Research reports

Country report – Italy

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1) Introduction

Attitudes to Migrants, Communication and Local Leadership (AMICALL) is an eighteen-month transnational project funded by the European Union's Fund for the Integration of Third Country Nationals. Led by a partnership of six European research institutions, with the Council of Europe as an associate partner, the project seeks to provide a platform for the sharing of good practice and the development of new strategies for the promotion of positive attitudes towards migrants and towards migrant integration at the local and regional level. This report relates to the Italian research element of the AMICALL project.

Italy has become a country of immigration since the second half of the1970s.
The first arrivals mainly came from some North African countries (Morocco and Tunisia), former Italian colonies (Eritrea) and other countries characterized by a substantial presence of catholic missions (Cape Verde and the Philippines). During the 80s arrivals from China, Peru, Senegal, and Nigeria also became significant, and immigration finally developed into a media driven issue and fell into the public domain. At the beginning of the 90s, after the collapse of the communist regimes, the first migrants from eastern Europe came to Italy: mainly from ex-Yugoslavia and Albania and, afterwards, from Romania, Ukraine and Moldova. In the new millennium, immigrants from eastern Europe have become the largest group of immigrants in Italy, with a strong increase occurred in the period immediately after 2007, when Bulgaria and Romania joined the European Union. For many years the Moroccan community has been the first immigrant community in Italy. Nowadays it is the third (after Romanians and Albanians).

As at 1st January 2010, foreign residents represent 7% of the total residents in Italy; about half of them comes from eastern Europe (EU and extra EU); more than 60% of foreigners live in the north of the country; only 13% in the south Regions. Minors are 22% of foreign residents, while second generations (to be intended as individuals born in Italy from foreign citizens) represent 13.5% of foreign residents.

When talking about the three phases of the history of immigration policies in Italy we touch on the troublesome issue of the relationships between central State, Regions and local level (Municipalities) in the management and implementation of immigrant policies. The first phase lasted until 1998. It saw the birth of immigrant policies at local level with the aim of controlling the emergence, and the collaboration of the social private sector with Municipalities, especially in the north of Italy. Things changed at last in 1998 when the Single Act on Immigration (*Testo Unico sull'Immigrazione*) clearly outlined a two-level system: Regions are given the task to identify the aims, to program and coordinate interventions, while Municipalities are entrusted with the draft of projects, in collaboration with local associations, and the ensuing implementation of policies. Afterwards, Law No. 328/2000 introduced an additional level of mediation: Provinces, which have the task of coordinating plans for local social policies (*Piani Territoriali*) established by the 'leading' Municipalities. The Financial Law 2003 (Law No. 289/2002) removed the necessity for Regions to allocate part of the National Fund for Social Policies to immigrant policies. This means that the choice whether allocating part of the funds for immigration policies or not is now autonomously made by each Region. This important form of autonomy has gone hand in hand with an even more important reduction of the national resources intended for the Fund for Social Policies. Nevertheless, despite the redefinition of the institutional and financial framework, Regions have kept a three-year plan of interventions for immigrants, as it was originally determined by the 1998 Single Act. Therefore, we can outline a pyramid-like model on the top of which we identify the National Fund and the Regions committed in choosing how much to allocate for immigrant policies. Below are the Provinces, whose role is to develop and coordinate plans with Municipalities, which, in turns, cooperate with voluntary organisations, the no-profit sector, and trade unions. Furthermore, it is worth considering that also in the field of policies in support of specific categories

of migrants (victims of human trafficking, unaccompanied minors, etc.) a central role has been given to LRAs since the 1998 Single Act (especially to Municipalities). Also, Law No. 198/2002 established the Protection System for Asylum Seekers (*Sistema di Protezione per Richiedenti Asilo* - SPRAR), assigning to local entities also specific competences on the reception of refugees and asylum seekers. The operational unit of SPRAR is managed under the coordination of the National Association of the Italian Municipalities (*Associazione Nazionale dei Comuni Italiani* - ANCI). As a result, Municipalities become core actors in outlining projects, supplying services, but also in coordinating interventions at national level.

The following sections will focus on the key questions of the research study (LRA activity, leadership and planning processes, outcomes, factors influencing outcomes, learning). This report is based on face to face and telephone interviews, case studies and a review of existing documentation on this field (see the methodological note for more details).

2) LRA activity

Local and regional authorities play a potentially important role in integration policies and the municipalities are in a position to manage the valuable capital distributed throughout urban areas. The central role played by the "third sector" in Italy, Catholic-oriented as well as secular, is notable; they undertook important initiatives to promote immigration over a long phase in which there was little policy action on the issue. After a stage of mere assistance and with the strengthening of the regulatory framework after 1998 (the date of adoption of the Consolidated Act on Immigration – *Testo Unico sull'Immigrazione*), several local authorities began to think about the management of immigration, trying to start a dialogue with the actors already in the field. Although a kind of delegation to the world of associations is in fact still the norm in many cases, some agencies have distinguished themselves over time for their efforts, both locally, as well as in the exchange of experiences on a national and international scale. Two cases are those of the Municipality of Turin and the Municipality of Reggio Emilia. Many Italian cities have moved into an area already partially marked by a plethora of small day-by-day interventions; this is why one of their major tasks was and is to coordinate and direct them within a unified framework. The effectiveness of this coordination work seems to be a key yardstick. Long-term planning requires communication as consistent and stable as possible over time, or at least an idea of how to communicate in this field. Such planning is behind the messages launched regarding individual initiatives and which provides direction.

