

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 reposition 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 planning (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 substitute 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 Europe¹, 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 Départements² 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 respective 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 Essonne 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 online to partake in voting on the topics that concern them such as public 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 parking 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 its 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 through 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 retractable 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.

- 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.*)