

COPE

Combating Poverty in Europe

Work Package 6 – The local arena for combating poverty

Local report: The case of Turin, Italy



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Foreword

Reducing poverty and social exclusion is one of the main challenges for ensuring social cohesion in Europe. The research project COPE – Combating Poverty in Europe: Re-organising Active Inclusion through Participatory and Integrated Modes of Multilevel Governance – analyses trends of poverty and social exclusion in Europe, and examines the dynamics of minimum income protection policies that potentially help alleviate the risk of poverty in Europe. A particular focus is on the situation of single mothers, long-term unemployed and the working poor, who face particular risks of poverty and social exclusion. To what extent have minimum income policies functioned as last resort social security for these three groups, and in what sense can ‘active inclusion’ policies credited with protecting them from poverty and social exclusion?

Co-financed by the European Commission in the 7th Framework Programme, the COPE project unites researchers and stakeholders from six European countries, the UK, Italy, Poland, Sweden, and Norway. Having started in February 2012, COPE runs over a three-year period. COPE’s method is comparative – analysing developments in five European countries (Poland, Germany, UK, Sweden and Italy). Its focus is inherently multi-level, looking in turn at developments at European, national and local level.

The present report is part of COPE’s effort to uncover the dynamics of local level policy reforms in the area ‘active inclusion’, namely reforms affecting local policies that specify the adequacy of minimum income benefits, the provision of employment services, as well as the organisation of access to social services. It focuses particularly on the three groups’ single mothers, long-term unemployed persons, as well as the working poor.

The present report is complemented by local case studies covering developments in the other four countries. It feeds into a comparative report on similarities and differences in the development of minimum income protection across Europe, to be published later in 2013.

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Abbreviations

ACLI	Christian Associations of Italian Workers
ALMP	Active Labour Market Policy
ANCI	Associazione Nazionale Comuni Italiani – National Association of Italian Municipalities
ASL	Azienda sanitaria locale - Local Health Service Enterprise
ASPI	Assicurazione Sociale per l’Impiego – Social Insurance for Employment
CIES	Commissione d’indagine sulla povertà e l’esclusione sociale - Commission of Inquiry on Poverty and Social Exclusion
CIGO	Cassa Integrazione Guadagni “Ordinaria”
CIGS	Cassa Integrazione Guadagni “Straordinaria”
CSP	Compagnia di San Paolo Foundation
DC	Democrazia Cristiana, Christian Democratic Party
INPS	Istituto Nazionale della Previdenza Sociale - National Social Insurance Institute
ISEE	Indicatore della Situazione Economica Equivalente – Equivalent Economic Status Indicator
Lep	Livelli essenziali delle prestazioni - Essential Levels of Provision
LN	Lega Nord - Northern League Party
LSU	Lavoratori Socialmente Utili – Socially Useful Jobs
LTU	Long Term Unemployed
MIG	Minimum Income Guaranteed
Mii	Minimum Insertion Income, Italian national pilot project
MIP	Minimum income protection
Mis	Minimum income scheme
NSC	New Social Card
OUB	Ordinary Unemployment Benefit
PD	Partito Democratico – Democratic Party
PDL	Popolo della Libertà – The People of Freedom
PES	Public Employment Services
RUB	Reduced Unemployment Benefit
SC	Social Card

Interviewee list

	Name	Position	Date
1	Barbara Graglia,	Manager, Department of labor, City of Turin	15 May 2013
2	Uberto Moreggia	Manager, Department of social services, City of Turin	29 May 2013
3	Maurizio Motta	Former manager, Department of social services, City of Turin	7 June 2013
4	Luca Fanelli	Action-Aid Turin (third sector organization)	7 June 2013
5	Amalia Avolio	Manager, Department of social services, City of Turin	12 July 2013
6	Giovanni Magnano	Manager, Department of public housing, City of Turin	12 July 2013 8 August 2013
7	Elide Tisi	Deputy mayor and councilor for social assistance, City of Turin	17 July 2013
8	Giovanni Tamietti William Revello Paolo Ambrosioni	Director Ufficio Pio, Compagnia di San Paolo Head of Department of social services, Ufficio Pio Referent for Housing Projects (Social Vulnerability Area), Ufficio Pio	17 July 2013
9	Alberto Cerruti	Director Society of Saint Vincent de Paul in Turin	17 July 2013
10	Tiziana Ciampolini	Observatory of poverty, Caritas of Turin	17 July 2013
11	Nanni Tosco	Former secretary of CISL Trade Union, Turin	18 July 2013
12	Maria Lucia Centillo	President of the Council committee for social assistance (Democratic Party, center left)	21 July 2013
13	Barbara Cervetti	Deputy president of the Council committee for social assistance (Northern League, center right)	21 July 2013
14	Pierluigi Dovis	Director of Caritas of Turin	8 August 2013
15	Luigi Morello Daniela Gragnanin	Social Policy Area, Compagnia di San Paolo	16 September 2013
16	Chiara Saraceno	Professor and expert on anti-poverty policies	25 September 2013

All interviews were conducted in Italian and translated by the Authors for the purpose of quotation in this WP6 final report.

In addition were also contacted the following people to collect data and information: Luciano Abburrà (IRES, Social economic research institute of Piedmont), Renato Cugno (IRES, Social economic research institute of Piedmont), Luca Davico (Polytechnic of Turin), Giuseppina De Santis (Research Center Luigi Einaudi), Anna Maria Gonella (Research Center Luigi Einaudi), Antonella Meo (University of Turin), Daniela Mesini (IRS, Institute for social research), Maria Cristina Migliore (IRES, Social economic research institute of Piedmont), and Teresa Raffaele (Municipality of Turin).

We would like to thank all of them for their help.

Introduction

The scope of Work Package 6 is to describe the task of local agencies responsible for the provision of minimum income schemes (MIS) for single mothers (SM), long-term unemployed (LU) and working poor (WP) and analyse the implementation process of policies and organizational instruments structuring local MIS. The aim is to understand both policy outcomes and procedures. This includes the activities of key actors/providers (public, non-profit, profit, family) within MIS and an analysis of their discourses and strategies, and the corresponding institutional local governance structures, based on form (partnership, network, public contract) and in relation to national and European levels.

Turin is one of the major Italian cities. It is the capital of Piedmont region in Northern Italy, has a population of just over 908,000 inhabitants and covers an area of 130 Km² with a population density of 6.987 persons per Km² (Database ISTAT 2009)¹. Turin is also one of the Italian cities with the higher percentage of migrant population (15,6%). After World War II, it became a major European crossroad for industry, commerce and trade and is currently one of Italian main industrial centers, being part of the "industrial triangle", along with Milan and Genoa.

We have selected Turin as a large industrial city in Italy characterized by a history of long-term unemployment rates, high poverty, and social exclusion in a national context and in relation to the 2008 economic and financial crisis. From the 1990s onwards Turin has undergone a process of industrial restructuring and from mid-2000s is characterized by social innovation in combating poverty.

The following final report consists of seven sections. The first section provides a description of the development of the socio-economic situation in the city. In this section, we discuss the local employment and unemployment patterns over the last ten years and we provide an overview of the local expenditure for social assistance and specify different aspects about households receiving minimum income schemes. The second section offers an overview of the institutional and political context in Turin and its main changes over the past two decades. We will also describe the orientation of the actual local government regarding poverty, the financial situation over the last ten years and the city's initiatives in terms of social innovation. The local governance and regulation of minimum income schemes will be analysed in the third section while the fourth section will describe governance structure and regulation measures against poverty and social exclusion provided by third sector organizations. The fifth part examines the local structure of activation policies and some innovative programs implemented in Turin, jointly by the local administration and third sector institutions. In the sixth and seventh sections we summarize your findings analyzing the local implementation processes of policies and organizational instruments structuring local MIS, the tasks and activities of local agencies providing support and services to minimum income claimants, the mix of actors involved in delivering services and financial support. We also address the 'active inclusion' quality of local minimum income systems, and the relation between social services and inclusive labour market measures.

¹ The province surrounding Torino consists of 315 municipalities, has nearly 2.300.000 inhabitants and covers an area of 6.830km², with a population density of 336 persons per km² (Database ISTAT 2009).

1. Local socio-economic context: needs, poverty and challenges

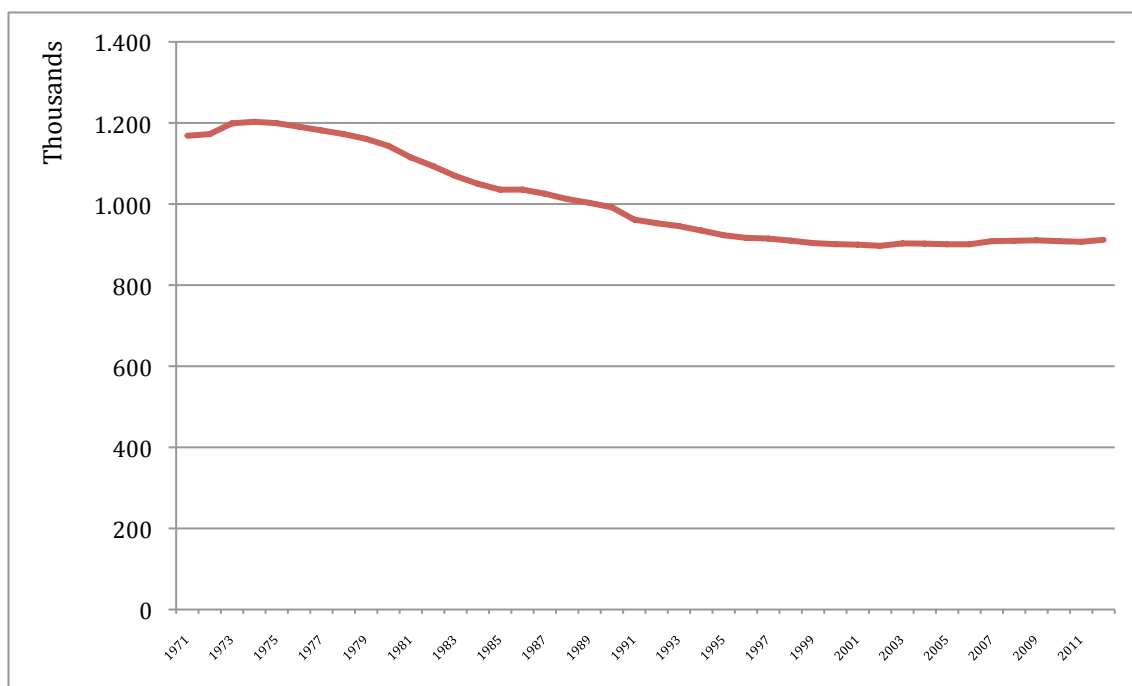
1.1 Population and demographic changes

Turin is the fourth largest Italian metropolitan city for number of residents, after Rome, Milan and Naples. In 2012, the population stood at 911.823, a slight increase over the previous year (4.949 residents, 0,5%). As figure 1 shows, in 1974 it was reached the maximum number of inhabitants (1.202.846), after which began a long period of decline that ended in 2002, when there was the lowest level since the fifties (896.918).

In the last decade, the population has stabilized at around 900.000 inhabitants and demographic dynamics showed three major trends:

- the growing number of immigrants, which has helped to mitigate the decline in births;
- the stabilization of residents in the capital, after a period of emigration towards the metropolitan area and other municipalities in the rest of the province;
- the progressive aging of the population.

Figure 1 – Resident population in municipality of Turin



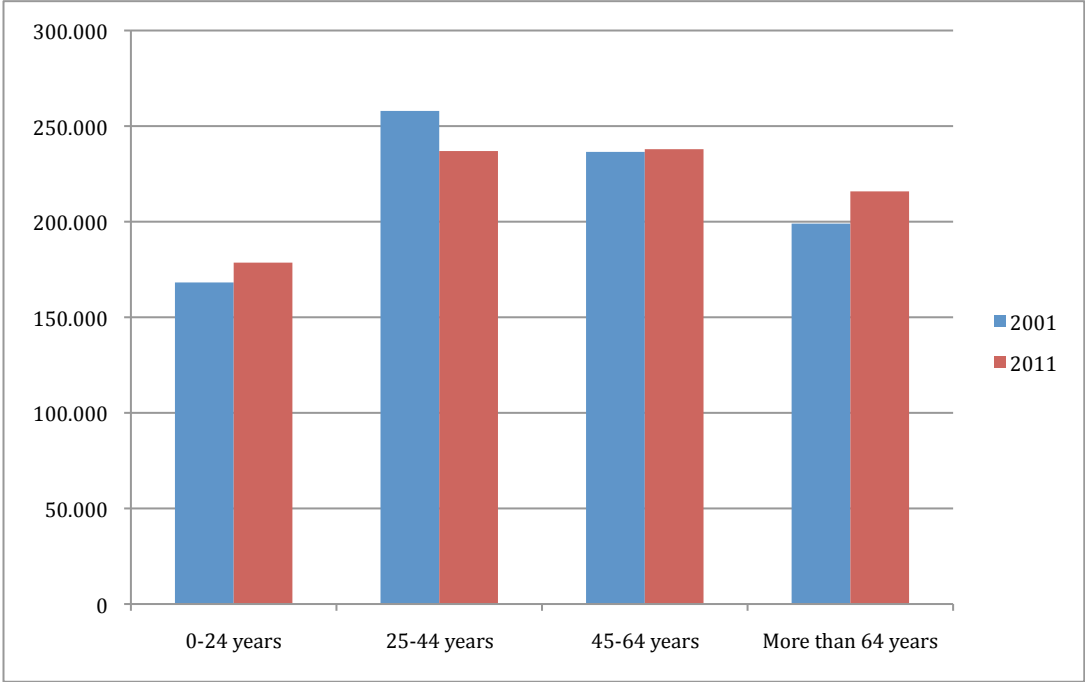
Source: Turin municipality - Statistical office (April 2013).

In addition to reversing the downward trend, foreign migration has also helped to slow down the aging of population of Turin. As figure 2 shows, between 2001 and 2011 the percentage of young people has increased slightly (1,4%), while on the contrary the relevance of elderly has quite increased (2,2%), representing in 2011 about a quarter of the population.

In 2012, foreign residents in Turin were 142.191, which represented 15,6% of total population of Turin (figure 3). Between 2000 and 2012 the percentage of immigrants on resident population increased almost than 4 times and now it is one of the highest among the Italian

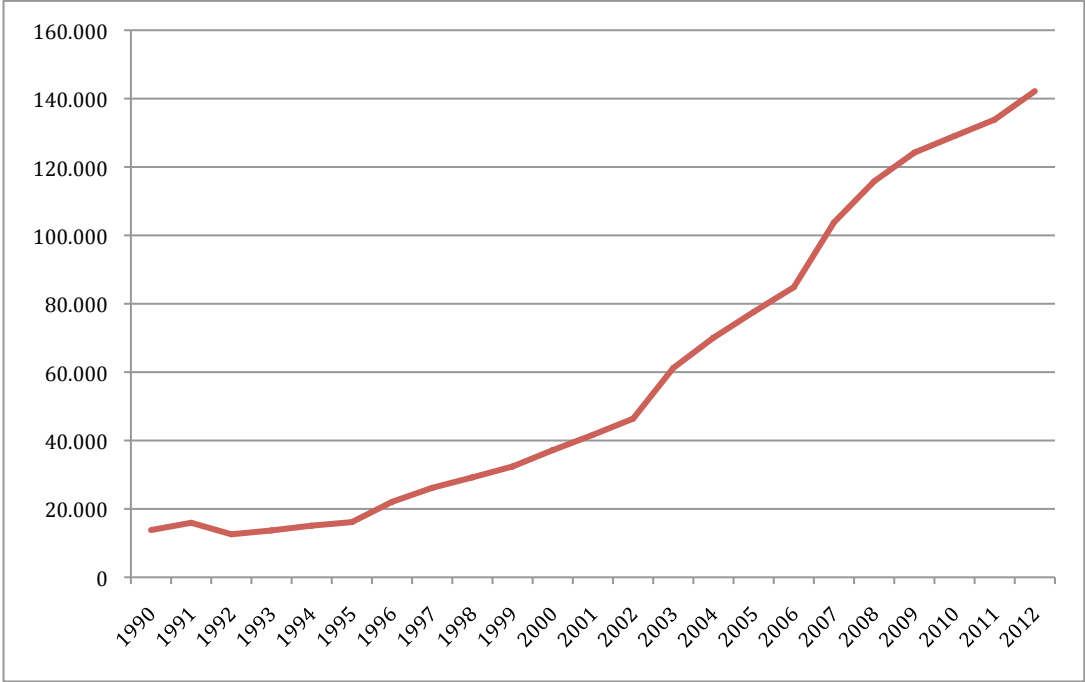
cities. In particular, the foreign nationality in municipality of Turin is Romanian, followed by Peruvian, Moroccan and Chinese (figure 4).

Figure 2 – Resident population by age groups in municipality of Turin



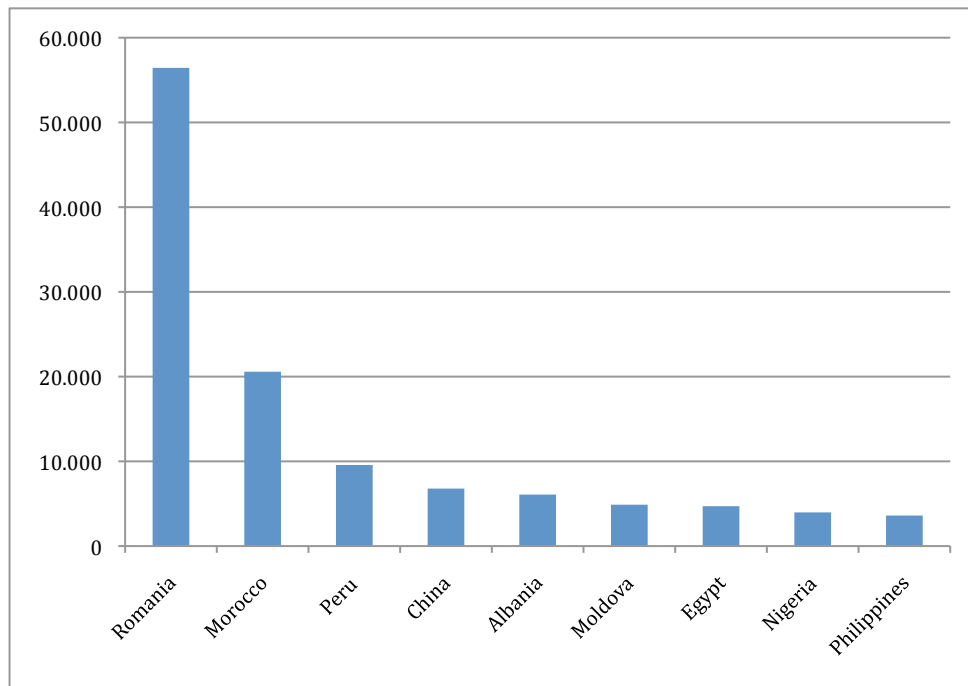
Source: ISTAT (March 2013).

Figure 3 – Foreign residents in municipality of Turin



Source: Turin municipality - Statistical office (March 2013).

Figure 4 – Top 10 nationalities of foreigners residing in municipality of Turin (2012)



Source: Turin municipality - Statistical office (March 2013).

1.2 Pattern of industrial re-structuring

In the last two decades Turin has undergone deep changes in its economic system, aimed at shifting from an industrial area towards a service/tertiary sector. This transformation, which is very similar to that one occurring in other European cities, has produced a diversified labor demand specialized not only in the area of transportation (cars, aircraft and space transport), but also finance (insurance and pension funds), ICT (software and telecommunications) and knowledge (research and culture).

However, Turin has been experiencing a prolonged period of economic stagnation in all the main economic indicators, which precedes the recent economic crisis. Since 2008, the crisis has exacerbated the economic difficulties already present and has rapidly deteriorated the economic situation, with deep consequences in the labor market.

The economic and financial crisis that began in the second half of 2008 hit Turin area harder than other metropolitan cities, particularly in the Centre-North, from many points of view. In 2012 there were 234.499 enterprises in province of Turin, accounting for 3,8% of the total, a similar proportion to the weight of the province in terms of population. The growth rate of enterprises in Turin has followed the national trend: after the progressive slowdown until 2009 and increased in 2010, it has decreased considerably in the last 2 years and in 2012 closures have exceeded new listings (in last three years only tourism businesses and those of public services, social and personal services have registered positive growth rates)

In the first decade of the 2000s, the value added in the province of Turin grew until 2008, but more slowly than Italian average (25% between 2000 and 2008, compared to 32,4%), then was most affected by the crisis (- 5,3% between 2008 and 2010). In 2010 added value per

capita in Turin was the lowest among central and northern provinces, while in 2000 was greater than Genoa, Venice and Trieste.

1.3 Financial situation

In the last years the financial situation of municipality of Turin came under stress, due to reduction of transfers from national and regional government and high level of public debts. Table 1 shows evolution of transfers, that decreased in real value by 80% between 2008 and 2012. This reduction was particularly heavy for national funds for social policies, which have been cut by 86,3% between 2009 and 2012 [Istat 2013a].

Table 1 – Transfers for current expenses to the city of Turin (million €)

	2008	2009	2010	2011	2012
Nominal value	486	471	461	110	107
Real value 2012	526	506	488	113	107

Source: City of Turin.

In 2010 Turin's debts overcome € 3,6 billion (corresponding to € 4.023 per capita in real value, the highest level in Italy), mainly for previous investments in public infrastructures made in the period of urban transformation.

Table 2 – Financial situation in the city of Turin (real value 2012)

	2008	2009	2010	2011	2012
Total municipal debt	€ 3.361.938.372	€ 3.436.686.962	€ 3.654.341.219	€ 3.525.494.041	€ 3.330.349.749
Debt per capita	€ 3.699	€ 3.778	€ 4.023	€ 3.887	€ 3.652

Source: City of Turin.

This situation compromised fiscal consolidation goals for 2011, set by internal stability pact² and consequently required the introduction of a restrictive fiscal policy for next years. To cut public debt municipal government decided to act in line with following priorities:

- reducing as little as possible welfare and social services, because of their importance for households;
- cutting general expenditure, through cost reduction of public employees, administrative reorganization and revision of procurement contracts;
- increasing revenues by introduction of municipal property tax (IMU) and rising of municipal fees;
- selling of public property and shares of municipal corporations.

² Local governments have to participate in national debt reduction since 1999, when were introduced tighter constraints on current expenditure growth and on recruitment of civil servants; sanctions are applied to governments which fail to meet these objectives.

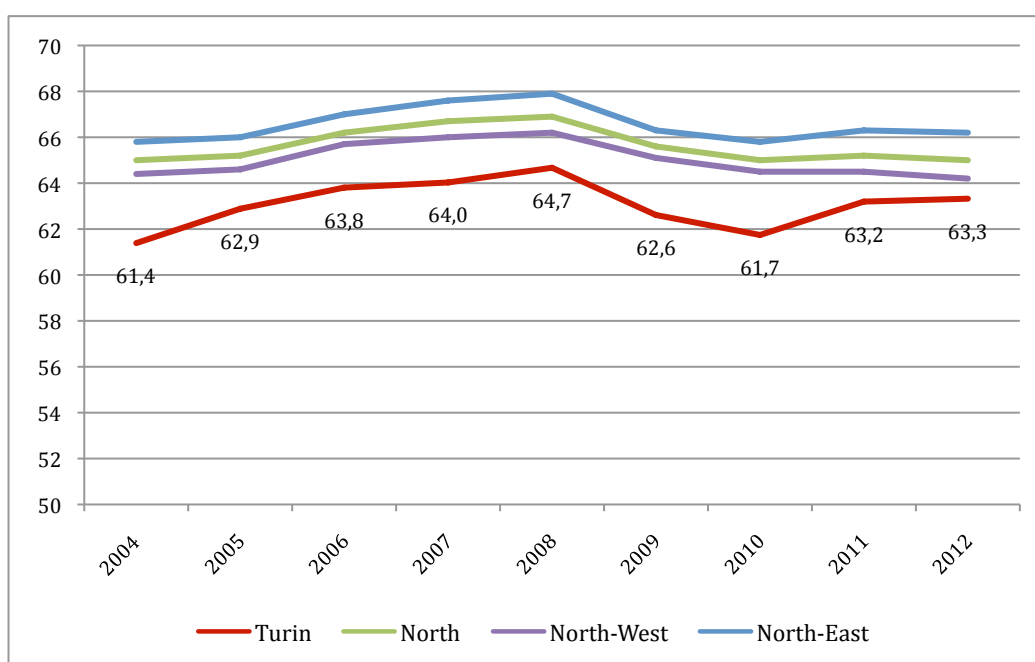
1.4 Labor market patterns

Although COPE focuses on three target groups there is no the possibility to include data on labour market status regarding lone mothers, long term unemployed and working poor since there are no specific data available for these three target groups. It is also important to underline that labour market data and patterns are available only for the provincial level and not for the municipal level.

Compared to the North area, province of Turin presents employment rates relatively lower (figure 5), while between 2008 and 2012 there has been a decrease of 25.390 employed in the province of Turin, which has focused mainly on industry and construction (figure 6).

