

*Institutional Actions to Encourage
Time Policies.
The Case of the Lombardy Region*

Sabrina Bandera, Silvia Manzecchi

Working paper n. 9

December 2008

IReR – Istituto Regionale di Ricerca della Lombardia
via Copernico 38, 20125 Milano
www.irer.it

2007 Edizioni Angelo Guerini e Associati SPA
viale Filippetti 28, 20122 Milano
www.guerini.it
e-mail: info@guerini.it

Prima edizione: luglio 2007

Ristampa: V IV III II I 2007 2008 2009 2010 2011

Printed in Italy

ISBN: 978-88-6250-144-6

Le fotocopie per uso del lettore possono essere effettuate nei limiti del 15% di ciascun volume/fascicolo di periodico dietro pagamento alla siae del compenso previsto dall'art. 68, commi 4 e 5, della legge 22 aprile 1941 n. 633.

Le riproduzioni effettuate per finalità di carattere professionale, economico o commerciale o comunque per uso diverso da quello personale possono essere effettuate a seguito di specifica autorizzazione rilasciata da aidro, Corso di Porta Romana, 108 – 20122 Milano, e-mail segreteria@aidro.org e sito web www.aidro.org.

La collana *Working paper IReR* ospita contributi elaborati nell'ambito dell'attività di ricerca dell'Istituto. L'obiettivo è rendere disponibili alla comunità scientifica i risultati di conoscenza prodotti primariamente dalle competenze interne a IReR: ricercatori e collaboratori di ricerca. I materiali sono vagliati e condivisi dal Comitato scientifico, che garantisce la corrispondenza dei contenuti e della qualità dei testi alla finalità generale dell'Istituto. Per la natura stessa della collana, i paper sono proposti non come conclusivi, ma per essere valutati e discussi da quanti riterranno opportuno formulare osservazioni e contributi. L'Istituto ringrazia fin d'ora per la collaborazione.

Working paper pubblicati

1. Lombardy's Model of Governance
2. Opportunità e rischi della specializzazione commerciale di alcune regioni italiane
3. Internazionalizzazione, risorse umane e fabbisogno formativo nelle PMI lombarde
4. Istituzionalizzare la sussidiarietà? L'esperienza della democrazia deliberativa in Lombardia
5. European Citizenship through Participation and Subsidiarity?
6. Variazioni delle soglie relative ed effetti sulle stime della povertà: il caso lombardo
7. Le imprese distrettuali in Lombardia: un'analisi empirica

Abstract

Institutional Actions to Encourage Time Policies. The Case of the Lombardy Region

In 2004 the Lombardy Region introduced the regional law no. 28 (*Politiche regionali per il coordinamento e l'amministrazione dei tempi delle città*), with the aim to promote the adoption by local authorities of new actions for the management and co-ordination of time through the co-financing of *Piani Territoriale degli Orari* and the implementation of time policies. The law identifies five areas of intervention: sustainable mobility; accessibility and usability of public and private services; regeneration of public areas; co-ordination between work and social times; use of time for social and voluntary activities.

The peculiar aspect of the Lombardy law is that the co-ordination and management of urban time are conceived as a tool for the promotion of quality of life and equal opportunities between men and women: the lack of co-ordination of public and private service times is actually a limit to people's life. Women, notably, leave the job market or cannot access it because of the rigidity of times, with negative effects on the birth rate. In this way, the Lombardy law implements article 117 of the Italian Constitution, which invites the regions to "waive all obstacles hindering the full parity between men and women in social, cultural, and economic life".

By analysing some cases studies, this paper aims to check:

- if and to what extent the projects financed under the law have realised specific actions for equal opportunities between men and women and promoted specific measures to conciliate family and professional life of men and women;
- if the presence of equal opportunities select committees or city council executive members for equal opportunities in those local authorities that have drafted projects, has supported the implementation of actions aimed at the conciliation of work and parental-care times.

