

**URBAN POVERTY AND DEPRIVATION:  
A FOCUS ON YOUTH CONDITION IN MILAN**

**Federica Roccisano**

Ph.D. Student Catholic University Milan

federica.roccisano@unicatt.it

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*Abstract*

*The aim of the paper is to investigate the effect of experimental and participatory public policies in urban poverty of youth and the linkage between poverty and the access to public structures and places for young people. In this paper we will focus on the Italian city of Milan.*

*The paper is divided into three sections. In the first part we will make an analysis of the demographic changes registered by the Municipality of Milan in the last ten years. In this section, we will observe the distribution of the population in the nine areas of Milan referring to demographic data as well as further investigations already conducted on the territory that describe some qualitative aspects of different areas.*

*In the second part we will deal structures for young people in Milan and how they are distributed between areas. In this part, as well as highlighting the differences between the central and peripheral areas, we will also help to identify a relationship between the joints of the cohorts of younger generations from some areas of Milan and the endowment, or under-provision of school facilities or recreational activities.*

*In the third part we will make a suggestion on the instrument of generational budget as an instrument of policy for the City of Milan to improve the effectiveness and efficiency of interventions for young people, and intervene in counteracting social exclusion and to be able to decrease the flow of people out of Milan.*

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Keywords: urban poverty, education, equity, generational accountability.

## Summary

Changes in the economic, cultural, social and environmental issues in recent years have meant that the current globalized society has changed significantly the idea of well-being and satisfaction of the individual. Therefore, it has become difficult to define the level of income that a person needs to not perceive himself as a poor, because the idea of well-being is not only related to the material aspects but to a whole range of needs and desires material and not material. Throughout this article we are mainly concerned with urban poverty and all the typical characteristics of poverty and deprivation that can affect citizen.

A city can be a source of social events and opportunities or, on the contrary, be an obstacle to their realization, or even result in the exclusion of the individual from a "normal social life." Some forms of poverty, moreover, can be the consequence of myopic urban processes perpetrated in time and which the individual did not participate<sup>1</sup>. In this sense also the active participation of the citizen or the citizen's cooperation on the policies of their city, becomes a good political action to combat poverty: even those who live in a state of discomfort, in fact, could be able to express their thoughts. In this way, on the one hand the citizen participant will avoid to be marginalized, on the other by making a contribution citizen participates in the improvement of the area where he lives<sup>2</sup>.

The decision to investigate the urban poverty and deprivation is closely related to the goal of the writer to identify new policy instruments and citizen participation that can support poor people deprived of their opportunities and gets them out of situations of stigma. To achieve this goal it becomes necessary to investigate different dimensions of poverty: the dimension of infrastructure, like the level of private and public services, the socio-economic dimension, or the level of opportunities available, the size of population and, finally, the economic dimension<sup>3</sup>.

The decision to expand the horizon of economic deprivation and thus to overcome the aspect of measuring income, depends on the critical issues related to the concept of poverty exclusively monetary. Different theories over the years have shown that the income cannot be a sufficient indicator for the measurement of the resources available to an individual. Different theories over the years have shown that the income cannot be a sufficient indicator for the measurement of the resources available to an individual. From half of the 900 onwards economists and sociologist have been proposed several alternatives to provide a broader idea of deprivation. The turning point occurs with the work of Townsend with his idea that poverty is objectively defined only in terms of relative deprivation<sup>4</sup>. However, the contribution that more has been taken away from the purely monetary theories is that of the basic needs of Amartya Sen, who, while recognizing the role of income as an indicator of deprivation, focuses its attention on the quality of life and the freedom of life of 'individual'<sup>5</sup>.

In addition theoretical issues, there are several statistical reasons on the exclusive use of the indicator income and these become even more relevant if we consider the urban dimension. First, it becomes problematic to find or partially find reliable information regarding income: it is difficult to get the details of income earners in a municipal dimension, if we choose the method of finding data by questionnaire, there may be measurement errors generated by information asymmetries, so the individual can more or less intentional declare incomplete information. Another problem is the inability of income to measure the

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<sup>1</sup> Pieretti, 1991

<sup>2</sup> Duncan, 2009

<sup>3</sup> Chiappero-Martinetti, Nuvolati, 2011

<sup>4</sup> Townsend, 1979

<sup>5</sup> Sen, 2006

degree of satisfaction of the individual with respect to a certain living standard and that may also be related to disposable income coming from long-term processes such as inheritance, capital income, life savings, and resources from informal economy<sup>6</sup>.

## Poverty and risk of poverty of young people

In order to identify a particular type of person in difficulty, we decided to focus the analysis on a particular category of people who live in the city: younger age groups.

Young people today are considered a particularly sensitive, especially in so-called developed countries where public debt, aging population, and scarcity of jobs have reached such pathological conditions as to say that, for the first time since the post-industrial, today's young people live in worse conditions than their parents<sup>7</sup>. So it is important to have a generational point of view of poverty by considering both the intragenerational inequality, which means that there are different conditions of income and wealth among individuals of the same generation, both the intergenerational inequality, so that the young people of today seem to be on average less wealthy youth of yesterday<sup>8</sup>.

We define urban youth, the youth living in cities and that perceive changes and inequalities so more than their peers who live in rural areas. The urban area affects and is in turn influenced by social change: is the place where the society can weaken or strengthen depending on the interaction, and it can be a source of opportunities and restrictions for people living there<sup>9</sup>. Hence the idea that urban space can affect the young person today to the kind of adult who will be tomorrow<sup>10</sup>. The presence or absence of functional structures such as schools, youth centres, libraries, sports facilities and even medical facilities, can affect the growth of young and turn him or not into a successful adult, responsible and involved in the development of its urban context.

Within the city itself there are completely different ways of life: life in the suburbs is almost always stigmatizing and tends to reproduce the status of young people in poverty and exclusion typical of the area, while those who were lucky enough to be born and live in central areas has a better chance to access and benefit from social and economic opportunities. Those who come from wealthy families to experience the city can participate in educational activities or just leisure without foreclosure, favouring private spaces. The most vulnerable are forced instead to settle for what the city offers them for free. If the services were poor both in terms of quantity and especially from the qualitative point of view the effects on young people may be different: a lack of integration of young poor or deprived, often pushing them towards negative behaviours (crime, school dropout)<sup>11</sup>.

The city, therefore, does not produce for youth living standards and equal opportunity, but rather it is the place where in recent years social mobility has reached very low levels<sup>12</sup>. The starting point, therefore, play an essential role since they determine not only the opportunities but also the individual's level of relationship that can establish with the inhabitants of other areas. Who's from a deprived neighbourhood

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<sup>6</sup> Bozzon, Degasperi, Marzadro, Podestà, 2007

<sup>7</sup> Ambrosi, Rosina, 2009

<sup>8</sup> Roccisano, 2011

<sup>9</sup> Nuvolati, 2011

<sup>10</sup> Jones, Wallace 1992

<sup>11</sup> Andreson Moore, 2009

<sup>12</sup> Foroohar, 2011

can become an outcast from opportunity and positive relationships only because they live in that particular neighbourhood.

From the sociological point of view this kind of analysis refers to the methodology of the Chicago School of the early 900 that is based on the existence of so-called "natural areas" or habitats of different types of people in the city. Emblematic in this regard is the classic example of Shaw on the possibilities and perceptions of young people in urban slums who observe the different opportunities of the most affluent, including their lack of access to the same opportunities and feel compelled to commit to this negative actions sometimes delinquent in order to improve their social position<sup>13</sup>.

Years later, Wilson introduces the term "neighbourhood effects" to highlight how living in a disadvantaged background can certainly increase the risk of poverty of the individual: social norms, family environment and the quality of the neighbourhood where you live can affect negatively the standard of living of the people living there<sup>14</sup>.

### Neighbourhood effect and education: a focus on the European situation

The idea that the district of residence has an effect on the growth of young people over the years is supported by numerous studies that analyse the effects of institutions in the neighbourhood and interacting with young: the presence or absence of adequate schools, parks, libraries, places socialization, etc...<sup>15</sup>. But if this sort of studies is well-established in the United States, in Europe we can say that this is an area of research still very young and that has affected mainly the Northern countries. Garner and Raudenbush analysed the neighbourhood effect considering the level of social deprivation in educational institutions and education of 2,500 young people in Scotland: also in familiar contexts not particularly disadvantaged situations of spatial deprivation in education / school negatively affect learning and then employment opportunities in the future<sup>16</sup>. Similarly Andersson studying the condition of adolescents in Sweden showed the presence of different types of neighbourhood effects associated with the educational environment and intended to be reflected in future in professional contexts<sup>17</sup>. Kaupinenn regarding the case of Helsinki is a step further and concludes that the educational environment is certainly one of the means by which the effect occurs so as to influence the young in the completion or abandonment of the secondary school<sup>18</sup>.

About the connection between their educational and poverty, between the research is appropriate to refer to recent studies conducted by Raffo at the University of Manchester, which has created a diagram (Figure 1) representative of how poverty can affect the 'education of a young and as a special education systems are able, in turn, to have an impact on poverty of the individual<sup>19</sup>. This study demonstrates on the one hand as the young, the same way as ethnic minorities, have become subjects particularly vulnerable to poverty, on the other hand how these poverty occur through the access to particular types of education and thus in reducing opportunities access to particular resources or professional levels.

