

 reviewed paper

Planning Times of the City: an Overview on Urban Time Policies

Marco Mareggi

(Marco Mareggi, Adjunct professor, Politecnico di Milano, DASTU, via Scalabrini 76, 29121 Piacenza, marco.mareggi@polimi.it)

1 ABSTRACT

Urban and social time emerged as a theme of public policy and in Italy it has been translated into public actions at the end of the 1980s. Its significant focus was centred on the coordination of urban timetables, particularly those of public and private services, in order to make daily life easier. In Italy, hundreds of municipalities, few metropolitan cities and networks of small and medium towns are involved to promote these kinds of policies. The time-space approach has been disseminated also in other countries of the European Union and recently the Congress of Local and Regional Authorities of the Council of Europe has adopted a recommendation in order to foster local time policies.

This paper analyzes the development of urban time policies in Italy after the implementation of the national law (Act 53/2000) and, in particular, its relation with the regional legislation. From this point of view, it is possible to appreciate the “trespassing” of these policies on gender’s equal opportunities, social welfare policies and urban planning (for this one with not constant and difficult interactions). Secondly, the paper reviews what happened about the implementation of urban time policies at regional level, both in Northern and Southern Italy, where the increase of local time policies is also a consequence of the allocation of regional and national funds. In conclusion, the paper proposes a classification of the towns’ experiences in their specific relation with urban planning (urban time policies, time oriented urbanism and a spillover of planning tools at different territorial levels) and represents an opportunity to discuss weakness and opportunity (specific field of public policies and toolbox to enrich other policies) of the “trespassing” of these policies.

2 INTRODUCTION

Time is a fundamental component of social interaction. Every single behaviour takes place in time and in space. The urban and metropolitan life has made the relationships more complex and the management and coordination of social time and programs, in particular in the urban contexts, became a planning and design issue. After the crisis of the modern city these themes have been periodically take into consideration in Europe. In the Seventies, in France, the radical experiments of social time’s re-organization (Chiesi, 1989: 15) were not adequately implemented and they quickly failed (*Échange et projets*, 1980). At the end of the 1980s, in Italy, were launched the urban time policies. Their significant focus was centred on the coordination of urban timetables, particularly those of public and private services, in order to make daily life easier. “It soon became clear that working on the time schedules of public services means influencing individual relationships, mobility of people and the real possibility to enjoy the city as a collective property and common good” (Italian Environment Ministry, 1999: 50).

In this way, urban and social time emerged as a theme of public policy and it has been translated into public actions. On the basis of previous spontaneous and ground-breaking experiences, local time policies, with the implementation of the national law (Act 53/2000), have become a “duty” for the Italian municipalities.¹ This law concerns family care and parental leaves and makes definition and implementation of the “Territorial Timetable Plan” or TTP (*Piano territoriale degli orari*) compulsory for the municipalities with more than 30.000 inhabitants. This legislative tool, highlights the importance of time in public actions, and it is even more important today, in the context of the global crisis, because of the increasing flexibility and precariousness of the labour market.

In 2000, it was affirmed that 170 municipalities had been involved in time-oriented projects, in timetable plans, or in studies concerning urban social time. After the implementation of the national law, the dissemination of these projects started to be more connected to the role played by the regions and the municipalities. At the moment, hundreds of municipalities, few metropolitan cities and networks of municipalities of small and medium towns are involved to promote these kinds of policies.

¹ Disposizioni per il sostegno della maternità e della paternità, per il diritto alla cura e alla formazione e per il coordinamento dei tempi della città, Act 53/2000 (Dispositions to support motherhood and fatherhood, for the right for care and education and for the co-ordination of the times of the city).

The time-space approach, that has a clear Italian origin (Mückenberger, 2011: 241), has been disseminated in other countries of the European Union (Boulin & Mückenberger, 1999; Mareggi & Bonfiglioli, 2004). Nowadays, it has been experimented by French cities (companies and territories) and by few German and Spanish cities. In France, a long process of social animation produced national non-legislative initiatives and local interventions in municipalities that, after, decided to set up a national association.² Some cities, like Lyon, Paris, Belfort and Poitiers, implemented specific time policies; some other cities (Dijon) introduced some aspects of these specific policies in the urban planning and design practices (Boulin, 2008; Rochman & Tremblay, 2011). In Germany, the planning of the town schedules is mainly an opportunity to trigger a bottom-up approach to new projects and to develop specific initiatives in few cities, like Bremen, that copied the Italian idea of setting up a specific office in the municipalities to develop projects and ideas for social animation (Mückenberger, 1998; Eberling & Henckel, 1998). In Spain only few cities, like Barcelona, promote communication campaigns and local policies to reduce the problems of life-work balance in the family context. On the contrary, in the Netherlands, from 1998 to 2002, the State has been promoting an important program about “Daily routine (Dagindeling)” organizing a big national communication campaign and 140 projects about town schedules and life-work balance (Dijst, Karsten & Breedveld, 2002; Tummers 2007). Unfortunately, this successful initiative suddenly ended. It was all about a limited dissemination of explicit time policies, and a big production of implicit time policies dealing with work-family life’s reconciliation (labor, welfare, gender and family policies) widespread all over the European member states. Recently, the Congress of Local and Regional Authorities of the Council of Europe adopted a recommendation (Rec 295/2010) and a resolution (Res 313/2010) – named “Social time, leisure time: which local time planning policy?” – addressed to the 47 member states in order to foster local time policies.