There are clearly different ways of interpreting the role of the local authority in this field. One of the factors that make a difference is related to feeling or not feeling invested with a role which is at odds with troublesome issues attributable to the national context. Among the factors most cited by some of the administrators we interviewed are the following:

- The tendency of the media and a political party (in particular the Northern League) to represent migrants in negative terms, promptly bringing up the discourse on security;

- The under-representation of foreign citizens in institutions and media;

- The regulatory and bureaucratic framework, cautioned by some as being overly complex and, on some specific issues, "out of step with the times." In this sense, an amendment to the Law on Citizenship is seen

as a priority by some local administrators.

These "local challenges to the broad national context" have to be seen as they were part of the motivations for a number of communicative actions promoted by Italian LRAs. For example, the Municipality of Reggio Emilia is well known for the efforts made on the issue of access to nationality, using communication in order to inform young migrants (and the so-called second generation of migrants) about their political rights and promoting a national communication campaign for the promotion of a new law regarding citizenship. Since 2010, the Municipality of Reggio Emilia has sent a letter to new 18-year-olds to remind them of the opportunity to obtain Italian citizenship. Indeed, the right to citizenship in Italy requires voluntary compliance, contrary to what happens in other European countries. To date, the current legislation (Law 91 of February 5, 1992) does not automatically grant citizenship to those who were born and grew up in Italy with migrant parents, unless the parents have themselves become citizens before their child turns 18. Another example is the Turin Civil Service for young immigrants. This action arises as an important communication message that the municipal authorities launched in 2007 against what was perceived as discrimination. Art. 3 of Legislative Decree no. 77/02 in fact makes possession of Italian citizenship a requirement for access to the call to national civil service. Other actions that are often motivated with a necessity to challenge a negative national context are those directed to the local media environment. These actions usually try to promote a different representation of migrants in the press, radio and television (local) channels.

The following interview extract notes this role of contrast emphasizing the importance of the symbolic and communication aspects of policy-making at the local level.

> Upstream from the many actions there is a thought, which is the need to move a phenomenon out of its invisibility, and it is supposed to be better known, less of a worry; the more it is institutionalised, the more it becomes a habit and normalised. In addition, the positive practices that we promote enter into the imagination to contrast the negative image supported by all other information channels. [...] We try to load everything we do symbolically; even before seeing the "how" we think of the symbol, because we are very aware of the fact that the image is what we need to tackle. And it is not an appeal to "let's all get along"; because that does not work.[1]

Besides these and other similar actions, the research work suggests that in many cases Italian local authorities address attitudes to migrants as part of a broader strategy on community cohesion, especially when the actions promoted are directed at the neighbourhood level, as it happens for the urban regeneration policies. In many cases actions addressing attitudes to migrants are a synonymous for intercultural and linguistic education.

From the interviews and technical workshops conducted during the research, the issue of the intense polarization of public discourse on immigration repeatedly emerged. Besides, there is a strong tension in this policy area between the practices and the discourse, that is, between the policies and their communication. This tension is felt strongly at the local level, the level where management of the phenomenon is unavoidable and in some cases urgent, but where communication is inevitably linked to the ideological orientation of the side to which it belongs. This tension is felt in different ways according to

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[1] Interview with Marisa Cortese, member of the political staff of the Department for Coordination of Integration Policies of the City of Turin.

political orientation. In a nutshell, we can say, on the basis of the interviews conducted, that there are two communication taboos: on the right, there is the taboo of integration as a phenomenon which requires a two-way commitment to both immigrants and natives; on the left there has long existed a communication taboo about conflict between natives and immigrants. These communication taboos are still relevant and contribute to shape the cultural context in which both political and institutional communication are delivered, and they affect most of the actions (not) promoted by LRAs which address the attitudes towards migrants.