The paper was originally presented at the "Gender, Work and Organization" 5th Biennial International Interdisciplinary Conference at Keele University, UK, June 27-29th 2007. It should therefore be noted that the data of the paper are referred to that time.

A special thank to Carmen Leccardi, full professor at the University of Milan-Bicocca for her generous support and helpfulness.

We are extremely grateful also to Daniela Gregorio, senior researcher at the Lombardy Regional Institute for Research and Martino Mazzoleni, researcher at the Catholic University of Milan. This paper owes a lot to Daniela's competences and Martino's help.

Sabrina Bandera, Senior researcher IReR, bandera@irer.it

Silvia Manzecchi, Consultant IReR, silvia_manzecchi@yahoo.it

Indice

1. Introduction	8
2. Time policies: what do we mean?	8
3. The urban times policies as reconciliation instrument: context data	9
4. The development of time policies in Italy	12
5. The regional policies for the co-ordination of urban times: the case of the Lombardy region	14
6. The gender perspective and time policies in the implementation of regional policies	15
7. The municipalities projects' for the implementation of PTOs	16
8. Considerations on the principle of equal opportunities in the projects	19
9. Conclusions	20
Bibliography	22

1. Introduction

Since the early 1980s IReR, the Lombardy Regional Institute for Research, has developed on behalf of the regional government a significant stream of research focusing on time policies. This has moved from the first studies on behaviours and the use of time in the Lombard society (IReR 1982) to enquiries on the mechanisms for the conciliation of times (IReR 1999), to experiences in time policies in the municipalities (IReR 2002) and lastly, and most notably, to researches aiming to support the actions of the regional government to implement such policies in the Lombard territory following the adoption of the new framing law in the year 2004 (IReR 2004, 2005 and 2006).

Starting from these researches, this paper aims to examine the actions undertaken by the regional government of Lombardy in order to promote the implementation of urban time policies, focusing particularly on the relationship between these policies and the principle of equal opportunities.

2. Time policies: what do we mean?

The phrase “time policies” refers to a heterogeneous set of actions aimed at coordinating and managing the time and time schedules within urban areas, with the aim to improve the quality of life of citizens and urban quality, notably through specific interventions:

- for a better conciliation of family times, working times and free time;
- for a better organization of public services times;
- for a better use of the urban area, in terms of both space and time.

These policies are based on the idea that it is possible to improve the quality of life of citizens by acting on the resource of time, which is an ever more scarce value in the economically most-advanced societies.

Times policies have become explicit instruments of conciliation that strengthens the gender mainstreaming and extends the public intervention on public service timetables also to social and urban times (Zajczyk 2006).

3. The urban times policies as reconciliation instrument: context data

With regard to the meaning of times policies, it is worth summarizing the major social changes - undergone by Italy, and particularly by Lombardy - which have led to the analysis and the following development of new tools of conciliation.

Both the wide change in the labour market and the transformation in demographic and social fields have to be taken into account.

Italy, just like many other European countries, is subject to birth decrease and to a parallel rise in divorces and in mono-parental families; finally, Italy's increase in women's participation rates to the labour market is accompanied by a rise in the number of people dependent on their families' care. Family care is undergoing a significant change becoming more and more complex, while a central role is still held by the woman. Following the demographic change, nowadays it concerns different targets – not only children, but also elderly and disabled people.

Such a process is clearly asymmetric: the more women are committed in housework and family care the more penalised they are. Italy, compared to all other European Countries (see Table 1), is the one where women's commitment (5h20m/day) in housework is largely higher than that of men (1h35m/day). As a result, women invest less time in gainful work or study (2h06min/day) than men (4h26min/day).