This paper analyzes the development of urban time policies in Italy after the implementation of the national law (Act 53/2000) and, in particular, its relation with the regional legislation and the allocation of grants to the municipalities that, in Italy, are the main institutions that play a real role in the management of the urban and social schedules. Secondly, the paper reviews what happened about the implementation of urban time policies at regional level, both in Northern (Lombardy, Veneto, Emilia-Romagna and Piedmont) and Southern (Apulia and Abruzzi) Italy, where the increase of local time policies is also a consequence of the allocation of regional and national funds. In conclusion, the paper proposes a classification of the towns’ experiences in their specific relation with urban planning (Italian middle-size cities with a long experience in planning and implementing time policies, network of towns and European metropolitan cities ongoing experiences) and represents an opportunity to discuss weakness and opportunity of the “trespassing” of urban time policies in other public policies.

3 TWO GENERATIONS OF REGIONAL ACTS

The national law Act 53/2000 entrusts the municipalities with the task of implementing the policies of harmonization and coordination of the times of the city, recognizing the promotion role they played in the previous decade. The same law entrusts the regions with the task of issuing laws in this sector in order to allocate grants. This role is getting more and more important because the regions can support and spur the action of the local institutions. The regions, moreover, ensure the continuity of the Municipal Time Offices, especially now that the global crisis is extremely strong.

According to a survey carried out in 2008 (Mareggi 2010), the number of regions that have regulations about urban time policies is quite high. Only 4 regions in the Centre-South of Italy and one region in the North of Italy cannot count on specific regulations in this sector (Fig. 1).

The survey identifies two different generations of regulations concerning the cities’ Territorial Time Plan. These two kinds of regulations have both proposed ideas and allocated grants.

The first generation of regional laws, in the Nineties, involved the North and the Centre of Italy. Only 9 regions issued laws to implement the guidelines contained in the national law that reformed the local institutions and entrusted the mayor with the task of coordinating the urban schedules (art. 36, Act 142/1990). These laws:

² The network “Tempo Territorial” (<http://tempoterritorial.free.fr/>) was funded in 2004 and now, in 2011, it is made up of the Municipal Time Offices (and similar offices) of more or less twenty cities/provinces/regions.



Fig. 1: Italian Regions that have regulations and bills about time policies (Mareggi, 2010: 38). Some regions present different normative tools indicated with over-lapped symbols.

- fostered social and time policies concerning public and private offices, social services, public transportation and commercial/tourist/leisure/cultural services;
- proposed criteria for the organization (and sometimes even the regulation) of the opening hours of the public and private services, to improve accessibility and usability (intended as the possibility to combine personal needs with the fixed opening hours of the services);
- contributed to renew the government's agenda, increasing the importance of the public action and answering the citizens' daily problems;
- supported preliminary surveys to write down the Territorial Timetable Plan (this practice was often not efficient enough).

These laws aim at coordinating and regulating the time schedules. They propose a clear definition of the intervention' sectors. But, sometimes, the local actions implemented on the basis of these laws are not organic and not suitable for the territorial contexts and their local actors (Mareggi & Bonfiglioli 1997).

These different laws – in their chronological sequence – express an evolution of the sector, able to create and offer visibility to a political, social and scientific united community considered as an issue network that becomes policy community (Hecló, 1978; Balducci, 1991: 102).

At the end of the Nineties, only the Tuscany Region felt the necessity to propose a second law about these topics (l.r. 38/1998). This was a ground-breaking action that represented a change and an interesting example for the government of the cities, also intended in the physical sense. Moreover, this law supports the implementation of new interventions and it recognized that only mixing knowledge and practices you can support policies and make them more meaningful, as local policies have demonstrated. Then, it proposes the approval at the same time of the TTP and of the Land Use Plan, fostering the inclusion of the time policies in the urban planning (exactly through the regional laws). Last but not least, it makes clear that people (subjects of different age, gender, origin and culture) are the mirrors of the changes that take place in the space and time of daily life.

The second generation of regional laws implement the content of the Act 53/2000. It involves the entire national territory and even the South of Italy. Some regions prepared specific laws or updated the previous ones while, in the second half of the first decade of the century, other regions included these contents in some laws concerning equal opportunities and social policies or urban planning policies (with ambiguous value). These laws:

- allocate the state grants of the Fund for the Harmonization of the Times of the City that was opened with the Act 53/2000 and distributed through calls for proposals according to the European model;

- support the implementation of actions (but also surveys and feasibility studies) carried out by the municipalities or by networks of municipalities;
- support actions to improve the quality of daily life and harmonize the work/life balance, the personal relationships, the training opportunities and the personal time of all the people who live, even temporarily, on a territory; and also actions to ensure equal opportunities for men and women;
- taking into consideration the experiences of the municipalities and of the universities that have studied these topics, the laws propose new goals and guidelines;
- foster integrated policies to reconcile life/work, flexibility of the working hours, revitalization of the urban, economic and social life, provision of services and sustainable mobility (coordination of the transportation hours, alternative mobility reducing the use of cars and the emissions of polluting gases in the sector of transportation).