Compared to other provinces, such as Genoa and Milan, in 2012 province of Turin presents employment rates lower than Milan province and very similar to Genoa province. Taking into consideration unemployment rates, in 2012 province of Turin presents much higher rates than provinces of Milan and Genoa: respectively 9,8% vs. 7,8% (see tables 3a and 3b below).

Figure 5 – Total employment rates in Italy (15-64)



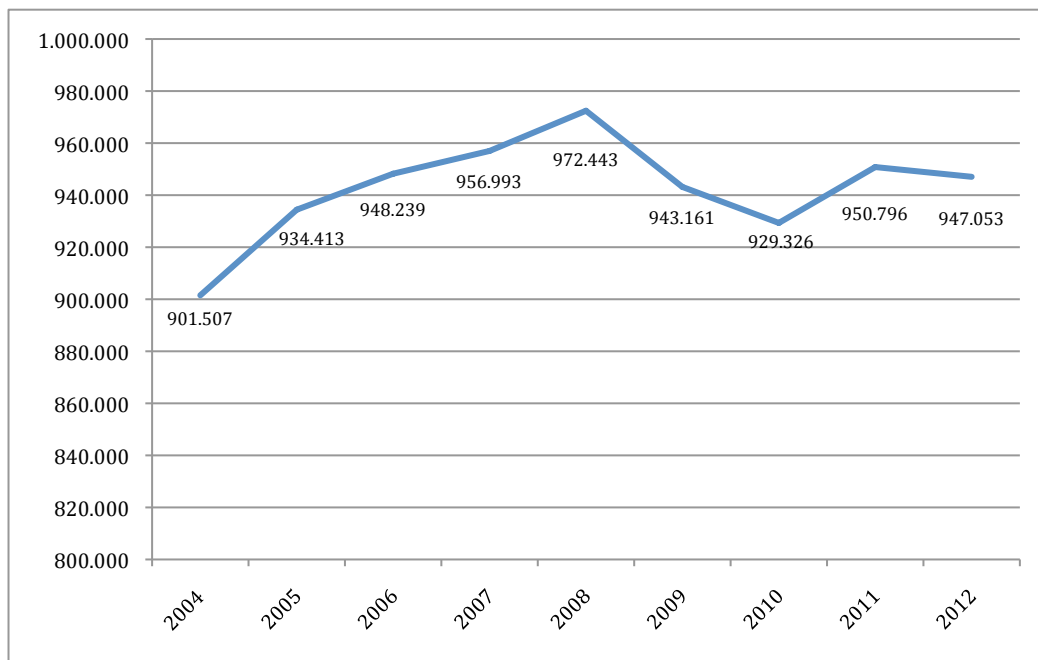
Source: ISTAT (June 2013).

Table 3a - Employment rates in Italy and a comparison between Provinces of Turin, Genoa and Milan in % (2007-2012)

	2007	2008	2009	2010	2011	2012
Italy	58,7	58,7	57,5	56,9	56,9	56,8
North-East	67,6	67,9	66,3	65,8	66,3	66,2
North-West	66,0	66,2	65,1	64,5	64,5	64,2
Province of Turin	64,0	64,7	62,6	61,7	63,2	63,3
Province of Genoa	63,1	63,8	64,9	64,3	63,8	63,0
Province of Milan	68,3	68,7	66,9	66,9	66,8	66,4

Source: Database ISTAT (October 2013).

Figure 6 – Number of employed in province of Turin (with more than 15 years)



Source: ISTAT (June 2013).

Table 3b - Unemployment rates in Italy and a comparison between Provinces of Turin, Genoa and Milan in % (2007-2012)

	2007	2008	2009	2010	2011	2012
Italy	6,1	6,7	7,8	8,4	8,4	10,7
North-East	3,1	3,4	4,7	5,5	5,0	6,7
North-West	3,8	4,2	5,8	6,2	6,3	8,0
Province of Turin	4,7	5,6	8,3	9,4	9,2	9,8
Province of Genoa	4,4	5,4	5,5	6,5	6,9	7,8
Province of Milan	3,8	3,9	5,7	5,8	6,0	7,8

Source: Database ISTAT (October 2013).

The ongoing crisis has produced an acceleration in the growth rate of unemployment; in the Turin area unemployed have steadily increased from 2006 onwards – even before the crisis – more doubling (table 3c). The situation has worsened particularly in Turin metropolitan area, where there has been one of the most consistent worsening levels of unemployment, coming up closer to levels of many southern industrial districts (figure 7). In the province of Turin unemployment is hitting hardest females (10,8% in 2012, compared to 8,6% of Northern area and 8% of Milan) and young people (33,9% in 2012, compared to 26,6% of Northern area and 28,7% of Milan). In addition Turin has one of the highest level of young people who do not work, do not study and do not follow any training course [Tosco, interview no. 11].

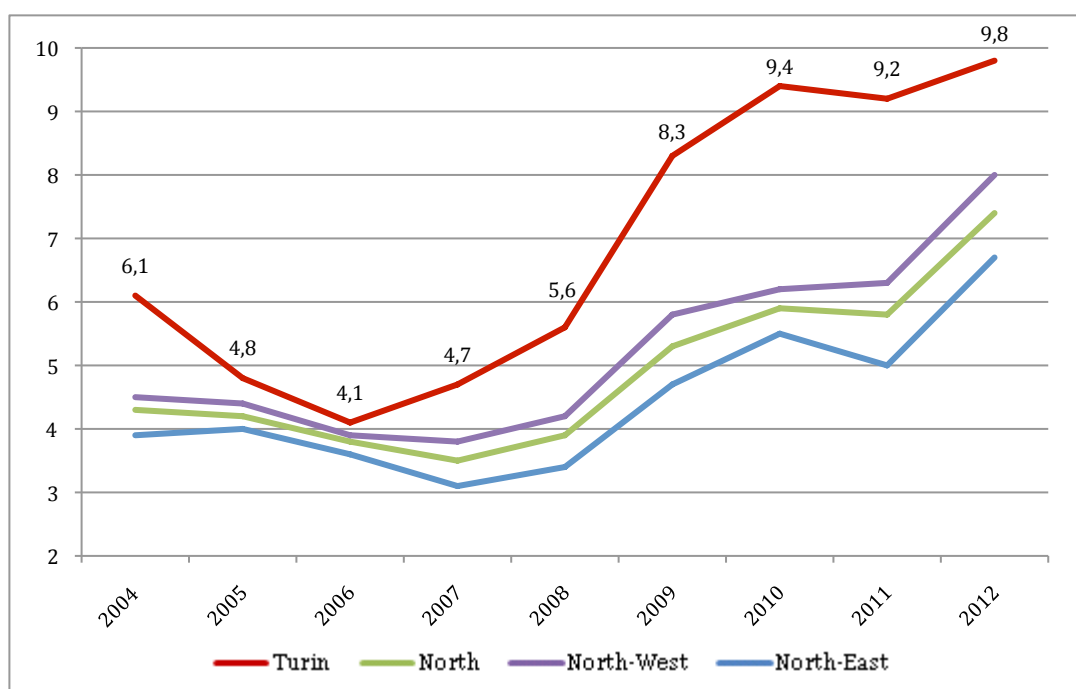
Table 3c – Number of unemployed in province of Turin (with more than 15 years; thousands)

	2004	2005	2006	2007	2008	2009	2010	2011	2012
Turin	59	47	41	47	58	86	97	96	103

Source: ISTAT (June 2013).

The main intervention adopted to address working-time reduction has been temporary wage replacement called *Cassa Integrazione Guadagni*, that even before the start of crisis in 2008 was much higher than in other metropolitan provinces (94,8 million hours of work between 2005 and 2008, 45,6 compared to 27,4 in Milan and in Naples; between 2009 and 2011 more than tripled to 310,3 million). Wage replacement hours per capita in a year in Turin reached the highest value among Italian provinces (average 340 hours per year per worker); sectors that made greater use between 2011 and 2012 were mechanical, chemical, textile and construction.

Figure 7 – Total unemployment rates in Italy (unemployed with more than 15 years)



Source: ISTAT (June 2013).

1.5 Poverty and social assistance indicators

In 2012, in North Italy, 677.000 households were in absolute poverty (5,5% of resident households), for a total of 1,73 million people (6,4% of resident population). Compared with 2011 there was a greater increase than Italy (tables 4, 5, 6).

Table 4 - Incidence of absolute poverty for households

	2008	2009	2010	2011	2012
North	3,2	3,6	3,6	3,7	5,5
Italy	4,6	4,7	4,6	5,2	6,8

Source: ISTAT (July 2013).

Table 5 - Incidence of absolute poverty for individuals

	2008	2009	2010	2011	2012
North	3,2	3,7	3,6	4,0	6,4
Italy	4,9	5,2	5,2	5,7	8

Source: ISTAT (July 2013).

Table 6 – Absolute poverty in North Italy

	2008	2009	2010	2011	2012
Households	378	425	435	454	677
Individuals	848	999	982	1096	1783

Source: ISTAT (July 2013).

In 2012, in Piedmont, 7,3% of households were in relative poverty, compared with 5,9% in 2011. As table 7 shows, since 2008 Piedmont rate has been always higher than other northern Italian regions, such as Lombardy and Emilia Romagna. This negative trend for Piedmont is also confirmed by table 8, which shows people at risk of poverty or social exclusion, one of the key targets of Europe 2020 strategy³.

Table 7 - Incidence of relative poverty for households

	2008	2009	2010	2011	2012
Italy	11,3	10,8	11	11,1	12,7
Piedmont	6,1	5,9	5,3	5,9	7,3
North Italy	4,9	4,9	4,9	4,9	6,2
Lombardy	4,4	4,4	4,0	4,2	6,0
Emilia Romagna	3,9	4,1	4,5	5,2	5,1

Source: ISTAT (July 2013).

³ This indicator is defined as the share of population in at least one of the following three conditions: 1) at risk of poverty, meaning below the poverty threshold; 2) in a situation of severe material deprivation; 3) living in a household with very low work intensity.

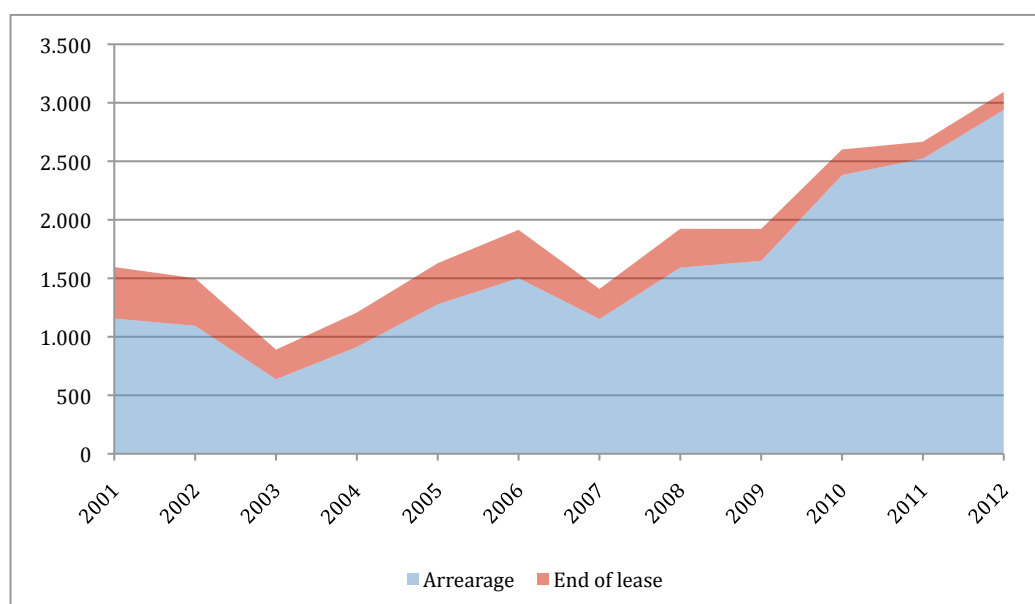
Table 8 – People at risk of poverty or social exclusion (% of total population)

	2007	2008	2009	2010	2011
North-West Italy	16,6	15,4	15,6	16,1	18,1
Piedmont	16,8	17,1	16,8	17,8	22,0

Source: Eurostat (July 2013).

A vulnerable population at risk of poverty is represented by households evicted for arrearage, because they are no longer able to pay for rent or mortgage due to reduction or lost of income. As the figure 8 shows since the beginning of economic crisis evictions in Turin have doubled.

Figure 8 - Evictions in Turin



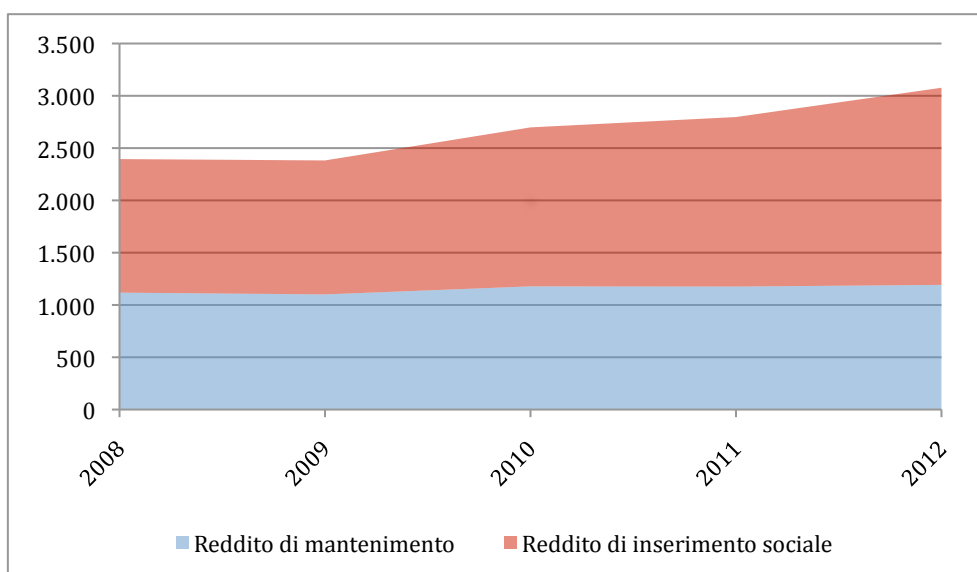
Source: Piedmont Region, Osservatorio regionale condizione abitativa.

The economic crisis of recent years has increased the number of households that receive economic assistance by public services and the third sector organizations in Turin. Social problems have intensified especially in some peripheral areas (e.g. District Regio Parco, Vallette, Barrier of Milan, and San Salvario Mirafiori Nord).

Figures 9 and 10 and show persons receiving local minimum schemes provided by city of Turin⁴: the share of people able to work on economic assistance is growing (*Reddito di mantenimento* – *Minimum Income*, see paragraph 3.2.1), while the number people receiving other schemes is stationary (*Reddito di inserimento sociale* – *Social Insertion Income*, see paragraph 3.2.2), as shown by figure 9 and 10.

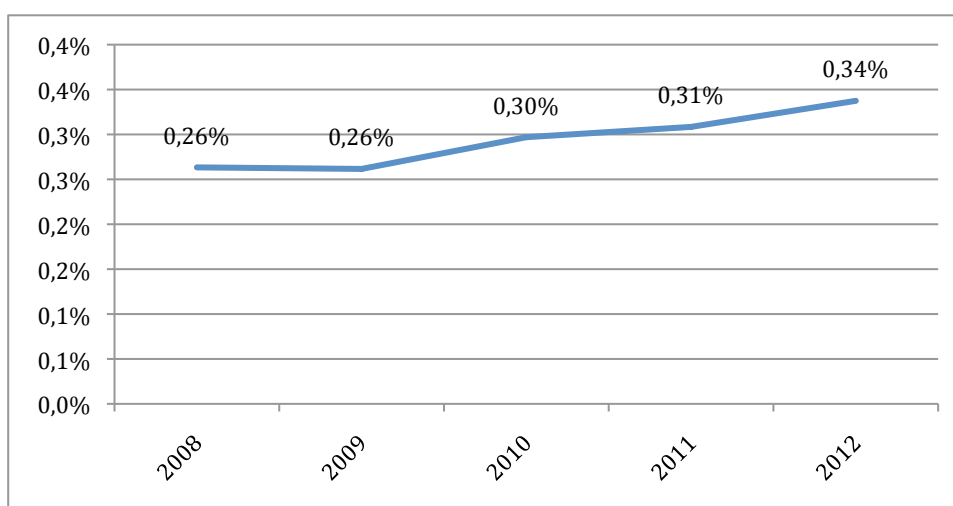
⁴ We want to clarify that there are no comparable data available for other cities. Moreover it is important to specify that the lack of comparable date is also due to the fact that each city has its own set of local minimum income measures showing for Italy a situation of high differentiation between municipalities concerning social inclusion policies.

Figure 9 – Number of persons receiving local minimum income from city of Turin (only Minimum Income/Reddito di mantenimento and Social Insertion Income/Reddito di inserimento sociale)



Source: City of Turin, Department of social services.

Figure 10 – Percentage of persons on local minimum income as part of the local population (only Minimum Income/Reddito di mantenimento and Social Insertion Income/Reddito di inserimento sociale)



Source: City of Turin, Department of social services.

The decrease in state and regional transfers to municipality of Turin (-33% in real value) has influenced an overall decreasing in social spending between 2008 and 2012 (-16% in real value), as table 9 and figure 11 show.

Comparing social spending data extracted from Turin budget with data coming from the analysis of municipal social spending made by ISTAT [2013b], it is possible to notice that

Turin in 2010 had an higher social spending per resident than Piedmont, which was € 143,6 (table 10).

Although social spending per resident has decreased by 16% between 2008 and 2012, social spending for economic assistance per resident has increased by 18% in the same period, as table 10 and figure 12 show.

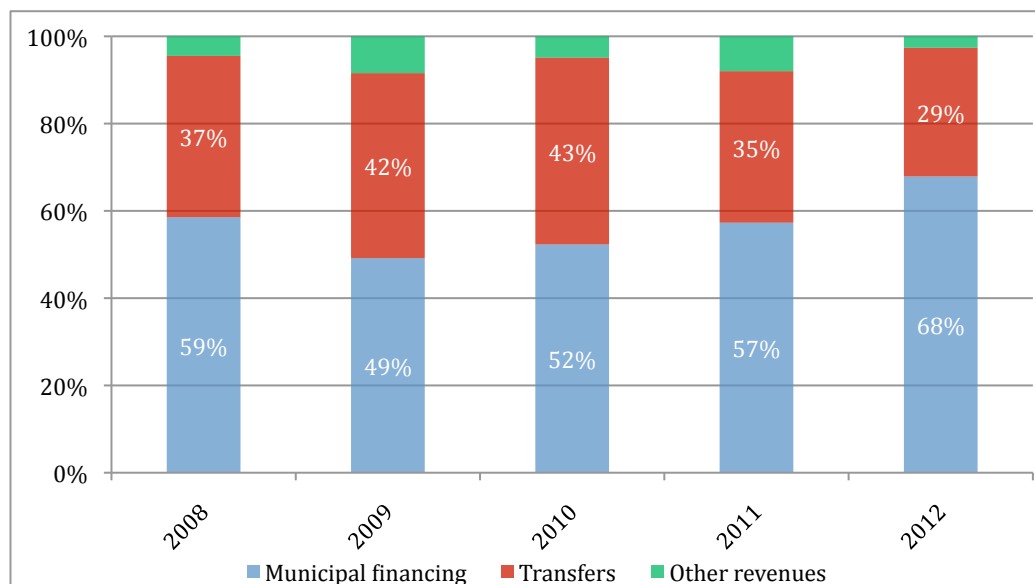
Table 9 – Expenditure for social assistance and source of financing in city of Turin (real price 2012)

	2008	2009	2010	2011	2012	Var. % 2008/2012
Total expenditure for social assistance	€ 190.638.693	€ 197.292.660	€ 190.152.272	€ 174.769.564	€ 159.971.859	-16%
Financing municipality	€ 111.617.592	€ 97.005.881	€ 99.468.936	€ 100.116.872	€ 108.603.609	-3%
Transfers	€ 70.472.546	€ 83.648.143	€ 81.424.303	€ 60.700.794	€ 47.173.985	-33%
Other revenue	€ 8.548.555	€ 16.638.637	€ 9.259.032	€ 13.951.897	€ 4.194.265	-51%

* This includes the cost of benefits for users (cash transfers and services), personal, management and maintenance of building, while it excludes interventions in charge of the local districts (*circoscrizioni*).

Source: City of Turin, Statistical Yearbook - Different Years.

Figure 11 – Type of financing for social assistance in municipality of Turin



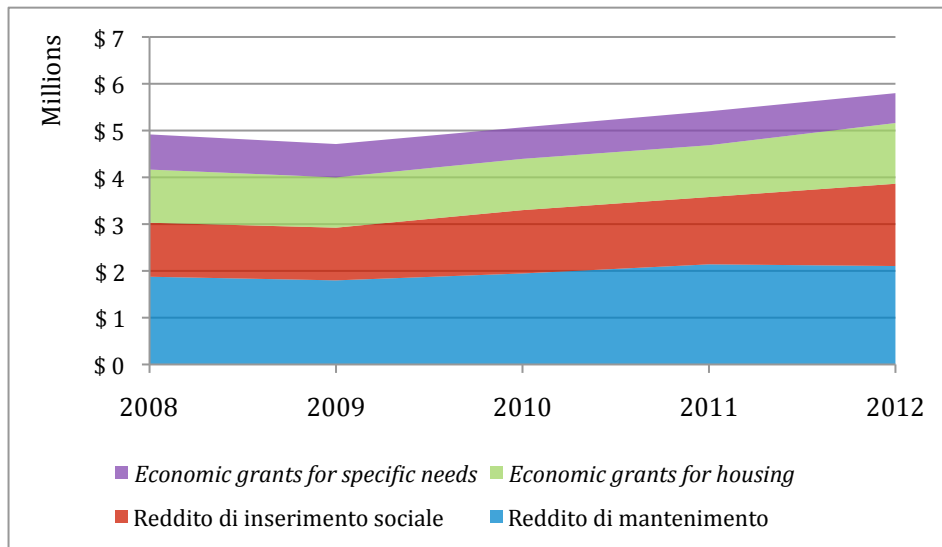
Source: City of Turin, Statistical Yearbook - Different Years.

Table 10 – Social spending per resident and social spending for economic assistance in city of Turin (real price 2012)

	2008	2009	2010	2011	2012	Var. % 2008/2012
Social spending per resident	€ 209,6	€ 216,7	€ 209,3	€ 192,7	€ 175,4	-16%
Total spending for economic assistance per resident	€ 5,41	€ 5,17	€ 5,58	€ 5,97	€ 6,36	18%

Source: Source: City of Turin, Department of social services.

Figure 12 – Total spending for economic assistance by municipality of Turin (million €, real price 2012)



Source: Source: City of Turin, Department of social services.

The low percentage of persons on minimum income support, as part of the population, in Turin (only 0.34 percent as shown in fig. 10) and the low number of people receiving local financial support (cf. figure 9) is due to the fact that the city of Turin provides last resort minimum income schemes and has defined and introduced very tight access criteria in order to receive local minimum income benefits – as we will explain in the following sections. In fact, the citizens excluded from public minimum income schemes generally turn to the network of third sector organizations (charities as Caritas and Saint Vincent Association, and instrumental bodies such as the Ufficio Pio) as highlighted in the report.

There are no comparable data on the number of beneficiaries of economic assistance at the local level because the benefits are of a discretionary nature in Italy and decided at the local level in connection to the resources available and to the anti-poverty policies implemented at the municipal tier. Therefore, it is not possible to say where Turin can be placed within the national context because this is out of the scope of this analysis focused on a single case.

However, it is likely that Turin has a greater number of beneficiaries compared to other cities because it has a higher level of welfare and a wide set of minimum income schemes.

2. Local political and institutional context and the debate on poverty

Italy has a three-tiered structure of government: regions, provinces, and municipalities. The municipal tier is made of a different and fragmented universe of over 8.000 municipalities, among which there are about one-hundred larger cities that also act as chief towns of province. In Italy there also three conurbations – Milan, Rome and Naples – with more than 5 millions inhabitants, four metropolitan system, among which is included Turin together with Bologna, Florence and Venice, and 9 metropolitan areas with over 400,000 people [Lefèvre 2013]. Municipalities and play a crucial role in the provision of a number of public services in urban areas, such as: social assistance, local police, street cleaning and maintenance, public transportation systems, water services, waste management, and environmental protection. Although municipal services used to be traditionally funded by central government lump-sum grants, two very important reforms implemented in the early 1990s strengthened accountability and fiscal autonomy of municipal governments by introducing respectively direct election of mayor in a plurality vote system⁵ and a municipal tax on residential and business property⁶. Both reforms proved to be very important in order to foster the devolution process and today Italy may be considered as strongly decentralized due to the many responsibilities given to the local governments and to their high political autonomy, although the State maintains a central role because of its control over a consistent part of resources and its legal power.

