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TIME AND TERRITORY IN THE CITY OF BARCELONA

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Introduction

Barcelona is a dense city and the diversity of its labour, commercial and land uses determines the proximity of services. It has an urban shape that affects the localisation and organisation of activities. Barcelona is also a complex city with respect to its time management: in all areas of life, its citizens must be able to reconcile the different times they need, although the city must also be adapted to the time needs of its 'users', both residents and those for whom Barcelona is a place to work, study, shop or go out.

The Survey of Conditions of Life and Habits of the Population[2] provides, for five specific times over a 20-year period (1985-2006), the basic data to be able to analyse how the population manages their time in different areas of life: working time, domestic/family time and free/leisure time.

The present article analyses the behaviour and perception of Barcelona's population about the different activities that 'consume' time and their localisation within the city. This analysis aims to point out initial characteristics both of Barcelonan's time and the space that they move in, so that public policies can move in the direction of facilitating personal and group management of daily life.

The article is divided into five parts. The first three analyse the time of the Barcelona population in the areas of paid work, family / domestic work and free and leisure time. The fourth part considers the population's difficulty in combining working life and family and domestic life, as well as the population's perception of how much free time they have. The last section analyses the different spaces that correspond to the spheres of daily life, as a first note in the relations between the morphology of the city and the habits of its population, which determine how people manage their time in differing degrees.

1. Paid working time

Paid working time is the total hours that the population spends in paid employment. Thus, it is time that is closely connected to the status of people's activities and the organisation of the work day. The analysis of this area must also include travel time between home and the workplace, to be able to have an overall vision of the time that a good part of the population invests in one of the areas of daily life.

Hereafter, all the components that affect paid working time of Barcelona inhabitants are analysed, as well as the employment situation of the population, the state of the work schedule and the time spent in travelling from home to the workplace.

1.1. The principal activity of the population

The active or non-active status of people is a determining factor in their time management. The different periods of activity that the population experiences throughout their lives are one of the determining cruxes of the use of time in daily life. Working, studying, doing domestic and family chores, among others, structure the daily life of the population differently. These activities model living situations that are very different and also involve very different uses of time.

In 2006, a little more than half of Barcelona's population was employed, while 41.8% were unemployed, with retirees and those who do household work holding a predominant position in the latter group. Throughout the last 15 years, Barcelona has experienced relevant changes with respect to activity, which reflect changes that have taken place in the economic situation. On the one hand, data from the years 1990, 2000 and 2006 reflect periods of expansion and high employment levels, while indicators from 1995 show a period of economic recession (less activity, more unemployment). On the other hand, a slow and progressive reduction is seen in the percentage of people who exclusively work in domestic tasks, in parallel to a growth in the rate of activity among women (table 1).

Despite the fact that all indexes for measuring the population's activities point to a progressive incorporation of women in the employment market, their presence is still significantly lower than for men. Even after having grown in the largest proportion between the years 2000-2006, the rate of female activity is 51%, while the figure for males stands at 66.5% (table 2). The same thing happens with the employment rate: the rate grows more for women, but the rate for men is higher. These data continue to reveal that there are relevant differences in labour insertion between men and women, which necessarily transfers over into the management of their time.

1.2. Time spent in paid work

Beyond the activity status of the population, the characteristics of the labour activity of employed persons also have a great influence on personal time management. Work organisation, which includes the type of work schedule and the number of hours worked, is seen as a very defining element when managing reconciliation between the different time periods of daily life.

Overall, the employed Barcelonan population opts for full-time work and this has been quite a stable situation since 1990, only changed due to the economic recession reflected in data from 1995 (table 3). However, there are significant differences between some groups in the city. Women select part-time employment four times more than men (21.0% compared to 5.1%) and young employed people lean more than any other group towards part-time work (up to 31% in 2006).

The principal reasons for selecting a part-time work schedule have experienced two inverse trends over the course of the last 15 years. On the one hand, the weight has decreased of those who have selected this schedule due to need ('it is the type of schedule that they found') and, on the other hand, the figure has grown for people who have chosen this schedule to be able to combine their jobs with other activities that consume time, such as domestic or family tasks or studies (table 4).

Similar to reasons for the schedule type selected, differences between men and women are a reflection of very different personal and social situations. While women seem to have much more freedom of choice than men (only 28.7% have part-time jobs because it is what they looked for, compared to 42.3% of men), women make this choice because they have to take care of domestic and family tasks (30.6%), while men do it because they are interested in this type of schedule (32.1%).

Another aspect of the work schedule is its distribution throughout the day, since this factor conditions the harmonisation of people's activities and their pace of life. The most typical schedule among the working population of Barcelona is

the split working schedule of morning and afternoon. While this workday option is the most common both for men and for women, its weight is very different: almost 63% of men have a split schedule, while for women the percentage does not even reach 50%. Conversely, the continuous working day in the morning or the afternoon is an option seen twice as much among the employed female population (40.4% compared to 20.4%), owing to a large degree to the greater presence of part-time jobs among this group (table 5).

With regard to the time spent in paid work, the majority of the employed population of Barcelona works around 40 hours per week (between 35 and 45), a figure that has been quite stable in the last 15 years. What has changed though is the growing proportion of those who work less than 35 hours per week at a paid job and the decreasing proportion of those who work more than 45 hours per week.

Gender differences in the employed population are also noted if the length of the working day is analysed. While the majority of men and women work around 40 hours a week —with very similar percentages— as a whole, the female employed population of Barcelona works six hours less than their male counterparts. This is due to the fact that one out of every four employed men works more than 45 hours, while one out of every four employed women works less than 35 hours (table 6). This highly-unequal distribution is also a reflection of the greater weight that part-time employment has among the female employed population.

1.3. Time for travelling to work

A third component of paid working time is the length of time spent travelling from home to the workplace. This variable is determined by the territorial distribution of homes and workplaces and the means of transport used in travel.

The city of Barcelona has a high degree of labour self-containment: in 2006, nearly three out of every four employed Barcelonans worked in the city itself. In the last 20 years, the weight of the population that resides and works in the city has continued to decrease, due to the growth of those who work outside the city and, above all, those who have variable workplaces (table 7). If we analyse this fact from a gender perspective, the difference is substantial: the location of the workplaces of the female employed population is concentrated much more in the city (82.8% compared to 62.9% for men) and has an almost insignificant level of non-fixed locations.

The territorialisation of workplaces that can be deduced from these data leads to the understanding that there may also be significant differences in travel time to

the workplace. However, a second very determining factor intervenes here: the mode of transport used for this journey.

As a whole, home to workplace travel in the city of Barcelona takes an average of 28 minutes and 15 seconds per trajectory, a time that has remained quite stable over the last 10 years. However, this overall figure hides a substantial change: the progressive reduction in the percentage of the population that spends less than 15 minutes in travelling to the workplace and the increase of those who spend more than 30 minutes (table 8).

Of the evolutionary analysis of transport modes used to get to work, there is an overall and growing predominance of motorised modes, which have increased more than 10 percentage points in 20 years, in parallel with decreased numbers in those who walk (from 23.5% to 16.1%). Similarly, within motorised modes, public transport was predominant in 2006, with important growth after 10 years of stability and a slight decreasing trend (table 9).

2. Family / domestic working time

Family / domestic working time is comprised of a wide range of activities related to the reproductive area, which includes both time devoted to the family (food, health, hygiene, taking care of children and dependent people, etc.) as well as time spend in household chores (shopping, cleaning, maintenance and repairs, etc.). They are often tasks that are done transversely and simultaneously or combined with other types of activity, which makes it difficult to give a time delimitation. In order to understand this area of daily life, the *Survey of Life Conditions and Habits of the Population* provides us with two pieces of information related to domestic and family tasks: the daily/weekly time spent and its distribution within homes.

The Barcelona population spends a daily average of 1 hour and 57 minutes on family and domestic tasks. In the last 15 years, this average has dropped by 42 minutes, at quite a constant five-year pace. The distribution of the population according to family and domestic working time has however undergone substantial changes. Firstly, the weight of the population has shrunk almost to one fourth who spends extreme amounts of time: no time and over six hours (see table 10). Secondly, the percentage of the population has grown by more than 25 points who spend up to three hours per day on domestic and family chores, so that in 2006, out of every three residents in Barcelona, one devotes between a few minutes, but less than 60, to domestic and family tasks, while another devotes between one and three hours.

The area of domestic and family tasks is where the usage of time presents the

greatest contrasts depending on gender, so that two highly-contrasting realities are sketched that, despite converging over time, continue to have substantial differences derived from the level of male and female activity and the endurance of traditional roles in the different areas of daily life. In 2006, the female population spent 1 hour and 37 minutes more than men on family-domestic work. This time difference has decreased by half in 15 years, although the reduction must be attributed more to the drop in women's amount of time (1 hour and 26 minutes less between 1995 and 2006) than in the growth of time spent by men, which is only 17 minutes. While part of the difference can be attributed to the greater proportion of women who spend their time exclusively on household tasks, there are also important differences among the employed population: employed women spend more than double the time each week than employed men on family and domestic work (15 hours and 23 minutes, compared to 6 hours and 53 minutes).

Despite the gender differences in this area of daily life still persisting, a process of change can also be appreciated that is reflected, among others, in the decrease in the time difference according to age. However, even among the young population, women devote more than twice as much time as men on the home, with this difference multiplied by three and by four in the case of the adult and elderly population, respectively (table 11).

3. Free time and leisure time

Free time and leisure time contain activities that are 'non-obligatory' for work, either paid or domestic and family tasks, or study, according to the definition given by the interviewees. Included here is time spent on more or less scheduled activities both at home and outside the home, to time spent on daily rest and the time perceived as free time that, as a subjective measurement, includes the time that people have for themselves, without any obligations, in the broadest sense of the term. Due to this, the dividing line between leisure time and free time is a very fine line that takes on life from the meaning that social groups and individuals attribute to it.

In leisure time, the activities done inside and outside the home are differentiated, given their different consequences on the management of people's uses of time. Activities that can be done at home tend to consume shorter periods of time and are not generally subject to strict schedules. Conversely, activities done outside the home require longer periods of time (travel time must be added to the time employed in the activity) and often depend on schedules not established by the person doing them.

Within the time not devoted to employment or family-domestic tasks, the daily time spent on rest must also be calculated, which in 2006 for the Barcelonan population was 8 hours and 2 minutes (14 minutes more than in 2000). The people who rest the most are those older than 65, with the figure standing at 9 hours and 3 minutes. Conversely, the population that sleeps least are the employed, at 7 hours and 29 minutes and those in the age range between 35 and 44, at 7 hours and 41 minutes.

Given the difficulty of specifying exactly what free time is and how each person decides to spend it, a good measure to appraise such a subjective question is the perception the population has about their availability of free time. In 2006, 36.3% of Barcelonans felt that they had very little free time, compared to 27.2% who felt they had a lot. This is a measure that varies according to age and employment status: employed people between the ages of 25 and 44 are those who feel that they have little free time in the greatest proportion.

The main activities that the Barcelonan population spontaneously cites when referring to domestic leisure[3] are *watching television or videos* (57.2%) and *reading* (52.5%), followed at a large distance by *listening to music* (19.5%), *connecting to the Internet* (13.6%) and *doing work* (10.1%). Out of all possibilities, those done most often[4] are *watching television* (60.7% of Barcelonans), *listening to music* (49.4%) and *listening to the radio* (42.7%).

With regard to leisure outside the home, the activity cited most spontaneously was *going for walks* (52.5%), followed at quite a distance by *going to the cinema* (21.8%), *going out with friends* (20.4%) and *doing sport* (19.9%); also noteworthy are the percentages of the population that cited *going shopping* (15.9%) and *going to a restaurant* (11.2%).

4. Reconciliation of activities

Combining paid working life with domestic-family tasks and the usage of personal time for leisure obligates the population to manage their different time needs, that is, to spend different and variable times on each of the activities that comprise their daily lives. Managing these times becomes progressively more complex in contemporary society and conflicts often arise when trying to make different activities in daily life compatible. Thus, alongside the greater or lesser availability of leisure and personal time, the time spent on employment and family-domestic tasks requires efforts of reconciliation that vary throughout people's lifecycles.

In 2006, over 40% of the Barcelona population stated that they had problems making employment and domestic-family lives compatible. This area of conflict in time management is particularly noticeable

in the case of 11.6% of the population who express having great difficulties in reconciling activities in their daily lives.

Although it can be seen that reconciliation is becoming a problem for the population as a whole, the situation is very different for women and men. On the one hand, there are many more men than women who state that they do not participate in household chores and, therefore, are not subject to reconciliation issues. On the other hand, there are many more women than men (46.9% and 36.5%, respectively) who declare that they have some or many problems making work life and domestic-family tasks compatible (see table 12).

Difficulties in making paid work and domestic and family tasks compatible mainly affect the population of an adult age, especially those living in homes with children. The percentage of the population that confirm that they have problems is 45.7% among 25 and 34 years of age and 48.6% between 35 and 44. Conversely, the youngest people, especially those who are still not yet emancipated, are those who express having the least problems, because their participation in domestic and family chores is very reduced.

In summary, both the information about the combination of paid work and domestic work and that referring to the perception of availability of free time shows the existence of a period in adult lives when time management becomes particularly complex. In general terms, this is the time of the lifecycle in which important dedication to jobs coincides with intense domestic work, often with the need to take care of young children. Difficulties are particularly concentrated among women, owing to the fact that they take greater responsibility in domestic and family tasks.

5. The city and time: the living spaces of Barcelona inhabitants

The interrelation between time and territory is important for the daily time management of citizenry. The way in which the territory is structured and the city is organised determines, to a large degree, people's strategies in carrying out their activities and the possibilities of different time usage models. There is a double interaction between the territorial structure (different occupation of urban lands, distribution and intensity of residential uses, of economic activities, community facilities and services, of infrastructures and technical services) and lifestyles (habits of the population according to specific daily patterns and, in particular, of daily uses of time).

The first approach to how the Barcelonan population makes use of the city and their most immediate environment is the territorial localisation of the principal daily activities. With this analysis, one can

understand what the living space of Barcelonans is, what the limits are of their real city and how the usage of space has changed in recent years.

The productive work space
As seen in the analysis of paid work and, concretely, the time invested in getting to work, Barcelona is characterised by having high labour self-containment: in 2006, 72.2% of the employed population of Barcelona worked in the city. However, this index dropped by 11 points since 1985, due above all to the decrease in the number of people working in their own neighbourhood, the growing tendency of Barcelonans to go outside the city to work and, this is the most relevant change, the increase of the employed population that state that they have an irregular destination with respect to their jobs (see table 13).

The changes in labour self-containment reveal that Barcelona participates in a metropolisation process. The interrelation of the city with its most immediate environment has become more pronounced over the years and has materialised in an expansion of the real daily city of Barcelonans. These territorial transformations have derived into an extensive use of the territory and in an increased need of citizens to travel.

The shopping space
In parallel to the real daily city expanding with the progressive dispersion of the localisation of workplaces, at a territorial level, a tendency is seen in the intensification of activities in their own neighbourhood, associated with the search for proximity as a growing value in a society where time has become well scarce and limited.

As confirmation of what was just stated, the Barcelonan population tends to do its daily shopping in the closest space —the neighbourhood— and a growing tendency is seen in a preference for this space of proximity (see table 14).

With regard to non-daily purchases —exemplified by the acquisition of clothing and shoes— the proximity value is not so noticeable, although the neighbourhood continues to be the predominant area. In the evolution of the last 20 years, the increase in purchases in their own neighbourhood is worth highlighting, which must also be connected to the territorial expansion of specialised trade, via shopping centres or through the strengthening of traditional or newly-created commercial hubs. In parallel, the weight of the population that does not have their regular non-daily shopping space so well defined has decreased to less than half (table 15).

The leisure and personal relationships space
The search for proximity is also very present in doing leisure activities. Municipal self-containment is very high

when going to look at shops, going to the cinema, to bars and discotheques, to restaurants, to the theatre and to museums and exhibitions. The attraction of other cities in the Barcelona metropolitan setting is very low. These are activities in which diversification and delocalisation of the offering has an effect on the fact that a significant percent of Barcelonans state that they do not regularly go to any specific place. The weight of those who move around indistinctly is highest for going to restaurants (35.2%) or to museums and exhibitions (35.3%). In the last ten years, a drop is seen in the preference for the city centre as a place to go to do different leisure activities and, as happens with shopping, a revitalisation of the neighbourhood of residence is seen as an ideal location to do them, with the exception of some activities that depend on facilities at a city level, such as theatres and museums and exhibition halls.

The majority of the delimitation of space for Barcelonans' social relationships is circumscribed in the city: 46.0% of Barcelonans preferably have relationships with people in the same neighbourhood in a proportion that has grown by 10 points in the last 10 years. Less than 10% of the population has relationships with people outside of the city. Therefore, proximity is also a growing value in the area of social relationships, the most appreciated and sought by the Barcelona population.

Spaces for residents and non-residents
In the definition of space and time in daily life, we have seen that there is not a single living space for the population of Barcelona and, while their own neighbourhood and the city in general are spaces of great relevance, for some of the most common activities —like going to work— usage space goes beyond municipal limits (see graph 1). This expansion of the city towards surrounding municipalities represents an increase in travelling and, consequently, more time spent on activities done outside the home, whether speaking of going to work or to a restaurant. This fact adds complexity to daily life time management, especially for the groups that have more difficulties in accessing quick and efficient transport.

In order to correctly manage the uses of time, Barcelona must also consider that its space is not only for city residents, but also a point of attraction for cities in the metropolitan area. With respect to employment, Barcelona receives 12.6% of residents from the province each day. The employment attraction of the city is greater the closer that people live: 30.7% of the residents in the first metropolitan ring work there, 10.8% of the residents of the second ring and 2.1% of those who live in the rest of the province. The search for proximity when doing the most regular shopping means that in this matter, Barcelona does not exercise much attraction over the surrounding region. Conversely, in some

of the leisure areas, it is indeed a pole towards which many of the inhabitants of the province converge, like the 61.8% who go to the theatre in Barcelona or the 46.0% that travel to the city to go to a museum or exhibition (see graph 2).

6. Closing thoughts

The activity in which the Barcelonan population spends time configures a social panorama that is extremely diversified and translates into the existence of highly-contrasting living situations with regard to how time is employed in daily life. The basic contrast occurs between the active and inactive sectors of the population. Thus, employment is a determining condition in time management of employed people, up to the point that it often becomes the main area that structures their daily time. However, the different activities of the population present extremely diverse vital situations between the retired population, those who work in household tasks, students and the unemployed.

The organisation of paid work is seen as very monolithic, founded on a work schedule and time spent working that affects the large majority of the population. In this predominant framework of rigidity, reconciliation of uses of time becomes difficult. However, there is a higher presence of part-time jobs among women and the young population and, furthermore, there is a tendency to voluntarily have this type of workday, in order to devote time to family tasks or studies to a large degree.

The area of domestic and family work has great contrasts based on the gender of the population. Women spend more time in these types of tasks than men and, furthermore, take responsibility for performing the large majority of domestic and family matters. This contrast becomes clear among the elderly and adult population, but is also seen among the young. Similarly, among the employed population, women also spend more time on domestic and family work than men. Additionally, there is a significant proportion of men who do not do any type of domestic work.

Despite what was just set forth, a process of change can be noted that ranges from the reduction in the time women spend on domestic and family work and an increase in the case of men, as well as a growing coresponsibility in doing this work. However, the change process is very slow and the most palpable is the reduction of working time by women, while the increase for men is only slight.

Free time is time for non-obligatory activities and encompasses a wide range of extremely diverse options for spending time. In addition to rest time, domestic-leisure time is founded primarily on watching television and reading, listening to music or the radio. In recent years, there

has been an explosion of Internet and video consoles as fundamental instruments of leisure at home for a good part of the population. Outside the home, leisure is based on physical activities, such as taking walks or playing sport and also relational activities such as going out with friends, as well as going to the cinema or to restaurants.

As a consequence of the described distribution patterns, it turns out that 4 out of every 10 people interviewed state that they have problems reconciling work life with domestic and family life. The most complex situation is seen in a tenth of the population that asserts that they have serious reconciliation problems.

The perception of availability of free time has highly contrasting situations with important percentages of people who state that they have a lot of or enough free time. At the same time a third of the population perceives that they have very little free time, a part of the population that is also increasing significantly.

As a whole, a specific segment of the adult population is identified, mainly between 25 and 45 years of age and employed, that has the most problems with reconciliation and a higher perception of having little free time. In this segment, intense dedication to jobs and extensive domestic working time coincide, often associated with taking care of children. Women are the gender who suffer the most reconciliation problems in this segment.

With respect to the location where the population carries out different activities in daily life, first, that the city of Barcelona has very high self-containment levels: the majority of Barcelonans do their daily activities in the same city. Furthermore, an increase is seen in the neighbourhood as a living territorial area —except for employment issues— associated with the search for proximity in daily life. This trend is influenced by city planning and economic changes that have taken place in the city in recent years (dispersion of shopping centres, strengthening of facilities and services for people…).

However, in parallel, especially with regard to the job market, the real city of the Barcelonan population has expanded starting with a metropolisation process that intensifies relations between territories and increases mobility needs. Barcelona is also a centre of attraction for residents from the rest of the province, both with respect to paid work and for doing certain leisure activities, above all going to the theatre and to museums and exhibitions. The intensity of these flows is highest in the first metropolitan ring.

Returning to what was said in the introduction, Barcelona is a dense city with a great diversity of activities, which must collaborate with its 'users' in the time management of daily life. Public

policy is the area that can most contribute to providing instruments to people for reconciliation of their time.