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<sup>13</sup> Shaw, 1930

<sup>14</sup> Wilson, 1987

<sup>15</sup> Galster et al, 2007

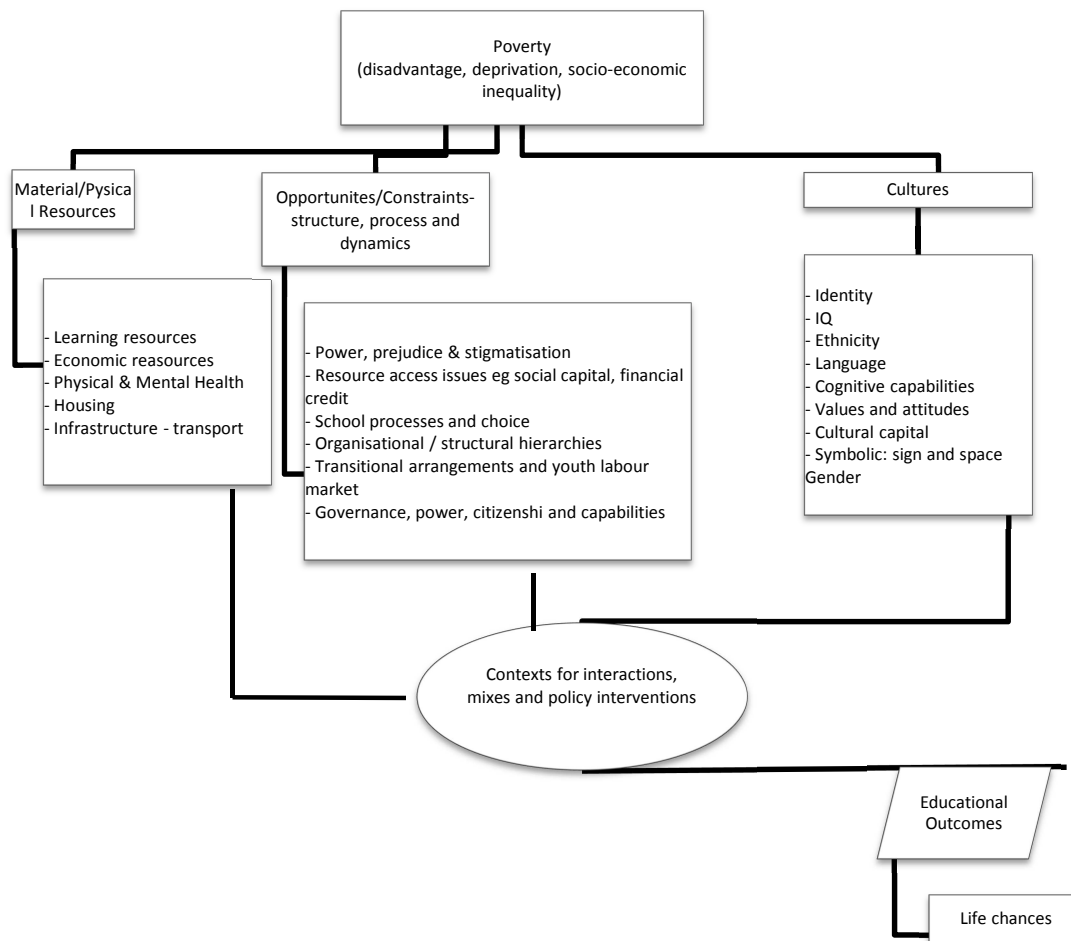
<sup>16</sup> Garner, Raudenbush, 1991

<sup>17</sup> Andersson, 2004

<sup>18</sup> Kauppinen, 2008

<sup>19</sup> Raffo, Dyson, Gunter, Hall, Jones, Kalambouka, 2009

Figura 1



The situation, again, is more serious for young people who live in cities: episodes of social exclusion related to the earning power of the family of origin may lead to delinquent behaviour and school performance is also low<sup>20</sup>. Studies by Sibley show that even in English cities poverty and social exclusion of young people is determined not only by the place where you live but also to the neighbourhood where they're attending the school<sup>21</sup>. Even Bauder described similar phenomena with the term "cultural exception" to demonstrate how the weight of the reputation of a particular school can affect the life of a young reducing their future life chances<sup>22</sup>.

<sup>20</sup> Cauce, A., Stewart, A., Rodriguez, M., Cochrane, B. & Ginzler, J. , 2003

<sup>21</sup> Sibley, 1995

<sup>22</sup> Bauder, 2002

## Introduction

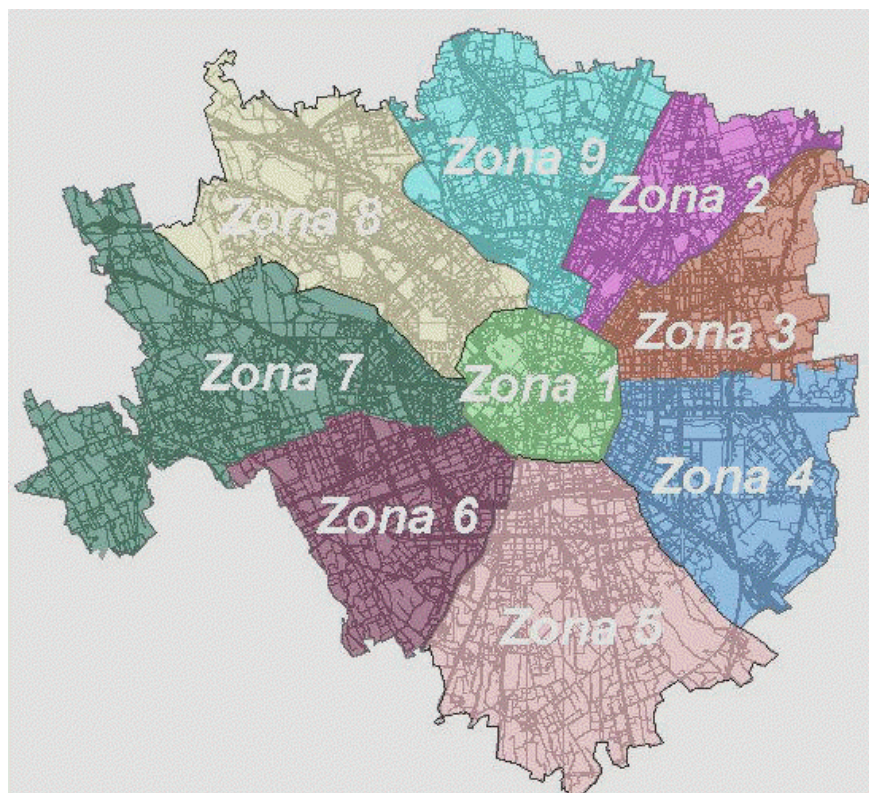
Throughout this article we will look at the forms of "social deprivation" that can affect young people today in the urban context and that particularly affect access to education, recreation and cultural areas as well as health dedicated to them. The reference area identified is the City of Milan.

The paper is divided into three sections. In the first part we will make an analysis of the demographic changes registered by the Municipality of Milan in the last ten years. In this section, we will observe the distribution of the population in the nine areas of Milan referring to demographic data as well as further investigations already conducted on the territory that describe some qualitative aspects of different areas.

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In the third part we will make a suggestion on the instrument of generational budget as an instrument of policy for the City of Milan to improve the effectiveness and efficiency of interventions for young people, intervene in counteracting social exclusion and to be able to decrease the flow of people out of Milan.

**FIGURE 1: Milan**



## 1. The case of Milan: new indicators of Poverty's distribution

Among the Italian cities we decided to analyse the case of the city of Milan because we considered particularly interesting for many different players who live there and because the economic and demographic dimension is similar to those European cities mentioned in the introductory part. Even in urban areas of Milan, young people are in a position of disadvantage and are often forced to turn to the third sector to ask for food or other types of financial support. If we consider the work of Caritas, one of the most important social organizations in Italy, we will see that those who require the services of Caritas in Milan is predominantly young: one third of the total (36.8%) under 35 years, one-third (the 29.1%) between 35 and 44 years. The percentage of people over 65 was 2.9%<sup>23</sup>

For the realization of this paper we will refer to some of the data processed by the writer on the basis of data from the last Census of population and households conducted by ISTAT in 2011 and on data provided by the Statistics Office of the Municipality of Milan. In addition, reference was made to the surveys conducted by questionnaire in research "The Social Distance in some urban areas in Italy", with specific reference to the case of Milan<sup>24</sup>, the processing of the database AMERICA in research "Spaces of poverty"<sup>25</sup> and research "STAY - Restructuring Large-Scale Housing Estate in European Cities: Good Practices and New Vision for Sustainable Neighbourhoods and Cities" in 2002<sup>26</sup>. The results of these studies have been helpful in strengthening multi-level considerations for areas of Milan, with particular mention to housing in the neighbourhoods, to subjective perceptions, social differences, and finally the distribution of income and inequalities associated with it.

About our processing of data relating to the Census was conducted a small study of demographic change occurred in the city of Milan in the last 10 years. In particular, we analysed the demographic balance of the population, the trend of population by age and generation for the area, and finally, the impact of the foreign population. These data were then compared with those provided by the Office of Statistics municipal services provided by the City. This comparison will allow us to highlight the spatial distribution of schools by level in the several areas in Milan.

In addition to the number of schools, it will also analyse the number of facilities and public spaces for young people. To perform this analysis we have created a separate census for the area of municipal sporting facilities (including those run by associations and cooperatives), the youth community centres, public libraries and archives, family counselling and public medical facilities for young people. In this case the number of structures will be compared with the number of young people from school age cohorts (0-14, 15-19) living near the centres surveyed.

The purpose of these calculations is to verify the quality of life of young individuals in a given area and to examine whether or not the relationship between what we have called "leaks" by young people from some areas and the offer of available services. The resulting data from surveys related to social distance and the quality of life of the Milanese population will, finally, provide a picture of the socio-economic and symbolic dimension of the various areas of Milan that influence population movements (inbound or outbound from 'area) and that, following the idea suggested by Bauder about the effects of access to education in the lives of young people, can generate social exclusion, stigma and negative consequences in the future life of young<sup>27</sup>.