Following the main research findings, we are witnessing a sort of crisis in the interventions produced by direct communication of messages from LRAs (through the production of radio and television commercials, posters, leaflets, etc.) intended as "stand-alone activities" and in particular the campaigns which aim to explicitly address the issue of integration between natives and immigrants. In this respect it is useful to look at the two communication campaigns of the Municipality of Reggio Emilia: one that covers the Station Area ("I Love Reggio, even the Station Area") and one that is currently being developed for the European SPARDA project (Shaping perceptions and attitudes to realise the diversity advantage)[2]. The two campaigns have in common an attempt to redefine the question of the relationship between Italians and immigrants. In the case of "I Love Reggio, Even the Station Area" the redefinition comes through a general call to take care of the neighbourhood; in the case of SPARDA the theme of diversity is to be redefined, extending it beyond the ethnic-cultural question. Within this type of communication interventions our research confirms the prevalence of communicative practices which refer to specific categories of subjects: unaccompanied minors, second-generation immigrants, asylum-seekers and refugees and victims of trafficking. However, some actions that focus on the category of refugees (see, between the promising practices, actions from the cities of Cosenza and Lodi), also communicate a crucial perception regarding the migration issue. It is in fact well known that the media have fuelled a profound confusion between the category of illegal immigrant and that of the asylum-seeker and that this confusion has been fostered by an often inaccurate media coverage of unauthorised arrivals.

Things appear different if we look at the interventions in the media field. These actions appear to be more and more promoted by regional authorities (the case of the Emilia-Romagna Region is well-known in Italy to be relevant and effective, but other Regions such as Tuscany are promoting interventions in this field), by Provinces (e.g. the Province of Cesena-Forlì; the Province of Florence) and by Municipalities. The actions are often *directives for the mainstream media* to sensitise journalists to the complexity of migration and to promote more accurate and non-discriminatory information. This is performed through the production of information guides and glossaries, as well as a directory containing contacts of migrants who can be consulted on various topics of interest to journalists. Also, other actions aim at supporting conferences and meetings between journalists, local administrators and foreigners' associations.

There are also several *directives for intercultural media,* in order to promote them through funding or to train aspiring journalists (e.g. *Redazione Mondi Insieme* in Reggio Emilia and *Turin Web News*)[3].

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[2] http://www.coe.int/t/dg4/cultureheritage/culture/sparda/default_en.asp

[3] On multicultural media and the role LRAs often have in supporting them, see Maneri M, Meli A., "Un diverso parlare. I media multiculturali in Italia", Roma, Carocci, 2007.

Another type of communication intervention that seems to be promising is done by actions included in programs of urban regeneration. In these cases the neighbourhood establishes itself as a place where it is still possible to make decisions in terms of both urban interventions and cultural identity. It seems that developing an awareness of the changes made by migrant populations and enabling a willingness to think about the future together works better at the neighbourhood level than at higher levels. In general terms, two aspects of these interventions seem to be in play. The first is obvious: working on restricted territorial units means one can avoid dispersion and involve citizens more easily. The second is less obvious, and argues that a sense of identity seems to be felt more strongly towards the neighbourhood than towards the city and the nation; at this level the sense of identity also seems to involve everyone, natives and immigrants. This becomes the central element of local communication which aims to change attitudes, because it acts on this sense of belonging, and from there tries to appeal to a sense of responsibility for and solutions to common problems. In the case of the district of San Salvario in Turin, where the neighbourhood seems to be strongly perceived as a unit, this is reflected in the name of the cultural festival "San Salvario Mon Amour", which was one of the first initiatives of the Local Development Agency of San Salvario; while in the case of the Station Area of Reggio Emilia, which is not precisely a neighbourhood, but rather a "zone," we are seeing a call for identity which involves the city, although the neighbourhood becomes one of the places within the city towards which there is call for responsibility and sharing ("I Love Reggio, Even the Station Area"). In all these cases, communication activities promoted by local authorities must be intended as *part of a broader social inclusion intervention* and can be expressed both by *communication* (media outreach, messaging, myth-busting) and by *contact* (promoting interaction between migrants and other community members), as it is the case with the participatory planning that encourages exchanges between residents (including organizations and neighbourhood associations) in the Station Area of Reggio Emilia.

Among the *contact actions* we have found particularly promising those involving the conversion of places inside the neighbourhood, according to the point of view of the interviewees and the speakers at both the AMICALL technical workshop and the policy roundtable. These projects combine the need, conceived in terms of urban regeneration, for creating areas for various activities (recreational or otherwise), in search of a physical and "permanent" form of communication which becomes a symbol of intercultural exchange in the neighbourhood. According to respondents in both the case of the Reggio East Meeting Centre in the Station Area of Reggio Emilia, and the case of the "Neighbourhood House" in San Salvario in Turin, from the point of view of institutional communication, the very presence of these places promote integration better than any other initiative.

Moreover, from these places come, in time, new proposals and new ideas. It is about understanding what role the local authorities end up taking, with respect to these initiatives: if they maintain a strong role in directing or if, once started, these "laboratories" acquire autonomy from the institutions. Each place has behind it a "planning process" and its special relationship with the leadership which also seems to depend on conditions external to the will of the administrators. The context of the area, the greater or lesser degree of associative fabric, security conditions and other factors may determine the choices.

Finally we must consider the *intercultural activities* (celebratory activities to bring cultures together). These activities are often stand-alone activities, often promoted by associations, but they can even be part of both a broader social inclusion intervention and of a broader communication strategy, as in the case of the Festival "1.6.7 ... Contact!" in Reggio Emilia and "San Salvario Mon Amour" in Turin.