Table 1 – Structure of use of time by women and men aged 20 to 74 - hours and minutes per day

	Gainful work/study		Domestic work		Total work		Meals and personal care		Free time	
	Women	Men	Women	Men	Women	Men	Women	Men	Women	Men
Belgium	2.07	3.30	4.32	2.38	6.39	6.08	2.43	2.40	4.50	5.22
Germany	2.05	3.35	4.11	2.21	6.16	5.56	2.43	2.33	5.24	5.52
Estonia	2.33	3.40	5.02	2.48	7.35	6.28	2.08	2.15	4.36	5.28
Spain	2.26	4.39	4.55	1.37	7.21	6.16	2.33	2.35	4.29	5.17
France	2.31	4.03	4.30	2.22	7.01	6.25	3.02	3.01	4.08	4.46
Italy	2.06	4.26	5.20	1.35	7.26	6.01	2.53	2.59	4.08	5.08
Latvia	3.41	5.09	3.56	1.50	7.37	6.59	2.10	2.10	4.09	4.48
Lithuania	3.41	4.55	4.29	2.09	8.10	7.04	2.22	2.25	3.49	4.50
Hungary	2.32	3.46	4.58	2.40	7.30	6.26	2.19	2.31	4.38	5.29
Poland	2.29	4.15	4.45	2.22	7.14	6.37	2.29	2.23	4.36	5.25
Slovenia	2.59	4.07	4.58	2.40	7.57	6.47	2.08	2.13	4.29	5.34
Finland	2.49	4.01	3.56	2.16	6.45	6.17	2.06	2.01	5.30	6.08
Sweden	3.12	4.25	3.42	2.29	6.54	6.54	2.28	2.11	5.04	5.24
United Kingdom	2.33	4.18	4.15	2.18	6.48	6.36	2.16	2.04	5.04	5.32
Norway	2.53	4.16	3.47	2.22	6.40	6.38	2.08	2.02	5.51	6.03

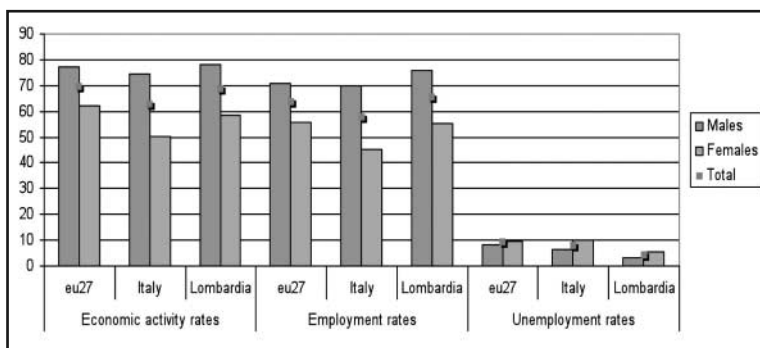
Source: Eurostat, A statistical view of the life of women and men in the UE25 – new release, 29, 2006

Temporal availability is often a decisive factor in entering the labour market and pursuing a career.

As a consequence, despite the fact that women are more prepared than men of the same age, they suffer a lack of chances in entering the labour market, being in charge – as they are in fact – of the quasi-totality of family care service.

This contributes to keep the female employment rate far from the Lisbon Strategy aims. This strategy, in spring 2000, put full employment with more and better jobs on the European agenda. Although Lombardy has a higher women employment rate (55,1%) than the Italian average (45,3%), it stays far from the targets for the year 2010 (70% for the total employment rate and 60% for the female employment rate).

Figure 1 – Economic activity, Employment, Unemployment* rate by Gender, 2005 (%)

