Welfare innovations
at the local level
in favour of cohesion

CITY REPORT: MILAN

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This report is part of Work Package 3 of the research project entitled "Welfare innovations at the local level in favour of cohesion" (WILCO). WILCO aims to examine, through cross-national comparative research, how local welfare systems affect social inequalities and how they favour social cohesion, with a special focus on the missing link between innovations at the local level and their successful transfer to and implementation in other settings. The WILCO consortium covers ten European countries and is funded by the European Commission (FP7, Socio-economic Sciences & Humanities).

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Photo credit: Web Comune di Milano – Settore Progetti Urbanistici Strategici.
This picture was selected because it captures at the same time the deep – and contested – renovation and gentrification processes in the areas close to the city centre, and the traditional Milan landscape all around.

Milan is the chief town of the Province of Milan and of the Lombardy Region. With 1,324,110 inhabitants[1] it is the second larger Municipality by population in Italy, after Rome. Milan is also the centre of the largest metropolitan area in Italy, and one of the largest in Europe. This is a vast urban zone comprising a number of Municipalities of different size, a "mega-city-region" (Hall and Paine 2006), with a new and complex spatial division of labour (Ranci 2007), that yet is in no way acknowledged from the administrative point of view, since a metropolitan area government has never been established (Martinotti 1993).

Milan is considered as the economic and financial capital of Italy; the stock exchange is located here, as well as the most important multinational corporations. It is the most global city in the country and one of the richest areas in Europe.

After the reorganisation that took place at the half of the 1990s, the Municipality is administratively divided into 9 "decentralisation areas" (*zone di decentramento*).

From the political point of view, since the early Nineties, when direct election of Mayors was introduced in Italy, for two decades centre-right wing coalitions have governed the Municipality. The city has recently experienced a major change, since a centre-left coalition won the local election in June 2011.

1. TRANSFORMATIONS IN THE LABOUR MARKET

1.1. Socio-economic trends

Milan is the richest city in Italy among regional chief-towns, by personal gross income. In 2009 gross (declared taxable) average income in the city was 34,964€ per tax-payer, higher than the provincial, regional and national level (22,891€). With respect to 2005, the average gross income has increased by 13% in Milan, in line with the national growth, and slightly more than the province and regional level (see table 1).

Table 1 - Average gross (declared taxable) personal income level, years 2005 and 2009 and Δ (yearly € per taxpayer)

	2005	2009	Δ%
Milan city	30,973	34,964	+12.9
Province of Milan	26,101	29,238	+12.0
Lombardy Region	22,716	25,401	+11.8
Italy	20,249	22,891	+13.0

Source: Ministero dell'Economia e delle Finanze

The Milan province is the one with the highest foreseen added value in Italy, 34,797€ in 2012, followed by Bologna and Bolzano provinces, with a gap of more than 3 thousand euros (Unioncamere 2011). Yet, the incidence of Milan Province GDP on the national one has decreased in time: it represented 10.1% of it in 1994, whereas it is 9.5 in 2009. In these 15 years, GDP in Euro zone cities comparable to Milan (Amsterdam, Barcelona, Lyon, Munich) has increased of 28%, against a mere 1% increase in Milan. Besides, in the five year period 2004-2009 these European cities had a GDP variation close to zero, thus substantially absorbing the effects of the crisis, whereas Milan registers a decrease of 12% (Bak Basel).

[1] January the 1st 2011 (http://demo.istat.it/).

The tendency towards a concentration of activities belonging to the tertiary sector in the Milan area is clear, as well as the progressive reduction of industrial production.

The tables below show the concentration of workers in the service sectors. In 2010 72.5% of all employed persons in the province of Milan work in the service sector (broadly defined), 8.5 percent points more than the regional average (64%) and 5 more than the national one (67.6%; see table 2).

Table 2 - Employed per macro-sector of activity of their firm, Province of Milan, Lombardy Region and Italy, year 2010 (%)

Sector	Milan Province	Lombardy Region	Italy
Services	72.5	64.0	67.6
Industry	27.0	34.3	28.5
Agriculture	0.5	1.7	3.9

Source: ISTAT Forze Lavoro 2011.

If we disaggregate commerce, restaurants/hotels and "other services" (see table 3), it appears clear that it is the latter category that makes a real difference between the province level of employment in the service sector (45.3% in 2007, the regional (36.4%) and the national one (35.2%).

Table 3 - Employed per sector of activities of their firms. Province of Milan, Lombardy Region, Italy. Year 2007 (%)

Sector	Milan Province	Lombardy Region	Italy
Industry	23.5	30.9	27.0
Construction	7.3	9.7	11.1
Commerce	18.8	17.9	20.0
Restaurants and hotels	5.1	5.1	6.7
Other services[1]	45.3	36.4	35.2

Source: Carnevali *et al*. 2011.

[1] Other services: Transports, storing, communication, finance, real estate, ITC, research, education, health, general services to firms and other public and social services

"Other services" is also the category in which the quota of employed has grown the most, partly absorbing the decrease in industry workers, while the share of employed in the other sectors remained almost stable between 2001 and 2007 in the Province of Milan (see table 4).

Table 4 - Employed per sector of activity of their firms. Province of Milan, years 2001, 2005, 2007 (%)

Sector	2001	2005	2007
Industry	29.4	25.0	23.5
Construction	6.0	6.9	7.3
Commerce	19.3	19.2	18.8
Restaurants and hotels	4.1	4.6	5.1
Other services	41.4	44.3	45.3

Source: Carnevali *et al*. 2011.

The long-term trend of tertiarisation of Milan economy and labour market has, in fact, continued in the last decade. In the city of Milan are increasingly concentrated liberal professionals and creative and innovative sectors, like fashion and design, of which Milan has become the Italian capital, and one of the world most important nodes, but also communication and entertainment. By contrast, industrial and handcraft activities are more and more expulsed out of the city, towards the suburbs Municipalities, and the rest of the Province, or of the Region.

The current economic crisis

The current economic crisis has severely hit the Lombardy Region and the area of Milan, also because of the strong concentration of firms and economic activities.

Between 2007 and 2009 in Milan and its province the produced richness reduced by 5 billions euros. In general terms, in 2009 production decreased meaningfully in all sectors, with a heavier impact on the industrial one (-8.8%) and on handcraft manufacture (-11.9%); the negative impact was relatively lighter in the tertiary sector (-5.9%) and in retail (-5.4%), sectors that typically show later the signs of crisis (Camera di Commercio 2011: 8-9).

Especially small firms, with small capital and difficulty in accessing credit, that were already suffering in the last decade because of the effects of the globalisation process and of technological changes, have been further put under pressure by the fall of sales and by the credit crunch. A smaller negative impact of the crisis and more rapid signs of recovery are observed in the most creative and innovative sectors that are particularly important in Milan: entertainment (theatre, music, television), communication and marketing, fashion and design, especially in their luxury segment and thanks to international export vocation (Fellini *et al*. 2011).

Impact on the labour market

The negative economic trends due to the crisis have had, of course, strong repercussion on the labour market, with a meaningful increase in the unemployment rate.

The Milan area was characterised before the crisis by low unemployment rates (3.9% in 2007) and high employment and activity rates (both above 70%), higher than province and regional levels, and well above the national rates (see table 5).

In 2009 the unemployment rate increased of 2 percent points with respect to the year before, reaching 5.7% at the province level, and 6.3 at the Municipal one (see table 5). The increase with respect to 2008 has been stronger in the city of Milan than at the national level, and the reduction observed at the beginning of 2010 at the regional and national level was not recorded at the municipal level.

Table 5 - Employment, unemployment and activity rates in the Municipality of Milan, Province of Milan, Lombardy Region and Italy, years 2007, 2008, 2009 (%)

	Milan Municipality			Province of Milan			Lombardy Region			Italy		
	'07	'08	'09	'07	'08	'09	'07	'08	'09	'07	'08	'09
Employment rate (15-64)	70.3	71.4	69.5	68.3	68.7	66.9	66.7	67.0	65.8	58.7	58.7	57.5
Unemployment rate	3.9	4.2	6.3	3.8	3.9	5.7	3.4	3.7	5.4	6.1	6.7	7.8
Activity rate (15-64)	73.2	74.6	74.2	71.0	71.4	71.0	69.2	69.6	69.6	62.5	63.0	62.4

Source: ISTAT various years (in Carnevali *et al* 2011).

It should be kept in mind that these data underestimate the real proportion of people out of work, as workers in short time work and wage supplement schemes (CIG, see Italian WP2 report) are not considered as unemployed.

The negative trend is also confirmed by the decrease of the employment rate, that in the Province of Milan passed from 68.7% in 2008 to 66.9% in 2009. Even the activity rate diminished from 71.4% in 2008 to 71% in 2009, probably reflecting a discouragement effect.

These negative repercussions on the labour market are partly due to the fact that the tertiary sector does not absorb the labour force that is redundant in the manufacture sectors; on the contrary, because of the crisis, also advanced tertiary sector firms tend to reduce their staff (Carnevali *et al*. 2011: 9).

The crisis has sharply hit low qualified workers, but also highly qualified professional profiles were concerned, including over 40 and over 50 managers (Fellini *et al*. 2011: 4).

Particularly worrying is the increase in the **youth** unemployment rate (also for the highly educated young), and a strong increase in the overall precarisation of the labour market in all economic sectors, which produces a sharp drop off in the possibility of the young to pass from atypical to stable contracts (Carnevali *et al*. 2011). The difficulties in accessing the labour market are also due to an inadequate articulation between the education sector and the labour market, a feature that more generally characterises the Italian system (Fellini *et al*. 2011: 4).

Table 6 - Activity rate by age range and gender in Milan Province, Lombardy Region and Italy, year 2010 (%)

	15 - 24	25 - 34	35 - 44	45 - 54	55 and more	Total 15-64	Total
				MEN AND WOMEN			
Milan Province	29.7	87.2	89.0	85.8	16.8	70.5	54.7
Lombardy	32.5	85.7	87.8	82.8	16.2	69.0	53.9
ITALY	28.4	74.3	80.0	75.8	16.4	62.2	48.4
				MEN			
Milan Province	34.3	92.4	96.0	95.8	23.2	78.2	63.5
Lombardy	37.6	92.7	96.5	95.1	23.3	78.1	63.9
ITALY	33.2	84.2	92.5	90.6	23.8	73.3	59.4
				WOMEN			
Milan Province	24.8	81.9	81.7	75.8	11.8	62.8	46.6
Lombardy	27.1	78.6	78.5	70.5	10.5	59.7	44.5
ITALY	23.4	64.4	67.4	61.2	10.4	51.1	38.2

Source: ISTAT (2011) Forze Lavoro, Media 2010.

Table 7 - Employment rate by age range and gender in Milan Province, Lombardy Region and Italy, year 2010 (%)

	15 - 24	25 - 34	35 - 44	45 - 54	55 and more	Total 15-64	Total
				MEN AND WOMEN			
Milan Province	23.3	81.0	85.0	81.8	16.2	66.3	51.5
Lombardy	26.0	80.0	83.8	79.6	15.7	65.1	50.9
ITALY	20.5	65.4	74.7	72.0	15.8	56.9	44.4
				MEN			
Milan Province	26.7	87.1	92.3	91.2	22.3	73.7	60.0
Lombardy	30.4	87.7	93.2	91.5	22.6	74.2	60.8
ITALY	24.3	75.4	87.4	86.4	23.0	67.7	54.9
				WOMEN			
Milan Province	19.7	74.8	77.4	72.4	11.4	58.8	43.6
Lombardy	21.4	72.1	73.9	67.6	10.2	55.8	41.6
ITALY	16.5	55.4	61.9	58.0	10.1	46.1	34.5

Source: ISTAT (2011) Forze Lavoro, Media 2010.

Table 8 - Unemployment, activity and employment rates by gender in Milan Province, Lombardy Region and Italy, year 2009 (%)

	Milan Province			Lombardy Region			Italy		
	Total	Men	Women	Total	Men	Women	Total	Men	Women
Unemployment rate	5.7	5.2	6.4	5.4	4.6	6.4	7.8	6.8	9.3
Employment rate (15-64)	66.9	74.5	59.3	65.8	75.2	56.1	57.5	68.6	46.4
Activity rate (15-64)	71.0	78.7	63.4	69.6	78.9	60.0	62.4	73.7	51.1

Source: ISTAT (2011) Forze Lavoro, Media 2010.

Also increasing is the number of young **NEETs** ("not in employment, education, training"): at the national level in 2010 they are 22.1% of people aged 15-29 (2.1 mls, increasing by 17.8% with respect to the year before), a higher quota than it is found in the other European countries. This incidence is higher among young women (almost 1/4) than among young men (around 1/5). The majority of NEETs still live with their family of origin, but with major gender differences: 87.5% of men and 56% of women. Most of them were in the same conditions in 2 out of the 3 last years, signalling a persistence of the phenomenon that makes it even more serious. The approach of these young persons towards employment is diversified: 1/3 of NEETs are unavailable for employment, 1/3 is unemployed (and searching) and 1/3 is available to work but discouraged, and thus does not search for a job (anymore) (ISTAT 2011).

In the Milan Province, **women**'s performances on the labour market are well above the national average: female employment (15-64) rate is 13 percent points higher than at the national level (see table 6); activity rate is higher by 12 percent points, (table 7) while unemployment rate is almost 3 points lower.

Women are concentrated in the white collar jobs, although their weight (around 43% in 2008 and 2009) is decreasing. Women are only 11% of managers, but increasing, as they are among middle management (from 19% in 2008 to 29% in 2009) (Carnevali *et al*. 2011: 40). In the industrial sector women represent 30% of employees in 2009, slightly diminishing with respect to 2008; women are more present in the textile, chemical-pharmaceutical and food production sectors (*ibidem*).

Women have been harder penalised by the crisis, because employers – in harsh need to cut expenses – are even less ready than they used to be before to grant family-friendly schemes, such as leaves, flexible working hours, part-time, etc. This couples with insufficient public support to reconciliation policies. Moreover, and for the same reason, employers are more reluctant to hire women who have – or may have in the near future – children; as a consequence gender discrimination has become harder with the crisis (Fellini *et al*. 2011).

