6 When Pacing Is a Privilege

The Time Scale of Exclusion

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A 20th-century ideal of the relationship between time and work suggested that the ability to pace oneself amid any number of tasks should be earned (and rewarded) to assure peak organizational efficiency (Thompson, 1967). A classic example of this was depicted in Charlie Chaplin's *Modern Times* (Chaplin, 1936) where the Little Tramp character was (out)paced by an accelerating assembly line, whose speed was determined by upper management. Even his eating pace was subject to an experimental "feeding machine," which posed serious threats to his health and safety. Further into the 20th century, as industrial time expanded beyond the factory, Jaques (1982) developed and employed psychometric tests to determine whether organizational members had the cognitive capacity to be good stewards of their time. He argued that individuals in varied positions across an organization should be assigned a proper *time span of discretion* in line with their stewardship potential (as reflected in their test scores). These early examples of pacing norms, and the related privilege and inclusion afforded to some members and denied to others, continue to influence the underlying design logics (Barbour, Gill, & Barge, 2018) of contemporary organizational structures.

Pacing structures are inherent in formal organizing, as McPhee and Zaug (2000) describe activity coordination as one of the four constitutive flows of organizing. The implications of time's constitutive role in organizing, however, are often overlooked when considering the topic of organizational exclusion/inclusion. In practice, pacing is one of the primary ways to effect systematic exclusion (Bailey & Madden, 2017; Ryan & Kossek, 2008). Sharma (2014) describes how speed functions as ideological discourse, disciplining those unable to maintain the pace. Slow bodies, slow emotions, and slow professional processes exist throughout organizations and industries of all types (Berg & Seeber, 2016; Honore, 2004; Parkins, 2004; Slow Science Academy, 2010). Bodies grow slower through illness, pregnancy, and age, to name a few. The emotions and respective recovery processes associated with grief and trauma are also sometimes slow (Richardson, 2002). As well, the inevitable process of newcomer socialization and acculturation is slow and inconvenient relative to a routine pace (Gomez, 2009). To the extent that dominant Western, (post)industrial pacing norms demand speedy bodies, fast emotions, and truncated processes, entire classes of people and many more individuals will be excluded

based on their demographic, health, occupational, or ability grouping (Jammaers, Zanoni, & Hardonk, 2016; Kossek & Lautsch, 2018; Mik-Meyer, 2016). In their discussion regarding how discourses of otherness limit inclusion, Ghorashi and Sabelis (2013) argue that "Creating space in organizational and communicative settings always entails taking 'time out' as well" (p. 83).

Temporally based exclusion and inclusion are not binary practices. For instance, organizations are unlikely to permanently exclude someone for having the flu and most recognize that newcomers require at least a degree of patience in order to become functioning members of the team. Rather, exclusion and inclusion exist on a continuum that unfolds over time and, thus, implicates particular time scales as sites of exclusion/inclusion. Our focus in this chapter is on considering how time scale and organizational temporality, more broadly, can function to include or exclude certain types of natural processes inherent in members' experiences, particularly those processes that arise in and through their work. We do this through applying a temporal stewardship perspective (Bluedorn & Waller, 2006) to the question of inclusion/exclusion in contemporary work and consider each of the three components of their model, in turn: *organizational effectiveness versus efficiency*, *wider participation*, and *more cognizant agency*.

Based on their model, in the pages that follow, first we describe the nature of the temporal commons and explore questions of effectiveness (versus efficiency) through the lens of time scale. Next, we identify a range of stakeholders whose interests and experiences must be brought to bear on the issue of temporal inclusion. Finally, we reflect on two classes of "slow" processes—both *professional* and *physiological*—that can be associated with exclusionary practices and consider the types of data that scholars and practitioners can use to foster greater agency and, ultimately, inclusion across varied types of work.

Finding Inclusion through Temporal Stewardship

Following a stakeholder approach, Bluedorn and Waller (2006) articulate the need for organizations and their members to engage in stewardship of *the temporal commons* in much the same way as other (tangible and intangible) public resources demand thoughtful and shared oversight. The temporal commons is "the shared conceptualization of time and the set of resultant values, beliefs, and behaviors regarding time, as created and applied by members of a culture-carrying collectivity …" (p. 367). They argue that under the rise of privatization, the temporal commons has become subsumed under market-based metrics of efficiency that lead to a number of problems, including the exclusion of certain *times*. Their expanded conception of relevant stakeholders suggests an alternate stewardship model centered on organizational effectiveness (compared to efficiency), wider participation (rather than decision making on the part of only one set of stakeholders), and more cognizant agency (as opposed to unconscious contribution to existing power structures). We begin by exploring the relevance of choices made based on efficiency versus effectiveness for temporal inclusion.