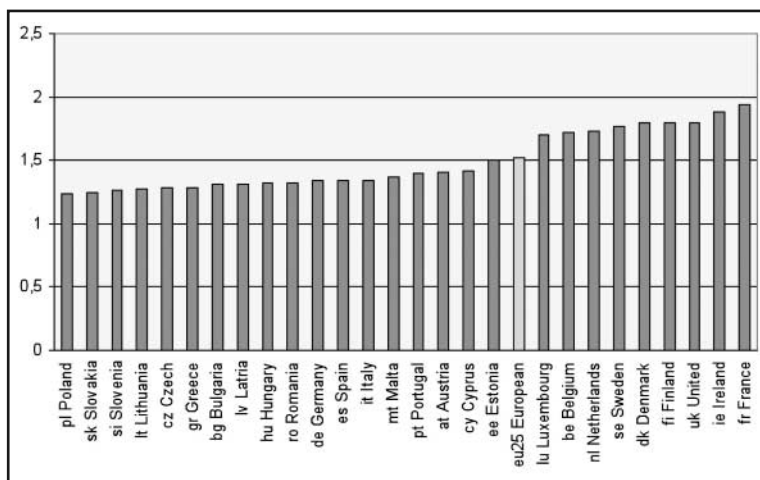


Source: Eurostat (*unemployed persons comprise persons aged 15 to 74)

Figure 2 shows a further hurdle if we compare the fertility rate in the different countries. Italy, as well as Spain and Germany, holds a fertility rate (1,34) lower than the UE25's average rate (1,52) and which lies behind those of France (1,94), Ireland (1,88) and England (1,80).

One of the most important reasons for women's inactivity is in fact family and children care.

Figure 2 – Fertility rate, 2006



Source: Eurostat, Population in Europe in 2005: first results, 2006

Table 2 – Reason for not working

Reason	Men	Women
Study/vocational training	29,8	13,2
Personal health problems	4,3	2,3
Family and children care	1,2	30,2
Retirement	11	1,4
Not able to find a job	16,1	27,1
Not interested	5	10,7
Other reasons	31,5	14,6
Don't know	1,1	0,5
Total	100	100

Source: Annual report, Italian situation in 2004, Istat

In this context, the conciliation policies have to protect, in light of Article 141 (3) of the Treaty establishing the European Community, both male and female workers exercising rights relating to paternity, maternity or to the reconciling of working and family life.

This is confirmed also by the resolution of the Council of the Ministers for Employment and Social Policy, where it declares that “there is a need for a global and integrated approach for reconciling family and working life as a right for men and women, a means of personal

fulfilment in public, social, family and private life, an eminent social value, as the responsibility of society”¹.

Taking into account the rapidly developing social and cultural context, on 10 May 2007 the Commission started to undertake policies in support of family life, promoting the solidarity between the generations² and indirectly supporting Equal Opportunities for women suggesting the parent help services for dependent people and the organisation of working and employment conditions and access to services at local level.

Conciliation initiatives aim at reducing the frictions as to allow that family times can co-exist with working times. Such initiatives will also contribute to increase people’s wellbeing and to decrease gender asymmetries on the use of time (Zajczyk 2006).

Conciliation measures are, therefore, those facilities and strategies that directly or indirectly support the combination of gainful work with care responsibility.

The range of available tools is wide (Piazza 2000) and it includes:

- means aimed at reducing and re-organising working time (part-time; job sharing; time banks...);
- means aimed at giving free time (parental leaves, measures of parental support...);
- means aimed at creating a different culture of time (training, tutoring...).

These instruments can be integrated with each other and can contribute to the development of urban time policies in a comprehensive way, supporting a better culture of equal opportunities.

4. The development of time policies in Italy

Time policies have developed in Italy since the mid-Eighties. They were essentially conceived as gender policies, i.e. aiming to reorganize the times of cities in order to guarantee to women the possibility to carry out their tasks as parents and working people as well as to fully participate in the social life.

¹ see 2000/C 218/02.

² see COM(2007) 244 final.

Various laws, both at the national and regional levels, have been adopted to support the concrete implementation of time policies. The first law in this field was the 1990 law no. 142 on the powers and competencies of local authorities (*Ordinamento delle autonomie locali*), which provided mayors with the authority to coordinate the times of public services according to their users' needs (art. 36).

In the 1990s, several Italian towns and cities initiated innovative time policies in order to enforce this law, and set up ad hoc offices with the task of managing urban times (in particular Milan and Cremona in Lombardy). Moreover, in the ten years following the law no. 142/1990, nine Italian regions have adopted specific laws providing guidelines and funds for the implementation of time policies.