As pointed out in the Italian WP2 report, the distribution of wages by gender is less unequal in Italy than in most of the EU countries, for two reasons: because in labour markets with low women's employment rates, women with low wage expectations often choose not to work, and because the level of men's salary is rather low as well. Yet, in 2010 this gender gap has increased, and women dependent workers' wages are on average 20% less then men's ones (Istat 2011b). Among autonomous workers the gap is more relevant (ISTAT 2007).

Similarly to women, also **foreign workers** have been relatively more penalised on the labour market by the crisis. Yet, they are more ready to adapt, to take up also less paid, or less qualified jobs, more available to geographical mobility, and more concentrated in the care services, whose demand was less diminished by the crisis than in other sectors(Fellini *et al*. 2011). See § 3 for more detailed data on employment conditions of foreigners in the Milan area.

The gap between Italian and foreign workers' salaries is more relevant than the gender gap. Foreigners earn 24% less than native workers in 2010. Such a gap is wider for women (30%; Istat 2011), in Southern Regions, and for workers with permanent contracts (25%; FLM 2009).

The width of the **grey labour market** is estimated in Italy at the national level at 10.3% of employed persons in 2010 (and 12.3% of "job units"; this value is higher because one person can have at the same time more than one job); this incidence is decreasing with respect to the estimation for 1991 (13.4%) (ISTAT 2011a). In the latest year for which Regional data are available, 2007, 8.4% of job units were irregular in the Lombardy region, against a national average of 11.8%. Estimations at the urban level are lacking.

Ambiguous signs of recovery

Since the last trimester of 2010 some positive signals were recorded: for the first time the applications of firms for short time work and wage supplement schemes (CIG and Mobility, see Italian WP2 report) decreased, and this reduction is confirmed also in 2011 (Meomartini 2011). In the first trimester 2011 the main economic data concerning Milan were improving, with an increase in invoice, industrial production and export, even though they were not yet back at the levels registered before crisis (Camera Commercio 2011: 9).

If first recovery signs were observable in 2010 for industrial firms, they were nevertheless still not detected for commerce and services, as the trends of these sectors are somehow necessarily delayed with respect to industry (*ibidem*).

These positive signs were partly reflected in labour market trends. At the province level, in 2010 the labour demand in (strictly defined) industry has increased by 11.1%, but this corresponded only to a partial recovery of the drastic fall in 2009. By contrast, construction still shows a clear decrease in new contracts (-3.3 percent points), and also its incidence on the total number of newly hired falls by 1.5 percent points. In the service sector, where 83% of new job contracts are concentrated, labour demand was rather stable.

The decrease in new contracts among young persons (<25) observed in 2009 (-13.1%) has been only partly recovered in 2010 (+7.2%). Besides, the use of collaboration contracts has increased among the youngsters way over the average levels, passing from 18.5% to 27.2% (Cavicchini and Corsi 2011).

The decrease of foreign workers newly hired in 2008-2009 has instead been substantially recovered in 2010; their incidence among new contracts passes from 24.3% in 2008 to 25.7% in 2010. Foreigners are mainly employed in service and construction, even though decreasing; their presence is increasing in logistics, commerce, hotels/restaurants and personal services. Women remain underrepresented among foreign workers (41%), even though their incidence is increasing (*ibidem*).

In the expectations of economic actors operating in the Milan area, the only occasion that could revitalise the local economy in the short term is the Universal Expo to be held in Milan in 2015, both in terms of the infrastructural works that will be carried out in the next 3 years to make the city ready to receive this event, and of the increasing flows of tourist and business visitors that the event should bring towards the area (Fellini *et al.* 2011). Nevertheless, it should be noted that - due to delays of the previous municipal administration and to lack of public funds - the whole project is currently being downsized and the timing of implementation looks stricter and stricter. Although Expo has been an occasion for economic revitalisation in some of the cities that have hosted it, opponents fear waste of public money, due to corruption and the building of white elephants, soil consumption and non sustainability of the projects, as well as an ephemeral increase in employment that will be mainly made up of junk jobs.

A further increase in precarious jobs

The use – and often the abuse – of non permanent contracts, collaborations, apprenticeships and stages has grown even more in the crisis years.

At the **national level**, recent data show an increasing trend for fixed-term employees (+7.6%) and a slight decrease for collaborators (-2.1%). The incidence is very high for young persons: fixed-term employees represent in fact 46.7% of all employed under 25; the percentage is much lower (18%) for persons between 25 and 35 years of age, and even lower for those aged 35-54 (8.3%) and for the over 55 (6.3%; ISTAT 2012).

Furthermore, the probability to pass from an atypical job to a standard one has decreased: in 2009 only 15% of young employed with a precarious contract have a standard contract one year later, against 24% in 2007-2008. On the contrary, those who still have an atypical job after one year have increased from 53.3 to 60.1% (ISTAT 2011c).

At the **province level**, the weight of collaborators and of entertainment sector autonomous workers represents in 2010 1/4 of all new contracts (24.2%), 4.5 percent points more than 2008. Temporary subordinated contract is the most common contract form for new jobs: they are 37.5% of all new contracts in 2010 (with an increase of 7.3 percent points from 2009), 17.5 percent points more than permanent subordinated contracts (Cavicchini and Corsi 2011).

Occasional collaborations, although still marginal, have sensibly increased in the last two years, substituting other contract forms, such as temporary subordinated work, especially for the under 30 (*ibidem*). This means that, as an effect of the crisis, even atypical job positions are increasingly replaced by even more precarious types of contract.

All together, temporary subordinated contracts and autonomous workers represent more than 80% of new jobs (Daverio 2011). Independent work is often fictitious, as it hides jobs with subordinated features, thus *de facto* representing a further form of precariousness.

Part-time new contracts, that had been steadily increasing in the last years, show in 2010 an overall step back to the 2008 value (28.5%), while they remain stable among the group of subordinated workers (35%) (Cavicchini and Corsi 2011).

The main problems that the young precarious and unemployed face is – obviously enough – the lack of continuity of their income. Yet, this is not only due to short duration of fixed-term contracts, but also to their exclusion from welfare measures. The strongest impact on the income maintenance of these workers and jobseekers is given by the lack of entitlement to unemployment benefit and to short time work schemes. This is particularly relevant in periods of crisis like the current ones, when fixed term employees are the first to lose their job once their contract expires.

Another major problem is exclusion from bank loans, above all to access homeownership. This is particularly penalising as in Italy the rent market is limited, expensive and not publicly supported (see § 4).

Part of the atypical workers are also excluded from family allowances, that are only paid to subordinated workers (permanent or fixed-term) and pensioners, and some categories of autonomous workers. Moreover, access to childcare services is generally conditioned on the effective employment of both parents (or of the only one present in the household), and entitlement for atypical workers is often only granted as long as their contract is valid.

Finally, a key risk is linked to the low level of old age pensions in the future for persons who work long years with atypical jobs, since the pension system has been reformed in a contributive way.

All this has consequences in terms of the opportunities the young have to leave their family of origin, access a dwelling, form new households, with unavoidable repercussions in terms of average age at birth, number of born children, and more generally the balance of fertility rate (see § 2.1).

1.2. Public regulation

As pointed out in the Italian WP2 working paper, the regulation and financing of passive monetary support in labour policies is a responsibility of the **State**, whereas responsibility for active policies belongs to Regions and Provinces.

Municipalities may or not organise municipal employment offices, providing specific services or developing projects for specific target groups, generally in collaboration with other local services, both municipal (social basic or specialised services) and provincial ones, but also third sector (also confessional) and private commercial ones (agencies for temporary jobs).

Exceptional pre-dismissal and short time work schemes (Mobility and CIG) schemes (so called *Ammortizzatori Sociali in Deroga, ASiD*; see Italian WP2 report), have been introduced in response to the last economic crisis in order to partly cover the gaps left by the strong category basis of existing social protection against unemployment. The exceptional schemes include firms that do not belong to entitled sectors or do not meet the size requirement to be eligible for existing schemes. In order to apply, the firm needs to reach an agreement with the Trade Unions. These schemes are co-financed by the State and the Regions, that have agreed to link *ASiD* monetary benefit to activation measures (training and employment services). Each Region has adopted its own particular modes of implementation of the activation measures.

Changes both in vertical and horizontal subsidiarity in labour policies started in the Nineties. On the vertical level with the shift of competencies from the national level to the regional and provincial ones. On the horizontal level, with the end of public monopoly in the management of job services, private actors, both commercial and third sector have increased their role in employment services. Commercial agencies increased their role especially in connection to the growth of temporary contracts, and the introduction of legislative obligation to dedicate resources of the inter-professional funds to training programs. Third sector agencies, including confessional Catholic ones, have steadily increased their role in this field, and even more in the last years due to the economic crisis and the significant quota of unemployed not covered by any monetary benefit (workers with expired atypical contracts; first-job seekers).

In the Lombardy **Region** a strong development towards a quasi-market approach in the provision of employment services is observed. Originally introduced in the management of socio-health services, this approach has been then applied to training and, more recently, employment services, in the framework of a growing rhetoric about activation. The *Dote* (that literally translated means dowry or endowment) system is the most recent mechanism with which the Lombardy Region both organises the provision of various services to beneficiaries and finances public and private bodies, among the ones accredited by the Region itself, that deliver them. Persons who are entitled to one of the different types of *dote* ("training", "employment", "social shock absorbers", etc.) can "choose" among the accredited bodies the one with which they will submit the application to the Region, through strict online procedures and within rigorously defined periods of time. Successful applicants are entitled to individual monetary contributions to finance the services that the chosen body will provide them with, such as counselling, coaching, training courses, labour demand/supply matching, subsidised job experiences, etc. This mechanism of financing is at the same time strongly centralised at the regional level for what concerns financing and strongly individualised for what concerns implementation. In this sense, it has pulverised the programming, management and provision of training, orientation and employment services, questioning coherence, efficiency and continuity of the system (Sabatinelli and Villa 2011).

In the **Province** of Milan, territorial Employment centres have been merged with existing centres for professional training and orientation/information centres into special Agencies for Training Orientation and Employment Services, *AFOL* (*Agenzie per la Formazione, l'Orientamento e il Lavoro*), where orientation, professional training and employment services are provided in the same structure. The Milan Province promoted this development in 2007, and is partner in each of the seven territorial consortia, together with the concerned Municipalities and eventually other territorial actors. This experiment has been highly sponsored from the political point of view, by a centre-left Province Government, and rather strongly contrasted by the following centre-right coalition. As a consequence, their development, and even their survival, is at present unclear, due to insufficient transfer of resources from the Regional and Provincial level to finance the structures themselves, and particularly to assure the salary level and stability of part of the staff.

AFOL Milano is one of the seven provincial AFOL (see *supra*), and comprehends the Provincial Employment Centre (*Centro per l'Impiego* – CPI) for the territory of the Milan Municipality, a number of employment services (Company crises; Demand-supply match; …) and of training centres. The Municipality of Milan does not participate to the management of the structure, that is therefore entirely left to the Province.

Young jobless persons are one of the targets that the Ministry of Labour signals to territorial PES. The share of young applicants is increasing in the recent times (applicants are considered as young up to 29, if they have a university degree).

Some of the projects presently managed by *Milan Afol* concern young unemployed:

- "*Talenti al Lavoro*" (Talents at work), a two-year project with orientation paths for young people with secondary school or university degrees;
- "*Ricollocami*" (Place-me back), is carried out together with the temporary agencies; we recall all applicants in our data-base in order to insert them in professional training courses managed by these agencies, providing them orientation and counselling accompanying them back to work; it is addressed to all age ranges.

Other provincial services for young unemployed are:

- Job Caffé, a space created in 2002 and originally addressed to highly educated young people in search for a job. Yet, the low-skilled and low-educated applicants have been growing in years. It is not an Employment Centre, applicants are not registered; it is an open and free service, where people can use the information and technology resources to autonomously search for a job. Orientation services (up to 6 interviews, with assessment of competencies) are available;

- European network Antenna Città dei mestieri;
- European network Eures.

The **Municipality** of Milan is rather rich in agencies, belonging to different sectors, dealing with employment services, where young unemployed can turn to. Here we present the main ones.

- The Municipal Ufficio Adulti in Difficoltà (UAD, Office for Adults in Difficulty) deals with individuals or families aged 18-60 and without dependent children. Its activities include advisory work (4,976 users in 2008, against around 1,200 in 1997), economic support (1.198[2] persons received it in 2008, against 926 in 2003 and 511 in 1998), specific assistance for nomads, former drug addicts and ex-convicts, and labour market integration (through the CELAV, see below).
- Economic support basically consists of two measures: Minimo Alimentare and Minimo Vitale. Access is strictly budget constrained, and therefore rigorously reserved to applicants with severe social situations (generally cumulating different kinds of disease), and thus rather strongly dependent on the discretionary power of social workers (Sabatinelli and Villa 2005).
- Young unemployed can turn to the UAD, but they would very hardly access economic support, because of their young age and personal and family resources. The UAD would most probably send them to the CELAV.
- Municipal CELAV (Centro per la mediazione al lavoro – Job Mediation Centre), was created in 2000 from the fusion of two previously existing training centres (for the young and for the disabled), only opened to social services' beneficiaries. The reorganisation was completed also thanks to a European FSE Project (Integra). At present, CELAV works both as:
  - a second-level service, providing labour market integration for disadvantaged individuals signalled by social services and disabled persons protected by the law on compulsory recruitment (LN 68/00);
  - a first level service, open to the public, that is to general jobseekers and citizens in need of job guidance, information, documentation and pointers as to how to look for employment in a more focused manner.

  CELAV is partly managed by municipal civil servants and partly outsourced to a social cooperative, on the basis of a three-year bid.

  In 2008 3,135 persons turned to CELAV (against 2,749 in 2006). In the same year 1,051 orientation and traineeship activities were carried out, for the benefit of 670 persons (vs 589 in 2006), with 294 hired on a permanent basis at the end of the path (261 in); 160 more persons were hired in other projects (Comune di Milano 2009).

  Young unemployed can turn to CELAV for basic job guidance. The possibility to apply for regional *Doti* for more specific training or employment services depends on the contingent availability of regional resources and specific Regional eligibility criteria.
- **Municipal Job Centre** (*Centro Lavoro*): services of job orientation, accessible for free to all citizens over 18, even if not resident in Milan. It generally attracts low-profile users. It currently brings together mediators previously working in three different sites. Yet, as long as employees retire, they are not substituted anymore, so the future of this service is unclear at the moment.