In this way, urban time policies enlarge their fields of interventions, over their traditional sectors. The practices seem to exploit the new possibilities offered (with uncertain results) by the new laws. However, some experts underline that the constant attention to side-results, like for example the reduction of pollution and of the car traffic, has weakened the main goals of the Act 53/2000 that was designed to foster the harmonization of the working, care, training and social time. In this way, the reasons which are at the basis of the production of the TTP are searched in other sectors, far from the original motivations that produced the temporal policies as a tool to work on the town and increase the liberated time in the society.

This search of justifications “somewhere else” demonstrates a will (or a weakness) that seems to anticipate the loss of a specific sector. The laws for the TTPs changed the focus about urban planning (in Tuscany differently than in Basilicata), or are used for the development of policies in favour of gender’s equal opportunities (in Apulia and Liguria); somewhere else, they are included in the social or family policies (in Piedmont and Friuli Venezia Giulia, while in Abruzzi and Emilia Romagna also offer support to the companies), or they become a tool to implement the “Zone Social Plans” (Piano sociale di zona) for a better social welfare (in Campania and Apulia). The fact that the Fund for the Harmonization of the Times of the City became a part of the National Fund for the Social Policies contributed to the creation of the general framework explained here above.

It is possible to divide the trends for the definition of the public action in this sector in three different categories, starting from the regional laws. In the first category are included the specific policies (Lombardy and Abruzzi); in the second are included those time policies which are considered side-policies of other public policies considered priorities in the agendas of the regional governments (Apulia, Liguria and Campania); in the third are included the policies that are not well-defined and do not have specific aspects.

This variety of laws underlines a wider characterization of the centers for the development of the time policies and, in contrast with the previous decade, it reveals the lack of a united and recognizable political and scientific community. The general framework is twofold: on one side, the regional laws introduce in the government agendas a social necessity and they give it the same importance of a public policy; on the other side, the variety of the local interventions seem to produce a great variety of disharmonious practices.

4 A REVIEW OF URBAN TIME POLICIES IN THE DIFFERENT REGIONS

It is interesting, at this point, to change the perspective and focus on local practices. In this paragraph they are still considered from the point of view of the different regional watchdogs that tried to analyze from the quantity point of view if the municipalities have accepted the (economic) proposals of the laws and the directions of their interventions. This is an overview of the synthetic outcomes produced in some regions of the North and South of Italy. This analysis is the result of an original research about the regional documents (that cannot boast a specific literature) carried out by the writer of this paper.

From 1997 to 2009 in Piedmont 174 municipalities (out of 1.206) approved a coordination plan of urban times (17 of them have a population of more than 30.000 inhabitants and, for this reason, they are obliged to do it by the law), but only 14 of them have implemented a project. The money allocated are more or less 1,8 billions of Euros distributed through 12 calls for proposals. Few municipalities, from 1997 and 2001, demonstrated their interest. Then there was a peak in 2002 and the trend was kept constant till 2007 (Bocco,

2012: 158). Turin, on the contrary, has recently (2008-2011) carried out some integrated space-time interventions in the districts, winning a public-private foundation's grants.

The Region Emilia Romagna, thanks to the first generation of laws, promoted TTPs integrated with the urban tools in order to improve the services' network, the public facilities, the commercial services and the mobility infrastructures. After the national law, on the other side, it has oriented the local action towards the services for children and the flexibility of the working hours. Through specific regional calls for proposals, from 1995 to 2000, have been allocated some regional grants: the interest of the municipalities has not been constant and it has decreased. According to some managers of the public administration, this situation was provoked by the small amount of money available for the single institutions (less than 50.000 Euros for the projects' implementation). On the other hand, this situation was probably related to the high quality of the region welfare that ensures a high level of women employment. Only in 2004 the Region decided to open a new call for proposals to foster future actions concerning the TTPs or agreements between the companies and the trade unions about new flexible working hours (projects for childhood, adolescence and family). 14 interventions were carried out and they produced a great variety of results. Recently, because of the reduction of the amount of money transferred by the State to the territorial institutions, the Region has decided to allocate the resources of the national fund in a different way.³

In Veneto, after the approval of the national law, only two regional calls for proposals were opened for the definition of the TTPs. 1,1 billions of Euros were totally allocated, equally distributed between the first call for proposals in 2004 that gave money to 6 municipalities with more than 30.000 inhabitants, and the second (2011-2012) that gave money to 24 small and medium municipalities (from 5.000 to 40.000 inhabitants) for projects concerning local plans for the reconciliation of life and work. The first call for proposals was financed by the National Fund for the Harmonization of the Times of the City, the second used the resources allocated by the Department of Equal Opportunities of the Italian Government for interventions to improve the reconciliation of private and working life. It was implemented a new set of public policies in several sectors to support families, the inclusion of women in the labor market and to ensure a work for them. In these two calls for proposals, the focus of the actions is the support to families and their time organization with services destined to parents who work and have children (easy access to services and helpdesks) creating a friendly social context.⁴