TIME POLICIES IN EUROPE

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Introduction

It is likely that amongst social policy experts, the existence of time policies is still an unknown territory. The reason for this relative ignorance is, undoubtedly, the fact that those are very recent policies. Moreover, the fact that these policies include disperse initiatives or that they are considered less important also has to be taken into account as a possible reason for this lack of knowledge. Although time policies have been developed in Europe for some time now, it is not common to find them reviewed or discussed in the writings or discourses of the specialists that analyse, design or evaluate the policies on the welfare state; with just a few exceptions to this rule (Fitzpatrick, 2004).

The main goal of this report is to assess some of the initiatives that can be identified as European time policies and that have developed during the past 20 years. This assessment will start by mentioning the paradox that seems to be heading its development; namely, the fact that in Scandinavian countries, where policies on the welfare state have been thoroughly developed, time policies do not seem to exist.

First, it will be necessary to review the origins of these policies in order to understand and explain this paradox. Secondly, a brief summary of the main initiatives that can be regarded as time policies will be presented. To do this, a hypothesis holding that the conception of time politics has been subject to two crucial influences (Torns, 2003) will be used as a starting point. The first of these influences, emerging from a gender perspective, are the thoughts and proposals of a few Italian social scientists, who were interested in the promotion of initiatives concerning time and welfare. The second influence are the initiatives on working time that have been developed in Europe in order to alleviate the transformations in the occupational structures.

The outline of the existing time policies will review the European labour policies that are focused on the regulation of the working day and that have had a greater impact. It acknowledges, as existing time polices, those that are more concerned with the first of the above-mentioned influences. As it will be further explained, these proposals evolve around different core interests, amongst others, time policy and the city. These initiatives, apart from being the best known policies in this field, also include the most innovative proposals and those that are more directly addressed to have an impact on the welfare of citizens.

1. A Brief History of Time Policies

The first thoughts and proposals to be known as time politics were influenced by a motto that was announced by female social scientists from the South of Europe. The pioneer was the sociologist Laura Balbo, who in 1987 published *Time to care,* a title that was completed with the sentence *Politiche del tempo e diritti quotidiani.* The text was a first call for the need to value reproductive work and claimed that time was a fundamental element of the new culture that had to be developed, in order to face the new citizenship rights that would arise from the process.

Balbo was specifically echoing the debates that were taking place in the North of Europe, where some social scientists criticised the welfare state policies because of their lack of equity between men and women (Hernes, 1990). Moreover, the Italian sociologist gathered the theoretical arguments and thoughts that this issue had fuelled in Europe since 1986 with the re-emergence of the feminist movement. She highlighted the importance of a new problem or, at least, a quite unknown issue in the field of social sciences: caring work time. This "new" activity and this time were socially and economically ignored and undervalued, despite the fact that they were absolutely necessary for the reproduction of the life of people and society. The "new" activity became visible under the name of housework in the debate between feminism and Marxism that had just developed. Balbo did not only defend that activity as an indispensable one, but she also insisted on its recognition because of the need to acknowledge the time to carry it out.

The recognition of time became fundamental because the gender-blind conventional labour analyses were not able to conceive that there was another time that was needed to live. This time was neither to be devoted to production nor fixed by the working day schedule and it did not correspond only to leisure time, as industrial society had disposed it. This was the time for the reproduction of life, time for caring, and it existed in the same way as paid, wage-earning, productive work did. It was a time and a work that needed to be taken into account, because apart from generating welfare, they were, and still are, developed by the majority of adult females in contemporary societies; and, also, because its denial and invisibility made it easy to forget and undervalue the issue of this dual-work. This was a motto that Balbo herself (1978) had created to highlight the synchronic hindrance that women had, and still have, to face every day in both works: labour-work and housework. And also it was meant to emphasise the importance of caring work as a fundamental task in providing daily welfare for contemporary societies, in particular, those societies where welfare policies are not fully developed, such as the societies in the South of Europe, where the daily housework of women replaces the lack of a non-existent welfare state.

1.1. 'Women Change Time'

The motto that entitles this section was the title given to a citizen-initiated draft bill that was promoted by the female members of the former Italian communist party in 1990, that, however, never saw its proposals passed into law (Cordoni, 1997). This draft bill has had a great impact on some circles of women interested in challenging the gender inequalities that affected them. The draft bill emerged from the debate held by those Italian women, in which they called for an improvement of the welfare conditions and the necessary reconsiderations to obtain it. In this sense, Italian women immediately realised that changing times did not only imply modifying schedules, but also finding new ways of life that could generate women-friendlier societies and, consequently, friendlier to everybody. This reconsideration claimed a new social and economic organisation, headed by values that would show the importance and the need of the reproductive process. This meant, firstly, a positive approach of the activities of this process (housework, family responsibilities and other caregiving activities) to highlight its social, political and economic importance. Secondly, the claim for a new gender solidarity (currently known as democratic equity) geared towards finding a new

balance between men and women that would allow them to live together whilst keeping their diversity.

The draft bill was divided into three chapters: the first one dealt with the life course; the second one discussed the working day schedule and the third one reviewed urban time. The first section called for the regulation of the life course, an aim that was based on the distrust of the male-dominated model of life course according to the established values: the young boy studies to be able to work, works as an adult and only in a paid job and stops working when he retires. This model is predominantly focused on the productive work time and, therefore, it excludes and/or discriminates women and also all those people (old and young) that cannot fully develop productive work. In this model, there is no time left for the reproductive work and, sometimes, not even for leisure and other activities; that is, there is no time for life. The proposal suggested the possibility of voluntarily alternating productive and reproductive times, together with other times, during the working life cycle, by means of regulating working permits and allocating suitable resources. This first chapter never became a law, but its interest in the importance of time related to the life course has brought about the initiatives that will be seen in the following pages.

The second chapter posed, as a key factor the unavoidable need to reduce paid working hours for everybody and setting a more flexible schedule of the working day. These reforms would make the productive work compatible with the reproductive work on a daily basis, so that women would not be exclusively in charge of the responsibilities attached to each of these times, but rather, they would share these obligations with men. The intention was to highlight that the reduction of the working day had to affect everybody and not only women; because this was the only way to counterbalance the dominant role of productive rationality as the only pillar that supports the project of life and organises society. Moreover, it claimed the right and the duty that everybody has to attend the imperatives that arise from their own and from others' reproductive needs; obtaining a more balanced way of living.

Even though the draft bill never included this second chapter, the issue of regulating the working time has become the core theme of all current time policies. In fact, the regulation and redesign of the working day has, in the last years, become the central element in the majority of policies conceived to face the occupational crisis. Moreover, these time policies are the ones that have a highest influence on the welfare of people, despite not always being known as such. This lack of recognition is not accidental; the majority of these policies have been designed and developed following the productive

rationality, a perspective that is contrary to what the Italian draft bill presupposed. The immediate consequence of this approach on the regulation of the working day is visible: productivity and competitiveness of the working world are still prioritised over the daily welfare of people. However, the central role of working time remains unquestioned.

The third chapter of the Italian legislative draft looked at the relation between time and the city and it is the only proposal that has become a law in Italy and that has largely been developed in other European countries. It proposed a regulation of the activities and services that affect the daily life of citizens, especially, female citizens. The reason for this last remark came from the assumed fact that women were the main actors, especially in cities, of the mediation activities between their families and the public and private services, since they were assigned the tasks of reproduction and caregiving. And these services have an increasing presence in the contemporary Western societies. To achieve this objective, the bill proposed the regulation of the business hours for local services, transports, shops, companies, etc., and the subsequent establishment of pacts that did not infringe the rights and situations of the affected groups. This last issue was, and still is, particularly critical, since it is women the ones who usually work and, at the same time, use the majority of the services to be regulated.

2. The existing time policies

The best way to review the initiatives that, in the past decades, have been considered or acknowledged as time policies is to follow the aforementioned rationality that structures the "law of time". That is, the three pillars that were conceived in its origin. Despite not following the order proposed in the draft bill, it must be admitted that, nowadays, those time policies that deserve to be emphasised start with actions concerning the regulation or redesign of paid working time. It continues with some actions related to time policies and the city that will be highlighted before focusing the analysis on the actions concerning the life course. And it ends with the actions concerning the life course need to be mentioned. In this last case, they still take the shape of analytical and theoretical proposals, and are not yet conceived as specific actions, a situation that brings us back to the origins of time policies. However, the fact that they are promoted by the European Union (EU) offers them a more promising future.

2.1. Work time policies: an unavoidable starting point

Time policies related to the working day have been developed without acknowledging the central role that paid working time plays in people's daily life.

This might be explained because the first studies on the subject were oriented towards the analyses of time use of those people who did not have a paid job. As an example of this, it should be mentioned the pioneering study on the unemployed in Marienthal, lead by Marie Jahoda and Paul Lazarsfeld during the 1930's. At the same time, it could also be explained because the ensuing analyses came from an undervalued and not very prestigious sphere, that is, the vindications and knowledge of women. Nevertheless, it was not until the occupational crisis in the 1980's, that working time became a relevant case of study; and it took even longer to see that paid working time was the essential time and that, therefore, required special attention.

The starting point of this new vision of working time was based on the development of a flexible working day. This was, according to many specialists, a perfect answer to tackle the new necessities of the productive system that had arisen from the crisis of the industrial occupation. It was conceived, mainly, by the business logic and has been legitimised by the analysts and scholars of the working world. This flexibility has broken the logic of an established working schedule for the majority of the employed population during the whole working life cycle; a rule that was imposed by the industrial society and that has been disappearing at the same time that stable occupation has ceased to be a guideline for the majority of the employed population. This process has also been reinforced by the growing diversity of working hours that the rise of the tertiarisation of contemporary societies has caused (Recio, 2002). In this context of major schedule flexibility and tertiarisation, an important detail appears that is not always highlighted by conventional analyses: the rise of the feminine presence in the European working market, particularly in the services sector. A greater presence, (Maruani, Rogerat, Torns, 2000) that, as the Italian draft bill anticipated, makes it even more difficult to fix the imbalances created by the flexibilisation and diversification of working hours, not only for women, but for the whole population.

The proposals that will be reviewed in the next chapters are the most emblematic working time policies related to the reorganisation or reduction of the working day that exist within the countries of the EU: the reduction of working hours (RWH) in France with the 35 hour working week; the so-called "6+6" Finnish model; and the Work & Life Balance (WLB) project in the UK. A varied scenario, where the European proposals for the work-life balance that have emerged in the past few years, should also be added.

2.1.1. The French 35 hour workweek
The proposal that has probably had the greatest impact over the media has been

the French law on the 35 hour workweek, also known as "Aubry law"; a legislation that has already been questioned by the current Sarkozy government. The 1997 French law planned to reduce the legal duration of the weekly working time to 35 hours, offering assistance to companies; planning its implementation according to the productive characteristics of each company and sector and assuming that it had to be specified through collective negotiation. The first assessments carried out by specialists stated that this reduction did not imply an equal distribution of the weekly working time for all workers and it particularly affected women with part-time contracts of 30 hours and/or the least qualified paid workers with worse working conditions. Also, many companies, in order to put into practice the compulsory reduction of working time, used the total amount of annual hours instead of the weekly reduction established by the law. This strategy that used the annual total and other pressures of the companies incited the drafting of subsequent laws that opened the door to an extension of the annual working hours. This has lead to the fact that, nowadays, after the law of October 1997 that encourages the creation of extra hours without companies having to pay extra taxes, the 35 hour workweek is not a reality for the majority of French workers anymore.

When reviewing this RWH proposal, as in many other cases, the studies undertaken prove that the daily reduction of the working day bumps into a conception of work that has been assumed by the majority of the population since the industrialisation period. A sense that is reinforced by the acceptance of a working discipline based on a linear and quantitative distribution of hours and time. This implies that the working population only conceives an improvement of their working time when the RWH allows them to accumulate a continuous period of non-working time that the majority of the population, and specially men, perceive and assume as leisure time. And, therefore, the only ones valuing positively the synchronic and daily reduction of working time are those women that have a dual role; logically, they need this reduction because it is the only way that allows them to make paid work and housework compatible. This happens given the paradox that many of those women are excluded from the RWH, due to the fact that they are the main group of part-time workers. It also needs to be added that this type of contracts of 30 hours or less per week do not necessarily imply a reduction of the daily working day, but an increase of atypical schedules (concentrating the working hours in weekends, etc.)

2.1.2. The Finnish experiment of RWH "6+6"
The Finnish experiment of RWH called "6+6" promotes the substitution of the daily 8 hours in one workplace for a 6-hour schedule in two workplaces. The experiment was promoted by the Finnish government during the occupational crisis that Finland faced during the 1990's and included the provision of subsidies for the public and private companies that implemented the experiment. This form of RWH tries to obtain a double shift, increasing the occupation to 12 hours per day on a same workplace or a reduction to six daily hours for every employed person. The proposal also envisages the possibility to extend or shorten these shifts, always keeping a maximum of 30 weekly hours per employed person. The reorganisation and reduction of working time allow the extension of the production's operative time with machinery and different technology, obtaining a better productive answer to industrial companies. Also, it offers a better service for the users in the case of the extension of the opening hours in the services sector.

At first sight, this proposal appears to be a good solution to reduce the working time of the employed population without damaging the companies' productivity, which is the main inconvenient they face. But, according to the assessment of a member of the evaluation group (Antilla, 2004), the Finnish proposal is a good technical solution that lacks social consensus. This absence can be explained because the experiment is based, as it has already been mentioned, on a linear and quantitative conception of working time and it ignores the qualitative dimension of time. This approach is the result of the successful acculturation process promoted by industrialisation. This success can also explain the weak reception that the experiment has had amongst the wage-earning people involved in the pilot tests. And again, this proves how the improvement of the quality of life that should accompany the reduction of the working day is refused by the majority of the employed population. This majority of people prefer working more paid working hours per day in order to accumulate full days of leisure time or holidays. And also, they hardly value the benefits that having two extra hours would have for their daily welfare in order to attend their caregiving needs. They only see RWH as a loss of time, since they cannot make the most of it or they don't know what to do with this empty, senseless time, that is, in principle, devoted to paid work.

2.1.3. The Work & Life Balance in the United Kingdom
The proposals known as Work & Life Balance (WLB) emerged from the first government of Tony Blair, through his Department of Trade and Industry. Its objective was not to insist on the total of working hours, but to implement good practices in companies that wanted to improve their employees' balance between personal life and working life. The proposal needed the establishment of a fund, controlled by WLB consultants, to finance occupation, which entailed the creation of information and assessment materials. And it included the financing of research programs on the issue and emphasised the initiatives of the government itself as a creator of occupation.

At the same time, the British government promoted other measures to facilitate WLB, like an improvement of the right to maternity leave, the right to ask for flexible hours, the right to unpaid leave for family reasons and loans to finance child care. The first assessments on these measures' package paid attention to the quantitative value of the number of worked hours, where it could be seen that, despite WLB initiatives, the worked hours of the employed population had actually increased. This only shows, again, the triumph of a culture of present regarding work, represented by the extension of the hours of paid working time and the extra hours. This is a culture where a great variety of activities, not strictly work-related, are hidden from the employed population. They depend on the quality and significance that paid work has for this population. Thus, this extension, or working hours that are more or less flexible, can mean an escape from the family environment, in order to avoid housework, which can be considered tedious, or because people do not know what to do in these spare hours outside the working environment, since this is the only environment that makes sense for them (Rigby, 2004).

2.2. Policies of working time and the work-life balance
The policies of work-life balance do not aim at the regulation of working time, but, rather, their main concern are the difficulties posed by the central role of working time when trying to harmonise it with other times. However, in these policies, only family time is specified and leisure and personal times are not explicitly mentioned. The balance policies mentioned below arise within the general framework of the European Employment Strategies that appeared after 2000; especially, within the so called fourth pillar that is dedicated to Equality Policies that promote feminine occupation. They are initiatives linked to the women's needs related to their role as family and home care providers. Therefore, they do not consider the regulation of a working day as the synchronic and daily reduction. They only try to control exceptional periods of working time, through working permits (parental leave, etc.). They also promote the creation of local home care services that, despite being necessary, are promoted without thinking about opening hours, implicit when these were put into practice. This lack of time concern, together with other material and cultural difficulties, characterises a sector with already known schedule issues for its workers and users (who are mainly women). These inconveniences and similar others might stem from the

fact that these balance policies have not emerged from a social demand. They derive from a productive rationality that hinders their positive repercussion in terms of equality of opportunities between men and women (Rubery, Maier, 1995; Lewis, 1998; Torns, 2005). However, the existence of balance policies can be seen as a possibility to further an open debate on the relation between work and time. And, also, their success can be a good opportunity to achieve their recognition and acknowledgement.

2.3. Urban Time Policies

Urban time policies were the only ones to be implemented following the criteria set by the third section of the Italian government draft bill known as "time law". However, not all the existent urban time policies come from that bill. Most of the current actions have been developed in cities of Central and Southern Europe and they share some characteristics: they originated in the local sphere; they are all influenced by the Italian movement and their main goal is to produce useful tools and strategies for the promotion and planning of cities concerned with the social uses of time. Among the most important interventions, it is worth mentioning, first, the pioneering case of the Italian city of Modena. Secondly, the case of France and the measures taken by the city of Rennes are remarkable for their quality and originality. Next, a brief allusion should also be made to some German cities. And, finally, there is a reference to the authors' closer reality, the case of Barcelona, where thoughts and developments on urban time have existed for almost 15 years. Castelldefels, Mataró and Vilafranca del Penedès have recently adhered to this model (Quintana, 2006).

2.3.1. Urban time policies in Italy
Italy is seen as the role model when discussing urban time policies and Modena is its pioneering example. It was in Modena where, in the early 1990's, its mayoress Alfonsina Rinaldi promoted the first experimental enforcement of the proposals in the draft bill. One of the most successful initiatives during Alfonsina Rinaldi's term of office was the revision of nursery opening hours. This initiative was a key move in order to stress the importance of the reproductive tasks (one of the main goals of the aforementioned draft bill). Aware of the problems that the rigidity of traditional nursery opening hours —from 7 a.m. to 5 p.m.— imposed on mothers, she was resolved to modify them, in order to provide mothers with a greater flexibility that would allow a better adjustment to their day-to-day needs. This flexibility was materialised in a wide variety of available hours: ranging from morning shifts or afternoon shifts to a combination of both. Since this increase in the possibilities offered by nurseries was a shared initiative between the private and the public sector, it did not convey a very high cost for the town council.

Two key conclusions were drawn from this first initiative. On the one hand, it proved that working on the time of a city implies modifying its services. On the other hand, it evidenced that the achievement of these two goals requires rethinking the service plans, taking into account the citizens' everyday needs and the relation between the public and the private sectors. Subsequently, the Modena experience was furthered in 1990, when the Italian Parliament passed a law devolving the reorganisation of the city schedules to mayors and mayoresses —Law 142, Art. 36. This legislative tool, together with the pressure exerted by local organisations of women, favoured the development of new time policies in other Italian cities: Milan, Genoa, Rome, Catania, Bolzano or Venice being just a few examples. More recently, with the implementation of the Turco act in 2000 (a conciliation law enforcing time regulation in cities with more than 30,000 inhabitants), new initiatives on urban time have sprung. One of the most significant is the Laboratorio del tempo di Prato, an initiative funded by the EU program EQUAL. This project stems from the need to rethink the local development model from a temporal dimension in areas that have been hit by a deep industrial crisis, as it is the case of the Emilian city of Prato.

The evaluation that Belloni and Bimbi (1998) made on these policies determines the existence of different planning and design models on time policies, even though all of them share the same management tool: the Territorial Timetable Plan. By means of this important tool, every city has been able to develop projects aimed at improving services, the city's timetable and the relation between the citizens and the public administration, in order to favour their involvement and reducing the bureaucratic burden on the local administration. According to the authors of this report, these policies have turned the city into a real space of public action and, therefore, in the perfect frame of reference in which to develop proximity policies aimed at fostering leisure and quality of life for the citizens. In short, they value these policies very positively, in the sense that they have been able to introduce the knowledge and practices of women into the city.

However, not all their evaluations are so favourable and they agree with other scholars in pointing out some negative aspects of the Italian urban time management. On the one hand, they criticise that all these initiatives take for granted the current social organisation of time and do not challenge the fact that the only predominant time is that devoted to paid work. On the other hand, as a natural consequence of this deficiency, they also criticise the fact that all these policies are based on a chronological conception of time (Paolucci, 1998; Piazza, 1998).

2.3.2. Policies of time and the city in France
In France, the debate on urban time is a quite recent phenomenon that did not start until the beginning of the 21st century. Some scholars consider that the development of the French urban time policies is a reformulation of the older debate on the reduction of paid working hours. In general, these policies voice the need for French city-mayors to reconcile the opening hours of public services in response to the needs created by the post-fordist organisation of labour. In 2000, and in order to put these proposals into practice, the French Parliament entrusted the socialist Edmond Hervé with the drafting of a report that was to be published the following year under the title *Le temps de la ville*. This report suggested following the Italian experience with the creation of time offices in cities with more than 20,000 inhabitants.

Following the publication of this report, several initiatives were furthered in different French cities, among them, it is worth mentioning the case of Rennes in 2000 and the creation of its *Bureau des temps de Rennes*. In fact, the initiative taken by this city became an observatory and pilot test for the French government. As it has happened in Italy, the creation of this office represents a platform from which plans and initiatives supported by time policies are launched. One of the most significant French projects is the initiative *Rennes, égalité des temps*, also funded by the EU program EQUAL and with l'Hospitalet and Prato as the European partners. The main goals behind this project are to test and create new actions aimed at the reconciliation of the professional and personal life, together with an improvement of the citizens' quality of life. Some examples of these actions are the creation of local services for child care emergencies, classical music concerts with catering services at affordable prices on bank holidays or Sunday mornings, or the declaration of Thursday as the Day for Time, etc.

