

Report on the Quick Scan of Policy and Research documents on empowerment and participation of older citizens in Italy

European project *From Isolation to Inclusion: Promoting Innovation in Re-Integrating Older Citizens into Community Life*

1. Policy documents under review.....	2
2. Research documents under review.....	3
3. Empowerment and participation of older citizens in policy documents.....	5
4. Empowerment and participation of older citizens in research documents...7	
5. Examples of initiatives by and for older citizens.....	8
6. Innovative ideas to promote empowerment and participation of older citizens.....	10
7. Conclusions: the situation of empowerment and participation of older citizens in Italy.....	11

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1. Policy documents under review

1.1. At EU level:

1.1.1. Communication from the Commission. Green Paper *Confronting demographic change: a new solidarity between the generations* COM(2005) 94 final - http://europa.eu.int/eur-lex/lex/LexUriServ/site/en/com/2005/com2005_0094en01.pdf

1.1.2. Communication from the Commission to the Council and the European Parliament of 18 March 2002, entitled *Europe's response to World Ageing. Promoting economic and social progress in an ageing world. A contribution of the European Commission to the Second World Assembly on Ageing* COM(2002) 143 final - http://europa.eu.int/eurlex/lex/LexUriServ/site/en/com/2002/com2002_0143en01.pdf

1.2. At Italian level

1.2.1 Ministry of Labour and Social Policies' *White paper on welfare state – Proposals for a dynamic and solidarity society – 2003* - <http://www.welfare.gov.it/NR/rdonlyres/exi2ysmsq4og7dfaubic6kauiajodq6i6fvwbagnwb7sg3fzvndv5gz77clvp3dsf2jgi67zlc3tygziqueo57bpclg2e/WHITEPAPERONWELFARESTATE.pdf>

1.2.2. Ministry of Labour and Social Policies' *Libro verde: Una nuova solidarietà tra le generazioni di fronte ai cambiamenti demografici* - ITALIA e Allegato A - 2005 – the Italian Government's response to the European Commission's Green Paper quoted under 1.1.1. <http://www.welfare.gov.it/Sociale/anziani/documenti/default.htm>

1.2.3. Ministry of Labour and Social Policies' *Rapporto Biennale al Parlamento sulla condizione dell'anziano - Anni 2002-2003 – 2004* – the latest Government's report to the Italian Parliament on the conditions of senior citizens in Italy - <http://www.welfare.gov.it/Sociale/anziani/documenti/default.htm>

1.2.4. Emilia-Romagna Regional Government's *Plan of Action for the Regional Community – A society for all ages: the ageing population and prospects for development – 2005* - <http://www.emiliaromagnasociale.it/wcm/emiliaromagnasociale/home/anziani/pianoanziani/EnglishVersion/PianoAnziani-ENG.pdf>

1.2.5. *Per il bene dell'Italia – Programma di governo 2006-2011 – 2006* - For Italy's good – the *Unione* electoral platform – pages 159-191 - http://www.unioneweb.it/wp-content/uploads/documents/programma_def_unione.pdf

1.3. Policy documents by non-institutional national bodies

1.3.1. *Piattaforma rivendicativa unitaria* – CGIL, CISL, UIL – 2004 – the policy platform for senior citizens by the three major Italian trade unions -

[http://fnp.cisl.it/sitofnp.nsf/7d0b11f09a341a44c1256e91002d47b4/02c8a2d8e8ba2e19c1256f4800312024/\\$FILE/Piattaforma%20rivendicativa.pdf](http://fnp.cisl.it/sitofnp.nsf/7d0b11f09a341a44c1256e91002d47b4/02c8a2d8e8ba2e19c1256f4800312024/$FILE/Piattaforma%20rivendicativa.pdf)

1.3.2. *Cambiamo Finanziaria. Come usare la spesa pubblica per i diritti, la pace e l'ambiente* – 2000 – 2005 – *The other budget* – the alternative national budget proposals by the *Sbilanciamoci!* national campaign ¹, carried out by over 40 Italian NGOs ² - <http://www.sbilanciamoci.org/eng/theotherbudget.html>

2. Research documents under review

Agustoni, A.(2003). Consumi culturali e identità anziana. In Fondazione Leonardo *Terzo rapporto sugli anziani in Italia 2002-2003*. Franco Angeli: Milano.