The history and the development of Turin is very closely linked with Fiat, the most important automotive industry in Italy⁷. After the Second World War Fiat become the symbol of Italy's miraculous economic boom and Turin experienced the most large growth rates of any Italian city during the post-war period. This led to a situation in which the city became economically and socially dependent on its major "employer" and when the global oil shock of early 1970s emerged Fiat's crisis determined also a very severe crisis for Turin itself. The city's population peaked at just over 1.2 million in 1975, thereafter entering a steady decline, reflecting the downturn in manufacturing industry [IRES 2006]. In the early 1990s Fiat that had once employed 140.000 people provided jobs for ca. 30.000 workers and employees (Winkler 2007). Turin entered the 1990s as a medium-sized city with clear signals of an industrial crisis. However two were the factors that prevented the devastating effects of the crisis on regional and provincial economy. The first was the generous public CIGS (*Cassa*

⁵ In 1993 it was introduced direct election of the mayor in a dual ballot in order to guarantee strength and stability to municipal legislatures, and to make them accountable to their electorate (law 81/1993). If no mayor candidate gets more than 50% of the votes at the first stage, the two most voted candidates run again at the second ballot, with a majority bonus of seats in the municipal Council being awarded to the coalition supporting the winning candidate.

⁶ The tax base is uniformly defined by the national government based on land register property values, and municipalities set the property tax rate between 0.4 and 0.7 percentage points of the assessed property value. Since a high proportion of Italian households (around 3/4) is home-owner, the local property tax has a great visibility and is generally perceived as a signal of the cost of local public services. In 2008, the national government (led by Silvio Berlusconi) abolished the local property tax on the first home dwellings. In 2012 the Monti government introduced a new property tax, called IMU (*Imposta Municipale Unica*). The tax calculation is based on a percentage of the value of each property, and it will be collected by the municipalities, where the properties are located. The Letta government put on his agenda the abolition of IMU, which is at the moment under discussion in Parliament.

⁷ It is worth noting that Turin was also the capital of the Kingdom of Savoy and the first capital of the Italian State between 1861 and 1866. Therefore in the past it played a royal and national status that has always significantly influenced the city's spirit and its traditions.

integrazione guadagni straordinaria) benefits to fired workers, traditionally awarded in emergency situations⁸. Fiat was permitted to make systematic use of this scheme. Secondly, the quite slow Fiat's decline gave its many local suppliers (i.e. medium and small enterprises) the necessary time to plan for diversification into new international markets, which they did with impressive efficiency [Winkler 2007].

In the 1980s, the restructuring of the company had caused social mobilization and territorial redistributions of residents, increasing territorial fragmentation and social marginality. However, the city's left-wing governments of the 1970s and 1980s (table 11) proved incapable of developing an effective strategy for facing city's social and political problems. For two decades local administrations were unable to balance the effect of industry-related market forces on the city with necessary regulatory strategies to soften the wider economic forces at work and their social effects. As pointed out by Winkler [2007], in that period services were overburdened, housing was overcrowded and unaffordable, an enforceable urban regulatory plan was lacking, there was little public housing, and social and cultural tensions between locals and immigrants were rising.

Table 11 – Mayors and party coalitions in Turin (1975-2013)

Period	Mayors	Party coalitions
1975-1980	Diego Novelli I (Pci)	Pci, Pri, Psdi, Psi
1980-1985	Diego Novelli II (Pci)	Pci, Pli, Pri, Psi
1985-1987	Giorgio Cardetti (Psi)	Dc, Pli, Pri, Psdi, Psi
1987-1990	Maria Magnani Noya (Psi)	Dc, Pli, Pri, Psdi, Psi
1990-1992	Valerio Zanone (Pli)	Dc, Pens, Pli, Pri, Psdi, Psi, V
1992-1992	Giovanna Cattaneo Incisa (Pri)	Dc, Pli, Pri, Psdi, Psi, V
1992-1992	<i>Commissioner</i>	
1993-1997	Valentino Castellani I (independent, center-left)	AT, Ds, V
1997-2001	Valentino Castellani II (independent, center-left)	AT, Ds, Pens, Ppi, VS
2001-2006	Sergio Chiamparino I (Ds)	AT, Ci, Ds, Idv, Pens, Sdi
2006-2011	Sergio Chiamparino II (Pd)	Ci, Idv, Rnp, M, Rc, Udeur, Ulivo, Usr, V
2011- in office	Piero Fassino (Pd)	Pd, Moderati per Fassino, Sel, Idv,

Legenda: Pci, Partito comunista italiano (Italian Communist Party); Pri, Partito repubblicano italiano (Italian Republican Party), Psdi, Partito socialdemocratico italiano (Italian Social Democratic Party); Psi, Partito socialista italiano (Italian Socialist Party); Pli, Partito liberale italiano (Italian Liberal Party); Pens, Lista Pensionati (Retired People List); V, Verdi (Greens); AT, Alleanza per Torino (Alliance for Turin); Ds, Democratici di sinistra (Democrats of the Left); Ppi, Partito popolare italiano (Italian Popular Party); VS, Verdi-Sole che ride (Greens-Sun Laughing); Ci, Comunisti italiani (Italian Communists); Rc, Rifondazione comunista (Communist Refoundation); Idv, Italia dei valori (Italy of Values Party); Sdi, Socialisti democratici italiani (Italian Democratic Socialists); Sel, Sinistra Ecologia Libertà (Left Ecology Liberty).

Source: Turin Municipality website.

⁸ CIGS was the scheme aimed at Temporary Wage Compensation in case of economic crisis that was used as a functional equivalent of a non-existing adequate unemployment benefit. Most employees of large and medium size manufacturing industries were covered by this scheme.

In the early 1990s the situation started to change and a strategic recovery process took place thanks to the approval of a new local electoral law, which – as we have seen - introduced directly elected mayors and gave them large executive power and resources. The mayor appoints his/her own Aldermans (*Assessori*) to form the City Board, as well as a city manager, who is the equivalent of a chief executive. The effect of this reform was very significant and immediate. Mayors in the country were given a new political visibility. Accountability and transparency suddenly came to characterize a political system that in Italy had long been dominated by insider interests and proved to be untouchable.

During the 1990s the strengthening of the role of mayors was accompanied by a series of laws on decentralization, primarily the 1990 Municipal Authority Act and the 1997 Bassanini laws, which devolved significant powers to local governments. Prior to this, Italian municipalities were characterized by a complete lack of financial autonomy and subjected by central government controls, making them both inefficient and unaccountable to the local electorate. These reforms greatly improved organizational effectiveness of Italian city Councils. Moreover, the 1990 Act allowed mayors to privatize municipal enterprises, so that Councils could withdraw from the direct management of services [Le Galès, 2006] and this proved to be of particular importance in the following years.

In Turin the election of its first directly elected mayor took place in 1993, against the backdrop of national political scandals that threw all of Italian major political parties into disarray. After years of party-driven, patronage local politics, the reaction at the local level was a mobilization of civil society, which led a moderate centre-left candidate, Valentino Castellani, to win the election. Castellani, rather having a political background, was a moderate belonging to civil society⁹, and this contributed to renew citizens' trust in local politicians. As pointed out by Winkler “the leadership of an empowered and non-party-politicized mayor gave Turin’s administration a refreshing credibility, which was to prove one of its key assets in the following years” [Winkler 2007, p. 22].

As Belligni and Ravazzi [2013a; 2013b] have described, at the beginning of the 1990s businessmen and professionals, grouped around the powerful president of local Chamber of Commerce, formed the “Group of 70” with the aim of proposing a candidate alternative to the one of “radical” left and supporting a new coalition and a new agenda focused on economic growth. The Group of 70 prepared a document (“*Torino Incontra 1992*”) explaining which policy issues the next city government should address and privilege. After long and tense debates, Left Democrats Party (Pds) endorsed the idea of a radical change in political strategies and, together with these new “civil society” groups, proposed a common candidate alternative to the former left-wing mayor Diego Novelli. At the end, the new candidate Castellani was supported by the most moderate members of the left (Pds and Greens), by many circles of intellectuals, professionals, businessmen and representatives of catholic and liberal associations. This new coalition settled at the top of the municipal administration, keeping the government of the city for the following five mandates.

In particular, the period between 1995 and 2006 is unanimously considered the “golden age” of the new city of Turin. In more than ten year the city embarked in a significant transformation of its economy developing new sectors linked with the knowledge economy and undertaking a urban regeneration program based on a modernization of its infrastructure. Belligni and Ravazzi (2013a), referring to this period, speaks of three different sub-agendas of

⁹ Castellani was a Professor at the University of Turin.

the city's government: the *polycentric city*, an urban planning agenda that focused on housing and infrastructures aiming at the 2006 Olympic Winter Games; the *polytechnic city*, in order to transform Turin into a high-tech city; and the *pyrotechnic city*, based on a large array of projects and initiatives aimed at giving culture a pivotal role also in terms of economic growth¹⁰.

From the beginning Castellani emphasized that Turin was operating in a new internationally competitive paradigm that required a very different style of management from that of previous industrial period. He recognized that the city administration would have neither expertise, nor resources to address this challenge alone. In order to recover, it would have to build new relationships – both internally within the city itself and externally with the wider region and the European Union. In fact Castellani was able to make the municipal government working with neighboring municipalities, Province of Turin and Piedmont Region, by actively involving them in the debate about city's future.

The severe industrial crisis led leading local leaders, belonging to different spheres such as public and private, academic and entrepreneurial, cultural and economic, to support Castellani. He was helped in his effort by Turin's long tradition of civic involvement dating from the medieval era of self-governing Northern Italian city-states, which fostered cooperation across civil society [Putnam 1993]. With the powers granted by new electoral law and thanks to his image of moderate politician, Castellani was able to recruit a group of experts from academic and entrepreneurial arenas [Dente *et alii*, 2005], in order to draw up a recovery plan for the city – the so-called Strategic Plan (*Piano Strategico per la Città*)¹¹. In doing so, he formed a close-knit and committed network of persons with expertise and resources to implement the Plan collectively.

The priority was to address city's fiscal crisis and to get rid of debt and attract new funds. Due to the lack of available resources from national government and to the city's budget deficit, the ability to raise funds from non-governmental sources came to be especially important. Compagnia di San Paolo and CRT Foundation - Turin's two most important bank foundations - became major sponsors of the city's recovery effort. This was possible because in 1990 a new legislation on bank foundations was approved and between 1990 and 1998 the Italian Bank Foundations were reformed and became an important actor patronizing urban development. Among other things the reform of bank foundations established that foundations' funds must only be used for not-for-profit activities. In Turin, local bank foundations contribute around € 300 million per year, matching combined municipal and regional annual spending on large-scale regeneration projects [Winkler 2007; and interviews no. 1, 8, 12].

The city's financial reforms were further helped by national legislation throughout the 1990s, which increase municipalities' financial autonomy. The most important reform concerned the introduction of a municipal tax on property, which accounts for a significant proportion of the municipal budget. Secondly, as we have seen, the 1990 municipal authority act allowed

¹⁰ Belligni and Ravazzi [2013a; 2013b] envisage also elements of weakness in this “three folds” policy agenda. The three sub-agendas were not really integrated into a single project of urban change but mostly they proceeded separately, each claiming the strategic primacy and aiming to obtain the maximum amount of resources.

¹¹ More information and documents on the first and the second Strategic Plan are available at the “Torino Strategica” web site, <http://www.torinostrategica.it>. It is worth noting that is today under discussion and definition the third Strategic Plan *Progettare il futuro. Il Piano strategico “Torino Metropoli 2025”*.

mayors to privatize municipal enterprises, so that councils could withdraw from the direct management of services. Taking advantage of legislation, mayor Castellani privatized several of the core municipal services (some of the city's major museums, for example, were transformed into foundations with private partners, who were henceforth in charge of managing them).

In 2000 Castellani presented the Strategic Plan, an integrated economic development document, which sets collaboratively defined objectives relating to the future of the city, and aimed to make the best possible use of resources to achieve them. Turin was the first Italian city to approve a strategic economic plan. The two-year debate that produced the Plan involved a strong network of 57 leading individuals, committed to implementing the Plan collaboratively, using both their own expertise and resources to which they had access. The development of Plan began in 1998, following the re-election of mayor Castellani for his second five-year mandate. His administration was characterized by an unprecedented openness to new ideas and policy innovation, including learning from other cities' experiences via an active international networking program [Winkler 2007]. The implementation of Strategic Plan (as well as other crucial projects for the city¹²) has been made possible by over 20 years of political continuity provided first by mayor Castellani and then by his centre-left successor, mayor Chiamparino, who won two mandates. This continuity is assured by the actual Mayor Piero Fassino, elected in May 2011.

The deliberation of Strategic Plan was highly participative, involving economic, academic, cultural, social and political stakeholders as well as hundreds of citizens, in an interactive debate based on dozens of workshops, conventions and seminars. It was based on the broad-based expertise of multiple stakeholders, making them practically engaged in the vision it set out, and ensuring their commitment to its delivery. Moreover, it was strongly rooted in city and its particular characteristics. The Plan was based on a thorough assessment of city's strengths, weaknesses, opportunities, and threats to assess competitive advantage, namely the report "Towards the Plan".

An independent association "Torino Internazionale" was set up in May 2000 to promote, facilitate and monitor the delivery of the Plan¹³. It defined a 10-year "road map" for the city's development to which all actors could refer and established specific aims and a specific time-frame with 84 actions to be implemented by 2011. The existence of this framework maximized synergies across projects, and reduced risks of duplication and fragmentation. Having a Plan helped attract resources from major funding bodies such as the EU, for whom a specific project's link with the city-wide development plan was a key funding requirement. Largely due to the Plan, Turin was awarded the 2006 Winter Olympic Games receiving a clear endorsement of its efforts to promote a new image.

A second Plan was consulted on and published in 2006 to address gaps in the first, and update it based on delivery progress. It also mobilized an even greater range of resources and was crucial to building public-private partnership capacity in the city. As Walker [2007, p. 29] has pointed out, the Plan "flattened hierarchies and built relationships between institutions and actors in a city long characterized by an inward-looking, 'master-servant' paradigm, reflected in the popular characterization of Torino as a 'one-company town'".

¹² We are referring to the Urban Masterplan approved in 1995 and to the Porta Palazzo neighborhood regeneration project between 1998 and 2001 [for details see Winkler 2007].

¹³ At the same time other two independent agencies were created: an inward investment agency, Invest in Turin and Piedmont (ITP), and a tourism promotion agency, Turismo Torino.

In May 2001 Chiamparino was elected mayor of the city of Turin. Five years later, in May 2006, he was re-elected with more than 66% of votes. Chiamparino's strategic vision of the city of Turin focuses on economic development and social cohesion. The planning directives for 2001 to 2006 set out how to implement this vision. During the last decade the development of Turin proceeded in the direction of converging the city's traditional manufacturing and automotive industry with the technical-scientific business sector. The mayor wants Turin to become a centre for industrial innovation and for information and communication business. This development involved not only efforts to enforce the drive towards innovation but also the renewal of entire industrial areas. The city of Turin used the 2006 winter Olympics to promote itself on the worldwide stage. The Olympic games forced the City to complete major infrastructure and cultural projects by 2006 and thus acted as a powerful factor to drive Turin's development forward. Chiamparino also believed that for a city to ensure long-term success for its citizens and businesses it must be developed into a humane and safe community. Vulnerable groups of people and minorities must be part of civic society. Since mid-2000s and especially after the 1998 economic crisis Turin has started to develop many projects, aiming to improve quality of life for its citizens. The needs of families and new poor are being addressed as a priority. Other projects deal with housing, education of children, elderly, integration of first and second generation non-EU immigrants and training-linked employment prospects, as we will illustrate in the following paragraphs.

Currently, the city is governed by a centre-left coalition and its mayor is Piero Fassino¹⁴, who was elected in May 2011 in the first round with 56,6% of votes. Fassino's political agenda is devoted to guarantee a particular attention towards vulnerable people in all network activities dealing with combating poverty and social exclusion, promoting employment, entrepreneurship, training, social inclusion, culture and urban regeneration. Fassino's commitment on this front has been very recently confirmed during the renewal of the City Council: in July 2013 the Alderman for Social services – Elide Tisi – has been nominated also vice-mayor, stressing the point that one of the main goals is to give more attention to the social face of the crisis. Moreover the local administration aims providing more tools to build a wide range of opportunities for young people and to contrast labour market problems.

Turin – and its local politicians and administrative staff together with third sector organizations – has over the last decades taken an extensive political effort on combating poverty, social exclusion and inequalities. The city has been very active in running projects and programs aiming to counterbalance social problems. As we illustrated before, Turin has been facing major social problems such as high unemployment rates, high costs for social assistance, pervasive patterns of marginalization and social exclusion. Each of these factors form the basis to which the city has been very active in both accepting nation-wide social interventions as well as developing local program, projects and methods on their own. What is characteristic of local government institutions in Turin is their willingness of negotiating solutions directly with all others public and private actors already active around specific issues, such as social and labor policies. The city has also promoted a new territorial approach in its integration policies, by activating, coordinating and supporting specific initiatives in the neighborhoods by empowering people and associations. The main characteristics of the work carried out by Turin is the close relation between urban renovation and integration (interviews no. 1, 7, 12, 13).

¹⁴ Fassino was the last national secretary of the former Democrats of the left party and, Italy's Minister of Foreign Trade (1998-2000) and Minister of Justice (2000-2001).

3. Governance structure and formal regulation of local minimum income scheme and measures against poverty

In the late 1990s the so called Bassanini Law (Law 59/1997) started a process of devolution of competences, previously owned by the national level, to Regions (*Regioni*), Provinces (*Province*) and Municipalities (*Comuni*). Legislative decree 112/1998 (which enabled the implementation of Bassanini Law) and successive laws deeply increased the role of local levels of government in many areas, including social and labor policies. These decentralization laws (box 1) have specified sectoral competences which the State and the regions could delegate to the lower tiers, and have strengthened fiscal and legal powers of regions and municipalities.

Concerning the municipal level, *Comune* has competencies as regards retailing activities, tourism, agriculture, primary education, childcare, town planning, municipal infrastructures, public transportation, local police, and culture, while it retains a marginal role as regards labor policies, mainly due to its average size in the country. Although, in the case of large city as Turin, a certain number of programs in the field of labor are offered at the municipal level as well.

Box 1. The main decentralization laws in 1990s and early 2000s

- Law 142/1990: increase of the financial autonomy of municipalities; allowed for privatization of municipal services; allowed municipalities to unite and create metropolitan areas (but very few chose to do so since incentives were lacking, and individual municipalities felt they had little to gain from ceding their power to a central body).
- Law 81/1993: introduction of direct election of city mayors, province presidents, municipal Council and provincial Council; strengthen of powers of city mayors.
- Laws 59/1997 and 127/1997 (Bassanini laws): strengthen of local executives; transfer of most administrative responsibilities to the Regions, allowed each to determine its own division of power.
- Law 112/1998: established principle of subsidiarity and encouraged relationships between State, Regions, Provinces and municipalities.
- 2001 Constitutional reform (articles 114, 117 and 119): devolution of financial autonomy and substantial policy remits to Regions, including the ability to levy their own taxes, manage their own revenues and control education and environment policies.

As regards social assistance, Legislative decree 112/1998 gave functions and competences to *Comuni* for a number of targets groups in the respect of Regional Law: minors, young people, elderly, families, handicapped, drug abusers. Furthermore, Law 328/2000 made *Regioni* responsible alone for selection of objectives, priorities and planning, and only the respect of national minimum standards was left to central government, following subsidiarity principle [WP5, Madama, Natili and Jessoula 2013]. Regions, in turn, gave new responsibilities to municipalities for what concerns all administrative functions related to organization and

supply of social services and also childcare services. Between regions and municipalities we found provinces, which represent an intermediate level in the planning of integrated systems of social interventions and services, although they are responsible for the provision of services for a limited number of target groups: deaf-mute, blind and homeless children.

Since the end of 1970s policies targeted at people in a situation of economic and social need were under the responsibility of regional and local authorities. The lack of a framework law at national level left regions and municipalities in a legislative vacuum for more than twenty years. A national framework law was approved only in 2000, as we have seen in the national report [WP5, Madama, Natili and Jessoula 2013]. Until then, many regions had approved regional framework laws on social assistance while some did not. Moreover, in doing that, regions did not coordinate their efforts, so that there were different access criteria to benefits and services in different regions. Within this framework, municipalities designed specific rules for specific categories, often interpreting the framework law loosely and maintaining high discretion in distribution of benefits. One main consequence of this complex situation has been the consolidation of a differentiated system of social citizenship, framed by very different legal contexts within which citizens are entitled to different sets of rights, related not so much to their situation of need, but to the specific eligibility rules and to the specific way in which social services are organized at local level and especially where they live. Moreover, in a context of budget constraints, claimants are categorized in target groups like minors, single mothers, the elderly.

The new framework law (328/2000) on social assistance and social services tried to address this situation of increased vulnerability and fragmentation by defining some general criteria with the aim to overcome existing policy differences among local contexts and foreseeing non discretionary rights. According to this law State has the responsibility for defining “Essential levels of provision” (Lep) and to structure social policies by providing guidelines to regions and municipalities. The involvement of civil society and third sector also represents one of the main innovative aspects of law 328/2000. Furthermore, the revision of Italian Constitution in 2001 entailed a new role for municipalities, which became, according to the principle of subsidiarity, the main actors of social policies within a context in which regions have gained legislative power (and in some areas also exclusive competences) over most policies areas (health, education and means-tested income maintenance, social assistance).

As underlined by Madama, Natili and Jessoula [2013], the absence of a binding national framework regulating social assistance allowed wide institutional fragmentation as well as variation at local level. Regional and municipal social assistance contributions and services tended in fact to be discretionary, uncertain in their delivery and heavily nationalized by budgetary constraints [Fargion, 1997; Negri and Saraceno, 1996]. On this respect it is worth noting that the payment of benefit depended (and still depends) on availability of financial resources within local budgets. It could, therefore, happen that when the need for financial support is higher in reason of a particularly negative economic cycle, municipalities had no resources to ensure any kind of interventions.

Table 12 summarizes main schemes to fight poverty that are working in Turin. It becomes clear how much various and fragmented is the system at local level under many points of views: policy area, requirements criteria, institutional levels involved. To make a better understanding of such complex situation the next subparagraphs will present a brief classification about different measures against poverty.

In general, throughout Italy welfare benefits against poverty are very fragmented. Depending on the different schemes and benefits, the performance of the different access criteria, the source of financing, the definition of the amount of the benefits, the collection of applications, verification of the requirements and the payment of the sums are related to the competencies and responsibilities of public administrations placed at different territorial levels. In fact, there is a plurality of entities/institutions involved in social assistance policies and anti-poverty measures, which complicates the degree of access for the citizens. Moreover, there is a problem of coordination between the different level of government and the coordination mechanism is very complex and may result in delays and slowdowns in terms of provision of monetary benefits and services (the case of the Housing Fund is a clear example, as we shown in section 3.1.1).

Table 12 – Division of responsibility between levels of government on measures to fight poverty in Turin

Category	Scheme	Determination of access criteria	Financing source	Amount's definition	Where submit application form	Check of requirements	Payment	
NATIONAL AND REGIONAL MEASURES AGAINST POVERTY IMPLEMENTED AT LOCAL LEVEL	MATERNITY ALLOWANCE	National law	National law	National law	CAF	CAF	INPS	
	FAMILY ALLOWANCE FOR AT LEAST 3 MINOR CHILDREN	National law	National law	National law	CAF	CAF	INPS	
	ECONOMIC CONTRIBUTION FOR AT LEAST 4 CHILDREN	Regional decree	N R	Regional decree	Municipality	Municipality	Municipality	
	NEW SOCIAL CARD	National law	National law	National law	Municipality	Municipality	Welfare national agency	
	FUND FOR RENT SUPPORT	N R	N R	Regional decree	Municipality	Municipality	Municipality	
	REGIONAL SOCIAL FUND	Regional decree	N R	N R	ATC	ATC	N M	
	REDDITO DI MANTENIMENTO	Municipality	Municipality	Municipality	Municipality	Municipality	Municipality	
	REDDITO DI INSERIMENTO SOCIALE	Municipality	Municipality	Municipality	Municipality	Municipality	Municipality	
	ECONOMIC GRANTS FOR HOUSING	Municipality	Municipality	Municipality	Municipality	Municipality	Municipality	
	ECONOMIC GRANTS FOR SPECIFIC NEEDS	Municipality	Municipality	Municipality	Municipality	Municipality	Municipality	
ECONOMIC ASSISTANCE DESIGNED AND IMPLEMENTED BY CITY OF TURIN	BONUS FOR ELECTRICITY	National law	Regulatory authority	Regulatory authority	CAF	CAF	Energy company	
	BONUS FOR GAS	National law	Regulatory authority	Regulatory authority	CAF	CAF	Gas supplier	
	BONUS FOR WATER	Regulatory authority	Regulatory authority	Regulatory authority	Water supplier	Water supplier	Water supplier	
	FEE REDUCTION FOR LOCAL WASTE SERVICE - TARSU	Municipality	Municipality	Municipality	Municipality	Municipality	Waste company	
	TAX REFUND FOR MUNICIPAL PROPERTY TAX - IMU	Municipality	Municipality	Municipality	Municipality	Municipality	Municipality	
	MUNICIPAL INCOME TAX EXEMPTION - IRPEF	Municipality	Municipality	Municipality	Municipality	Municipality	Municipality	
	FEE AND TAX REDUCTIONS		National law	Regulatory authority	Regulatory authority	CAF	CAF	Energy company
			National law	Regulatory authority	Regulatory authority	CAF	CAF	Gas supplier
			Regulatory authority	Regulatory authority	Regulatory authority	Water supplier	Water supplier	Water supplier
			Municipality	Municipality	Municipality	Municipality	Municipality	Waste company

3.1 National and regional measures against poverty implemented at the local level

The first category includes national and regional measures introduced over the last 15 years and implemented at local level, that can be grouped in two policy areas:

- family policy: maternity allowance, family allowance for at least 3 minor children, economic contribution for at least 4 children, new social card
- housing policy: fund for rent support, and regional social fund

Almost all these measures, with the only exception of new social card – which we will discuss later on – present similar characteristics:

- requirements criteria and amounts are pre-determined by the national or regional law, so they are identical in all country/region and cannot be reduced by local authorities;
- they are configured as individual enforceable right, this means that municipalities cannot delay or deny their provision motivating it with the lack of resources available, otherwise they can be prosecuted by citizens;
- municipalities have a minimal implementation role as mere local executive agency: they can only collect citizens' demands, validate and deliver them to those who are in charge of the payment (this is quite far from a more autonomous role that would allow local municipalities to build organic and coordinated projects for family poverty).