If we assume that the three actors of institutional communication in the integration field are local authorities, immigrants/minority community and general citizenry, then the communication flows of institutional communication can be traced to four overarching categories: talk *about* them; talk *to* them; talk *through* or *with* them; or make them speak (where "them" stands for *immigrant/minority community*). Then there remains the question: to whom is the message directed (whole community, immigrant/minority community, sceptical groups)? We try to summarise below, using the examples at our disposal.

A. *Correct information on immigration* - The local or regional authority talks (often implicitly) about them to the whole community (e.g., poster campaigns and festivals, or prevailing on the mainstream media to promote non-discriminatory information) and making them speak above all of a normalisation of relations between "us" and "them".

B. *Information about rights* - The local or regional authority talks to them (e.g., the letter to foreign young adults) and speaks with them to the whole community (e.g., the event in Reggio Emilia during the Day for Migrant Rights).

C. *Communicative empowerment* - The local or regional authority speaks through them (e.g., the civil service for young immigrants that leads to actions such as interventions of mediation and information in the suburbs or the Turin Web News). The recipients of the message are primarily immigrant/minority communities, to whom the regional or local authority sends positive signs of openness, but at the same time the local or regional authority communicates a vision of a multicultural citizenry to the whole community.

D. *Creating spaces for intercultural dialogue* - The local or regional authority makes them speak, that is, it helps to create the conditions to develop constructive relationships between "us" and "them" (e.g., the social use of public places, the civic networks in Brescia) and thus also speaks here, as in A), but in other ways, of the normalisation of relations between "us" and "them" to the whole community.

Due to the "polarization of public discourse on the issue of immigration", stressed above, the sceptical groups are often seen as unreachable targets and, in some cases, even as a target that is implicitly eluded from the communication planning, with the main exception of *contact activities as part of a broader social inclusion intervention* (e.g. urban regeneration policies). The SPARDA project, promoted by the Municipality of Reggio Emilia, considers the problem of the exclusion of sceptical groups as a starting point for a new project addressing attitudes towards migrants, which explicitly intends to get to the usually unreachable target of LRAs communication in this field, at least in the Italian context.

The gaps between intentions and outcomes are rarely mentioned by the administrators, who tend to describe the actions as if they were orderly processes. However, some considerations on this point can be made. For projects that involve the mainstream media one aspect that has often proved to be problematic is that of the real participation of professional journalists. While conferences are certainly not useless, many respondents noted the fact that it is difficult to involve journalists for projects of longer duration. Involving migrants also often proved difficult, as in the case of participatory planning in the Station Area in Reggio Emilia, where the vast majority of citizens who got involved turned out to be natives in an area where the majority of residents are of foreign origin. Another problematic element is the difficulty in organising events where natives and foreigners both participate, even in a place like the Neighbourhood House of San Salvario. Such criticism was raised during the technical workshop in Turin, where even the director of the

Local Development Agency lamented the difficulty. We also report some unexpected positive results: projects that arise in one way but over time are distorted in unforeseen ways, and which generate new actions. For example, civil service for young immigrants in Turin became influenced by other projects, such as the Turin Web News. This is also one of the cases in which different agencies of the same authority showed that they knew how to engage in a productive dialogue. In other cases, the lack of inter-agency communications is often criticized. Even in the technical workshop and in the policy roundtable, the point was touched several times by the speakers (LRAs members and even members of migrants' associations). All of them emphasized the problems caused by a low investment on the improvement of inter-agency communications.

3) Leadership and planning processes

In an attempt at classification, we can distinguish four models of action:

- *The model of public leadership,* where the local authority itself combines the roles of leaderand fundraiser, while also acting as a link between the actors involved, and maintaining a constant and close control over initiatives.

- *The dual leadership model,* where the local authority operates as an overall leader, but allows different degrees of autonomy in the design and/or management of the initiatives among private actors, nevertheless continuing to serve as a key partner in the search for funding of future projects.

- *The proxy model,* where the local authority has an initial leadership (perhaps through a call to action) but then leaves it to third actors to pursue initiatives.

- *The delegation model,* where the authority declines to take an active role on the issue and allows actors who are already involved to pursue initiatives, limiting itself to financing them, in whole or in part.

The first two models of action are also cases of *top-down initiatives*, in the sense that they often start from a councillor or mayor, who expresses a strong political will which invests also the communication dimension. In cases ascribable to these two models, we observe a form of communication that maintains a strong consistency of content over time. The last two models are, on the other hand, typical of less-supportive administrations; they are more often *bottom-up initiatives,* and in general we observe a greater fragmentation of the message. In these cases, the frame of reference is often linked to generic values of hospitality and solidarity, pursued by associations, Catholic or secular, focusing on solidarity. This does not mean that they are not good practices, but that they are not integrated into a comprehensive plan of action (including communication) that has its own specific features and duration over time.

