WP 3
STUDY ON THE LOCAL IMPLEMENTATION OF INTEGRATION / INTRODUCTION COURSES FOR NEWCOMERS
CASE STUDY TURIN / ITALY

by Emanuela Dalmasso

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About the Project

While integration policies as such are not new, and in some countries date back to the 1980s and beyond, there have been important shifts in the debates on integration and in related re-configurations of integration policymaking in the past decade or so. One of the main recent trends is the linkage of integration policy with admission policy and the related focus on recent immigrants. A second trend is the increasing use of obligatory integration measures and integration conditions in admission policy, and third, integration policymaking is increasingly influenced by European developments, both through vertical (more or less binding regulations, directives etc.) and through horizontal processes (policy learning between states) of policy convergence.

An increasing number of EU Member States have, in fact, adopted integration related measures as part of their admission policy, while the impact of such measures on integration processes of immigrants is far less clear. In addition, Member States’ policies follow different, partly contradictory logics, in integration policy shifts by conceptualising (1) integration as rights based inclusion, (2) as a prerequisite for admission residence rights, with rights interpreted as conditional, and (3) integration as commitment to values and certain cultural traits of the host society.

The objective of PROSINT is to evaluate the impact of admission related integration policies on the integration of newcomers, to analyse the different logics underlying integration policymaking and to investigate the main target groups of compulsory and voluntary integration measures.

The project investigated different aspects of these questions along five distinct workpackages. These analysed (1) the European policy framework on migrant integration (WP1), (2) the different national policy frameworks for the integration of newcomers in the 9 countries covered by the research (WP2), the admission-integration nexus at the local level in studied in 13 localities across the 9 countries covered by the research (WP3), the perception and impacts of mandatory pre-arrival measures in four of the nine countries covered (WP4) and a methodologically oriented study of the impact of admission related integration measures (WP5).

The countries covered by the project were Austria, the Czech Republic, Germany, Italy, the Netherlands, Spain, Sweden, Switzerland and the United Kingdom. Apart from individual cases project reports generally cover the period until end of 2010.

For more information about the project visit http://research.icmpd.org/1429.html.
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I Local Migration-Integration Policy Frames. An Overview

I.1 Migration / Integration

The integration issue at the local level seems to be characterised by a dichotomy. The actors who take part in the implementation of integration/introduction courses agree that, even if the local dimension shares some aspects with the national debate, the local integration policymaking has been framed along more sustainable guidelines. Words as security and emergency constitute a recurrent theme in the national debate, while at the local level all the actors recognise that the policy process has been characterised by a better degree of sustainability, leading to a minor role for the "emergency discourse". The local integration policymaking is perceived by all the actors as a not restrictive and quite effective one. At the local level the policymaking displays a genuine commitment to migrant’s social inclusion and integration, consequently the integration in Turin is framed along a more supportive line. The aims stressed, in the opinion of the actors, cover aspects dealing especially with job opportunities and, recently, integration courses. All of them recognise that at the local level the integration is not only a slogan since the political actors are concretely involved in creating possibilities of integration.

Nevertheless, according to the perception of the actors involved in the implementation of integration projects, two dimensions play a major role in the local public debate: the security issue on one side and the economic crisis on the other one. The public debate has been often dominated by the security issue; this is due to the agenda of some political parties, where a restrictive vision of immigration is a matter for consensus, and also to the role played by the mass media, where the vocabulary emphasizes the more dramatic aspects of immigration. The interviewed partners agree that, recently, the economic dimension is getting more and more relevance because of the economic crisis. The increasing unemployment and the growth of economic vulnerability among the local society have determined a sort of competition between the lower strata of the population. Consequently, the perception that in this moment the host society's difficulties have to be given priority is quite widespread. In cultural-political terms the emphasis is on security, as a result political actors display an attitude of exploitation referring to migrants who are perceived within the public debate as a problem which has to be dealt with a strategy aimed at limiting the possible threat.