Arber, S.; Phillips, M.; Ginn, J. (2001). Disuguaglianze nella salute: classe sociale, età e genere. In C.Facchini e E.Ruspini (a cura di) *Salute e Disuguaglianze* pp. 114-144. Franco Angeli: Milano.

Banca d'Italia (2004). Indagine sui bilanci delle famiglie italiane – anno 2002.

Bauman, Z. (2002). *Modernità liquida*. Laterza: Bari.

Beck, U. (2000). *I rischi della libertà*. Il Mulino: Bologna.

Blangiardo, G. C. (2001). *Analisi delle nuove famiglie e delle forme di convivenza in Italia e in Europa*. VII Rapporto CISF sulla Famiglia in Italia. Ed. San Paolo: Milano.

¹ Since 1999 *Sbilanciamoci!* presents an alternative state budget (Controfinanziaria) and presents its proposals to Parliament and Italian civil society. It demonstrates how alternatives exist and are feasible. It is possible to use public expenditure for rights, environment, peace, for a quality development and a different economy. Resources can be found using the fiscal leverage in a different way and reducing military expenditures, and can be used for other purposes: for sustainable development and a welfare of civil rights, for an economic policy based on fairness and for a new international cooperation, for fostering senior citizens empowerment and participation.

² *Sbilanciamoci!*'s member NGOs are: Altreconomia - Antigone - Arci - Arci Servizio Civile - Associazione Finanza Etica - Associazione Obiettori Nonviolenti - Associazione per la Pace - Beati i costruttori di pace - Campagna per la Riforma della Banca Mondiale - Carta - CIPSI - Cittadinanzattiva - Cnca - COCIS - Comunità delle Piagge Firenze - Cooperativa ROBA dell'altro mondo - CTM Altromercato - Crocevia - Donne in nero - Emergency - Emmaus Italia - Fondazione Culturale Responsabilità Etica - GESCO - Gruppo O. Romero - SICSAL Italia - ICS - Legambiente - Lila - Lunaria - Mani Tese - Medici Senza Frontiere - Microfinanza - Movimento Consumatori - Pax Christi - Rete Lilliput - Terre des hommes Italia - Uisp - Un Ponte per... - Unione degli Studenti - Unione degli universitari - WWF – all web sites on sbilanciamoci.org

CENSIS (2004), La domanda abitativa degli anni 2000, Censis - Federabitazione, Roma.

CENSIS (2005), Il rapporto annuale 2005, Franco Angeli: Milano.

Cesareo, Vincenzo. (2002). L'anziano attivo manager di sé stesso. In Atti del XVII Convegno Internazionale dell'EURAG *Anziani attivi: per un ruolo da protagonisti nell'Europa del XXI secolo*. Torino.

Contini, B. (2003). Prospettive di lavoro per gli anziani: una sfida per il prossimo decennio. Università di Torino, *LABORatorio R.Revelli*, Newsletter n. 2.

Facchini, C. (2001). Età anziana e disuguaglianze nelle condizioni di salute. In Facchini, C.; Ruspini, E. (a cura di) *Salute e Disuguaglianze*, pp. 270-289. Franco Angeli: Milano.

Facchini, C.; Rampi, F. (2003). E ora è tempo di dedicarti a te stesso. In Facchini C. (a cura di), *Invecchiare, un'occasione per crescere*. Franco Angeli: Milano.

Facchini, C. (a cura di) (2005). *Anziani e sistemi di welfare. Lombardia, Italia, Europa. Rapporto 2005 Spi Cgil-Cadef* – Franco Angeli: Milano.

Golini, Antonio; De Angelis, Valeria; Marini, Cristiano; Vittori, Paola (2004). *Dinamiche demografiche, strutture politiche e invecchiamento nell'Unione europea a 25*. Collana "Analisi e problemi dell'invecchiamento della popolazione", a cura di Antonio Golini.

Golini, Antonio; Basso, Sara; Reynaud, Cecilia (2003). L'invecchiamento della popolazione in Italia: una sfida per il paese e un laboratorio per il mondo. *Giornale di Gerontologia*, vol. 51, n. 6: 528-544.

ISTAT, Indagine Multiscopo sulle famiglie "Aspetti della vita quotidiana. Anno 2002", *Archivio socio-data*, Facoltà di Sociologia, Università degli Studi di Milano-Bicocca.

ISTAT (2005) *La prima indagine censuaria sugli interventi e servizi sociali dei Comuni*. Roma.