Young unemployed can also turn to private temporary agencies (e.g. Manpower, etc.) and to local **third sector** agencies managing job centres, such as:

2 In 2008 UAD also paid social vouchers to 49 persons (Comune di Milano 2009).

- Caritas (confessional catholic third sector);
- CGIL (major Trade Union organisation);
- Galdus (confessional third sector agency with major connections to Catholic cooperatives and enterprises);

To sum up, a number of options are available for young unemployed in terms of services they may turn to for general, low-intensity job guidance. Yet, support measures specifically addressed to them are very limited, and their chances to access existing monetary support are very low, either because they are contributory-based (unemployment benefit, short time work schemes, etc.) or because they are really residual, that is only reserved to rather marginal clients (municipal social assistance).

To tackle the increase in the need for monetary support due to the **crisis** that neither national nor local measures were able to respond to, a few –different – Initiatives were launched in the Milan area. We quote three of them:

- The Milanese Arcibishop Tettamanzi (recently retired) created at the end of 2008 a "Fund for Families and Work" of the archiepiscopal administration, that has supported many unemployed and many workers in short time work schemes thanks to the collaboration of Trade Unions.
- The *Fondazione Welfare Ambrosiano* (Milan Welfare Foundation) was created in 2009 by the Municipality of Milan, the Province of Milan, the Chamber of Commerce, the main Milanese Trade Unions. It has the mission to support individuals and families working in Milan, disregarding of their previous or current type of working contract and place of origin, who are in conditions of temporary need for various reasons (job loss, illness, …) and who are not protected by existing social measure and therefore are exposed to new forms of social exclusion, also supporting micro-entrepreneurship and access to micro-credit.
- "*Sistema Milano*" is a project funded in 2009 by the Call for Inclusion projects of the Fondazione Cariplo (a big bank's philanthropic foundation), that aims at tackling emerging needs not (yet) covered by public measures, finding new ways to deal with well-known needs, promoting innovation and excellence, favouring knowledge about, access to and quality of services. The project involves the Municipality of Milan and 13 Third Sector bodies operating in Milan and in the hinterland, with the idea to have existing resources working together in network, maximizing outcomes and reducing overlapping.

2. DEMOGRAPHIC CHANGES AND FAMILY

2.1. Trends

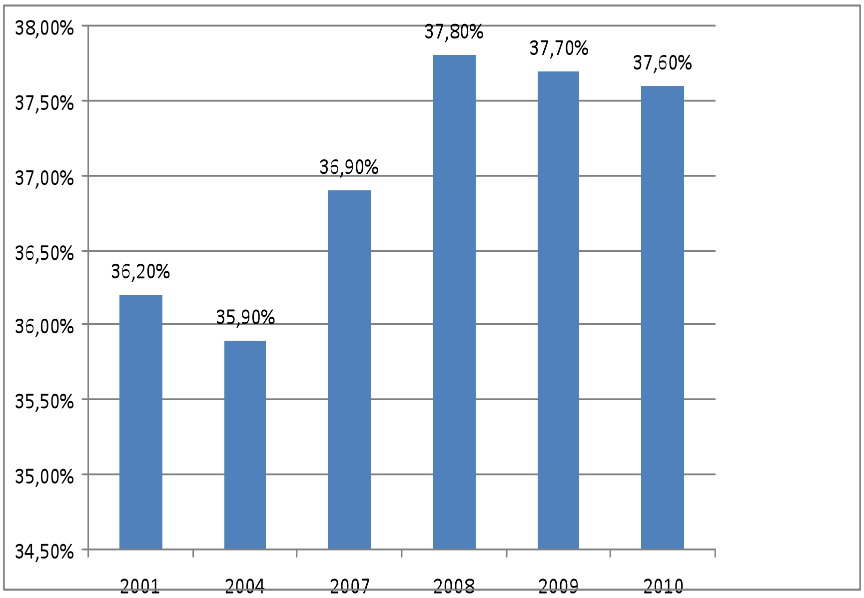
In the last three decades of the last century the city of Milan lost almost 500 thousands inhabitants, passing from 1,732,000 in 1971 to 1,256,211 recorded at the 2001 census. In the same decades the percentage of inhabitants aged 0-14 was almost cut in half, whereas the proportion of over65s was almost doubled (see table 9). During the last decade the city gained back almost 70 thousands residents, settling at 1,322,750 in 2010; while the quota of the elderly has continued to increase, up to 23.6%, the weight of children 0-14 has started to slightly increase again, up to 12.7%.

Table 9 - Resident population (abs. values), population 0-14 years and >65 years (%), years 1971-2010

	1971*	1981*	1991*	2001*	2010
Population	1,732,000	1,604,773	1,369,295	1,256,211	1,322,750
% aged 0-14	19.4	16.5	10.3	10.7	12.7
% over65	11.8	14.9	18.2	22.8	23.6

Source: Milano Statistica.
* Census data

Graph 1 - Elderly dependency ratio in the Municipality of Milan



Source: own calculations on Milano statistica 2010 and DemoIstat.

The well known, long-term process of ageing of population that characterises Italy is observable at the Municipal level in Milan as well.

The dependency ratio has steadily increased on the long term, and in the last years it has overcome 37.5%. The Milan Municipality value is constantly higher than the national average. The same is true for the Ageing Index (table 10).

Table 10 - Dependency ratio of the young and of the elderly and ageing index by gender, Milan Municipality, various years

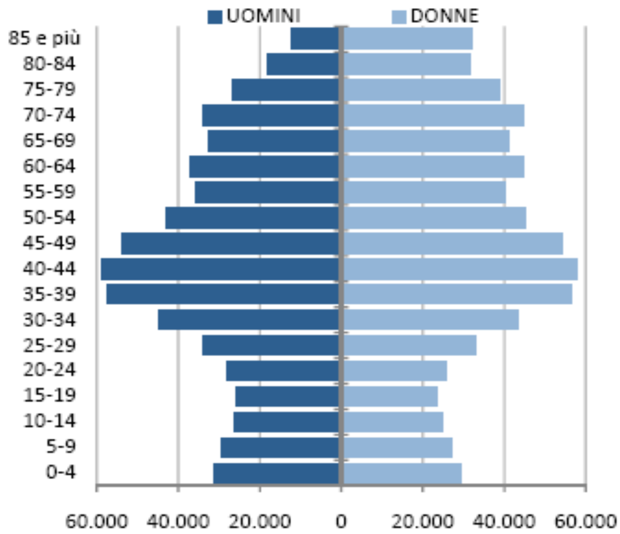
	1981	1991	2001	2007	2008
Dependency ratio young	24.0	14.4	16.4	19.1	19.5
Dependency ratio elderly	21.6	40.7	31.9	37.4	37.8
Ageing index women	117.7	229.0	249.2	246.2	243.7
Ageing index men	64.1	126.4	144.8	148.7	148.1
Ageing index total	90.2	176.3	195.3	195.7	194.2
% Over 75		8.1	10.3	11.0	11.8[1]

Source: MiBreve 2009, p. 8; Milano Statistica 2010.
[1] Year 2010

More in particular, the quota of over75 has almost doubled in the last two decades. Their percentage on the overall Milan population is estimated as steadily growing in the future as well.

As it is known, it is the contribution of women that makes the population ageing so strong (see table 10). The average life duration is, in fact, estimated as 84.8 years for Milanese women, against 79.7 for men. All these trends have deeply changed the structure by age of Milanese population.

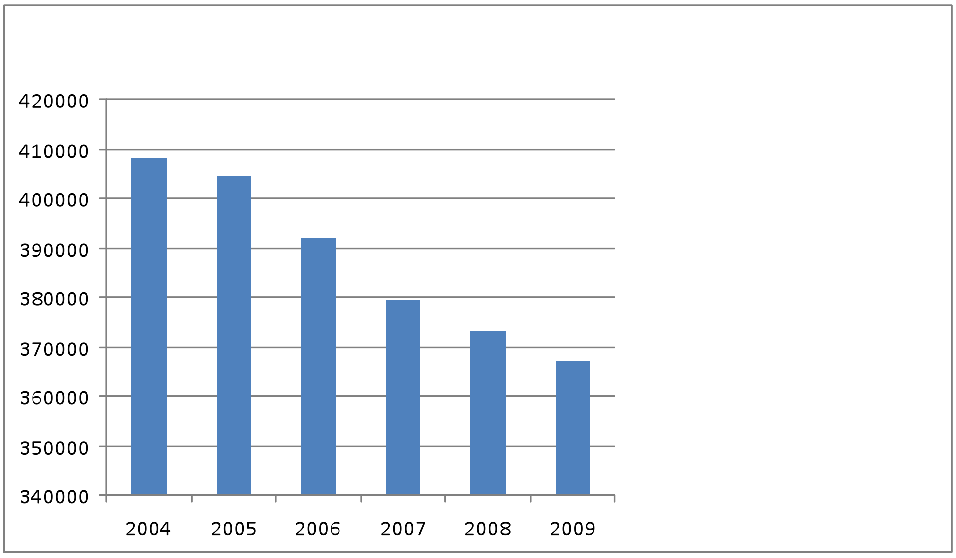
Graph 2 - Structure by age of resident population in Milan Municipality at 31/12 2010



Source: Focus on Milan 2011.

The change in the population structure can also be appreciated by looking at the absolute value of residents aged 15-39, steadily decreasing also in the second half of the years 2000s, despite the contribution of immigrants.

Graph 3 - Resident population aged 15 - 39 years

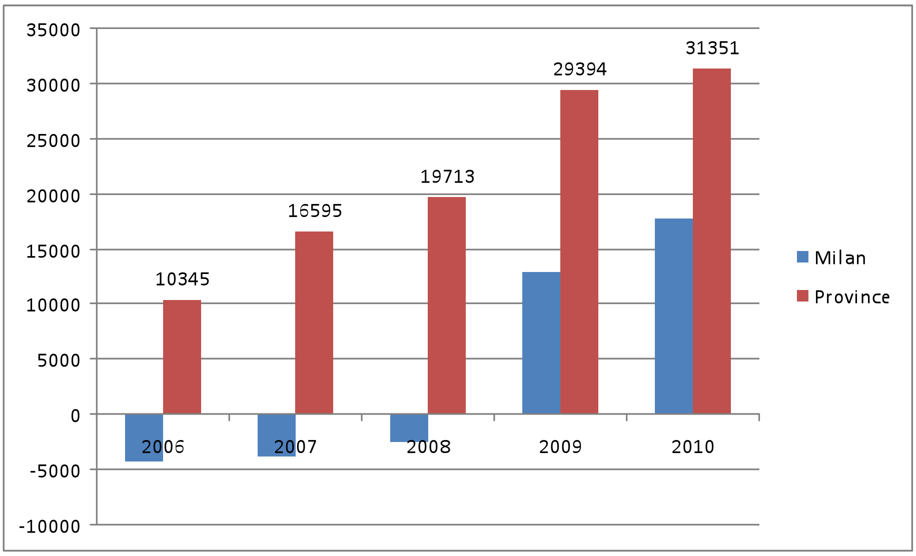


Source: own calculations on DemoIstat.

The net migration is positive and increasing both in the Province of Milan and (since 2009) also in the city of Milan (see graph 4).

The contribution of immigrants is clear in the number of new registered residents coming from abroad (59.6% in 2004, 37.9% in 2005, 33.1% in 2007, 37.2% in 2008 and 42.3% in 2009).

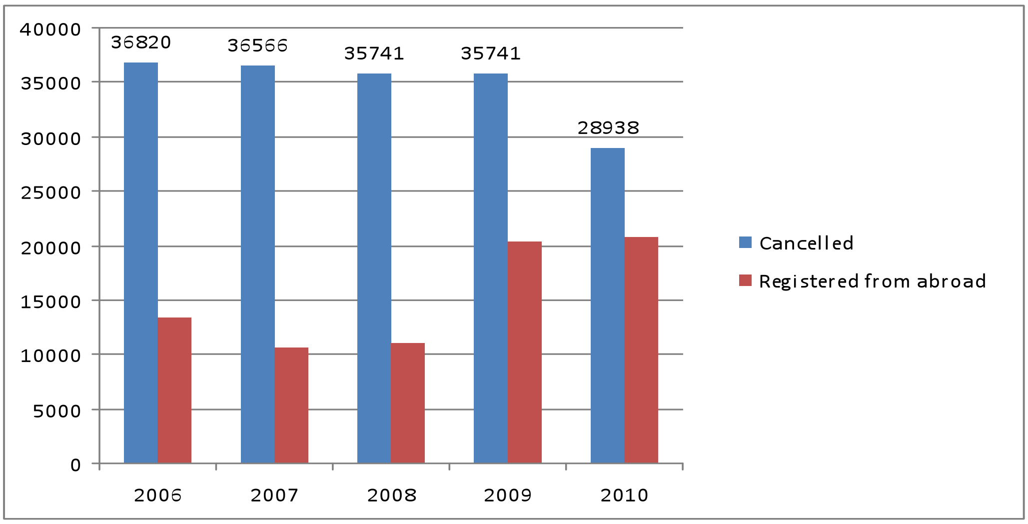
Graph 4 - Net migration in Milan city and province (abs. values)



Source: own calculations on DemoIstat.

The number of residents coming from abroad is increasing, but it is not enough to compensate the number of residents moving out of the city of Milan (even though the latter is decreasing; see graph 5).

Graph 5 - Resident persons cancelled from the Register of the Municipality of Milan moving towards other Italian Municipalities, and new residents from abroad



Source: own calculations on DemoIstat.

Those who are moving out of Milan are mainly leaving for another Municipality in the Milan Province (40.2% in 2009, against the 46.4% in 2007). If the quota of residents moving towards other provinces in Lombardy remains steady around 20%, it is the one of citizens moving to other Italian Regions that increases and – even more so – the one of Italians moving towards other countries (from 5.1% in 2005 to 7.8% in 2009; Milano Statistica 2010; p. 53).

Fertility

The average age of women at birth has been steadily increasing: it was 31.7 in 2000, and it reached 33.8 in 2009. By contrast, the average number of children per woman – although well below the substitution level of 2.1 – has started to increase as well, passing from 1.1 to 1.34 in the same years.