This situation has important consequences for local policymaking. In fact, according to the interviewed partners, the leftwing political governing the city pays a particular attention not to be perceived as too involved in the matter of integration. The political executive appears to pursue a strategy aimed at striking a balance between the needs of integration and the perceived negative public opinion feelings about immigration, since in the short term an effective integration policy may turn to be a counterproductive one in term of consensus. Moreover, some stakeholder declared that in the last few months a wait-and-see policy is becoming more and more common due to the change occurred in the political local landscape. The government of the Piedmont region has shifted in 2010 from the centre-left majority elected in 2005 to the North League, which is considered the most conservative Italian political actor when it comes to immigration. Some of the stakeholders already declare that it will be more difficult to implement their integration agenda because of this political change.

According to the actors involved in the integration courses, the main integration necessities of immigrants are not such primary needs as accommodation and job
opportunities. The daily life necessities are obviously very important: immigrants need public policies able to improve their possibilities in the matter of job, accommodation, health care and education. Yet, the necessities underlined in the interviews relate to a different sphere. The basic knowledge of the Italian language is pointed out as a fundamental necessity, not only in order to supply with things necessary for daily life, but especially because of the improving of social interaction that the language provides. Moreover, all of them agree that much more has to be done in order to fill the gap between the demand of language courses and the existing supply. The need of a higher degree of integration between immigrants and Italians is often highlighted as well as the positive role of the school in promoting it.

Immigrants, according to stakeholders’ opinion, suffer from the climate of growing intolerance which goes from suspicion to isolated episodes of hostility. Although immigrants living in Turin usually declare that their situation is better than elsewhere, they do also feel that the local situation is getting worse. The deterioration of immigrants’ condition is certainly due to the economic crisis but also to the role played by media, where the words used about immigration issue are not carefully chosen. The necessity of a more worded public discourse would help in the matter of recognition, which is another immigrants’ necessity in order to bring out their personal resources. On the other side, the local host society integration needs are perceived as heavily influenced by the security issue which determines a vicious downward spiral of an increasing demand of restrictive policies. In particular according to our interviewed partners, however, the local society displays also a proactive attitude towards the immigration issue, especially the medium and higher social strata consider the integration process not only from a problematic point of view but also as a source of new opportunities. On the other hand, lower social classes feel more directly higher degree of concurrence in the labour market for example.

I.2 Local Integration / Introduction Courses

The integration/introduction courses and programmes existing in Turin have been created and developed by two main actors: on one side there are the “Permanent Territorial Centres -Centri Territoriali Permanenti-” (onwards quoted as CTP) which belong to the National Education System and on the other there is a plethora of NGOs. All of them are involved in providing courses of basic Italian, in particular for newcomers, but CTP also provide the opportunity to get a better knowledge of the language. All the actors involved in providing integration/introduction courses highlight the importance of language for immigrants integration into the host society, not only for newly arrived foreign citizens, who do not know the language at all, but also for those longstayers who wish to improve their economic and social condition. The interviewed actors make a difference between who takes language courses in order to be able to understand and speak a basic Italian as a survival strategy, especially in the very first period in Italy, and those who are interested in getting a better knowledge also of the written language, once that the integration trajectory is more advanced. In both cases the language is described as a fundamental tool for integration: expression such as “absolutely essentials” and “basic element” are used while underling the importance of these courses. The necessity to learn an acceptable level of Italian, spoken and written, are particularly stressed for longstayers who, once the primary necessities
supplied, need a better knowledge of Italian in order to fully participate in the social and cultural life of the country and to improve also their economic situation.

Another aspect which has been very often underlined by the actors involved is the positive collateral effect of attending these courses: for many immigrants it represents the only possibility to socialize with native Italians and other immigrants in a friendly context which do not suffer from the aspects that a job relationship, for example, brings about. In the case of CTP, moreover, it represents sometimes the first “friendly” contact with the Italian public administration. The NGOs enjoy a larger target group because some of them do not make a difference between immigrants who are legally present on the Italian territory and those who do not. Obviously CTP, being a part of the Italian administration, could not act in the same way but a kind of compromise is adopted in order to enrol immigrants who have applied for the residence permit but still do not have it.

I.3 Actors and venues

The network of CTP and a number of NGOs, especially linked to the Catholic Church, play the major role in providing integration/introduction courses at a local level. All of them believe that their activity is crucial for the immigrants’ integration, not only from a linguistic point of view but also in order to promote the immigrants’ participation in the social and cultural life of the city. Stakeholders share the opinion that attending these courses provides immigrants a better knowledge of the public services, a better understanding of the Italian way of life and a clearer comprehension of rights and duties. The opinion that flexibility is the main characteristic of their activity is also shared: since immigrants usually do not enjoy stable life conditions courses must be organised in order to make the most of irregular immigrants’ attending.

