

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 led 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

Ulrich Mückenberger

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 “Eurexter – 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 ÖTV¹ 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 Eurexter, 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.Di² 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 “hermeneutics 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 it is 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.

Aid for the project was obtained from an interdisciplinary plan by the HWP, the Hamburg University of Technology in Harburg and the Department of Geography of the University of Hamburg. Special mention is due to Radio Bremen for their cooperation.

The **THIRD KEY PROJECT** is the structuration 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 plans (*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 legitimisation. 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 Zambianchi (supervisor of the draft Plan), Stefano Stabilini and Laura Brioschi. To consider Bergamo as being the most