The Nineties were also a period of change for the legislation concerning times in the commercial sector, that brought about an extension of shops opening times, thus contributing to modifying families' habits.

Yet the fundamental change in the development of these policies occurred in the year 2000 with the adoption of the law no. 53 on maternity and paternity rights and on the co-ordination of urban times (*Disposizioni per il sostegno della maternità e della paternità, per il diritto alla cura e alla formazione e per il coordinamento dei tempi delle città*). This law, whose first part centres on parental leaves, focuses in its second part on time policies by promoting:

- the co-ordination of times of those services that are most relevant in any urban area;
- the use of time with the purpose of social solidarity.

This law also requires that Italy's regions and municipalities draft plans of urban times. In particular, it makes mayors of towns with more than 30.000 inhabitants prepare an "urban time plan" (*Piano territoriale degli orari*, PTO), create a 'Time Office' (*Ufficio tempi*), appoint a manager for this matter within the town administration, and set up a network of dialogue and negotiation among the most important institutions in the town (such as the chamber of commerce, trade unions, and business associations).

Included in the same law urban policies and the family rights regulation emphasize the time policies are aimed at conciliating living and working times.

In the last fifteen years in Italy many initiatives have developed at the regional, provincial, and municipal levels, to comply with these legal requirements, also thanks to the significant support of various activities of research and methodological analysis on these themes

(Mareggi and Zajczyk, 1999). Such initiatives have inaugurated ‘pilot’ projects and experiences for the management of problems linked to the use of time.

5. The regional policies for the co-ordination of urban times: the case of the Lombardy region

The Lombardy region has been on the frontline in the development of time policies in Italy, thanks to the realization of the first innovative ‘pilot’ experiences, notably in Milan and Cremona (IReR 2002), to important research activities carried out in this field, especially by Politecnico di Milano, and lastly to the introduction of the regional law no. 28 in 2004 on the co-ordination and management of urban times (*Politiche regionali per il coordinamento e l'amministrazione dei tempi delle città*). This aims to promote the diffusion, among local public administrations and government, of new forms of intervention for the management and co-ordination of times.

In order to attain this goal, the law provides for the participation of all tiers of government: region, provinces, and municipalities all have to take on the charge of declining the various sectorial policies, taking into consideration the dimension of time as a relevant variable for citizens’ quality of life. In particular:

- regions and provinces have the duty to guide and promote time policies through general and sectorial planning procedures;
- municipalities must concretely realize time policies and draft the territorial time plans (PTOs), which should be ‘negotiated’ with all interested stakeholders, both public and private.

Time policies are hence conceived as policies that require the participation of the various actors that operate within a same territory, with the aim to promote the harmonization between working times, services times and social rhythms.

Thus, to this purpose the municipalities realize the co-ordination and management of opening times of public services, including the central and peripheral offices of public administrations, commercial shops, pubs, bars and restaurants, transport services as well as those in the health sector, in education and training, culture, sport, tourism, and leisure. In fact, the conciliation of people’s life times does not depend only on public services times but on a wider strategy of co-ordination which includes: the ways available to users to access services, the location and safety of urban routes, the transport system, environmental quality.

The law financially supports the municipalities, both individually and in aggregate forms, for the elaboration and implementation of the PTO, which is a strategic document that operates the co-ordination and management of times at the municipal or district level.

The PTO designates the means for the connection of time measures with the tools of territorial planning and it unfolds in a series of policies and actions. For each of them, the PTO has to describe the field in which it applies, the needs and criticalities it addresses, the partnerships activated and the actors involved, the ways to manage and monitor the actions.

The PTO co-ordination policies intervene on the following macro-areas:

- sustainable mobility;
- accessibility and usability of public and private services;
- regeneration of public areas;
- co-ordination between public services and working times;
- use of time for social activities.

This list of areas highlights that the Lombardy region has adopted a transversal approach to the theme of time policies; this does not advantage a single sector, but it touches upon different areas: urban and territorial planning, services quality, public administration, environmental sustainability, etc.