The opinion that local policy makers recognise their role in increasing the level of integration is shared by almost all the actors, although they also think that this recognition is not translated in an adequate financial support on the part of local policymakers. Nevertheless the lack of financial assistance for integration/introduction courses is interpreted as a consequence of the minor role that investment in education and training has always enjoyed in Italy. The integration/introduction courses are the result of a spontaneous engagement and not of a structured action framed by an effective policymaking, consequently the lack of coordination between the actors is noticed by many stakeholders. Local policymaking in the matter of immigration is still more evident when it comes to promote specific treatment for immigrant group such as refugees or trafficked women. In this particular case the role of local policymakers is viewed as effective also in promoting a deeper collaboration between all the actors involved. The perceived integration necessities are conceptualised by the main distinction between newcomers and longstayers, with the exception of refugees and women victims of slave traffic there are not other target groups -such as third country nationals, EU citizens or seasonal workers- for whom specific programmes exist.

I.4 Contextual and process factors

The actors involved in the integration/introduction courses share the opinion that since a national integration policy is missing, at the local level these initiatives are the result
of the local authorities’ engagement due to a favourable background. The local context enjoys a more sustainable policy in the matter of integration thanks to many factors: the role played by the voluntary organizations, the initiative of CTP to provide an institutionalised educational opportunity for immigrants and a particular historical tradition of integration. The Piedmont Region, and Turin in particular, have witnessed already an important migration wave when people from the south of Italy were moving to the north, this historical background provides the local administration with an example of integration which could be useful in framing new integration policies. The lack of a national strategy has determined a contradictory policymaking at the local level where public authorities can frame the integration policy along different guidelines. The differences existing within the public authorities’ political agenda, which do not belong to the same political party or do not share the same opinion in the matter of integration, determine sometimes contradictory policies.

The lack of a complete national legal framework in the matter of integration / introduction courses has been recently filled by a decree, the 4th June 2010 Decree: “guidelines for taking the exam of knowledge of the Italian language”, which will come into effect in December 2010. According to this legislative Act, the issue of the CE long-term residence permit is subordinated to the certification on the part of the immigrant of his/her knowledge of the Italian language. The decree finally indicates the institutions which are entitled to issue the certificates of knowledge of the Italian language, which has to be at least equal to the A2 common European framework of reference for languages.
II The local Integration Landscape. A mapping of Integration / Introduction Courses

II.1 Integration courses at the local level

The landscape of integration courses offered in the city of Turin is characterised by two categories of courses, depending on the actor promoting the initiative. On one side, we find the CTP courses, which offer an institutionalised framework and consequently the possibility to obtain a certificate which is legally recognised. On the other side, there is a plethora of voluntary organizations, where the Catholic Church plays a prominent role, which offer courses organised especially in order to offer a basic Italian for newcomers who need to learn the language as soon as possible in order to cope with their daily life necessities. The distinction between these two actors is not always clearly drawn and it is possible that newcomers attend CTP courses but usually they are more often enrol in NGOs courses. Once the knowledge of the language improves the voluntary organizations strongly advise immigrants to enrol in a CTP in order to get a certificate. The main distinction between CTP and voluntary organization courses’ is that some of the NGOs do not ask for the permit of stay while, in order to be enrolled in a CTP course, immigrants have at least to provide the official receipt showing that they have applied for the residence permit. A common characteristic of all these courses is that they do not have a binding character and allow for a high degree of flexibility in attending. It is acknowledged that, giving the high demanding works into which immigrants are employed, attendance cannot but be quite irregular due to their unstable living condition.

II.1.1 How the courses were set up, when, with which goals and who took the initiative?