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<sup>23</sup> Caritas Ambrosiana, 2011

<sup>24</sup> Tacchi, 2010

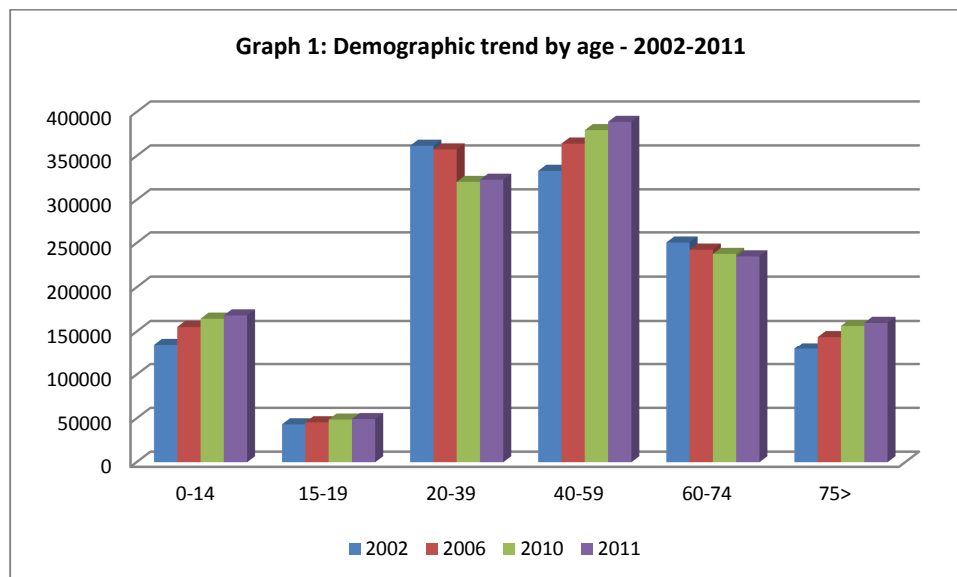
<sup>25</sup> Chiappero-Martinetti, Moroni, Nuvolati, 2011

<sup>26</sup> Borlini, Memo, Mugnami, Zajczyk, 2005

<sup>27</sup> Bauder, 2002

## 1.1 Running from Milan?

The first notation that can be done by looking at the data about the demographic changes in the area concerned, as the graph 1 shows, the composition of the population of Milan. We can say that this is significantly changed with an increased incidence of the elderly with more than 75 years and cohorts of younger population (0-14 and 15-19).



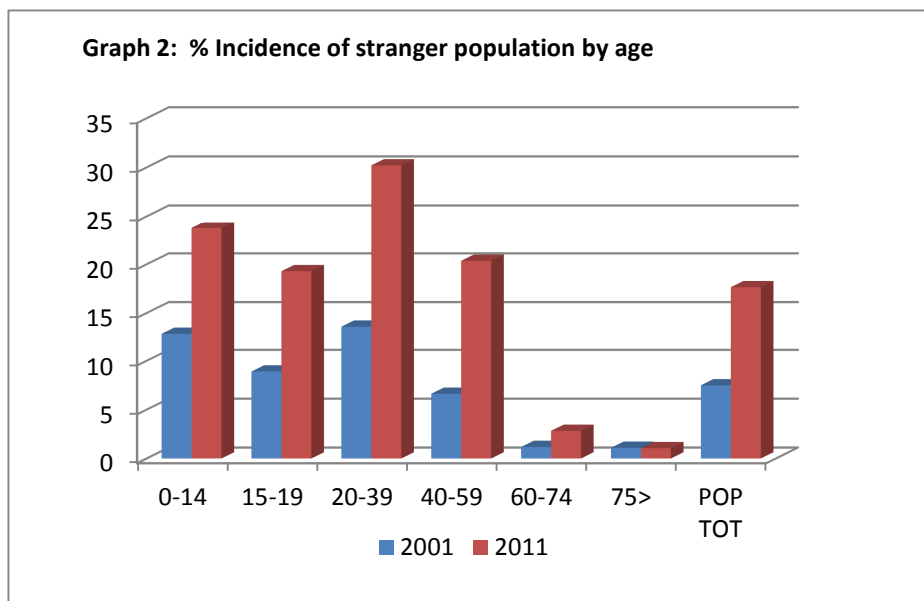
Our elaboration: Source: Demo.Istat

But if for the first segment of the population affected by the change we have outside influences in addition to the physiological aging of the population and the improvement in life expectancy, the increase of the second group, the youngest, it should be noted the weight of the foreign population. If we look, in fact, the percentage of foreign population cohorts belonging to very young (0-14) and young (15-19) we can say that the impact of the foreign population in the last 10 years has grown considerably and in some cases has doubled. If the youngsters belonging to the first age group rose from 12.87% in 2001 to 23.74% in 2011, members of the age group 15-19 showed a movement from 8,91% in 2001 to 19.29% in 2011.

While the changes are not very significant in the foreign population in old age, it is interesting to note that even the foreign population in adulthood (40-59), and then in the middle of working age has sharply increased in 2011 coming to be 20.36% of the total population.

	TAB 1: Foreign population distribution by age			
	2001		2011	
0-14	119.474	15.373	168.259	39.953
15-19	40.393	3.597	49.249	9.502
20-39	319.949	43.513	322.967	97.520
40-59	313.269	20.472	388.872	79.186
60-74	247.945	2.933	234.937	9.008
75>	127.591	1.393	159.826	1.686
Total	1.168.621	87.551	1.341830	236.855





Our elaboration: Source: Demo.Istat

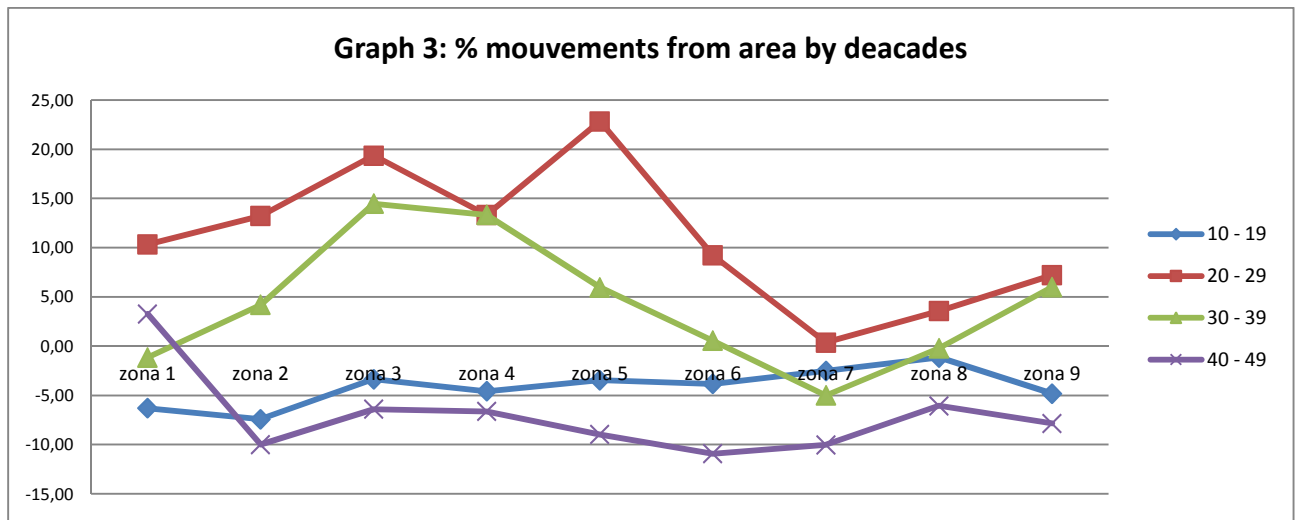
However, as shown by Figure 2, the most significant portion of the foreign population is composed of the 20-39 age groups where the percentage increased from 13.6% to 30.2%. This fact becomes even more important if we consider the demographic balance of the Milanese population that shows changes in entry but also outgoing direction.

Looking at Table 2, we can highlight the migratory movements of the Milanese population divided by age decades between 2001 and 2011. The decision to consider the classification by decades of age is related to the possibility of observing the same groups of people from one decade to another. We assume that the person who had been counted in 2001 in the age group 10-19 in 2011 should result in counting the next age group (20-29) and so on for the other age groups. The balance and the calculation of the percentage are thus intended to highlight the presence of anomalies cannot be linked with mortality rates recorded in Italy and that the young age classes are always less than 0.1%<sup>28</sup>.

Not all areas are affected by the same depopulate: graph 3 it shows us the percentage of movements into zones for different cohorts of generation. Looking at the net migration of the Milanese population by age groups in the range from 2001 to 2011 in fact we can highlight the behaviour of almost individual who decides to change residence: persons changing residence are mainly those who belong to the age group 30 - 39 in 2001 and that today would have to be part of the 40 -49 age group. It is no coincidence, then, we can highlight a trend for a better match for the age group 10-19: This fact supports our hypothesis of migration family.