In order to facilitate the implementation of the law, beside the promotion of the PTOs within the regional territory (also thanks to financial contributions), the regional government promotes:

- actions of information and communication;
- training courses for people working in the elaboration of PTOs;
- research and monitoring activities to improve the scientific and methodological knowledge in this field (among which there have been the researches awarded to IReR).

The whole set of these activities has been considered particularly significant to spread the goals of the law and to develop the competences of local authorities in the field of time policies.

6. The gender perspective and time policies in the implementation of regional policies

The regional law no. 28 of 2004 originated and developed in the perspective of equal opportunities. The regional Council adopting this

law, thus fulfilling the European Community principle of gender mainstreaming and the art.117 of the Italian Constitution (which states that regions must waive “all obstacles hindering the full equality of men and women in social, cultural, and economic life”), believed that the principle of equality between men and women should be guaranteed through specific measures in the phases of definition and implementation of regional policies. Consequently, the Lombardy Region now attempts to realize equal opportunities through:

- the introduction in the regional legislation of the principles of equality (promotion of gender policies within the whole regional action, promotion of women’s accession to elective offices, parity boards);
- the promotion of female entrepreneurship;
- the support and development of territorial networks and services in the field of equal opportunities;
- the spread of gender culture and the enhancement of women’s associations;
- the development of tools for the conciliation between family life and professional life as a precondition for a stable presence of women in the labour market.

The Lombardy Region has thus identified the co-ordination and management of urban times introduced by the law no. 28/2004 as a tool for the promotion of quality of life and equal opportunities between men and women. The lack of co-ordination of public and private services times is actually a constraint for people in the running of their own life. The rigidity of times is notably among the main causes of women’s exit from (or non accession to) the labour market (Figure 1), with negative effects also on the fertility rates (Figure 2).

7. The municipalities projects’ for the implementation of PTOs

Within the framework of the implementation of the regional law no. 28 of 2004, the Lombardy Region approved two announcements for the concession of grants to municipalities in order to finance projects aimed at the implementation of PTOs.

While the second concession of grants has been launched in 2007, and it is still under the evaluation process, it is already possible to make an evaluation of the first concession of grants since it was approved in 2005. Sixty-seven project proposals have been submitted, covering 189 municipalities, more than 12% of the municipalities in Lombardy.

On the basis of the previous experiences in the field of equal opportunities and time coordination enhancing policies, the Region did not expect such an enthusiastic adhesion by the municipalities. Therefore, the high response rate to the announcements of concession of grants has to be considered an important achievement in terms of interest for time issues.

Among the project proposals submitted, 32 have been financed by the Region. 62 municipalities have been involved, accounting for 2.7 million of citizens.

The minimum amount of the grants is €33.500,00 while the maximum amount is €200.000,00. The total amount of the funding is € 2.996.157,39³.

Through the projects financed, concerning the management of time, the municipalities want to address several problems regarding that issue. The sectors which the action has been mainly focused on are the following:

1. sustainable mobility, addressed especially in terms of environmental impact, time saving and cyclo-pedestrian alternative routes;
2. school calendar and timetables, also with reference to the use of schools for social aggregation initiatives;
3. accessibility and usability of public and private services, coordination between public services and working times.

The issue of urban mobility is the main focus of the projects implemented, aware of the fact that the synchronization of timetables is getting more and more complex.

In the past it was possible to concentrate the services in standard hours, thanks to the high synchronization of the activities. Nowadays the activities are distributed throughout the whole day; this fact generates an inconstant and hardly programmable mobility. As a consequence there is an increase in the use of private means of transport that negatively affects both environment and mobility.

In this sense, it is interesting to underline that the projects do not implement “hardware solutions” (as for example underpasses), but try and modify the temporal habits of the citizens. The objective is to minimize the negative effects caused by the traffic jam and the bottlenecks effect. Summarizing, space scarcity is addressed through containment instead of development measures.

³ € 2.196.157,39 are part of the fund set by the law no. 53/2000 and € 800.000,00 are provided on purpose of the Region.