The Time Scale of Efficiency and Effectiveness

Bluedorn and Waller's conceptualization of stewardship of the temporal commons is well-suited to examine how questions relating to exclusion can be illuminated through reconsidering the time scale through which we conceptualize "slow" processes—either professional or physiological—and their relationship to organizational effectiveness. To illustrate this point, consider how productivity is directly related to the pace of work. It is calculated based on the output generated per unit of input, with output measured in units of time—such as daily sales figures or units produced per week. Taylorism is built on this conception of productivity (1911). The challenge is that when stewardship decisions are based upon brief time scales, the choice between efficiency (e.g., faster) and effectiveness (e.g., better) appears quite costly. Effectiveness is seen as an expensive stewardship principle, because time is (conceived as) money (Ancona, Okhuysen, & Perlow, 2001). Viewed from a different perspective, if efficiency is chosen as a stewardship principle, the human costs (of injury, of ageist and ableist institutional cultures, of employee burnout) are also high. Thus, neither approach appears to be without major sacrifice.

When the choice of either efficiency or effectiveness appears high, choosing the least costly outcome makes sense. Within smaller windows of time, efficiency is likely to be seen as least costly. While injury, burnout, and turnover are high, they are long-term, not short-term, costs. Through normalizing these costs in particular professions and industries it becomes accepted as part of the "cost of business" rather than an issue of (im)proper stewardship. Consequently, certain problems are seen as intractable aspects of the professional timescape (Adam, 2004) that must be accounted for (in expected high rates of turnover, burnout, and injury, for example) rather than addressed through policies and norms (Stein, Alvarez, & McKee, 2014).

In contrast, if the time frame through which productivity is viewed becomes substantially enlarged, from daily or weekly figures, to—perhaps—a scale as large as mean (or median) employee tenure, then even discussions about efficiency (as well as effectiveness) will include the risks to employee turnover, ethics, absenteeism, presenteeism, health, commitment, and satisfaction, among others (Ballard & Webster, 2009; Barnes, Schaubroeck, Huth, Ghumman, & 2011; Barnes & Van Dyne, 2009; Kuhn, 2006). From this larger time scale, organizations might find that the most efficient and effective organizational practices are actually the practices that include (rather than exclude) more organizational members. Ballard and McVey (2014) illustrate how attention to the temporality of communication processes reveals opportunities for communication design efforts. Particularly, a focus on time scale offers a path to change how outcomes are measured and jobs are defined. Time scale sensitivity also facilitates the temporal inclusion of a range of professionally and physiologically driven processes (Zaheer, Albert, & Zaheer, 1999). We illustrate below through considering the time scale of an oft-cited

topic with a great deal of recent scholarly, professional, and mainstream interest: Resilience (Buzzanell & Houston, 2018; Doerfel, Harris, Kwestel, & Kim, forthcoming; Richardson, 2002).

Despite the lack of consensus on the definition of resilience, the concept has piqued the interest of academics, practitioners, and the general public. As such, it is becoming a fundamental measure in evaluating new interventions and policies (Windle, Bennett, & Noyes, 2011). Gaining an understanding of how individuals, teams, and organizations can recover from trauma or disruptions is beneficial in creating interventions or implementing structural changes in organizations and communities. The concept of resilience, believed to originate in ecology (Batabyal, 1998), has been applied in a variety of social science disciplines, including communication. Early psychological research on resilience focused on traits that prevented "at risk" children from developing psychopathological disorders (Garmezy, 1993; Masten et al., 1999). The idea of resilience as a trait soon lost its popularity for a more complex understanding of resilience as a process (Richardson, 2002). It was no longer understood as something someone possessed or lacked but was something in which an entity engaged. The construct of resilience has moved far beyond its original focus of children and expanded to studying adults, teams, organizations, communities, and even nations (Afifi, 2018; Buzzanell & Houston, 2018; Doerfel & Haseki, 2013). Despite the increase in research on varying levels of analysis (from micro to macro), an inherent feature of the construct has been commonly overlooked: temporality.