3.1.1 Family policies

Maternity allowance – for each new child if mother is not covered by any forms of maternity insurance (if she gets a lower one she can receive the difference) – and **family allowance for at least 3 minor children** were both set up by law 488/1998 and share some similarities:

- household income and assets are used to calculate an index of economic situation (ISEE)¹⁵, which must not exceed the following thresholds in order to access them:
 - o maternity allowance: € 34.873,24 for 3 people;
 - o family allowance for at least 3 minor children: € 25.108,71 for 5 people;
- for families with different composition, thresholds are recalculated according to an equivalence scale that takes also into account particular situations, such as single parent family or disabled children;
- economic contribution is respectively € 334,53 for 5 months and € 139,49 for 13 months; they are increased annually through consumer price index set by national statistical office (ISTAT), they are paid by INPS and can be accumulated;
- operational procedures have been delegated by municipality of Turin to tax assistance centers (CAF), which collect applications and check eligibility criteria¹⁶.

In addition, City of Turin provided a **monetary contribution to households with at least four children** from 2009 and 2011, according to law 296/2006. Eligibility criteria included: 1) residence in Turin; 2) family with at least 4 children under 25 years; 3) Italian, EU citizenship or long-term residence permit; 4) ISEE indicator less than € 29.000. Amount of

¹⁵ ISEE (Equivalent Financial Position Indicator) is an indicator introduced by legislative decree 109/1998 to measure economic situation of applicants for social assistance ; it is determined by combining three elements: income, assets and composition of the household.

¹⁶ This decision implies some disadvantages for beneficiaries because they have to move around to apply for the benefits, but on the other hand this avoid to overload social services, which are normally very busy to handle increasing demands from citizens.

grants were variable over different years, depending on number of applications and national-regional funding. However since 2011 this measure has not been renewed for lack of funding.

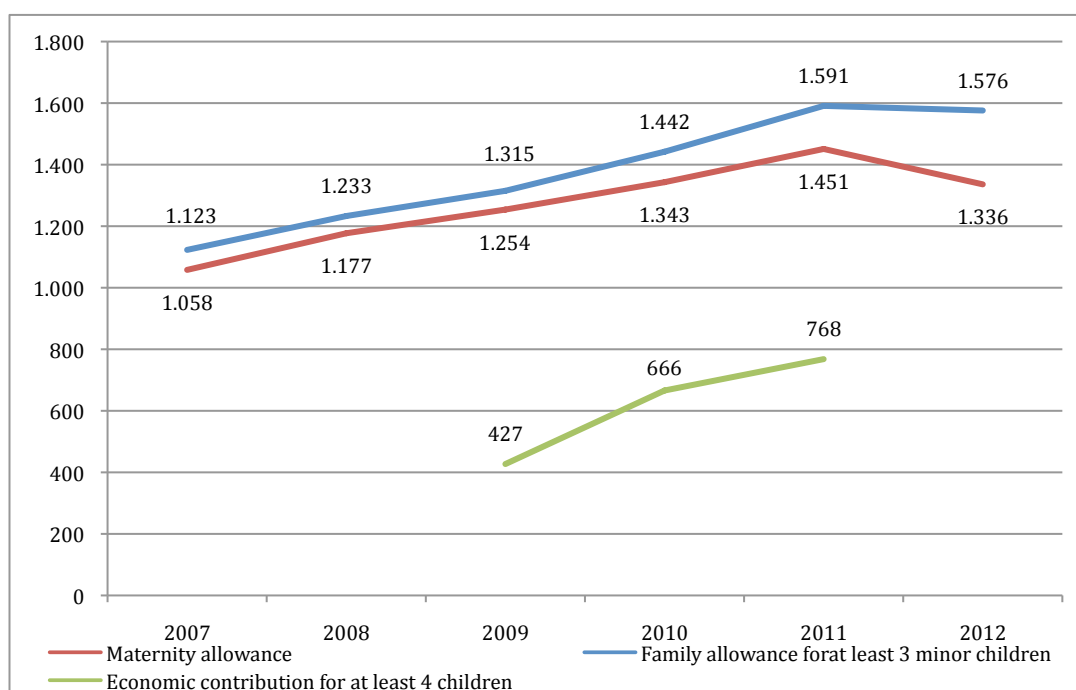
Figure 14 shows the increasing number of benefits given between 2007 and 2012, even though in 2012 there was a slight reduction of maternity allowances and family allowance for at least 3 children.

Table 13 – Grant amount and total expenditure for maternity allowances, family allowances for at least three minor children and economic contribution for at least 4 children (nominal value)

Year		2007	2008	2009	2010	2011	2012
MATERNITY ALLOWANCE	GRANT AMOUNT	€ 1.473	€ 1.498	€ 1.546	€ 1.556	€ 1.581	€ 1.624
	TOTAL EXPENDITURE	€ 1.562.162	€ 1.760.473	€ 1.960.404	€ 2.117.445	€ 2.302.950	€ 2.186.876
FAMILY ALLOWANCE ALLOWANCE 3 CHILDREN	GRANT AMOUNT	€ 1.596	€ 1.624	€ 1.676	€ 1.687	€ 1.714	€ 1.761
	TOTAL EXPENDITURE	€ 930.335	€ 1.052.504	€ 1.380.458	€ 1.424.008	€ 1.549.625	€ 1.557.274
ECONOMIC CONTRIBUTI ON 4 CHILDREN	GRANT AMOUNT	-	-	€ 392	€ 646	€ 454	-
	TOTAL EXPENDITURE	-	-	€ 167.465	€ 430.422	€ 348.526	-

Source: City of Turin, Department of social services.

Figure 14 – Number of maternity allowances, family allowances for at least three minor children and economic contribution for at least 4 children managed by the municipalities of Turin



Source: City of Turin, Department of social services.

A very recent national scheme, which differs significantly from previous ones, is the **New Social Card** (NSC) which try to introduce significant innovations in institutional relations in the fight against poverty at local level [WP5, Madama, Natili and Jessoula 2013]. It was introduced by Decree-law 5/2012 as an experimental national program to fight minor poverty for households in hardship economic conditions¹⁷. It involves 12 cities over 250.000 inhabitants, with Turin being one of the selected participants. Local policy-makers have welcomed it with favor, mainly for two reasons: 1) it is an opportunity to invest more financial resources, integrating existing policies against poverty; 2) it promotes an active involvement of municipalities and third sector organizations in selecting beneficiaries and developing individual activation projects [Moreggia, Tisi and Centillo, interviews no. 2, 7, 12].

Implementation process is clearly designed in decree of Ministry of labor and social policy of 10 January 2013, which defines:

- distribution of national funds at the local level;
- eligibility requirements;
- amount of benefits;
- details about timing and following administrative steps;
- tasks assigned to municipalities.

National funding are allocated locally according to absolute poverty indicators measured by ISTAT, which amounts to € 3.830.236 for Turin. Considering the average monthly amount, it is estimated that nearly a thousand households will receive the new social card in Turin, that corresponds almost to 10% of all people meeting access criteria.

Municipalities are responsible for collecting applications, checking priority conditions and selecting beneficiaries, while payment is attributed to a national agency (INPS). City of Turin decided to involve all leading third sector organizations – participating in the informal body against poverty inaugurated in 2011 (*Tavolo Coordinamento Povertà, Board on Poverty Coordination*) – during all implementation phases and launched a public call for application, in order to allow the widest participation of beneficiaries [Elide Tisi, interview no. 7].

The Councilor for social assistance policies, Elide Tisi, explained the genesis of the Board on Poverty Coordination. About two years ago a Conference on local welfare¹⁸ was promoted and organized by the city of Turin, in which a public confrontation among many public and no profit organizations was made possible. From that first meeting a series of smaller board of comparison and debate were organized in the following months in order to foster a much more active coordination in anti-poverty intervention and measures. This was very important in making awareness of mutual recognition growing and in making the emergence of the need of work together on the planning of interventions and sharing problems [interview no. 7]. At the end of the Conference the Mayor of Turin – Pietro Fassino - claimed that the conference promoted by the City came from the awareness of the need for a "strategic rethink" of welfare based on the idea of sharing values and experiences between all the different stakeholders. The basic premise of this rethinking “must be the rejection of the idea that - because of the contraction of the financial resources available - the welfare state should be reduced to a marginal sector of intervention”.

¹⁷ This experimental program will be evaluated by the Ministry of Labor and Social Policy in order to possibly extend its scope in all the country.

¹⁸ We are referring to the First General Conference on Welfare in the City of Turin held in Turin on December 16th, 2011 (for more information see: <http://www.secondowelfare.it/enti-locali/prima-conferenza-generale-del-welfare-della-citta-di-torino.html>).

The New Social Card consists in a pre-paid electronic card, whose monthly amount depends on the number of household members, as table 14 shows.

Table 14 - New social card – monthly contribution

Family size	Monthly contribution
2 persons	€ 231
3 persons	€ 281
4 persons	€ 331
5 or more persons	€ 404

Source: Decree of Ministry of Labor and Social Policy of 10 January 2013.

Amount paid by new social card is considered equivalent to income, therefore if an household is eligible also for economic assistance from social services it will receive only the amount required to reach the threshold set by the municipality.

Basic requirements for New Social Card were established by Ministry of labor and social policy and consist of¹⁹:

- having at least one minor child;
- being Italian, EU citizens or foreigners holding a long residence permit;
- being resident in Turin at least for a year;
- being in a situation of economic hardship (e.g. ISEE indicator is below € 3.000, financial assets are below € 8.000, ICI (property tax) indicator is below € 30.000, do not buy a car in the last year);
- not receiving monthly welfare benefits for more than € 600;
- being all unemployed at the date of application, but at least one must have been employed in last 36 months.

According to Ministry of labor and social policy database, Turin households eligible for new social card are about 11.000, however funding available are not sufficient to support all of them. For this reason the municipality approved act 02301/19, which contains scores in order to form a priority list, as table 15 shows.

Municipality will offer at half of households included in the program a personal project aimed to fight poverty, re-employment and social inclusion. These projects will be designed by social services and labor services in partnership with third sector organizations. They will imply monitoring and will provide active involvement for all household members in the following activities: frequent contacts and meetings with social project managers, active job search, training courses, attendance and commitment to school for children, actions toward maintaining a proper home. Failure to adhere to these activation projects or incompatible conduct with their goals will lead to exclusion from the benefit and economic assistance offered by municipality of Turin.

As we have seen, the New Social Card represents an economic opportunity for increasing resources for combating against poverty in twelve Italian cities. A new and very important

¹⁹ On this specific aspect cf. also the COPE National Report on the Italian case, which devotes wide attention to the “New social card” introduced in 2013.

feature of the NSC is the involvement of non-profit stakeholders in terms of activation policies to be implemented, although – in the case of Turin as well as for the other eleven municipalities – it is still early to know which projects and initiatives will be put in place in the following months at the local level in order to support the NSC beneficiaries. In general this is an element that has been appreciated as Elite Tisi underlined in her interview [no. 7]. Nonetheless, some doubts remain about the financing of these activities since they are a responsibility of the third sector organizations, which are and will be involved in their implementation. Secondly, it is not possible to say that the New Social Card will contribute to reduce the discretionary powers of local authorities in the field of social policy and minimum income protection, because - as for other services and programs - they remain free to define the criteria for its implementation.

Table 15 - New social card: scores for priority list

Category	Indicator	Score
Residence	Residence for at least 2 years	2
Serious housing problems	Eviction	5
	Temporary accommodation in social housing or hotel paid by social services	8
Household characteristics	Single parent household	4
	Three minor children	2
	More than three minor children	3
	Child with disabilities	3
	Benefited economic assistance from the social services during previous 3 months	4

Source: Turin City Council Act 02301/19 of 2013.

3.1.1 Housing policies

Fund for rent support is a national measure for income support established by law 431/1998, which provides a grant to sustain households with disadvantaged economic status in the payment of rent of a public or private house.

Economic grant is assigned to household through a public notice, which is normally issued by municipality of residence a year later with respect to which rent was paid²⁰. Theoretical grant for each beneficiary is equal to the sum needed to reduce the ratio between rent and household income at a threshold set every year; however, apart from the first two editions, the amount actually paid to beneficiaries has been lower than the theoretical one since funds received by

²⁰ However, the payment of grant of 2012 edition has been very delayed compared to previous years because there were financial problems and administrative management system was very complex (economic contributions were provided to households during 2013, at a distance of about 3 years from the payment of rent) [Magnano, interview no. 6].

the municipality of Turin (but more in general by all the Italian municipalities) have always been below the financial need.

From 1999 to 2012 have been carried out 13 editions to distribute grants among households. The latest edition was in 2012 – relating to the rent paid in 2010 – and it was characterized by new features compared to the past, because access criteria were completely revisited as a result of significant reductions in national funding.

The governance structure of fund for rent support is quite complex. Funding is determined annually in the national budget law, but each region can add more resources for its residents.

Table 16 and figure 15 show resources made available by national and regional government for Piedmont households. The first edition has received approximately € 23.5 million. Over time financial resources were reduced to € 16 million in the fourth edition, they reached the maximum amount during the seventh and eighth edition with € 30 million, they stabilized around € 24 million between the ninth and eleventh edition, finally there were reduced significantly to € 8.5 million in the latest edition of 2012. Since then, national and regional financing have been suspended, but the issue is on the agenda of negotiations between national government and the national association of Italian municipalities (ANCI).

This trend was influenced both by changes in national and regional government – usually center-left coalitions have showed greater interest in this measure with increasing funding, than center-right coalitions which tried to cut them – and by the financial crisis that put pressure on governments to reduce public spending in particular since 2010.

Figure 15 shows the trend in regional funding during different editions; until the sixth edition it increased as national funding. Since then regional funding has always been more than € 6,5 million, playing a more important role due to decreasing in national funding:

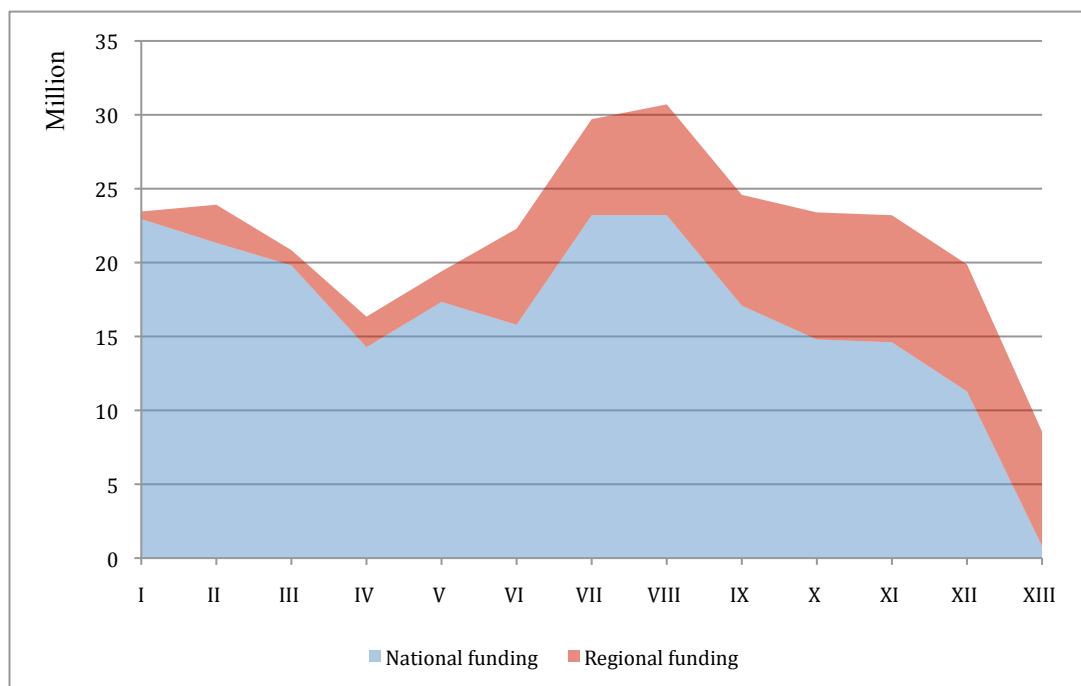
- in the first four editions national government financed more than 80% in Piedmont;
- in the ninth edition national funding decreased below 70%;
- in the last edition national funding fallen to 10%.

Table 16 - Fund for rent support in Piedmont: national and regional financing

Edition	Year of call	Year of rent	National financing		Regional financing		Total
			€	%	€	%	
I	2000	1998	€ 22.941.803	98%	€ 516.457	2%	€ 23.458.260
II	2001	1999	€ 21.333.285	89%	€ 2.582.285	11%	€ 23.915.570
III	2002	2000	€ 19.809.749	95%	€ 1.032.914	5%	€ 20.842.663
IV	2003	2001	€ 14.273.461	87%	€ 2.065.829	13%	€ 16.339.290
V	2004	2002	€ 17.339.428	89%	€ 2.065.829	11%	€ 19.405.257
VI	2005	2003	€ 15.791.292	71%	€ 6.500.000	29%	€ 22.291.292
VII	2006	2004	€ 23.205.842	78%	€ 6.500.000	22%	€ 29.705.842
VIII	2006	2005	€ 23.205.842	76%	€ 7.500.000	24%	€ 30.705.842
IX	2008	2006	€ 17.085.346	69%	€ 7.500.000	31%	€ 24.585.346
X	2008	2007	€ 14.796.019	63%	€ 8.600.000	37%	€ 23.396.019
XI	2009	2008	€ 14.603.775	63%	€ 8.600.000	37%	€ 23.203.775
XII	2010	2009	€ 11.278.628	57%	€ 8.600.000	43%	€ 19.878.628
XIII	2012	2010	€ 819.953	10%	€ 7.740.000	90%	€ 8.559.953

Source: Piedmont Region [2012].

Figure 15 - Fund for rent support in Piedmont: national and regional financing



Source: Piedmont Region [2012].

National government is also responsible for setting minimum access requirements for the measure, which according to Ministerial decree of 7 June 1999 are:

- meeting income access criteria for public housing, that are established by different regional regulations;
- having a rent lease registered, with a ratio rent/income above a certain threshold;
- not owning another house in the region.

On the other hand regional governments are allowed to extend access requirements – if they contribute with their own resources to the financing of the measure – and distribute resources to their municipalities in proportion to their needs.

Finally local governments are responsible for implementing national and regional regulation and perform administrative tasks, such as launch annual call, collect applications, check access criteria, draw up list of beneficiaries, quantify financial need based on valid applications, inform regional government and pay money to beneficiaries.

The regional government of Piedmont amended several times access criteria of fund for rent support, as a response to increasing financial need and the reduction of state funding. As table 17 shows (*italic*), the restriction of eligibility requirements reduced the number of financed applications compared to the previous year and in particular:

- in the fifth edition it was increased the threshold of the ratio rent/income, which has reduced financed applications about 25% and consequently has increased the coverage rate to 47%;
- in the eleventh edition there have been lowered by about 35% the income thresholds to access public housing, resulting in a reduction of 17% of eligible applications and an increase in the coverage rate to 34%;
- in the thirteenth edition access criteria were completely changed: following the sharp reduction in national funding, regional government has reduced both income thresholds and ratio rent/income (even under an exception to the minimum requirements of the national decree) and has limited the access to certain types of recipients (e.g. households with minor children, disabled or elderly) and this has resulted in halving eligible applications and increasing the coverage rate to 39%.

Figure 16 shows financial need, financial resources and coverage rate in the city of Turin for each edition of the fund for rent support. Over time there has been a substantial growth in the financial need, which rose from € 5.5 million to nearly € 30 million. Only in three editions (fifth, eleventh and thirteenth, as we saw earlier) there has been a drop in financial need compared to the previous year, due to the restriction of access criteria that led to a reduction of financed application.

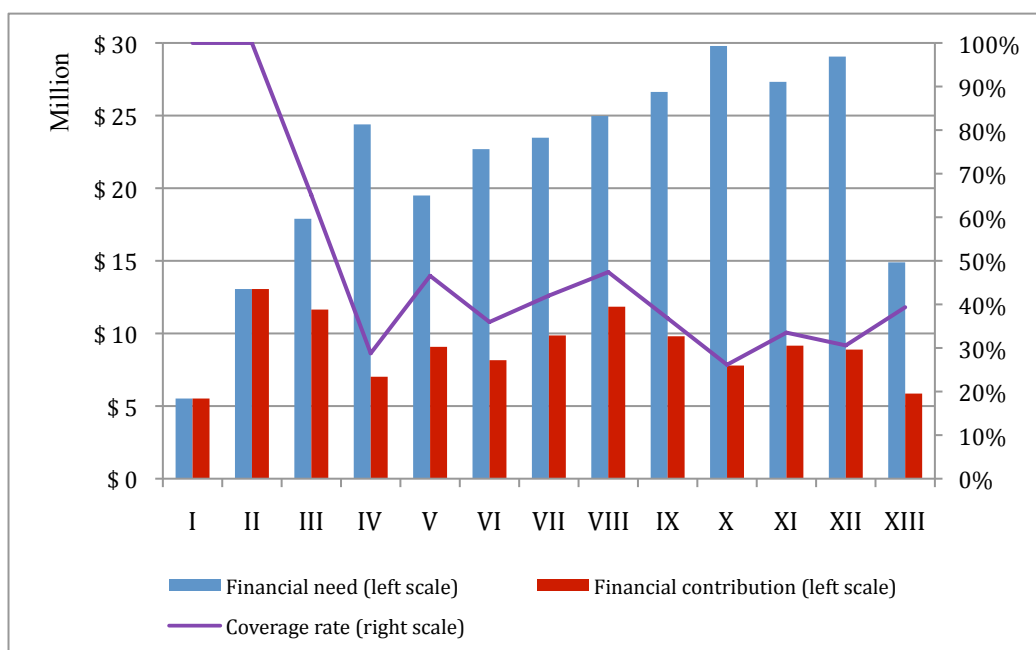
Coverage rate reached 100% only during the first two editions, while in the fourth it reached its minimum value of 29%; in general its lower performance depends on reduction in national funding. The latest edition had a coverage rate of 39%, as access criteria have been tightened: this restriction was necessary given the significant reduction in state funding, which fallen from € 11.3 million to € 800 thousands.

Table 17 - Fund for rent support in Turin

Edition	Applications collected	Applications admitted	Tightening of access criteria	Financial need	Financial resources for Turin	Average grant	Coverage rate
I	5.116	3.995	-	€ 5.519.442	€ 5.519.442	€ 1.382	100%
II	9.853	8.430	NO	€ 13.058.082	€ 13.058.082	€ 1.549	100%
III	11.468	10.083	NO	€ 17.895.015	€ 11.644.167	€ 1.155	65%
IV	14.804	12.929	NO	€ 24.392.779	€ 7.019.032	€ 543	29%
V	11.915	9.687	YES	€ 19.497.610	€ 9.077.896	€ 937	47%
VI	10.607	9.733	NO	€ 22.689.025	€ 8.158.278	€ 838	36%
VII	13.649	10.988	NO	€ 23.475.676	€ 9.862.601	€ 898	42%
VIII	14.571	11.664	NO	€ 24.970.846	€ 11.841.395	€ 1.015	47%
IX	14.651	11.980	NO	€ 26.627.783	€ 9.805.275	€ 818	37%
X	15.655	13.057	NO	€ 29.792.312	€ 7.790.767	€ 597	26%
XI	13.073	10.810	YES	€ 27.321.899	€ 9.159.213	€ 847	34%
XII	13.360	11.517	NO	€ 29.061.578	€ 8.889.795	€ 772	31%
XIII	7.629	6.149	YES	€ 14.894.408	€ 5.860.297	€ 953	39%

Source: City of Turin, Department of public housing.