In some cases interviewees reported that local events had led to local political processes. Particularly, in the aftermath of a violent event local authorities felt that a communicative action had to be promoted. It is frequent for communication activities embedded in broader social inclusion interventions at a neighbourhood level. Other examples concern a growing sense of insecurity related to intergroup relations as addressed by media. A growing perception of conflict is sometimes the cause for an acceleration in the local efforts addressing attitudes towards migrants locally. More generally, the problematic relation between political communication (through national media) and institutional communication has produced a local sense of being challenged and a need for actions in some LRAs.

In both cases the tendency is to think up the messages of the campaign "in house," and entrusting them, except to a small degree for individual initiatives, to communication professionals (the Winston Wolf Lab in Reggio Emilia or Bellissimo in Turin). The SPARDA campaign, however, is a potentially innovative one because it shows a broadened participation in planning the communication. In the cases fitting the so-called *delegation model*, which probably applies to the majority of cases, civil society organizations plan and deliver the communication initiatives alone.

On issues of communication there is little explicit exchange between cities. For example, communication is not yet a stand-alone topic of discussion in the Italian Network of Intercultural Cities. On the other hand, there are some clear cases of exchange and emulation. One example concerns the practice of the letter to foreign young adults (that is an action related to the citizenship law), created in Reggio Emilia, which has been emulated by other Italian cities and recently taken as a model by the Association of Italian Municipalities (ANCI) through the national campaign "18 Years in the City". Another example concerns civil service for young immigrants which has been introduced in the Emilia-Romagna Region after having been launched in the City of Turin. There are examples of interventions in the mainstream media and the intercultural media which have flourished in recent years in different local contexts thanks to an initial push from the Province of Cesena-Forlì and the Emilia Romagna Region (through the Protocol on Intercultural Communication) and thanks to the debate which has been raised to the national level with the introduction of the Charter of Rome.[4] The Italian Network of Intercultural Cities has promoted knowledge exchanges in recent years, particularly in the field of intercultural education. There is the example of the Protection System for Asylum Seekers and Refugees (SPRAR), consisting of a network of local authorities within which discussions and exchanges are well established, thanks to the National Association of Italian Municipalities (ANCI) which it is responsible for coordinating SPRAR. Then there is the more ordinary example of the consistency of messages. For example, the theme of love for a neighbourhood or a city is a recurring one in public communication. The "I Love Reggio, Even the Station Area" campaign was inspired by a campaign in Paris and echoes that of Amsterdam: "I am sterdam."

4) Outcomes

Discussion on the outcomes of the initiatives must in the first place take into account the difficulty of obtaining, in most cases, data that can be considered objective in evaluating the results of the actions. In some cases the persons in charge think the evaluation is difficult to achieve because what is under consideration is too complex. Some initiatives are conceived as actions whose main purpose is symbolic, intended to be the engine of a change in vision that goes far beyond the local short-term objectives of the initiative itself. However, in other cases, the criteria for evaluating the success of initiatives are easier to locate and given case by case.

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[4] Known as the Charter of Rome, the protocol of ethical conduct introduced in 2008 by the Journalists' Association and the Italian National Press Federation, is entitled the "Code of Conduct Regarding Asylum Seekers, Refugees, Victims of Trafficking and Migrants."

5) Factors of influencing outcomes

We try below to give a brief list of factors that appear to play a central role in promoting or inhibiting the success of initiatives:

- Continuity/discontinuity in the design. The importance of the possibility of linking different projects in order to achieve a continuity of purpose becomes clear, but so does the ability to imagine actions that are self-sufficient, becoming in turn a source of new initiatives, such as the creation of permanent spaces for socialization like Neighbourhood House of San Salvario in Turin, or actions that may be open to numerous mutations, as in the case, also in Turin, of the Civil Service for Young Immigrants. Such initiatives allow for continuity of institutional communication on the issue. In many cases, however, the limited duration of the projects and their isolation from other initiatives inhibit the development of long-term communication. Criticism about a certain volatility of the projects is common and was even evident during the technical workshop held in Turin. The tendency to delegate actions to local associations, in some cases identified during research, carries major risks because it combines the short duration with the fragmentary and sometimes contradictory nature of the activities undertaken.

- The implementation of specific operations. A different path, rarely spelled out, is the greater or lesser ability to implement individual initiatives. In some cases, it seems from the evidence collected that an excessive presence of the local authority may inhibit spontaneous initiatives that arise within the outlines dictated by bureaucratic and administrative requirements, thus limiting the contribution of communication projects. There also seems to be, sometimes, an excessive personalization of the initiative. One criticism that emerged many times is that when a Councillor changes, projects also tend to change their nature or to close, frustrating the energies of those who have taken part. This is clear in the case of the Open and Inclusive Brescia Civic Network, but during the technical workshop held in Turin, it also emerged as a general critique. However, the question is highly ambiguous and is inextricably linked to the context of the action and the presence or absence of adequate intermediary representation in the area.