The CTP belong to the National Education System and have been traditionally involved in the education of adults, especially workers who thanks to the 150 hours programme- could increase their level of education during their working hours as a right linked to their workers status. In the late 90s, while the number of Italian adults enrolled in CTP was decreasing, the immigrant’s population was constantly growing posing serious problems in terms of integration. In Turin, the teachers of the CTP, supported by the Unions, decided to formally request the permission from the Minister of Education in order to reserve a CTP only for immigrants. In 1997 was set up the first structure, the CTP Parini, where the education of immigrants was the priority. At the same time in almost all of the existing CTP started a process of requalification which was promoted by the teachers themselves despite the absence of any ministerial programme. The teachers working in CTP set up their activity on the bases of the growing requests coming from immigrants in the matter of knowledge of the Italian language. The stakeholders agree that at the beginning it was a process of learning by experience, since they were not prepared to teach Italian to foreign people who sometimes were not even familiar with the Latin alphabet. While at the beginning the immigrants enrolled in the courses which provide the primary school certificate, a certificate which does not exist anymore, where they were taught the basic Italian. Nowadays immigrants represent the majority within the secondary school second level
courses which, once the final exam passed, give them a certificate which is legally recognised in Italy.

**NGOs voluntary courses** play a very important role in the matter of integration and the Catholic Church is by far the most prominent actor in this field. The NGOs courses started to flourish in the 90s in response to a growing demand of Italian courses on the part of immigrants. During the 90s civil society organizations were dealing with the growing linguistic necessity in a climate of “emergency” and later on they structured their teaching activity in order to provide a better service. Most of the volunteers are teachers and NGOs also organise courses in order to improve teaching skills of volunteers which do not have a previous teaching experience. The initiative was taken by various actors: in the case of Catholic associations, it was the result of a widespread caring attitude towards the most disadvantaged strata of the population. In other cases, language courses were offered by associations which were already involved in the welcoming process of immigrants and, by this time, were forced to make a virtue of necessity since the demand for Italian courses had become as important as the requests of accommodation and job opportunities.

II.1.2 **What are the learning aims of the courses considered?**

The **CTP courses** learning aims deal with the achievement of the secondary school first level certificate\(^1\). Usually it takes one year course in order to get this certificate but in the case of immigrants, depending on their previous schooling, it may take more time: if an immigrant has got a good level of education and speaks already another language few hours more of language course may be sufficient, otherwise it may take two years or even more depending on the immigrant’s attendance. From an official point of view, CTP do not offer basic Italian language courses but in practice, since most immigrants do not know the language, they do. What happens is that immigrants are taught Italian in order to be able to follow the normal secondary school courses, but the interviewed partners agree that is quite common for an immigrant to leave the courses, as soon as he/she can speak and understand Italian enough to get a job, and to come back later in order to get the certificate. CTP workers also point out that they link the learning of Italian language to a wider cultural learning: they provide information about the welfare state, the organisation of the public administration, the new legislative acts dealing with the immigration issue and so on. Since 2008 this informal work which has been provided has become part of citizenship education. Moreover, the CTP, in collaboration with other associations and thanks to the financial support of a private bank foundation, has organised within their courses a citizenship education. In the last two years they have been involved in a project dealing with citizenship for immigrants which has had as a concrete result a book which has been tested during the language courses in the past months.

The learning aim of the NGO-courses is to develop the skills for speaking and understanding the Italian language as soon as possible. Immigrants, since most of them are newcomers, need the language as a survival tool in order to find a job and start their integration trajectory. NGOs which are involved in specific projects of integration, as Alma Mater with the Hopeland Project which deals with the integration of women

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\(^1\) The Italian educational system is divided into primary school, secondary school first level and secondary school second level. Respectively covering the age between: 6-10; 11-13; 14-18.
enjoying a refugee status or human protection status, deserve a part of their activities in order to help women’s previous abilities to surface. Previous immigrant’s knowledge or capabilities are often marginalised in the first period since the language has to be given priority but once a communicative exchange has become possible, NGOs deal also with others aspects of integration. Vides Laurita, for example, every Monday organises a “citizenship course” in the context of the language courses where immigrants can learn Italian while studying the Italian Constitution in comparison to the constitutions of immigrants’ countries.

II.1.3 Funding sources (since the beginning of the initiative until today):

The financial support of the Minister of Education is the main source of funding, being a part of the national education system the CTP teachers’ remuneration, which is the most expensive budget entry, is entirely covered by national government funds. Interviewed partner agree that the national government fund covers at least 90% of the costs. Local government play a minor role except for specific educative programmes as for example POLIS, which is a secondary school second level course financed for one-third by the regional government, or some municipal funds for specific groups as under age immigrants. Private banks foundations such as the CRT Foundation and the Compagnia di San Paolo also support CTP activities on the basis of projects’ grants, which is often achieved thanks to the collaboration between CTP and other associations.