Figure 16 - Fund for rent support in Turin: financial need, financial resources, coverage rate



Source: City of Turin, Department of public housing.

Regional legislation in Piedmont introduced a social fund for household living in public housing that are not able to pay the rent and operating costs, such as heating and condo fees during the previous year²¹. This fund provides a financial contribution to cover innocent arrearage (*morosità incolpevole*)²², in order to prevent the incoming of eviction. It was established by Regional Law 46/1995, which was recently replaced by regional law 3/2010; the new one came into force in 2012, after the approval of all the executive decrees, introducing some changes with regard to the following aspects:

- identification of beneficiaries: benefits cannot be assigned anymore by department of public housing nor by ATC (i.e. Territorial Agency for House in the Province of Turin, which is in charge of management of public housing) through desk research on available databases, but each household must submit its application;
- access criteria: ISEE indicator must be less than 6000 euro and household must have paid at least a minimum fee in the previous year: in 2012 it was equal to 14% of family income (including all the income support provided by municipality or by other third sector organization) and in any case it couldn't be less than 480 euro;
- amount of grant: according to the new regional law, grant covers only the difference between ordinary and minimum fee, that must be paid in any case; in addition since 2012, regional government must finance at least 60% of social fund and municipality is in charge of remaining 40%, while before amounts were not quantified.

Table 18 - Main differences between old and new regulation of Regional Social Fund

	Regional Law 46/1995	Regional Law 3/2010
Identification of beneficiaries	Identification of households is made by City of Turin and ATC	Households must submit an application
Access criteria	Innocent arrearage	Innocent arrearage ISEE indicator less than € 6.000 Having paid the minimum fee
Amount of contribution	Grant covers the difference between ordinary fee and paid fee There is no minimum funding thresholds for regional government	Grant covers the difference between ordinary fee and minimum fee Regional government must cover at least 60% of social fund

Source: Piedmont Regional Laws 46/1995 and 3/2010.

According director of department of public housing [Magnano, interview no. 6], the new regional law presents critical issues at practical level, especially for vulnerable households²³. In fact most of them meet more difficulties both in requesting ISEE certificate and in determining the amount of minimum fee, which could increase risks of eviction. To counter this negative effect, during 2012 collaboration between policy actors, participating in Board against poverty (*Tavolo di contrasto alla povertà*), collaborated intensively to identify

²¹ Often the main problem is not the payment of rent, which is proportional to family income, but the payment of expenses, which is divided equally among all the tenants [Magnano, interview no. 6].

²² Innocent arrearage can be attributed by unemployment for more than 3 months, serious illness or disability.

²³ According to *La Repubblica* there would be 2.575 households on innocent arrearage that have not paid the minimum fee or did not submit the application to access to the regional social fund (13 February 2013).

vulnerable households and provide them assistance. Activities carried out included sharing of information about poor households, communication of new regulation to recipients and verification of minimum fee payment for at least a thousand families living in public housing in Turin.

Data analysis of Regional Social Fund has been conducted until 2011 (regulated by regional law 46/1995), while data from new regulation system unfortunately is not yet available. As table 19 and figure 17 show, between 2004 and 2011 the number of household which suffered from innocent arrearage was more than doubled from 1.664 to 3.764 (equivalent to 20,8% of total household living in public housing in the city of Turin); accordingly contribution required from ATC has heavily increased, from about € 2,3 million in 2004 to € 6,3 million in 2011.

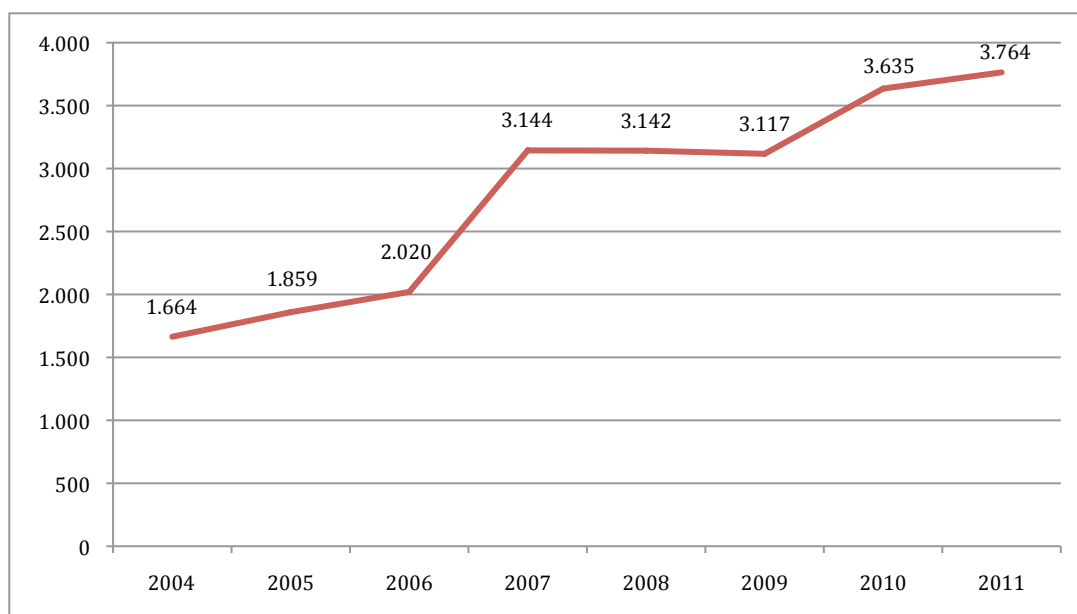
Table 19 - Regional Social Fund in Turin

Year	Household with innocent arrearage	Arrearage	Regional financing	Regional share	Municipal financing	Municipal share
2004 [#]	1.664	€ 2.318.265	€ 795.327	34%	€ 1.522.938	66%
2005 [#]	1.859	€ 2.502.891	€ 776.497	31%	€ 1.726.394	69%
2006 [#]	2.020	€ 2.848.432	€ 1.674.251	59%	€ 1.174.181	41%
2007 [#]	3.144	€ 4.226.236	€ 2.450.118	58%	€ 1.776.118	42%
2008 [#]	3.142	€ 4.230.248	€ 2.450.583	58%	€ 1.779.665	42%
2009 [#]	3.117	€ 5.807.485	€ 2.555.294	44%	€ 3.252.191	56%
2010*	3.635	€ 6.036.845	€ 2.398.801	40%	€ 3.638.044	60%
2011*	3.764	€ 6.352.529	€ 1.944.001	31%	€ 4.408.528	69%

Source: * Comune di Torino, Osservatorio Condizione Abitativa, IX rapporto

[#] Osservatorio Provinciale sul Sistema Insediativo Residenziale e Fabbisogno Abitativo Sociale.

Figure 17 - Number of households suffering from innocent arrearage in Turin

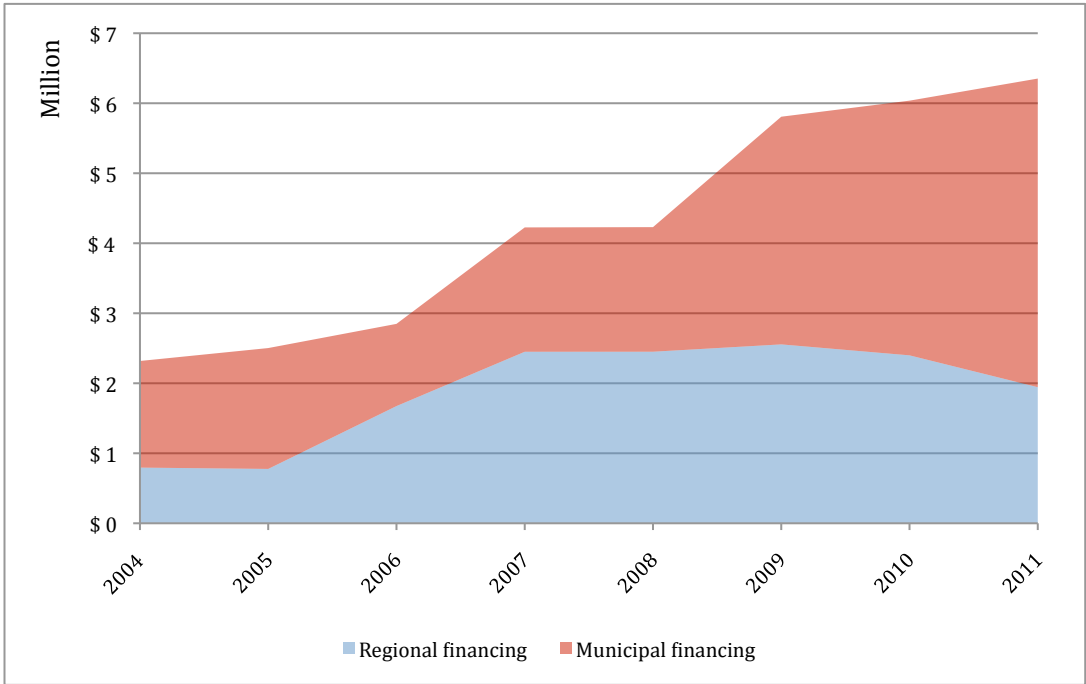


Source: * Comune di Torino, Osservatorio Condizione Abitativa, IX rapporto

[#] Osservatorio Provinciale sul Sistema Insediativo Residenziale e Fabbisogno Abitativo Sociale.

Over the years, Piedmont Region and City of Turin have increased their funding allocations, even though with varying proportions: in 2011 the higher funding share was provided by the municipality with an amount of € 4.4 million (69%), while Piedmont provided nearly € 2 million (31%), a decrease share compared with previous years (figure 18).

Figure 18 - Regional Social Fund: source of financing



Source: Comune di Torino, Osservatorio Condizione Abitativa, IX rapporto; Osservatorio Provinciale sul Sistema Insediativo Residenziale e Fabbisogno Abitativo Sociale.

3.2 Economic assistance measures designed and implemented by city of Turin

The second category of measures against poverty concerns schemes of economic assistance provided by city of Turin, which date back to 1960s; they are designed and implemented with more degree of freedom at local level and financed with own municipal funds. In 2012 the municipality spent around € 5,8 million, with a growth of 15% over the previous year. Measures are regulated within act 05700/19 – approved by the city council in 2000, as amended in 2005 and 2012 - and administered by department of social services. Their aim is to ensure a minimum income for households and promote social and economic autonomy of people, through coordination with active labor market policies – administered by department of labor. There are four main instruments to support household income, which can be grouped into two categories, with housing grants staying in between, as shown in table 20.

Table 20 – Economic scheme to support household income governed by city of Turin

Ongoing	Temporary	
Minimum income for people not able to work (<i>Reddito di mantenimento</i>) Minimum income for people able to work (<i>Reddito di inserimento sociale</i>)	Housing grants	Economic grants for specific needs

Source: Authors' elaboration.

In general can apply both Italian citizens and foreigners resident in Turin, with very low income. All measures are paid to family, if its total revenues (also including donations, income from random jobs – although not documented for tax purposes – and subsidies granted by State or other public entities) gained at the time of application and during the period of payment of grant are below a certain amount²⁴.

Municipal economic assistance is intended to integrate any measures to combat poverty provided by other public entities, then households must apply for them before²⁵. Application process is quite demanding, in order to select between potential beneficiaries: if no economic assistance is available interested households can ask to local social offices, which will hold an interview with social worker within 30 days²⁶; economic grants can be awarded after have been verified eligibility criteria through database controls and inspections by municipal police. Maximum duration is 12 months for *Reddito di mantenimento* (Minimum Income) and 6 months for *Reddito di inserimento sociale* (Social Insertion Income) and in case of renewal social services must check again access requirements to benefits.

Economic crisis started in 2008 resulted in an overall increase in the number of beneficiaries of economic assistance and in welfare costs, that grown by over 20% between 2009 and 2012. The municipality has always met all requests for economic assistance, being able to find necessary funds without introducing any waiting lists [Motta, interview no. 3], in contrast to other Italian municipalities. This means that if a family is recognized as the recipient of the service, this is delivered immediately without waiting lists. However, as we have already said, it is necessary to take into consideration that the access criteria are very strict in the case of the city of Turin and this partly explained the relative low level of beneficiaries.

²⁴ Turin did not introduce ISEE indicator to assess household economic situation, because it presents different weaknesses: 1) economic situation is different from that one declared at the moment of application, because the former is calculated on income of previous year; 2) it does not consider tax exempted income, such as economic assistance provided by other public administrations; 3) it underestimates household's assets; 4) equivalence scale is not balanced; 5) healthcare or welfare costs cannot be deducted from income.

²⁵ Social workers inform users about other possibilities searching through online catalog of measures against poverty, which provides clear and complete information about all available public economic contributions [Gamba, Moreggia, Motta 2013].

²⁶ In Turin social services are decentralized in order to reach citizens and promote access more easily.

In 2012 social spending for economic assistance provided by Turin social services amounted to € 5,8 million. Due to the reduction of regional and state funding²⁷, city council approved in 2012 act 02263/19 to resize interventions:

- increasing minimum age from 60 to 65 to apply for *Reddito di mantenimento* and economic grants for temporary accommodation in hotel;
- limiting economic assistance for people able to work to availability of financial resources and to social inclusion programs (while before it was not related to budget availability);
- limiting automatic updates of economic assistance amounts to availability of financial resources (while before there was an automatic update);
- limiting economic grants for specific needs to very exceptional situations, on the basis of a program drafted by social services (while before it was not related to any programs);
- providing more opportunity of temporary accommodation in social housing offered by third sector organization, in place of hotels.

Given that access criteria for public economic assistance have become even more tight, when an household does not receive support from municipality it may apply to third sector organizations, which generally operate with more flexible intervention styles.

In the next sections there will be presented characteristics of different measures, with particular attention to access criteria, reasons for exclusion and amounts.

²⁷ Regional and national funding for social assistance decreased by 27% in real value from 2008 to 2012).

Table 21 - Economic assistance schemes for fighting poverty offered by city of Turin (2012)

Name	Description	Number of grants	Amount	%
Minimum income for people not able to work (Minimum Income - <i>Reddito di mantenimento</i>)	Elderly or disabled	1120	€ 2.039.455,34	
	Minors living with mother	37	€ 20.229,55	
	Pregnant	27	€ 19.566,12	
	Mothers for first 3 months after birth	22	€ 15.764,15	
	Minors living with elderly or disabled	6	€ 5.443,84	
	Other	2	€ 3.468,25	
		1214	€ 2.103.927,25	
Minimum income for people able to work (Social Insertion Income - <i>Reddito di inserimento sociale</i>)	Minimum income for people able to work	1879	€ 1.728.264,16	
	Internships for socializing homeless	55	€ 30.698,00	
		1934	€ 1.758.962,16	
Economic grants for housing	Rent for beneficiaries of RM	599	€ 370.518,07	
	General service charges for beneficiaries of RM	895	€ 370.377,73	
	Temporary accommodation in hotel	80	€ 213.194,71	
	Heating for RM	1118	€ 175.160,06	
	Household bills for beneficiaries of RI	480	€ 146.700,88	
	General running expenses	51	€ 12.377,99	
	Lease activation for public housing	44	€ 9.572,14	
		3286	€ 1.305.927,32	
Economic grants for specific needs	Independent living	25	€ 483.294,60	
	Mandatory needs	463	€ 53.048,17	
	Protected persons	59	€ 41.804,54	
	Purchasing or repairing home appliances or furniture	53	€ 19.638,16	
	People in hospital without income	22	€ 15.806,46	
	Minor living in social structures	11	€ 5.993,94	
	Other (e.g. purchase or repair home appliances or furniture, routine house maintenance, cloths for adults living in social structures)	7	€ 771,08	
		722	€ 630.791,20	
	7156	€ 5.799.607,93	100%	

Source: City of Turin, Department of social services.

Table 22 – Total spending for economic assistance schemes offered by city of Turin (real value 2012)

	2008	2009	2010	2011	2012	Var. % 2008/2012
<i>Reddito di mantenimento</i>	€ 1.874.882	€ 1.797.538	€ 1.945.050	€ 2.140.158	€ 2.103.927	12%
<i>Reddito di inserimento sociale</i>	€ 1.154.846	€ 1.126.410	€ 1.353.810	€ 1.438.473	€ 1.758.962	52%
Economic grants for housing	€ 1.136.156	€ 1.075.543	€ 1.095.860	€ 1.106.857	€ 1.297.902	14%
Economic grants for specific needs	€ 751.727	€ 712.235	€ 673.935	€ 725.429	€ 638.817	-15%
Total spending for economic schemes	€ 4.917.611	€ 4.711.726	€ 5.068.654	€ 5.410.918	€ 5.799.608	18%

Source: City of Turin, Department of social services.

3.2.1 Minimum income for people not able to work (*Reddito di mantenimento*)

Reddito di mantenimento is the most important scheme for economic assistance provided by Turin social services, which in 2012 distributed about € 2.1 million to 1214 persons with an increase of 12% compared to 2008. It aims to ensure a standard of adequate living for people not able to work, who are more than 65 or under 18, invalid, disabled or pregnant. Households which meet the following requirements – at the time of application and throughout all the period – are allowed to benefit it:

- not having a family income higher than the total amount of *Reddito di mantenimento*;
- not owning a medium-high value house;
- not owning a vehicle registered within 6 years preceding the application for assistance;
- not holding financial assets for more than a certain threshold;
- not having a family member able to work that is not involved with active job search.

As table 23 shows, *Reddito di mantenimento* consists of a basic monthly quota per person – which is decreased for each added household member according to a specific equivalence scale – and an economic grant for housing which can be for rent support or heating (see later). It lasts for 12 months and can be renewed if family income is lower than its amount.

Table 23 – Minimum Income (*Reddito di mantenimento*): monthly quota based on members of household

	Members of household				
	1	2	3	4	5
1° member	€ 480	€ 480	€ 480	€ 480	€ 480
2° member	-	€ 336	€ 336	€ 336	€ 336
3° member	-	-	€ 192	€ 192	€ 192
4° member	-	-	-	€ 192	€ 192
5° member	-	-	-	-	€ 192
<i>Reddito di mantenimento</i>	€ 480	€ 816	€ 1.008	€ 1.200	€ 1.392
Amount for rent support	€ 140	€ 140	€ 140	€ 140	€ 140
Total for household	€ 620	€ 956	€ 1.148	€ 1.340	€ 1.532

Source: Regulation of Turin city council on economic assistance – Amounts are based on the average index on consumer prices for 2012 – *Amount is based on the average monthly sum spent in 2012.

3.2.2 Minimum income for people able to work (*Reddito di inserimento sociale*)

Reddito di inserimento sociale is the second most important scheme for economic assistance provided by Turin social services, which in 2012 distributed € 1,75 million to 1934 persons with the highest increase since 2008 (52%). It aims at facilitating social inclusion and employment of people able to work, helping them to achieve economic independence. People who are able to work and whose family income is lower than *Reddito di inserimento sociale* are eligible for apply it; its amount is equal to the difference between its theoretical amount calculated for each member and income gained by the household.

Households which meet the following income/asset requirements – at the time of application and throughout all the period – are allowed to benefit it:

- not owning a medium-high value house;
- not owning a vehicle registered within 6 years preceding the application for assistance
- not holding financial assets for more than a certain threshold.

In addition beneficiaries must fulfill the following working and training obligations:

- do not stop working without a valid reason;
- seek actively a job, through frequent contact with employment centers or temporary employment agencies;
- accept any job offers, including temporary ones;
- attend regularly training sessions, internships, *Cantieri di Lavoro*, personalized projects or any other activity proposed by the government to facilitate participation in labor market.

As table 24 shows, *Reddito di inserimento sociale* consists of a basic monthly quota per person – which is decreased for each added household member according to a specific equivalence scale – and an additional grant for domestic bills (it can be received only if no one gets *Reddito di mantenimento* in the household, see later). It is lower than *reddito di mantenimento*, but it is still more generous than new social card: in fact it amounts up to € 726 for an households of 5 people, with respect of € 404 of new social card. It lasts for 6 months and can be renewed if family income is lower than its amount.

Table 24 – Social Insertion Income (Reddito di inserimento sociale): monthly quota based on members of household

	Members of household				
	1	2	3	4	5
1° member	€ 181	€ 181	€ 181	€ 181	€ 181
2° member	-	€ 145	€ 145	€ 145	€ 145
3° member	-	-	€ 145	€ 145	€ 145
4° member	-	-	-	€ 145	€ 145
5° member	-	-	-	-	€ 145
<i>Reddito di inserimento</i>	€ 181	€ 326	€ 471	€ 616	€ 761
Amount for domestic bills	€ 57	€ 57	€ 57	€ 57	€ 57
Total for household	€ 238	€ 383	€ 528	€ 673	€ 818

Source: Regulation of Turin city council on economic assistance – Amounts are based on the average index on consumer prices for 2012.

To encourage household activation, monthly labor income earned while receiving *Reddito di inserimento sociale* is calculated for 70% during the first 6 months and 85% in the next 6 months; in addition monetary incentives linked to placement project – activated with public resources by public or private organizations in favor of vulnerable group and long-term employed – are excluded from the calculation of the economic measure, as well as monetary incentives up to € 200 per month received during training and job orientation projects promoted by public institutions and held in private companies.

3.2.3 Economic grants for housing

The third type of measure to support household income are economic grants for housing, which are aimed to maintain an adequate living condition; in 2012 they amounted nearly to € 1,3 million; they can be divided into 3 types:

- People eligible for *Reddito di mantenimento* can receive a monthly economic grant up to € 140 for the **payment of rent**, whose contract must be registered and headed to a family member (in 2012 total expenditure for rent support was € 370 thousands); to ask for this measure, households must have applied to the Fund for the rent support set by law 431/1998 (see paragraph 3.1.1) and in case they are already beneficiaries they can only receive a residual share. Alternatively, if an household lives in its own house, it can receive a monthly economic grant up to € 57 for general service charges (in 2012 total expenditure for general service charges was € 370 thousands). In addition they can also receive an economic contribution for heating during winter (in 2012 social spending for heating was € 175 thousands, with an average lump sum of € 151).
- People eligible for *Reddito di inserimento sociale* can receive a monthly economic grant up to € 57 for the **payment of domestic bill** (in 2012 total expenditure for domestic bill was € 146 thousands).
- Finally there are economic grants for households in weak economic condition that are **evicted from their house** (e.g. minors, adults over 65 years, disabled, single pregnant women, single parents with children up to three months). These contributions are directed to the payment of temporary accommodation in hotels in order to find another place (e.g. in public or social housing). Ordinarily people can stay in hotels up to 8 months, with a maximum extension of other 6 months, but families with children theoretically have no term limits. This measure may be obtained if household income is lower than *Reddito di mantenimento*, which will be reduced to 50%, and cannot exceed the monthly amount of € 669 for each person (in 2012 social spending for temporary accommodation in hotel was € 223 thousands)²⁸.

3.2.4 Economic grants for specific needs

Economic grants for specific needs are the fourth measure to support household income; in 2012 they amounted to € 601 thousands for 588 persons. Their aim is to address specific need for a temporary span of time; they may integrate or replace *Reddito di mantenimento* and *Reddito di inserimento sociale* and can be delivered for the following reasons: 1) purchasing or repairing orthodontic, orthopedic or orthotic appliances for people who are entitled to benefit *Reddito di mantenimento*; 2) buying clothes, stimulating social life, personal hygiene

²⁸ Due to financial constraints city council approved a new regulation in 2012 according to which social housing offered by third sector organizations must be preferred in place of hotels. In addition, households must pay a fee for temporary accommodation both in hotel and social housing which is proportional to public housing rent; households with no income or on public economic assistance are exempted

(such contributions are alternative to *Reddito di mantenimento* or *Reddito di inserimento sociale*); 3) social activities for children; 4) activation of rental lease; 5) removal expenses; 6) routine house maintenance; 7) small expenses for people admitted in social structures, with costs charged by the City.

Economic grants for special needs can be provided to households whose income is lower than *Reddito di mantenimento* or *Reddito di inserimento sociale*, calculated according to the number of its members. Total amount of all contributions may not exceed € 200 per year. These contributions cannot be used to remedy previous debts nor can they be used for other purposes than those for which they were granted.

3.3 Fee and tax reductions

The third category of schemes to fight poverty at local level includes some different residual measures, such as fee reductions for public services (e.g. energy, gas, water and waste) and local tax reductions (e.g. municipal property tax, municipal income tax).

Bonus for electricity and gas are fee reductions that were introduced by Ministry of economic development through decree of 28 December 2008 – while operating procedures are defined by Regulatory authority for electricity and gas – with the aim to support households undergoing economic difficulties. Household may only apply for principal house if their ISEE indicator is lower than € 7.500 (for households with at least 4 children it is up to € 20.000). Benefits consist of a variable reduction on gas or energy bills, depending on household members (bonus for energy) and household members, consumption and climatic zone of residence (bonus for gas); amounts are updated annually by Regulatory authority for electricity and gas and are shown in table 25 for 2012. CAF are responsible for collecting applications for both, which can be cumulated, are valid for 12 months and may be renewed.