The Time Office in Rennes also fosters projects at a national level, like the *Coordination des temps de vies sur les territories*, an initiative that brought together cities such as Nancy or Saint-Denis and that has resulted in the creation of the French network Territorial Time. Finally, there is a third project called *Tic tac le temps à la carte*, an innovative service offered by the time office, where citizens can check the opening hours of up to 1400 public administration offices, cultural activities and civil society organisations. The time offices created in other French cities are mainly conceived as mediation areas that are comprehensive with the inhabitants' pace of life. Also, their objective is to harmonise the citizens' lives so that they can solve their times and services problems. Among the initiatives following this goal are the Time Space in Saint-

Denis, the Centre for Time and Mobility in Belfort, the Time Agency in Poitiers, the Time Office in Gironde and Paris and the Time Space in Lyon.

2.3.3. A few German examples

Although, in Germany, the federal government has never fostered a global plan on urban time policies, some initiatives have appeared at a local level, most of which also follow the Italian experience. When, at the beginning of the current decade, the issue of time was firstly introduced in local policies, it regulated the business hours for shops and services. Later on, the concept of time was introduced in the urban planning programs of cities such as Bremen or Hamburg. In Bremen the territorial development plan took into consideration strategies concerned with the relation between time and space promoted by the University's Technology Park. Nowadays, the scope of these strategies has been furthered and there has been a scheduling of school opening hours and child care. Agreements have also been achieved to encourage a more sustainable mobility, to improve accessibility to public and private services, to maintain and enhance security in public areas or to create a Citizens' Day, among others. They are, mainly, urban policies aimed at the improvement of the citizens' quality of life; a goal that highlights the importance that social uses of time have for the city.

2.3.4. Policies of time and the city in Barcelona

The policies closer to the authors of this report are the ones developed in Barcelona, where, 15 yeas ago, urban time-related debates and initiatives started to emerge. More precisely, since the 1990's, different projects focused on the concept of time have been promoted. The interest that the Italian draft bill awoke among "Grup Dona", an organisation created in 1988 by the City of Barcelona councillor Eulàlia Vintró, within the Council for Social Welfare, acted as the necessary stimulus. Consequently, in 1994, in the Sants-Montjuïc district, a pilot test programme on urban time was launched with the purpose of enhancing neighbourhood time. This test was preceded by an investigation on the social use of time among the district's women (García Ramón, Cànovas, Prats, 1995). This study set the foundations for the pilot test that emphasised the need for a decentralisation of local services to make them citizen-friendlier. This experience, in particular, was initiated by promoting more flexible opening hours in nurseries and primary schools of the area.

A more recent creation is the new local office on "New Social Uses of Time" (NUST) promoted by Imma Moraleda, current councillor for the City of Barcelona. The office's main purpose is to promote policies of time that are able to approach citizens' needs in order to improve their quality of life. Research plans aimed at

the materialisation of policies of time are encouraged, together with actions and pilot tests in different districts of the city. Therefore, it could be stated that 10 years after the first experiences, the culture of the new social uses of time has settled in Barcelona, where diverse projects have seen the light, such as the project championed by the Mª Aurèlia Capmany Foundation. This project fosters actions focused on the harmonisation of different times of life in the recently created Marina neighbourhood. It is also noticeable the project Temps de Barri, Temps educatiu compartit created by the Jaume Bofill Foundation and conceived to ameliorate the supply of educational activities outside the regulated hours. In this case, the main purpose is to stress the importance of alternative associations and other social uses of time which, although not based on the productive rationality, are essential to improve the well-being of the citizens' day-to-day lives.

These and other ongoing projects are an illustration of the most recent initiatives developed in Barcelona, which, it might be argued, originated with the so-called Banks of Time (Torns, 2001), an initiative born in the late 1990's that took as a reference model the Italian Banks of Time. Even though, all these actions show variegated results and experiences, all of them were conceived in order to emphasise and account for the everyday tasks that women carry out to deliver daily welfare. These banks of time have always been designed to exchange time for time, away from a business point of view, and to create, additionally, solidarity networks among citizens; networks that should reconstruct, in the cities, the community values that the urbanisation process dispelled.

Finally, the *Congrés Internacional del Temps: Temps, Ciutadania i Municipi*, a conference held in May 2006 and fostered by the aforementioned councillor should be mentioned. The fact that this conference brought together the majority of European experts in the subject is a clear example of the interest that Barcelona has shown in supporting urban time polices. This conference publicised the debate on how important is the role played by daily time in the well-being and quality of life of the cities.

2.4. Time policies and the life course

Recent years have witnessed the development of time and life course policies in Europe. These policies stress the importance of time in the course of life and suggest alternative strategies to the predominant model. More than 20 years after the Italian experience, the interest arisen by current discourses, reflections and actions towards life course is rather surprising. However, the origin of this interest differs from that of the 1990 Italian project, since the former is an attempt to find new reallocation formulas for a

time that is only visible in the professional life cycle. And it is also closely related to the urge to rebuild the social security resources, pensions to be precise, due to the current ageing process of the European population; a process that has surely triggered the development of the new proposals. One of the most significant examples of this, is that the 2000 Lisbon Strategy did already mention the need to reformulate the distribution of time for work, leisure, learning and caregiving during their professional life course in the European countries. This imperative stems from the changes on the social and labour contexts, where ageing, early retirement, the transformations on family structures and the endurance of gender inequalities constitute unavoidable issues.

The Lisbon Strategy has set up a new line of research that from 2001 to 2005 has focused on the significance of life course. This line of research has been backed, as in many other occasions, by the Dublin-based European Foundation for the Improvement of Living and Working Conditions (EUROFOUND). For it to become effective, several reports have been written. The first one, published in 2003 under the title *A new organisation of time over working life* brought together a group of scholars led by the German geriatrics specialist Gerhard Naegele. The second one, *Working time options over the life course: changing social security structures*, published in 2005 and coordinated by Dominique Anxo and Jean Yves Boulin, focused mainly on a reformulation of working times in order to find alternative solutions for the funding of social security pensions.

All these studies have in common an idea of life course that allows an analysis on the influence that the economic and socio-demographic transformations of the last decades have had in the structure of labour and social life course of the European population. Moreover, they share the same line of thought. They assert and prove that, for some years now, the volume of paid hours during the working period has had multiple combinations. This volume of hours varies in relation to the person's stage of life and, basically, tends to draw a shorter labour cycle, due to the extension of young people's formative period and early retirement among men, whose productive lives continue to be seen as the main reference model for the whole population.

However, it should be pointed out that all these social scientists accept the importance to conceive temporal dimension along the life course, in order to incorporate all the needs for the social use of time. An acknowledgement that, in a way, validates the aforementioned Italian draft bill by proving that the recent proposals take into account that time is a social construction that can be managed in order to enforce a revision of the current models and guidelines. At this point, both

studies agree in asking for an extension of working permits, especially during those periods of the working life that are subject to more "pressure" (both productive and reproductive); and, thus, asking for an extension of the working life course and, consequently, a modification of the current structure of social security systems. It needs to be added, though, that these proposals are not being presented as time policies, although one of its final goals is to secure more welfare and quality of life for the employed population. It remains unclear if this lack of justification is due to the conspicuous content of the proposals, all of them time-related initiatives. Or, as it is the case with other working time policies already discussed, it appears to be inappropriate to present these actions under the shelter of time policies. Because, at the moment, it seems as if these initiatives would only be understood as time policies when they take place within the city and, therefore, paid working time is not seen as the key element. In other words, as if there was not a link among time, labour and daily welfare.

3. Time policies in Europe: success, dissatisfaction and paradox

Finally, it has to be said that this brief account on time policies has emerged from a revision of the reflections and proposals of a few South European social scientists of the 1980's. These proposals and contributions, under the title "Women Change Time", became a draft bill conceived to promote citizens' welfare. The recognition of the pioneering characteristic of this initiative has lead to the consideration of the three pillars of that project as a guideline for some of the proposals and initiatives that have been developed in relation to time and labour during the last 20 years.

The main conclusions here could be summed up by saying that, although time policies not always include the gender perspective, they do share eagerness in fostering welfare among citizens. However, although they share this point, there are substantial differences in the concept of welfare that guides the design and evaluation of the different policies. Among the initiatives assessed, a conception of welfare drawn from an economics perspective still remains. In this sense, the initiatives more deeply involved with daily welfare are urban time policies, which is the only proposal of the draft bill to be passed into law. The political practice of the last years has transformed, into the most successful actions, those proposals that take the urban sphere as the focus of their action. These urban policies can be described as urban time policies. They can be seen as the "*hardware*" of time policies in the city because their core is the urban sphere and not time. These urban policies do not always take into account the link between the temporal dimension and

work (total work load) and its importance in redefining the concept of welfare. This might be explained because, although closely related to the primal purpose of time policies, it is a difficult goal to achieve. In this last case, the actions developed would be the "*software*" of urban time policies. This is a more accessible and friendlier framework of public action, where new citizenship ties could be created and where day-to-day welfare needs are at the core of the initiatives and are not driven by consumerism and a business perspective. In short, it is a design aimed at improving citizens' daily welfare.

At the same time, a more accurate analysis on time policies has given a better insight of the working time initiatives that have emerged to alleviate the problems caused by unemployment. These regulatory actions of the working day, although not considered as proper time policies, have a big social impact; because, as pointed out by some studies, working time is a key element on the organisation of people's life and society. The analysis of these actions show another coincidence; namely, that they all try to enhance labour availability by promoting flexible working hours (by increasing or reducing them). Therefore, only women with dual work can value the reduction of working hours (RWH) that stress the synchrony required to carry the burden of everyday tasks. This, on the other hand, implies that the majority of the employed population do only approve of those regulations on working hours that enable them to accumulate, in a linear way and diachronically, their paid working hours and their leisure and holiday time. This fact, explains the social rejection of well-structured technical solutions on WRT (like the "6+6" Finnish model) aimed at improving day-to-day life in which working hours (both paid and unpaid) can be enjoyed in a synchronic way.

Consequently, the reflections on time that appeared in the Italian law have been used in other fields of action of social policy that do not always take into account the gender perspective. This could be positively valued, however, the majority of the policies that have been mentioned accept the centre role of paid working time when organising the lives of people, companies and cities. At the moment, it seems difficult to make proposals oriented towards the improvement of the citizens' welfare and that take into consideration the important relation between time and work in modern societies.

Notwithstanding, it is important to recognise the growing interest that the European Union has shown for questions related to working time. At the same time, it has to be mentioned the increase, in these last years, in local projects on urban time funded by the European program EQUAL. Some of the experiences

developed in Germany, France, the Netherlands and Spain have been backed by this program, which also promotes gender equality.

However, this involvement of the European Union could not erase the paradox that has always characterised these policies. In other words, time policies do not exist in the Scandinavian countries, where welfare and gender equality conditions are better. Recent figures provided by EUROSTAT, which highlight the territorial inequality in terms of workload between men and women, reinforce this paradox by showing that it is in the Scandinavian countries where inequalities are lower.

This report can be concluded by saying that time has become a key element to define the limits of the social policies of the welfare state: first, by highlighting an uneven distribution of the social use of time between men and women (a distribution that has more to do with time and less with welfare); and second, by proving that the time-work relation continues to be fundamental for the organisation of the daily lives of people, society and cities. And although working time is very important, it does not seem appropriate to keep having this time governing over the rest of our life time. Time policies could and should pose a challenge to rethink the welfare of citizens.

FAMILY, TIME POLICIES AND URBAN DEVELOPMENT: THE CASE OF BREMEN

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We find ourselves in a process of transition marked by economic, socio-economic, socio-cultural, political and demographic factors. Within the economic sphere, the characterisation of the working society as a service and knowledge society prevails in developed nations (Castells, 2001; 2003). This is translated into two elements: on the one hand, the blurring of the economic borders (Zürn, 1998, proposes the expression "denationalisation" instead of "globalisation" for this reason); on the other, the emergence of new localisation/regionalisation tendencies in decision making. The complete process sometimes receives the name "glocalisation" (World Bank, 2000), a term that joins the two tendencies.

From the socio-economic and socio-cultural point of view, the reduced time spent working within the life cycle, the increase in the rates of female occupation and the transformation of living arrangements and types of home are important. This transformation is analogous to the changed role women play in the family, at work and

in society. Sometimes this is termed "individualisation" and "pluralisation of living arrangements". In developed nations, forms of political control have remained relatively stable and unchallenged in the post-war decades, however the "process of glocalisation" has arisen in them as well (in the form of Europeanization and regionalisation) (Mückenberger, 2004). Above all, during this period we also saw the creation of a state responsibility as regards social security. As this net of responsibility has become more and more fine, life expectancy and the financial and autonomy issues that go hand in hand with it have become omnipresent elements.

Lastly, demographic change is increasingly urgent (Vaupel, 2004; Kaufmann, 2004). Life expectancy has risen and continues to increase; at the same time, fertility rates are decreasing: the expected consequence is the aging of societies. From this aging we can expect undesired repercussions and secondary effects on working life, dependence, organisation, allocation of human and financial resources to social security systems, the culture of intergenerational relationships and relationships of communication in public spaces.

This is also the context of the family's integration into present and future urban spaces. In specific points of this report these topics will be revisited as necessary so they can be explored more in depth.

1. The legacy of time structures and Fordist urban systems

First we will explain, in the traditional way, the influence that the Ford production model continues to have today on structures, the division of functions and the spatial divisions of the city (though many of its economic and socio-cultural foundations have already been overcome). The functional separation between the residential neighbourhoods and areas of economic activity brought with it changes in the relationships that are established between the sexes and the generations. Furthermore, it created a need for public infrastructures for childcare and mobility. It also generated structured patterns of the typical mobility and daily activity for each gender (and their corresponding time patterns). Thus the functional separation between residential areas and areas of economic activity affected all of the components of the family integration model. Today we see that concurrence between these structures or time patterns of the city and a social transformation that seems to demand urgent changes is missing.

When the term "*Fordist*" is used in this text, we are referring to major features of the urban and time structures that were consolidated in the industrial period (from the middle of the 19th century to the

middle of the 20th century) and which replaced the agrarian era (which lasted well into the 19th century) (Hotzen, 1994; Friedrichs, 1995). During this period, urban structures separated from rural structures, grew, and became the gravitational centre of value creation. Max Weber offered an historical conception of the city when it assimilates into a market (Weber, 1922). Louis Wirth asserted that «urbanism is a way of life» (1938) and spoke of phenomenological characteristics: the urban environment depends on its dimensions, density, heterogeneity and the permanency of its establishment. Per contra, Friedrichs (1995) follows Durkheim, and in speaking of the urban he stresses the division of labour and differentiation. Modern production implies two elements: cooperation and coordination of the productive process on the one hand, and the commercialisation of products in the markets on the other. Both elements are centred in cities. On the basis of the "advantages of agglomeration" cities offer, professions, public and private facilities, required goods and services, ways of life and uses are differentiated. This differentiation creates a new need: urban planning (Friedrichs, 1995, 21).

There are two structuring characteristics of Fordist urban development that continue to have significant consequences for living arrangements and families' generational and gender patterns today.

1. Inside cities, there is a separation of uses. Industry (which generates hazards, noises and pollution) is separated from residential neighbourhoods and the areas of economic activity. Frequently, the striking east-west division that often adds social segregation of the population to the functional separation comes about (see image in Friedrichs, 1995, p. 17; Dangschat, Blasius, 1994). The systematic separation between residential neighbourhoods and the areas of economic activity has significant consequences for daily life. Firstly, what we currently call "systemic mobility" is generated: transport needs for a mass of travellers and rush hours that don't depend on people's individual decisions but rather the rhythm of shifts and working hours (traffic first thing in the morning and in the late afternoon, people who move every day and every week). Secondly, particular characteristics of relationships between the sexes and the generations are associated with the separation between residential neighbourhoods and the areas of economic activity, and their influence on daily time structures is currently a topic of heated debate. The male daily routine is predominantly conceived around and shaped from the standpoint of his professional activity; the female, from a family and reproductive perspective. Female professional activity is not excluded, but it is marginalised and/or leads to an

increase in the burdens borne by the woman and/or is a source of economic and social marginalisation (especially for mothers). In these circumstances, parenthood, care of children and educating them take place more and more outside the home.

From all of these standpoints (and due to many other influences and needs), the state acquires new missions at the municipal level. For example, in addition to providing for public safety, the state must channel the public traffic of people, create infrastructures for childcare and take care of education and hygiene, nutrition and health, recreation, sports and culture. The principal beneficiaries of these offers may be the private homes in themselves, public agents or agents of the private economy (Esping-Andersen, 1990), in such a way that the latter are yet more differentiated. Nevertheless, commercial offers are generally limited to the services that prove to be profitable.

2. A functional hierarchy is generated in the geography of the spaces. The growing importance of public services and the agglomeration (pulled along by the market) of the private generation of goods and services create differences in supply (access and levels) among the different geographic points. We speak not only of the country-city difference but also of the difference that emerges between cities and municipalities that because of their size, their infrastructures and their functions are defined as "centres" of a particular order (major, median, minor). The system of central places (Christaller, 1933), conceived from the perspective of resources and the conditions for generating particular services (no longer according to their accessibility), positions the availability of access to these services in a hierarchical relationship. Its influence on the day-to-day time structures is still not sufficiently acknowledged (as Stiens criticises in 2002). On the one hand, this hierarchy has direct and evident effects on access to education, health care, culture, security and so forth. But also significant, on the other hand, are the less evident indirect effects that are brought about, that the specific distribution of other goods may obstruct access to services that are hard to obtain due to time constraints – thus with the gender-specific differences in the distribution and use of personal automobiles, access to urban services (like education, health care, culture) that can be obtained thereby is further unequally distributed; furthermore, the lower concentration and accessibility of particular services is especially detrimental to those who have fewer resources available for substituting such services and will therefore have a negative effect that is specific to certain members of the population – children, for instance.

I call the structurations of living and labour conditions described in this schematic way the Fordist legacy. From the perspective of time policies, they have a double meaning.

Firstly, due to these functional separations of labour activity, residential activity, the use of public and private services and the use of geographic means of mobility linking some areas with others, problems of compatibility and access are presented. These problems are of a complex nature, and they obstruct both the theoretical right to enjoy these services as well as their practical enjoyment. The pillars of the organisation of labour (whether it is compensated or not), the shaping of the relationships between the sexes and generations and the existence and the organisation of solidarity contexts in the local environment (culture, infrastructures, services, neighbourhoods, municipal and regional transport and so on) are systematically intertwined. If one of the pillars is moved, completely unexpected consequences may arise. For example, if a bus route is cancelled, a mother working part time may find herself with such serious problems managing her time that she is forced to quit her job. The same thing happens in a company if the work schedule is changed (the number of hours or the shift timetable) without accommodating other parameters of daily life. The organisation of time in day-to-day life rests on these pillars; if greater wealth in the use of time is sought, it is essential to identify them and take action. Each of these pillars is intimately connected to the others: one cannot be changed without affecting the others. This is why well-being with relation to time (or the mere ability to make decisions about one's own time) can only be improved by simultaneously changing all of these pillars.

These pillars define relationships of distribution, power and participation in society; they are brought together in the daily organisation of people. This is why the struggle to improve quality of life – and to be more "time wealthy" (Rinderspacher, 2002) – depends, without hesitation, on the union of these pillars and their being watched over with a genuinely social vocation. This is the fundamental conclusion arrived at with the discovery of the "time policies": interventions into time policies require a comprehensive systematic focus; if an intervention is made centred exclusively on one aspect (for example, if the work, public transportation or childcare facility timetable is changed) or limited to a single type of societal agent or sphere, what is most likely is that undesired secondary effects that affect other domains will arise. These effects will create what Durkheim called *anomie* in the combined whole of society and will thereby harm productivity (Mückenberger, 2001).

Secondly, the structurations previously described (that here we call Fordist) have another important aspect: in

the foundation of traditional industrial organisation, we find precautions and measures of long duration. Nonetheless, the substrate of these measures has already been radically changed (and sometimes completely eliminated) by the socio-economic transformation. This can be called the problem of the absence of simultaneity. In his theory of structuration, Anthony Giddens (1997) asserts that while structures may be generated by agents, they have a spacio-temporal edge over the respective individual action.

This is perfectly illustrated in the relationship between cities and the living arrangements of people with their different time structures (here understood in the sense of permanence). Cities, buildings and road and transport networks are often much more permanent – being planned and built to be more permanent – than the people who live in and use them. The result is that an absence of simultaneity is generated that may create friction. The tram systems in major industrial cities are a convincing example. Nearly always organised in a radial shape, they are usually made up of large, austere wagons with the appearance of containers that transport large groups of people: they were designed and built to transport manpower between the workplace, the city centre and residential areas. The problem is that the users, as well as the ways they move around and their needs for doing so, have changed radically. Nowadays, these users have flexible workdays (no longer mass shifts); they have alternatives to public transportation, and they no longer define mobility simply as the displacement from point A to point B. If those in charge of these transportation systems are so inflexible that they cannot adapt to this tendency, it is predictable that frictions occur. If the tracks from the Industrial Revolution are no longer used, they will stop being profitable and will become a source of continual losses. But at the same time, the population for whom this means of transport is being kept up finds itself alone facing mobility needs (geographical, social and geo-social) that, taken as a whole, have increased.