From 2003 to 2011, Region Abruzzi has opened 4 calls for proposals investing 340.000 Euros and allocating money, in some cases even a small amount (less than 10.000 Euros) to each institution. Totally were involved 3 capital cities and 5 networks of municipalities who cooperate in the social sector, for a total of 52 (out of 305) municipalities that have presented the TTPs. Only 2 municipalities and a network of municipalities implemented the planned projects. The main issues of the plans were: harmonization of the timetables of public and private services with the working hours; accessibility of the information helpdesks and of the services of public administration (helpdesks, cultural services and quality of the social services); work on mobility that can contribute to reduce the emissions of polluting gases in the sector of public transportation. As the mountains characterize the territory's inner part, the actions were mainly destined to answer the necessities of young families/tourists of small villages. The theme of the equal opportunities was not adequately analyzed. Especially the first experiences were mainly focused on co-design and participation and not on implementation.⁵

³ REGIONE EMILIA ROMAGNA: Finanziamenti per la realizzazione di azioni e interventi volti alla armonizzazione dei tempi di vita e di lavoro in attuazione della delibera del Consiglio Regionale n. 514/2003. Prima sperimentazione. Deliberazione di Giunta Regionale n. 1228. Bologna, 28 June 2004.

⁴ REGIONE VENETO: Bando per la predisposizione dei Piani territoriali degli orari per il coordinamento dei tempi di funzionamento della città. Deliberazione di Giunta Regionale n. 2343. Venezia, 30 July 2004. REGIONE VENETO: Realizzazione di un sistema regionale integrato di interventi per favorire la conciliazione dei tempi di vita e di lavoro, in attuazione a quanto previsto con Dgr n. 3311 del 21/12/2010. Interventi a 3) Implementazione "Madri di giorno", b 1) e d 1) Incentivi ad aziende Family friendly, d 2) Programmi locali dei tempi e degli orari. Criteri e modalità di concessione contributi. Deliberazione di Giunta Regionale n. 2516. Venezia, 29 December 2011. REGIONE VENETO: Conciliazione tempi vita-lavoro. Assessore Sernagiotto: "Approvato provvedimento che assegna a 24 comuni contributi 540 mila € per programmi locali tempi e orari". Comunicato stampa. 3 October 2012. http://www.regione.veneto.it/web/guest/comunicati-stampa/dettaglio-comunicati?_spp_detailId=341566

⁵ REGIONE ABRUZZO: Attuazione delle politiche regionali dei tempi (l.r. 40/2005, art. 8, comma 3). Relazione informativa. March 2009.

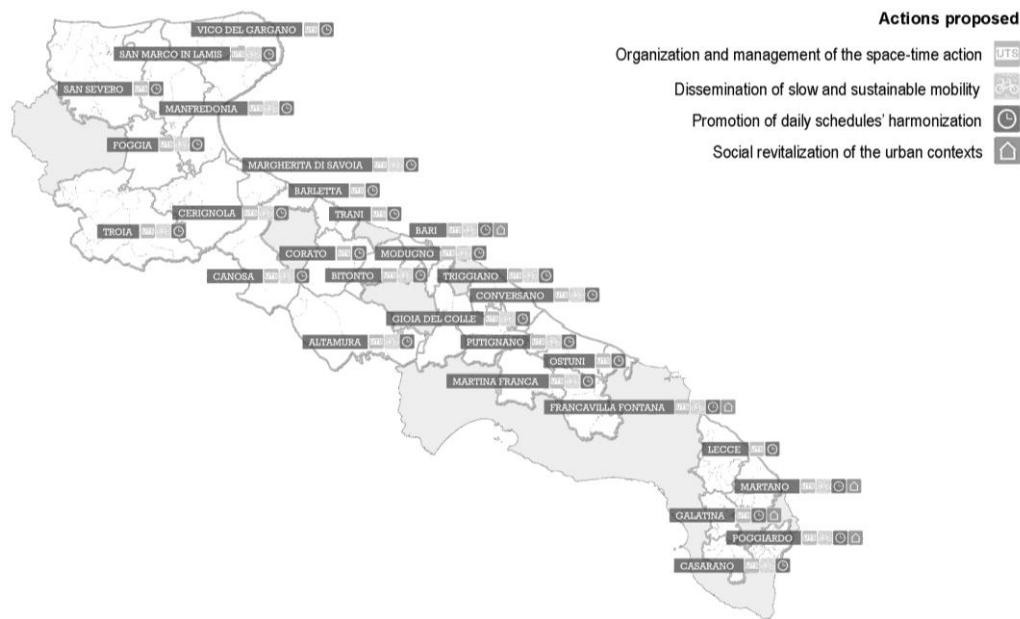


Fig. 2: Territorial areas of Apulia Region that have participated to a call for proposal 2009-2011 in order to carry out a feasibility study for the Territorial Timetable Plan (Source: Region Puglia, 2012).