Lucchini, M.; Maretti, C.; Sarti, S. (2004). *Una mappa fuzzy del benessere e della deprivazione*. Il Mulino: Bologna.

Ministero del Lavoro e delle Politiche Sociali (2003) *Commissione di indagine sull'esclusione sociale – Rapporto sulle politiche contro la povertà e l'esclusione sociale* – Roma.

Ministero del Lavoro e delle Politiche Sociali (2005). *Rapporto Biennale al Parlamento sulla condizione dell'anziano* – Camera dei Deputati: Roma.

Maggi, S.(2004). *Atti del Convegno CNR-ISS La salute dell'anziano: ricerca e società*, Roma.

Ranci, C. (2002). *Le nuove disuguaglianze sociali in Italia*. Il Mulino: Bologna.

Sbilanciamoci! Come si vive in Italia? Qualità sociale, diritti umani, ambiente, politiche pubbliche regione per regione (QUARS) – 2005-2003 – <http://www.sbilanciamoci.org/eng/quars.html>

Schizzerotto, A. (2003). *Vite ineguali. Disuguaglianze e corsi di vita nell'Italia contemporanea*. Il Mulino: Bologna.

Sen, K.S. (2000). Lo sviluppo è libertà. Perché non c'è crescita senza democrazia. Il Mulino: Bologna.

Toffoletto, D. (2004) Invecchiamento e lavoro –
<http://www.psychomedia.it/pm/lifecycle/elderly/lavoro.htm>

3. Empowerment and participation of older citizens in policy documents

Recent national legislation –among others law 328 of 2000 and the constitutional law 18 October 2001, number 3- has decentralised welfare competence to Regions, with a National Social Policies Fund (NSPF), 90% of which directly and indirectly distributed yearly among Italy's twenty regional governments, among whose policy-making heavy discrepancies can be observed.

National budget laws have been reflecting the conflict between central and local governments on resources to be allocated to the NSPF: 1,800 MEURO allocated for 2004, 50% cut in 2005 – a similar situation for 2006.

Empowerment and participation targets, present in national and / or most regional authorities policy statements, risk therefore to remain good intentions.

It is possible that coming years will see changes in Italy's central government policies on empowerment and participation of older citizens, and this is the reason why we have included, earlier, also the relevant passages of the 2006-2011 governmental programme submitted by the centre-left coalition on the occasion of the April national elections.

In the 5-year legislative period which is going to an end, the Ministry for Labour and Social Policies has been the one responsible for senior citizens (anziani) policies at the central level. Its policy documents and statements, including those mentioned in section 1. of this report, stress that *ageing society is not worse or better, but just different, in needs, potentials, organisation, cultural orientation and life styles.*

Active ageing is recommended and seniors' welfare is defined as health + sound economic conditions + social relations + cultural consumption.

Empowerment is with regard to welfare – mostly as health - services and emphasis is on:

- A. Universality of rights to integrated welfare services.
- B. Social solidarity.
- C. Horizontal subsidiarity, i.e. co-ordination among services managed by the public, private, social private and non-profit/voluntary sectors. And according to *vertical subsidiarity* municipalities, i.e. the institutions closest to citizens, are given the role to co-ordinate initiatives by social actors and the management of the services offered.

Potential inter-generation competition, due to the prolonging of active age, on labour market is also spelled out.

The *National action plan on poverty and social exclusion 2003-2005* includes, among its policy objectives:

1.15 Implementation of services for over 65s

With a view to developing individual services the 2004-2007 Economic and Social Paper plans to improve social policy action in favour of those who increasingly represent a critical element of our society, especially the elderly and non self-sufficient.

Furthermore, in addition to the action for disabled people mentioned above, the 2003-2005 National Health Plan includes activities to improve services and health (including the health of the elderly) in a diversified manner:

- *implementation, monitoring and updating of agreements regarding basic, suitable levels of assistance.*
- *reduction of times and lists.*
- *promotion of an integrated health and social service network for caring for the elderly improving health development factors (or “capitals”).*
- *high level permanent health and medical training.*
- *promotion of excellence and re-qualification of hospital facilities.*
- *promotion of the territory as the primary centre for assistance and governance of health and socio-health programmes.*
- *promotion of healthy lifestyles, prevention and public health information.*

The approach by the Emilia-Romagna Regional Government is more inclusive – title and aims of the Regional Action Plan for senior citizens, approved on 22 November 2004 give the idea:

Title: *A society for all ages: the ageing population and prospects for development.*

Aims:

A. Favouring an independent life and supporting independent living with suitable housing choices

B. A welcoming, secure, accessible, wholesome and user-friendly environment. A city for all ages

C. Guaranteeing the right to movement and mobility, even for those with limited autonomy

D. Improving the health and quality of life of the elderly by means of a multi-sectorial approach and a fair, impartial and economically sustainable health system and supporting family members as caretakers

E. Ensuring continuing education and lifelong learning opportunities

F. Ensuring the basic and continuing education of workers and professionals in contact with the elderly

G. Favouring access to culture and to the benefits of taking part in cultural activities to the entire population regardless of age or sex

H. Favouring physical and sports activities for the entire population regardless of age or gender

I. Guaranteeing an easy-to-access commercial network

J. Guaranteeing the possibility to be able to travel autonomously and with adequate, easy-to-access services

K. Improving safety and limiting the negative effects of crime

L. Improving the living conditions of the elderly population in rural and mountain/remote areas

M. Ageing and economic development

N. Guaranteeing access to the use of new technology

O. Eliminating all forms of abandon, abuse and violence of the elderly

4. Empowerment and participation of older citizens in research documents

For this paragraph we will limit ourselves to quote the official, i.e. government's, research results, reproduced in the *Poverty and Social Exclusion in Italy - EU and Italian Indicators* – annexed to the NAP/incl 2003³:

Social Participation

This section illustrates the situation relative to the social, cultural and political participation and interpersonal relationships of the population. The relationship between economic conditions or type of employment and social participation is not analysed, therefore the possible connections between economic poverty or material hardship and a more general active presence in society are not shown. Here social participation is addressed as an important phenomenon in its own right, the implicit assumption being that involvement in social activities of various kinds is at least a sign of a sense of belonging to a community.

Socially isolated persons

Persons who do not frequently entertain friendly relationships are about one in eight. Here the gap between men and women is significantly wide, with the number of socially isolated persons being much higher among women – about one and a half times that of men. As regards differences in geographical areas, a lack of friends tends to be more common in the centre-north.

Social, cultural and political participation

The shares relative to those who are not involved in these activities are all relatively high (with the exception of watching television); almost one fourth of Italians is never interested in politics, more than one third does not attend cultural events, 40% does not read daily paper, and 60% does not read books. The south is the area in which this participation is lowest, women being less active in the sense specified here (however, they read more books than men). Attendance of cultural events diminishes with age; while among young people and adolescents this attendance is very high (about nine in ten attend some kind of cultural events), among the elderly (aged 65 or over) it becomes rare (only one in four). Nevertheless, a quite high occurrence of a more “active” kind of participation, such as that required by attending political party meetings, trade unions or cultural and volunteer associations is noted.

Social and family support networks

Although referring to a distant year (1998), the information presented provides evidence of a certain relevance of these activities, highlighting the existence of relatively structured social and family support networks; one woman in four and one man in five had given their help at least once in the month preceding the interview, and at least one household in seven had received help. This type of solidarity is more widespread among the central age groups, but is significantly high also among young people and the elderly, especially those aged between 65 and 74. The north is the area of the country where this phenomenon is more common. The most usual forms of support

³ The annex was drawn up by Paolo Sestito (Italian Ministry of Labour and Social Policies) and Raffaele Tangorra (Department of Economic Affairs of the Italian Prime Minister's Office, Indicators Subgroup of the Social Protection Committee of the EU) and Cristina Freguja (ISTAT). The statistical data were collected mainly by ISTAT (in particular, by Mario Albisinni, Francesca Gallo and Nicoletta Pannunzi). Paragraphs 9.2 and 9.3 were written by Francesca Utili (Department for Development and Cohesion Policies of the Italian Ministry of Economy and Finance).

provided are company, escorting and hospitality, but home assistance and help are also quite frequent.

With regard to empowerment and participation of older citizens in research documents in Italy one may summarise that :

- Empowerment and participation of older citizens are limited by risks of social exclusion.
- Gaps between policy targets and policy accomplishments, with specific reference to budget cuts for welfare services, let alone empowerment and participation purposes.
- Older citizens as undervalued society resources.
- Support for inter-generation initiatives.