We can observe, in fact, that the aforementioned pillars – organisation of labour, the shaping of relationships between the sexes and generations, and the existence and organisation of a context of solidarity in the local environment – find themselves in a dizzying state of transformation. This transformation, which takes place in Europe and in the other countries of the overdeveloped world, also affects the aspects which have to do with time. 1. The growing rates of female occupation increase the demand for job positions and with it competition in the job market. At the same time, these growing rates of female occupation have shaken the foundations of the traditional distribution of professional, family and social tasks between men and women. 2. It is more and more

common for these tasks (breadwinning, care and food, for example) that in the past were shared between the different members of the family to now be centred in a single person, as is made clear by the progressively increasing number of individual and one-parent households. These excessive burdens constitute too much of a demand on household time that is especially common in the case of the woman. In the family bosom, the time that must be invested in each task and how to "synchronise" the family plane with the social plane is negotiated. 3. That the time spent working and the time spent outside of work tend to become homogenised and redistributed between men and women is also seen in coordinating time in the family and private household environment. Remunerated work is instrumental in setting the pace for women (and frequently an inflexible one) that demands greater effort to coordinate, both internally and externally. The increasingly lengthy working time patterns demanded of women are progressively differentiated and made more flexible (Matthies *et al.*, 1994). Stability and the degree to which their time models can be foreseen are diminished. Due to this state of emergency, it is common for the calls for a community time policies to be heard (extended schedules at childcare centres, matching school schedules to work schedules and so on).

2. The time-conscious city

In the past, the models for time and daily life we have just described were generally tolerated without complaints or questions. In the city conscious of time, by contrast, they are understood as a "careful relationship with people's time" (Bremen 2030, 2003) and they are opened to conscious social conformation.

Within the urban sphere, it is especially clear that different times are intertwined in each individual daily life. Work time, transportation time, the ways personal and family time are organised and "free" time coexist: taken together they make up the times of the city. They are the direct expression of what Jürgen Friedrichs, relating to Émile Durkheim, termed the functional characteristics of the city: division of work and differentiation (Friedrichs, 1995). The simultaneous agglomeration of the division of work and the differentiation puts conditions a network of changing references and dependencies that demands constant time coordination. In societies with developed services, these dependencies are seen to be reinforced by at least two characteristics: 1. With the transformation of supply and time management, logistics as a dimension of flow (for example, in the form of the supplier-client relationship that we find behind *just in time* systems) goes on to play a key role in the industrial as well (Ihde, 1999). 2. The advance towards the service and knowledge

society makes the principle of simultaneity more pertinent than in the industrial society, since services generally demand that the supplier and the client be in the same place at the same time. The urban times differentiated by the division of work coincide under conditions of being co-present (according to the Lund School of the "geography of time"; Carlstein, 1978; Giddens, 1995), and are reconciled or stop being reconciled. Decentralisation, differentiation and flexibilisation make the time networks more complicated and variable. The "time institutions" (Rinderspacher, 1999) are called into question and eroded (for example, the weekend, business hours, the specific time institutions of each profession). New time institutions appear, for example the flexible work schedule, night-time opening hours or the idea of the "citizen's day" (Mückenberger, 2004).

The "time institutions" attract the interest of society and families (Rinderspacher, 1999). Time is a resource for achieving set objectives; it also constitutes a cultural medium that has to do with the interpretation and transmission of feelings, with tradition and the transformation of values. The time institutions of post-traditional societies generate new organisations of time through various channels. These new organisations then go on to be components of the daily habits and uses of the members of this society, and they may even become "institutions". We see examples of their origin in the history of Sunday or the newscast at eight in the evening. Both cases demonstrate that times "are made", since they are not elements that come given. In pre-modern societies, times were established and imposed by the authorities (the church, the bell at work, the army and so forth) with no tolerance for any critical inquiry. Industrial society produces time institutions and agents that adapt to them. The history of Saturday and the weekend, and of vacations, was the beginning of the time institutions. The agents of time policies were, as a consequence, the parties signing collective agreements and legislators. This explains why nearly all of the time institutions in industrial society were national.

The arrival of the tertiary sector (the knowledge and service society) revolutionises the time institutions of industrial society. It destroys the traditional time institutions —through flexibilisation and the tendency towards the 24-hour society— and creates new institutions. It puts new agents on the scene of shaping time: in the position formerly occupied by the national, both kinds (globalised and decentralised) of agents and forums for decision taking and negotiating now appear. For this reason, organisation of time is increasingly different: on the one hand it is included in the global society, and on the other, it is integrated into neighbourhoods, districts and local communities.

In this phase, such disparate elements as Italy's "local time management policies" (Bonfiglioli, Mareggi, 1997), time agreements on the local level, citizen days, libraries that open on Sunday, new public spaces, mobility agreements and new territorial agencies like the "time offices" (Mückenberger, 2004; Heitkötter, 2006) may emerge. Time institutions may emerge, but in no way does this occur automatically. Whether the service and knowledge society is in shape for generating new time institutions or that, on the contrary, it sinks into a time anomie, depends on the agents of time policies.

3. The Bremen 2030: a time-conscious city project

The Times of the City project has existed in Bremen since some 15 years ago. Bremen began this initiative by sheer chance. Nonetheless, there was already a certain disposition towards it. The city's dimensions make a plan for shaping it possible, and it is less exposed to global acceleration processes than Frankfurt (another city the same size). It has an enormous legacy of trust in the treatment of the urban complex, and it is in conditions to undertake cooperative and interactive processes that join politics, economy and civil society (see Mückenberger, 2004). It was conceived at the Bremen Perspectives Laboratory in 1992, following the model of the "time-conscious city"; the Bremen Forum on Times of the City was founded in 1994 and contributed to pilot experiments on schools/childcare facilities, security in public spaces and the modernisation of the administration/municipality from the beginning. It took shape in 1997 with the opening of the first "time office" in Germany at the municipal authority in Bremen-Vegesack. The first large practical study about the times of the city conducted in Germany was the pilot project for equality initiated by Hamburg's government in 1994, which analysed and transformed Barmbek-Uhlenhorst's local operating area to respond to the time needs of young working mothers.

The German branch of the European Union project "Eurexcter – Time and City Quality" at the Hamburg University of Economics and Politics (HWP) began to prepare project communications and initiatives with Italy in 1991, and in 1996 it organised the Times of the City convention with the ÖTV[1] trade union in Hamburg. That same year, it established a permanent training programme and encouraged implementation of projects and project collaborations. From 1996, with help from Eurexcter, they began to put different projects into practice in Hamburg (opening a citizens' services office in the Harburg district), Bremen (the three actions mentioned), Erfurt (the local administration's "citizens' service" and the opening of the Erfurt clinical centre on the neighbourhood level) and Wolfsburg

(the ZeitWerkStadt to mediate the time conflicts that had arisen between the Volkswagen factory and the municipality and the region). As a prelude to the Expo 2000, time workshops were organised in Hanover with the most important public organisations involved with setting rhythms. Starting from the initiatives in the north of Germany, the Expo 2000 The Times of the City work group was founded in 1997, and in 1998 it registered as a participant at the exhibition and developed its activities from 1999 to 2000. The best quantitative result was the "Times of the City" exhibition, which brought some 10,000 people to Bremen's town hall. Independently of these initiatives in the north of Germany, the model of a "time-conscious city" began to be sketched out, in this case from initiatives of the Office and the Plenary for Women, which was turned into a project in 1997. As the first territorial state in Germany, the *land* of North Rhine-Westphalia set The Times of the City programme into motion, which materialised into initiatives, projects and offices in five different cities. The community time policies found its German scientific plane at the German Institute of Urban Affairs (DIFU) (Dietrich Henckel/ Matthias Eberling) with analytical studies from the end of the nineteen-eighties and at the HWP in Hamburg (Mückenberger, 1998; 2000).

A new generation of projects, connected by means of the development of urban perspectives and financed by the German Ministry of Education and Research, had already emerged in Bremen during the phase of the Expo 2000. The Bremen 2030: a time-conscious city project, directed by the HWP in Hamburg and the Institute for Applied Economic Research (IAW) in Bremen, won the City 2030 ideas competition in 2001, and was put into motion as a result. Unlike the previous Times of the City projects, this programme was better integrated into Bremen's administration. At the top were a project advisory board formed by the two mayors, the head of North Rhine-Westphalia's Department of Equal Opportunities and representatives from the German Association of Towns and Municipalities and the Ver.Di[2] trade union. A work committee representing all of Bremen's administrative areas on the department and bureau management levels took a prominent position; its mission was to assess and give a new boost to all of the Bremen 2030: a time-conscious city initiatives. The coordination centre, established in the Regional Ministry of Urban Development and Environment, moderated the coordination between economy and practice. In short, these inter- and transdisciplinary structures copied the administrative structure required by any project to shape the time policies.

The Bremen 2030 project had a twofold mission. On the one hand, it aimed to forge a development model on the

time policy level suited to the type of city threatened by aging. On the other hand, it sought to establish specific time policy measures that would allow for moving forward towards this model or translate into changing or refining it. Both objectives were achieved by way of the so-called "hermaneutics of planning". Among the practical measures there were the Bremen-Nord and Bremen-Hemelingen mobility agreements and the development of time structures for childrens day centres and childcare centres near the parents' workplaces, for example. In tandem, processes of citizen participation specifically to bring about the ideal model of the time-conscious city were put into practice. The "conference on city development", led by the Ministry of Urban Development and Environment, was dedicated to the theme of the time-conscious city in its four sessions in 2002 (with some 900 participants). In a collaboration initiative between the economic team and the interdepartmental work committee, the Bremen 2030: a time-conscious city project took shape and received final approval; it was then approved by the project's advisory board. The project stands out, once again, for going beyond the mere approval of a regulatory framework. It is true that it establishes a regulatory foundation for being wealthy in relation to time and at the same time by law, followed by three major reference points for intervening in the time policy; nonetheless, it is also true that key projects are formulated after this regulatory framework that the city is committed to. In practice, this means that the key projects were put forward beforehand by the relevant representatives of the different areas of competence in the work committee, to go on to be discussed in the heart of the committee with an interdepartmental mission. This system guaranteed to the greatest extent possible that the ideal model would be integrated into the pre-existing structures of accountability, but without falling into the monodisciplinary logic of limitation of competences again.

The tendency reports from Urban 21, the Global Conference on the Urban Future (German Ministry of Transport, Building and Urban Development, 2000) acted as beginning points for the model. The cities of our industrialised world correspond to the "developed city characterised by aging" (*Op. cit.*, p. 12) type. Demographic and social development is characterised by progressive individualisation, aging and population decline (in absolute terms); the result is crisis and "deconstruction" of the social security system. Disperse commercial, logistic, professional and residential structures are more and more common; these structures suppose a burden for centres and subcentres (on the economic, social and cultural plane) and they involve an increase in urban land development and individual traffic

in the region (with the known ecological consequences). The processes of polarisation and social disintegration (poverty, drugs, delinquency) threaten, among other things, the traditional model of the European city. Globalisation and the virtualisation of the economy generate tendencies toward acceleration that affect working life, transportation, communication, recreation and family life.

These situations constitute extrapolations of current tendencies. They do not come about automatically, nor do they lack alternatives. If appropriate policies are put into effect (in cities, city-states and regions), they can be decelerated, permanently reshaped and —depending on the case— even avoided (see the contrast between "tendency" and "countertendency" in the Urban 21 world report). The Times of the City programme has been defined as one of these "countertendencies" in this context. 1. The intention is to radically improve quality of life through a structuration of time that is socially and ecologically sustainable and directed at the daily reality of residents and users (integration of schools and childcare facilities, business hours, services, cultural offers and public offices, workdays, transportation schedules for people and goods and so forth). This hangs on making the "city point" an attractive place not just for its users but also for the modern industrial and service sectors, for highly qualified professionals, for families with children, for the young and the old. 2. The work schedules and rhythms are adapted to people's needs for living, and not the other way around. Without a doubt, this measure benefits people first of all (it improves "wealth in relation to time", equal rights between the sexes and social cohesion). But it is also positive, and not any less so, for the economy: in 2020, much more attention will be paid to the living rhythms of people who are experienced (due to their age) than it is today. Self-organised working activities and schedules that are conducive to compatibility with family life thanks to electronic support (for example, telecommuting) allow citizens to organise work, social and public time (communication, entertainment, public assembly, sports, spirituality, culture). The doors open for a new "urban culture of time" to be made a permanent foundation of coexistence. 3. The demand for assistance, security, communication and culture generated by the population's aging and individualisation is satisfied by the synergy that is established between the different time policies. This demand should not become a victim of the distribution of competences between men and women inherited from the past (on the one hand) nor of professionalisation and "voluntary work" (on the other). If it succeeds, it will bring with it personal services of quality that are accessible from a time standpoint; self-help support at time banks, exchange circles and other groups; combination of uses; decentralised urban development ("city of short trajectories"):

encouragement of multigenerational neighbourhoods. 4. The growing attractive force of the city that is polycentric but not anomic (including Thomas Sieverts' "intermediate city") creates multiple public spaces, variations on the Agora, that allow and encourage communication, high culture and a culture of proximity, multiculturality, intergenerational relations and changing the relationship between the sexes. The new culture of time —the copresence of different living circumstances, ages, ethnicities; the copresence of rhythm and calm, of relaxation and tension and so forth— brings the "culture of diversity" to a new level. This diversity reveals that it is absurd from a theoretical viewpoint to discuss a mainstream (*Leitkultur* in German) or even a German mainstream. The European city was found signed up for this diversity, but today it is at risk of disintegration and fragmentation. In this way, without the need to resort to the garrison houses of South American countries or the broken windows theories of the US predicament, polarisation and social isolation, the abandonment and degradation of our city (sub)centres can be prevented. 5. With the increase in the appeal and the day-to-day quality of the polycentric urban space, opportunities for sustainable transportation from an ecological and humanitarian standpoint also increase. All in all, mobility needs are decreased. The combined flows of traffic are revolutionised and become patterns of individualised use (for example, complex systems of modularised and integrated transportation), giving way to renewed development of public transportation. Individual transportation stops being the second option for day-to-day travel and becomes a voluntarily chosen luxury; in addition, we find a basis for environmental sustainability in the eco-friendly car.

With this backdrop, three major groups of objectives for intervention in the time policy are established: urban development, compatibility of time plans in the city and modernisation of public and private services. Each objective is expressed in an eloquent, comprehensive phrase. These main categories of objectives were conceived as normative principles and as groups of areas for implementing specific actions.

1. URBANISM has been understood as the following objective: to make daily life in the city and its times attractive for the multiple living circumstances that are intertwined within the city. In this sense, the concept is summarised in: "Cities must be characterised by spatial density and temporal diversity; this makes them living and attractive realities". Urbanism in this sense requires the physical dimensions of the city to develop and maintain constructive conditions, supply, mobility, economic, etc. networks (Dupuy); these networks must be adapted to the people's daily needs and desires for integration. Understanding urbanism

as such also requires the socio-cultural dimension of the city to contribute to urbanism as a lifestyle through diversity and heterogeneity, along with cooperation and hospitality. The following spheres of action of the city with the right to time correspond to this range of objectives: regeneration/revitalisation of city centres, districts and public spaces; safety in public spaces; transformation of mobility points and the development of mobility agreements. This is not a closed list of the spheres of action, but rather different aspects to be stressed.

2. THE COMPATIBILITY OF URBAN TIME REGIMENS

has been understood as the following objective: to make it so that the variety of time and activity patterns that coexist in the city are seen and recognised as an expression of a rich differentiation process and are perceived and controlled from the point of view of their potential for conflict. The synthetic phrase of this objective was: "work timetables, social times and the time conformation of cities must be adapted to the daily life of each person." The balance of time regimens appears in a wide range of tasks: making the fusion, mutual stimulation and common tolerance of the diversity of coexisting patterns possible; facilitating a personal-work balance (in other words, a balanced relationship between the time structures of one's professional activity and the time structures of one's non-professional daily life: care, games, family, partner, neighbourhood, ethic-religious community, etc.); the demands and orders of an intergenerational solidarity which is strengthened in two senses: the conformation of the city to respond to the space-time needs of the next generation and the temporal continuance of local decisions that must be taken; universal attention to the integration of gender equality objectives into the actions of conformation and the scope of decisions related to time in the daily routine. In modern conditions of the division of work and urban differentiation, the concept of balance cannot be reduced to a mere form of "harmony". It must be understood as a conflictive process in which everything depends on two things: a) that capabilities (according to Amartya Sen) and strengths that can bring the conflict to a resolution are developed and b) that the social precautions of moderation and balance enter into play actively and in their most positive sense. Also included in this category of objectives are crucial fields of action in the city that enjoy their right to time: the conformation of school and childcare facility hours and their place in daily time models; the adaptation of working hours and non-professional time patterns; a suitable mobility offer with cultural and health aims and so forth.

3. THE MODERNISATION OF PUBLIC AND PRIVATE SERVICES

has been understood as the following objective: to make the centres that offer services to people substitute internal orientation (considering the

production and financing conditions of these services) for external orientation (attending to the daily situations, living circumstances and the needs of users). The synthetic phrase of this objective was: "Public and private services must take the obligations and temporal needs of its users as a reference point and must contribute to generating and promoting quality of life." All institutions which are present in our urban societies on a daily basis are in full transition towards a modernity whose form has still not been decided. Today all public services — without exception— are concerned in one way or another with the quality of the services they provide. However, it often occurs that quality is considered from a technocratic point of view. This point of view is concentrated on efficiency and effectiveness, which does not benefit citizens in their use of time. To respond to the demand for fairness in the use of time, reflexive modernisation projects must be created that are characterised by two elements: the comprehensive reference to daily quality of life (not only from the private or public service in question) and the interrelation between different service providers (different public offices, public-private associations and so on). In this sense, reflexive modernisation brings an increase in the processes of information, communication and local and regional participation, as well as the generation of trust in the immediate surroundings, as a whole. The following fields of action of the city with the right to individual time correspond to the following range of objectives: concern for the existence, quality and accessibility of important personal services for getting through the daily routine; the adjustment of time structures and the generation of public-private associations and local time agreements.

Ultimately, this group of aims is based on the theory that a "right to time" or "right to individual time" exists. It is centred on the relationships and movements that occur within the immediate local space (the town, city or region); spaces in which daily life is carried out and from which time structures are remitted or derived. There is no shortage of reasons or desires (be they social, cultural or economic in nature) to contribute to the existence of the right to time. Time as a right ("right to time", "temporal right") is a subject that is being debated more and more in Europe (Winkler, 1995; Ost, 1999; Mückenberger, Muth, 2001; Mückenberger, 2004); though there are still no relevant social movements. Time problems tend to be perceived and accepted individually. It is not considered to be a transformable or mouldable reality. Time policy as a set of solutions to guarantee the right to have time still lack appropriate support: there are no groups of agents who assert their right to time before those who mark out the economic and political rhythm. Perhaps is it only a question of "time" (see *Deutsche Gesellschaft für Zeitpolitik* [DGfZP] [online]. <www.zeitpolitik.de>).

In this sense, the current city is a flow, given that it houses, in addition to its inhabitants, provisional populations (for example, sales representatives, tourists, business people). In a strict sense, the weight of the urban population is moving away from inhabitants (rates have decreased in the majority of cases) to intermittent users (with increasing rates) (Martinotti, 1993). It is in the large amount of people who use the city where the right to time should be guaranteed.

The model intervenes, on the one hand, to define the right to time by combating three tendencies: depriving people of the authority over their own time; subjecting people to discrimination when using their time; and devaluing people's concept of their time due to the conditions of its use. It also intervenes so that people may use their time in accordance with their preferences and cultural and social aims. It also acts so that individuals and groups find opportunities and spaces to spend the time they want together. In this way, the city with a right to time recognises a "right to individual time" and creates institutional, cooperative and resource-planning conditions to make it a reality.

4. Bremen and the key projects for the time-conscious city

As regards the time perspective of Bremen, a "planning hermeneutics" was proposed: the model must be designed following a real focus of the project and, in turn, the project plans must be conceived and put into practice taking the model into account. All of this has been materialised in five key projects:

– The urban creation of a "scientific neighbourhood" with an intense technological presence.

– The creation of a media neighbourhood with time patterns that are different from the Fordist patterns.

– The creation of schools as new nodes of knowledge and education that are integrated into the neighbourhood.

– The establishment of new professional structures for time policy in the Bremen administration.

– The creation of childcare facilities close to the parents' workplaces.

These projects were chosen in this hermeneutic sense to build "exemplary" models that make it possible to visualise the time-conscious city and to make it a reality. In addition, it undertook to transfer them to other cases, both within and outside of Bremen.

From the background of time policy focus carried out in Bremen, this series of key projects stands out for two reasons. Firstly, the approach went much further

than the mere time creation of *in situ* social state services; that is, it has advanced in the centre of the economic and political modernisations. Secondly, the approach was implemented from the same state of planning of the notable projects (whereas before, with the "end of the pipe" system, it only acted in the results phase of the planning processes that had already been completed). This progress is due to two factors: a planning calendar that is to be integral for all the areas of competency and a high-level assessment. However, there is an important disadvantage: Bremen's focus on time policy and the implementation of the five key projects depend completely on whether outside funding is available. The organisers of the City 2030 project confirmed that the probability of receiving aid from the German Ministry of Education and Research was decreasing rapidly and sought other, external sources of funding; if they had not been able to attain these, Bremen's time policy project would have failed, despite the advances recorded.

The objective of the FIRST KEY PROJECT is the urbanisation of one of the city's neighbourhoods. The neighbourhood is home to large number of technology companies. This is an attempt to create a time diversity and a spatial density that visibly improve the daily time structuration options of the people who live and work there.

Since its founding in 1971, the University of Bremen has become the largest scientific centre in the northwest of Germany. There are more than 20,000 students enrolled in the 60 degree courses offered at the university's 12 colleges. Between educators and researchers, there are approximately 1,500 scientists at the university, in addition to the 920 technical and administrative employees. The Bremen Technology Park has been developing right next door to the university since 1988. Over 6,000 people work at the more than 300 companies on the park's 145 hectares. With a population of more than 30,000 people, the university and the technology park comprise the technological neighbourhood of the city of Bremen. The current tendency towards densification makes it possible to expect that the number of professionals will reach 10,000. The scientific infrastructure is also being completed and (though slowly) increasing in size with the incorporation of new thematic areas.