Table 25 - Bonus for energy and gas 2012

Household members	Bonus for energy	Bonus for gas
1-2	€ 63	€ 35-173
3-4	€ 81	
More than 4	€ 139	€ 56-248

Source: Regulatory authority for electricity and gas.

Bonus for water is a cash contribution to cover water service cost for principal house. It is regulated by regional regulatory authority for water service (ATO3 Torinese) and operatively managed by water supplier company (SMAT) with the aim to guarantee access to water for all. Households with ISEE indicator lower than € 9.500 may apply for it. Economic contribution is variable depending on household members and its amount is updated annually by regulatory authority (table 26). SMAT is responsible for collecting applications, which are valid for 12 months and may be renewed.

Table 26 - Bonus for water 2012

Household members	Bonus for water
1-3	€ 30
More than 3	€ 45

Source: Regional regulatory authority for water service.

Households in difficult economic situation may also apply to Turin tax office for a **fee reduction for waste service** on principal residence; there have been identified three target groups according to ISEE indicator, as table 27 shows. In addition, households that have been affected by economic and employment crisis during 2012 can automatically be placed on the higher level and get an higher reduction²⁹.

Table 27 - Fee reduction for local waste service (TARSU)

Level	ISEE indicator	Reduction
First group	€ 0 – 13.000	50%
Second group	€ 13.001 – 17.000	30%
Third group	€ 17.001 – 24.000	20%

Source: Turin tax office.

Following the agreements between City of Turin and trade unions, City Council approved act 02025/13 in 2013 which introduce 1,1 million € **fund to partially refund the municipal property tax** paid in 2012 by households in difficult economic situation. Access criteria for this economic contribution are single house property used as principal house and an ISEE indicator less than € 13.000. Amounts vary between € 30-100, depending on number of beneficiaries that will be identified by the tax office (according to estimates number of households is around 15.000).

Additional municipal income tax has been established by Legislative Decree no. 360/1998 to implement fiscal federalism; during 2012 tax rate was set at 0,8% and exemption threshold at € 11.200, which means that all income below this amount are automatically not subjected to it.

3.4 Strengths and weaknesses of local economic assistance schemes

Despite the absence of a national minimum income scheme as a universal safety net, at local level are available some forms of economic assistance programs, even though in a fragmented way. Some of them take the form of national/regional measures implemented at local level which are configured as enforceable right, while other are discretionary measures which are designed and funded with more degree of freedom at local level.

²⁹ This includes workers on *Cassa integrazione guadagni, CiG* (wage replacement) for at least 3 months, loss of job for at least 3 months in 2012 and registration for immediate work availability at employment centers.

In general economic assistance schemes in Turin are well developed and more generous, compared with other Italian metropolitan cities. Table 28 summarizes the most important measures to fight poverty offered by municipality of Turin, focusing on some relevant dimensions:

- The overall policy sector has been subjected to some innovations even though its core is historically institutionalized: some programs were introduced in the 1990s and remained unaltered (e.g. maternity allowance, family allowance for at least three minor children), other were reformed (e.g. fund for rent support, regional social fund, *reddito di mantenimento*, *reddito di inserimento*) and other were introduced recently (e.g. new social card).
- Nearly half of the measures are configured as discretionary schemes offered by Turin social services Department, which set differences among local governments and may be subjected to reductions for budget constraints.
- The majority of measures are targeted to residents belonging to a certain category – such as mothers, households with minors, unemployed, elders – while other are more universal provide benefit for all.
- Means testing are used for all schemes to determine whether households are eligible for economic assistance. Most measures use ISEE indicator, which take into consideration household income and wealth, calculating the amount for each member through an equivalence scale. However local minimum schemes provided by municipality of Turin opted for a different and more demanding means testing to avoid ISEE distortions (see footnote 21), which takes in consideration all household revenues and car ownership at the moment of application, ascertained also through home visits; in addition *reddito di inserimento sociale* is distinguished by favorable calculation for income earned during the period of economic assistance to avoid poverty trap and encourage beneficiaries to find a job. In general economic threshold to apply for economic assistance schemes are very heterogeneous and this make the overall system quite complex, complicating access for recipients, which cannot easily know if they may qualify for some programs but not others.
- *Reddito di inserimento sociale* and the new social card are the only conditional schemes, which depend upon beneficiary activation (e.g. seeking a job, attending training courses or personalized project proposed by social services).
- Access is complicated also by the fact that applicants must send their request to different public administration, which can be unknown by some of them; households must be competent and informed about what they can ask and where, but these skills are not always available for poorer and disadvantaged people, risking that those who qualify do not benefit from them. In addition many different and fragmented schemes, managed by different institutions, increase administrative costs and do not communicate respective beneficiaries to each other.
- Measures are also very diversified regarding duration of benefit: five schemes are monthly cash transfer (maternity allowance, family allowance, the new social card, *reddito di mantenimento* and *reddito di inserimento sociale*), while the others are a tantum grant.

Table 28 - Characteristics of economic assistance schemes in city of Turin

SCHEME	YEAR OF INTRODUCTION	ENFORCEABLE / DISCRETIONAL	UNIVERSAL / TARGETED	MEANS-TESTED	CONDITIONAL	WHERE TO APPLY	MAXIMUM AMOUNT	DURATION
MATERNITY ALLOWANCE	1998	Enforceable	Targeted (mothers)	YES	NO	CAF	€ 334,53	5 months
FAMILY ALLOWANCE FOR AT LEAST 3 MINOR CHILDREN	1998	Enforceable	Targeted (households with minors)	YES	NO	CAF	€ 139,43	13 months
ECONOMIC CONTRIBUTION FOR AT LEAST 4 CHILDREN	2006	Enforceable	Targeted (households with minors)	YES	NO	Municipality	€ 454	Lump sum
NEW SOCIAL CARD	2013	Enforceable	Targeted (households with minors)	YES	YES	Municipality	€ 404	12 months
FUND FOR RENT SUPPORT	1998	Enforceable	Targeted (household in rent)	YES	NO	Municipality	€ 3.098	Lump sum
REGIONAL SOCIAL FUND	1995	Enforceable	Targeted (households in public housing)	YES	NO	Regional house agency	n.a.	Fee coverage
REDDITO DI MANTENIMENTO	2000	Discretionary	Targeted (elders, minors disabled, pregnant)	YES	NO	Municipality	€ 1.532 (5 people)	12 months
REDDITO DI INSERIMENTO SOCIALE	2000	Discretionary	Targeted (unemployed)	YES	YES	Municipality	€ 818 (5 people)	6 months
BONUS FOR ENERGY	2008	Enforceable	Universal	YES	NO	CAF	€ 139	Lump sum
BONUS FOR GAS	2008	Enforceable	Universal	YES	NO	CAF	€ 248	Lump sum
BONUS FOR WATER	2010	Discretionary	Universal	YES	NO	Water supplier company	€ 45	Lump sum
FEE REDUCTION FOR LOCAL WASTE SERVICE	n.a.	Discretionary	Universal	YES	NO	Municipality	n.a.	Tax reduction
TAX REFUND FOR MUNICIPAL PROPERTY TAX - IMU	2013	Discretionary	Universal	YES	NO	Municipality	€ 100	Tax reimburse
MUNICIPAL INCOME TAX EXEMPTION - IRPEF	1998	Discretionary	Universal	YES	NO	Municipality	€ 90	Tax exemption

4. Programs against poverty provided by third sector in Turin

In the context of Turin the third sector has traditionally played an important role, both by establishing forms of cooperation with public authorities and institutions, and by providing interventions and services in an autonomous way, as we will illustrate in the following section.

4.1 Compagnia di San Paolo and Ufficio Pio

Compagnia di San Paolo, one of the two bank foundations based in Turin (see box 2), and its instrumental body Ufficio Pio are among the main protagonists in the area of welfare and in funding and implementing initiatives and programs to combat poverty and prevent social exclusion.

From the beginning of the 2000s the deep transformation of the social and economic context and above all the progressive decrease in resources during the last few years has contributed to modify the role of the Compagnia within the local welfare system, opening up possibilities of establishing new ways and tools of dealing with public institutions and other third sector organizations. From a foundation allocating funds, the Compagnia has gradually taken up a more dynamic role regarding public and private actors, collaborating more and more as far as policies and ways to intervene are concerned, in many cases taking a directly operative role. This change, aiming at supporting, accompanying and creating opportunities of improvement for people and families in difficulty, has involved above all the so-called “welfare policy area” and has been promoted since 2002 by the Compagnia throughout projects of social innovation and programs of social policies along themes considered to be socially relevant. These projects and programs can be divided into four main areas of intervention:

- Initiatives and measures to foster social autonomy, including the following projects: Social benefits against the occupational crisis (paragraph 5), Regional guarantee fund for microcredit, Logos, Approdo, Dafne, il Bandolo, and the Housing program;
- Support for the developmental age, including the following projects: Yepp, YEPP sii parte, Nomis, Transatlantic Forum on Inclusive Early Years;
- Promoting local philanthropy and Community Foundations;
- Development cooperation.

Many of them are experimental projects which have been set up within the Protocol of agreement between the City of Torino, the Compagnia di San Paolo and the Ufficio Pio, which delineates the development of actions in favor of people in conditions of social vulnerability, aiming at winning them back to social, economic and work autonomy.

The Ufficio Pio is a foundation and a non-profit organization. It is an instrumental body of the Compagnia di San Paolo, i.e. is an organization that is independent, with operating autonomy within the general guidelines established by the Company. Ufficio Pio, established on 14 May 1595, carries out its activities in the Piedmont region, with particular reference to the Turin metropolitan area.

The Compagnia di San Paolo shows a consistent and significant focus on social interventions.

This is visible from the progressive increase in the budget given to social policies in relation to the total resources employed in institutional activities. The figure 29 shows the percentage of resources that the Compagnia gives Ufficio Pio in relation to the overall annual budget of the CSP's Social Policy Area. This data is in economic terms the "weight" of the Ufficio Pio within the overall strategy of the Compagnia di San Paolo in the social area. Table 29 shows that the proportion spent by Ufficio Pio is steadily increasing.

Table 29 – Social intervention in the welfare area by CSP and Ufficio Pio (thousands)

	2007	2008	2009	2010	2011	2012
Total financial resources of Compagnia di San Paolo	€ 167.478	€ 150.797	€ 121.375	€ 122.850	€ 131.185	€ 131.200
Budget for social policies of Compagnia di San Paolo [#]	€ 34.000 (20,3%)	€ 33.819 (22,4%)	€ 31.782 (26,2%)	€ 40.000 (32,6%)	€ 43.348 (33,0%)	€ 45.200 (34,4%)
Transfers from Compagnia di San Paolo to Ufficio Pio [§]	€ 5.700* (16,8%)	€ 6.200 (18,3%)	€ 6.900 (21,7%)	€ 10.950 (27,4%)	€ 11.628 (26,8)	€ 14.746** (32,6)

[#] % of budget for social policies on total financial resources.

[§] % of transfers to Ufficio Pio on budget for social policies.

* Calculated without the contribution for *Trapezio* project, because it does not come from social policies budget.

** It must be added € 3,567,000 for construction of temporary housing included in housing program of Compagnia di San Paolo.

Source: Ufficio Pio, Rapporto di missione (2013).

The Compagnia di San Paolo in order to promote a new type of welfare approach (that it has been quite recently defined as “Welfare 2.0” by the Ufficio Pio³⁰) during the last ten years has developed social innovation projects based on moments of reflection between public and private stakeholders through which to develop appropriate responses to specific needs. Thanks to this cooperative approach on several occasions has been possible to overcome some rigidity typical of public bodies and institutions. A cooperative approach and moments of confrontation allow solutions to emerge³¹. In order to realize and implement such processes, said Tamietti (interview no. 8; but also Morello and Gragnanin, interview no. 15), it is necessary to have quality actors and players. At the end it is in fact essential that key actors in the welfare arena can play a dynamic role compared to traditional players. This role, in Italy, is covered mainly by banking foundations that possess a range of knowledge, relationships and resources without which it would be difficult to conceive of an articulated system like that we have described for Turin and CSP has clearly played this role.

³⁰ “*Pionieri del welfare 2.0*” (Pioneer of 2.0 Welfare) was in fact the subtitle of the Ufficio Pio’s Bilancio di missione for 2012 (Bandera 2012).

³¹ An example is that of the microcredit: a reflection started in 2001 and a pilot project in 2004 both led to the emergence of a partnership between foundations, banks and non-profit organizations to facilitate the granting of credit aimed at supporting entrepreneurial activities and the activity of the self-employed for non-bankable clients, that is, those clients that cannot offer their own guarantees and are unable to autonomously receive ordinary bank loans. The Compagnia di San Paolo, together with Fondazione Cassa di Risparmio di Cuneo and Unioncamere Piemonte, has significantly contributed to the creation of this regional fund. In 2009, the pilot project was over, but the Piedmont Region, in the face of the joint work, grasped the potential of this project and turned these practices in an ordinary measure at the regional level.

Box 2 – Compagnia di San Paolo Foundation

The Compagnia di San Paolo was founded in Turin in 1563 as a charitable brotherhood and is one of the most important private foundations in Europe. The history of the CSP begins in 16th century, when seven citizens from Turin founded the “Compagnia della Fede Cattolica sotto l’Invocazione di San Paolo” with the purpose of both helping the population burdened by economic decay – through the gathering of alms and home assistance – and of monitoring the spreading of the Protestant Reformation. Towards the end of the 16th century the brotherhood founded the first “Opere” (today called “Instrumental bodies”) having a social and humanitarian character, among which we can find the *Ufficio Pio* established in 1595 with the purpose of managing all of the Compagnia’s charity work: subsidies to the impoverished, to the ill, and to beggars; religious services; dowries for the girls hosted in the Casa del Soccorso, and payment of fees.

With the liberal State and particularly with a decree of 1853, Victor Emanuel II restricted the Compagnia’s activities to religious practices and entrusted its assets and the management of charity and credit work to a publicly appointed council: the Opere Pie di San Paolo. The new institution started to develop its banking activity through the *Monte di pieta*. During the years of Turin’s industrial development, the Opere Pie di San Paolo started supporting the city through public loans and participating in new financial institutions. In 1931, the Istituto was able to take over the deposits from the Banca Agricola Italiana in Piedmont and in Liguria, extending its activity beyond the city limits and obtaining, in 1932, the status of Credit Institution of Public Law and a new name: Istituto di San Paolo di Torino. At the beginning of the 20th century, in the years of the industrial take-off of Turin, CSP supported the development of the infrastructures and the municipalization of the essential services with loans to the City and the Province. In 1991, within the legal framework introduced by the Amato-Carli Law, the bank took the legal form of a stockholding company the Istituto Bancario San Paolo di Torino, while its social activity took the form of a private bank foundation and – as a tribute to its history – the name of Compagnia di San Paolo.

The Compagnia operates with the resources produced by the income of its own estate according to the Articles of a new Statute, which was adopted in 2000. More specifically Article 3 defines the sectors in which the CSP operates such as “scientific, economic, and juridical research; education; art; preservation and optimization of cultural goods and activities and of the landscape heritage; public health; assistance to socially deprived categories”. The Compagnia’s action is carried out through funds and projects that are managed directly by its structure and, indirectly, through its six operating bodies, among which the *Ufficio Pio*.

Two are the projects of the *Ufficio Pio* that deserve our attention. The project AOS and the project Trapezio.

The overall scope of the **Project *Accoglienza Orientamento Sostegno* - AOS** (Welcome Orientation Support) is to support people and families, about 3,600 in 2012, in serious economic difficulty, through contributions and/or other forms of aid and assistance, which aims to enabling people to express their own needs. Moreover, the AOS project is designed as a node of the network system of integrated territorial social services of the city of Turin.

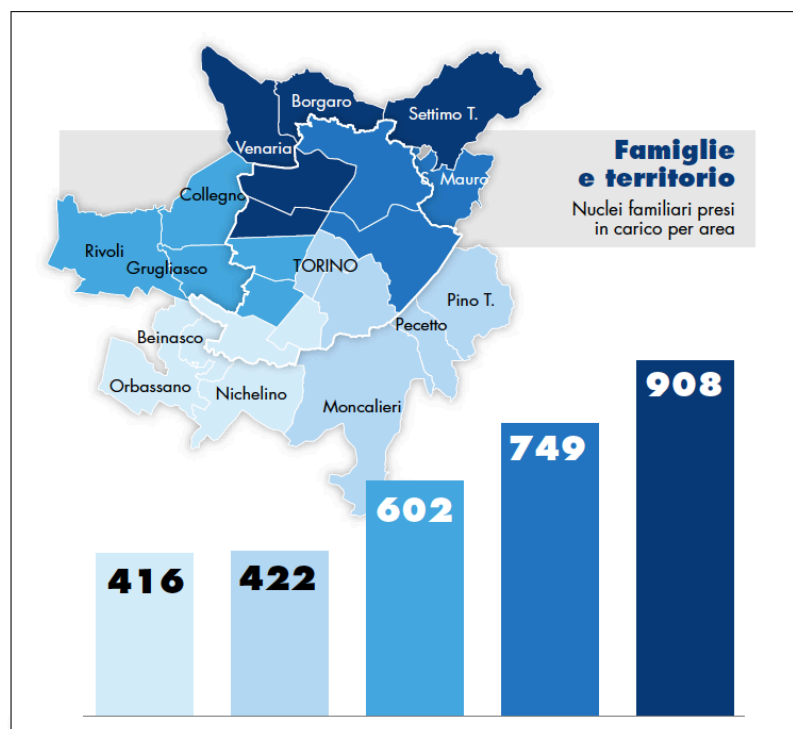
More specifically AOS provides financial support and services to combat economic poverty. The aim is to support the autonomy of people both directly providing economic benefits or

indirectly by the orientation and accompanying to the use of internal (Office Pio) and external resources. This scope is declined along the following specific line:

- to avoid that the condition of economic poverty cause a worsening of the housing situation as well as of other aspects of daily life such as health or the general care of children;
- to facilitate “exit paths” from difficult situations, promoting the use of resources available in the system of the social services thanks to the staff and operators as well of the networks of the volunteers of the Ufficio Pio.

In 2012, following the reflections held by staff and volunteers on the criticality of the existing model a new organizational structure was introduced. In this sense, the ways of working are now based on 5 zones of the city and the metropolitan area, in line with the possible future structure of the social services of the City of Turin (figure 19). The territory is now divided into five zones, each of which comprises 2 districts of Turin and at least one neighboring municipality. The total number of households included in the Project in 2012 amounted to 3,097. As the chart shows, the higher number of families involved can be found in the area that includes the 4 and 5 Districts of Turin and the surrounding municipalities of Borgaro, Settimo and Venaria.

Figure 19 – The new organizational structure of AOS project and number of beneficiaries in 2012



Source: Ufficio Pio, Bilancio di Missione 2013.

The family composition of the recipients of the project can be of various types. The AOS project has defined three categories:

- a lone adult with at least one dependent child (or an adult child if still enrolled in high school), with scarce or no income;
- one or more adults aged 65 years and/or with civil disability equal to or higher than 70%;

- c) two or more adults with at least one dependent child or with at least one adult child under the age of 30 years (the household must be affected by an event "unsettling" in the last twelve months).

All individuals must also have Italian citizenship or must have a valid residence permit. Finally, they must be resident in the city of Turin or in some neighboring municipalities³².

A team of 8 professionals (one or two per zone) of the Ufficio Pio and a group of 134 operational volunteers of which 34 active in at least two areas are involved in the AOS project. In providing services, the aim is to provide adequate responses to problems that arise within families in different degree of poverty. The differentiation of services concerns the goals, the implementation procedures and the role and tasks of actors involved. There are two forms of financial support: on the one hand, the financial support is the main benefit provided to families in persistent poverty, where economic intervention and the various measures of social support are guaranteed by a volunteer; on the other, the “personalized” financial support offered to families living in temporary poverty. In these cases the aim is to offer a range of “customized” services within a projectual context, designed to activate internal and external resources that can reduce the time of stay in the situation of economic difficulty.

The total number of requests of contributions received in 2012 amounted to 10,792, of which only 14% were households in conditions of persistent poverty already supported and funded in the previous year. With the introduction of new modes of access (filling in the form on-line), there has been an increase in the applications for assistance by approximately 45%. 74% of the applications received are from households that belong potentially to the target group in condition of temporary poverty. The remaining 26% are households that do not were supported at least in 2011 and are in condition of persistent poverty. Applications received that passed the stage of selection were 31% while those that were not assessable were equal to 33% (table 30).

Table 30 – AOS Project. Number of requests in 2012

Type of requests	No. of applications	% of applications
Total number	10.972	100 %
Selected applications	3.341	31 %
Assessable applications (potentially selectable)	3.908	36 %
Not proper applications	3.543	33 %

Source: Ufficio Pio, Rapporto di missione (2013).

Compared to the previous years there is a general decrease in the number of households supported and assisted: the decreasing trend seems to be caused by an average increase of the budget and of the number of interventions for each individual household supported by the project. The total resources available for the AOS project in 2012 was € 4,496,034. Comparing the distribution of the budget spent in different areas shows that the economic resources allocated were proportional to the potential demand derived from the number of applications received. Men and women have access to the project in equal percentage, with

³² In 2012 61% of the beneficiaries were Italian citizens while the remaining 39% was represented mainly by Moroccan citizens, Romanians and Nigerians.

only a slight female predominance. Concerning the composition of households, 46% is made up of one-person household and 54% of at least 2 people. The level of employment shows that children at the school age and students represent 41% while individuals of working age are 42%, of which only 19% has a contract work.

The diffusion and impact of the project is strictly linked to the effects that the economic and social crisis has produced in the lives of many families as pointed out by the Ufficio Pio's interviewees. The crisis of the welfare system has led to a high reduction of resources by public institutions, both in terms of financial benefits and in terms of delivery of services aimed at promoting personal autonomy. As we have seen this is also what happened in Turin. For this reason this project proved to be very important and helpful within the urban context as an integration in respect of all the others MIS measures. Moreover, Ufficio Pio believes that the introduction of access through module on-line and the system of "triage" has had a strongly incremental effect on the ability to intercept requests for help. This mode of selection of the requests has led to an increase of the accessibility to citizens and greater effectiveness. Planning and implementation of group meetings with volunteers and operators (Zone team) who work in the same area has improved the quality of services offered in the face of greater communication, sharing of knowledge related to resources available in the area and, therefore, a greater integration of aid interventions. The breakdown in the five operational areas allowed a greater interaction with the territory through meetings. Finally, collaboration between operator and volunteer characterized by greater clarity of roles depending on the specific recipient has initiated the consolidation of a positive approach not only on the economic front but also in terms of relationships.

Trapezio is a project, which started in 2008 and after three years as a pilot initiative was then refunded and approved as one of the most relevant project implemented by the Ufficio Pio becoming a keystone among the welfare area programs. This project has experienced innovative solutions, thanks to the involvement of a network of partners, to help the "transparent", as they are defined and named the vulnerable people involved in the program. All those who, though they are in a state of great economic difficulty, do not consider themselves and are not considered "poor", and therefore find it difficult to seek and find help. The target of the project is precisely the "vulnerable" people who have always lived in a state of "normality" and have fallen into difficulties due to a destabilizing event, including increasingly the severe economic crisis that the country and the city live. Citizens who, if they helped to start over, still have resources, human and professional, to recover and become independent. The novelty of the initiative lies in the definition of new targets: those who work in the social sector has long been aware of the emergence of the new phenomenon of "vulnerability " that is hard however to be recognized by traditional welfare.

Trapezio operates in one of those "gray areas" of care, and it does so in the interests of social investment rather than applying a logic of assistentialism. The idea is to relaunch the person through the definition of a long-term project, designed according to the specific case and with a strong involvement of the beneficiary. The awareness and motivation are key points of the program, along with economic sustainability. The ultimate goal is, in fact, to bring the person and his family in a state of long-term economic independence. The logic with which it operates the Trapezio is not only grant-making, but includes a preliminary work to design an individual path and requires the active involvement of the beneficiaries and the intervention of a plurality of subjects working together to build and fund "network project". The goal is to prevent poverty through a process of stabilization and reversal of personal status, until you get to a satisfactory situation of recovery of the economic independence of the beneficiary.

Interventions can be either grants or financing activities. Since the beginning of the project proposals made by young people under the age of 35 have increased, up to today 33% of the total, while those over 50 are only 14%. Interestingly, the schooling of beneficiaries is high, with 55 % of those graduated, and in 2010 grew to 57% the cases of "low income" while have decreased to 34% those of "lack of income". These figures seem to witness the spread of the recent phenomenon of unemployment among young people with higher qualifications, who are struggling to find stable employment and can not count on the job services, that traditionally place workers with lower qualifications.

There are four phases of the project. The first, selection, evaluates the presence of three requirements: the pre-existing income situation, the presence of a destabilizing event and the related risk of economic impoverishment. The second step is the analysis and evaluation of the sustainability of the project. Then there is the consulting phase, with the design of the course and the support to its implementation. The final step consists of approval of the pact, which establishes the involvement of the recipient, of the Ufficio Pio and of the Compagnia di San Paolo. The signing of the pact give start to the defined tasks, with the possible financial support, the monitoring, and the preparation of a possible "restitution" of the aid. The partners contributing to the development of the projects are about forty, including non-profit organizations, public institutions, and private entities. To which is added the entire staff of the Ufficio Pio and the Compagnia di San Paolo.