This aspect really depends on the population density of each given municipality. If, on the one hand, medium-size municipalities focus their attention on the mobility heterogeneity due to residents, city-users and outliers flows, on the other hand small-size municipalities focus their attention on issues such as dispersion (Municipalities of Treviso Bresciano) or “dormitory” issues (as for the Municipality of Brugherio).

Other municipalities have to address mobility and time problems in a more flexible way, depending on the season (for example the academic season for the Municipality of Pavia or the tourist season for the Municipality of San Pellegrino Terme). During these periods sometimes the city has to deal with a population concentration 10 times as larger than the normal, which often generates mobility and services congestion.

The issue of gender equal opportunity, an issue of primary interest in the regional law, is not addressed in a direct and specific way with the projects financed. Even if a “petition of principle” is not lacking, no concrete actions are proposed in order to successfully address the problem.

The beneficiaries of the action are, in order of importance:

1. working women, with care and family responsibilities;
2. citizens in mobility (people working in cities different from the ones in which they live, public transport users, city-users, categories for which a protected and gradual mobility is provided);
3. citizens as users/consumers (the elderly, service users in general, users of public services in particular, users of health services);
4. groups of citizens deserving a particular protection (young people under the age of 18, the elderly, the disabled)

Furthermore, the PTO project has often been shared and accompanied by a large network of stakeholders. In fact, it has adopted the project-share approach, with large partnerships and co decision procedures. The coordination of the partnerships among stakeholders depends on the dimension of the towns, as promoters are aware of the fact that the larger the territory and the urban concentration, the higher the complexity of the counterparts. Therefore public administrations, associations of different kinds, local transport companies, commercial activities, schools, universities and neighbourhood committees have been involved in the successful organization of the abovementioned complexity.

Moreover, towns with previous experience in the field of participation procedures are better aware of the relevant stakeholders, and

are already expert in giving them a role in a productive collaboration among (in the network of) partners. It is the case of several past initiatives funded by European programmes, such as Agenda 21 (Municipality of Monza, Municipality of Vigevano, Municipality of Varese...), Equal (Municipality of Bergamo, Municipality of Lodi), FSE (Municipality of Vimercate).

In most cases, the positive outcomes expected are procedural rather than substantial. There are different kinds of outcomes, long and medium term, depending on the privileged aim:

- if the PTO is more relevant than the pilot project, the expected results are long-term, and they imply changing the behaviour and also the culture of the citizens;
- if, on the contrary, the pilot project is more important, the objectives are short-term.

8. Considerations on the principle of equal opportunities in the projects

Last but not least, it is necessary to highlight one of the biggest obstacles in submitting projects: the difficulty to consider the time policies as *transversal* policies, with the aim to implement equal opportunities, keeping in mind the time-dimension in the town and territory planning instruments.

The projects seldom pursue this principle: even if they always mention the gender equality principle, only rarely do concrete proposals directly intervene in this capacity. Therefore mentioning *gender mainstreaming* seems to be more rhetorical than effective.

Nevertheless, it is important to underline the gender factor with regards, on the one hand, to the beneficiaries and, on the other, to the promoters of the projects. Women are always the privileged beneficiaries, but often considered in the functional relationship with those depending on them: children, elderly people needing assistance, and disable people.

Therefore the discussion almost never focuses on the traditional role attributed to the gender of the carer: there is only the offer of subsidiary measures aimed at helping women in their traditional role as carers.

Promoter municipalities must indicate the figure of the person responsible for the project: when this role is covered by the Town Councillor for equal opportunities, the implementation of the projects often seems to be less problematic, maybe thanks to the massive motivation

moving the promoter, who takes over the political initiative and responsibility of the project itself. The projects submitted by the municipalities joining the political role of equal opportunities with the one regarding the time policies often appear to be better structured.