The university campus nature of the technological neighbourhood (largely a non-integrated location), has brought about the selection of a relatively monofunctional structure in recent decades. Until now, it has seemed that it was difficult to make the urban mix of proximity, density and even time variety —all the functions of the city (except residential)— compatible with the concept of the technological centre of Bremen. Specifically, a large demand for infrastructure and supply services has arisen.

The central aspects are the analysis of the area, moderating the processes and the experimental initiation of projects. The specific problems that the reduced time diversity supposes for the university, the companies, the research centres and the people who work in and visit the centres are being considered. The implantation of concrete time policies impetuses and experiments is being studied in cooperation with the agents present in the area. The starting point of the real experiment will be the new central area of the university. The intention is for the mobility nodes installed there to evolve into knowledge nodes and urbanism that irradiate towards the periphery of the campus and the technology park. In this sense, two aspects will be important: the orientation (What information greets people as they come into and leave the mobility nodes?) and supply (Would enriching the offer with scientific and cultural acts avoid having the campus canteen deserted even on class days during the academic year?). The conformation process will be geared towards participation, as with the time policy strategy the aim is not only to broaden the functional times of the campus, but also to contribute to the consolidation of the corporate identity of a scientific institution and involve it in the cultural relations of its users. A fundamental question is posed: would this strategy of vitalisation based on time policy be possible if there was no mixing of uses that opened its doors to residential use? (In light of the impossibility of expansion and of the geographic location of the campus, this residential use does not seem to be very probable.) Intermediary funding for the project was obtained through an EU programme of cooperation between Italy, France, Spain and Poland, as well as from the rectorate of the University of Bremen.

The SECOND KEY PROJECT is dual: the active structuring of an experimental 24-hour neighbourhood with the participation and the inclusion of a mediation procedure to overcome the time conflicts thought to arise in the new media neighbourhood of Stephani. The development and funding of a media centre in this neighbourhood was decided in virtue of a 2003 resolution adopted by the regional government and the Commission for Economic Promotion. Therefore, until 2006, the activities of Radio Bremen (which currently has radio and television centres in the outskirts of the city) and other media activities will be concentrated in the neighbourhood of Stephani. The centre will include a reference centre for the media. From an urbanistic point of view, this will revitalise a neighbourhood that in the past has housed small businesses and that is currently characterised by the presence of multiple empty lots, as well as the entire western part of the old city centre. As regards the restructuring of the old port zone, the media neighbourhood will play an important role in connecting the city

centre and the maritime city. It also marks the western entrance to the old city centre of Bremen. The uses planned will clearly change the nature of the neighbourhood and will influence today's functions (for example, residential, commercial and office use).

It is foreseen that the media uses planned present a time regimen that does not correspond (or corresponds only partially) to the time regimens of the surrounding uses. Due to this, the following questions may arise: What time regimen will the media activities follow? What potential for conflict with the surrounding uses will influence this time regimen? How can a process of development of a neighbourhood such as this follow —and, where applicable, optimise— the perspectives of time policy? Additionally, the media centre in the neighbourhood of Faulen will not constitute a city within the city. It will instead be characterised by its important interactions with the immediate surroundings and with areas even further outside the city. At this time, the following questions are raised: What surrounding uses will be developed based on the neighbourhood's special orientation towards the media and the special time regimen of those already there? To which time regimens are they subjected? Will it be necessary for the central uses to adapt to the time regimen? How will public services (such as public transportation) have to respond to the special time regimens to guarantee the operation of the neighbourhood (that is, sufficiently comfortable for those who work in and visit the neighbourhood)? What are the effects on the neighbourhood and the city as a whole?

The objective of the real experiment will, predictably, be to integrate the interventions of time policy necessary for a "modern" neighbourhood with these characteristics in the planning. Among these are, for example, the questions about mixing uses: the integration of residences, childcare centres, restaurants and cultural spaces as benchmarks in an innovative environment. However, also included are the time-related conflicts that will likely arise between a media neighbourhood that is active between the hours of 19:00 and midnight and the traditional residential neighbourhood that borders it.

The THIRD KEY PROJECT is the structurisation of model schools as a new educational reference point. These are centres that, due to their timetables and their conformations, adapt to both the structure of the daily timetables of

the neighbourhood and to the need for continued education with looking towards the future. The educational nodes open the school to the neighbourhood and to the needs for knowledge, understanding and communication of a knowledge society. They will become the point where continued education is available to all ages, all ethnic communities and in all specialities. They are educational centres for everyone; educational points integrated into the neighbourhoods. Their offer is different from the possibilities already present in the neighbourhood (such as neighbours' associations, popular universities, youth centres, and so on). Opening the school to the neighbourhood is being debated and tried throughout the world. Some examples are: in the Netherlands (Groningen: Vensterschool), in Italy (Bolzano: sure path to the school and opening the school's playground to the neighbourhood), in the United States (such as the "knowledge-producing community center" [Carnoy, 2002], "extracurricular activities" [Noam, 2001]).

In a knowledge society, schools cannot be limited to transmitting knowledge only to students, as we can see from the results of the PISA and IGLU studies. The school must include its community (parents, etc.), even more so with immigrant students. It should offer the neighbourhood access to the means of gaining knowledge of the future (Internet, etc.). It should be the communication node for dialogue with the communication and knowledge needs of the neighbourhood. Under these conditions, the school can contribute to the development of potential innovations in human resources.

The offer will include services by and for the neighbourhood (for example, "Turkish cooking for everyone"), training programmes, art and culture gatherings, entertainment options (such as fun evenings), sports and cultural activities, children's activities, evening classes for educators (individual classes) and offers from the local authorities. The educational nodes will be organised in such a way that they are open to collectives that would not otherwise be in school. There will be no barriers, though they will be adapted to adults (chairs, toilets, etc.). The organisation and the offers will be handled by volunteers, local consultants, parents, educators (for example, those who have retired), members of school communities, early-childhood educators, sporting associations and local businesses.

The operation of the educational nodes will be concentrated especially in those times when school is not in session: afternoons and weekends. Because of the educational node, the school will become a vitalising element of the neighbourhood, thus making streets and squares safer and more sociable. In this way, the educational nodes contribute to the creation of "public spaces". And in this way, the school evolves until it is transformed into a node

of the neighbourhood that stimulates innovation and social integration, thus contributing to both the qualitative and quantitative development of the human resources.

Here the real experiment takes centre stage. This is not just a research project, but rather practical, real-life conformation projects (although they certainly do have a scientific basis and will be evaluated according to these standards). The cooperation with the schools in Groningen and in other European countries follows the oft-proven concept of "exchange of good practices" in European Union countries: the concepts and experiences of other successful projects are compared and learned from, using systematic methods. They begin by trying out concrete educational nodes in a neighbourhood, with the objective of reproducing the positive results in other areas in the city.

The FOURTH KEY PROJECT is centred on the implications of the time policy derived from the establishment of new structures in the Bremen administration. In a time policy project in the new Citizen Services Centre in Bremen-Mitte, a process of mediation of the services and the timetable offered was carried out. Under my direction, a group of citizens, the management of the municipal administration and the personnel committee participated in the mediation. The process presented an innovative methodology, as it included citizen participation (employment of Peter Dienel's planning cell procedure and of Daniel Yankelovich's Choice Work procedure).

In the process of reforming the Bremen administration, the processes undertaken towards modernising the public services provided offered good hypothesis as starting points for time policies. A special starting point is the Local Services Centres / Citizen Services Centres project, implemented in various phases from 2002-2004 and subsequently undertaken as a new "services philosophy". This is a series of reflections already developed on the consequent customer-driven orientation, a broader comprehension of the use of resources and a thematisation of the special roles played by public service. As regards future development, we find that our objective and field of observation are both concrete and oriented towards perspectivist practice. The focus of the research may go beyond redistributing the time resources amongst suppliers and petitioners, as is attempted in the model under the label "reflexive modernisation of public and private services". Additionally, in other areas of administrative reform, there are other practical anchor points that have to do with different fields of action.

The FIFTH KEY PROJECT is looking towards a city that is open to families. Within the framework of Bremen 2030, studies

have been done on the flexibilisation of timetables in childcare facilities. In addition, an initiative of companies and social institutions has been formed from the Bremen Forum on Times of the City: the Hertie certification process, which identifies "family-friendly companies". In addition to the timetables, the possibility of synchronising the opening hours and working hours on a case-by-case basis plays a crucial role. It is a model of opening childcare facilities in order to provide care for children close to their parents' workplaces.

Young parents demand (and rightly so) a society that is accessible to families and that offers them a chance to balance raising children with professional work. We mean both temporarily reducing or suspending one's professional activity to raise children and preparing professional perspectives for the period that follows. According to a study on childcare centres and the mothers' behaviour in the labour market presented by the German Federal Ministry for Family Affairs, Senior Citizens, Women and Youth in June 2002, in western Germany almost 70% of the mothers of children under 12 years of age who do not work would like to begin some professional activity. The 2002 Shell study shows that today a professional career is just as important for young women as it is for men, but that women do not want to give up having a family for their professional goals.

Companies are very interested in hiring and maintaining qualified female personnel: in the current context of demographic evolution, the labour is tending towards becoming more scarce. However, fewer and fewer companies are able to afford the luxury of doing without women who clearly have great qualifications. A personnel policy that is conscious of the family and is oriented towards equal opportunities makes it possible, especially for its female workers, to balance work and family. In addition to the flexibilisation of work timetables, this policy facilitates individual's reincorporation to the working world after interruptions for family reasons. In this sense, we could talk about the companies' cooperation in the organisation of childcare (for example, opening a childcare facility near the workplace).

Thanks to an initiative by the municipal groups of the SPD and the CDU to promote the exemplary creation of childcare centres close to the parents' workplaces (especially for children under the age of three), the Bremen Town Hall included an entry for the creation of up to 40 places for children up to three years old in the 2003 budgets. The idea behind this was to promote the development of childcare facilities close to the parents' workplaces. The possibility of including part of the state aid in projects to create childcare facilities close to the workplaces, especially for children under the age of three, was offered to those companies,

businesses and individuals that were interested. The funding will be offered within the framework of the public/ private association, that is, on the basis of combining public subsidies, contributions from the parents and participation from the company in question.

The projects proactively act on the nucleus of the political and economic modernisation of the Hanseatic city. They are currently in the design phase. In this sense, we could talk about the first steps of time policy planning strategy in Bremen. All in all, the way to proceed in the future (in parallel with the key projects) is towards institutional anchoring of this type of policies in the administration. In Italy, for example, the aforementioned law of 8 March 2000 has made the existence of time offices necessary; additionally, it has fallen to the municipalities to include a time plan in their urban plannings (*piano regolatore degli orari*). The conception and the adaptation of these measures for their fit into the German planning system and the pertinent legislation is also one of the missions of the implementation phase of Bremen 2030: a time-conscious city. It is still yet to be seen whether, after an integration such as this, time policy propositions will become permanent (or, in other words, if they will win out over the orientation towards third-party financing and projects).

5. Implications of the key time policy projects on family policy

In Germany and other European countries that have initiated times of the city projects, generational matters and gender equality objectives have always played an essential role. However, the time policies approach is governed by intentions that go beyond this. It includes social infrastructures (full time schools, childcare, care for the elderly), changes in gender roles in the workplace, in the family, in politics and society, company time management, public spaces and space-time conditions of quality of life. All this is the essence of The Times of the City strategies. It is a transforming focus which intends to meet living conditions and individual daily needs. Nonetheless, this aim is not sought through individualisation (in other words, pointing the blame back at those affected by everyday problems), but proposes structural adjustments of space-time relationships between professional activity, personal life and the local environment of individuals, families and groups. This concept can be sustained by just observing, analysing and transforming the sum of these relationships with the aim of conciliation (just as, according to my information, it is used in Italy).

With the discovery of the "time policy" it has become clear that interventions in this sense need a comprehensive systematic focus; if they continue to be a single type of intervention (such as, for example, a

modification in working timetables, public transport timetables or childcare systems) or if they continue to be limited to specific agents or areas of social competence, the most probable outcome is that they fail by having unwanted effects on other environments. The effort to increase quality of life cannot be limited to work organisation, nor paid work as such. It must be undertaken with the wider concept of work, perceiving and acting on these pillars with a look of complicity and a broad perspective in interaction with other pillars. It must also be involved with serious discourse, a generator of action and cooperation with other society-creating agents, in addition to the regular agents, the employers and the state.

These connections can be established systematically if we take into account the context in which the service and knowledge society will be positioned in the city in the coming decades. In this aspect, notable simplifications will be presented in the environments of professional activity, family and local community, as well as effects on the daily routines of inhabitants and users (Carnoy, 2002; Bremen 2030, 2003; Mückenberger, 2004).

The economy and work fundamentally transform their natures. They are no longer limited by their space and time dimensions, they are made flexible and become more and more uncertain for workers (more detail in Mückenberger, 2004, p. 245). Knowledge, "learning to learn" and "knowing how to market knowledge" become an essential element for individuals: men, women, families and even children. Life cycles are losing their traditional rhythms and are accelerated; continuity and rest stages are becoming the exception. The risk associated with (no) knowledge —"left in the lurch"— is a split threat for society. The same occurs with the lack of social and spatial integration of the resident population due to suburbanisation, etc. Social justice problems are associated with this as well, though not exclusively.

Without a doubt, the transformations in daily life involve the opportunity for greater freedom and independence, a freedom that benefits the individual and the group, as well as genders and generations. However, with flexibilisation, acceleration and the current threat to which essential relationships are subjected, individuals and families cannot be left to their fate. If left, the loss of daily tradition will become a permanent stress and progressive heteronomisation.

Families and households now find themselves in a paradoxical situation. In a flexible and individualised working and personal world, more effort is needed when establishing social cohesion (as supporting the "flexible individual", as a "limit" on threatened professional

situations and as an open centre of work and learning). However, at the same time, and due to the same conditions, their support capacity continues to decrease: changing relationships between the genders, divorce rates, increased mobility, a decrease in the birth rates in the national population, changes in households, an ageing population and so forth (more detail in Betram, 2002; Mückenberger, 2004, p. 249). The predictable quantitative retreat and simultaneous ageing of the population make completely innovative measures probable in matters of solidarity, time, communication and daily life. This means that individual organisation of the everyday works as a time balancing game, that the "everyday unit" (Helga Krüger) has ceased to be experimental.

There are many indications that signal that these family situation difficulties will only increase in the future. The consequence could be, in view of the waves of immigrants entering to compensate for the population decrease, a lack of integration and a threat to social cohesion. The tendency towards deurbanisation causes one to fear a return to traditional gender roles. A decrease in the provision of city services threatens childhood development conditions. All this puts the supportive foundations of society at risk. If they are subjected to a more and more noticeable excess in demand, their sources will begin to dry up. This does not just damage social cohesion, but also economic productivity and political integration. However, this evolution is also ambiguous and completely lacking in alternatives. The traditional family is certainly threatened by the overload described, but individualisation does not only mean the quantitative reduction of traditional social forms and the relaxation of social connections that in the past were solid and lasted throughout life. The other side of the coin is being freed from the obligations that it entailed and having the possibility of seeking and undertaking new, more flexible ways of living together and connecting that are freely chosen by each individual. With newly-created ways of living together or ways borne from the extension of existing models (patchwork families, neighbourhoods, specific support networks of particular environments and so on), new opportunities arise that encourage social cohesion and integration. The promotion of time policies consciously affects these opportunities and is one of the ways in which urban development can be utilised.

From the flexibilisation of work, individualisation and pluralisation of essential worlds, new demands on the expectations of the state community (municipal, national and even transnational) are created. However, the community also finds itself in a complicated situation, as it is expected to remedy the gaps that fracture the working and family world. On occasion it is the local communities themselves that deepen or reproduce

these fractures (more in Sieverts, 1997; Mückenberger, 2004, p. 242). Frequently, the informal networks that rest on the family or neighbourhood lose their strength and end up dissolving. Towns, working as spatial units, are at risk in the face of deurbanisation. They lose inhabitants, although not necessarily "users". This increases competition with other points of interest, such as housing, work and leisure. Universal commercialisation subjects towns to high acceleration and movement (of individuals) pressure, which in turn makes them less attractive.

In accordance with current scientific knowledge, it is very probable that the fractures among work, family and the local community will continue in the future and may even deepen. Experts are not clear, however, which of the previous evolution tendencies will be avoidable and which will not in the coming decades. The evolution of professional activity and families is considered to be difficult to reverse: the evolution of the working world due to the pressure of globalisation, the development of essential worlds due to persistent detraditionalisation of lifestyles and socialisation. For this reason, we must pay special attention to possible alternative evolutions of local communities. Perhaps these will be able to develop a greater power of integration ("network cohesion") in this context using a clearer orientation of its everyday policy and time structure, in addition to a higher degree of information, cooperation and participation.

I have recently completed an analysis on the beginnings of the city projects in Germany and Europe that have opted for civil society access to the time policy; I have presented a rather sceptical report (Mückenberger, 2004). The impression obtained is the following: in their role of promoting desires on the time policy, civil society agents are not sufficiently aware and united to develop strength in the face of the agents of "the system" in political and economic spheres. In contrast, the weight of civil society's desires in terms of the time policy should be underestimated; system agents perceive these desires through "sensors" and "antennae" (Cohen, Arato, 1992; Habermas, 1992); that is, with "early warning systems", and they are included in their calculations using preventive legitimation. In light of these results, for the continuation of the City 2030 project, it seems appropriate to stop primarily seeking the access point of the agents of civil society and begin to seek it in political and economic agents; in fact, this is how it is done in the practice of all the key projects.

Specifically, in the university and technology park project, it is important to integrate a component of the "essential world" into the field of exploration that enables the existence of a "desire for permanence" and "identification". We see this component in other similar cases when we verify that there are people who live on the campus;

as a result of the mixed use, culturally speaking, decisive relationships exist between the genders and generations. If this way of mixing uses is separated due to objective restrictions, the strategy of the time policy will be forced to back substitutes of the local effects of one use mix: childcare, shopping, culture, supplies, etc. without a residential culture. There are also examples of these substitute strategies, as could be the case with shopping centres built in rural areas. The real experiment will demonstrate whether a campus can or cannot position the vitalisation of this type of substitute of essential family life.

Even in the case of media neighbourhoods, there is a threat of a dominant monoculture of young professional men without children. According to what we know about post-Fordist neighbourhoods, productivity and capacity for innovation also depend on the advance of urban cultural and gastronomic offerings. Here the question is whether one can survive in a mix of these (rather functional) characteristics, or if the attraction of this type of neighbourhood also needs the social mix, in other words, a mix of ages and genders: qualified female workers, the possibility of combining professional activity with parenthood thanks to childcare systems, working hours and, ultimately, settling.

The reference point is greater essential and family references, as known by the traditional Fordist school. The question is more to what point these references can be measured with the "systemic" foundations of the scholastic institution: temporary teacher, monitor and administrative personnel systems, regulated by collective agreements, the insurance systems of teaching centre heads, the tendency towards a business economy of company consultants, trade union resistance to volunteers as substitutes for professionals and so forth. Basing the project exclusively on civil society would be unsuccessful. Instead, it seems promising to establish the systemic opening of the school; for example, the Bertelsmann experiment or "extracurricular activities" promise academic success, but they are maintained outside the current educational system despite the fact that PISA and IGLU show that they are needed urgently.

The administration modernisation project also presents implications for family policy. The services offered by an institution must be able to react to the living conditions of its users. In order to interrelate and combine the time interests of its employees and its "customers" (both integrated into family and vital interests), the institution needs new opening and exploration processes, methods of compensation and adjustment of interests; all of which are contributed to by the focus of time policy.

In the project of establishing childcare facilities close to workplaces, a question must be raised: at the end of the day, is this not a simple strategy of work policy? On the one hand, they would be places where children are left (from the employees' point of view); on the other hand, it would be a form of loyalty to the company and its ideology (from the company's point of view). Covering this reality with the label of family policy would prove very short-sighted. In this sense, authentic family policy solutions must be created from the point of view and with the participation of the children involved, with local offers projected that offer independence and cultural balance. The interests of time policy refer to moral and cultural values as well as to economic demands for problem solving. The mission of the real experiment is to test the potential convergence of interests.

In each one of the five cases, the projects are developed as work, local or family policies. Nonetheless, in order to be suitable they need to be extended to each one of the other areas. In this sense, the affirmation that all of these time policies projects have family policy implications is demonstrated. In this necessary extension, there is always a risk: it may be rejected or be carried out exclusively in a functional plan. Frequently, success depends on an interest being able to be expressed simultaneously in more than one language. However, interests must always find a common linguistic level; in this sense, it seems that in many cases the focus of time policy is able to offer the appropriate vocabulary. With all this, the results cannot be clearly predicted in any real experiment.

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1   Trade Union for Public Services, Transport and Communication. (*Translator's note.*)
2   United Service Union. (*Translator's note.*)

TERRITORIAL TIME PLAN. POLICIES AND PROJECTS ON TIME IN THE CITY

Sandra Bonfiglioli

Introduction

The Territorial Timetable Plan for the City of Bergamo (Lombardy, Italy) is presented in this article as the most avant-garde and therefore the most representative case of the development of urban time policies in Italy, primarily with regard to the integration of the aspects of time and space in the quality of life. Bergamo is part of the Milan's urban system, and vice versa, in the large regional agglomeration that makes up a continuous multi-polar urban area. The text has been taken from the Plan document with contributions from Gisella Bassanini, Roberto Zedda, Marina Zanbianchi (supervisor of the draft Plan), Stefano Stabilini and Laura Brioschi. To consider Bergamo as being the most

advanced case is not an opinion formed for the reader, but rather a specific fact. In Bergamo, the municipal government started to draft the time plan, services plan and general plan of the city almost simultaneously, something which allowed them to search for and experiment with a plan that was both space- and time-oriented and gave the City's Department of Time Management an entirely original role. To supplement the explanation of the events that took place in Bergamo, general reflections on the origin of the time-approach planning, on the interesting parts and on the role of women are included.