Table 11 - Fertility rate, birth rate and average age of mothers at birth, years 2000 - 2009

	2000	2005	2009
Fertility rate	37.4	41.4	42.5
Average nr. of children per woman	1.10	1.21	1.34
Average age of mothers at birth	31.7	33.2	33.8

Source: Milano Statistica 2010: 24.

The mentioned increase is partly the result of the important contribution of migrant population (see below § 3), and partly of the recovery of fertility of cohorts of women born at the end of the Sixties and in the Seventies, who visibly postponed maternity after 30 years of age (at the national level, women born in 1950 had only 25% of their children after age 29; those born in1960 39%; those born in 1970 will have around 60% of their children after that age; Caltabiano 2010).

These same factors contribute to explain – together with the economic crisis – why this recovery of birth rate in Italy seems to have been only temporary. As a matter of fact, foreign women's behaviour with regard to fertility is becoming more and more similar to natives' one: nationally, their fertility rate has passed from 2.31 in 2008 to 2.13 in 2010, and their age at birth has increased to 29, against 31 for Italians (Mencarini 2011).

Marriages and divorces

The number of marriages celebrated in the city of Milan has steadily decreased. Only in the last decade it has passed from 4,892 in 2001 to 3,361 in 2009. In parallel, the average age of spouses has increased, reaching respectively 35.7 years of age for women and 38 for men. This is also, but not only, the effect of the increase in number of second marriages (20.6% of all weddings in 2003), since also the average age of spouses at first wedding is increasing, from 26 in 1980 to 31 in 2003 for women, and from 28 to 34 for men (Comune Milano 2004).

Table 12 - Number of marriages celebrated in Milan, type of ceremony (%),average age of spouses and number of divorces, years 2001, 2005 and 2009

	2001	**2005**	**2009**
Nr. of weddings	4,892	4,048	3,361
of which religious (%)	*51.4*	*42.2*	*39.1*
of which civil(%)	*48.6*	*57.8*	*60.9*
Average age of brides	31.8	33.8	35.7
Average age of grooms	34.8	36.9	38.0
Nr. of divorces	1,682	1,438	1,654

Source: Focus on Milan 2011; Milano Statistica 2010: 69.

About the *type* of wedding, the proportion of civil and religious ceremony has inverted in the span of a decade: civil weddings represented 39.6% of all ceremonies in 1998, overcame religious (Catholic and others) ones in 2002 and reached 60.9% in 2009. Among first weddings the proportion of civil weddings is lower than in general terms (42% in 2003), but anyway way higher at the city level than at the national one (25%; Comune Milano 2004).

In 2009 1,654 divorces were declared in Milan, against 1,337 in 1991.

Births out of wedlock represented only 3.5% in 1960 and one quarter of century later, in 1984, they were still only 11%; these comparatively low values were coherent with the Southern European family model, and the Catholic influence. In the following 15 years, births from non married parents in Milan city reached levels similar to those of European metropolis, even though with at least a decade of delay: 28.1% in 2002 and 37.3% in 2008, against a national average of 22.2% (Comune Milano 2004).

Families

The average size of households has decreased on the long term from 2.9 in 1961 to 2.1 in 2008. Single-member households were only 15.3% in 1961, and they have reached 37.3 in 2001 census and 42% in 2008, by and large the most represented type of household per size (ever since the 1991 census).

Table 13 - Families[1] by nr. of family members in Milan city, various years (%)

	1971	2001	2007	2008
Nr. of family members				
1	19.4	37.3	41.3	42.0
2	27.4	31.2	29.2	29.0
3	25.7	17.8	16.1	15.7
4	18.1	10.9	10.5	10.4
5	6.4	2.4	2.5	2.5
6 and more	3.0	0.4	0.5	0.5
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Average family size	2.8	2.1	2.1	2.1

Source: MiBreve 2009, p. 59.

[1] A family is made up of the ensemble of cohabiting persons with links of marriage, consanguinity, kinship, adoption, guardianship or affection. A family can coincide with a household, or be made up of one, more than one or no household.

Table 14 - Households[1] by type in Milan city, census data, year 2001 (abs values and %)

		Abs. values	%
Couples without children		**135,826**	**38.7**
Couples with children	*All children under 18*	*76,329*	*21.8*
	At least one child under 18	*13,612*	*3.9*
	All children over 18	*70,321*	*20.0*
	Total	**160,262**	**45.7**
Mothers with children	*All children under 18*	*1,753*	*0.5*
	At least one child under 18	*356*	*0.1*
	All children over 18	*6,661*	*1.9*
	Total	**8,770**	**2.5**
Fathers with children	*All children under 18*	*13,025*	*3.7*
	At least one child under 18	*2,165*	*0.6*
	All children over 18	*30,691*	*8.8*
	Total	**45,881**	**13.1**
Total		**350,739**	**100.0**

Source: MiBreve 2009, p. 60.

[1] A household is made up of persons constituting a couple, with or without unmarried children, or of a single parent with unmarried children.

Table 14bis - Families by type in Milan city, year 2007 (abs values and %)

	Abs. values	%
Single-member	333,493	49.4
Head of family with others	19,079	2.8
Single parent with 1 child	46,225	6.8
Single parent with more than 1 child	16,406	2.4
Single parent with 1 child and others	11,361	1.7
Single parent with more than 1 child and others	5,488	0.8
Couple without children	100,542	14.9
Couple without children with others	2,450	0.4
Couple with 1 child	70,175	10.4
Couple with more than 1 child	63,518	9.4
Couple with 1 child and others	2,966	0.4
Couple with more than 1 child and others	2,247	0.3
Other types	1,659	0.2
TOTAL	675,609	100.0

Source: Piano di Zona di Milano 2009, p. 27.
Experimental data from Milan Municipality Registry Office data.

Non married couples were 8.5% of all couples in Milan city in 2001 according to Census data. Reconstituted families (cohabiting or married, with or without children, where at least one of the two partners had a former marriage) were in the same year 9.5% of all families (MiBreve 2009: 61).

At the 2001 census lone mother families represented 7.6% of all families in Milan (slightly above the national level of 7.4%), and lone father families only 1.4% (against 1.6%).

In 2001, 54,651 single parents with children lived in Milan city, but only 17,299 of them had at least one child under 18. Of them, 88% (15,190) were single mothers, and only 12% (2,109) were fathers with children.

There are no local updated data available, nor estimation about the number of single mother families with at least one child aged 4-5 (*ibidem*).

Given the high rate of women's employment and activity (see § 1.1), the Milan area is characterised by high need for work and life balance solutions. Trade-offs concern the availability and cost of early childcare services, especially for parents who have long or atypical working hours. Since the Italian welfare model relies so much on family support, single parents are particularly affected by reconciliation difficulties, as they cannot share care within their household. This is even more relevant for those single parents who cannot count on their extended family members (particularly grandparents), because these are still working, are not in good health conditions, are not in good family relations, or live far away. The latter is especially the case for migrants.

2.2. Public regulation

As pointed out in the Italian WP2 report, monetary support to families (basically category-based family allowances, tax credits, and residual minimum income for households with at least three children <18) is regulated and financed at the national level.

The provision of services, such as ECEC services, social counselling, and general monetary support to families in need is a responsibility of Municipalities. Regions have responsibilities in financing and defining the frame regulation for the action of Municipalities. Provinces used to have own structures and staff dedicated to family and childhood support; at present, they have a marginal role in this policy ambit, but in some cases they continue to manage what remains of the provincial structures (such as community houses for lone mothers or children out of their family), and they may finance specific projects or programs.

Many activities and programs in favour of children, families and single parents are carried out by third sector agencies; this happens mainly in two ways: either they build up their own projects and obtain public financing, through agreements, or they participate to calls for projects, or they compete to manage outsourced public services.

Besides, especially in the field of ECEC services, an increasing role is assumed by private providers, both third sector and commercial, and by company welfare initiatives.

In the Milan Municipality social services are organised on a category basis. Citizens in need of support are dealt with by a different office if they are adults without children (*Ufficio Adulti in Difficoltà*, Office for Adults in Difficulty), over 60 (*Ufficio Anziani*, Office for the Elderly), or adults with children under 18 (*Servizio Sociale della Famiglia*, *SSdF*, Family Social Service). Despite the general and increasing weight of budget constraints, the pressure on Municipal services to support households with minor children is rather high, as they are generally considered as more deserving. Even though there exists a municipal regulation identifying eligibility criteria, income thresholds and equivalence scales, the actual amount and duration of monetary benefit paid correspond to forfeits, defined on the basis of a number of factors, filtered by the discretionary power of social assistants. It is generally initially granted for three months, in order to have a short term evaluation, and then reiterated as long as the conditions of need last. The take-up is generally a complex one, including monetary support, support to parenthood, school support to school-age children, etc. These forms of social support are mainly carried out in partnership with third sector agencies. In case of unemployment, adult family members are signalled to the CELAV (see § 1.2) to build a (re)insertion path. In case of pre-school age children, households are signalled for a priority access to Municipal ECEC services.
In 2008 number of clients of SSdF was 34% higher than 2007, whereas waiting lists were decreased by 6%. In the same year, 10,908 children were in charge of SSdF, 55% Italians and 45% foreigners; they were 5,610 in 2006 and 6,673 in 2007. 29.2% of these children are <5 (a share increasing from 18.3% in 2006), 31.2% are aged 6 to 11, 15.1% 12 to 14 and 22.3% 15 to 18 (Piano di Zona 2009).

2,202 monetary benefits were paid in 2008 by SSdF, increasing from 2,123 in 2006; further 267 persons received a support to maternity; 3,834 families received social vouchers (strongly increasing from 1,240 in 2006).

In response to a higher female employment as opposed to the national average, the Municipality of Milan has also traditionally had a higher coverage rate of ECEC services (although not reaching the highest levels of some cities in the central Italian Regions).

In the last 2 decades, the evolution of ECEC services in Milan has been characterised by a growing diversification of both the types of services and the kinds of providers. This was the result of different lines of development.

- An increase in public (municipal) provision. A number of family and social features concur to determine the access priority of individual cases, among which single parenthood, and social services' reports.
- Outsourcing of public provision. More than the half of Milanese municipal day-care centres are outsourced: 17% of crèches and 95% of micro-crèches. Besides, the Milan Municipality has a long tradition of agreements signed with private

providers, in order to reserve part of their places for children on the waiting lists for municipal services. In 2008 115 of the 191 private day-care centres had such an agreement with the Municipality (over 60%; Piano di Zona 2009). Access to these places follows the same rules and depends on the same eligibility criteria applied to municipal services; so single parenthood represents a case for priority access, and cases signalled by social services have a precedence as well.
- Growth of private providers, both third sector and commercial, that in 2008 represented more than half (53.8%; *ibidem*) of day-care centres active in Milan, and 60% of available places (Pasquinelli, Sabatinelli 2010).
- The (indeed still limited) development of individual care, small family-based services (e.g. Tagesmutter) and the so-called integrative services.

In 2008 Municipal coverage of children aged 0-2 was 13.6%, against a provincial average of 11.1%. Private coverage in town is 19.7%, against 12.6% in the Province of Milan. If we sum up the two, the overall coverage is almost ten percent points higher in Milan than in the rest of the Province: 33.2 against 23.7%. Nevertheless, children on the waiting lists still represented 13.6% of available municipal places in 2009 (lower than the provincial level, that reaches 18.2%; *ibidem*).

The existence of a waiting list can be used as a partial proxy for the level of unsatisfied demand. This mismatch between supply and demand is even more problematic due to the difficulties of workers with atypical contracts and unemployed to access public services (where priority is given to currently employed parents) and to the high fees of private services.

In 2009, Milan municipal day-care centres were free of charge for households with an equivalent income of 6,500€ per year; for paying households fees ranged between 103€ and 465€ a month (*ibidem*). An ideal typical household (two parents, one child under 3, a yearly gross income of 44,200€, corresponding to an equivalent yearly income of 19,900€) would pay 232€ per month (CittadinanzAttiva 2011). Fees for private services are well above 600€/month.

3. MIGRATION

3.1. Trends

Italy has traditionally been an emigration country: from the Italian unification (1861), in one century around 30 millions of Italians have left the country towards Western European countries, Americas and Australia (Caritas 2011). The 1970s represented a turning point in the shift of Italy from emigration to immigration country. Since then, the presence of foreigners has steadily increased, exceeding 1 million persons in 1991 and, similarly to Spain and Ireland, sharply growing since the 1990s (OECD-SOPEMI 2007). This growth explains most of the population and employment growth in Italy in these two decades. The attractiveness of Italy for migrants has been due to the easy entry, the tolerance towards irregular residents (that was lately reversed during the 2008-2011 centre-right government, even with the introduction of a crime of illegal immigration, see below § 3.2), and the availability of jobs - be it stable, precarious or in the grey market – in: care and cleaning services, construction, small and medium industrial and handcraft firms and, seasonally, agriculture and tourism (Barberis 2008).

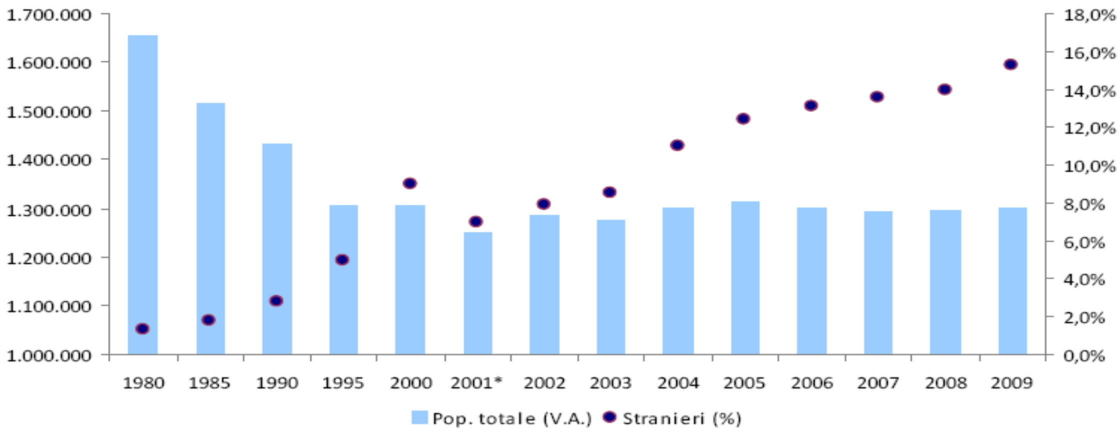
Risks of ghettoisation are scanter in Italy compared to other European countries, also because of the presence of a wide number of nationalities and because of the diffusion of migrants over the territory, and not only in cities. Nevertheless, one can observe a strong concentration in the Northern and Central regions (86.5% of foreigners live here), particularly due to the attractiveness of local economic systems and labour markets.