5. Examples of initiatives by and for older citizens

Italy's National Action Plan mentions, out of four good practise projects, one specifically finalised to senior citizens' well-being:

“The Elderly Project” - *Fondazione del Monte di Bologna e Ravenna*

Project Aims

The *Fondazione del Monte di Bologna e Ravenna* launched the Elderly Project three years ago. The project includes a vast programme of home care for non self-sufficient old people living in the provinces of Bologna and Ravenna and has the two-fold aim of letting the elderly stay in their own home while relieving families of the burden of constant care and assistance thus making it possible for them to stay near to their loved ones. The objectives are as follows: complete responsabilisation and involvement of families in the means-tested payment of care for their loved ones; development of personalised services; voucher testing; incentivisation of setting up of new companies that can employ workers, particularly female immigrants whose working conditions are generally disadvantaged; legalisation of workers' positions; development of training for accredited companies'; development of the care assistant figure; opening of day care centres for integrated care; updating of public authorities' care policies and development of local level partnership network.

Resources

For the first three years the foundation set aside 7,230,396.00 Euro for the Elderly Project to help less well-off families who can ask to take part in the programme through a procedure handled by public and private authorities. From start up through to the end of 2002, the programme grew to reach the initially preset level of activity: a total of 549 families had joined the programme as at 31.12.2002, 195 of whom during the last 12 months; 278 were present at the same date. Average spending on care per month per person totalled 1,245.14 Euro, of which 943.67 Euro was covered by the foundation for an average of 6.696 hours of assistance per day (147.31 hours per month). In keeping with the objective of the complete responsabilisation and involvement of families in the payment of care for their loved ones, families co-financed a monthly average of 301.48 Euro in addition to 17.3 hours of care per day for their family members. Contracts with families lasted an average of 12 months. Total spending up to 31.12.02 amounted to 5,459.653.46 Euro, of which 3,023,645.08 Euro in 2002. The overall expenses incurred during 2002 were slightly lower than

forecasts in order to create the resources needed to finance the opening of day care centres (2 were opened during the year).

Development of enterprise activities

Ten companies were accredited with the foundation during the start-up year, of which four small cooperatives set up thanks to the project and six new businesses. Another five companies were accredited during 2002. These companies have created legal jobs for about one hundred female immigrants who were therefore able to quit their unsuitable employment situations.

Training and development of professional figures

The Elderly Project provides for funding of professional training courses in order to support the training of those working for accredited companies as essential for the quality of care supplied. A total of six courses have been carried out from the project start-up through to the end of 2002 which saw the participation of 91 female workers. A new professional figure – care assistant - has also been introduced.

Guaranteed fair income and acquisition of legal employment

The project has managed to keep a check on the increase in prices, which is typical of care service markets, by keeping the average cost for one hour of care at € 8.45. Said objective went hand in hand with that of ensuring accredited companies' care workers a fair income of € 837. In addition the objective of legalising the employment conditions of the majority of female workers providing care services without suitable cover was fully achieved thanks to the accredited companies' adoption of a "ongoing, coordinated collaboration contract".

Development of local partnerships

The project's contribution to improving and updating the public authorities' care policies – possibly the Elderly Project's most ambitious and demanding objective – was made through the establishment of working relations between the foundation and various public parties involved in the project. There has been a constant increase in the number of stipulated agreements during the three years of activity even if it must be noted that to date not all the municipalities, hospitals and local health authorities in the provinces of Bologna and Ravenna have lent their support to the initiative. On the hand, it is good to see how the number of municipalities and parishes, who have signed in the capacity of family member for those people with no next of kin, has continued to increase, thus achieving the highest possible form of subsidiarity. At 31.12.02 the programme beneficiaries presented by parishes totalled eight and by public authorities nine.

The services option and voucher testing

The programme provides for the joint decision of each individual family and the party appointed by the foundation in selecting the most suitable services option among the 11 available options which go from 4 to 24 hours of daily care. Figures clearly show how the 4, 8 and 24 hour options are the most widely requested. The choice to finance the vouchers, with the bank's logistic help, which families use to select, pay at set prices and, if need be, change the company providing the service, lies at the base of the high satisfaction level for the quality of service.

Future prospects

The project continues to go ahead and a substantial expansion is planned in 2004 with the involvement of some foundations (family and banking) and some local authorities.