Time is an integral part of resilience but little critique or theorizing has focused on what temporal assumptions exist in current conceptions of the term and its impact. In examining commonly used and highly cited definitions across social science disciplines, a pattern emerges in the language used to define resilience. The ability to bounce back from negative experiences (Block & Kremen, 1996) is echoed in thousands of articles as a defining feature of resilience. The idea of an entity "bouncing back" is referring to the temporal enactment of pace (Ballard & Seibold, 2003). Temporal enactments refer to "the way work group members 'perform' time" (p. 385) while pace specifically refers to the "tempo or rate of an activity" (p. 387, Ballard & Seibold, 2003). "Bouncing back" brings to mind the idea of throwing a rubber ball onto the floor, only for it to return to the person's hand in a matter of seconds. Bouncing back inherently implies a quick pace, meaning that if an entity is to be resilient it must do so in a quick manner. Thus, extant conceptions of resilience assume brief time scales and appear to be more focused on efficiency than effectiveness.

Some empirical work conceptualizes resilience as a process, thus implicitly acknowledging the temporality of the construct (Buzzanell & Houston, 2018; Doerfel, Lai, & Chewning, 2010). For instance, Doerfel et al. (forthcoming) discuss five distinct factors that indicate the resiliency of organizations which reflect temporal features. These factors include the organization's *robustness*,

degrees of *redundancy*, how *resourceful* it is in identifying and prioritizing problems as well as being able to mobilize, *rapid* response and being *externally available* to stakeholders.

Nonetheless, the implied temporal features often suggest that resilience must be fast. For example, Windle, Bennett, and Noyes (2011) analyzed resilience scales for their psychometric properties. They narrowed down hundreds of scales until they had 19 that were commonly used throughout the articles. They analyzed and ultimately found three to have high validity and reliability. Of those three scales that were considered to have the highest validity and reliability, all contained mention of quick pace as a desirable factor (Campell-Sills & Stein, 2007; Friborg, Hjemdal, Rosenvinge, & Martinussen 2003; Smith et al., 2008).

If these scales all indicate that quick pace is a marker of being resilient then does it put resilience at odds with generally slower populations and forms of trauma that are slower to heal? Is "bouncing back" (i.e., resilience) from physiological trauma the same as healing, or does it imply that the entity is just attempting to operate as before? And are they doing so quickly? If resilience is, in fact, to be understood as a process, then having entities rush to function as they did before the trauma or disruption may do more harm than good (Richardson, 2002). When we think of physiological trauma, most things cannot be healed quickly—especially if the trauma is acute. For example, a broken bone will not heal overnight and trying to function as if the injury had not occurred may actually prolong the healing process and cause more long-term damage. Reducing the pressure to quickly function at the same capacity as before may afford access to better long-term recovery (Krause, Frank, Dasinger, Sullivan, & Sinclair, 2001). Doerfel et al. (2010) offer a large-scale longitudinal example of this finding in the city of New Orleans post-Hurricane Katrina. They found that the process of recovery occurred over a long span of time in various stages.

Krause and colleagues (2001) conducted an expansive literature review to answer questions regarding: (a) what factors affect individuals' time lost from work; (b) the rate at which they return to work; and (c) subsequent unemployment and changes in occupation after acute trauma. Their review found that increases in psychosocial job characteristics—such as time pressure, shift work, low control over work-rest schedule, and long work hours—were positively related to prolonged work disability. In addition, various other factors—such as the physical demands of their work and the social support they receive from coworkers and supervisors—were critical as well. The authors found that when these psychosocial job characteristics were lessened—less time pressure, less shift work, more control over their work-rest schedule, and more reasonable work hours—recovery rates improved. Despite the efficacy of temporal measures at promoting recovery, common temporal stewardship norms may mean these options are overlooked.

In many cases, individuals cannot engage in a true process of resilience but rather must attempt to function at their pre-trauma capacity as soon as

possible regardless of their level of recovery (Briere, Kaltman & Green, 2008, p. 223). While this is true for acute trauma or disruptions, it is equally true for small, day-to-day trauma that occurs in the form of psychological stressors. If an entity cannot heal from smaller day-to-day issues due to their inability to manage their own pace, this becomes a form of cumulative trauma, which is "accumulated exposure to different types of traumatic events" (Briere et al., 2008, p. 223). Cumulative trauma is frequently studied among social work professionals, where case workers commonly experience secondary or vicarious trauma while simultaneously being overwhelmed by the pace in which they have to operate and the number of cases they must address (Nelson-Gardell & Harris, 2003). The accumulated trauma, the pressing pace, and the inability to fully recuperate all contribute to the high turnover rate within this occupation. Without the ability to manage one's pace in response to trauma, resilience is left for certain occupations and organizational members, excluding whole classes of bodies, work, and emotions.