Very interesting is the change of mentality at the basis of the project. The "vulnerable people" often give up to ask for help to avoid being stigmatized socially, as happens to the beneficiaries of assistance programs. The "trapezzisti" (the people part of the project) do not hide but rather are proud of their role: today they are recipients of aid, but tomorrow they will contribute to the development of the project giving what they can, in terms of economic contribution, time, professionalism, and above all by spreading awareness of this initiative in their community and in identifying possible other beneficiaries. They act such as "point of reference" for the territory. In three years (2008-2011), the range of services has grown by 190%, and the people involved increased by 93%. The volunteers of the project have "identified" and met with 419 people. 115 are the pacts, which have been signed and 22,000 Euros is the average value of each intervention, of which 32 have already been concluded.

Another interesting example of partnership between Compagnia di San Paolo and municipality of Turin is represented by the experimental project called *Fondo salva sfratti* (fund to prevent evictions), introduced in 2009 with the aim to prevent evictions for innocent arrearage. The main reasons that led to this measure were the decreasing financing of fund for rent support – as we mentioned previously – and the increasing of evictions in Turin (see figure 8). It consisted of € 100.000 entirely offered by Compagnia di San Paolo, while each economic contribution amounted to 25% of annual rent and was given in chronological order until when resources were available. Eligibility criteria were: 1) meeting income access criteria for public housing; 2) having a registered rent lease for at least 1 year; 3) a reduction of household income of at least 25% with respect to 2008.

The most interesting aspect of this project is not to be found in its amount – relevant itself, but not adequate to satisfy all needs – but as to signaling the emergence of a new problem and the willingness to search a shared solution between public and private actors. In fact, this pilot experience has been an initial step towards a more effective response, as demonstrated by efforts made in the last year by municipality of Turin which is trying to set a new fund of € 1 million with the support of Compagnia di San Paolo, CRT Foundation (box 3) and associations of house owners and tenants (it should be introduced in the next months).

Referring to the housing problems and to the possible solutions there are other two projects that can be mentioned: “At the home of Aunt Jessy” (*A Casa di Zia Jessy*) mainly supported by the Compagnia di San Paolo through its Housing Program, and Sharing hotel, a project funded by the CRT Foundation.

Box 3. CRT Bank Foundation

The institution of Fondazione CRT (originated from Cassa di Risparmio di Torino in 1991 inheriting its name) was set up in the context of the Italian banking sector transformation of the early 1990s, when the legislator started the privatization process of public savings banks and credit institutions, thus separating credit from philanthropic activities – the two elements of the economic activity of old public credit institutions.

Fondazione CRT’s projects and resources amount to a total investment of 1.5 billion euro from 1991 to 2012 and target various areas and sectors: from the preservation and promotion of the artistic heritage and cultural activities to scientific research; from education and training to health care and assistance for vulnerable social groups; from civil protection and environmental safeguards to innovation in local institutions and support of economic development.

In 2011 Fondazione CRT, in line with the previous year, granted 65 million euro to its ordinary institutional activities and approved 1,894 projects. The average value of grants in 2011 was about 34,000 euro. From 1911 and 2011 CRT Foundation’s granted awarded in the area of charity and philanthropy was 11,3% equal to 165 million euro [Fondazione CRT Rapporto annuale, 2012]. The reduction of available resources due largely to the crisis has not being translated into a lower number of projects being funded but into a relative decrease in grants of larger amounts. This has allowed the safeguarding of the distribution of grants.

The support of Fondazione CRT for initiatives in the third sector and to subjects who work in the social field has not decrease although the requests from this field have increased as a consequence of the difficult economic situation. In 2011, 16 million euro were funded to support and made possible 632 projects. Among the different in-house projects and inclusion and accessibility initiatives, Fondazione CRT confirmed as an area of intervention the “Open to All” project, which promotes the social inclusion of the disabled. Another project indirectly related with COPE target group is the one promoted by Associazione Ulaop Onlus, aimed at providing complementary educational services to the citizens of Turin and meet increasingly diverse needs of parents with pre-school children. CRT Foundation is also very supportive in terms of housing program as we have described in this paragraph referring to the Sharing Hotel Residence project.

A Casa di Zia Jessy (*At Aunt Jessy’s Home*) is a “solidarity condominium” realized in a building owned by the City of Turin and consists of 30 apartments including 18 inhabited by elderly, 8 by single parents with children, single women and young people and 4 by supported families, accompanying and flanked by the guests during their period of stay. The ground floor is entirely dedicated to services and collective functions³³. The main objective of Aunt Jessy is to intervene on the temporary fragility related to a phase of life by providing users with an accommodation for the time necessary to the overcoming of the personal crisis and to achieving the ultimate autonomy [cf. Lodi Rizzini, 2013b]. The host then can stay a

³³ There is a “common living room”, a large multi-purpose room plus a communal kitchen and a room for children to play, while the other half of the ground floor is devoted to a space for elders and it runs by the district 2 of the City of Turin.

maximum period of 18 months. The beneficiaries are thus citizens who live in conditions of temporary fragility, in particular the elderly over sixty entitled to receive public housing, single parents with minor children, disabled people and young people between 16 and 32 years from residential facilities for children or foster care pathways.

The project also promotes a new way of living, that of “solidarity building” based on mutual aid from the various tenants in a context of multiculturalism and multi-aged persons encouraged by participation in social activities and by sharing of common spaces: it offers, for example, to the “grandfathers” the opportunity to take care of “grandchildren”, facilitating the continued operation and integration with the urban environment and its inhabitants, and to mothers a situation of peace for them and for their children during the search for a job, and a stable housing placement supported by educators. No one is just a guest or user of the structure, but it becomes an integral part, learning to take responsibility. Finally, the property offers welfare benefits (assisted showering, laundry and ironing, pedicure and hair-dresser) to all the elders of the district.

This project is made possible thanks to the involvement of the Municipality of Turin, owner of the building. The management of social integration project has been entrusted to the Salesian Youth for the Territory and provides for the availability of an educator 24/24 hours, two voluntary families and 10 volunteers, while the management of the space of the elderly is charged to the District 2 of the City of Turin, but entrusted to an association partner. The technical management of the building is instead assigned, according to the usual methods, to the Territorial Housing Agency.

The renovations were funded, for the part relating to housing, with ordinary funds allocated to public housing, while the common areas and the elderly space have been funded by the City, being the building a municipal property. The Compagnia di San Paolo, as part of its Housing Program, has allocated a grant of € 170,000 to promote the launch of the project management and the equipment and furnishes. Since 2010 the project has achieved financial autonomy and, from an economic standpoint, it costs very little. This project is in operation since December 2008 and both the City of Torino and the Compagnia di San Paolo constantly monitor the implementation and development of the project and verify the achievement of its objectives. And due to the positive results achieved so far, the intention is to open in the future a new condominium to the inhabitants of the neighborhood by offering new services, such as providing them with the children's area.

Sharing Hotel Residence is an innovative social housing temporary structure built to meet the demands of temporary hospitality in the city, with a focus on environmental sustainability and energy efficiency. The property, located on the Northern outskirts of Turin, offers 58 rooms to use as a 3-star hotel and 122 residential units fully furnished. Thanks to a commercial offer highly flexible, Sharing succeeds in complying with a more differentiated housing request. It can be from one day to stay overnight only to a full year - maximum limit may be extended only for special needs - in a room or an apartment. Formulas are also provided access to rent control for those who meet certain conditions. The spirit of the project is, in fact, to provide a bed for those who need to experience the housing autonomy before landing on the private market. But the goal of Sharing Hotel is not only to provide accommodation where there is a housing problem. As its name implies - Sharing - one of the main features of the hotel is to create a sort of small community among its inhabitants, through the sharing of common spaces such as rooms for training, exchange and relaxation [cf. Lodi Rizzini, 2013a]. Sharing also offers several services such as: clinic with dental services but also psychotherapy; job orientation TOjob promoted by Cooperativa Doc, Centre

for Cultural Mediation; Legal Advice; Microcredit activities; Car sharing and Bike sharing; restaurant, bar, launderette, organic market; literary café; tutoring for elementary school children thanks to the Cooperative Ulaop.

But there is also another important impact. Sharing Hotel is part of the urban regeneration project that involves the whole neighborhood, Pietra Alta, a popular area on the Northern outskirts of Turin, which is drawing several benefits from the initiative. The building itself is an example of recovery: it was a Post Office abandoned for about 20 years that was unlikely, due to its large size (10,000 square meters), to re-entry into the real estate market and probably it would have been reduced to one of the countless buildings in a state of neglect conditions. Ultimate positive element to consider is the impact on employment. It has contributed to create 17 new jobs and it has led to 7 recruitments of people resident in the district. Inaugurated in September 2011, Sharing has become a virtuous example of temporary housing - coming to accommodate 6,300 guests in the first year - as well as a reference point for the entire neighborhood.

The stakeholders involved are Fondazione CRT and the City of Turin and the Investors are Fondazione CRT itself, Oltre Venture and Cooperative Doc. The beneficiaries are people in need of temporary accommodation. People with income of less than € 12,000 a year, people with income of less than € 20,000 if disabled, separated with dependent children, immigrants with residence permits, over 65, students, participating in social welfare programs. But they are only the “last” to turn to the structure. The composition of the people of Sharing Hotel is heterogeneous: students (60%), posted workers (16%), young couples (6.6%), and tourists. In addition, thanks to a Memorandum of Understanding signed with the Municipality of Turin, 25 apartments are reserved to people living in emergency housing.

4.2 Specchio dei Tempi Foundation

In Turin is also present and operating Specchio dei Tempi Foundation – founded by *La Stampa* newspaper – which promotes social projects. The foundation is funded by private donations, inheritances and 5x1000³⁴. Among different activities, economic assistance for disadvantaged households plays an important role.

In particular there has been repeated for 38 years a project called *Tredicesima dell'amicizia di Natale* (13th Month salary friendship for Christmas), that consists in an economic contribution for single people over 65 and in difficult economic situation; normally there are provided 2.000 contributions with a lump sum which amounts to € 450 to those people selected with the help of social workers and third sector organizations.

In order to meet the growing social needs caused by economic crisis, in 2013 the foundation has also promoted a project called *Un aiuto per sperare* (help to hope) that awarded 1000 extraordinary economic contributions of € 450 to households with serious economic problems caused by job lost; also in this case beneficiaries were identified with the help of social workers and voluntary associations.

³⁴ According to *Cinque per mille* (five per thousand) Italian taxpayers can choose to devolve 0.5% from their annual income to support social activities (e.g. non profit, scientific research).

4.3 Diocesan Caritas of Turin

Caritas of Turin was founded in 1980 to promote charity activities across the diocese, train volunteers and coordinate social care activities performed at local level by parishes. It works in close cooperation with Observatory of poverty, which was established in 2005 to perform the following activities: 1) analysis and research to understand evolution of poverty, marginalization and social exclusion; 2) support and coordinate social care intervention performed by parishes³⁵; 3) train volunteers; 4) promote culture of solidarity; 5) develop innovative projects to address new forms of poverty [Ciampolini, interview no. 10].

Over years – with the increasing pressure of poverty problem – alongside its traditional educational function, Caritas of Turin has also played a more direct role, promoting some direct interventions for households. Diocesan counseling center *Le Due Tuniche* – where volunteers try to build personalized project in network with public and private actors³⁶ – has widely expanded its activities to fight poverty in two different directions:

- Original mandate is to listen and support people to make them feel not alone; this activity provide guidance, monitoring and advising about the opportunity available; the center acts as a secondary support, in close cooperation with parishes and counseling centers at local level, which are responsible for care assistance; main areas of orientation are housing and working.
- Provision of material aid (food box, clothing, medication) and / or economic assistance to cope with emergency situations. Economic aids are directed to people that cannot afford sudden expenses (e.g. retired, unemployed, single-income household); requests for financial assistance are subjected to a special committee at the diocesan level, which operates according to the following principles: 1) cost sharing; 2) subsidiarity versus other public or private actors; 3) maximum threshold for economic contribution; 4) time restriction. As table 31 shows in 2012 submitted requests were 1.937, but 66 % were at least partially accepted due to lack of resources. Main requests for material assistance were domestic bills, food vouchers, housing cost (e.g. rent, mortgage, deposit for public housing) and health cost (e.g. medicines, medical or dental care).

Furthermore Caritas of Turin developed in partnership with public and private stakeholders two project for housing problems:

- *Insieme per la casa* (together for home) has been realized in collaboration with Don Mario Operti foundation and aims to facilitate rent contracts between owners and households in vulnerable situations; it also provide a small grant to support the entrance fee and a counseling service to achieve housing autonomy.

³⁵ According to observatory of poverty's survey in diocese of Turin there are 91 counselling centers, while in the city of Turin there are 52 counselling centers with about 2,000 volunteers. Although guidelines are available at diocesan level, activity of parish counseling centers is very different - in fact were identified nearly 180 categories of intervention – because each one is managed independently by his pastor [interview no.10].

³⁶ In addition to cooperation with parishes, in recent years have been promoted many projects in collaboration with Society of Saint Vincent de Paul (to visit people at home that cannot reach the counseling center for health problems), Don Mario Operti foundation (to favor rent contracts between owners and people in difficult economic conditions), Agency for public housing (to avoid evictions for innocent arrearage), City of Turin (to locate temporary houses for evicted households), Ufficio Pio (to share information about users and interventions, in order to avoid duplications and overlaps).

- *Sis.Te.R* (temporary residential accommodation) has been realized in collaboration with Opera Don Orione and aims to provide temporary accommodation for evicted households waiting for public housing.

Table 31 – Diocesan counseling center “Le Due Tuniche”

Type of request	Presented	Accepted	Partially accepted	Rejected	% at least partially accepted
Domestic bills	961	427	195	339	65%
Food vouchers	280	266	1	13	95%
Contribution for housing (rent, mortgage, deposit for public housing)	269	82	31	156	42%
General economic contributions	237	144	12	81	66%
Contribution for health	68	44	1	23	66%
Contribution for education	39	29	-	10	74%
Contribution for transport	21	15	-	6	71%
Furniture and equipment	14	10	-	4	71%
Legal or social security advice	19	15	-	4	79%
Contribution for loan	11	1	2	8	27%
Contribution to be refund	8	6		2	75%
Other (items for children, hotel accommodation for evicted)	10	4	2	4	60%
Total	1937	1043	244	650	66%

Source: Caritas of Turin, *Le Due Tuniche*, Annual report for 2012.

As we mentioned before, Observatory of poverty is also responsible to design experimental projects aimed to contrast new forms of poverty. The most interesting one is *Casa Mangrovia*, which promotes culture of proximity across communities in collaboration with City of Turin. In particular it was signed a protocol – through which households can benefit from economic contributions for training offered by City of Turin and economic contributions to increase social and relational resources to avoid social exclusion offered by Casa Mangrovia (e.g. bring/take children at school if parents work, provide educational assistance to children, offer social leisure experiences) – aimed to share resources to support poor households and increase the effectiveness of their interventions [Ciampolini, interview no. 10].

Caritas activities are funded through donations for poverty, $8x1000$ ³⁷ and other diocese funds assigned by bishop of Turin. Economic resources available to diocesan counseling center *Le*

³⁷ According to *Otto per mille* (eight per thousand) Italian taxpayers can choose to devolve 0.8% from their annual income tax between a religion organization or alternatively to a social assistance scheme run by the Italian State. Diocese funding is proportional to number of its residents and divided

Due Tuniche for social assistance activities are about € 650 thousands per year, while resources for community animation and innovative projects coming from funds of Italian Caritas amounts to nearly € 500 thousands per year [Dovis, interview no. 14].

4.4 Society of Saint Vincent de Paul

The Society of Saint Vincent de Paul is an international catholic voluntary organization dedicated to providing personal help to poor and disadvantaged people. Assistance is based on direct interaction with people, through a local visit to better understand their need. The organization operates through conferences, which are basic units – connected to parish, community center or school – composed of volunteers who normally meet weekly to discuss the business of helping poor in their community. There are 62 conferences in Turin metropolitan area, with nearly 900 members.

Disadvantaged people to meet are found by volunteers, local parish or social workers in cases where public social services cannot offer assistance (e.g. when eligibility criteria are not met)³⁸. As table 32 shows, number of people met has increased a lot from 2008 to 2012, with a peak in 2011 of 16.251 people.

The goal is to develop a global vision of disadvantaged persons to make them independent again. Main activities are starting a dialogue, providing information and help about economic measures offered by public administrations, providing own economic contributions (e.g. domestic bills, not paid rent and food vouchers) and offering internship job trainings.

The organization does not receive public funds, but its activities are supported by donations from volunteers collected during weekly meeting or specific initiatives. In the last years expenditure for economic assistance was steadily around € 1 million a year.

Table 32 - Society of Saint Vincent de Paul in diocese of Turin

	2008	2009	2010	2011	2012
Number of volunteers	917	882	872	887	867
Number of people meet	9.846	10.296	11.057	16.251	14.981
Number of households that received economic assistance	4.685	4.047	3.673	3.479	3.663
Economic assistance	€ 1.011.225	€ 1.013.374	€ 1.011.588	€ 1.030.362	1.031.690

Source: Society of Saint Vincent de Paul.

between pastoral and charitable activities; 80% of charity funds are driven to support traditional activities, while 20% to support experimental projects promoted by Observatory of poverty.

³⁸ Third sector organizations usually operate with a more flexible way than public social services as underlined by Cerruti (interview no. 9).

Since 1996 there have been offered internship job trainings to favor social inclusion for disadvantaged people, through an agreement with the Province of Turin (table 33). Host organizations may be small businesses, cooperatives or local stores and are identified directly by volunteers. The project consists of a placement for 6 months, which can be turned - if successful – in real contract; a trainee receives € 620 per month for 40 hours a week and maintains status and rights of unemployed.

Table 33 - Internship job trainings offered by Society of Saint Vincent de Paul in Turin

	2008	2009	2010	2011	2012
Internship job trainings	10	13	19	16	23

Source: Society of Saint Vincent de Paul.

5. Local activation structures

A large disparity between employment policies and social services characterized the Italian welfare system. Employment policies are regulated at the national level and unemployment protection is based mostly on compensatory benefits and provided throughout a complex and fragmented system. The general contribution-based scheme covers less than 10% of the unemployed. Only very recently (July 2012) it has been replaced by a new unemployment social benefit scheme, called ASPI³⁹. The specific and most generous programs, the mobility allowances used mostly for early retirement and the short-term worker allowances for larger companies (*Cassa integrazione guadagni ordinaria e Straordinaria*, CIG and CIGS) are characterized by longer benefit duration, higher replacement levels (80%) and a looser conditionality. They are targeted at the support of the labour market insiders, i.e. highly unionized unemployed dismissed from bigger companies. From 1997 to 2003 a decentralization process increased the role of the sub-national levels of government (i.e. regional employment agencies - *servizi per l'impiego* – and private agencies for job counseling or training were created) and was accompanied by targeted activation programs, which tried to overcome the passive labour market policies in Italy (Graziano, 2012). Most of the activation measures have been funded only from mid-2000s onwards by the European Social Fund (ESF) and were implemented at the regional level. Lacking an adequate national framework, this led to huge regional disparities and to a heavy delay in the diffusion and implementation of activation measure in the field of social policy.

On the contrary, social services are mostly regulated and provided at the regional and local level, although local social services are partly financed by the National Social Assistance Fund. Italy has no national minimum income scheme for the whole population after the abolishment of a pilot-scheme (*Reddito minimo di inserimento*), which was experimented in some municipalities between 1998 and 2002 (WP5 Report on Italy). The decision whether to provide services in-house or contracted-out is taken at the regional and local level which leads to huge regional territorial differences and in many cases also disparities. At the local level, since the 2000 social assistance reform (Law no. 328/2000), the local programming plans (*Piano di zona*) are based on the involvement of local non-institutional actors (NGOs, social partners' related institutions and also individual citizens play an important role) both in policy programming and service delivery and strengthen the position of mostly non-for-profit third sector actors.

Coming to activation programs and structures at the local level, over the last 5 years, in connection with the recent economic crisis, a series of measures have been introduced and

³⁹ ASPI (*Assicurazione Sociale per l'Impiego*) is an universal unemployment social benefit scheme for those involuntarily losing their jobs. ASPI, to be paid on a monthly basis to the unemployed, will be managed by the National Social Security Agency (INPS) and will replace the ordinary unemployment allowance as of 2013 and the Mobility allowance as of 2017. The unemployed will receive the unemployment allowance, but for a shorter period of time: 12 months for those under 55 and 18 months for more senior employees. The ASPI has been paid in the amount of 75% of the monthly salary if, in 2013, the latter was not higher than 1.180 euro, if higher, the amount shall be equal to 75% increased of an additional 25% calculated on the difference between the actual monthly salary and 1.180 euro. The unemployed will have access to ASPI provided that they have accrued two years of previous contributions and at least 52 weeks over the last 2 years. Therefore, the new requirements are definitely more stringent than those provided for the Mobility allowance. The unemployed not meeting the above requirements will have access to the so-called mini-ASPI, provided that they have at least 13 weeks of contributions over the last 12 months.

implemented in Turin. We have selected three programs in which beside to the local public administration other stakeholders are very much involved and committed in funding and delivering these measures. It is important to note, however, that the activation policies are promoted and supported by the Department of labor policies and belong to this social area of intervention. They are not directly related to the provision of minimum income schemes and to the different measures to combat poverty that we have described in section 3 of this report.

The Compagnia di San Paolo Foundation is especially committed to foster social innovation projects and programs, by integrating actions that can respond more effectively to people's needs and to activation. For this reason we take into consideration three initiatives that see the CSP's involvement. The Compagnia has been also able in involving and including a multitude of public and private entities in its programs, all of which offer knowledge, experience, professionalism, human and economic resources [Morello and Gragnanin, interview no. 15]. In fact, the Compagnia does not only take the role of funder; it also promotes, co-ordinates and facilitates connections and monitoring among different stakeholders. Given how complex the process of implementation is, its intervention is spread over a multi-year period. There are numerous projects aiming at tracing a path to social autonomy for needy people, especially those most affected by the recent economic crisis. We take into consideration three of them, the most relevant in relation to our target groups and this section on activation.

5.1 The voucher for accessory work

A very relevant and innovative program was introduced in 2010: "Mutual solidarity and accessory work" can be considered as a virtuous example of collaboration between public, third sector organizations and Foundation Compagnia di San Paolo.

As we have seen, in Turin and its Province the crisis of employment in the industrial sector has been joined in recent times also by the crisis of the services sector, which can no longer create jobs. In 2011, for the first time, the balance between the rates of births and deaths of enterprises in Turin was negative, leading to a surge in total hours of CIG authorized by INPS (increased from around 13 million in the second half of 2008 to 61 million and a half of the first half of 2011), in the flow of new "available for work" and in the new registered on the lists of mobility. A situation that has now permanently compromise the welfare system, on which the local authority has felt the need to intervene, creating labor policies by exploiting every opportunities that the area is able to make available from the institutional levels, as well as from the operators, the third sector, the voluntary sector.

The program has a dual purpose: on the one hand, to combat the social and economic decline of citizens in situations of economic hardship caused by the employment crisis and reinforce their sense of belonging to the local community, and on the other hand, to make labour resources available to society in order to offer further services to the territory. The Compagnia has tested the concrete application of the ancillary work measures, creating a structured project around this tool by making significant funds available.

The aim of the project is to involve citizens affected by the crisis in paid activities promoted by non-profit organizations working in the area of "care of the community", through the use of vouchers for ancillary work according to clauses 70 and 72 of Legislative decree 276/2003 and later modifications and integrations as modified by Law 92/2012, with the intent of underpinning the income of households in difficulty, reinforcing the sense of belonging to the

local community and making labour resources available to society in order to offer further services to the territory.

Occasional ancillary work is a particular type of business relationship; its aim is to regulate any occasional work activities, classed specifically as “ancillary”, which are not ascribable to work contracts as they are carried out sporadically. In this way they offer employment opportunities and salary supplements to individuals who are out of work or who have not yet entered the labour market, guaranteed by social security and covered against accidents at work. Payment of occasional ancillary work takes place through the distribution of work vouchers with a nominal value of 10 Euros. Multiple vouchers (not to be used separately) from 20 to 50 Euros are also available. Beneficiaries can receive up to 3,000 Euros net per year, but are not counted in the calculation of income levels (for personal income tax and ISEE), allowing beneficiaries to continue to receive unemployment benefits and layoffs.

The project is aimed at adult Italian citizens and foreign nationals with valid residence permits living in the reference areas of the program, in difficulty due to the employment crisis. The project is also aimed at young people, under 29 years old, who have not yet entered the labour market or are currently enrolled at University. Target workers must therefore be over 18 years old and belong to an ISEE income band not exceeding 25,000 Euros, which if necessary can be verified through the instant production of ISEE according to the procedures of individual municipalities, and must be: recipients of salary supplements; recipients of services connected to unemployment status: ordinary unemployment benefit (ASPI), redundant workers (with or without benefits), special treatment for construction sector unemployment, reduced requirement unemployment benefit (mini ASPI); workers with part-time work contracts resulting from “solidarity contracts” (in which case, the occasional and ancillary work activities may not be carried out for the same employer as the part-time work contract); unemployed individuals not eligible for ASPI or no longer entitled to receive it; first time job seekers under 29 years old. Unemployed applicants should be enrolled in the lists of available workers at the relevant job centre.