Almost one fourth (23.3%) of foreigners living in Italy resides in the Lombardy region, with an incidence of 10.7% against 7.5% nationally (Caritas Ambrosiana 2011), and in the province of Milan concentrates around one tenth of them.

In the last years the number of foreign residents in Milan city has grown rather steadily and significantly, passing from less than 80 thousands in 1997 to 217,284 at 31st December 2010, equal to 16.4% of the Municipal population[3].

The following graph shows how the presence of foreigners in Milan Municipality has steadily increased since the 1980s, whereas the overall population of the city has harshly decreased in the last two decades of the last century, and then stabilised around 1,3 millions inhabitants in the new century.

Graph 6 - Resident population and percentage of foreigners since 1980



Source: Bonomi *et al*. 2010.

If migration towards Italy is recent compared to other European countries, it dates however back three decades now. As a consequence, the features of migrant population have changed a lot, with a reduction of the gender gap, an increase of children and births, a growth of marriages and family reunions. This is also observable in the decrease of foreign men living alone, and of foreign women living with parents/friends/acquaintances, and the parallel increase in the share of foreigners living in couple with children (see table 15).

Among foreigners over 14, single mothers represented 1.3% in 1997, 7.3 in 2006 and 3.9% in 2010; single fathers were only 0.4% in 1997, 1.1% in 2006 and 0.7 in 2010.

[3] http://www.comune.milano.it/portale/wps/portal/searchresultdetail?WCM_GLOBAL_CONTEXT=/wps/wcm/connect/ContentLibrary/ho+bisogno+di/ho+bisogno+di/banche+dati+e+statistiche_dati+statistici+relativi+alla+popolazione

Table 15 - Foreigners over14 by family type and gender in the city of Milan, years 1997, 2006 and 2010 (%)

	1997		2006		2010	
	M	**F**	**M**	**F**	**M**	**F**
Single	31.1	12.5	7.7	9.7	10.9	15.8
Single with children	0.4	1.3	1.1	7.3	0.7	3.9
Couple	8.1	18.9	10.1	20.3	8.5	14.5
Couple with children	9.5	16.5	22.5	25.6	31.4	34.7
Parents/friends/ acquaintances	50.8	50.9	58.3	34.2	47.8	28.2
Parents/friends/acquain. + child.			0.2	2.9	0.7	3.0

Source: OPI Milano 2011.

Foreigners contribute substantially to the national and local birth rate, otherwise extremely low. The birth rate of migrant women is, in fact, 2.13, against 1.29 of Italian women.

The composition by gender of Italian migration is heading towards a reduction of unbalance, also thanks to family reunification: the quota of men passed from 62% of all immigrants in the city of Milan to 53% (OPI Milano 2011: 97).

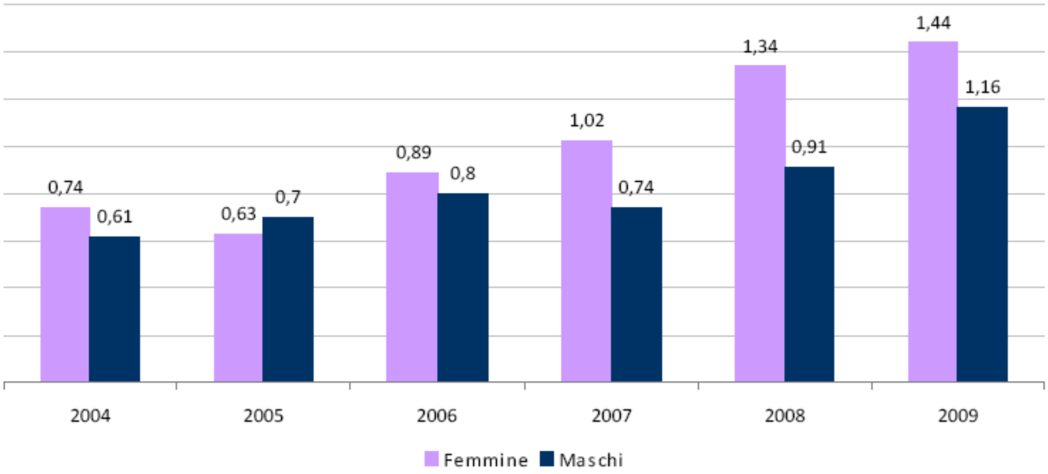
The foreign population is younger than the native one: foreigners aged 0-17 represent 20.4% of all foreign residents, while Italians of the same age range are only 13.8% of the whole Italian population (Caritas 2010). 87% of foreigners are under 50 in Milan city (Municipality of Milan 2011).

Second generation children are increasing as well (Bonomi 2009); the nationalities most represented among second generation children are Philippines, Egypt and China.

The growth rate of families with at least one foreign member was 36% in 2002, fell to 2.5% between 2006 and 2008 and got back to 9% in 2009 (*ibidem*: 18).

The quota of foreign residents obtaining Italian citizenship is also growing, passing from 0.63 in 2005 to 1.44 in 2009 (Bonomi 2009), but it is limited by Italian law on citizenship (see § 3.2). The incidence of foreigners acquiring Italian citizenship – although generally very low - is higher among women than among men.

Graph 7 - Foreigners acquiring Italian citizenship by gender



Source: Bonomi 2010.

After a trend full of ups and downs, mainly due to mass regularisation procedures, the quota of foreign citizens without regular permit to stay has been decreasing since 2006 (see table 16): in the Milan Province it is estimated at 11.2% in 2010 (9% in the rest of the Province without Milan) and at 12.8% at the city level (31,300 persons; OPI Milano 2011).

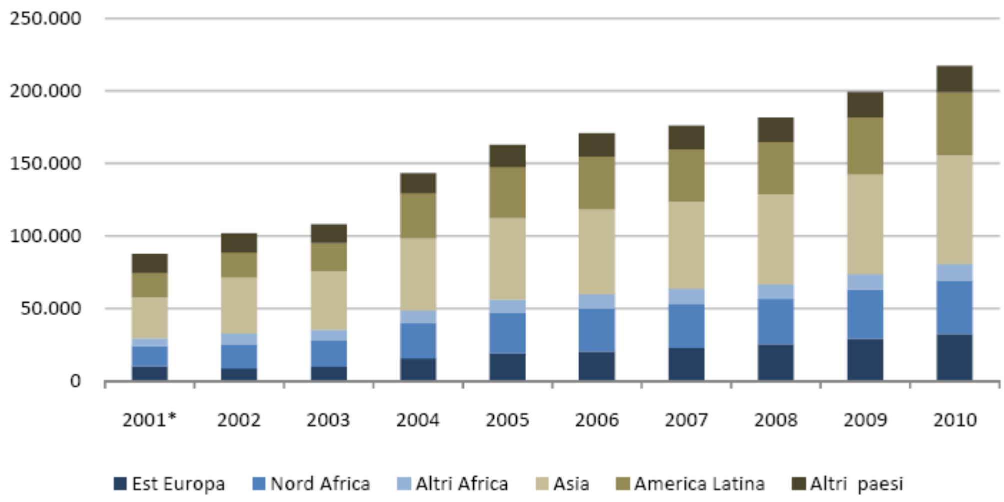
Table 16 - Foreigners irregularly present in the Milan Province and in Milan city, years 1998-2010 (% on total number of present immigrants)

	'98	'99	'00	'01	'02	'03	'04	'05	'06	'07	'08	'09	'10
Milan Province	17.3	23.2	19.5	22.0	35.8	13.7	19.5	18,8	22.4	17.0	16.7	16.5	11.2
Milan city	13.9	20.0	17.2	21.9	36.0	14.2	22.4	18,1	21.3	17.5	17.6	18.7	12.8

Source: OPI Milano 2011: 667-8.

The period of irregular stay is becoming progressively longer, due to the strengthening of legislative criteria to enter legally in the country, and to regularise one's position once here.

Graph 8 - Resident foreign population by area of origin



** dato censuario*

Source: Focus su Milano 2011.

Due to the weakness of Italy's colonial experience, migration towards the country is not characterised by strongly dominating groups, but it is rather made up of a variety of nationalities (identities, languages, cultures, etc.), way wider than what is found in other European countries, also implying a more complex reality to deal with (ISTAT 2011).

Concerning Milan Municipality, a steady increase of persons arriving from Eastern Europe is observed, whereas those coming from Asia and Northern Africa are rather constant, and those coming from other African countries and Southern America are decreasing. A breakdown by country of origin (table 17) shows that foreign residents in Milan are mainly coming from Philippines (15.5% of all foreigners), Egypt (13.2%) and China (8.7%).

Table 17 - First ten nationalities per number of foreign residents in Milan Municipality at 31/12/2010 (abs. values), of which men and children (%)

	Residenti	*Di cui %*	
		Maschi	*Minori*
1 Filippine	33.745	*56,3*	*22,9*
2 Egitto	28.643	*25,5*	*26,2*
3 Cina	18.944	*48,4*	*27,3*
4 Perù	17.672	*60,8*	*18,5*
5 Ecuador	13.542	*58,1*	*23,1*
6 Sri Lanka	13.340	*43,0*	*22,7*
7 Romania	12.154	*54,7*	*16,4*
8 Marocco	7.618	*42,0*	*25,2*
9 Ucraina	5.728	*81,6*	*6,9*
10 Albania	5.283	*46,0*	*17,7*
Totale stranieri	**217.284**	***50,2***	***19,9***

Source: Focus su Milano 2011.

As to the labour market participation, over the 2000s decade (2000-2009), employed foreigners have increased in Lombardy (+154.1%) (Caritas 2010). Nevertheless, after the peak of 2007 (84%) the share of employed sharply decreased to 69% (table 18).

After a decade of steady decline, when the share of unemployed among foreigners in the Municipality of Milan had passed from 22% in 1997 to 5.7% in 2007, in the last years it started to increase again, reaching 11.4% in 2010 (OPI Milano 2011: 119).

Table 18 - Foreigners over14 present in the Milan city by employment condition, years 1997-2010 (%)

	1997	1998	1999	2006	2007	2008	2009	2010
Unemployed	22.0	14.4	15.8	7.2	5.7	7.0	9.7	11.4
Housewife	5.4	5.1	6.5	1.7	4.1	4.4	5.3	8.0
Student	7.4	8.7	4.6	7.3	5.8	5.1	1.7	6.3
Other non working condition				0.3	0.4	0.3	0.5	0.4
Working student							3.6	3.1
Employed	65.4	71.7	69.8	83.3	84.0	83.3	79.2	69.2
Employed in short time work sch.								1.4
Employed in illness/maternity								0.7
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

Source: OPI Milano 2011.

This was the consequence of the crisis, and in particular of the decrease of industrial, manufacture and building production, in which migrants are concentrated.

Table 19 - Foreigners over14 present in the Milan city by employment condition and gender, year 2010 (%)

	Men	Women	Total
Unemployed	15.0	6.9	11.4
Housewife	0.1	16.5	8.0
Student	6.7	5.5	6.3
Other non working condition	0.2	0.6	0.4
Working student	3.2	3.1	
Employed	72.6	65.4	69.2
Employed, in short time work schemes	2.0	0.7	1.4
Employed in illness/maternity/injury	0.1	1.4	0,7
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0

Source: OPIMI Milano 2011.

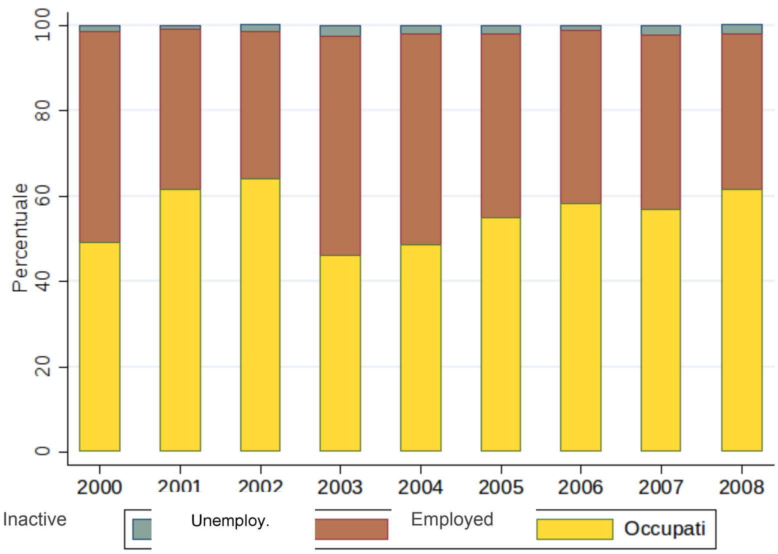
In the province of Milan the unemployment peak in the composition of foreigners' was reached in 2009 (11%), while in 2010 it decreased to 8% (OPI Milano 2011).

Unemployment is highest among migrants from Centre-South Africa (19%), and lowest among those from Latin America (3%). Employment on a long-term basis is mostly present among Asians, and least among North-Africans.

The share of unemployed is lower among migrant women, as they are more often inactive (housewives; see table 19).

In parallel, an increase - of almost one third in just two years - of precarious and irregular employment of migrants was observed: from 6.1% in 2007 to 7.9% in 2009. The overall worsening of the migrants' employment conditions is even more meaningful as it is observed together with a progressive increase in the educational level of migrant population: the percentage of foreigners with a very low educational level has decreased from 10 to 5%, whereas those with university degree reach 19% in 2008-2009 (OPI Milano 2011: 97).

Graph 9 - Employment condition of foreigners without permit to stay



Source: Devillanova 2009.

Among irregular workers the gap between the professional level they had in their country of origin and the one they have in Italy is particularly wide (Devillanova 2009). Graph 9 shows the up and down trend in employment conditions of irregular migrants.

Relevant is the phenomenon of migrant entrepreneurs. In the last five years, they have increased by 30%, representing 15% of individual firms in Milan.