In 2007, the Region Apulia started to implement urban time policies. The law for equal opportunities (Regional Act 7/2007), in fact, introduced rules for the coordination of the hours, timetables and places of the town. The general intervention's criteria and the different kinds of projects present original and characteristic aspects of the territorial context but also, in general, of the policies concerning social life and equal opportunities: new services for depopulating areas and a new organization of the school timetables to fight drop-out and prevent social unease; promotion of participation and renovation works in suburban areas by children, seniors and families; creation of "work/life balance centres". Moreover, with a significant change in comparison with the most important Italian experiences, Apulia law is characterized by a strong connection between TTP and the "Zone Social Plan". With the call for proposals 2009-2011 were approved 26 feasibility studies for the TTPs of municipalities associated in territorial areas⁶ that proposed the goals of their actions (Fig. 2). The total amount of money allocated was 3 millions of Euros. Then, the region decided to allocate a grant of 35.000 Euros for each of the 17 territorial districts that, in February 2013, start experimental actions for the implementation of the TTP and will set up an Inter-Municipal Time Office. The feasibility studies aim at improving the social welfare: the harmonization services for the families who have children (school extra curricular activities, school-house transportation also with public means of transport), services for seniors who live in rural areas (home care, increase of shops in the neighborhoods, transportation to daily centres for seniors, slow mobility), on-line services that make easier the access to institutions. In some experimentations are planned even some actions to change the calendar of the school-weeks (5 days per week) in primary and secondary schools (experimentation in Lecce for some weeks).⁷

The Region Lombardy approved a law about these issues only in 2004, even if, in the previous years, several social actors (university, trade unions, chamber of commerce and other organizations) and some other municipalities had implemented concrete actions concerning the urban time policies and had decided to set up Time Offices dedicated to these issues. Five cities had already approved the TTP. The law (Regional Act 28/2004) introduced the key themes and questions that mark the second generation of laws described above. In implementing this law, the region reaffirmed some necessities that characterize this public policy: a specific municipal department/office dedicated to these themes; the joint implementation of experimental actions and the definition of the TTP. In nine years, Region Lombardy has launched 4 calls for proposals (one is ongoing) and 10 cooperation agreements with the municipalities with more than 30.000 inhabitants

⁶ These municipalities associated in territorial areas are similar to the inter-municipal management of some health-social services organized in Italy through Social Zone Plans.

⁷ REGIONE PUGLIA, PRESIDENZA DEL CONSIGLIO DEI MINISTRI-DIPARTIMENTO PER LE PARI OPPORTUNITÀ: Studi di piani di fattibilità per i Piani dei Tempi e degli Spazi. Bari, Foggia, Lecce, 2011. REGIONE PUGLIA: Vedo rosa. L'energia delle donne, la forza della Puglia. Bari. 8 March 2012. REGIONE PUGLIA: Piano Territoriale dei Tempi e degli Spazi. 2013. <http://www.regione.puglia.it/index.php?page=prg&opz=display&id=275>.

that in 2008 still did not have a TTP. The total amount of money allocated by the Region was 10 million of Euros. The municipalities that received a grant were totally 129 (out of 1.544) and 46 of them received money from different calls for proposals for the implementation of the initiatives (Fig. 3). In this way, 49 cities and 11 networks of municipalities approved a Territorial Timetable Plan and carried out specific policies/actions. The actions focused on several themes:

- synchronization/de-synchronization of school timetables (extra school activities, harmonization of school calendars, family care during holidays);
- coordination of the shops' opening hours (night/Sundays opening with festivals in the public space, changes in the opening hours);
- cooperation with the Zone Social Plans and with the urban tools for the definition of the services' system;
- telecommuting;
- urban renewal also through participation planning with the inhabitants of the areas;
- harmonization of the events' calendar;
- coordination of the services destined to tourists and visitors (environmental-friendly means of transport for tourists, tourist services);
- sustainable mobility for the reduction of pollution provoked by means of transport (collective cabs, environmental-friendly shuttle buses, on-demand transportation, pedibus and bicibus, night transportation to discos, bike sharing, house-school transportation);
- accessibility and hours' usability of the services mainly of the public offices (changes in the opening hours, night opening, helpdesks in the commercial centers, temporary helpdesks, "one-stop services", "Citizen's Day") also on-line (certificates' service, booking and payment).

The on-going call for proposal fosters the implementation of actions in the last two sectors.