- Participation, through the greatest possible involvement of all stakeholders. For example, during the participatory planning in the Station Area in Reggio Emilia it was difficult to adequately involve residents of foreign origin, and this difficulty may have influenced the content of communication and its effectiveness. In the case of projects with the news media, a difficulty often cited was that of involving professional journalists in a lasting and a fruitful exchange with the administration and with stakeholders. In the two case studies of social use of public space (the East Reggio Meeting Centre in Reggio Emilia and the Neighbourhood House in Turin) the successes and failures of communication message are tied, according to our key respondents, to a greater or lesser capacity to engage Italians and foreigners, young and old, in the same activities.

- The transfer of management responsibility to citizens of foreign origin who are involved first-hand in the initiatives. This aspect has emerged strongly in dialogue with the stakeholders of foreign origin, particularly during the technical workshop held in Turin. The criticism of a lack of provision of management responsibility can be connected, in some cases, to insufficient implementation of projects deemed promising. Thus it is not only participation, but also training and creation of continuity of work, without which there is a risk of giving an impression of hypocrisy of local politics on immigration. Some participants in the technical workshops in Turin said that in some cases foreigners feel more like they are used rather than involved. This does not rule out the effectiveness of positive communication to the general citizenship; but the paradox is to communicate simultaneously an opening up to immigrants by natives and a relative closure to immigrants by public institutions.

- The consistency of messages and clear identification of the recipients. This is especially important for communication campaigns and was widely discussed in the technical workshop held in Reggio Emilia at the meetings of the SPARDA Project. SPARDA communication campaign came about as an opportunity to discuss in detail what messages should be adopted and what was the most appropriate audience.

- The scale of local initiatives: the analysis showed that the size of the neighbourhood can make sharing effective, more easily overcoming mistrust between natives and immigrants. It also revealed that smaller municipalities have more chances to effectively communicate their political commitment to integration, taking advantage, better than large municipalities, of communication between local officials and citizens (which in the case of participatory planning in the Station Area in Reggio Emilia seems to have paid off).

6) Learning

During our fieldwork, we have singled out a significant number of promising practices developed by various Italian local and regional authorities. The research report does not claim to be a mirror of everything local and regional authorities have produced on the subject of our research. Italy is a polycentric country, with a large number of municipalities; work that intends to provide a representative picture of all activities in this field would require a long time. However, we had the opportunity to discuss various initiatives and the main results with organizations such as the National Association of Italian Municipalities (ANCI) and contacts from the Italian Network of Intercultural Cities, and some other organizations and LRAs during the policy roundtable. Here below we present a short list of the promising practices discussed in the full version of this report. We have created the list using the categories discussed in the midterm Amicall meeting hold in Rotterdam.

Project name	LRA	Type of activity	Means	Objectives	Target group	LRA role
Il sipario strappato [Torn Curtain] + La compagnia delle onde [The company of the waves]	City of Cosenza	Contact/Intercultural	Stand-alone, targeted activity	Changing attitudes	Whole community	Active
La casa dov'è? [Where is home?]	City of Lodi	Communication	Stand-alone, targeted activity	Changing attitudes	Whole community	Active
Regional Protocol of Agreement on Intercultural Communication	Region of Emilia Romagna	Intercultural (promoting intercultural media)	Part of a broader communication strategy	Information/ Changing attitudes	Immigrants	Active
Speciale Mondinsieme + *I nuovi reggiani*	City of Reggio Emilia	Communication/Intercultural	Stand alone, targeted activity	Information/Changing attitudes	Whole community	Active

Turin Web News	City of Turin	Communication	Part of a broader communication strategy	Information	Immigrants	Active
Torino cresce plurale [Turin Grows Plural]	City of Turin	Communication	Part of a broader communication strategy	Changing attitudes	Sceptical groups	Active
Rete civica Brescia aperata e solidale [Open and Inclusive Brescia Civic Network]	City of Brescia	Contact	Stand alone, targeted activity	Changing behaviours	Whole community	Active
Letter to foreign young adults	City of Reggio Emilia	Communication	Part of a broader communication strategy	Information	Immigrants	Active
Civil service for young immigrants	City of Turin	Contact	Part of broader social inclusion intervention	Information/Changing attitudes	Immigrants /whole community	Active
The local development agency of S. Salvario	City of Turin	Contact/Intercultural	Part of broader social inclusion intervention	Changing behaviour	Whole community	Passive
Initiatives in the Station Area	City of Reggio Emilia	Contact/Intercultural	Part of broader social inclusion intervention	Changing behaviour	Whole community	Active

We have carefully identified the factors that appear to influence, both positively and negatively, the outcomes of the initiatives studied; these have emerged as important factors in numerous meetings held with public officials, key respondents and stakeholders. From these comparisons and analyses of documents, the guidelines listed below have clearly emerged:

A) Campaigns based on moral precepts are generally ineffective and may even be counterproductive in a highly polarized and ideological context such as the Italian one.