In the last year this positive trend has been interrupted by the crisis: in 2009 the variation in the number of migrant entrepreneurs was -4.1%. Anyway, in Milan 17 thousands companies had an extra-EU boss (Caiazzo *et al.*: 30).

Extra-EU entrepreneurs are concentrated in the service sector, in retail and construction, although decreasing in the last years; in countertrend is the restaurant industry sector (+16%; Milano Produttiva: 30).

The changes in housing tenure reflects the evolution of the migration phenomenon in the city of Milan, with foreigners increasingly acquiring housing autonomy. In one decade, from the end of the Nineties to 2010, private housing solutions (i.e. foreigners living alone or with their family) have almost doubled, from 41% to 74%; homeownership alone has increased of 15 percent points. In the same period, cohabitation has been divided almost by three; precarious and emergency solutions, as well as accommodations on the working place, have diminished too (see table 20).

Table 20 - Foreigners over14 by type of housing tenure in the Milan Municipality, years 1999, 2006 and 2010 (%)

	1999	2006	2010
Private solution, alone or with the family	41.1	62.9	74.1
of which: in ownership	*6.5*	*19.5*	*21.2*
Private solution, in cohabitation	37.6	21.1	13.0
Precarious solution	5.3	8.7	3.1
Hostels/refuges	6.8	1.0	2.7
On the working place	9.2	6.3	7.2
	100.0	100.0	100.0

Source: OPI Milano 2011.

3.2. Public regulation

For what concerns policies on migration (flows, permits to stay, access to citizenship, etc.), it is the **State** that has the legislative and normative power. The previous Government (May 2008 – November 2011) put a strong emphasis on security and public order, that have clearly conditioned regulation and policies about migration. A crime of "illegal immigration" was introduced in 2009, punishable by 1 to 4 years of jail. Pressure was put on civil servants to report such cases to the police, with extended controversy about their duty/right to refuse. This has reduced the use of public services (particularly health services and schools) by irregular immigrants, for fear of being denounced.

In the last year, several sentences of the Italian Constitutional Court and of the European Court of Justice have denied such a crime, also on the basis of the European directive on migration approved in December 2010, fostering repatriation in the respect of fundamental rights.

The present "technical" Government (in charge since November 2011, with the main objective to heal public accounts and avoid financial default) has largely loosened such a security-based approach to migration. In parallel, in the 150th anniversary of Italian national unification (1861-2011), the President of the Republic has vigorously urged the Parliament to reform the norms about citizenship access, advocating for the introduction of *ius soli*, instead of *ius sanguinis*, for children of foreigners who are born and grow up in Italy.

In the same period a network of associations was born, "*L'Italia sono anch'io. Campagna per i diritti di cittadinanza*" ("Italy is also me. Campaign for citizenship rights"), promoting the introduction by popular petition both of the *ius soli* and of the right to vote in local elections for foreigners regularly resident in Italy since at least 5 years.

Also relevant about the State level are the recent cuts to the national fund for integration, that has been substantially reduced to zero in the 2011 three year "Stability Law", in the framework of major cuts to social policies.

At the **Regional** level, in Lombardy an Observatory for integration and multiethnicity (*Osservatorio Regionale per l'integrazione e la multietnicità*, ORIM) was created in 2000, in virtue of the awareness that migration is a structural phenomenon, particularly relevant in Italy because of its geographical position, and in Lombardy because of its economic and productive importance. The Observatory collects and produces data to support the regional government and legislative activities on the subject. The Observatory has built a network of provincial Observatories for Immigration (*OPI*) to grant systematic flows of local information.

Provinces have no mandatory responsibilities in this field, except for the Employment Centre that also deals with migrants, and has specific projects on migrants (see below). Yet, the Provinces can intervene with funds on specific programs. In the last legislature (2004-2009) the Milan Province had in fact signed and financed some agreements to support integration programmes (about family reunification), and created and financed the *Casa delle Culture* (House of cultures), that carries out a number of initiatives and workshops on the subject.

The Milan Province Immigration Observatory was born in 1997 in collaboration with the ISMU Foundation (Initiatives and Studies on Multiethnicity) as a response to the increasing need of information and knowledge about foreign migration in the Milan area. Since 2005 the Milan OPI has become part of the regional network of provincial Observatories on migration, working on common activities in order to enhance data comparability. Among its activities, the consolidation of relations with local bodies (Municipalities, Houses of Commerce, Prefectures, etc), to increase data availability and elaborate procedure reforms (for instance to reduce waiting times and queues to renew permits to stay).

The provincial Employment Centre *AFOL Milano* manages at least one specific project aimed at favouring migrants' employability:

- "*Provintegra*" (Integrating Province), an innovative project of the Ministry of the Interiors addressed to non EU citizens resident in Italy and foreseeing social orientation, courses about the Constitution, rights and duties on the labour market, Italian language; all is aimed at obtaining the certification foreseen by the new law on citizenship.
- The CPI also has a "Desk for Foreigners", helping immigrants with bureaucratic procedures also beyond labour market integration that represent the institutional activities of the CPI, such as for family re-unification, permits to stay, etc.
- Also "*Antenna Città dei Mestieri*" (see § 1.2) is widely used by foreigners.

The **Municipality** is the institutional level responsible for integration policies.

It has to be kept in mind that in Milan the Mayor and the majority coalition have recently changed (June 2011).

In the previous legislature, an organisational transformation was initiated (in 2008): passing from a Foreigners' Office rationale to a wider Department's one, in order to better develop the potential of the Municipal administration. In the same legislature, the priorities were:

- social secretariat, supporting citizens in their applications for permit to stay and citizenship, with 5.000-7.000 contacts every year (also by Italians who search for information for their relatives, or workers);
- school integration (*Start* project, about 1.3 mln€/year Municipal financing);
- family re-union;
- second generations;

- a service of employment support, dealing with the translation of degrees and documents; the Municipality also organises training courses in the countries of origin, in order to have more migrant employable;
- employment integration through active policies, *via* CELAV (§ 1.2); unemployment is a very harsh condition for migrants, because they can only temporarily maintain their permit to stay if they are jobless;
- refugees (through a strong agreement with the Ministry for the Interiors), with an Asylum Desk and 5 hostels in the city;
- contrast to abuse;
- a city Observatory, delivering documentation and monitoring on migration;
- support to Third Sector organisations dealing with integration.

The new municipal administration has notably increased attention about integration:

- a *permanent consultation table for second generation migrants* (so-called *G2 table)* has been established, for confrontation and policy elaboration. The table is working on a mentoring project for schools' pupils and actively supporting the initiative "A window on your rights" (see below);
- *Una finestra sui tuoi diritti* ("A window on your rights") is an initiative to favour the naturalisation of children of migrants. The Municipality started writing to all resident children with foreign parents who are about to turn 18, in order to inform them that – according to the national law - they have 1 year to apply to the Municipality for naturalisation. If they don't, once they turn 19 they have to open a dossier at the Ministry of the Interior, wait 10 more years and face higher costs to become Italian citizens. Lack of information about procedures prevents many eligible young residents to become citizens within their 19th birthday. As a matter of fact, this initiative has increased by 39% the number of naturalised children in less than one year. The National Association of Italian Municipalities (ANCI) is working to spread the initiative to all Italian cities.

The relationship with the **Third Sector** is unavoidable. As a matter of fact public institutions were (and still are) not ready to tackle the huge amount of work required by this phenomenon and its tremendous – and continuous – changes.

Among the numerous initiatives we only quote the Political Refugees' Desk, managed in agreement by leftist Trade Unions and the *Italian Refugees' Committee* (CIR), and the creation by the same Trade Unions Organisation (CGIL) of a Council for Immigration, bringing together for confrontation all territorial actors dealing with immigration policies.

4. TRENDS IN THE HOUSING FIELD

Because of the absolute prominence of private housing solutions in Milan and in Italian cities in general, the analysis of the housing field will be, when it is possible, divided in two main parts, the "private city" and the "public city". The *leit motif* of public discourse towards housing policies in the last decade was to develop the rental market within the city promoting private-public partnership and the renewal of public housing stock with an increase in its social mix. Milan is classified as a "high tension municipality concerning housing" being the centre of certain National and Regional policy interventions[4].

[4] They are identified by a Goverment agency (Cipe) on the basis of many parameters. Special policies refer to their local rental market: tenants that decide to rent can have fiscal benefits (for contracts in a special regime, "*canone concordato*", see WP2 or for university students); postponement of evictions for some kinds of contracts or evictions suspension for some kinds of frail tenants populations (national laws 431/'98 and 200/2003).

4.1. Trends

What have been the main changes in the local housing market, distinguishing the rental market and the property market? How has been the trend of real estate prices?

<u>The "Private City" Housing Market</u>

The Milan private housing market is considered one of the most "fizz" in the country. Housing issues have entered the public agenda because of the high tensions in this market and their consequences on the attraction capacity of the city for new populations. As a matter of fact, municipal residents has grown very little in the last 10 years if compared with those in the Province and Region largest areas (0.6%, 3.2% and 4.6% respectively) or to those in the country (3.2%) (ISTAT on register offices data).

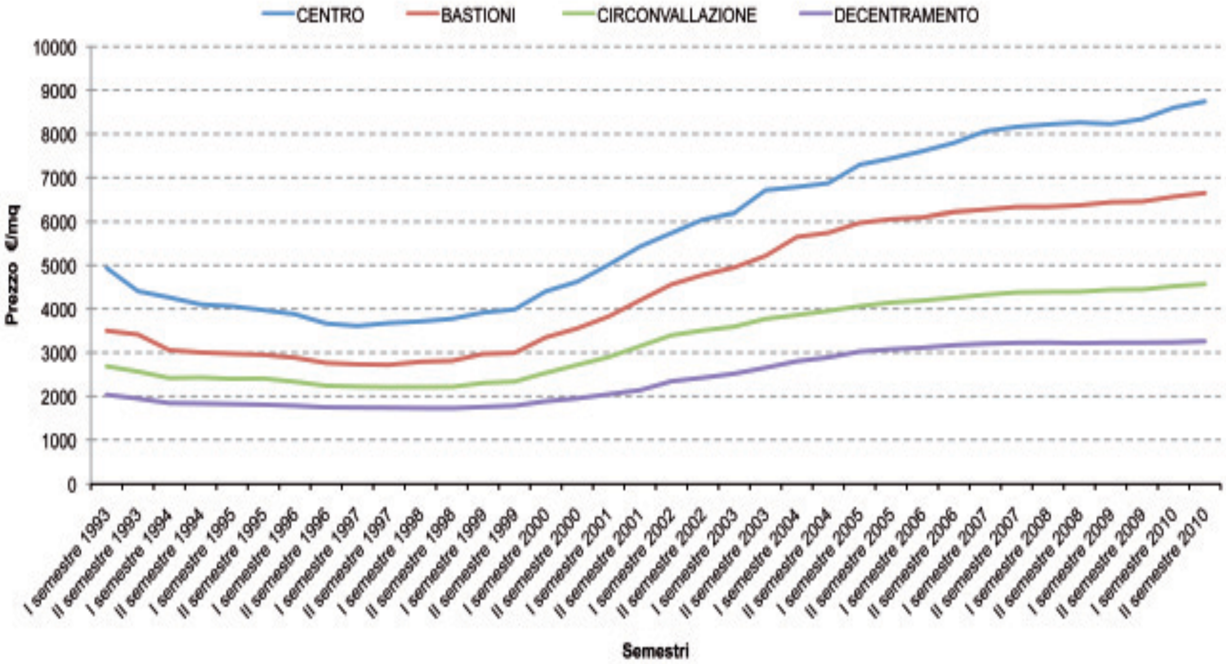
According to 2001 Census data (the only available ones at the local level towards tenure status), the distribution of housing tenure status in the Province of Milan was the following: 69.5% owners, 24.8% tenants and 5.7% other tenure status. The proportion of ownership in the Province was slightly lower than the average ratio in the whole Lombardy Region, 71%. Milan, in the same year, showed higher rates of tenancy 33.6% and lesser rates of ownership, 55.4%.

Since the beginning of the Millennium, the Milan housing market has experienced an increase in building activities due to the reconversion of many areas to a residential scope after a large and rapid process of deindustrialisation in the city. Almost 150 projects of urban transformation have been inaugurated (Mugnano and Palvarini 2011), many of them via new urban instruments such as the "Integrated Intervention Plans" (in Italian the acronym is PII, see the Lombardy Region Appendix) which permitted the construction of high profile units in terms of costs, quality and size (Cognetti 2011; Mugnano and Palvarini 2011). Almost 80 PII have been approved since then in Milan and most of them have principally a residential dimension. Nevertheless they did not provide a significant number of social housing units (Cognetti 2011). The impact of the introduction of a high number of prestige housing units is the increase of total sales and the increasing of selling and renting prices at city level and not only in the developed areas. The economic crises (2007-2010) did not affect the Milanese house prices as can be seen in Graph 10. In the last 10 years prices went on increasing (especially in the historical centre) with a pause in quotations only in 2008-2009 (which was very limited if compared to other cities and to trends in international housing markets, OECD 2010). Milan is the third most expensive city in Italy following Rome and Venice (Mugnano and Palvarini 2011). Dwelling prices in the Province of Milan Municipalities centres were in 2010 in average half of those in the capital.

Trends in the number of transactions did not follow that of prices with significant variations between Milan city and the Province. After 2005 transactions decreased relatively more in the city (tab. 21).

Graph 10 - Trends in costs of newly built or renewed housing units €/sm (1993-20010)

__ historical centre __ *bastioni* __ *circonvallazione* __ decentralised areas



Source: Agenzia del Territorio 2011.

Table 21 - Medium prices for new or renewed residential units (€/sm) in 2010 and variations

Areas	€/sm	Var.% 2009/2010*
Historical centre	8,744	4.9
Bastioni	6,644	3.0
Circonvallazione	3,987	2.7
Decentralised areas	3,257	0.9
Milan	4,679	2.6
Milan Province	2,209	0.4

*Nominal values (not adjusted for inflation). Source: OMI database (2011).

After many years of positive trends in transactions numbers started to decrease in the last two years. The shrinking numbers of transactions are due to the economic crisis that affected families' finances and to credit restrictions. The reduction in homebuyers had a more intense impact in Milan city than in other areas. In the period 2004-2009 transactions with mortgage loans diminished by 36% in Milan and 30% in the rest of the Province (Mugnano and Palvarini 2011). Low income families and especially migrant ones have been more penalised by this retrenchment in credit facilities.