<sup>28</sup> Demo.istat.it

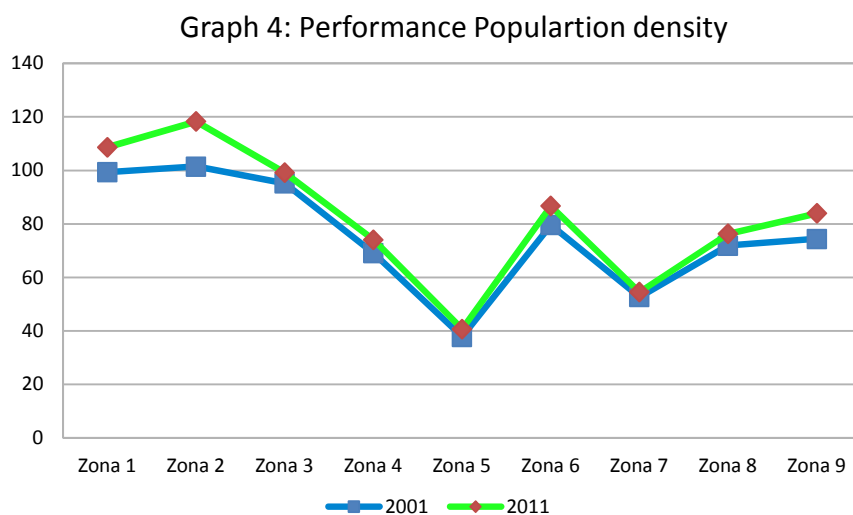
Area 1					Area 4					Area 7				
	2001	2011	Δ	%		2001	2011	Δ	%		2001	2011	Δ	%
0 - 9	7929	8175			0 - 9	9510	10428			0 - 9	11794	11497		
10 - 19	6612	7429	-500	-6,31	10 - 19	8779	9074	-436	-4,58	10 - 19	11058	11288	-506	-4,29
20 - 29	10195	7296	684	10,34	20 - 29	14578	9949	1170	13,33	20 - 29	17608	11099	41	0,37
30 - 39	15272	10078	-117	-1,15	30 - 39	22429	16555	1977	13,56	30 - 39	25476	16727	-881	-5,00
40 - 49	14635	15772	500	3,27	40 - 49	17723	20940	-1489	-6,64	40 - 49	20344	22921	-2555	-10,03
50 - 59	13981	11081	-3554	-24,28	50 - 59	18692	16163	-1560	-8,80	50 - 59	22143	18540	-1804	-8,87
60 - 69	11881	11152	-2829	-20,23	60 - 69	20829	16098	-2594	-13,88	60 - 69	23614	19129	-3014	-13,61
70 - 79	8885	8939	-2942	-24,76	70 - 79	17433	16614	-4215	-20,24	70 - 79	17165	19148	-4466	-18,91
Area 2					Area 5					Area 8				
	2001	2011	Δ	%		2001	2011	Δ	%		2001	2011	Δ	%
0 - 9	8435	8446			0 - 9	7633	8172			0 - 9	11522	12058		
10 - 19	7879	7808	-627	-7,43	10 - 19	7590	7369	-264	-3,46	10 - 19	10983	11389	-133	-1,15
20 - 29	14136	8922	1043	13,24	20 - 29	12787	9324	1734	22,85	20 - 29	17726	11376	393	3,58
30 - 39	19912	14729	593	4,19	30 - 39	18069	13549	762	5,96	30 - 39	25588	17689	-37	-0,21
40 - 49	16135	17921	-1991	-10,00	40 - 49	14123	16447	-1622	-8,98	40 - 49	21149	24037	-1551	-6,06
50 - 59	17267	14589	-1546	-9,58	50 - 59	15356	12911	-1212	-8,58	50 - 59	22734	19591	-1558	-7,37
60 - 69	17283	14667	-2600	-15,06	60 - 69	16834	13228	-2128	-13,86	60 - 69	25622	19779	-2955	-13,00
70 - 79	13173	13727	-3556	-20,58	70 - 79	11243	13529	-3305	-19,63	70 - 79	20037	20809	-4813	-18,78
Area 3					Area 6					Area 9				
	2001	2011	Δ	%		2001	2011	Δ	%		2001	2011	Δ	%
0 - 9	8961	9891			0 - 9	9552	9747			0 - 9	10550	10965		
10 - 19	8194	8659	-302	-3,37	10 - 19	9282	9185	-367	-3,84	10 - 19	10428	10041	-509	-4,82
20 - 29	13677	9780	1586	19,36	20 - 29	15503	10139	857	9,23	20 - 29	17420	11181	753	7,22
30 - 39	20795	15656	1979	14,47	30 - 39	22290	15589	86	0,55	30 - 39	24488	18464	1044	5,99
40 - 49	17246	19463	-1332	-6,41	40 - 49	17930	19856	-2434	-10,92	40 - 49	20060	22564	-1924	-7,86
50 - 59	18706	15646	-1600	-9,28	50 - 59	19877	16139	-1791	-9,99	50 - 59	21175	18703	-1357	-6,76
60 - 69	18186	15839	-2867	-15,33	60 - 69	22009	17037	-2840	-14,29	60 - 69	21522	18402	-2773	-13,10
70 - 79	14820	14456	-3730	-20,51	70 - 79	16155	17721	-4288	-19,48	70 - 79	16611	17426	-4096	-19,03



Our elaboration: Source Demo.Istat

We try therefore to investigate what may be the reasons for these movements. Before evaluating the strengths and weaknesses that may make it more or less attractive than one zone to another, we observe the trend of the density of the population present in the area, in order to make possible the more objective comparison between the amenities in various areas.

Graph 6 shows how the evolution of the density over the past decade has been basically similar. It is also easy to see how the zone 5 and zone 7 is more limited and less populated areas with lower density, while areas with a higher density are the most historic areas of the city or the zone 1, zone 2 and zone 3.



Our elaboration: Source Demo.Istat

Undoubtedly, the change in the demographic composition Milan cannot be dictated by individual choices to migrate from one area to another or from one city to another only for the sake of social opportunities. In recent years, Milan like most European cities have absorbed inside most of the hinterland

that has changed the structure of the city, reducing the distance of what was once intended to be the periphery without this was in fact included in the centre<sup>29</sup>.

## 1.2 Distances social: problems and strengths of the areas of Milan for a young

Since now several scholars have dealt with the social dimension of the area in Milan, identifying some areas with influence attractive - such as former industrial zone 9 (e.g. Pirelli-Bicocca, Comasina, etc..) or zone 3 (e.g. Via Rubattino Innocenti ex-Maserati) where both private and local actors have intervened to improve the area – and some others with descendant attractive, in which an improvement of mobility opportunities and proximity to the centre has not paid an equal improvement of living conditions. This is the case in some areas of zone 7 (e.g. San Siro) or section 8 (e.g. Fourth Oggiaro) where the poor quality of housing and the presence of different types of marginalized social groups (abusive, illegal) disrupt the heavily 'image data from<sup>30</sup>.

It has been shown in research on social distance to which we have already referred, that culture, ideals and policies are considered among the most important reasons that may affect the choice of acquaintances and especially the choice of those who exclude from their friends, while the imaginary interviewee's social position and area of residence are factors able to influence others to exclude it from their friends. In fact, the same research shows that the Milanese citizens perceive the presence of real social and cultural barriers related to inequalities in terms of income and in terms of membership and thus spatial area of Milan where he lives<sup>31</sup>.

In this section we will investigate what are the differences that exist between areas of Milan in particular with respect to certain specific aspects. A first group of issues, the economic and income of families and the safety aspect and hence the distribution of crimes in various areas of Milan, cover the entire city population, a second group will instead specific reference to the young population and will cover the spatial distribution of both schools and other infrastructural facilities dedicated to its young people.

From the economic point of view the only data we have today are the surveys conducted by the Chamber of Commerce of Milan on household consumption in Milan. From a reading of these data, it follows easily that there is an unequal distribution of income among the various parts of the city. Let's highlight, however, that there are significant economic diversity within the same area.

In fact, while in the central area the six income groups are almost equally represented, with a larger number of families belonging to the class of income between € 30,000 and € 45,000, in other areas there is a considerable number of families belonging to the class average, with an income between € 15,000 and then € 30,000 and different percentages of families belonging to other groups: in the suburbs will be more families receiving less than € 15,000 while in the ring of semi centre there are more families that exceed € 30,000.

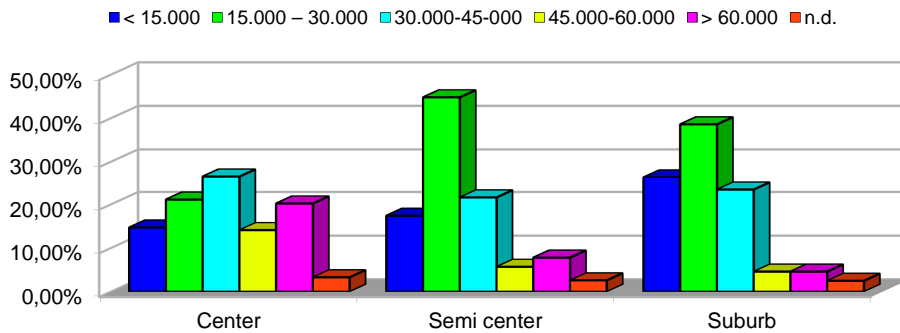
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<sup>29</sup> Zajczyk, 2003