The teaching activities of NGOs courses are made on a voluntary basis; therefore the budget is spent for items like stationery, books, dictionaries and so on, which are covered thanks to local government and private foundation funds. The most quoted private foundation is the Compagnia di San Paolo, followed by CRT Foundation. The local government usually finances through annual contributions while the private foundations allocate funds on the basis of single projects’ grants.

II.1.4 The network of actors involved in the implementation of the courses

With a particular attention to the institution / organisation/s in charge of delivering the service (national / regional / local level institutions, NGOs, immigrants organisations etc.):

The network of actors involved in the implementation of the courses in the city of Turin is composed by CTP and NGOs, which deal in a direct way with immigrants, and local authorities and private foundations, which do not only fund their activities but are also involved into specific projects. The interviewed partners complain that there is a lack of effective coordination between all the actors working on this issue, but in the last years new initiatives have been set up in order to improve coordination among courses’ providers. The CTP, for example, are nowadays under a regional coordination which represent them whenever they need to deal with local and national authorities in order to apply for funds, human resources and other forms of support. CTP and NGOs have set up a quite effective informal network since, for example, CTP help NGOs to improve their teaching skills, sharing with them their abilities and new teaching resources, while NGOs, as soon as immigrants reach a minimum level of knowledge, send them to CTP courses. This practice is very important because the secondary school certificate opens the opportunity to have access to better jobs. The secondary school certificate is
compulsory in order to enrol in some professional courses such as the OSS course (social sanitary operator) is by far the most required, and delivers an official professional qualification. CTP and NGOs collaborate with public authorities on specific programmes, as for example in the matter of refugees, trafficked women or under age immigrants, in these cases public authorities involvement is not limited to the providing of funding but display a proactive attitude. Interviewed partners agree that the integration policy council of the municipality of Turin is playing a major role in framing a better performing integration-makers network. Nevertheless the need for a more institutionalised coordination between all the actors involved in the immigration issue is widespread.

II.1.5 Target groups and / or groups explicitly exempted

What immigrant groups are targeted (family migrants, labour migrants, seasonal workers, co-ethnics nationals)?

**CTP** enrol all kind of immigrants, also EU nationals, except for those who do not have a residence permit or at least the official receipt that witness they have applied for it and the immigrants who are younger than 16 years old. Moreover CTP stakeholders point out that the presence of native Italians in their courses, even if their number is decreasing, brings about the possibility of a deeper integration. The Parini CTP is the only one where co-ethnic national classes are organized. Since classes are reserved to immigrants only, it has enough immigrants to form homogeneous classes from the national origin point of view. In other CTP special classes are organized for the Chinese community because of their major linguistic difficulty, and also because they are held during Chinese restaurants closing time (from 3 pm to 5 pm) for example.

**NGOs** do not have any kind of groups explicitly exempted, usually they do not even ask for the residence permit in order to enrol immigrants in their courses. An important exception is represented by the Pastorale Migranti, a Catholic NGO which plays a major role in the integration process at the local level, since they do not enrol immigrants who are illegally present over the Italian territory. Many associations work only with women and some of them, as Dar al Hikma for example, reserve their morning classes to women. The necessity to reserve for women specific courses is due to many factors, some of them are linked to practical reasons, other are related to cultural issues. A large part of women enjoy a family permit and in the morning it is easier for mothers to attend courses because their children are also taking classes. The municipality of Turin, for example, has promoted the “scuola delle mamme” (mother’s school) in primary and secondary (first level) schools where foreign students are the majority in order to facilitate the communication between teachers and migrant mothers, especially those belonging to the Muslim community. From 2000 till 2005, these courses have been provided mainly by the schools, thanks also to the financial support of the Compagnia di San Paolo, but, later on many NGOs have begun to offer this kind of courses. According to an interview partner from the municipality of Turin, the commitment of the municipality, via the education national system, has played a major role in order to gain the husband’s reliance who, in some cases, was tantamount to the women’s attendance.
II.1.6 Distribution of information on the courses

How are they informed about the courses? How are they informed about rights and duties attributed to the courses? Who is de facto attending the local integration programmes?