1. Preliminary questions

1.1. Which of the city's policies are time-related?

Urban time policies attend to the matter of relationships between individuals' use of time and public timetables and hours of operation. In the context of the city, it deals with the functioning of the city at different levels of organisation; on the one hand, it ensures that the citizens of Bergamo can carry on with their private, social and public lives. On the other, it allows organisations (businesses, families, associations and institutions) to perform their activities.

The City functions from two interrelated angles: the spatial or urban planning order and the time-oriented order or the hours of operations of general services and organisations and working hours. For reasons related to the physics of how we live, urban time policies have become time-space policies, despite the fact that they address concerns and objectives focused on time and schedules in the life of a city.

For a long time, it seemed that city planning, i.e. the design plans for the formation of the city and its spatial articulatio , was enough to determine the workings of the "urban machine" and that the role of regulating hours of operation for general services, productive processes and family life could be left to working hours and the 4+4 time standard. Of all public services, transport and public transport infrastructure performed the function of time-space regulators of the social life of the city, by linking city spaces with each other and with extra-urban areas and synchronizing the length of the journey to work with company working hours.

In terms of their function in the structuring of social life, the questions of services and those of "viability" have formed the centre of city planning operations since the post-war period following the Second World War. But the lack of attention on the part of city planning to the time-oriented aspects of city operations can no longer be put off for a number of general reasons that we will set out before specifically analysing the time-oriented problems of Bergamo and its urban time plan.

All things considered, it is not only the fixed public hours of operation for services, organisations and the schedules of the residents of Bergamo that influence their lives and the lives of organisations, but also other territories related to Bergamo's residents, businesses and institutions. Geographers and planners have called the archipelago the urban system. The Bergamo urban system is made up of the City of Bergamo and all of the areas where there are settlements and communities with which the City's residents, businesses and organisations maintain life and work relationships. Building maps of the Bergamo urban system is one of the tasks of the City of Bergamo's Department of Time Management.

Urban space is the public sector's area of responsibility. The rules and regulations related to time planning for the City also foresee coordination of the time-oriented policies in the extra-urban areas. Public action with regard to time in the City is not responsible for existing elements and their quantification such as how many schools are needed, but with building ideal appropriate time-oriented relationships —for example, between the opening times and calendars of nursery schools, employees' working hours, parents' working hours, transport timetables— according to the uses that the residents and the businesses make of time and land. Establishing the number of schools needed is one of the tasks of city planning.

1.2. The Doctrine of Time-Oriented Policies

In Italy, the development of time-oriented policies initially began at the beginning of the 1990s with the City of Milan Urban Time Plan and, later, in the middle of the same decade it spread through Europe. From the first simple attempts at public action, a network of European universities has supported its diffusion and establishment by working in three directions:

1. The building of a *praxeology*, that is, technical tools focused on time-oriented action: chronographic cartography (chronomap of the events, thematic map of urban chronotopes, chronomap of the poles of attraction, *on/off* map of uses that resident and non-resident populations use in the urban areas, time-space maps of thresholds, *on/off* chronomap for safety policies of the public space); descriptive models of the inhabited areas (chronotopes); governance techniques and building joint planning tables; analysis models of public policies; land information systems with time-oriented objectives; and administrative procedures for managing plans and policies.

2. The building of a basic theory, in part interdisciplinary, for focusing research and the direction of the public sector: time-oriented city planning; sociology of

family, land and work; geography of time; chronobiology and ecology of time; public art for the expression of the culture of time, philosophy of time and feminist philosophy. In particular, these theoretical studies now allow us to understand and describe the action of time in urban configuration and morphology of the built city.

3. An extensive atlas of the case studies on the subject of active research that works from within and in synchrony with processes of transformation, that is, neither before, like with the former logic of "first objectively know the problem and then act from certain rationality", or afterwards by distancing oneself and thinking about it theoretically.

1.3. Italian Laws of Reference for the City's Territorial Time Plan

A vast group of laws allows the creation of projects for the management of time in the City:

– Law 142/1990, of 8 June, on the organisation of local self-government, art.36, § third: grants the mayor the power to "coordinate commercial and public services, hours of operation as well as the opening hours to the public of the peripheral offices of the government administration, with the objective of harmonising the complement of services to the overall and general demands of the users".

– Law 241/1990, of 7 August, on new rules pertaining to administrative procedures and right of access to administrative documents, art. 2, § second: introduces the requirement to conclude administrative procedures within a defined brief period of time for each type of act, since the quickness of the response from the public administration is also considered an important factor, in order that citizens avoid negative consequences as a result of unnecessary lost time.

– Law 125/1991, of 10 April, on the positive actions to obtain male-female equality in the workplace, art.1, § second, letter e): points to a reorganisation of work, working conditions and working hours, as a way to improve the balance between family and professional responsibilities and a more equitable distribution of tasks between the sexes.

– Decree Law 29/1993, 3 February, on rationalisation of the organization of civil service and revision of the discipline of public work, art. 5 in conformity with Law 421/1992, of 23 October, art. 2, which establishes, along with general criteria of having to find ways of reorganising the civil service, "the harmonising of the operating hours of offices and workplaces with the needs of the users and with the hours

and civil service of the nations of the European Community as well as with the operating hours of the private sector workplace".

– Law 285/1997, on provisions for the encouragement of rights and opportunities for children and adolescents that plans interventions "in the central and local area for encouraging the promotion of rights, quality of life, development, individual growth and socialisation of children and adolescents...". The Law also foresees the experimentation of innovative social-educational services for early childhood (0-3 years).

– Decree Law 114/1998, of 31 March, on the reform of the relative discipline of the commercial sector, art. 11, consistent with Law 59/1997, of 15 March, art. 4, § 4: it introduces important margins of liberalisation with regard to commercial operating hours, requiring local governments to regulate them at the local level.

– Decree of the Ministry of the Environment, of 27 March 1998, on sustainable mobility in urban areas: instituting the position of mobility manager, whose job consists in "optimising" "mobility packets" for the journey to work of people employed in commercial and administrative productive structures of greater than 300 employees and businesses with more than one shop or site located in the same city that exceeds 800 employees overall. The objective is to reduce private means of transport in favour of multi-modal means.

– Revision of Law 142 (la 265/1999): modifies art. 36 —later integrated in the single Text of the laws relating to the arrangement of local Entities (no. 267/00)— and requires the mayor to coordinate and reorganize, "along the lines expressed by the municipal council and in the context of criteria indicated by the region, the operating hours for public and private businesses and public services as well as, in agreement with the supervisors of the other governmental bodies with jurisdiction in the area, the public opening hours of the public offices located in the area in order to harmonise the operation of services with overall demands of the users".

– Decree 275/1999, of the President of the Republic, on the rules relating to the regulations concerning the autonomy of educational institutions, in accordance with art. 21 of Law 59/1999, of 15 March: assigns every school the authority to regulate teaching hours. With this aim, the educational institutions can adopt all of the forms of flexibility that they consider appropriate.

In 2000, National Law No. 53 was passed: provisions for maternity and paternity support, the right to child care leave and educational training and for the coordination of time in the city. The second part is dedicated to time in the city and requires mayors of cities with more than 30,000 inhabitants to:

– Draw up a Territorial Timetable Plan.
– Institute a Department of Time Management.
– Identify a departmental head in this area.
– Institute a coordinating board of citizen institutions to carry out projects included in the Plan.

Identify two levels of action the regional and the municipal, and include the following articles:

– Regional tasks (art. 22).
– Municipal tasks (art. 23).
– Territorial timetable plan (art. 24).
– Coordinating board (art. 25).
– Public Employee operating hours (art. 26).
– Time banks (art. 27).
– Funds for harmonising time in the city (art. 27).

Complementing Law 53/00, the Lombardy region approved Regional Law no. 28/2004 on Regional Policies for the coordination and administration of time in the city. The Regional Law identifies the coordination and administration of times and operating hours as tools for promoting the equality of opportunity between men and women and quality of life through the reconciliation of working hours, relationships, childcare, education and free time for the people who live in the region or make use of it, including those who do so temporarily.

1.4. Relationship between the Time Plan and City Planning

It is more than obvious that, from a theoretical point of view —since in the daily practices of residents and organizations, the regulation of public operating hours and urban development of the city contribute (in fact, they are integrated) to the defining of a space-time organisation of urban life —city planning and the time plan have common goals and are destined to overlap with one another. The overlap is governed and shared by planners and administrators from different departments and is foreseen in the document of the Plan. The relationship between the responsibilities of the City's Department of Time Management and the Department of City Planning was very strained until the city plan was reformed beginning in the 1990s and carried out during the first decade of the twenty-first century in all regions of Italy.

The Lombardy region, first with the Law of 1/2001, which instituted the Services Plan and later with Law 12/2005, which

inscribed the Services Plan among the documents that make up the Governing Plan of the Area, made integration of the City Plan with the Time Plan possible. The most significant part of the Services Plan —as foreseen in the Lombardy regional law— is the functioning of the city at different level of associated life. It is the same problem that time-oriented urban policies face, especially those that are structured in a territorial timetable plan. Both are essentially plans for accessibility to services of public and general interest. On the other hand, they have formal powers, tools for action, traditions and social actors with very diverse support.

The urban time policies have come to address spatial dimensions through experience on the ground and disciplinary thinking, something that has given rise to the so-called time-oriented city planning innovations. The services plans have reached the timetable and time dimension under the guise of the concept of service provision and consequently, of opening and closing hours in relation to the new time-oriented profiles of demand. The origins of these two types of plans are different: the time-oriented policies come from a feminist movement in the 1980s "women change time"; the Services Plan has its origins in the disciplinary, instrumental and legislative renovation (primarily regional) of city planning in the last 20 years. The interested parties that come into play in these two kinds of plans are also different. The parties interested in time-oriented planning primarily have interests of ethics and values (new school hours to improve teaching, new working hours for improving women's jobs and balancing life and work) and this curbs investment, the return on which would be a common good without owners. On the one hand, the Services Plan takes up the tradition of Italian reformist city planning, which, at the time, made services an important city planning issue in the face of territorial imbalances and a new labour market, predominantly female; on the other hand, the approach focused on contributions for improving the quality of services brings about real estate interests, which are the source of power of city planning action and the heart of the game of regulation of private and public interests.

It is clear that the alliance with the Services Plan has been important for the Time Plan since the latter has a weaker capacity for action. The interests of the Service Plan and their operators with regard to time responsibilities were shown with the dialogue. Currently, neither plan is subordinate but both occupy the same level. The reasons for this alliance should be explained and organised.

2. Structural changes and time-oriented conflicts legitimize action on time in the city

2.1. The Social Reasons for Time-Oriented Planning

Many studies (Bonfiglioli, Boulin, Mückenberger in process of being published) have shown that the main structural and cultural transformations that are taking place in society and post-Fordist cities are concurrent with profound time-oriented changes: flexible working hours in the framework of post-Fordist rules of work organisation; desynchronisation of public operating hours systems; increase in the personal mobility, markets and information in the framework of globalisation of economic and social processes and new values attributable to the use of time for life projects in the area of individualisation of behaviours and consumerism.

These processes of change are related to new uses of time and land and with new quality of life expectations by citizens. So the new public operating hours, which are derived from the industrial and service economy operating hours, open up new conflicts related to use and time: between generations, for example, with regard to the use of public spaces at night or with regard to the distribution of intergenerational wealth in the framework of the current welfare system; between clients and employees of services, since the new services hours require new working hours; between non-standardized time for taking care of the family and working hours that are not oriented to the family; between parents, with regard to sharing care for family and between the two sexes with regard to the cultural of personal use of time.

2,2. Building the idea of quality of life in the experience of urban time policies

The idea of quality of life has started to prosper and become more prominent over time. Right from the start in the 1980s, during the Italian phase of the "women change time" movement, the policies on time in the city have been quality of life policies. With this objective, from the beginning, the policies have been differentiated from the contemporaneous movement for the equality of opportunity focused on improving the work-life balance to achieve better conditions for women's access and permanence in the labour market.

During the seventies, the Law of the Marques (Italy) region was incorporating time-oriented and spatial aspects of quality of life in the first conception of time-oriented city planning: individual and social time cannot be conceived on the margin of the functional organisation of the region, which had not only been generated by public operating hours

systems, but also with city planning ordinances. The idea of quality of life is specified as quality of life in places. In whose name? In the name of the residents and non-residents temporarily present in the same places.

Lastly, reflection raises the question of who is demanding this quality of life. It is not an anonymous individual that has the formal rights of citizenship, a silent component of populations and social groups, but a flesh and blood person in different stages of their life. And it is these talking individuals who, when carrying on their daily lives in the different areas of their habitat according to the use of their time for everyday life, who put to the test the group of formal rights of citizenship, which they enjoy, and the functional and symbolic schemes of the places in question.

The concept of "quality of life" is still not very clear and should be defined further: quality of daily life in different places for a real person who lives there at a stage in their life. What new aspects have we contributed?

1. The changes in the meaning of the expression 'quality of life' have placed the inhabitants of a city and their capacity to talk and express themselves at the centre of the conception of time-oriented problems. They have not been put in social groups like women, workers, businesspeople —that are certainly, in sociological terms—, also bearers of time-oriented interests, but citizens of a city carrying out their daily lives: above all, inhabitants. The construction of time-oriented problems begins from a viewpoint "in the shadow of the citizen" and when carrying out actions in his or her life, decides when to "put to the test" the time-orientated and spatial schemes that correspond to their habitat.

2. The beneficiary of time-oriented action is the resident citizen and it is possible and valid to specify characteristics for them up to the scale of the person.

3. The micro-scale of places, where everyday corporal gestures are carried out, becomes more important. The daily level of life is like this. The everyday scale of time use and the spatial scale of the gestural body in the life practices are reciprocally coherent dimensions that are anthropological and related to housing. Both dimensions are also coherent with the thesis that argues that the beneficiary of time-oriented policies has to be the resident. It should be noted that urban time policies have identified the same spatial and time-oriented scales that drew the attention of time geographers during the 1960s.

4. City planning can address a criticism against having forgotten the reasons of the body that has characterised the

post-war phase of regional and city planning, in the interest of a large scale structuralist vision of urban problems.

5. The work sphere and its specific way of regulating working hours with regard to time for life can be theoretically linked with the of life in the area and with its specific form of regulation. The city's space and time is recomposed of a unique four dimensional time-space if problems are looked at from the scale of the body.

This approach allows us to recompose —more theoretically than through public action itself— the break that has occurred during European history by the lengthy process of separating the work space-time sphere with respect to the world of living practices reserved for actors of social dialogue. In the theoretical field, the social dialogue formally finds a new public sphere of joint action.

2.3. Participative action

Since the 1990s, time-oriented urban policies developed, for example, by the departments of time management of Milan, Bolzano, Genoa, Rome and many other Italian and European cities, have directed participatory projects through the creation of "quadripartite committees", where the different interested parties sit down and address the adopted measures (for example, commercial operating hours). The members work in accordance with the principles of the common joint action projection. Therefore, the public action follows the guidelines and the so-called *governance* philosophy. This public action philosophy is strengthened by the crossover actions that the Department of Time Management carries out with other municipal and provincial departments and the citizen public administration.

2.4. Morphology of working hours in the field of public timetables

The aim of looking back on the long historic route that has resulted in the current organisation of timetables and the legal and ethical tools that regulate them is to include something that we take for granted and of which we have little awareness.

Time schedules are localized
The concept of localisation of public service schedules contains two aspects: the norms that institutionalise them have value in one area and not in another; regulated activities (schools, industries, families) are localized in space and, in this institutionally defined and spatially limited context, public service schedules "are valid".

Public service timetable systems
Working hours and, in general, public service schedule hours, are not independent of each other but rather are

arranged in mutually linked schedules (Chiesi, 1989). It makes sense to consider the public service schedules as an elastic network that is modified even though only one of them changes. For example, it is a common experience in family life to adapt lunchtime to a change in the school timetable of a family member.

Public sphere/private sphere
Public service schedules are the axis along which the public and private spheres mutually hybridize, from the personal and the social. Urban time policies apply to public service schedules and, therefore, to the relationship between the private and public sphere, between individual and collective interests.

Flexible Hours
The term "flexibility" refers to a broad range of time-oriented forms of post-Fordist work: the great variety of timetable modules and work calendars for economic activities; the variability of working hours over time that apply to the same employee; the stop and start of women in the labour market as a result, for example, of the birth of a child; the temporality of work hours in the case of precarious jobs; the self-regulation of the employee as to when to enter or leave work, the self-regulation of working hours for many types of freelance work.

Transforming service schedules is a complex action
Transforming public service schedules is not, therefore, a simple action and it is difficult to monitor the impact of the measures adopted in the chain of the time-oriented transformation that has occurred. It is, above all, an action of limited rationality due to the limited observability of the chain of transferences of the time-oriented forms.Similarly, the time schedules are not internalised by the inhabitants of the place, who end up considering them as normal (Tabboni, 1984).

2.5. The interested parties in time management

Not only to have a say but also to plan jointly. The awareness raising process has been slow in many European cities and the planners in the Department of Time Management have given it their maximum effort during the social construction phase of the projects.

The participatory structure of the social construction task has been called the "joint planning board" (Bonfiglioli, 2000) to emphasise that the board is not a place for "*win-win*" type negotiating between social forces and the municipal government, but rather a place for participative planning between interested parties that know how to assume the role of social actors capable of orchestrating common interests and strategic visions, without even being mediators.

The practice of governance called joint planning was initially created within the time-oriented policies of Bolzano. It had been studied thanks to the systematic work of observation and research carried out on public action and has been theorized in the discipline. Currently, it is an internationally recognised term in the discipline of governance (Mareggi, 2002; Bonfiglioli, Boulin, Mückenberger, in process of being published).

Who are the interested parties, by type:

Educational institutions
Particularly nursery schools and primary and secondary education, have schedules and calendars that are related by networks with families, with working hours of parents and workers and with the availability of women, especially those with families and small children, to enter and remain in the labour market. The experiences have posed the following as problems: the extension of the project of new school timetables and calendars to all schools; the decision that children should be the main beneficiaries of the change in school timetabling and calendars; the creation of two quality objectives, the pedagogic objective and one related to the students' overall living time. There is a strong awareness that there is a relationship between school hour schedules and calendars and women's occupations. In order to complement these new ends, the educational institutions and parents are building a very original network of disciplines, reflections and research.

Commercial entrepreneurs
They have put forward some strategic questions. In the first place, economic development and the future of the commercial enterprise from the long term perspective of a new design for tourist calendars in the area and new time-oriented profiles of demand requiring opening on Saturdays, evenings and holidays.

Secondly, the role of local entities in favour of the employment of women, especially with regard to reincorporation of women into the labour market after maternity and the adaptation of infant services timetables during the periods of extended hours of business operation on Saturdays, evenings and holidays.

And finally, the need to improve services and quality of public spaces: temporary parking for physical access to facilities; presence and good condition of facilities in public spaces, mainly on the street in public squares; logistics of transporting goods to the entrance of the business; innovative services for the delivery of goods.

Contractors
In terms of accessibility to facilities at different levels, the management of personal mobility, the logistics of

transporting goods and the modernisation and integration of services within the businesses. The interested parties who are still unconvinced are mainly contractors and the world of business in general. An appropriate strategy for encouraging their involvement needs to be found.

Mayors
Mayors who defended the urban time policies in Italy and with whom a relationship has to be re-established.

Women
They had promoted urban time policies in the interest of quality of life and the issue of reconciling life and work time.

2.6. Strategic questions of urban time policies

Urban time policies throughout Europe work around four questions of strategic value:

1. Sustainable mobility.

2. The reconciliation of time for everyday life, working hours and personal time.

3. Accessibility to general services.

4. Urban requalification.

Bergamo's Timetable Plan takes these questions as guidelines for their projects and time-oriented policies.

2.7. City planning reasons for time-oriented planning

Globalisation as a form of urban settlement and peripheralisation of the European city
Which elements have research and regional and city planning in Europe have presented as a problem with regard to urban transformation since the 1970s? In summary: globalisation of the city and the new urban hierarchy; the decline of the historical city and urban civilisation; everyday mobility of people and goods that extends through equally vast areas with different spatial scales; the building of new areas; the reform of planning tools and laws; the emergence of new social subjects, especially women, who access public decision making with new interests; new housing practices related to the flow of movement; time-oriented aspects of transformations.

All these elements can be seen to be consistent with the idea that the contemporaneous transformation of human settlement evolves together with the following elements:

– Globalization processes in the economy.

– Post-industrial development that transfers the telematic revolution to productive processes and the organization of work.

– And the social mutations that, at least in the leading regions, are usually given the generic term "knowledge society".

Consequently, the qualitatively significant beginning of the urban transformation is usually placed in the decade of the seventies, a time when the socio-economic order of industrial taylorism in Europe is declining.

Networks of Cities and Urban Systems
Beginning in the seventies, the new concepts of contemporary urban settlement referred to configurations that do not "have" structure or limits, or a circumscribable sovereignty of their "own". City networks, urban systems, third generation metropolises (Dupuy, Godard, Roncayolo, 1994; Martinotti, 1993) are concepts that give their name to a type of urban configuration diffused into different regions and regulated, not by a sovereign public institution, but through economic and social exchanges, which highlight its interactive rather than hierarchical character. The design of the relationships is more significant than the physical city itself. According to Gabriel Dupuy (1995) "The pertinent space now is not the continuous space of the classic geographic model but a complex topology of discontinuous spaces, without connections, that establish previously unknown time-space combinations".