<sup>30</sup> Borlini, Memo, Mugnano, Zaiczky, 2005

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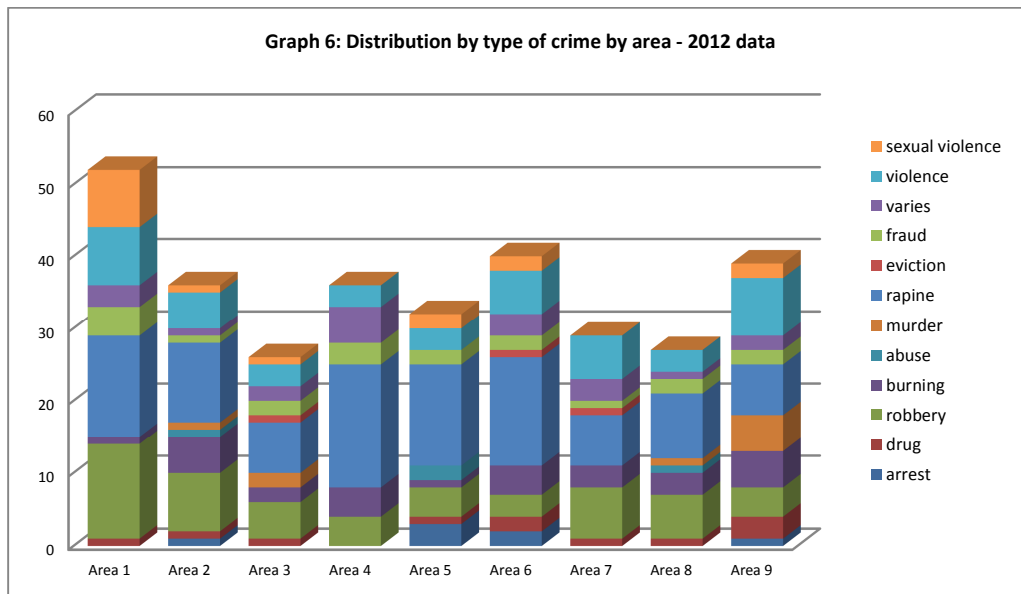
Graph 5: Percentage of households by income for local rings



Our elaboration. Source Chamber of Commerce 2012

With regard to the safety aspect we can use the data of the "Map of the crime of Milan"<sup>32</sup> for the crimes committed in 2012. From this map we can see that, compared to the forecast, there is a large discrepancy between the central and the peripheral areas on common crimes: robbery, theft and fraud occur almost without difference in the Milan, but occur to a greater degree in central areas. On the contrary, we can see a remarkable diversity instead observing the recording of the murders, which occurred mostly in zone 9 and episodes of abuse and violence, the frequency of which is more common in the suburbs<sup>33</sup>.

Graph 6: Distribution by type of crime by area - 2012 data



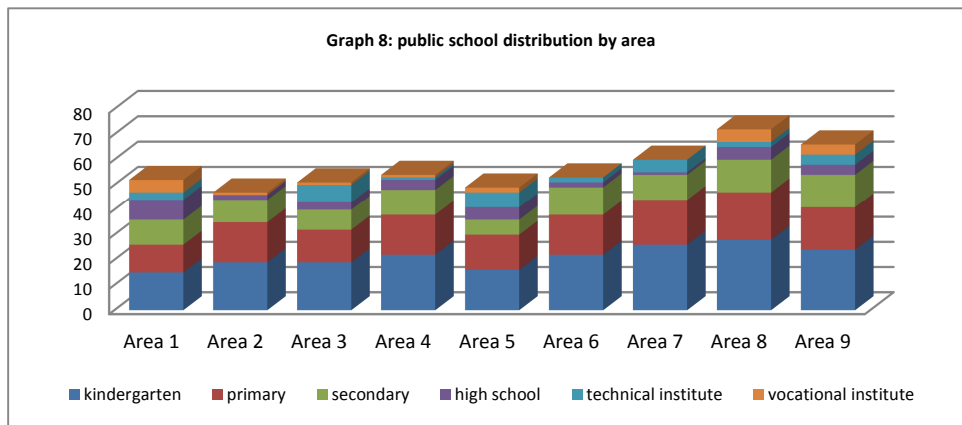
Our elaboration. Source Map of the crime Milan 2012

<sup>32</sup> The map of the crime is an experimental geolocation crimes conducted by journalist Daniel Bellerio in Milan and recording locally automatically all the crimes perpetrated in Milan. Each event shown on the map is cataloged according to different criteria, including date and type of crime (theft, robbery, fire, drugs, murder, violence, sexual violence, abuse, and various - including vandalism and small riots). Entries concerning classification geographic variables are three: place (i.e. the road and, when possible, the corresponding number), area (one of nine municipal districts of Milan) and circle (for central means by a circle of sticks, including avenues surround the area, near the center of the circle means between the ramparts and the outer ring road, including the same streets that surround the area, for device means beyond the outer ring road to the border town). Belleri, 2012

<sup>33</sup> Ivi.

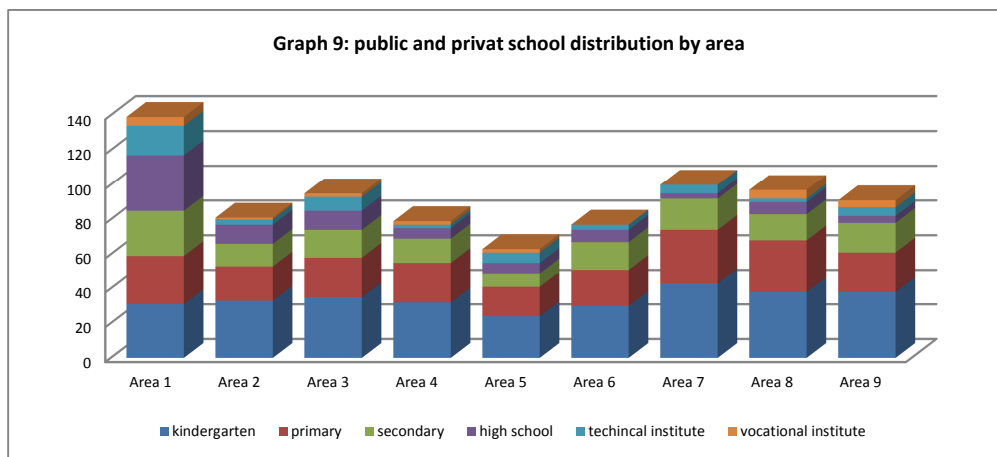
### 3. The condition of young people in Milan

Turning now to the second area, we try to analyse the differences with respect to the distribution of schools in the territory of Milan. Looking at the graph we can see that compared to primary schools not experience any major differences between the nine areas of Milan, while observing the situation in secondary schools we can found small differences between areas mainly based on the type and addresses: high schools are more present in zone 1, and vocational schools are mainly in the area 8.



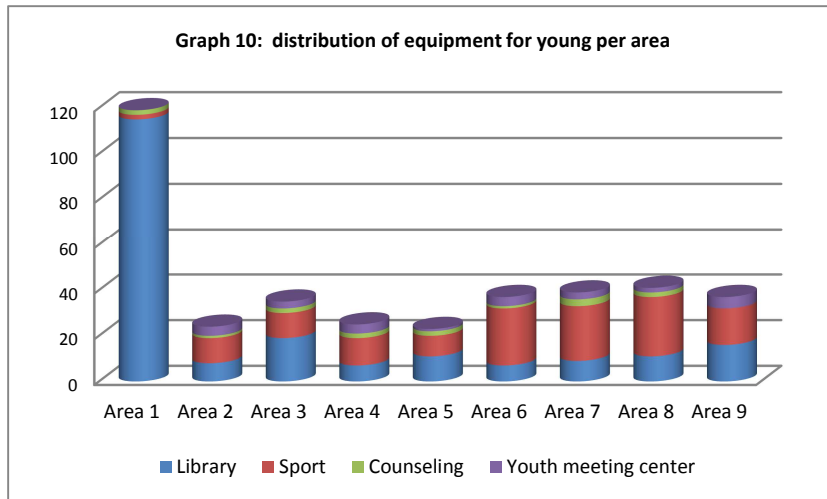
Our elaboration: Source Municipal Statistical Office Milan

If we look at the same chart with the addition of private schools we can see a significant change in zone 1. Here 86% of the total is private schools, while private schools in the outlying areas do not exceed an average of 30%.



Our elaboration: Source Municipal Statistical Office Milan

Finally, with respect to the distribution of equipment for young, from a survey conducted on the basis of data provided by the Statistical Municipality of Milan, we highlight a great disparity between the nine areas of Milan. The level of disparity most substantial is that relating to the culture. Among the 204 informative sites (libraries, documentation centres, archives, etc. ...) than 115 are located in Area 1. By contrast, the more peripheral areas have a greater allocation in the health sector and in the area of group.



Our elaboration: Source Municipal Statistical Office Milan

To be able to really compare the structural equipment between the various areas of Milan with the migratory movement that we have highlighted in the previous section, we decided to create an index of structural equipment for young people.

We surveyed the number of public schools compulsory in all areas. We distinguish the two cohorts of users: the cohort between 0 and 14 years will be the cohort of reference for students who attend nursery schools, primary schools and secondary schools, while individuals of the cohort 15-19 are the group of high school and the other kind of institute students.

Consider:

- The density of the first cohort (the ratio between the populations of the cohort 0-14) and the surface area in km<sup>2</sup>
- The density of the second cohort (the ratio between population cohorts 15-19) / km<sup>2</sup> in surface area
- The number of schools dedicated to the first cohort
- The number of schools devoted to the second cohort

To build our index says:

1.  $S_k$  = groups of individuals per area (area  $S_1 = 1$ ,  $S_2 =$  zone 2, etc. ....)
2.  $m_k = \text{Max}K$  = maximum value of the relationship. This value will serve as reference data in order to proceed with normalization.
3.  $\psi (S_k) = m_k / m$  = ratio of the density of the population of the cohort and number of schools normalized to the maximum value

Since we do not have values at the individual level we consider the relationship created according to the density of the population cohort and the number of schools for the various areas of Milan. We construct an index improved based on the maximum value of the distribution: we impose normalization to the maximum value of 1.