The teachers of CTP used to advertise their activity through leaflets but since the immigrants started to attend their courses they do not need to do it anymore. Interviewed partners agreed that immigrants are very aware of the learning possibilities offered by CTP thanks to the fact that immigrants who have attended the courses spread the word among their community. During the registration process immigrants are informed about the attendance rules of the courses and have to undergo a test or have a simple talk with teachers in order to determine their level of language knowledge. Registration is open in September and January, but thanks to the high turnover during the courses, admissions are possible almost at any time. The majority of students are young people between 25 and 35 years old and precarious workers or people in search for a job. The number of enrolled women has increased constantly in the last years and it has almost reached the number of men. The countries of origin are: Morocco, Romania and Peru; other Africans and Latin-Americans are also present in great numbers; the Chinese community is increasing. In the Piedmont region the number of immigrants enrolled each year in CTP courses is around 25,000-30,000, 17,000 only in the Province of Turin.

NGOs language courses do not need any kind of advertising; informal immigrants’ networks spread the word about their activity. When enrolling, immigrants are informed about the attendance rules of the courses and pass a test or have a simple talk with teachers in order to determine their level of language knowledge. Some NGOs, as Pastorale Migranti, have decided to only have a talk in order to avoid the anxiety that a test may generate. Registration is open at any time, since the flexibility is one of the most highlighted characteristic of these courses. Interviewed partners point out that since attendance is composed mostly of newcomers; courses are structured along immigrants’ necessities. The majority of students are young and adult people between 20 and 50 years old and most of them are in search for a job. The number of enrolled women has increased constantly in the last years but men are still the large majority. The countries of origin are: Morocco, Romania and Peru; other Africans and Latin-Americans are also present in great numbers.

II.1.7 Target groups and / or groups explicitly exempted

What categories are formally exempted (e.g. illiterate, national groups, duration of stay)?

CTP courses: None.

NGOs courses: None.

II.1.8 Content (topic: language and/or civic education, guidelines and principles, vocational training)

CTP courses: None.

NGOs courses: None.
II.1.9 **Obligations (voluntary / compulsory)**

Incl. sanctions eventually attributed to them (negative sanction vs. positive incentives), or kind of incentives provided for increasing voluntary participation.

*What happens if a migrant does not attend/pass the course (sanctions)? What happens if a migrant passes the course in terms of benefits (incentives)? What kind of incentives is provided for increasing voluntary participation (where applicable)?*

The participation in **CTP courses** is voluntary and the attendance depends on various elements. Normally, immigrants must attend at least 70% of the course in order to get the final attendance certificate, but in the case of an immigrant who has already a good level of education the attendance may be reduced with acknowledgement of the established abilities. CTP are keen to accept a reduced attendance of immigrants because of the lack of teachers that every CTP suffers, in fact while the number of immigrants has constantly increased the number of teachers is almost the same as it was ten years ago. Immigrants are not sanctioned if they decide to leave the course, on the contrary CTP—in the case of those who decide to enrol again—acknowledges the hours they had previously attended.

The participation in **NGOs courses** is voluntary and the turnover is very high since the majority of the immigrants are newcomers. All the interviewed partners agree that they cannot fix a minimum of attendance since usually the aim of the courses is to offer a basic Italian to immigrants that must find a job as soon as possible. Daily life necessities have to be given priority and courses are organised along immigrants’ necessities.

II.1.10 **Duration (total hours, immediate / long term)**

The **CTP courses** follow the national school schedule, from September to June, but it is impossible to fix the amount of course-hours, which is in the range of 260 to 80 hours, because it depends on the different courses.

The main characteristic of **NGOs courses** is flexibility. A standard course is made of 60-70 hours but since the attendance is quite irregular every course is different. The NGOs courses do not all follow the national school schedule, some of them do but others offer courses which last few months.

II.1.11 **Costs (figures, self-payment, sponsorship)**

The **CTP language courses** and the secondary school certificate course are free, English courses cost 30-40 euros, computer courses between 15 and 40 Euros depending on the hours attended and POLIS courses between 50 and 100 Euros depending on the financial fund given by the regional government.

The **NGOs courses** are free, some NGOs fix a registration fee of 10-15 Euros or ask immigrants to contribute to buy the teaching book, but this cost is around 2-4 Euros.
II.1.12 Certificates delivered (legal value, level of appreciation / recognition in the labour market etc.)