Redistricting
The new geography of settlement and exchange in the area of economic globalisation infers an articulated spectrum —through different scales and legal forms— of local European policies that have the establishment of new "districts" as an objective by the regional government, characterised by some limitations of variable and often time-oriented geometry: "pays", or time-oriented planning community in France; new design of urban administrative areas; communities of agglomeration; metropolitan areas; multi-regional areas such as Milan-Turin; building of European area on a continental scale on a level with the European infrastructural project, continental areas of free exchange.

Daily mobility in large scale urban design systems of variable geometry
The peri-urban redistribution of population and the growth of the extension of urban settlements are phenomena present in all of the advanced economic regions. The effects of settlements in the area are different due to the regional urban framework and the reach of its network. In a space like France, with an urban network of wide radius and polarity around the Île-de-France, the stitching effects of the peri-urban areas in the form of enormous low density built-up belts are less common than in Italy where medium sized cities can be found every 30 kilometres. Here, saturation of the peri-urban '*edge city*' is normal.

The resulting morphology of the new logic of settlement is an archipelago —some prefer the term "nebulous"— of densely urbanised areas, with scattered clearings of plural areas on different scales; the connection does not necessarily come from unitary government institutions but through daily practices based on the choice made by the inhabitants of the edge city, of using services scattered through the archipelago. This choice, sometimes called *hyper-choice* (Godard, 1997; Camagni, 1996), generates a zigzagging mobility pattern based on private transport needs. The challenge of the governing powers of the area consists of concentrating on the dispersion, with collective modes of transport, rather than foreseeing and arranging the space in advance.

The concepts of *urban system* and *urban network* within the framework of international thinking about cities and city planning that began during the seventies bring a new angle to the conception of urban settlements that place less value on morphological aspects and values the logic of exchange, of mobility and the connection between city and region. In this context, the exchanges are not the hierarchical kind, as has traditionally been the case between the capital and the province, between cities and rural areas, but rather interactive ones.

Mobility of people and goods is the engine that outlines "on wheels" and with road networks, a new physical (and social?) configuration of quasi urban and informal type urban settlements of a regional scale.

Temporary inhabitants of the urban network hubs
The relationship between uses of working hours/schedules and the rhythms of social time and between these and the expansive logic of urban settlements is well known and there are a number of studies that have described and measured the "study objective".

As Martinotti says, also referring to the Italian urban transportation system, from the end of the seventies visible signs of the reversal of the secular trend in the dynamics of urbanisation began to show up; in fact, cities on the whole with more than 100,000 inhabitants have stopped increasing in population after a century of interrupted growth (Martinotti, 1993). Martinotti puts forward a thesis on the new social morphology related to a new metropolitan settlement: "I suggest consideration of metropolitan settlement and social morphology that is slowly emerging like progressive differentiation of four main populations that currently gravitate around the metropolis. This is a point of view that is indirectly linked to patterns of use of the space-time resources defined by the Hägerstrand and Pred school and recently taken up again by Giddens" (Hägerstrand, 1975; Giddens, 1984).

It attempts to refocus the urban dynamic from the populations that inhabit the city to the populations that make use of it. "The first generation metropolis is profoundly characterised by the phenomenon of pendular movements ... and of large necessary infrastructures for this type of movement —trains, highways, tunnels, bridges and undergrounds— where the most significant urban investment have been focused during the middle of this century" (Martinotti, 1993). If these swings were strategic phenomenon in the building of the first generation metropolis, the second metropolitan generation is characterised by the use of leisure time. "Individuals and families move around not only by going to work and coming home but also for recreation" (Martinotti, 1993). In short, Martinotti classifies the new social morphology of the new metropolis of the second generation like this: city users, businessmen, swing workers, residents. We are already familiar with the last three. We find the real innovation in the 'city users': "the new temporary population of urban consumers that intensely, and sometime brutally, use the city and its public spaces" (Martinotti, 1993).

The city of time
This is not only a question of gigantic population flows. The growing mobility of people and goods is building its city, a city of time:

1. The historic centres of the cities, places of temporary presence of the *city users* or urban users.

2. The *cities of art*, like Venice, temporarily inhabited by cyclical populations according to the rhythms of cultural and entertainment events.

3. The *university cities*, like Urbino, inhabited by semi-permanent populations continually renewed through the annual cadences of economic activities.

4. The *tourist cities* that duplicate historic cities, like Rimini, one permanently inhabited and the other seasonal. Rimini is a double city, the "summer" part, which opens four months a year, is larger in volume than the residential sector.

5. The *seasonal cities* of tourist complexes.

3. A heritage of civil consciousness that has to be evaluated in the city of Bergamo Time Plan

A heritage for Local and European use

The originality of the dialogue among some of the social actors and the local government of Bergamo for including the timetable plan in the public agenda —and the continuity of the route taken over ten years— has resulted in a increase in civil

awareness. The research promoted by the Regional Council of Lombardy and carried out by the Irer Regional Institute of Research in 2004 highlighted the originality of the path taken: "The urban time-oriented policies in Bergamo (113,143 inhabitants, 2001 Census) have a totally unique character within the national and Lombardian scene. For more than a decade, these policies have been shaping constant stimulation of different subjects from civil society, specifically, women, with regard to the City government" (Bonfiglioli, Mareggi, 2004, pp. 227-254).

This accomplishment is completely original since, leaving aside the case of Rome's plan at the beginning of the nineties, where the start-up was promoted by the Mayor and by a forum of women, in all Italian and European cities the initiative was in the hands of the politicians elected in the heart of local organisations, generally women, often accompanied by brilliant planners. Only afterwards, did the initiative receive local support from women's associations, unions, businesses and the university; in other words, it received support from the *pioneers* that acted as consultants on the subject of innovation and emerging needs already existing within the unions, businesses and the university. These individuals had made possible the creation of an idea and of a need for quality time that was growing in Italy in the middle of the eighties —and was expressed in a lengthy movement of active women in the area of family and work (double presence)— transferring the idea to the field of public policy and specifying management content and modalities.

Outside Bergamo, there are no such homogeneously «socially constructed» creations in any other European city, that are uninterrupted and culturally sophisticated in terms of the conception and the practice of quality —whether it be from city life— and their timetable and other time-oriented aspects.

"We wondered who decided on these schedules and working hours and we discovered that there was no kind of coordination ... And what if we shared our needs in order to redesign the City's timetables?"[1] This proposal, extracted from the founding document of the urban time policies in the mid-eighties, has been adopted by the union and by the women of Bergamo as an itinerary for reflecting on services of general interest and working hours as part of their operation: a) structure of the personal ways of life, b) structure of the city's morphologic and city planning schemes (this is perhaps the hardest aspect) and c) as a resource for improving the quality of life and the city aimed at the social and personal objectives of its citizens. The itinerary for the interpretation of social demand, darwn up from a project by the women and the union, used a completely original method for getting citizens' networks and institutions that have

actively participated in the improvement of services that make daily life easier, to "talk" to one another.

The Council of Women, in the new city government's document of mandate for 2004-2009, is made up of 50 women representing 38 groups and associations, 5 municipal council members and 7 division council members. The document does not specify the party affiliation of the members or the interests represented. This is because no single interest is represented, but everyone works on building a new public space for citizens. At the heart of this new public space for citizens it is possible to deal jointly with the living conditions (services and systems of public operating hours) as well as working hours that regulate —designating the times needed for use of personal life- the personal agendas of citizens of any age and sex. And the value of this policy design is found in the reunification, in the area of knowledge and of public action, of spheres of living (in the region) and of work (within the space dedicated to this).

Life and work are spheres that were separated from one another during long periods of history. The stimulus for the division into two spheres from that which in the life of an individual seems an inseparable continuity is verified through the designation of work as the public sphere par excellence and life practices as the private sphere. Those who drafted the founding document of urban time policies considered the combining of the two spheres as necessary as a *sine qua non* condition for making the creation of the idea of quality of life time possible, where life time does not mean, as it usually does, additional work practices —outside the work sphere— but the complex configuration and restructuring of personal time for living, made up of time for the family and social relationships, for working hours and for time set aside for oneself.

Here is the definition of the concept of "time for oneself": "Asking for time is not just the need for free time and self-management, for equitable subdivision of roles, it is also valuing that which women know, desire and create with regard to individual and collective time and the transformation of this in a policy project".[2]

Recently, the Council of Women set up four commissions and two sub-commissions in the following areas: family and citizenship; childhood, minors and family; maladjustment within the family, with particular attention to women; the elderly; quality of life and time policy; culture and communication and participatory democracy.

It is easy to note the extension and articulation of the topics taken on for reflection and agreement. It is important to emphasize that no subject is closed in itself, but that all are related

to the meaningful nexus of life: as an environment (the family), as a "layout" (quality of life and time-oriented policies) or as a relationship with the body (the elderly). The focus is not oriented towards the solution of the problems by focusing attention finding the fastest and most efficient operative solution to a problem. In any case, it is inspired in the culture of planning that draws attention not towards the solution but towards the construction of the problem, which has to be cultured and polyhedral. And the construction of the problem is at the same time a social and cultural process and an expression of interests that are not seen as banal. It is a focus and a practice of governance initiated by Bergamo social actors through real public practices well before the term and its techniques were expanded by refined discourse. The construction of thought and the public sphere carried out by these social actors has become a method and knowledge. This has prevented the request for public action set out in the policies from slipping towards the regional union activity directed at women. In this sense, women are considered as a social category without rights of citizenship that have to be compensated. Women have done more: they have acted as social actors characterized by civilizing thinking and not subordinate to particular interests, in other words, they act as a subject that is starting to create itself.

What type of understanding has been built as a result of this relational way of working, which encourages *direct expression* from those that act and *theoretical* thinking in order to answer the questions? Obviously it is not an objectifying understanding as occurs now with disciplined methods of scientific observation of a subject under study, present and external to the researcher. The Bergamo social actors have worked for 10 years to apply a living understanding. They can be called experts without necessarily being specialists or generalists removed from the contexts. It is an objective understanding that can be transmitted and transformed with experience by the person who receives it and "adds their own contribution"; an understanding that is scientific because it is the result of observations, systematic thinking, controllable rational processes, and arguments subject to criticism based on theoretical academic references controlled by active scientific communities. It is an understanding that can be "moved to situations" and there it is adapted, because it is not built from without but within contexts and operators. It operates through the presence of a person that was there and is still there and not in accordance with a schematic mission, responsibility, job or timetable.

These facts are not the result of luck or a naive itinerary. Both women and unions have participated, from the beginning of the nineties, in training courses dedicated to the relative disciplines, to time-oriented

policies and to the construction of the problem of quality: time-oriented city planning (Sandra Bonfiglioli and the workshops of the Politecnico di Milano and School of Architecture and Society at the Piacenza campus); family sociology (Belloni, Bimbi, 1997; Saraceno, 1983; Balbo, 1987); land sociology (Zajczyk, 2000; Martinotti, 1993; Colleoni, 2004; Nuvolati, 1998 and 2002). Through these dedicated Italians, international references have begun to circulate: the geography of time, the analysis of the use of time, the sociology of work of Jean Yves Boulin and Ulrich Mückenberger.

It is important to note that in Bergamo the awareness of both women and unions is far from problematical partisanship. On the contrary, is precisely because these social actors look at things from a clearly defined point of view, they address general themes from a political perspective (in the sense of polis) that is distant from private interests, they are able to orchestrate their own interests with the interests of other actors and to create a general view of the problems.

The programmatic document corresponding to the 2004 elections of the Council of Women began by evaluating the public heritage and the city as a archive of the heritage "The city is a social heritage and a resource" (Council of Women of the City Government of Bergamo, 2003, p. 1) and continues by stating that "Women's point of view is fundamental for the improvement of the overall quality of life. Women are the individuals most harmed by the "burden" of a poorly thought out city and also the individuals most at risk of impoverishment, whether economically or psychologically... The culture of women has to be transformed into a "reference" for governing the city. This means ensuring that the policies realting to everyday things that do not exclude new and important projections, but rather that they are closely linked" (*Op. cit.*, p. 2).

"THE PROBLEM IS NOT HAVING MORE TIME BUT MAKING ONESELF THE MASTER OF ONE'S TIME BY EVALUATING ALL OF LIFE'S PHASES"

Here they implicitly find a critical evaluation of the current form of the welfare state based —with regard to the reference to the balancing of life and work time— on the logic of time-saving involved in taking care of the family with the objective of making the incorporation of women in the labour market possible. Is the only applicable way of reconciling life and work time that of saving time in family activities by externalising them from the family environment and placing them in the hands of children's services?

In 1991 the women from the Fondazione Serughetti-Centro Studi e Documentazione La Porta had already expressed a series of impartial plans that included the seeds never refuted on the route adopted in

the following study: "To argue about the concepts that constitute the premise of a "different" culture: daily life "time", from the past and from memory, from urban and domestic spaces in order to plan a "new" city, a new organisation, a new personal and social space (…). Starting from the comparison of women, the interdependence clearly emerges between their lives and the lives of other individuals, between their needs and the needs of others; it is clear that the proposals of the women could bring together and take on the needs of everyone".[3]

4. The Time Plan compared with the Services Plan and Regional Government Plan

The possibility of establishing space-time focus in city planning practices and tools finds favourable ground in the Lombardy region after the practically simultaneous enactment of three laws:
– LR 12/2005 by the regional government that renews the action frameworks and tools for regional and city planning at different levels and that, in particular, establishes the Regional Government Plan tool for city planning by replacing the General Regulating Plan;
– LR 28/2004 that regulates the policies for coordinating and administrating city time schedules in a Regional Time Plan;
– LR I/2001 that establishes the Services Plan and afterwards, with LR 12/2005, that includes the Services Plan among the documents constituting the Regional Government Plan, thus enabling integration of city planning and the time plan.

According to these three laws, the subject of quality constitutes an explicit end-aim that allows us a glimpse of the chance of an alliance. What does it mean to think about and plan quality services for the today's city? What elements can be obtained from the experience of time-oriented policies and where should they be included in the regional government plan and its services in particular? The municipal administration of Bergamo adopted the Services Plan and the Territorial Timetable Plan in its programme guidelines as priority operations for drafting the Regional Government Plan. It also initiated the respective planning processes for 2003 and 2005, respectively.

The Regional Government Plan for the city of Bergamo was, on 2008, in the drafting phase in parallel with the Services Plan and with the creation of the Time Plan.

4.1. The Concept of Quality in the Lombardy Region Services Plan

In the Services Plan, quality has been introduced with the sense of "benefits", in contrast to the consolidated practice of thinking of service provision mainly as an area of public provision in terms of quantitative standards.

The Lombardy Regional Services Plan breaks away from this by introducing the following elements:

1. A new definition of service, not only public but one that expands the concept of public and general interest and consequently managed by private individuals.

2. The possibility for each administration to establish the minimum parameters of service quality, by also including within them non-localized services (such as those related to social assistance not given at the main office) by pressuring with the objective of converting the Services Plan into an integration tool of the different sectional plans.

3. The need to think about the types of services as a function of new lifestyles and new ways for both residents and temporary visitors to use the city.

4. And the determination of the quality of services with regard to ideas of accessibility and the possibility of enjoyment that, from the individual level of functioning of each of the services to an overall city-wide and regional level, transforms the Services Plan into the city's primary governing tool — the heart of planning for the city.

The *standard* notion changes and extends from public services to all public and general interest services by requesting from municipalities the choice of services that are need to be taken into account when standard are calculated. It should be made clear that the possibility of also including series of services, not offered under specific structures such as social services and assistance is also under consideration.[4] The introduction of the concept of *quality* in regional government is significant and opens up a vast space for initiatives and experimentation — beyond the prescriptions of the law and suggestions given on how to start up and create the Services Plan. The quality of urban life is explicitly planned as an global objective and the Services Plan becomes a decisive tool for predesigning and applying it. In particular, a "standardised" quantitative provision of services is not enough to respond to the demands dictated by new lifestyles and new ways of using cities and the region.

1 Proposal from Law promoted by the Committe of Women that belonged at the time to the Italian Communist Party, reprinted 1990 with the title *Women Change Time. A Law for Humanizing Working Hours, City Operating Hours, Pace of Life*. First signer: Livia Turco.
2 Carmen Plebani. Introduction to the reports presented during the course Demanding time. Understanding, designs, project of women relative to time, Fondazione Serughetti-Centro Studi e Documentazione La Porta, final document. Bergamo, May-June 1992, p. 2.
3 CAMINATI CREMASCHI, L. «In Allegato». In: *Chiedere tempo. Saperi, desideri, progetti delle donne intorno ai tempi*, Bergamo: Fondazione

Serughetti-Centro Studi e Documentazione La Porta, May-June 1992, p. 38. In the current version available of this document includes the contributions during the course Carmen Plebani, Lidia Menapace, Marina Piazza, Rosangela Pesenti, Paola Manacorda and also the contribution of Nadia Favalli of the group "Women, time and the city" in the introductory seminar "proposed law on time", organised with the wome from FIOM Bergamo 26 February 1993.

4   The deliberation broadcast by the Regional Council from 21 December 2001 n.7/7586 "Orienting criteria for drafting the Services Plan" talks about services "not coinciding with the existence of appropriate structures". Karrer and Ricci highlight a coherence between the reproposition in the city planning area of the subject of the planning of services and some legislative arrangements inherent in social and health care (Decree Law 299/1999 and 328/2000) stressing two aspects: the search for integration between the functional dimension and the spatial dimension in social planningr (increase the range of services, of the ways of providing them and at the same time introduce the tool of regional area plans as a substiture for the previous structure for a local unit); the opportunity that the Services Plan constitutes the tool that integrates city planning and social planning. KARRER, F.; RICCI, M. *Città e nuovo welfare*. Roma: Officina, 2003, pp. 17-37.ç

UNLOCKING TIME. FROM MANAGING EVERYDAY TIME TO TIME-RELEVANT CITY PLANNING

Luc Gwiazdzinski

Le temps est femme
Il a besoin qu'on le courtise et qu'on s'asseye
A ses pieds

Louis Aragon

The fast evolution of our relation to space, time and mobility, coupled with the widening gap between *urbs* and *civitas* is forcing researchers, technicians, town councillors and citizens into a radical change of approach. Based on the research and experimental work carried out on the subject of time, space and mobility in France and in Europe[1], we now propose the use of an alternative approach and a different access key to the concept and construction of the city of the future: "the key of time". The matter of urban temporality and pace is subject to a natural division and transcends disciplinary, organisational, administrative, public or private sector boundary-related issues whilst pushing towards the creation of natural partnerships. A measurable dimension, the matter of time is one that both interests and concerns all of us. The temporal approach enables an accurate observation of urban customs and practices. It promotes participation whilst allowing the progress of adapted experiments aimed at achieving a more human, accessible and hospitable city.

Do not ask us to define time; Saint Augustine himself gave up trying to: "I know what time is, but only until asked to define it". It is easier to highlight the changes that affect time in our lives, our country and our cities. In the face of increasing complexity and the requirement for participation and proximity, it now becomes possible to maximise the benefits of the keys of time. Employment, transports, services, development, equality, attractiveness, quality of life: sustainable development is also a matter of time.

A RESOURCE THAT OUGHT TO BE MOBILISED. The constraints that weigh upon our urban societies require an increased awareness of the concept of "resource" and a shift from a financial operating account to a societal balance. There happen to be three fundamental resources that operate in this manner: energy, time and space. Local energy driving forces are insubstantial and spatial resources are increasingly limited. Time resources remain still; their merit being that these can work around the other factors and place man at the heart of the matter in hand. What we propose is to make use of the time key and to favour the approach of the metropolis as a spatial-temporal system. The time resource, universally based on the 24 hours measurement system, can then be adapted to diurnal, nocturnal, monthly, seasonal or annual patterns. It can work around basic energy and space resources in order to bring about a new spatial and functional metropolitan structure, a "chrono-adjustment" or "chrono-urbanism" that leaves room for new regulatory concepts.

NEED. The consideration of the time aspect in urban planning and management is an actual need. The city at work clashes with the city that sleeps and the city having fun; these are not compatible. The traditional conflicts that used to revolve around the allocation of space are now centred on the effective use of time and the management of urban rhythms. In the face of the fractioning of space, temporality and mobility, taking the time factor into consideration with regard to urban planning has become a necessity.

In a polychronic city, traditional conflicts that used to revolve around effective use of space now also revolve around the management of time and urban rhythms. We mustn't hide behind so-called great principles, we must open our eyes! We must ask questions regarding time in the city in terms of public space, whilst ensuring that in the absence of debate; the decision does not rest upon the weakest, that is, those who have no choice.

OPPORTUNITY. Time is one of the rare stakes in public politics where responsibilities are transversal. Both nobody and everybody's domain, time is one of the only topics that truly allows to enter a debate involving all protagonists, whether public or private, without leading to either tension or withdrawal behind institutional frontiers. The question of time requires partnership

across the board, from the observational stage through to the experimental and evaluation stage. Time is an opportunity, a measurable dimension which places man at the very centre of the matter in hand, and naturally so. It is an opportunity.

PROCESSES AND TOOLS TO BE DEVISED. We must now seek to define the methods and tools required for a balanced spatial-temporal adjustment, as much within population centres as on a city network scale. It is a question of both protecting periods of time and the autonomy of time, of designing the different sectors of the city according to their temporal profile and achieving a strategic steering of current trends in order to achieve the intelligent management of urban operation. It's a matter of pace.

1. Long forgotten

Space and time are familiar references, a framework within which we interpret our perception of the world that surrounds us, especially with regard to movement. Space is temporal by nature and time, especially seeing as these two factors constitute the basis of our social life. Time and space nevertheless tend to be analysed separately. Time has long been overlooked in the traditional approach to cities and territories, except with regard to historical aspects.