Table 22 - Transactions volumes in Milan and Province (2000/2005/2007/2010) X 1000

	2000 (=100)	2005	2007	2010
Milan city	24.8 (100)	24.7 (99)	21.8 (88)	18.8 (76)
Milan province	63.0 (100)	73.2 (116)	68.9 (109)	53.1 (84)

Source: own elaboration from Mugnano, Palvarini 2010.

In 2009/2010 the proportion of transactions with mortgage loans increased by 2,7% in the city of Milan, representing 51,1% of total transactions. Mortgage average values in 2010 consisted in €187.000 and the monthly pay €732 (Agenzia del Territorio 2011).

It has been estimated that the demand for housing units was around 110,000 in the Province of Milan in 2007, 68% for re-housing purposes, 24% for new households, 2% because of evictions and 6% for investment (Scenari Immobiliari 2008). These figures can be better understood if we take into consideration that the housing stock, according to Census data (2001) is quite old. Many families look for better housing solutions, in terms of larger disposable space, material quality and location (IReR 2010).

As far as the private renting market it concerned, trends are almost the same, with a continuous increase in values during the decade, with a modest decrease only in 2008. Medium prices grew by 91% in the central areas, 55% in the semi-central areas and 62% in more decentralised ones in the period 2000-2007 (Scenari Immobiliari 2008). In the period 2007-2008 prices registered an increase of 2%. Medium renting average prices were around €985/month in 2008 (IReR 2010). Milan shows relatively higher levels of rental tenancy which, according to many scholars and observers, is an indicator of the housing market adaptation to a dynamic economy that attracts much more high and medium-high profile temporary workers and students than other areas (Rabaiotti 2007). The Province of Milan counts for 39% of the rental Lombardy market (Nomisma 2009).

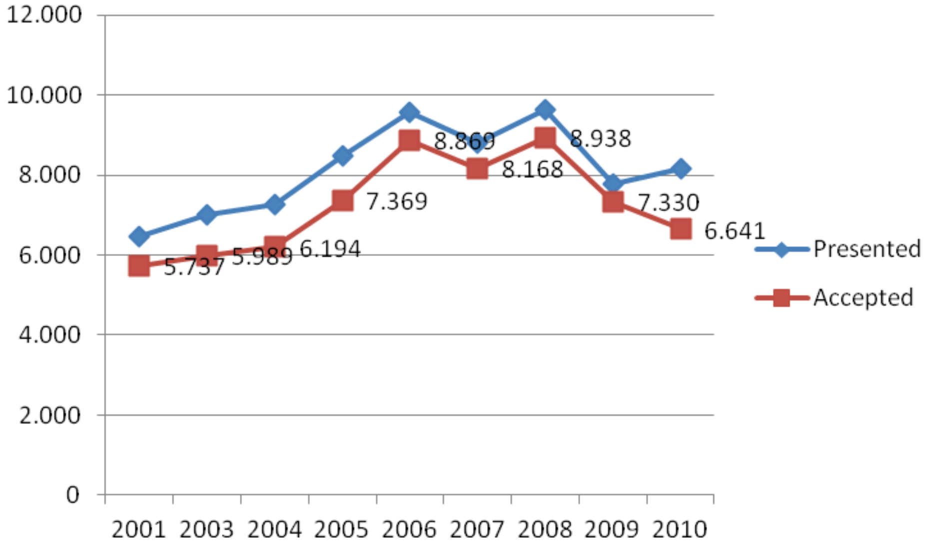
According to many observers, the "*edilizia convenzionata*", a planning instrument thought to increase renting units in the market (see Italian WP2 report) is not, according to many observers, appealing for private building actors (even cooperatives), nor the subsidised one, nor the standard one. According to legislation introduced in Milan in 2009 maximum prices are €2,000/sm against 3,075 of those in the private market. In any case, dwellings to which this special contract can be applied only concern new building units and not the existing stock.

Estimates for unoccupied private dwellings are quite divergent. They range from 30,000 to 80,000, including the "physiologic" vacancy of dwellings in cities like Milan (Querzè 2010). Differences in figures are attributed to different ways of counting the number of offices that can be reconverted to housing purposes. In fact Milan has not made any attempt to apply a additional municipal tax of vacant housing units, a possibility offered by national legislation.

Housing allowances for low income tenants

The "Fondo Sostegno Affitto- FSA" aims to help low income families with a high incidence of renting costs on income to access or stay in private rented dwellings. It can be applied for only by those who are regular tenants and have certificated incomes; workers or renters in the black economy cannot access it. Its eligibility criteria is defined by Regions. Applications in Milan grew from around 6,000 in 2001 to 8,000 in 2010 after a boom in figures in 2007/2008 when they almost reached quota 10,000.

Graph 11 - Applications for FSA in Milan 2001-2010 (missing 2002)

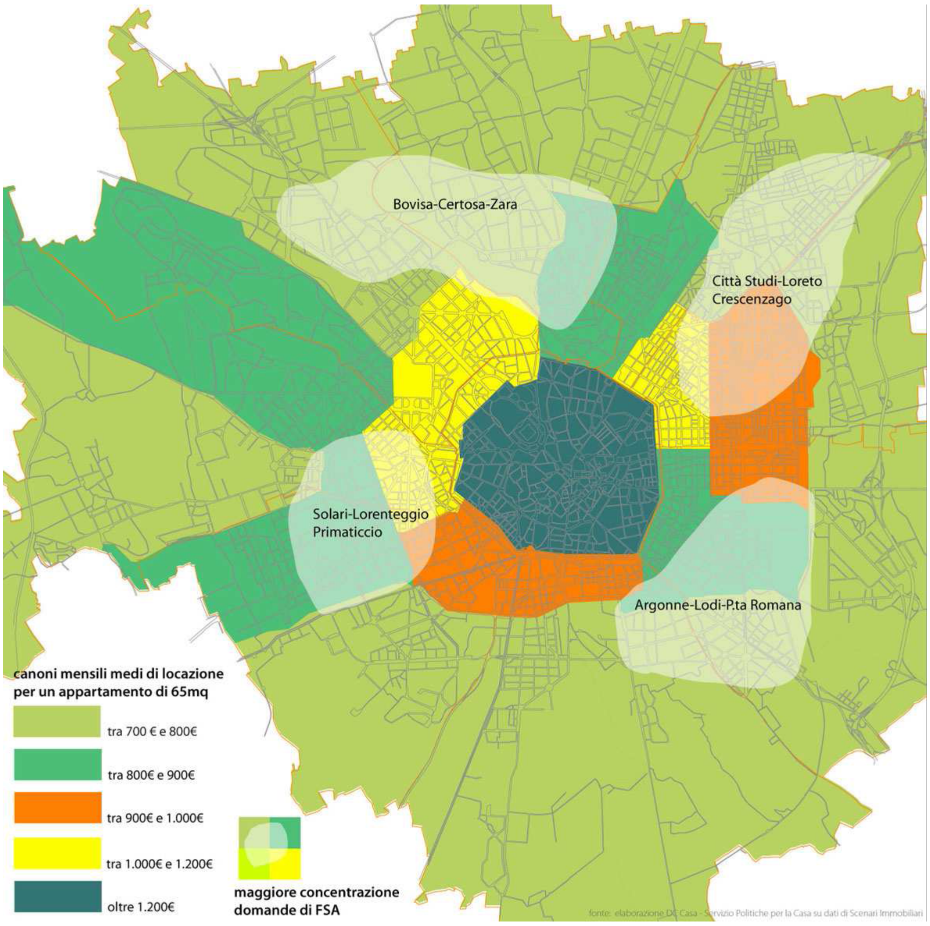


Source: DC Casa, Servizio Politiche per la casa Comune Milano 2011, internal data.

According to Municipal estimates, the medium family revenue of those to which the FSA contribution/benefit is accorded is €12,210. Their medium rent cost in the private market is € 5,990 and the medium FSA allowance is € 1,520 per year.

There is a territorial concentration of applications for FSA allowance in neighbourhoods with relatively higher renting tenure status and with at least one of these conditions: presence of a university campus or urban renewal project or to be near to public transportation (in Fig.3, white areas are those with a high concentration of applications for FSA).

Graph 12 - FSA demands by area Milan city



For very deprived families, with a revenue ISEE of less than € 3,100 per year, the allowance is calculated and paid directly by the Municipality. The percentage of these families of the total percipients grew between 2004 and 2009, passing from 66% to more than 80%.

Regional data shows that the meaning incidence of the allowance of renting costs is 23%. This is not the case of Milan: in the first years of its payment only 9% of percipients could reach this positive impact on rental costs. For half of the recipients the FSA intervene for 10% of costs, for the other half, less than that.

Services in kind and cash allowance encounters the same profile of families both in terms of economic conditions and in terms of age, size, presence of frail members and so on. Milanese types of families can apply for both supports and only rarely those who receive the allowance are on waiting lists for a public housing solution.

The "Public City" Housing market and public social housing policies

In 2008 Lombardy public social housing stock (owned by Municipalities and by ALER agencies, see Italian WP2 report) consisted of around 165,000 units (Dossier Casa 2008), a figure that has not changed significantly since then even if dismissal plans re-started from

2006 onwards after a block period of 7 years[5]. In the Province of Milan are located 102,000 units of this stock, being 40,000 owned by Municipalities and 62,000 by ALER Milano. The latter is considered the largest public real estate owner of Europe (Rabaiotti 2007).

In Milan there are two owners of the public stock, the Municipality and ALER Milano, a public agency. The whole stock is managed nowadays by ALER[6] while the assignments procedures (evaluation of requests, administrative issues) are the responsibility of the Municipality.

Data about the social housing stock are quite incomplete at the local level. Figures differ from source to source, those released by the Lombardy Region Housing Observatory are for example mostly related to ALER agencies and not to Municipalities properties. It is in any case important to stress that the most part of public housing dwellings of the Region and of the Province is concentrated in the city of Milan. It has been estimated that the actual public stock of houses, around 76,000 – of whom approximately 28,000 municipal ones - corresponds to 8.4% of the total urbanised surface of Milan (Bozzuto and Cognetti 2011). The "public city" is quite fragmented: along with buildings that host private and public units, remain whole neighbourhoods that are owned by the Municipality of the ALER Milano (*ibidem*).

In Milan the legal provision for public housing sale has been a good opportunity for tenants to buy the dwellings they were living in. Dwellings have been sold by the public real estate agency ALER at low prices to finance the renewal of the public stock and its improvement in terms of quality of life, infrastructure as well as for development projects. According to many observers, the past and ongoing dismissal is a cash source for ALER to do ordinary maintenance of dwellings and not to make investments. In some cases resources have been invested to recuperate unusable dwellings and to build new little apartments for specific populations as new couples, students, public municipal workers, temporary workers. Investments in temporary housing solutions for students have been quite massive, 5 new structures have been financed, because of the city very low capacity to host this specific population. Estimates regarding the number of students needing to find an accommodation varies from around 36,000 (Dossier Casa 2008) to 42,000 (MeglioMilano 2004) but in any case, public university structures and private structures to this target cover not more that 13% of needs.

Milanese public neighbourhoods have been at the very centre of different urban planning public programs in these years. The high levels of unauthorised occupations (5.2% in 2006 according to Censis - Federcasa 2008) and the high levels and obsolescence of the stock, as well as social problems emerging in these neighbourhoods led Milan to attract many National and Regional Resources to renew public houses buildings and dwellings, to develop residential services, to build housing units to university students, mainly through the two editions of "*Contratti di Quartiere*" (see Italian WP2 report),with 6 interventions financed and the two editions of the Regional Program for Public Housing (called PRERP, 2002-2004 and 2007-2009). The outcome of requalification programs in terms of social housing have been till now quite modest.

[5] Law 560/1993 allowed public agencies to alienate their patrimony to finance new activities and the renewal of the public stock.

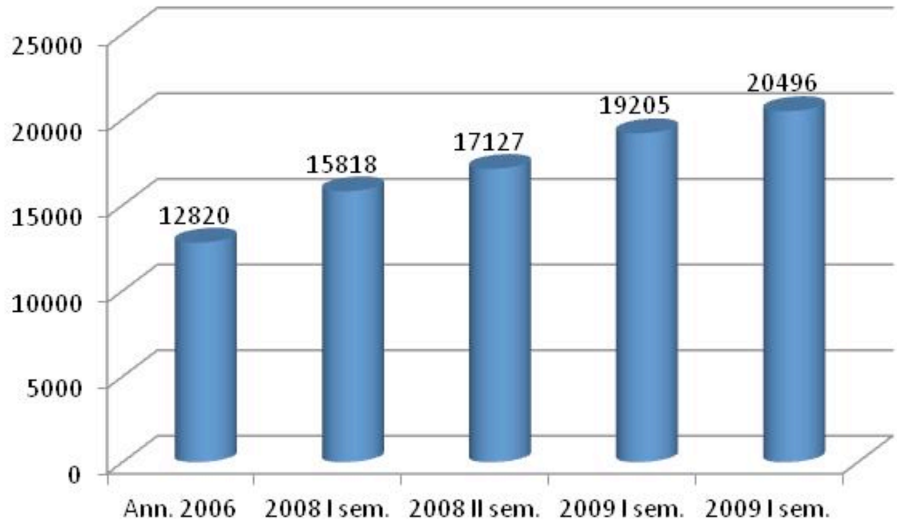
[6] The management of the Municipality stock was assigned between 2003 and 2009 to private real estate operators. Before 2003 and from 2009 till now the management is unified.

Public Housing Policies in Milan and social demand

Milan, even though owning the larger public social housing stock in Italy, is in a situation of very strong shortage. From 2000 to 2007 each year, around 1,100 units of public social housing were available but 800 of them are assigned to "urgent situations" (evicted families or very deprived ones) and only 300 are assigned through the ordinary procedures (Rabaiotti 2007). From 2007 to 2009 approximately 4,000 per year new requests for an ERP-house have been presented (in two bids per year). The waiting list gets longer with new demands but decreases with those who are not eligible any more, those who get a house assigned and those who do not renew their application within 3 years. In 2009 the waiting list amounted to 20,496 families, according to official data (DC Casa 2009) but these figures were much higher in 2010 according to some observers (see Rabaiotti in Querzé 2010).