S <sub>k</sub>	a Density 0-14	b Density 15-19	0-14			15-19		
			c N°school (kindergarten, primary, secondary)	d = c/a	$\psi(S_k) =$ $m_k/m$	e = N°high school and other institute	f = e/b	$\psi(S_k) =$ $m_k/m$
Area 1	13,43	3,94	36	2,68	<b>0,35</b>	16	4,06	<b>0,46</b>
Area 2	14,87	4,33	44	2,96	<b>0,39</b>	3	0,69	<b>0,08</b>
Area 3	12,07	3,44	40	3,31	<b>0,44</b>	11	3,20	<b>0,36</b>
Area 4	9,30	2,65	48	5,16	<b>0,68</b>	6	2,26	<b>0,26</b>
Area 5	5,10	1,48	36	7,06	<b>0,93</b>	13	8,78	<b>1,00</b>
Area 6	9,99	3,07	49	4,90	<b>0,65</b>	4	1,30	<b>0,15</b>
Area 7	7,13	2,16	54	7,57	<b>1,00</b>	6	2,78	<b>0,32</b>
Area 8	9,85	2,89	60	6,09	<b>0,80</b>	12	4,15	<b>0,47</b>
Area 9	10,88	3,08	54	4,96	<b>0,66</b>	12	3,90	<b>0,44</b>

From Table 4 we show how the differences between the areas of Milan vary if we consider only the public or if one includes private schools.

S <sub>k</sub>	a Density 0-14	b Density 15-19	0-14			15-19		
			c N°school (kindergarten, primary, secondary)	d = c/a				c N°school (kindergarten, primary, secondary)
Area 1	13,43	3,94	85	6,33	0,49	54	13,71	1,00
Area 2	14,87	4,33	66	4,44	<b>0,34</b>	15	3,46	0,25
Area 3	12,07	3,44	74	6,13	0,48	21	6,10	0,45
Area 4	9,30	2,65	69	7,42	0,58	10	3,77	0,28
Area 5	5,10	1,48	49	9,61	0,74	14	9,46	0,69
Area 6	9,99	3,07	69	6,91	0,54	10	3,26	<b>0,24</b>
Area 7	7,13	2,16	92	12,90	1,00	8	3,70	0,27
Area 8	9,85	2,89	83	8,43	0,65	14	4,84	0,35
Area 9	10,88	3,08	78	7,17	0,56	13	4,22	0,31

If in the first case, the maximum index was in the area 7 for the schools and the first band in the area 5 for the schools of the second age group, the presence of private schools for the first age group the maximum index remains in the area 7, but if we look at the high school the maximum index occurs in the area 1. The lowest endowment of schools varies and is always represented by Zone 2.

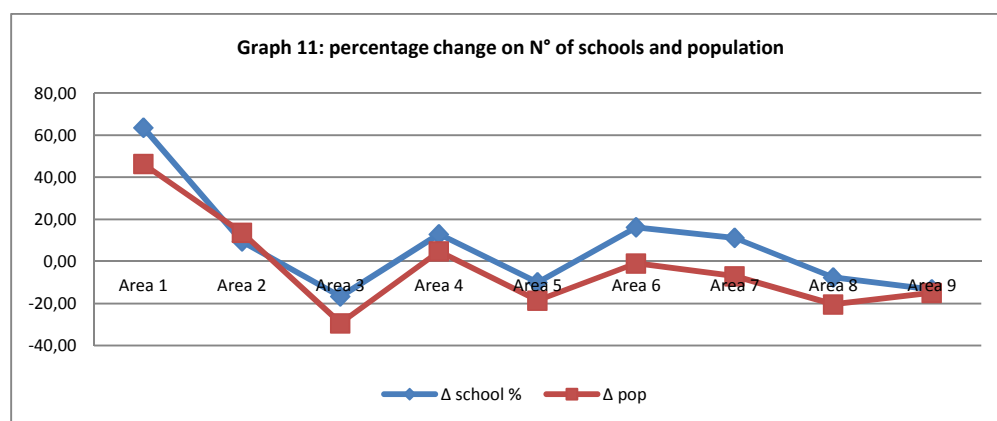
For now have a better idea of large-scale equipment for young we construct a table in which we give a comparison of indexes created in the same way as was done for the school area for all of the areas considered: area school, area culture (libraries, documentation centres, Young Meeting Centres, sports centres, health centres with doors for young people).



Compared to what was said earlier on perceptions of quality of life of the various areas of Milan, we can observe that the zone 1, which is the central area is the best equipped in the field of education and cultural area, while it is poorly equipped with sporting facilities public and youth centres. But we know that in zone 1 reside mainly medium and high-income households, for which young people can certainly access the facilities of the private type. The situation is more complicated if we look at the low or very low values of zone 3, zone 6 as the area 8 e 9 in almost all indicators: in this case the situation could be more serious because it would mean exclusion from infrastructure for young people and then maladjustment and social exclusion.

Groups $S_k$	School Index	Cultural Index	Sport Index	YMC Index	Counselling Index
$S_1 = \text{Area 1}$	<b>1,00</b>	<b>1,00</b>	0,04	0,045	0,357
$S_2 = \text{Area 2}$	0,39	0,06	0,22	0,222	0,161
$S_3 = \text{Area 3}$	0,61	0,19	0,27	0,275	0,399
$S_4 = \text{Area 4}$	0,56	0,09	0,39	0,389	0,518
$S_5 = \text{Area 5}$	0,95	0,25	0,53	0,529	0,941
$S_6 = \text{Area 6}$	0,51	0,08	0,74	0,741	0,237
$S_7 = \text{Area 7}$	0,83	0,14	<b>1,00</b>	<b>1,000</b>	<b>1,000</b>
$S_8 = \text{Area 8}$	0,66	0,13	0,79	0,790	0,486
$S_9 = \text{Area 9}$	0,57	0,18	0,44	0,444	0,000

To check whether there is a relationship between the equipment and the demographic shifts that were found previously, let's look at the change in the number of schools in 2001 and 2011 and compare graphically the variation of the population that we have seen to be the most prone to escape, or the people belonging to the 20-39 cohort, we can see that the trend is almost the same: where the change has a negative sign on the number of schools we can highlight the same sign for the change in the population of our cohort of reference.



Our elaboration: Source Municipal Statistical Office Milan

This leads us to think that there is a relationship between the services provided and the presence of a specific population-based cohort. One might wonder about at this point because at lower service equipment intended for younger cohorts, corresponds to a migration of families, especially on the effects of differences highlighted on the lives of young people in Milan. It would then try to figure out if the

deprivation generates the same levels of poverty and social exclusion identified by the research conducted in European cities such as Helsinki and London.

To verify the presence of influences between the changes in income, the indexes of supply of facilities for young people and the state of the school age population we thought to relate data in our possession and which has been said so far. We have to specify the data on the trend of earnings. This is the change in income recorded as Milanese families between the years 2004 and 2000 on the basis of data provided by the database AMERICA: even if we do not have data for 2011, we decided to use it because it provided indications income families for different areas of Milan. For what concerns the level of equipment, it was decided to make an average of the five indices presented in Table 5. While the trend of the population, we have considered the variation of the population of school-age subjects and present in class 10-19.

The data emerging from Table 6 show a positive correlation for all three combinations analysed: change in income and indices, changes in income and population change, indices and population change.

<b>TAB. 6 Descriptive statistics</b>			
	I = Income	Ix = Average endowment index	N= pop variation (10-19)
Average	0,47	0,39	-4,32
Standard Deviation	1,55	0,15	1,71
Minimum	-2,87	0,17	-7,43
Maximum	2,80	0,61	-1,15
1° Quartile	0,25	0,31	-4,82
Median	0,78	0,32	-4,29
3° Quartile	1,47	0,56	-3,46
Kurtosis	1,35	-1,44	0,67
Asymmetry	-0,91	0,21	-0,11
Covariance (I,Ix)	0,029981481		
Correlation (I,Ix)	0,131019477		
Covariance (I,N)			1,422269136
Correlation (I,N)			0,535252705
Covariance (Ix,N)		0,062114815	
Correlation (Ix;N)		0,246381139	

Undoubtedly, considerations of this kind cannot be exhaustive. That is necessary for further analysis on the trend of earnings that are up to date and to enable us to detect any effects of the current economic crisis.

### 3. Possible policies

With a view to policy making, what has been said in the previous pages must be related with the intragenerational and intergenerational effects of public policy in general and of social policies in particular, since the indicators that may influence the choice to live in an area rather than in the presence of other services such as schools and nursery schools in a particular way, it is undoubtedly a discriminating family.

At national and regional level there are yet several policies that can be implemented to combat the social exclusion of young people that start from the creation of a school system equally distributed and that can provide as much as possible the same opportunities to all students without differences. Rarer are the

examples of policies applied in urban areas, as these are the projects "Education Action Zones", "Excellence in Cities initiatives", "Connexions and Full Service Extended Schools" implemented in recent years by some English cities with the aim to evaluate and improve access to education for different population categories<sup>34</sup>. Through these projects the municipalities concerned have been able to observe how the level of education provided by the institutions was not the same among the different areas of the city, as if the spatial distribution affecting the reputation of the distinctive paths also influenced students' lives. Analysis of this type is closely linked to the quality aspects and student achievement<sup>35</sup>. To achieve similar results, we could see the feedback of test INVALSI, and PISA in various educational facilities in the territory of Milan and so investigate the qualitative aspect of the services provided and to investigate the effects of the "reputation" of the area on student achievement.