**CTP** secondary school courses, once the exam passed, deliver a certificate which has a legal value and it is compulsory when immigrants wish to enrol in other professional courses. According to the director of CTP network, CTP can deliver certificates which are legally recognised but some of the teachers working in CTPs are not aware of this possibility since some of them believe that the secondary school certificate is the only one that enjoys a legal value. Interviewed partners believe that the level of appreciation is quite high since in order to find a job, for example, a certificate delivered by an official institution as CTP may increase the possibilities of success.

**NGOs** do not deliver certificates which enjoy a legal value and the stakeholders agree that the level of appreciation is not high since immigrants' goal is to learn basic Italian in order to be able to understand and communicate. Some NGOs, as Pastorale Migranti or ASAI, do not give a certificate unless the immigrant requires it because they do not want to increase the confusion about certificates with legal value and certificates of attendance.

II.1.13 Evaluation

*How is attendance monitored? How are learning outcomes evaluated?*

The attendance in **CTP courses** is monitored thanks to a class register, some CTP also use a database in order to count the attendance in an easier way, especially in the case of an immigrant who has previously attended a course in order to choose the right course level. Learning outcomes are evaluated in an informal way except for the secondary school certificate for which immigrants have to pass an official exam.

The attendance in **NGOs courses** is monitored thanks to a class register and learning results are evaluated in an informal way also because of the high level of turnover.
The interview partners' point of view on the impact of integration/introduction courses offered at a local level on the migrants integration trajectories seems to be characterised by a complete agreement. All of them stress the importance of these courses in order to facilitate the migrants’ integration within the local context. Both from the employment situation point of view and the social integration one, stakeholders believe that immigrants who enrol in integration/introduction courses benefit from this experience. A point that has been often underlined is that the integration/introduction courses are very useful not only in order to teach migrants the Italian language, but more in terms of providing the tools for a better understanding of the local context. According to our interview partners, what many immigrants are really looking for, besides the knowledge of the Italian language, is a trustable source of information about the rules and rights they are supposed to follow and benefit from. Especially in the case of immigrants coming from poor areas and with a very little previous schooling or even illiterate it is very important to offer also a better understanding of a modern way of life.

The effects or results which voluntary integration courses are supposed to produce have never been evaluated on a global scale by the actors directly involved in the courses, but the perceived impact of these courses is a very positive one. According to our interview partners if this kind of courses had never existed the various problems encountered would have been worse. The simple fact that there are hundreds of people who are able to communicate contributes to a better degree of integration. The integration/introduction courses, moreover, are attended by different groups: family migrants, labour migrants, unemployed, etc. A very positive trend is that immigrants enrol their children even if they had not yet arrived in Italy, so that, for example, the day after their arrival the children would be able to go to school. The knowledge of the Italian language is considered very important in order to improve the immigrants’ economic situation but also as an important tool for a better social relationship with the host community. Many of our interview partners, for example, have strongly highlighted that an immigrant who can understand and speak a good level of Italian is much more aware of his/her duties and rights. The simple fact of being able to use a polite expression while asking someone to move in order to get off from the bus or the capacity to intervene in a conversation where people are saying that immigrants do not pay taxes in order to say that it is not true, can in the long term period make a difference.

According to our interview partners the impact of the integration/introduction courses offered at a local level on the host society overall level of social cohesion is appreciable but not yet a satisfactory one. Many stakeholders underline the necessity to involve also Italians in a wider project of integration. CTPs courses, for example, enrol in the secondary school courses, both first and second level, Italians and immigrants and, according to CTPs teachers, this is really the best way in order to make the host community aware that the assessment of immigrants is most of the time due to stereotypes. Referring to the reduction of social conflict the opinions are nuanced: on one side stakeholders believe that integration/introduction courses are useful, but on the other side they do think that the host community displays a lack of knowledge about the migration process. This lack of knowledge combined with deterioration of the
economic situation of the lower strata of the host community, are pointed out as the main sources of social conflict.