B) Autonomous and direct communication is potentially effective if its targets and objectives are clearly defined. This is true for communication campaigns for empowerment whose aim is the dissemination and/or growth of awareness of rights/ opportunities that are unique to specific groups of migrants.

C) The second generation of migrants are the key stakeholders, whether as recipients of the messages from local authorities, or as potential allies in the production of communicative actions towards the target migrant groups, but also for actions aimed at the general citizenship. The involvement of the second generation calls for a large number of initiatives and touches all the categories of interventions we have identified, including interventions in the news media, whose number is large and appears to be growing. The case of the Civil Service for Young Immigrants in Turin is particularly useful for demonstrating the many opportunities which are open to this alliance between the local authority and second generation immigrants.

D) Communication is more credible and effective when the communication activities are embedded within broader strategies of urban regeneration (district-wide) during which anti-immigrant prejudices can be countered in their specific context. The increased effectiveness of communication depends, in these cases, on a structured communication strategy, which combines communication through the media with face-to-face communication, communication for information and celebratory communication. In addition, these projects often demonstrate a will to produce shared communication through participatory processes between the local government, associations, committees and residents (native and foreign).

Appendix 1: Methodological notes

The first objective of this research is to produce a selective map of communication interventions promoted by local and regional authorities to support the integration of immigrants with native citizens. This first phase of work has resulted in some difficulties stemming from a lack both of literature on the subject and of collections of best practices in this field at the national level. Even the strategy of directly contacting via e-mail politicians and officials of local and regional authorities was unsuccessful in the Italian case. This both because so few of the authorities contacted responded to our requests, and because the concept of institutional communication lends itself to multiple interpretations: the tendency was to inform us of intercultural education projects and initiatives in the schools. We therefore relied on other channels, approaching the Italian Network of Intercultural Cities, formed in 2010; the National Association of Italian Municipalities (ANCI); and the Association for Cooperation and Development in Emerging Countries (COSPE), coordinator of several projects on the issue of intercultural media. These partners helped us to identify some additional significant experiences. In contacting the representatives of the different initiatives, we explained that we were trying to expand our sample, asking them to share some of their knowledge. The second objective of the research was the identification of at least two local authorities to be taken as case studies, to explore the dynamics of the decision-making processes of the local leadership and the involvement of associations active in the area in designing institutional communication on the topic. We selected three municipalities with the aim of producing a thorough analysis: we turned to Turin, Reggio Emilia and Brescia. This choice allows a comparison between municipalities of different sizes, with different histories of migration, in three distinct regional contexts, which are known to have implemented over the years a coherent set of integration policies. Another variable that we considered was the political leaning of the local government. Given the general difficulties, which emerged from the very first telephone interviews conducted, of including in the case studies a municipality administered by the center-right, the choice of Brescia appeared to be a sufficient response to this requirement. Through telephone interviews and a preliminary search on the internet we identified the key respondents within the administration and the stakeholders to contact in the three areas. The research was conducted primarily through semi-structured interviews (35 of which were conducted in person, with an average duration of one hour, and a dozen of them held by phone and of short duration), collection and analysis of documents (plans, protocols, stipulations and resolutions, reports, institutional videos, photographic material related to the projects and initiatives) which were provided to us in part by the individual respondents and in part collected from the internet. The decision to favour the individual interview instrument was motivated by certain traits of the Italian context, among which we stress the relatively weak role of the world of policy research and the generally low availability of local administrators to respond to the requests of the researchers. For these reasons we also made specific choices in planning the technical workshop, in one case focusing on a single municipal administration and in another supporting a discussion with a group of people of foreign origin selected as experts in communication and as local opinion leaders. In the first of the two cases the choice was made out of a desire to create a synergy with another European project that shows some interesting overlaps with the AMICALL project. The inaugural workshop of the SPARDA (Shaping Perceptions and Attitudes to Realise the Diversity Advantage) project, entitled "Media Diversity Training," was held on 19–20 September 2011 in Reggio Emilia. At the end of the second day, we conducted a technical workshop for AMICALL. All participants (including us) had taken part in the two work days which allowed us to focus the discussion around the elements common to both projects (the role of the news media, the effectiveness of messages produced through institutional campaigns, both in terms of content and target groups), referring to the discussions already under way. In the case of the technical workshop conducted in Turin, we convened at the table for discussion citizens of foreign origin not only to represent a point of view otherwise absent in the research, but also to talk to people who are well-informed, either because some of them were involved in various projects supported by the municipality, or because, over the course of their careers, the participants were particularly sensitised to the issue of communication.