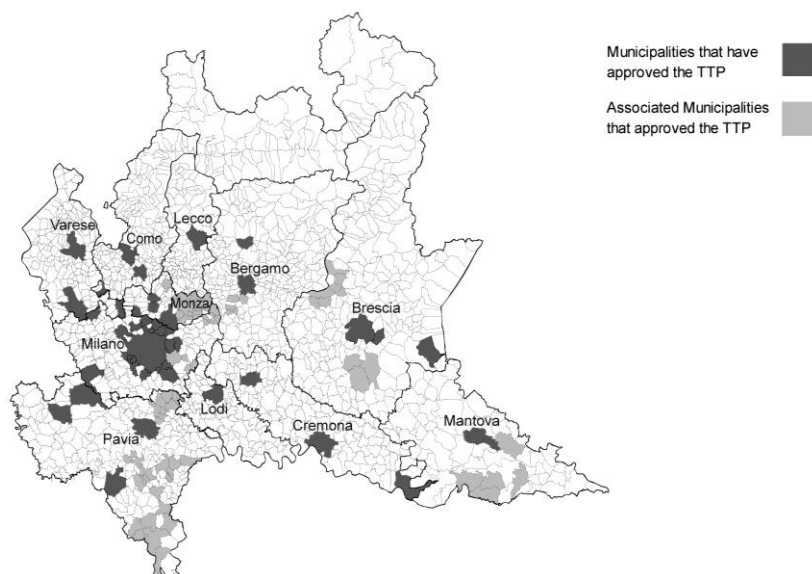


Fig. 3: Municipalities of Lombardy Region that have approved the Territorial Timetable Plan of the City (Data Source: Region Lombardy, 2012).

Lombardy Region has decided to take actions involving the municipalities as they are the institutions destined to the implementation of urban time policies. The Region, however, has also decided to foster inter-sectoriality and to include explicit references to this public policy in tools and laws concerning the services' planning, the quality of the environment, the opening hours of the shops, the sustainable mobility, the local transportation, the Zone Social Plan and the tools for companies' competitiveness.⁸

⁸ REGIONE LOMBARDIA: Tempi delle città in Lombardia. Politiche regionali per il coordinamento e l'amministrazione dei tempi delle città. Attuazione e risultati della legge n. 28/2004 risposta alla clausola valutativa. Milano, May 2011. REGIONE LOMBARDIA: Politiche temporali urbane in Lombardia. Le pratiche dei comuni.

On the other hand, it is necessary to underline the will of the Lombardy municipalities to act in this sector even independently from the regional support. This is demonstrated by the work of some municipal Time Offices or by the independent interest to revitalize Milan's Time Office in the last year.

In this overview are not analyzed some regions in which were promoted urban time policies before and after the approval of the Act 53/2000 like Tuscany, Liguria and Marche (for these regions were not carried out researches).

According to the results of this analysis, the regional institutions are promoting and demonstrating an interest (even if it is not constant) for these themes. There are big differences in the economic resources invested by the regions and in the grants available for the municipalities, with a decrease in the amount of money allocated in the last years. It is important to underline that in 2002 the Fund for the Harmonization of the Time of the City (art. 28, Act. 53/2000) was included in the National Fund for the Social Policies that does not specify the distribution of the money destined to urban time policies. The decision about the amount of money to be destined to the TTPs is a task of the regional government (done only by some of them). It is possible, however, to collect more money through other national grants. In 2011, for example, Region Veneto has decided to include the time policies in the framework of some projects designed to improve women's employment.

Even if the recent laws have fostered the institutionalization of the management tools and the concrete implementation of the actions, in several regions it's still quite evident the trend to spur the design projects, plans and feasibility studies without particular attention to the set up of the Time Office or to the actions carried out and their results. Lombardy Region is an exception in this context.

From the point of view of the definition of the projects' main issues, the implementation of the regional calls for proposals confirmed an increase in the number of themes treated and in the arguments to justify them, but also a strong connection with the tradition of previous practices. These initiatives are not well-integrated with the urban context and do not involve some subjects, even if the actions – when they are implemented – seem to face specific problems and time needs and timetables (finding proper and feasible solutions).

5 CITIES' EXPERIENCES

At this point, the paper focuses on the actions implemented by the towns to plan their urban timetables. This is the main point of view that has been used for years for the surveys in this policies and research sector.

Starting from the city means recognizing that the projects are not only related to state and regional calls for proposals, as it demonstrated by Bozen with its 20 years-experience in this sector, or by Turin in the last years or by Milan (more recently). The cities and the social actors that promote time policies in Italy act not for a "duty" or for a strong legislative reasons. The decision of implementing urban time policies is generally a political choice of some administrations that decide to promote innovative projects, setting up Time Offices and managing social arenas.

For the classification of these policies have been considered: the dimensions of the cities involved, the main issues of the projects (Bonfiglioli, 1997; Belloni, 1997; Paolucci, 1998), the methodologic organization of the Territorial Timetable Plan (Chiesi, 1997) and the characteristics of the public action (Mareggi 2002). In this paper I want to propose a different analysis, mainly focusing on the relation with urban planning. During the last twenty-five years, in Italy, the analysis of the "times of the city" and the "reflections on actions" have developed in three fields of intervention.