In addition to this the following are also worth mentioning:

- The 7 December 2005 Trevi Fountain trade union demonstration: 4,000 older citizens picking up the coins thrown by tourists in the Fountain to protest against the new cuts proposed for 2006 to the National Social Policies Fund.
- Participation in international activities in which they may exchange their life experiences and act as living libraries – see the example the Confederation of European Senior Expert Services (CESES), an international not-for-profit umbrella NGO with over 25,000 volunteers, offering professional, voluntary, short-term assistance and advice to enterprises and institutions – www.cese.net
- Socially useful activities by and for older citizens run by many Italian local governments.
- European Commission's pilot projects: *Mobility 55*, *Still Active!* and *Teaming up!* – http://www.lunaria.org/mat/TEAMING_UP_final_report_31.01.061.pdf

6. Innovative ideas to promote empowerment and participation of older citizens

- Bridge policy / policy implementation gaps.

The south of Italy lags behind the rest of the country, a fact which makes it one of the policy-making priorities in the fight against poverty and social exclusion. The problems noted till now are in any case the result of a more general structural delay in the development of the Regions of the south and islands... Poverty and Social Exclusion in Italy - EU and Italian Indicators – annexed to the NAP/incl 2003.

- Improve EU-wide older citizens empowerment and participation legislation, programmes and controls.

As in other fields – such as equal opportunities and environmental protection – also for the issues of empowerment and participation of older citizens in order to provoke improvements at the national level it is crucial that inputs come from the EU. Not only at the planning and programmatic levels, but also at the control one. Italy is still one of the countries with the highest fraud standards in the EU funds use and interestingly enough one should remember that in Italy the anti-corruption wave known as *Mani pulite* – clean hands- took off in 1992 with the discovery of bribing in Milan's elderly home *Pio Albergo Trivulzio*.

- A EU *European Senior Volunteer Programme*.

Building on the successful experience of the *European Voluntary Service* for young people, aged 18 to 25, as well as in the successful pilot projects developed so far with and for senior citizens, a similar programme scheme should be launched by the European Commission.

- Launch national and EU inter-generational pilot projects.

Pleas for inter-generational programmes have been recurrently coming up as one of the possible solutions for inclusion policies for both the young and the old and to avoid that the major problems facing these two society groups be treated in ghetto-like approaches. The time has come for local, national and EU policy-makers to start experimenting with large-scale, all-EU –in order to also contribute to the making of an inter-generational European identity, action schemes.

- The intercultural dimensions of empowerment and participation of older citizens.

All indicators agree that European societies are getting, and will be more and more getting, multicultural. Intercultural education – formal and non-formal – should be increased at all society levels so that all citizens become more aware of its implications and so that peaceful conflict resolution tools may be learned while fostering empowerment and participation of fellow older citizens.

7. Conclusions: the situation of empowerment and participation of older citizens in Italy

- Italy is still Machiavelli's double moral motherland.

Italy is the country of the EU which has by far the highest level of regional dispersion of employment rates. No significant reduction in this phenomenon, which affects women in significantly greater measure than men, is recorded. Even higher is the regional dispersion of unemployment rates: in this case the standard deviation takes on values that are not too far from average, signalling the extreme polarisation of unemployment in Italy. It should be noted that in the case of the dispersion of unemployment increasingly less differences in gender are recorded in an area where men are traditionally more negatively affected, as the improvement in female unemployment is concentrated in the regions of the centre-north, leading therefore to an increase in dispersion also for women. - Poverty and Social Exclusion in Italy - EU and Italian Indicators – annexed to the NAP/incl 2003.

- No empowerment and participation of older citizens can be credible without appropriate funding.

And when no appropriate funding is provided, in spite of pro-empowerment and participation policy statements, the question raises automatically: do they *really* want older citizens' empowerment and participation ?

- 1 out of 10 Italians dedicates part of his/her free time to volunteering, with growing percentages of older citizens.

Volunteering as social resource has been over and over again demonstrated by research and praxis – among others the experience of banks of time has also shown the economic and social role volunteering can play as non-monetary component for better qualitative lives. Volunteer engagement of senior citizens in Italy offers great resources to still be channelled into more solidary social relations.

- intra and inter-national components would be also in this field very beneficial.

Because it would help bridge gaps between the North and South of our country, contribute to an all-EU balance, including from the legislative point of view, in the conditions of the elderly and foster European and global learning processes, taking advantage of the resources senior citizens have to offer on the basis of their experiences, skills and memories.