Migrants represented 4.3% of inhabitants in the public stock in 2001, they were 9.4% in 2006 (Censis-Federcasa 2008).

Graph 13 - Number of eligible applications on the waiting list for public houses in Milan, years 2006-2009



Who applies for public social housing? Most requests in Milan for ERP- housing for rent is relate to the "social regime". They concern, thus, families with very low incomes. Eligible requests within the "moderate contracts" reached 7% of the total in 2006, 11% in 2008 and 13% in 2009. Municipality housing units available for "moderate contracts" are very few. Migrants requests represent more or less 50% of the total, ranging from 41% of the first bid of 2007 to 61% of the second bid of 2008. In the last bid for which there is available data (I semester 2009), 10% of eligible requests came from families with an elder person (aged 65+), 12% with a disabled member, 15% from a single person with at least one child and 9% from newly formed families (be married couples or not). Progressively, since 2006, demands coming from young people are increasing, especially from families with very young children.

The housing conditions of those who applied for ERP-housing in the last bid are quite problematic: 20/25% of applicants are cohabiting with a different family, 30% are hosted in overcrowded units, 4% do not have a formal residence, 10% have already being evicted and 20% are in unaffordable rented units.

In 2007 and 2008 almost 50% of ERP assignments were devoted to families in high residential need and risk, most of them evicted from the private market, derogating from the waiting list.

In Milan there is a special allowance devoted to very deprived families that already live in public social housing units, implemented since the beginning of the 80’s (Regional Law 91/1983). It is called the "solidarity contribution", it accorded by the decentralised administrative units ("*consigli di zona*") mainly to support very deprived families that live in public social housing, according to strict eligibility criteria other than economic. It is necessary to be in at least two of the following conditions: being separated or divorced, being invalid, having more than 75 years old, being disabled, drug-addicted, or have a family member in prison, being unemployed, having children.

Has the access to housing been proved to be more difficult over the last 10 years? What groups of populations have been more affected?

Access to housing is becoming more difficult in some cities in Italy, in particular because of shortage of rental units and the increasing prices. Empirical evidence shows that access to property is also becoming more problematic. As stated in paragraph 4.1. credit restrictions penalised homebuyers in Milan more than other provincial and regional areas.

Migrants’ housing conditions, even with net improvements in the last years, are relatively worse in Milan than those in other areas of the Region, as can be seen in table 23 more than 40% of migrants live in non-standard solutions, a much higher figure that those showed by Municipalities in the same Province.

Table 23 - Migrants’ tenure status in Milan, Prov. Milan and Lombardy (2009)

Tenure status	Milan city	Other Municipalities in Milan Province	Lombardy
Standard solutions	58.3	68.5	70.0
Property owners	21.6	25.4	22.1
Tenants	36.7	43.1	47.9
Non standard solutions	41.8	31.5	30.2
Renting without contract	7.2	4.5	4.6
Cohabitation with other migrants	18.0	12.6	11.4
Living at the employer	7.8	5.2	6.5
Other (temporary, unsafe, etc.)	8.8	9.2	7.5

Source: Menonna 2010; Mugnano, Palvarini 2011, ISMU data.

In the last three years the improving trend in migrants’ housing conditions slowed down in the whole Region. The ownership rate has remained at 22% since 2007 but there is a polarisation that sees some immigrants (especially those with spouses and children) completely integrated and some others entrapped in very precarious housing situations (Tosi 2010). According to most recent data, ownership rates started to grow again reaching 23.2% in 2010. Migrants from Asia and Latin America show higher rates than the regional average and housing ownership increases to 43.3% among those families that have been living in the Region more than 10 years. Housing patterns of migrants and in general their immigration model should be examined over time to assess migrants’ hosing career (IReR 2010).

Migrants' arrangements for housing are worse in Milan if compared with those in other areas of the Province and of Lombardy. Non standard solutions, characterised by temporary, informal or unsafe tenure status are quite higher.

The economic crisis, like for Italians, had an impact in transactions. The incidence of housing units bought by migrants in Milan passed form 12% of the total ones in 2005, to 8% in 2009. The core of the city is becoming less and less attractive for them because of very high prices, migrants are directing their housing investments to other close provinces geographically like Bergamo, Novara (in Piedmont) and Piacenza (in Emilia-Romagna).
It's important to stress that, in any case, housing units bought by migrants are on average smaller, less central and less well conserved that those acquired by Italians in Milan (IReR 2010). The same happens in the public housing market: migrants families, even been in average larger than Italian ones, live in smaller dwellings (Bozzuto and Cognetti 2011) and even been the majority on the waiting lists for assignments, represent a minority of families to which public houses are assigned.

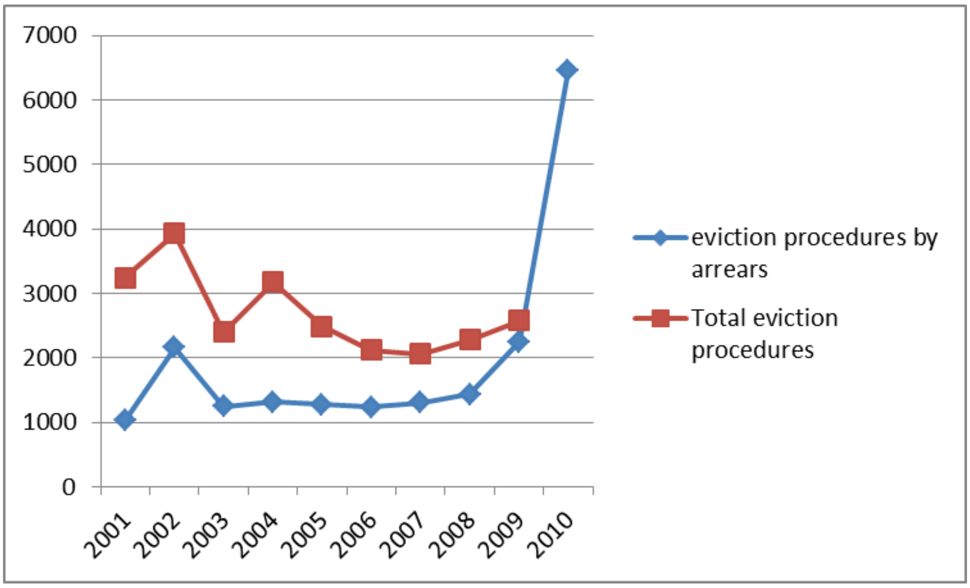
Has there been a spread in critical situations such as overcrowding, difficult affordability, hard hygienic conditions, evictions, homelessness? What social groups have been mainly been affected?

According to many observers, in the last years there has been a differentiation and pluralisation of housing distress causes and forms. According to the only data available (Census 2001), overcrowding situations have decreased since comparing 1971 to 2001, each resident has a residential space 30% larger. According to Menonna (2010), the overcrowding index is 0.6 for the whole city.

An evident indicator of housing vulnerability regards tenure status. Evictions procedures started to grow again after 2006 with a huge acceleration in 2010. Evictions almost tripled between 2009 and 2010 in the city. Eviction procedures for arrears also are increasing (Fig. 5). Even if there is no systematic empirical data about the impact caused by the economic crises on housing needs and hardships, many observers state that families' capacity to cope with mortgage costs and housing costs in general are decreasing.

In public dwellings the arrears on total due revenues passed from 5.5% in 2001 to 10.2% in 2006 (Censis-Federcasa 2008), an important indicator of hardship for families living there.

Graph 14 - Trends in eviction procedures in the Municipality of Milan 2001-2009



Source: own calculation on Ministero degli Interni (many years) data.

In 2007, evictions regarded 1/841 resident families, in 2009 they involved 1/691 families (Ministero degli Interni 2011).

Other forms of housing deprivation are present in Milan but they are not intercepted by public policies or by administrative surveys. It has been estimated that around 5/6.000 persons live in irregular and poorly infrastructure settlements (Balducci and Tosi 2007).

According to the Regional law 27/2007 that imposes the revision of rental values in public housing units, prices in Milan will have to increase more at 50% which, according to observers will constitute a hardship factor for many families actually living in public dwellings.

What has changed in the most critical urban areas with high concentration of problematic social groups? E.g. worsening or improvement of existing problems, emerging of new problems, etc.

According to a recent research, even if the turn-over in quite low in public houses, there is an on-going process of concentration of "problematic" populations. Migrants in the housing public stock passed from 6.9% in 2001 to 14.8% in 2008. They grew in the private city also passing from 6.1 to 11.9%, but with a lower relative increase. The most relevant increase has been registered for migrants under 14 years old, a population that is more visible than others in terms of use of public spaces, what could explain a certain level of media and societal alarm on these issues. The public city, if compared to the private one hosts much more elderly people, low skilled individuals, unemployed, deprived and poor families and monoparental families (Bozzuto and Cognetti 2011).

Milan, according to many researchers is not characterised by ethnically segregated neighbourhoods; just some buildings or some blocks concentrate migrant families, individuals or commercial activities (Borlini *et al.* 2008; Borlini and Memo 2008). In the first months of 2010 the issue regarding the concentration of migrants in some parts of the private city came to the fore mainly because of violent events that involved some ethnic groups and because of the implementation of municipal extraordinary security measures that followed them. "Via Padova" has been the emblem of this new urban question in Milan (see Arrigoni 2010).

4.2. Public regulation

What is the division of responsibilities among national, regional and municipal level in the regulation of the housing market and in the provision of services and benefits to people who have difficult access to the house (including social housing)? What is the role played by third sector and for profit organisations in this policy field?

There were no particular changes towards housing policies regulations in the last years but it is worth mentioning two different events that have an impact on those policies (and their outcomes) at the very local level of the Milan Municipality. In 2006 a special department was set up (Direzione Casa) to handle specific public housing issues and to manage the assignments of public houses. Before that, it was a competence of the city government department that manages the State-owned land and property. This can be considered, according to many observers, as a sign that housing issues get back on the local agenda (Rabaiotti 2007). The second important change is that in 2009 the administration of the whole public stock of social housing passed to ALER Milano after an experimental period of private management of Municipality housing stock by three different companies of real estate management. At the moment, an following regional and national legislation, the Municipality manages the procedures of those who apply for a public dwelling and ALER manages the public housing stock from the physical point of view being also an important partner of developing programs at the local level.

The non-profit sector has a strong and long tradition in managing housing services for frail or problematic situations in Lombardy, much less in building or managing standard residential units at affordable prices, with the exception of building and inhabitants' cooperatives that have been among the most important actors in the urbanisation of the city during 20th century (Agustoni and Rozza 2005), but much less nowadays.

The issue of "social housing" is developing in the country[7] and especially in Milan because needs pressure and the development of a web of actors that are trying to promote public-private partnership in order to enlarge the rental housing stock. Along with new actors, traditional ones are involved in this effort. The first Real Estate Fund for social housing in Italy has been developed by a non profit organisation, Fondazione Social Housing, originating from the largest bank foundation in the world, Fondazione Cariplo. Its model is being analysed to be replicated by many other actors all over the country (Frigau and Pusceddu 2011). The pluralisation of actors in the social housing arena has to face two main obstacles: the weakness of the third sector and the effective contribution that private actors can make in the production of social units (Rabaiotti 2007).

Non-profit organisations (especially Christian ones) play an important role in providing what has been called "housing services". In a recent research in the Milan metropolitan area, 110 structures have been counted (Santaniello 2008). They offer basically two kinds of support: shelter and emergency services for people in need (migrants, mothers with little children exposed to violence, etc.) and more stable solutions such as residential structures. They differ in regards to their size, target population, costs, the maximum

[7] As showed in WP2, following local experiences, the 2008 Budget Law (law 244/2007) defined a new typology of dwellings defined "residence of general interest destined to location", non luxurious real estate localised in Municipalities with "high tension housing needs" and bound by contract to at least 25 years renting destination. The law introduces an important principle: dwellings destined to long term renting, even if private, represent an economic service of general interest. They can be privileged by tax exemptions, and by planning and economic support by public actors (ANCI 2010).

period of stay, the presence or not of other services. Normally non-profit organisations are financed (at least partly) by public agencies. Another recent study in Lombardy mapped organisations housing services for migrants, be they first aid solutions or more continuous ones. The Province of Milan concentrates more than one third of the available number of places in Lombardy (Orim 2011). Within the Province are located 93 structures - 79 private, 14 public - with 2,378 places, 9.5% of them for emergency situations; in Lombardy are located 300 structures, 6,220 places, 6.6% for emergency (Orim 2011). Milan concentrates the most part of shelters and structures for migrants in the Province, been 55 of the total 93 within its borders (*ibidem*).

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THE WILCO PROJECT

Full title: Welfare innovations at the local level in favour of cohesion
Acronym: WILCO
Duration: 36 months (2010-2013)
Project's website: http://www.wilcoproject.eu

Project's objective and mission:

WILCO aims to examine, through cross-national comparative research, how local welfare systems affect social inequalities and how they favour social cohesion, with a special focus on the missing link between innovations at the local level and their successful transfer to and implementation in other settings. The results will be directly connected to the needs of practitioners, through strong interaction with stakeholders and urban policy recommendations. In doing so, we will connect issues of immediate practical relevance with state-of-the-art academic research on how approaches and instruments in local welfare function in practice.

Brief description:

The effort to strengthen social cohesion and lower social inequalities is among Europe's main policy challenges. Local welfare systems are at the forefront of the struggle to address this challenge - and they are far from winning. While the statistics show some positive signs, the overall picture still shows sharp and sometimes rising inequalities, a loss of social cohesion and failing policies of integration.

But, contrary to what is sometimes thought, a lack of bottom-up innovation is not the issue in itself. European cities are teeming with new ideas, initiated by citizens, professionals and policymakers. The problem is, rather, that innovations taking place in the city are not effectively disseminated because they are not sufficiently understood. Many innovations are not picked up, because their relevance is not recognised; others fail after they have been reproduced elsewhere, because they were not suitable to the different conditions, in another city, in another country.

In the framework of WILCO, innovation in cities is explored, not as a disconnected phenomenon, but as an element in a tradition of welfare that is part of particular socio-economic models and the result of specific national and local cultures. Contextualising innovations in local welfare will allow a more effective understanding of how they could work in other cities, for the benefit of other citizens.