The first field of intervention – that is the biggest one – is urban time policies produced by municipalities with private/public partners. These policies are widespread in Italy, as it is demonstrated also at legislative level. Urban time policies are public policies that intervene in the time schedules and time organization that regulate human relationships at urban level. These local policies become a specific field of intervention of the public actions/policies and they are implemented with a variety of approaches. The actions are carried out with the involvement of local partners and in a cross-sectorial way involving different departments of the municipality that is, generally, the promoter. The policies produced have different relevance regarding services (school, commerce, transport, tourism, public administrations, safety, public spaces), an urban area

or the entire city and have different impacts on citizens and the organization of services. The brief analysis presented for Region Lombardy presents an overview of the experiences. Several Italian municipalities have approved a Timetable Territorial Plan, as it was said in the previous paragraph. It is not clear the continuity over time of this sector of public policies, because it is characterized by strong contradictions: above all in the public administration these urban time policies are managed as sectorial actions, but the nature of time schedules and of social times is intrinsically transversal.

The second field of intervention is time oriented urbanism. At the beginning the promoters have the ambition to create a new approach of land use planning. Few experimental cases are promoted by the university world and municipalities, as in Bergamo where the TTP is part of the town planning and the municipal Time Office develops integrated actions for the space-time management and provides a set of new ideas for the Land Use Plan and for the planning of the services (Zambianchi 2010). Other experiences that use time as a component of the urban plan are detected in Tuscany, where it has been compulsory till 2005. The few cases in the literature do not testify particular characterization and performing skills. Limited experiences are implemented in France, for example in Dijon, but also in this case they are not related to a specific public policy or a set of specific projects. Time is recognized as a resource (exactly as space, water and energy) necessary to make the town more attractive and pleasant. (Trouwborst 2012).

The third field of intervention is a spillover of planning tools at different territorial levels, implemented by public administrations in Italy (and Europe). Introducing in this way time oriented variables in preliminary studies and analysis, and tools to define strategies and renewal policies and projects. There are several examples. The new TTP of Rozzano (2012), a municipality near Milan, collaborates with the Land Use Planning of Services to test usability and accessibility of open spaces, both for the description and for the potentialities after the implementation of the new Land Use Plan (Mareggi 2013). Some urban projects are focused on daily time intended as slow mobility (for example Ancona) or as quality of the urban space and housing (for example San Donato Milanese) or, to improve the “habitability” profile of the city (like in Bologna). The life in different seasons in the territories is the topic of several analysis, like for example the Adriatic Coast (with dynamic or traditional techniques of analysis or studying the mobile telephones’ data) and in excellent cases of Land Use Plan like in Urbino in 1990-94 or to design strategic pictures of the territorial regional plan of Emilia-Romagna. The temporary uses are a fundamental element of the strategic document for Berlin 2020 and of experimental geographical studies in Gorizia and Nova Gorica. Stable and moving populations (and their calendars) renew the traditional studies for mobility in some large scale planning tools (Mareggi 2011).

Defining these three fields of interventions is a way to recognize that, also starting from the city, the planning possibilities of the urban times changed from a public specific and characteristic action (that remains the main field, urban time policies) towards interventions in other sectors, in this case analyzed in relation with urban planning. In this movement toward other sectors, in the best practices, the urban times become opportunities to change the focus of the projects and move it towards contexts. On the other sides, methodological tools, that have been developed and tested in the urban time policies, are implemented and often enriched.

6 CONCLUSION

The path presented in the paper starting from the regions offers an original point of view about the researches concerning these topics that are generally analyzed taking into consideration the action carried out by the cities. Moreover, it underlines a specific characteristic of the Italian approach to this public policy that mixes top-down behaviors of the central and regional governments with the bottom-up action of local institutions and actors. Their mixture has probably ensured a quite constant presence of these themes in the agendas of the government, even if they still have a second-level position.

The three points of view presented in the paper (the regional rules, the implementation in the regions, the experiences of the cities) recognize a specific thematic field of public policies (Drewe 2005) even if this theme is considered in a wider way in comparison with the original goal of “setting the time free for everybody”. At legislative level, the trend is towards gender’s equal opportunities, social welfare policies and family policies and towards urban planning (for this one with not constant and difficult interactions). For the implementation in the regions, it is reaffirmed the will of increasing the number of topics that are at the basis of the interventions, while the panel of actions are traditional. The actions tend to face time problems

and needs finding proper and feasible solutions. The cities' experiences seem to have detected (or oriented?) the increase in the fields of intervention that the new laws allow and support and, moreover, they use in different sectors the methodological and operative toolbox offered by the space-time oriented approach.

This "trespassing" represents a weakness and an opportunity.

The search somewhere else for strong motivations and the lack of a specific characterization are a weakness of a sectorial public action because it reduces its appeal and its capacity to attract economic and human resources. Perhaps it has also been reduced the social interest that was at the basis of these policies but it has not been reduced the complexity of the urban and metropolitan life that the global crisis has worsened for families and single subjects. Moreover, a competition among the sectors of the public action, for example among the equal opportunities policies (that work on the subjects and mainly with the companies) and the urban time policies (that work on the city and mainly starting from the municipalities), can reduce the strength of them both. In the same way, the relationship with the urban planning policies is even weaker and less important.