Another point that has been very often underlined is that some immigrants come from countries where there is a mono-cultural society which do not allow the existence of different ways of life. This kind of immigrants often discover the richness of confrontation of different points of view during these courses for the very first time. Moreover, many interview partners have highlighted the fact that for Muslim women the possibility to enrol in a school often is lived as a real challenge. Once they can enrol, nevertheless, they display a very pro-active attitude and a great desire to learn. The will of different kind of immigrants to enrol in integration/introduction courses is also a powerful symbol of their will to integrate the host society. Even if the effect of such kind of courses cannot be appreciated in the short time period, all our interview partners agree that they are fundamental and in the medium/long period they will bring about very positive effects. Stakeholders share the opinion that the integration policy deserves much more attention from the public authorities, especially national ones, but at the same time they consider that in terms of costs, time management and quality standards the integration/introduction courses reach the desired integration aims.

IV Conclusions

Turin is considered a city where immigrants enjoy a better climate than in most other cities in Italy. The debate about immigration on the national level has obviously an impact on the local context, but thanks to the commitment of different actors, the integration issue is dealt with along sustainable guidelines. CTPs, NGOs and the local government have provided immigrants with the possibility to enrol in different kinds of integration/introduction courses which are fundamental in order to improve their living condition not only from an economic point of view. CTPs, in particular, represent a point of reference for immigrants and all the actors involved in the integration process. CTP, actually, being a part of the national educative system can guarantee the invariability of the courses provided, while NGOs often change their activity CTP cannot. This feature brings about two other positive effects: immigrants know that CTP courses will continue to exist in the future and that the quality of the teaching can only improve as years go by.

In 2008 the municipality of Turin has started an evaluation process of the integration/introduction courses provided by NGOs: the number of immigrant reached was approximately 4,000, but the majority of them were basic Italian courses and did not provide a certification. Moreover, most of these courses were not entitled to issue any kind of certificates of knowledge of the Italian language. In order to cope with this problem the municipality of Turin nowadays is keener to fund courses provided by various “agenize formative” (private organisations that thanks to public funds offer language/integration courses for immigrants, onwards quoted as AFs). According to an employee of the municipality it is better to fund AFs instead of NGOs because their courses are structured in a more professional way. For example, teachers are not volunteers but professionals. Another positive aspect linked to AFs courses is that they provide the possibility to get a certificate. An evaluation process of the AFs courses has also been set up but the final results are not available yet. Nevertheless, according to
our interview partner, the first aspects that have been underlined during this evaluation process are that immigrants are very satisfied with the quality of these courses, but they believe that the quantity must be increased as 60 hours of attendance are considered not enough.

The municipality has also been involved in a project which was dealing with integration/introduction courses for immigrant between the ages of 18 and 25. This age group was chosen after it was discovered that no specific courses existed for it in Turin. The discovery was made by the “Piano regolatore sociale” (the social city-plan) which is a board composed of all the municipality sectors involved in the integration process. The knowledge of the Italian language has been identify as the absolute priority and the younger strata of immigrant’s population as the target, but once the course organised and well advertised the municipality had to cope with the absence of potential users. In order to reach the minimum quota of students, the municipality had to ask the social services to involve in this course also refugees and to ask one NGO, which works in the immigrants’ integration in the second level secondary school to promote this course within the population it is involved with. A credible explanation of this seeming contradiction, according to another municipal employee, is that the younger strata of the immigrant population do not need the typical school teaching, with a teacher facing his / her students, but is more keen to use e-systems.

According to our interview partners belonging to CTPs and NGOs, the main characteristic of their activity is flexibility: since the immigrants’ living conditions are very unstable and the turnover is really high they provide a service which tries to cope with this reality. On the other side the necessity to make the best of the limited financial resources pushes the municipality to reserve the funds for a more structured learning process, such as the one offered by AFs. This process has as a condition that a person enrolled must guarantee a constant attendance. This in a climate of growing economic precariousness. Therefore we are in front of a major contradiction: The trend is to increase the supply of courses that can give the possibility to achieve a certificate for a strata of the population that is already unable to insure a constant attendance. Another point is that, many stakeholders underline the importance of targeting women because they are the ones who bring up children. Finally, many interviewees have mentioned that some immigrants are more difficult to integrate than others because of their culture and or religion. The population they have in mind are the Muslims invariably referred to as “Arabs” ignoring the fact the people they call this way are not representative of the Arabs, being mostly peasants from very poor areas of central Morocco.