To remedy this systemic exclusion, Bluedorn and Waller (2006) demonstrate how the issue of effectiveness versus efficiency rests, in part, upon the choice regarding which stakeholder interests are considered in decisions about the temporal commons. Below, we consider ways in which existing conceptions of stakeholders can be expanded in line with more inclusive time scales. Notably, reframing the temporality of the metrics themselves—performance, resilience, etc.—through a shift in time scale, offers a path to consider how multiple stakeholder interests, including employer interests, may intersect over time.

Expanded Time Scales Reveal Expanded Stakeholders

As described in the last section, common management metrics—such as efficiency, productivity, success, value—have a constitutive temporal aspect that implicitly guides a great deal of management theory (Ancona et al., 2001; Bailey, 2018). Even understandings of workplace wellness and health, such as resilience, are inherently (if implicitly) temporal in nature. These Western, (post)industrial conceptions of time commonly used to measure individual and organizational performance and health metrics are based on what Bluedorn (2002) describes as *fungible* time, where all times are essentially the same and are fully interchangeable. Within a fungible conception, time is defined by external measure, independent of persons and their relationships. This is contrasted with an *epochal* conception, where time is defined by a larger system of behavioral patterning: it exists in the context of *identities, relationships, and interactions* that can only be reckoned within broader expanses of time and reflects a story—with a beginning, middle, and end. Rather than representing a dichotomy, fungible and epochal times constitute a largely neglected duality that, together, offer more informed, fuller conceptions of human temporality.

Some aspects of work are best reckoned within fungible time, while others are better construed as epochal. Notably, the focus on identities, relationships,

and interactions within an epochal conception is useful as we think about the relevant stakeholders for considering more inclusive organizational practices. Given Bluedorn's reference to epochality as reflecting a story, Browning's (1992) theoretical treatment of lists and stories as organizational communication helps to further elucidate the communicative implications of fungible and epochal temporal conceptions. His description of each reflects markedly different temporal conceptions which arise from different focal organizational stakeholders. Browning demonstrates that these two contrasting types of communication (i.e., lists and stories) direct attention to the process of (and differences across aspects of) organizing.

Within a fungible conception of time, lists (rather than stories) are used to guide and direct behavior and activities. As Browning (1992) describes, "The list is rooted in science and presented as a formula for action leading to controllable outcomes. It represents standards, accountability, and certainty … Lists are technical communication, progressive, and public; and once shared they extend a power base" (p. 281). Relying upon lists and the fungible time they represent leads to a focus on stakeholders based on what appear to be easily controllable outcomes. Stockholders will be included in the list because market performance is easy to measure—it is standardized and clear. Investors will also be included in the list because profits are easy to communicate. In many cases, however, the employee is not included as a stakeholder, but rather as an organizational resource (i.e., an input). Product and service inputs are viewed as easily controllable, while organizational members are not. Customers and clients have also traditionally been treated as resources, rather than stakeholders, because fully understanding customers has historically been so difficult and uncertain. While recent advances in artificial intelligence and computer learning are offering greater insight into this "black box," the long-term focus needed to consider customers and clients as stakeholders eludes most industries and organizations. There are notable exceptions in traditional firms, however (Hall, 1983; Scott, 1987). Both Hall (1983) and Scott (1987) contrasted the deeply relational foundation of commerce in traditional cultures with the owner-customer relationship that guided the development of industrial capitalism. In Hall's (1983) classic description of polychronic businesses, these close, long-term relationships were a hallmark.

In contrast, epochal conceptions of time are reflected in organizational stories, found in everyday discourse.

> … The story is romantic, humorous, tragic, and dramatic. It unfolds sequentially, with overlays, pockets of mystery, and the addition or deletion of performers … They reflect local knowledge, give coherence to group subcultures, change over time, and contain multiple voices. (Browning, 1992, p. 281).

While the measurement of fungible time is unaffected by context, which makes attention to broader time expanses unnecessary and irrelevant, epochal time

conceptions necessarily depend upon broader time expanses in order to capture change, multiple voices, and the twists and turns of daily life. Thus, attention to the stories organizational members share—during the day, after work, during exit interviews—points directly to the relevant stakeholders with important roles in the shared stewardship of the temporal commons. The actors may be unruly and difficult to measure or quantify, but their stories are powerful and unmistakable in their import.

