Department and Senior Executive of the Turin Foreigners and Nomads Office)

Representatives of the Moschea della Pace Cultural Centre

Abdeslam Jaouhari (Trade Union CGIL – Senior Executive of the Foreigners Office)

Mohamed Kivarre (Trade Union CISL – Senior Executive of the Foreigners Office)

Piero Gui (Trade Union UIL – Senior Executive of the Foreigners Office)

Participant in round-table with associations and people working in the area of Porta Palazzo

Torni Ferigo (Paralleli)

Stefania Gavin and Luca Cianfriglia (The Gate Project)

Viorica Nechifor and Karim Metref (Piemondo)

Meetings with associations and NGOs

Luca Mastrocola, Anna Corino, and Loredana Mella (Asai)

Moschea della Pace Cultural Centre

Sara Negarville (La Tenda)

Maria Adele Roggero (MEIC)

Meeting with the Evaluation Commission of the call for proposals "Intercultural and training"

Giorgio Inuadi and Luca Scarpitti (Compagnia di San Paolo, private foundation)

Massimo Coda (Fondazione per la Scuola – Compagnia di San Paolo, private foundation)

Silvana Mosca (Regional Educational Office)

Marisa Cortese (city department for Integration Affairs)

Interviewed experts

Enrico Allasino (Researcher, Senior Executive of the Ires Piemonte Regional Observatory on Migration)

Francesco Ciafaloni (Researcher, President of the "Comitato oltre il razzismo")

Ilda Curti (Counsellor for Integration Affairs)

Rocco De Paolis, teacher in an Italian school for foreigners (CTP) in the Porta Palazzo neighbourhood

Fredo Olivero (Founder of the Agency for Foreigners and Roma of Turin in 1982, currently Senior Executive of the Caritas Department for Migration)