Other policies promoted at various levels are based on the diffusion of participatory practices in counteracting social exclusion. It is active policies, such as those promoted by the project "Tackling Poverty Together - the Role of Young People in Poverty Reduction", which recently have also been suggested by the World Bank and the UN not only to protect the younger population and away poverty, but also to promote the role of young users from policy to policy makers.<sup>36</sup>

Policies of this type can certainly tackle social exclusion, improve the quality of life and decrease the removal of young people from the city. On this line of thought, it was decided to use the generational mainstreaming and then the testing of innovative tools for measuring disparities in service delivery and evaluation of the actions taken to protect the rights of the younger population and protection also for those who will be young after them and then future generations. The tool also allows a massive intervention in favour of the active participation of young people as a necessary path to follow in counteracting social exclusion.

The method used is twofold: on the one hand, the generational accounts, already applied for the operation of state budgets and large organizations such as the IMF, will enable the institution to identify the present fiscal imbalance between the present and future generations, from the other hand there will be an array created on an ad hoc model of the gender budgeting which will also include interventions that will benefit the different cohorts of generation<sup>37</sup>.

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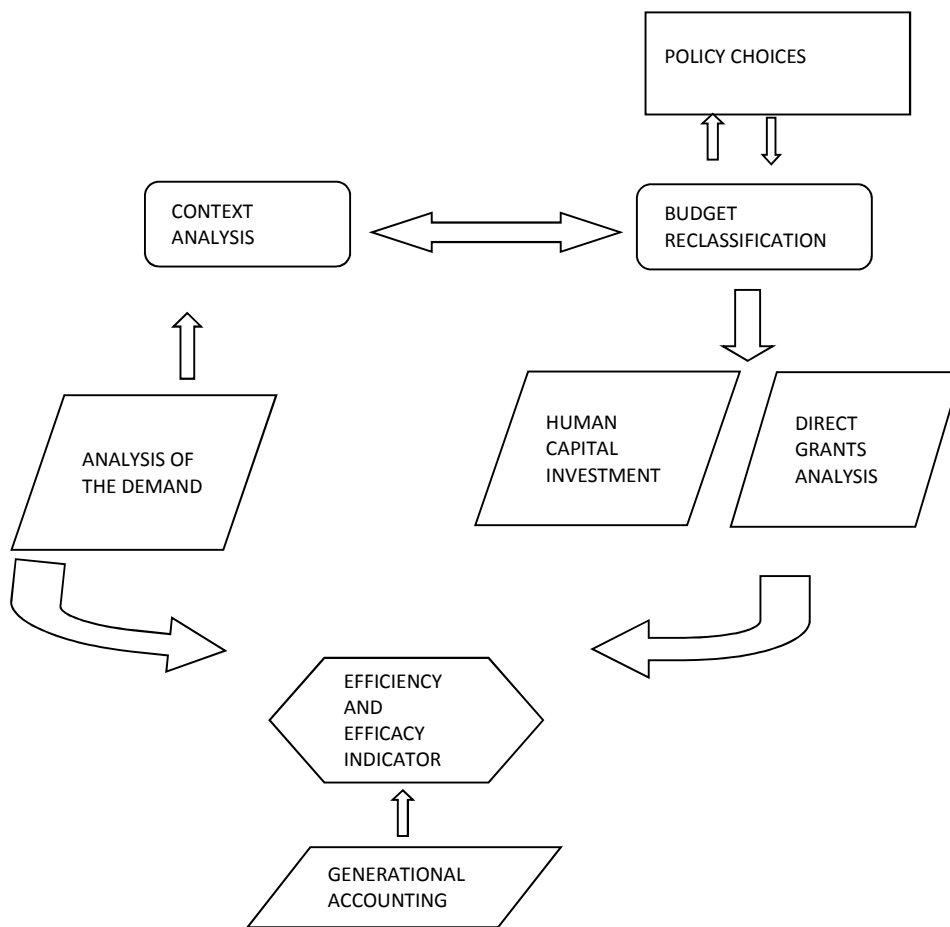
<sup>34</sup> Raffo, Dyson, Gunter, Hall, Jones, Kalambouka, 2009

<sup>35</sup> Ivi.

<sup>36</sup> Swedish International Development Cooperation Agency, 2009

<sup>37</sup> Roccisano, 2011

Figura 2



As for gender budgeting, the attempt of those who decide to apply the generational mainstreaming is to identify the demand for services that can be both present and future generations, the level of provision of the services offered and how this is reflected in the future generations, for example, if interventions are planned for future programming targeted (see Figure 2).

**TAB 5: Generational mainstreaming matrix**

COHORTs	Indirect grants		Direct grants		Human capital Investment	Tot expenditure
	Services	Structures	Services	Funding		
k ( ≤ 15)						
j (15 – 19)						
a (20 – 39)						
m (40 – 59)						
o (60 – 74)						
v ( ≥ 74)						

The analysis of the context helps us to understand the demographics changes and the basic needs of the various cohorts of generations on the basis of macro-survey areas selected (individual and family area, economic development area, staff area and governance). The analysis of supply of services and of direct grants and services aimed at increasing the human capital, is used in a first time as a methodology for reclassification of the municipal budget and in the end, as an instrument to influence the next budget and, therefore, political choices. The analysis of demand, however, will be done through participatory actions with the public.

To identify the level of fairness we will use the generational accounts and appropriate indicators expense report for the planning and scheduling, analysis of the context and the demand for services for the analysis of the supply of services, for analysis the budget. The numeric data of such indicators, produced at the end of each phase, summarizes the results of the various stages of analysis and directs us toward the end result that we want to obtain.

In this sense, the measurement of sustainability across generations requires the use of different types of data depending on whether you consider "transfers to entities" or "Direct transfers to the beneficiaries".

For example, if we want to analyse spending for young generations, or for the cohort of generation between 0 and 15 than for the cohort of older age (74 and over) there will be the indicator of efficiency generational for year t is:

$$GE_{t,k,v} = \sum_{t-1}^t \frac{S_k/P_{t,k}}{S_v/P_{t,v}}$$

Dove:

- $GE_{k,v}$  indicates the level of efficiency generational reached at time t to the population of the cohort k compared to spending for the population of cohort v.;
- $S_k$  indicates spending by the interventions for the population of the cohort k
- $S_v$  indicates spending by the interventions for the population of cohort v
- $P_{t,k}$  indicates the large number of individuals in the cohort reported k at time t
- $P_{t,v}$  indicates the large number of individuals in the cohort reported v at time t

As long as the ratio is below 1, the type of policy choices may not be efficient since the per capita expenditure for the generation with less life expectancy is higher than that destined to cohorts whose life expectancy is greater, for which under budget policy choices may vary.

For example, if the indirect grants aimed at creating care facilities for the elderly or the support of voluntary organizations specialized in the field of the elderly exceed the needs of its users in the area, it's possible to divert some of the funds for the creation of nurseries or schools. Similarly, the evaluation of the expenditure on school interventions and facilities for young people by improving the human capital as well as all those actions aimed at environmental protection are useful to identify the sensitivity of policy makers towards policies sustainable and to maintain the rights of young people but also for future generations, protecting the city from any leak of young unhappy.

To give an idea of the operation of the instrument, we realized, in the appendix to the text, a simulation of the generation efficiency calculation on the budget of the city of Milan in 2007 and 2011.

## CONCLUSIONS

Policies to combat urban poverty and social exclusion can be different and interest in a particular manner different categories of individuals. In this paper we have dealt mainly with the category of young people as a category on which we must act decisively to limit the damage of policies anti generational perpetrated over time.

The choice to analyse the particular connection between the structures of educational and entertainment was the natural consequence of our decision to take care of the young. In fact, it would be simplistic to stop the economic analysis knowing how much this type of equipment can affect growth and opportunities for future life of a young

In this sense, Milan could be a perfect city / type to be analysed since it has great diversity, social, economic and environmental, between centre and periphery because of cultural mingling with immigrants from other parts of Italy and beyond, and the various redevelopment projects carried out over the years. Finally, the city of Milan turned out to be a positive choice for this study because it has wide demographic evidence in the movement away from urban youth.

Surely the study presented does not provide comprehensive explanations about the demographic changes in the city, since it leaves out important aspects such as the trend in the birth rate or the final destination of those who decide to leave the city. However, it is intended to highlight a possible relationship between the infrastructural facilities for young and so dedicated, directly, to the welfare of families, so as to suggest the deployment of new experimental or traditional policies that perceive the young citizen an actor of change.

In this sense, policies such as the generational mainstreaming, carried out with a strong participatory by young people, can become useful opportunity to improve the urban context and the perceived quality of life, but also combat the spread of the cultural poverty and social exclusion.