Appendix 2: Lists of persons interviewed

Name of Contact	Institute and Position	Location	Date
Marisa Cortese	City of Turin, Department for Coordination of Integration Policies Political Staff	Turin	13/09/2011
Roberto Arnaudo	Local Development Agency of S. Salvario Director	Turin	15/07/2011
Andrea Bocco	CICSENE and Local Development Agency Former Director	Turin	12/09/2011
Eleonora Artesio	Piedmont Regional Councillor Former Regional Councillor of Health Former Provincial Councillor for Social Policies Former City Councillor City Suburbs Special Projects	Turin	18/10/2011
Erika Mattarella	Kairos Consortium and Public Baths of Via Agliè Manager	Turin	12/10/2011
Franco Carcillo	City of Turin Director of Civil Service and Information Services	Turin	12/10/2011
Viorica Nechifor	City of Turin Manager of Romanian-language website TWN	Turin	12/10/2011
Nicoletta Giovanelli	City of Turin, Department for Coordination of Integration Policies	Turin	28/10/2011
Adil El Marouachi	Mondinsieme Foundation President	Reggio Emilia	30/06/2011
Damiano Razzoli	Mondinsieme Foundation Media Manager	Reggio Emilia	30/06/2011
Franco Corradini	City of Reggio Emilia Councillor for Cohesion and Social Security	Reggio Emilia	29/06/2011
Carlo Vestrali	Department of Cohesion and Social Security Director	Reggio Emilia	29/06/2011
Manuela Vaccari	Department of Cohesion and Social Security	Reggio Emilia	20/09/2011

Elena Torelli	Spazio Raga Association	Reggio Emilia	20/09/2011
Marianna Roscelli	Reggio in the World - Agency for the Promotion of Reggio Emilia Contact for Special Events and Conferences	Reggio Emilia	21/09/2011
Gianluca Grassi	Reggio in the World Agency for the Promotion of Reggio Emilia Communications Manager	Reggio Emilia	21/09/2011
Linda Gualdi	Department of Cohesion and Social Security Official	Reggio Emilia	30/06/2011
Paola Porta	Department of Cohesion and Social Security	Reggio Emilia	30/06/2011
Alessandro Schiatti	Winston Wolf Communication Agency	Reggio Emilia	21/09/2011
Mauro Montagnani	CGIL Union Immigration Office	Reggio Emilia	30/06/2011
Federico Amico	ARCI President for Reggio Emilia	Reggio Emilia	30/06/2011
Marina Pirazzi	Society for Social Research Outside Consultant	Bologna	31/08/2011
Alessia Giannoni	COSPE Association-Cooperation for the Development of Emerging Nations	Bologna	29/06/2011
Andrea Stuppini	Emilia-Romagna Region Department of Social Policies Director	Bologna	31/08/2011
Barbara Burgalassi	Emilia-Romagna Region Department of Social Policies Official	Bologna	31/08/2011
Franco Valenti	Piccini Foundation President	Brescia	13/07/2011
Mario Toffari	Migrant Centre of the Diocese Director	Brescia	12/07/2011
Giovanni Boccacci	Migrant Centre of the Diocese	Brescia	12/07/2011
Andrea Franchini	Christian Association of Italian Workers (ACLI)	Brescia	12/07/2011
Luca Pezzoli	Christian Workers Movement (MCL) President	Brescia	12/07/2011
Giovanna Mantelli	CISL Union	Brescia	13/07/2011

Luca Pacini	ANCI - National Association of Italian Cities Manager of the Immigration Department	Roma	27/09/2011
Maria Silvia Olivieri	ANCI - Central Service for SPRAR	Roma	27/09/2011
Daniela Dicapua	ANCI	Roma	27/09/2011
Monia Giovannetti	ANCI - Cittalia	Roma	27/09/2011

Appendix 3: Referrals to projects identified as promising practices

Contact Name	Institute and position	Project
Enza Papa	Multiethnic Cultural Association "La Kasbah" Managing Authority for the Province of Cosenza for SPRAR Projects	*Il sipario strappato* [Torn Curtain] *Compagnia delle onde* [The Company of the Waves]
Antonella Detta	City of Turin, Department for Coordination of Integration Policies Manager of the Turin Grows Plural Campaign	*Torino cresce plurale* [Turin Grows Plural]
Laura Coci	"Lodi for Mostar" Associaton Managing authority for the City of Lodi for SPRAR projects	*La casa dov'è?* [Where is home?]
Damiano Razzoli	Mondisieme Foundation Media Officer	*Speciale Mondinsieme* *I nuovi reggiani*
Barbara Burgalassi	Emilia-Romagna Region Department of Social Policies Official	Regional Protocol of Agreement on Intercultural Communication
Franco Valenti	Piccini Foundation President	*Rete civica Brescia aperata e solidale* [Open and Inclusive Brescia Civic Network]
Mario Toffari	Migrant Centre of the Diocese Director	
Andrea Franchini	Christian Association of Italian Workers (ACLI)	
Franco Carcillo	City of Turin Director, Civil Service and Information Services	*Turin Web News*
Viorica Nechifor	City of Turin Manager of Romanian-language website TWN	

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