The framework of this program defines possible activities as those which broadly speaking come under “care in the community”, and can be grouped in the following categories: cleaning and maintenance of buildings, gardens, streets, parks and monuments; sports, cultural and charity events and trade shows; conservation of local places of interest and social, cultural and environmental education; solidarity and social integration projects. The non-profit bodies must submit concrete proposals for supplementary or complementary activities to those, which they already carry out, proposals, which focus on a “sense of belonging and looking after the city and its citizens together”. This means it will be necessary to move forward with projects or “targeted campaigns”. Moreover, the thinking behind “targeted campaigns”, which by nature are occasional and temporary, clearly comes under the logic and the administrative interpretation of the norms provided by the INPS.

The program was introduced in the Municipality of Turin and then extended in the municipalities of the province with a population of over 20,000 inhabitants. The project is funded by the Compagnia di San Paolo, from which the City receives an average of 1.4 million euro per year.

The project is an example of effective public-private partnership as it can count on the efficient collaboration of the City of Turin through the Direzione Lavoro, Sviluppo Fondi Europei and Smart City (Directorate Labour, European Development Funds and Smart City), of the INPS Piedmont Regional Office, of the Provincial INPS and INAIL Piedmont Regional Office with support initiatives and technical assistance. This measure is also supported by

Caritas and other Catholic associations and by the *Curia*, that urged priests to use the accessory work with the resources of eight per thousand. Even the St. Vincent association, for example, has begun to use the voucher in addition to monetary aid and food. Information about people in difficulty was received from Ufficio Pio and the Compagnia's other projects (such as Nomis, Il Bandolo, Logos).

It is a program that has several positive aspects: it rests on the budgets of local authorities as funded by the Compagnia. It also makes a step forward from assistentialism, since it does not consist in a mere monetary transfer, but it favours activation and social inclusion of the beneficiary. However, there are also criticisms, particularly the risk that such an instrument can contribute to stabilize and institutionalize the precarious employment.

5.2 Social benefit against the occupational crisis

Social benefit against the occupational crisis (*Anticipazione sociale contro la crisi occupazionale*) is a program promoted by the Compagnia di San Paolo in collaboration with the province of Turin, with Intesa Sanpaolo Bank, and with the labour unions, to overcome cash flow difficulties of workers who are waiting to get income support payments from the INPS (National Institute of Social Security). The program plans to allow employees of firms who reside in the province of Turin (included the city of Turin) to avail themselves of the advance payments on unemployment insurance. These employees must come from firms that have filed a CIGS (extraordinary redundancy fund) request, due to company restructuring, reorganization, conversion, or crisis (according to the Law 223/1991), and have been suspended from work and are waiting for payment from the INPS, not having received the advance payment from their company.

The payment of income support sums by INPS normally takes place four or five months after the request for salary integration. In order to overcome the financial difficulties that result from this delay, workers can apply to Intesa Sanpaolo Bank for an advance payment on unemployment insurance up to a maximum of € 6,500 for a 7-month period, without costs or interests, by opening an account in privileged conditions and without expenses.

The preliminary agreement that allows one to receive the advance payment was signed on 25 November 2011. The activity was started at the beginning of 2012. Given the current conditions agreed upon between the partners, the interests relevant to a minimum of 850 people can be covered with a contribution of € 110,000 (in case of advance payment on the maximum value of the income support payment). During the first semester of activity (January – June 2012), 35 workers benefited from this opportunity.

It is worth underling that there is also a similar scheme, provided in this case only by the local administration, called *Servizio di anticipo Cassa integrazione guadagni (CIG)*, which provides for the early part of the CIGS treatment to workers from companies in crisis. The service is provided on the basis of an agreement between the City of Turin and Piedmont INPS, which establishes that the city of Turin pays the due amount to the claimants and then the INPS pays the City refunding the funds paid in advance. The advance is estimated at 600 euro per month for 12 months, after which each employee is provided an adjustment to compensate for the difference between the amount paid by the INPS to the City (share CIGS actually due) and the amount provided by the City to the worker. The service is aimed at citizens, residents in the municipality of Turin, employees from companies involved in bankruptcy proceedings (bankruptcy, compulsory liquidation, receivership) who meet the

conditions laid down in Law 223/1991. Between 2008 and 2010 2,340 persons have benefited of this program, of which 1,678 were male and 662 female (Agenzia Piemonte Lavoro, 2011).

5.3 Occupational mobility training

This a program aimed at creating processes of accompaniment, training, and replacement for workers in difficulty and that provides for the creation of training programs and the activation of internships offered to companies.

The target of this program are persons looking for a job, who belong to an income range ISEE that is no higher than Euro 25,000 and who are: 1) People younger than 29 years of age, looking for their first job; 2) People on wage support who do not have the possibility of returning to their previous jobs and who are not involved in the anti-crisis interventions implemented by the Piedmont Region; 3) Unemployed who are not supported through welfare programs. The unemployed must be registered in the lists of available workers at the relevant Employment Center (*Centro per l'Impiego*).

The program is developed throughout six phases: 1) analysis of the needs, that consists of the systematic gathering of the information offered by participating companies, in order to direct all actions toward these needs; 2) taking charge of the beneficiaries; 3) structuring training processes, always minding not to duplicate actions that are already present in the territory; 4) job placement: for each of the persons included in the project, a job opportunity will be looked for through the identification of available companies; 5) relations with companies: firms are required to be involved through a systematic spreading of the relevant information and available opportunities; 6) consolidation of the communication tools aimed at facilitating the operation of the network and consisting of maintaining detailed information, easily accessible by the companies' beneficiaries and by the extended net of the project.

The project has the following purposes: improve the meeting of labor demand and supply; create a community of companies interested in having a place of reference for their needs relevant to training and job placement; demonstrate the added value that comes from establishing networks that are created on the basis of the principle of subsidiarity. A valuable element is the ability to start relations with companies. It has allowed to receive indications concerning the demand for labor, allowing to characterize training programs and to respond quickly and appropriately to the requests from companies, thus showing an effective ability to bring demand and supply together.

The program has been active since September 2010 and interventions are carried out in the province of Turin. It was promoted by the Compagnia di San Paolo and carried out in partnership with the Compagnia delle Opere del Piemonte, the Fondazione Don Mario Operti, and the Ufficio Pio.

During the first year (September 2010 - September 2011), 395 recipients have been included into the program: of these, 247 have found a job, 220 have been included in internship programs in view of subsequent hiring; about 1,000 firm shave been contacted and, of these, about 400 have been involved in the project, expressing 376 requests for work positions. The data relevant to the second year are not yet final, as the project is not yet closed. An update of October 2012 shows that 590 are the recipients who have been included into the project; of these, 178 have found employment to this day (and 81 of them are already hired, while 97

have a pre-employment letter and are finishing their internship), and the active internships are 259. Over 2,000 firms have been contacted and more than 400 have been involved in the project, bringing the request for job positions to ca. 320.

As far as activation service providers we can point out that private, nonprofit organizations as well as public institution work together and are very much involved. This is very well exemplified especially by the voucher for ancillary work, which favors activation and social inclusion of the beneficiaries.

6. Combating poverty, actors and models of governance in Turin

This report shows that although Italy is still characterized by the absence of a national minimum income scheme as a universal safety net, at local level are available some forms of economic assistance programs, even though in a fragmented way. The analysis of Turin and its large basket of schemes and programs shows that some of them take the form of national/regional measures implemented at local level which are configured as enforceable right, while other are discretionary measures which are designed and funded with more degree of freedom at local level.

In general economic assistance schemes in Turin are well developed and more generous, compared with other Italian large cities. Moreover, we can say that a robust public intervention of minimum income protection is the distinguish trait of the city of Turin, which contrasts with the Italian case characterized by the absence of a national minimum income schemes as well as by a less robust protection system at the local level. The amount of the two minimum income schemes – *reddito di mantenimento* and *reddito di inserimento sociale* - are not negligible and spending on economic assistance, in spite of the crisis, has increased in the last years. As we have pointed out in the previous paragraphs, the overall policy sector has been subjected to some innovations even though its core is historically institutionalized: some programs were introduced in the 1990s and remained unaltered (e.g. maternity allowance, family allowance for at least three minor children), other were reformed (e.g. fund for rent support, regional social fund, *reddito di mantenimento*, *reddito di inserimento sociale*) and other were introduced very recently such as the new social card.

Nearly half of the measures are configured as discretionary schemes offered by Turin social services, which set differences among local governments and may be subjected to reductions for budget constraints. The majority of measures are targeted to residents belonging to a certain category – such as mothers, households with minors, unemployed, elders – while other are more universal benefits provided for all. Means testing are used for all schemes to determine whether households are eligible for economic assistance. However local minimum schemes provided by municipality of Turin opted for a different and more demanding means testing to avoid ISEE distortions, which takes in consideration all household revenues and car ownership at the moment of application, ascertained also through home visits. Moreover, *reddito di inserimento sociale* is distinguished by favorable calculation for income earned during the period of economic assistance to avoid poverty trap and encourage beneficiaries to find a job. In general economic threshold to apply for economic assistance schemes are very heterogeneous and this makes the overall system quite complex, complicating access for recipients, which cannot easily know if they may qualify for some programs but not others. *Reddito di inserimento sociale* and the new social card are the only conditional schemes, which depend upon beneficiary activation (e.g. seeking a job, attending training courses or personalized project proposed by social services).

Access to social minimum income schemes and programs against poverty is in many cases complicated by the fact that applicants must send their request to different public administration offices, which can be unknown of the all set of measures. Households must be competent and informed about what they can ask and where, but these information and skills are not always available for poorer and disadvantaged people, risking that those who qualify do not benefit from them. In addition many different and fragmented schemes, managed by

different institutions, increase administrative costs and do not communicate respective beneficiaries to each other.

Looking at the measures provided in Turin, we see that they are also very diversified regarding the length of benefit: five schemes are monthly cash transfer (maternity allowance, family allowance, New Social Card, *reddito di mantenimento* and *reddito di inserimento sociale*), while the other are *una tantum* grants.

Beside this robust public intervention we have shown that Turin is also characterized by a peculiar welfare mix, which sees the involvement of different and numerous stakeholders as well as a recent consolidation of the tools and momentum of coordination among public institution and no profit organizations and social actors. This is well exemplified by the role played by the bank foundation, the Compagnia di San Paolo, and its instrumental body, the Ufficio Pio.

Coordination strategy between the Compagnia di San Paolo and the Ufficio Pio for combating poverty is based on a division of roles and responsibilities. While initiatives in direct support of individuals and families - even in the form of more complex and articulated projects - are assigned to the Ufficio Pio, the relationship between the CSP and the final beneficiaries is mediated by Third sector organizations and institutions, thus resulting in “grant-making activities” and coordination of social innovation projects promoted directly by the CSP, whose direction is placed in the hands of the Social Policy Area.

According to the Regulations of the Instrumental bodies, the Company entrusts the Ufficio Pio with a functional multi-year plan (*Funzione obiettivo pluriennale*, FOP) to be adopted by the Ufficio Pio. The FOP indicates, among other things, the strategic guidelines as well as the direct and indirect objectives that the activities of the Ufficio Pio must pursue to ensure for local development. The main indications that the Management Committee of the Company has submitted to the Ufficio Pio in the FOP for the period 2011-2013 are twofold. First of all, the Ufficio Pio has to commit to situations of social vulnerability - in line with the policy documents of the Company and the interventions that are implemented according to the Social Policy Area – with particular focus on consequences of the recent employment crisis. This is to prevent families from falling into the condition of poverty due to an "unexpected event", as for example the job loss. In this context, it is desirable that the Ufficio Pio builds on the innovative mode of action based on the principles of rotation of the beneficiaries, the signature of a mutual pact, and the restitution of the positive outcomes attached to the program. Secondly, the measurement of the impact of the Ufficio Pio's action of contrast to absolute poverty in terms of number of people assisted or serviceable, in the light of the resources allocated, has to be carried out. Through the definition of the FOP, the Company thus dictates the policy and directs the action of the Ufficio Pio.

Over the years, Compagnia di San Paolo has developed several projects with the Ufficio Pio, based on a shared design and aimed at alleviating the effects of poverty and helping people and families in rebuilding a responsible life project. Among the most relevant initiatives we can mention "Il Trapezio", devoted to combat the risk of social exclusion of individuals, and especially families, who are in a situation of social vulnerability, with the final intent to provide people with the opportunity to make plans and have the freedom to pursue them. "Percorsi" aims instead at encouraging the creation of funds by integrating different forms of income support, also promoting the construction of a family budget to finance children's schooling; and the residential projects "Cascinotto", "Cascinotto 2.0" and "AbiStare", which intend to experiment innovative models of intervention in favor of the segments of the

population in condition of vulnerability due to housing problems and needs, working through projects that provide social support “paths” in a logic of empowerment.

As pointed out by Tamietti and Revello [interview no. 8], due to the recent crisis and the austerity phase, the latest strategies adopted by the Company are not oriented at dealing with situations of overt poverty - on which the Ufficio Pio acts directly - but to combat instead social vulnerability and the risk of impoverishment through preventive actions to avoid the significant social and economic costs that poverty entails. Against this background, the CSP has especially operated on two inter-related issues - work and home - which are the two key levers for initiating a process of personal autonomy. To counter the phenomenon of social fragility, the CSP operates, therefore, directly and through initiatives aimed respectively to support the income of workers in difficulty, to help finding a job, and to offer innovative housing solutions. As we have seen in paragraph 5, these initiatives include, on the one hand, actions to combat the unemployment crisis through supporting the income of workers in difficulty (Social benefit against the occupational crisis and mutual solidarity and accessory work) and, on the other, actions of active labor market policy (Training Mobility Professional and the participation in the Regional Fund for microcredit). On top of this, the Housing Program of the Compagnia di San Paolo, approved in November 2006, seeks to provide innovative solutions to the need of the many living in a temporary situation of social and economic vulnerability, and at the same time to contribute to the definition of a new culture of social housing. The Housing Program operates both directly, through the creation of new models of social housing, and indirectly through the provision of support and promotion of housing projects developed by others local stakeholders.

The cooperation between Compagnia di San Paolo, Turin City Council and Ufficio Pio for the development and qualification of welfare actions is formalized through a Memorandum of Understanding, a framework document by virtue of which the three institutions work together to support the development of programs in the fields of social policy, education, urban regeneration, the creation of shared spaces and work integration. In addition, the Protocol encourages the various Departments to work together in order to reach greater coordination on the priorities for action. Among non-profit organizations it emerges the important role of the Compagnia di San Paolo, which provides many resources on the territory⁴⁰.

Another example is *Tavolo Coordinamento povertà* of the city of Turin (Joint Board on Poverty Coordination), a place that was strongly supported by municipality of Turin and the Ufficio Pio, where local institutions and no profit organizations can cooperate and deal with people at risk of poverty. The Joint Board on Poverty has been established to share information, coordinate public and private actions, to avoid duplication of benefits and the double provision to the same benefit, to identify innovative solutions. The Joint Board is a privileged context in which public and private actors can better understand how to help those in need by joining forces, competencies and funds as pointed out by both Tisi and Centillo [interviews no. 7 and 12]. Social needs are analyzed during regular meetings, where actors have the opportunity to get a more clear idea about existing problems and to further implement most appropriate actions. As Tamietti (interview no. 8) said “No one tries to make up for the responsibilities of others, just as no other imposes a certain way of working rather than another, but it is a place to discuss the real needs of the city and especially the people and think about solutions”. The results of this collaboration are evident both from a management point of view and in terms of concrete actions experimented on the territory, such as sharing

⁴⁰ An indicator of the close connection and relationship between the municipality of Turin and the CSP can be envisaged also in the choice – in 2012 - to appoint the former Mayor Chiamparino as President of the Compagnia di San Paolo [cf. Saraceno, interview no. 16].

of catalog of measures against poverty, identification of vulnerable recipients for new regional social fund and actual implementation of the New Social Card.

The recent economic crisis affecting the city of Turin became a stimulus for changes also concerning the welfare arena – as in the previous two decades the crisis connected with industrial restructuring, relocations and closures of factories made the political class and social and economic actors aware that to avoid an irreversible decline was necessary to intervene as in fact it happened starting with Castellani and the definition of the first Strategic Plan and following with Chiamparino and nowadays with Mayor Fassino. This process of renovation of the city during the 1990s and the 2000s was possible thanks to a group of intellectuals belonging to the reformist wing of the left who developed, since the mid-Eighties, a collective reflection on the difficulties of the city. It also outlined ideas and an agenda for the modernization of politics and local economy, leading to a vigorous public debate in the political and business arena of the city.

A coalition of center-left parties supported by a new alignment of political and social forces governed the city for twenty years under the leadership of three mayors, Castellani, Chiamparino and Fassino. The attempt was to lead Turin towards more advanced social and territorial balance, making the city able to compete with other European cities [interviews no. 3, 11 and 16].

Taking into consideration the changes that took place in Turin in the last two decades two different positions emerged among scholars and researchers. On the one hand authors such as Dente *et alii* [2005] and Winkler [2007] underlined that Turin managed to achieve most of its objectives and to solve many of its problems. For this reason Turin has to be considered an example of good practices and administration, able to overcome the challenges of economic modernization and urban transformation, reaching results that only few other cities in Italy achieved. A very recent volume by Belligni and Ravazzi, on the contrary, while admitting the relevance of the case within the Italian scenario of stagnant and politically depressed cities pointed out that – in light of recent empirical evidence - the results are uneven and, in many cases, not fulfilling the intentions and expectations of social and political actors, and well below the appreciation that the city enjoys in Italy and on the international scene [Belligni and Ravazzi, 2013a]⁴¹. In particular, Belligni and Ravazzi [2013] argue that until mid-2000s the priority was the economic revival of the city based on the three sub-agendas (polycentric, polytechnic and pyrotechnic city) while welfare policies were a constraint and not a priority. From the analysis we have carried out it emerged that - due to the recent economic crisis and its social impact – welfare has returned to be at the center of scene. In fact, the public commitment of the Turin administration in terms of measures and benefits to combat poverty has increased (also in terms of innovation of the initiatives supported) and spending on economic assistance, in spite of the crisis, has increased in the last few years. This is even much more important if one takes into consideration the fact that up to 2006 Turin has been very much active in terms of funding in many policy sectors such as the expansion of public transport or the promotion of the city through the development of culture, arts and sport events. This strong municipal involvement has seriously damaged the financial balance of the municipal budget to the extent that today Turin is the most indebted city per capita in Italy [cf. Lefèvre 2013, p. 221]. Although this financial situation during the last two years the city of Turin has increase its effort towards welfare policies contrary to what happened in the previous period.

Concerning the impact and influence of Europe in the local fight against poverty, one has to

⁴¹ Lefèvre (2013) is much more in line with Belligni and Ravazzi's conclusions than the other group of researchers.

underline that the City of Turin, in the area of social welfare and in respect of its competences, has created a team working on European Policies and Innovation, European Funds for Services Innovation and Economic Development and Innovation, that performs the following functions: research, study and analysis of European and national policies to support innovation and sustainable urban development. In particular, the team's object is to stimulate and coordinate integrated projects in close collaboration with other key players and innovation and social cohesion is one of the main area of intervention. The prevailing areas of work on issues related to social innovation are those projects aimed at sustainable economic development of the territory, with particular attention to supporting youth entrepreneurship. The team aims to identify the tools and funding opportunities offered by the European Union, national bodies, the Piedmont Region, the banking foundations and any other subject, to support policies relating to the promotion, innovation, sustainable local development and employment growth through the improvement of career development for youth and adults and support for equal opportunities between women and men throughout the life span. The team also carries out research activities of partners, transnational and local, for the creation of networks of stakeholders to implement innovation projects aimed at sustainable economic development of the territory, with particular attention to supporting youth entrepreneurship.

Therefore we can underline that the city is committed to look at the supranational level and above all to the European level in order to find resources to implement projects at the local level and also to create large network of stakeholders. In respect to the programs and the initiatives that we have analyzed in this report there is no a specific and direct involvement of the EU. However also in the interviews we have conducted (no. 12 and 13) it emerges that there is a general and widespread influence played by the EU in the field of combating poverty and social exclusion and in terms of activation policy and policy-makers as well as the City administration staff are committed to apply ideas and guidelines stemming from the European debate (it is the case also from the EU recommendations). EU policies for combating poverty and promoting active inclusion influenced the local debate on poverty since 2000 only indirectly, although quite significantly according to the policy-makers we have interviewed. European social funds play no a specific and consistent role in financing anti-poverty and active inclusion measures at the local level and in the fields we are considering there are no relevant or innovative local programs financed by EU funds.

7. Conclusive remarks

Turin was extensively affected by the financial and economic crisis that struck Italy and Europe during the 1990s, which resulted in high unemployment level, decreasing employment levels and shrinking labour market participation in general. Due to the presence and the role of Fiat Turin was even more affected by changes in labour market. The 2008 economic and financial crisis have implied that the process of recovery that took place from the late 1990s came to a stop with rising unemployment levels and vulnerability risks.

Turin has several social programs and measures to combat poverty and to increase social inclusion, most of them due to local initiatives. On the basis of the interviews we have carried on, we can point out that Turin has been highly hit by the economic and social consequences of the recent crisis (as shown in paragraph 1 referring to the high level of unemployment and long-term unemployment rates). However, despite budget constraints, the Turin municipal government has implemented innovative social and active labour policies during the last two decades (as measures as *reddito di mantenimento* and *reddito di inserimento sociale* prove) and it has demonstrated to put anti-poverty measures at the top of the political agenda. Turin has a robust public intervention of minimum income protection as distinguishing trait, which contrasts with the Italian case characterized by the absence of a national minimum income schemes as well as by a less robust anti-poverty protection system at the local level. This was partly due to a long lasting and strong tradition of center-left parties dominating the city, especially from 1993 onwards when the local electoral reform was passed (as underlined in paragraph 2). Moreover, one has to take into consideration the role played by the mayors from 1993: Mayors Castellani, Chiamparino and Fassino tell us a story of continuity in the policy-making and in the implementation of anti-poverty policies. Finally, from this (preliminary) analysis, it emerged as a second characteristic trait of social policy in Turin the strong collaboration and connection among local actors such as public institutions, private actors and non profit organizations (especially bank foundations such as the Compagnia di San Paolo).

The weakening of the middle class, reported by the statistics on absolute and relative poverty, is a phenomenon that cannot find an exclusive answer from the traditional welfare. The reform of welfare shifting resources “to the vulnerable” is, unfortunately, an enterprise that takes time and met strong political resistance, especially in today's economic environment, in times of austerity and scarce resources. The protection of new needs remains so, too often, a request unheeded by the institutions. Foundations, with their own resources, internal planning and strong local roots, are increasingly taking a leadership role in social innovation, as we have seen with reference to the role of the CSP and its instrumental body, the Ufficio Pio. In any case Turin has a long history (dating back to the XVII century) of social intervention thanks also to no-profit organizations, among which the Ufficio Pio and Compagnia di San Paolo Foundation. Both these bodies have largely based their actions and interventions towards combating poverty and promoting social inclusion in close connection with the local administration. Another element that has to be pointed out is that both the industrial crisis and the migratory pressure had in the past pushed towards a high level of commitment on behalf of the local governments of the city.

Nowadays the conditions under which municipalities and local authorities find themselves - due to the economic crisis, which is turning into a phase of austerity - are serious and definitely not encouraging. The cuts to funding, and the parallel increase in requests for assistance from citizens, could blow up the entire social system locally. The difficulty of programming, due to both economic and political uncertainty, may compromise the starting of the processes of innovation for which stability and ability are crucial elements. However, in

such a scenario rather than retreat, many municipalities have embarked on the path of renewal and regeneration and Turin is one of them. This implies interventions that focus primarily on the protection of the risks arising from the crisis – such as new forms of poverty - in an attempt to maintain social equilibrium and good level of welfare, and collaboration with all social actors. The “solution” for the local welfare system seems to pass through the creation of a welfare incorporating social policies, which is able to exploit public resources - spending better - but also private ones - being aware of the fact that most of the resources available are no longer managed by the City directly, but they are fragmented, heterogeneous and involving private, third sector and citizens. A mix where the local authority does not disappear but becomes, from a mere producer of services, the promoter of a network able to retain the enjoyment of social rights of citizens, as well as to maintain a function strategic planning, contrasting the uncertainty by making co- responsible for the discomfort the whole community. In many cases they are experiments or pilot projects so it is difficult to say how can be effective and turn to be institutionalized into a new mode of governance, but the mere fact that attempts to innovate are being made has a huge significance in a system – such as the Italian one - that has remained the same for decades, unable to renovate itself. The challenge is to see and evaluate if the crisis could become an opportunity to reform the local welfare not only making it more effective, but it can really give protection to all citizens in needs.

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