SHORTAGE. Existing approaches to urban time tend to be limited to their own disciplinary object: working hours, leisure time, family time, time devoted to education, etc. without any actual links with space, although all of our activities consist in the use of space and time according to chosen actions and objectives. In the days of the Revolution, weren't the different Départements[2] defined according to horseback travel journey time? And isn't it so that today we measure the country in terms of hours and minutes rather than distance? Although it seems rather banal to evoke these space-time connections from a philosophical or physical point of view, approaching the city in terms of time and space is far less common. Thought struggles to juggle all of those dimensions whilst cartographers remain puzzled with regard to their possible representations. In order to overcome these issues, we must strive to imagine the city as a four-dimensional entity, a labyrinth in which individuals can move around according to lines previously established in both time and space. This is a tricky operation as the urban maze undergoes constant shifts and transformations. Time has long played the part of the poor parent in reflections regarding city operation, adjustment and development for the benefit of infrastructure. Material aspects have overtaken the human aspect, which is confined to social policies. The temporal dimension has been neglected by town councillors and developer-contractors despite constituting a key aspect of urban dynamics. Up until now, we have mostly

quadrated time in order to maximise its use in a manner not dissimilar to the way the high-speed train has shrunk the maps of Europe.

A NEW INTEREST. The reverse procedure, which consists in quadrating time in order to apply an effect on the use of space, is more unusual. Lately, and as a result of the mutations that affect the pace of our lives and cities, the temporal dimension has become the object of new research, and on several European territories, experiments are being developed in order to improve quality of life and attempt to reconcile family and professional life. Whether a gadget or a necessity, a fundamental phenomenon or a simple trend-related effect, many are those who now take an interest in the alliance between space and time. About time too.

2. A recent awakening

CHANGE OF PACE. We aren't always aware of the disruptions that affect our everyday schedules. In less than a century, working hours have halved whilst life expectancy has risen 60%. Free time has been multiplied by five and now represents 15 years in a lifetime, versus three back in 1900. The average amount of time spent sleeping has decreased from 9 hours in 1900 to 7 hours 30 minutes. The silent revolution is gathering speed. The pace of our lives is rapidly shifting under the effect of several phenomena: the individualisation of behaviour, widespread urbanisation, tertiarisation, the decrease in working hours and the gradual synchronisation of operations on a worldwide scale. In addition, new technologies give us the illusion of ubiquity and the eager consumer wants everything and wants it right now, anywhere, without any effort involved. This tireless race gradually nibbling away at our siesta, suppers and night-time leaves no room for rest.

The IT revolution and technologies have radically impacted our approach to time and space. Businesses are now organised into three eights on a planetary scale. Both producers and consumers are gathering pace. Urgency, an exacerbated competitive spirit, aggression: we all display the symptoms of the "chronos syndrome" or "movementism" (Taguieff, 2001) or "ergostressie" (workload induced stress) (Lasfargue, 2000). Anything goes, as long as it speeds things up. On a more general note, the dictatorship of urgency, the hypertrophy of the present and the overvaluation of the past that characterise our society are coupled with an inability to conceive the future and to look ahead to build our future. We certainly struggle to follow Cervantes' recommendations to "give time some time".

CHANGES IN ORGANISATION. One of the consequences of those mutations is that the rhythm of our territories is changing. A

concomitance between space and time has given way to an explosion combined with a new temporality. Progress is especially noteworthy in the realm of transport where non-commuter travel is on the rise and of increasing complexity, variation and randomness; zigzagging (Bonfiglioli, 1997). Commuting now represents no more than a quarter of travel, whereas leisure travel has soared. Rush-hour-like phenomena spread as hollow periods lessen. There is more traffic, in every conceivable shape and form, in every direction, for all sorts of reasons and all day long. Urban activity is stretching later into the evening. Night-time economy is growing (Gwiazdzinski, 1998). Weekends and Saturday afternoon in particular are becoming a hyperactivity hotspot. In summer, only the period between 15 July and 15 August still endures. Work no longer synchronises city life and the time when the 8 am-midday, 2 pm-6 pm schedule ruled both our private and collective lives is a now thing of the past.

DESYNCHRONISATION. The way our countries, population centres, towns and villages operate is increasingly unsuited to this evolution. Although we may sometimes live in the same country, work for the same companies, live in the same apartments and sometimes share the same family, we barely cross paths due to conflicting schedules. In the absence of shared work or eating schedules, devices like the freezer, VCR, microwave or mobile phone allow each and every one of us to organise life at our own pace. In the face of this fractioning of time, only an increase in scheduled or irregular events, concerts, sports events or festivals allow all or part of a city to get together and to maintain a semblance of social ties (Gwiazdzinski, 2005). Demand is broken up and diversified whereas urban activities on offer, administrations, businesses, services and transports remain, to a large extent, structured according to traditional rhythms. The extent to which socio-cultural centre opening schedules coincide with demand is decreasing.

TENSIONS AND CONFLICTS. Though united by information, seldom has man lived though such dislocated temporalities. Our schedules crumble in the face of this desynchronisation, making us tense as we constantly zoom from one part of the "split city" to another, umpiring between our status as citizens, consumers, parents and employees. For most of us the race against the clock starts in the morning: dropping the children off at the crèche or at school, getting to work, doing the shopping, carrying out admin chores... Nobody has the same rhythm of life any longer, nor the same schedules. 35 working hours, flexibility, and mobility: private time has become individualised.

Everyone tries to juggle this new timing which causes a clash with the more traditional schedules of collective life, administrations, public and private

services or even transport. Services are no longer apt, whether in terms of the way they operate or their schedules, thereby forcing citizens to constantly umpire between their family, professional, social and personal life. On another scale, holidays are spread over the course of the year and employment with atypical working hours (at night, on Sundays…) is now commonplace. Night-time sales, late night openings, Sunday shopping, women's nightshifts: all of these bear witness to a profound shift in our lifestyles which we have not always wanted or even chosen.

The stress and violence that are so frequently reported can also be explained by this difficulty in managing private and collective time as much for adults as children.

NOVEL INEQUALITIES. This temporal organisation which has taken over from "church time" and "factory time" offers opportunities to some, but gives rise to further disparities between individuals, populations, organisations and territories.

The acceleration of social times spares no one, neither children, students, workers, parents nor pensioners, but not all populations are equally affected.

The "shears of time" create new disparities based on age, gender, social conditions and geographical location, amongst other factors. This has a particularly marked effect on women who are forced to work double shifts. Those who complain about being overworked are increasingly numerous.

On some individuals, overworking can lead to depression. On another scale, not all businesses and organisations resist those temporal transformations, the pressures of real time and networks.

Those changes lead to self-questioning and make us all schizoid: the consumer wants all of the benefits of a city that opens its doors non-stop, 24/7, whilst employees would rather avoid working atypical hours, that is, Sundays or at night.

3. Budding time policies

Faced with such changes, shifts and contradictory logics, territories naturally turn into battlefields, areas of conciliation, research and experimentation.

3.1. Mobilisation on a European level

In the mid-eighties, Italy became one of the first ever countries to try and work towards a better quality of life and increased autonomy for women. The State and local communities introduced an actual policy of time and Law 142/90 empowered the Mayor with the competence to coordinate schedules. Public Time Councils, Schedule Plans, Time Offices bringing together all local key

players were set up in order to improve schedule coordination. In some cities, there are Mobility Pacts in place that allow to desynchronise schedules from professional activities, thereby improving traffic.

Zeitbüros have been created in hundred of cities in Germany, whereas in the Netherlands, territorial adjustments are being carried out whilst taking into consideration the time required to access the various urban operations.

In France, with the support of the DATAR (Delegation for territorial planning and regional action), several cities and territories have now initiated temporal policies. Following in the footsteps of Saint-Denis, Poitiers, the Gironde region and Belfort territory, the cities of Paris, Lyon, Marseille and Rennes have set up time offices, time agencies and time-centres. Based on a comment about social times, the unequal distribution of chores between men and women, the harmonisation of schedules and a better operation of public services, observation and negotiation tools have been developed and experiments launched in collaboration with both public and private partners (service, transport and crèche schedules…) and this approach is finding its way into other public policies.

3.2. An original experiment: The Centre for Time and Mobility

Amongst the experiments carried out in France, the one initiated and supported by the Belfort Territory, a Département in North-Eastern France, is without a doubt the most original to date.

Created in 2001 as the result of rospective territorial proceedings entitled Carnets 2010 during the course of which the question of temporal pressures was raised, the Centre for Time and Mobility has brought innovations in several different areas:

– In terms of the size of the territory involved, seeing as the organization's scope of action was a département, the Belfort Territory, a county even, namely the Aire Urbaine which groups about 350,000 inhabitants, whereas other time offices focus on one single main city.

– The shape of the organisation, an association presided by an independent figure whereas elsewhere, this was but a municipal service.

– The topics raised and work in progress which from the very beginning intersected with the issues of both time and mobility;

– Cooperation work initiated with the various communities on the territories: the Départements, communes, intercommunal operations (…).

– The importance of cooperation initiated with two key players: the companies

based within the Aire Urbaine (PSA Peugeot Citroën, Alstom, General Electric…) and the "Université Technologique de Belfort-Montbéliard".

– The importance of the tools developed in order to depict both time and urban mobility.

– The importance of the multi-disciplinary team of about 20 people, in contrast to one full- or even part-time post allocated in time offices.

– The size of the budget (almost €800,000) and origin of the resources: only 20% from official aid, in the shape of an objectives contract with the country, the rest in the shape of services by businesses, corporate bodies, foundations and national and European research programmes.

– The operative characteristics of own services rendered: from the research stage through to the implementation of the service.

– The innovations contributed to numerous areas: cartography, the raising of user awareness, co-construction of adapted solutions and sharing of skills with other parts of Europe.

Amongst the numerous projects in progress in equally numerous areas, from observing to raising awareness:

1. Devising suitable spatial-temporal measuring tools (maps).

2. Organising Public monthly forums on time and mobility in order to raise awareness with local key players and draw attention to problems and related issues.

3. The implementation of actions and solutions suited to the citizen needs:
   – The PSA Peugeot-Citroën (15,000 employees, 340 hectares) business commuter plan which has allowed the improvement of worker mobility in urban areas.
   – Evening and night-time mobility services for young people.
   – Bonal stadium access plan which has enabled improved mobility and access to the Sochaux football stadium: customized trains, new bus transport network…

4. Sharing skills
The newly developed tools have been adapted to other territories in France and in Europe:
   – Measurable and participative actions for nocturnal city travel for the time offices of Rennes and Lyon, also Lausanne, Brussels.
   – Creation of a Night-time observatory, for the city of Brussels amongst others.
   – Administration travel plan for the General Council in Essone in particular…

5. Organising international events
The structure has also contributed to the large scale dissemination of savoir-faire through the organisation of several international events:
   – L'Université de la nuit ("The University of night") in 2006 held at the Brussels Parliament.
   – La Biennale du temps ("The biennial quality of time") in Besançon, 2004.
   – Le Symposium international de la nuit ("The international symposium of night") in Brussels, 2005.
   – Le Forum international des mobilités nocturnes ("The international forum of nocturnal mobility") in Rome, 2004.
   – The decade of Cerisy "Night in questions" in 2004.
   – "The European University of Time" (2002, in Cerisy […]).

The unique experience of the Centre for Time and Mobility has allowed to highlight several key factors in terms of the success of a temporal approach:

1. Mobilising the population concerned thanks to the support of the media.

2. The involvement of business in specific objects.

3. The need to set the actions in motion through questions that compel mobilization such as transport or looking after children.

4. Mobilisation university laboratories.

5. And most of all, support and transport by an elected representative on the territory who is not afraid to show involvement and commitment to a new or even alien cause on behalf of his peers…

3.3. Paths to be followed

Time offices, agencies and centres have initiated a number of projects regarding time in the city. There are further paths worth exploring, following up or dug to emulate projects that may have been devised and set up across Europe:

Mobility pact. Rather than considering doubling or tripling the number of lanes on one motorway or the other to improve access to the capital, or to build a new public transport network, why not initiate dialogue between all the great "masters" of time in the capital (businesses, communities, hospital, universities…) and seek to, for instance, shift every establishment or organisation's opening and closing times as certain cities in Italy have done. Just imagine the time that could be saved avoiding traffic jams and the benefits in terms of societal dialogue and collective intelligence.

Evening and night-time services for younger people. Rather than bemoan the unlawful behaviour of young people's on a night out, why not bring forward of shift back the night-time opening hours of socio-cultural

centres, gyms and public as some cities in Asturias have been known to do and where juvenile delinquency rates have dropped.

NATURAL SOCIAL SUPERVISION. Rather than multiply technological security systems and curfews, why not try an early evening activities and peopling policy whilst providing support to night-time trades and services that contribute to the natural social framework in the area.

CONVIVIAL SUNDAYS. Rather than constantly complain about uneventful Sundays or worry about excessive commoditisation of leisure time, why not open libraries in the morning in order to promote culture-based exchanges and get-togethers and counter supermarket time with nondenominational time?

CITIZENSHIP AND TEMPORARY PARTICIPATION. Rather than continue to make people vote in the areas where they sleep at night rather than where they live during the day, why not implement technical means enabling real-time voting, "temporary and ephemeral citizenship". It would suffice to ask those who wish to do so to register with a temporary community though CIT's and to ask them to go on-line to partake in voting on the topics that concern them such as publics spaces, transport or projects of metropolitan interest for instance. It is amazing to think that nobody ever asks the 400,000 people who pass through Les Halles every day their opinion on prospective development plans but rather the 7,000 who sleep nearby whilst often living elsewhere. Whereas our identities lead the trail, "presential" voting is the way forward. Here and now.

MIXED URBAN LOGISTICS. Rather than watch delivery vans obstruct city-centres, why not make use of RER's, buses, metros or tramways at night to supply city-centres as used to be done in some cities in Poland for example.

SERVICES. Rather than leave struggling households to umpire between unemployment or work shifts leaving their children home alone, it would make sense to adapt crèche schedules and shift their opening times further into the evening as has long been commonplace in countries of northern Europe like Finland for instance.

Time exchange. Rather than leave elderly persons with time and skills on their own on the one hand and keep struggling young people waiting on the other, shouldn't those two extremes in our lives be reconciled in order to ensure the transfer of wealth though the exchange of time?

SUSTAINABLE LIGHTING. Rather than completely transform nights in the city under the floodlights with the all too familiar effects of light pollution and energy

expenditure, why not devise a time-based management of lighting according to the time of night and the presence or absence of people in the vicinity?

DIVERSITY OF USE. Rather than certain premises being devoted to one single type of activity, why not try and use these for other purposes and services in the evening, at the weekend or during the holidays.

CAPTIVE FLEET. Rather than store business fleet vehicles in parkings lots on the weekend and during holiday periods, why not think about making these available for rental as is done in some cities in Germany.

NIGHT CITIZENSHIP. Instead of discussing nightlife on behalf of those who actually live it, rather than conceive a city revolving around urgency and standing guard, why not elect a "night-time Mayor" capable of raising night-time issues with and for those who live then, regarding all aspects of life in the city.

ADJUSTMENT. Rather than bemoan the spread and fractioning of the metropolis, rather than pointlessly evoke the virtues of the city over the city, why not implement an actual spatial-temporal adjustment policy by integrating the issue of time before drawing up city planning documents (PLU, SCOT) and thereby preventing residential or business areas being built less than 10 minutes on foot from service areas as is the case in the Netherlands?

BEYOND TEMPORAL POLICIES, beyond time office activities, the keys of time can be used in other areas, by other players emulating the work, the research and projects we recently and successfully developed with various partners and on various territories:

On the two extreme times of life:

– On the issue of time in the life of elderly persons within the framework of a research project with the solidarity foundation of the Caisse d'Épargne.

– On the issue of leisure time within the framework of a research project with the French Union for Holiday centres, the UFCV (Union française des centres de vacances).

– On the issue of time in the life of teenagers within the framework of a TEMPADO project with the UFCV.

On the rural world:

– On time in rural areas, with the GREP within the framework of a European ARTEVER programme;

– On the Carmaux district, in the Toulouse area within the framework of an Equal programme "T for Time";

– In the Alpes de Haute-Provence region, within the framework of a programme by the DATAR, "unlocking time".

In all of those areas, by working with the populations concerned, the keys of time have allowed to reach an accurate diagnosis, to build other models and to set up projects better suited to their needs.

4. The path of temporal urbanism

Although the changes affecting our "life times" are major in nature, it must be noted that the time management policies implemented in some European territories have contributed, albeit in a manner that is still highly marginal, to the transformation of city organization. It is now a matter of shifting from those time management policies to an actual urbanism of time. We must shift from the tensions of the "polychronic city" to mastering the "malleable city".

TOWARDS TEMPORAL URBANISM. Rather than despair over the complex governance of major cities, why not take an interest in the longer term instead in order to implement a "schedule plan" as is the case in Italy? Why not grant the mayor some power over schedules? Why not design a Temporal Coherence Scheme, a SCOT ("Schéma de Cohérence temporel") allowing the implementation of a set of principles for the organisation and regulation of time and space in the city. A piano with the right keys to allow playing at the right pace.

TOWARDS A MALLEABLE METROPOLIS. We propose bring the stale concept of the "split city" that struggles to find either boundaries or cohesion and that of the "continuous city" which struggles to find it pace and finds itself at risk of running out of breath face to face with that of the "malleable city", a sustainable metropolis that could be "moulded" without "breaking", a city that take into consideration the temporal changes in our society. Rather than rigid models, we propose flexibility; we favour the richness of a way of thinking where space and time are brought together. The malleability aspect must be considered alternatively between flowing and stock space, and on various timescales:

– In the very long term, this is the time required in order to adapt the territory as we transform urban materiality by destroying bars in neighbourhoods without always knowing what to replace them with.

– In the long term, the example of the recovery of public space by pedestrians though operations such as car-free neighbourhoods in Fribourg's Vauban neighbourhood or in Strasbourg city centre.

– In the shorter term, this is time in terms of the use and management of the city,

implementing alternation policies in a manner readily observed in Barcelona where some bus lanes being used as parking lots at night.

– In the very short term, the takeover of street space by artists during festivals and events. We can give our imagination free rein to come up with different systems for the city, buildings or communal spaces as a whole: opening gyms and schools to alternative uses in the evening and on the weekend; converting empty office buildings into educational spaces or universities; a street that is busy in the daytime into a basketball court or petanque-playing area at night; a retractive or removable forum or debate area; theatre plays shifting from one street to the next, interactive city education, etc.

5. Conclusion

Time-related issues cannot be confined to working-hour adjustment methods. They must be examined and measured in all of their dimensions and according to a genuine mastering time project for individuals, organisations and territories alike. They can not be approached in a sectorial manner; what they require is the implementation of collective actions that reach beyond institutional boundaries and overcome professional administrative and geographical obstacles. Whether scientists, association representatives, trade union activists, politicians or, citizens: this concerns all of us.

ASSESSMENT AND DEBATE. Some observation and negotiation tools have been devised on a local basis, experiments launched with local partners (service schedules, transports, crèches…) and the approach is gradually beginning to irrigate other public policies. It is necessary to round things up regarding those local policies in term of diagnosing situations and identifying issues as well as initial results. Speaking more generally, this is a matter of entering a debate regarding a society where time pressures are becoming more prominent and where new forms of gender, social, generational and territorial inequality are gaining strength and becoming more commonplace. We cannot keep putting off this debate. By eluding it, we run the risk of seeing isolated decisions lead to new imbalance and new inequalities between individuals and territories. On the contrary, only by implementing all of the condition of a citizen-led public debate with the assistance of experts can we hope to regain control over time in our lives, escape the dictatorship or urgency and fight against emerging inequalities without the weaker ones among us bearing the brunt of it. Lastly, is up to all of us, individuals, communities, associations, businesses and communities to clarify the stakes and to decide together whether "the game is worth the candle".

SWITCHING PARADIGM. In the light of the changes in progress, we must modify our approach to territories and conceive and manage territories whilst simultaneously taking into consideration materiality, flow and schedules in order to see the future in a different light.

A measurable approach, the temporal approach leads back to each and every person's personal patterns and to the path that enables us to reach beyond appearances and social codes.

Both everybody and nobody's competence, the temporal approach is one that forces citizens, business, communities, associations and other time contributors into partnership.

The temporal approach places the citizen right at the centre of the debate where four major demands are brought together: quality of everyday life, proximity, conviviality and participative democracy.

A global approach that no longer separates territory from business and population, it leaves room to contemplate tools for a new governance.

Transversal in nature, it requires the implementation of a continuous negotiation process, as opposed to an authoritarian and hierarchical approach.

Lastly, the overture of a reflection bringing together productive systems and space could allow us to define a more balanced and flexible approach to development and democracy and the invention of a new kind of urbanity.

This is a wonderful opportunity to regain some of our breathing space and control over our future through focusing on concepts like quality of life and sustainable development.

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1   Report on "cities at night", 2008-2009, French Ministry of Housing and the City; European TRASCOM programme (TRAveller Assistance for COmbined Mobility), European GENDER ALP programme, mobility branch of the European EQUAL programme, DATAR "URBAN SPATIAL-TEMPORAL BID" Programme, the PREDIT research programme "NOCTURNES, nocturnal mobility services in Europe", "MOBIJEUNES, night mobility of young people's PREDIT research programme", "NIGHT" programmes by the French Institute for a city on the move, dynamic and solitary research-action, "New organisation of social eras and new inequalities", for the Secretary for solidary Economics for the French Ministry of Employment and solidarity, the "Future of employment to future of housing" programme", European PUCA SURE (Sustainable Urban Regeneration) programme.
2   Territorial and administrative division of France. (*Translator's note.*)