In strict connection with this aspect, there is then what could be defined as “a matter of visibility”: among all the regions encouraging the towns to promote projects, there is also the will of the equal opportunities assessors to use the occasions they may have at their best, in order to improve their own visibility within and outside the local government, and to acquire stable competencies.

9. Conclusions

It is too early to draw conclusions on the law, because this is still in the initial phase of implementation and it needs a significant amount of time to be evaluated.

Nevertheless, it would be interesting to highlight three interesting aspects:

- the value of the time policies;
- the role of the Region;
- the principle of equal opportunities.

The experience of the Lombardy Region shows how relevant the institutional actions are for the success of the time policies. However, some critical aspects related to the time policies remain:

- time policies risk being continuously interrupted if they are financed only on a project basis;
- time policies might lack visibility when they are not supported by a participatory process;
- time policies, intended as conciliation tools, may end up as the “poor” and less effective alternative to active policies;
- the transversal approach to the time-policy issue gives priority to an equal opportunities approach. When the policy is strong, time policies are able to develop the equal opportunities issue in different fields.

The evidence shows the need for an institutional actor to enhance the projects and their results. The Region can hold an important role in the promotion of the time-policy culture and in the effort to merge different fields of analysis and the strategies that they produce. This

would allow to comprehend and regulate several intervention instruments, both in the welfare system and in the local institutions approach (Piazza 2000).

The Region is also in charge of joining up the factors just mentioned which, in spite of their interconnection, are often considered separately. The separation between the analysis of the times/spaces of the private and the times/spaces of the public sphere must be overcome. Hence, following this example, the principle of equal opportunities would be fully put in practice throughout the entire cycle of the projects, from its designing till its evaluation.

Bibliography

Consiglio regionale della Lombardia (2005), *Nuovi tempi della città per la qualità della vita*, Atti del Convegno, Milan (26th November 2004)

European Union, Risoluzione del Consiglio e dei ministri incaricati dell'occupazione e della politica sociale, riuniti in sede di Consiglio, del 29 giugno 2000, concernente la partecipazione equilibrata delle donne e degli uomini all'attività professionale e alla vita familiare (2000/C 218/02)

European Union, Communication from the Commission to the European Parliament, the Council, the European Economic and Social Committee and the Committee of the Regions promoting solidarity between the generations, Brussels, 10.5.2007 - COM(2007) 244 final
IReR (1982), *Analisi della realtà sociale lombarda : quadro di riferimenti teorici ed empirici per un'attività di ricerca sul comportamento e uso del tempo*, Milan

IReR (1999), *Osservatorio sulla condizione femminile: nuove forme di lavoro, sistemi di conciliazione dei tempi, strategie per la carriera*, Milan

IReR (2002), *Le esperienze delle politiche temporali urbane dei Comuni della Lombardia nel panorama nazionale ed europeo*, Milan

IReR (2004), *Progettare un piano territoriale degli orari: aree d'azione, metodologie, strumenti di lavoro*, Milan

IReR (2005), *Monitoraggio e valutazione della legge sui tempi delle città*, Milan

IReR (2006), *Monitoraggio e valutazione della legge sui tempi delle città. II Fase*, Milan

Mareggi, M. and Zajczyk, F., (1999), *Urban Time Policies. Methodological Aspects of social research*, paper on the Iatur Conference "The State of Time Use Research at the End of the Century", Università of Essex, Colchester UK (October 1999)

Piazza M. (a cura di), *I sistemi di conciliazione tra i tempi del lavoro familiare, i tempi del lavoro professionale e i tempi dei servizi*, Rapporto di ricerca pubblicato in: Osservatorio sulla condizione femminile. Nuove forme di lavoro, sistemi di conciliazione dei tempi, strategie per la carriera, Quaderni Regionali di Ricerca N. 16, IReR – Regione Lombardia, Milan, 2000

Zajczyk F., *Percorsi formativi per la promozione delle pari opportunità nei centri decisionali della politica – Tempi delle città e vita pubblica*, lesson of 24th November 2006, "Donne, politiche ed Istituzioni", University of Milano Bicocca