## APPENDIX

TAB A.1 : Classification Budget Municipality of Milan 2007					
	Expenditure	For Young		Others	
		tot	staff cost less	tot	staff cost less
Accounting and financial area	Management, administration and control	€ -	€ -	€ 29.452.630,00	€ 18.556.770,00
	General secretary and staff	€ -	€ -	€ 189.216.680,00	€ 76.276.220,00
	Economic management, financial, control management	€ -	€ -	€ 39.987.580,00	€ 30.140.540,00
	Getsione entrate tributarie e fiscali	€ -	€ -	€ 46.653.310,00	€ 42.060.670,00
	Management of state property and assets	€ -	€ -	€ 20.367.090,00	€ 14.383.520,00
Technical Office	construction cemetery	€ -	€ -	€ -	€ -
	Building state-owned assets	€ -	€ -	€ 1.052.150,00	€ 74.870,00
	Infrastructure	€ -	€ -	€ 1.202.920,00	€ 171.830,00
	Technical Area	€ -	€ -	€ 9.122.410,00	€ 2.391.770,00
	Technical Services	€ -	€ -	€ -	€ -
	Administrative services of public labour	€ -	€ -	€ 1.508.220,00	€ 354.790,00
	Planning and control	€ -	€ -	€ 2.354.410,00	€ 1.018.660,00
	Public Housing	€ -	€ -	€ 2.690.040,00	€ 2.286.650,00
	Costruction for sport and cultur	€ -	€ -	€ -	€ -
	Costruction theatre and library	€ -	€ -	€ -	€ -
	Sport costruction	€ -	€ -	€ -	€ -
	Welfare costruction	€ -	€ -	€ -	€ -
	School costruction	€ -	€ -	€ -	€ -
General Area	Registry office, marital status, electoral	€ -	€ -	€ 17.763.720,00	€ 2.435.310,00
	Ombudsman	€ -	€ -	€ 1.345.010,00	€ 341.060,00
	Advocacy	€ -	€ -	€ 4.601.180,00	€ 1.241.840,00
	Auxiliary services	€ -	€ -	€ 5.923.950,00	€ 278.750,00
	Retires and retirees' integrations	€ -	€ -	€ 19.786.600,00	€ -
	fleet management	€ -	€ -	€ 3.693.500,00	€ 3.086.250,00
	Warehouse management	€ -	€ -	€ 2.800.300,00	€ 443.920,00
	Engineering	€ -	€ -	€ 1.005.130,00	€ 182.650,00
	Civic printing	€ -	€ -	€ 1.086.410,00	€ 599.050,00
	Allowance for doubtful accounts	€ -	€ -	€ -	€ -
	Reserve found	€ -	€ -	€ 5.446.200,00	€ -
	Facility manager	€ -	€ -	€ 62.014.580,00	€ 55.327.700,00
	Other general services	€ -	€ -	€ 1.508.810,00	€ 805.190,00
	Quality and semplification	€ -	€ -	€ 1.039.400,00	€ 436.300,00
	Planning and control	€ -	€ -	€ 2.351.020,00	€ 1.293.260,00
Justice and Police	Judicial Offices	€ -	€ -	€ 25.961.300,00	€ 22.289.120,00
	Home district	€ -	€ -	€ -	€ -
	Municipal Police	€ -	€ -	€ 115.554.680,00	€ 28.338.120,00
	Commercial Police	€ -	€ -	€ 2.872.770,00	€ 234.380,00
	Administrative police	€ -	€ -	€ 12.567.130,00	€ 959.260,00
Public education	Kindergarten	€ 99.057.750,00	€ 13.620.510,00	€ -	€ -
	Primary school	€ 8.845.290,00	€ 8.587.660,00	€ -	€ -
	Secondary School	€ 3.386.600,00	€ 3.386.600,00	€ -	€ -
	Upper secondary school	€ 2.920.360,00	€ 2.920.360,00	€ -	€ -
	School Bus	€ 3.300.000,00	€ 3.300.000,00	€ -	€ -
	School Meals	€ 41.805.040,00	€ 41.805.040,00	€ -	€ -
	Supplementary school activities	€ 2.038.920,00	€ 1.074.080,00	€ -	€ -
	Right to study	€ 6.410.150,00	€ 5.778.240,00	€ -	€ -
	Administrative educational office	€ -	€ -	€ -	€ -
	Civic School	€ 29.419.130,00	€ 3.276.820,00	€ -	€ -
	Vocational Education	€ 20.280.630,00	€ 18.354.530,00	€ -	€ -
	Summer Center	€ 1.607.200,00	€ 1.607.200,00	€ -	€ -

TAB A.1 : Classification Budget Municipality of Milan 2007					
	Expenditure	For Young		Others	
		tot	staff cost less	tot	staff cost less
Library and museum	Library direction	€ -	€ -	€ -	€ -
	Central library	€ 5.582.230,00	€ 1.652.530,00	€ -	€ -
	Local library	€ 8.268.590,00	€ 2.287.520,00	€ -	€ -
	Art collection	€ 6.804.650,00	€ 3.718.330,00	€ -	€ -
	Historical Collections	€ 875.200,00	€ 295.990,00	€ -	€ -
	Natural History Museum	€ 1.981.830,00	€ 878.570,00	€ -	€ -
	Civic Aquarium	€ 861.350,00	€ 337.360,00	€ -	€ -
	Art collections	€ 936.000,00	€ 231.770,00	€ -	€ -
	Planetary	€ 374.120,00	€ 247.650,00	€ -	€ -
	Archaeological collections	€ 639.180,00	€ 212.620,00	€ -	€ -
	Collections of '800	€ 399.840,00	€ 161.950,00	€ -	€ -
	Historical and artistic buildings	€ 1.350.000,00	€ 548.240,00	€ -	€ -
	Art Exhibitions	€ 4.219.620,00	€ 3.649.150,00	€ -	€ -
	Archival and Restoration	€ 985.630,00	€ 179.590,00	€ -	€ -
	Museum and library direction	€ 11.234.340,00	€ 3.934.330,00	€ -	€ -
	Archaeological library of art	€ 1.059.290,00	€ 313.170,00	€ -	€ -
Art collection of '900	€ 991.000,00	€ 805.680,00	€ -	€ -	
Theatre	Cultural direction	€ 2.897.440,00	€ 1.634.270,00	€ -	€ -
	Municipal Foundation	€ 13.897.450,00	€ 13.897.450,00	€ -	€ -
	Shows	€ 9.565.580,00	€ 8.961.550,00	€ -	€ -
	Cultural activity paid by Municipality	€ -	€ -	€ -	€ -
	Cultural activity paid by Others	€ -	€ -	€ -	€ -
	Administrative Offices	€ -	€ -	€ -	€ -
	Restoration and maintenance of multi-purpose	€ 1.696.180,00	€ 1.696.180,00	€ -	€ -
	Civic Orchestra	€ -	€ -	€ -	€ -
Sector show direction	€ -	€ -	€ -	€ -	
Sport	Public Swimming pools	€ 568.290,00	€ 568.290,00	€ -	€ -
	Municipal stadiums	€ 790.040,00	€ 453.290,00	€ -	€ -
	Sport center	€ 9.563.690,00	€ 8.959.660,00	€ -	€ -
	Sport and leisure management	€ 1.818.310,00	€ 236.700,00	€ -	€ -
	Playgrounds	€ -	€ -	€ -	€ -
	Sport Events	€ 1.446.300,00	€ 1.218.330,00	€ -	€ -
Tourism	Tourist services	€ -	€ -	€ 13.388.100,00	€ 11.493.470,00
	Tourist events	€ -	€ -	€ 5.874.550,00	€ 5.008.190,00
Environment and safety	Roads and traffic	€ -	€ -	€ 49.638.930,00	€ 42.354.340,00
	Public lighting	€ -	€ -	€ 13.806.120,00	€ 13.700.130,00
	Public transport	€ -	€ -	€ 65.455.760,00	€ 62.251.870,00
	Urban planning and land management	€ -	€ -	€ 29.614.840,00	€ 13.941.240,00
	Local public housing	€ -	€ -	€ 41.728.180,00	€ 36.396.420,00
	Civil Protection Service	€ -	€ -	€ 1.052.590,00	€ 517.060,00
	Integrated water service	€ -	€ -	€ 14.604.170,00	€ 14.194.780,00
	waste disposal	€ -	€ -	€ 202.655.900,00	€ 202.655.900,00
Parks and public green protection	€ -	€ -	€ 29.862.080,00	€ 24.894.770,00	





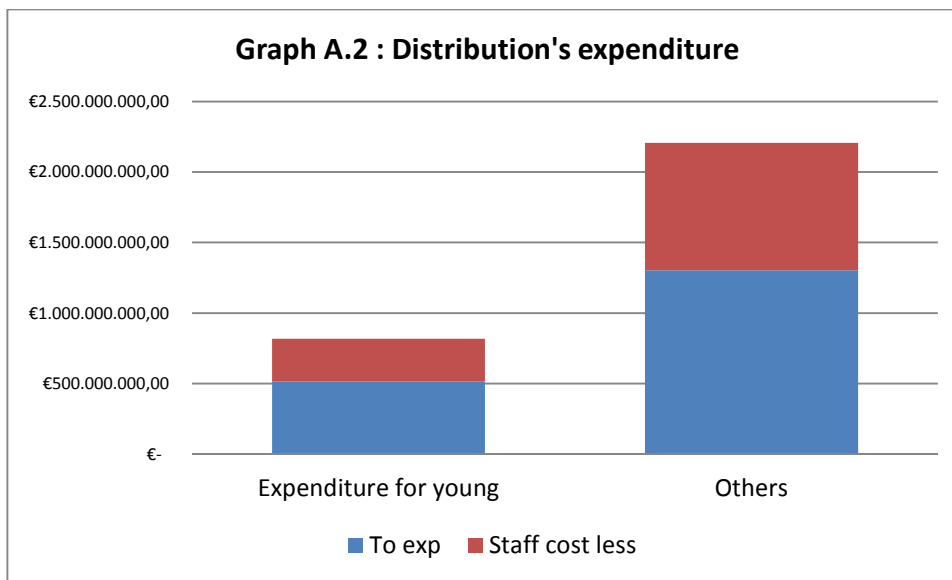
If we want to measure the generational efficiency, we remember the equation:

$$GE_{t,k,v} = \sum_{t-1}^t \frac{S_k/P_{t,k}}{S_v/P_{t,v}}$$

And so:

Tab. A.2: Generational efficiency	
Measure of staff cost less exp. generation efficiency	0,40
Measure of total exp. generation efficiency	0,33

We can say that there is not a generational efficiency in the budget, and from this it could be possible to make a reclassification of the expenditure to solve this gap.



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