The "trespassing", however, could be an opportunity as they could open two scenarios (not in mutual contrast and not in competition) that can trigger on one side urban time policies intended as a specific public policy (with the specific weakness of the sector that become part of the action), and on the other side the use of methodological and operating space-time oriented tools to enrich other social and urban policies (that use technical and methodological expertise as a significant and collaborative contribution but not exclusive or dominant). Perhaps this work in specific and respected fences (both in political and research sector) can improve knowledge and savoir faire about the city's and citizens' time.

7 REFERENCES

- BALDUCCI, Alessandro: *Disegnare il futuro*. Bologna, 1991.
- BELLONI, Maria Carmen & BIMBI, Franca: *Microfisica della cittadinanza. Città, genere, politiche dei tempi*. Milano, 1997.
- BOCCO, Andrea (ed.): *Qui è ora*. Macerata, 2012.
- BONFIGLIOLI, Sandra: *Le politiche dei tempi urbani*. In: *UrbanisticaQuaderni*, Vol. 12, pp. 9-13. Roma, 1997.
- BONFIGLIOLI, Sandra & MAREGGI, Marco (ed.): *Il tempo e la città tra natura e storia. Atlante di progetti sui tempi della città*. In: *UrbanisticaQuaderni*, Vol. 12, pp. 1-336. Roma, 1997.
- BOULIN, Jean-Yve; *Villes et politiques temporelles*. Paris, 2008
- BOULIN, Jean-Yve & MÜCKENBERGER, Ulrich: *Time in the City and Quality of Life in Europe*. In: *Best. European Studies on Time*, Vol. 1. Dublin, 1999.
- CHIESI, Antonio Maria: *Sincronismi sociali*. Bologna, 1989.
- CHIESI, Antonio Maria: *Alcune dimensioni costanti dei Pro*. In: *UrbanisticaQuaderni*, Vol. 12, pp. 51-54. Roma, 1997.
- DIJST, Martin, KARSTEN, Lia & BREEDVELD, Koen: *Modification des rythmes de vie dans les villes néerlandaises*. In: *Territoire 2020*, Vol. 6, pp. 73-86. Paris, 2002.
- DREWE, Paul: *What about time in urban planning & design in the ICT age?*. In: *CORP 2005 & Geomultimedia*, Vol. 5. 2005
- EBERLING, Matthias & HENCKEL, Dietrich: *Kommunale Zeitpolitik*. Berlino, 1998.
- ÉCHANGE ET PROJETS: *La révolution du temps choisi*. Paris, 1980.
- HECLO, Hugh: *Issue Network and the Executive Establishment*. In KING, A. (ed.), *The New American Political System*, Washington D.C., 1978.
- ITALIAN ENVIRONMENT MINISTRY: *Relazione sullo stato dell'ambiente delle aree urbane in Italia*. Roma, 1999.
- MAREGGI, Marco: *Innovation in Urban Policy: the Experience of Italian Urban Time Policies*. In: *Planning Theory & Practice*, Vol. 3, pp. 173-194, London, 2002.
- MAREGGI, Marco: *Politiche dei tempi urbani: comparazione della legislazione regionale*. In: *REGIONE LOMBARDIA: Politiche temporali urbane in Lombardia. Le pratiche dei comuni*, pp. 37-67. Milano, 2010.
- MAREGGI, Marco: *Ritmi urbani*. Sant'Arcangelo di Romagna, 2011.
- MAREGGI, Marco: *Urban rhythms in the contemporary city*. In HENKEL, Dietrich et al. (ed.): *Space Time Design of the Public City*, pp. 21-39. London-New York, 2013.
- MAREGGI, Marco & BONFIGLIOLI, Sandra (ed.): *Nuovi tempi della città per la qualità della vita*. Milano, 2004.
- MÜCKENBERGER, Ulrich (ed.): *Zeiten der Stadt*. Brema, 1998.
- MÜCKENBERGER, Ulrich: *Local time policies in Europe*. In: *Time & Society*, Vol. 20, Issue 2, pp. 241-273. 2011.
- PAOLUCCI, Gabriella (ed.): *La città macchina del tempo. Politiche del tempo urbano in Italia*. Milano, 1998.
- ROCHMAN, Juliette & TREMBLAY, Diane-Gabrielle: *Politique temporelles et bureaux des temps: défis et potentiels pour les territoires*. In: *Canadian Journal of Regional Science/Revue canadienne des sciences régionales*, Vol. 34(1), pp. 9-18. 2011.
- TROUWBORST, Chantal: *La rete "Tempo Territorial"*. In: BOCCO, Andrea (ed.): *op.cit.*, pp. 145-150. Macerata, 2012.
- TUMMERS, Lidewij: *What can time-based planning contribute to diversity and change? Paper presented at Leuven, 2007*. 2007.
- ZAMBIANCHI, Marina: *Il progetto della nuova città pubblica: dai bisogni alle azioni*. In: *Urbanistica*, Vol. 144, pp. 59-66. Roma, 2010.