Within stories, we recognize that organizational members, themselves, are key organizational stakeholders: both employers and employees. Members' families are also stakeholders because their lives shape and are shaped by what happens at the organization—how many hours members work, when they must work, where they must work, whether they have sick leave, whether they have vacation time, the quality and safety of their working conditions, and their overall job stability (Perlow & Kelly, 2014). The communities within which organizations are located are also critical stakeholders. Around the country, citizens tell stories of initial hope and, later, broken trust when large companies receive support to expand into their cities. Semuels (2018) writes of her experience as a journalist reporting on Amazon:

> For local residents, starting work in this facility or one like it can seem like a blessing. At around $12 an hour, 40 hours a week, full-time jobs pay higher than many others in the region, and the benefits are also better than many other jobs in the industry. But workers are required to be on their feet all day, and receive scant time for bathroom breaks or lunch. They're pressured to meet certain production goals and are penalized by getting "written up"—the first step in getting fired—for not meeting them, they say. They're also allowed very little time off, and written up if they go over a certain amount of time off, these workers say, even if they get sick … As one worker, John Burgett, a current employee in Indiana who has detailed his experiences on the blog Amazon Emancipatory, told me, "It's very physically and emotionally grueling. They're walking a fine line in the community—everybody knows someone who's worked there, and no one says it's a good place to work."

Thus, in addition to organizations' investors, stockholders, and customers, their members, the communities in which they are located, the families of their members, and their customers, are all legitimate stakeholders within the temporal commons. Viewed from the metric of effectiveness (over efficiency), the interests of these stakeholders intersect. First, organizational members and their families want members to have healthy working conditions, livable policies, and living wages (including benefits). These strong working conditions, policies and wages translate to organizational members who report a greater intent to stay, increased satisfaction, more satisfied clients, and lower turnover—all of which support the organization and employer in their goals of cost savings and higher profits (Perlow, 2012). Additionally, research shows

that the way organizational members are treated by management predicts the level of service quality they provide to clients and customers (Schneider, 1994). Therefore, employees', employers', and clients' interests are aligned. A satisfied customer or client base, particularly one that speaks highly of the organization to others, is also a boon to the organization's health and continued success. This meets the needs of investors and stockholders—who have interests aligned with growth and profits. Ultimately, enlarging an organization's stakeholders, through considering the epochal times reflected in stories contributes to greater inclusion and greater long-term organizational success. Below we explore ways to include the needs of these varied stakeholders through applying more cognizant agency, as Bluedorn and Waller suggest.

Cognizant Agency in Creating Metrics of Inclusion

The discussion of fungible and epochal times points toward a particular thesis about work and time embodied in common performance metrics: Fungible time reflects what Hassard (2002) describes as a *commodification thesis*, revealed in the equation of time with quantitative value. This commodification thesis is directly tied to the standards—of efficiency (versus effectiveness)—that Bluedorn and Waller (2006) challenge in their concern regarding stewardship of the temporal commons. They describe that, while effectiveness concerns goal attainment, efficiency is measured by the ratio of a system's output to its input:

> the efficiency or worth of time is in many ways today measured by the worth of transactions conducted or savings accrued, rather than the quality of experience, during that time. In other words, the worth of time in our market-driven culture is measured by its efficiency, to the exclusion of practically all other metrics.
>
> (p. 376)

It is this commodification thesis—and the concomitant focus on fungible time to the exclusion of epochal time—that leads to a stewardship of the temporal commons in ways that often exclude slow(er) processes.

Bailey (2018) offers a theoretical treatment of *waiting* which highlights how the commodification thesis construes slowness in organizations as inherently problematic. She notes that, this view "can paradoxically damage an organisation's ability to tackle problems or generate creative responses, as it imposes artificial constraints on the messy realities of organisational life, inhibiting the development of creative solutions" (p. 5). In contrast, within epochal understandings of organizational time, the delay of waiting for processes to unfold is seen as inherent to, and even healthy for, organizational functioning. Bailey goes on to describe the varied temporality of different types of work. Notably, as Bailey describes, there are both *professional* and *physiological* processes that shape and are shaped by the experience of waiting. We develop these

distinctions next and identify key sources of data that shed light on each of these processes. We are especially interested in sources of data that support more agentic visions for temporal inclusion and stewardship of the temporal commons.

To better understand the impact of time scale on exclusionary organizational practices, consider the ways in which professional and physiological spheres of activity are interlocking processes rather than separate spheres of temporal experience (Bailey, 2018; Barnes et al., 2011; Richardson, 2002). It is impossible to establish boundaries around either process for two reasons. First, from a spillover perspective (Perrigino, Dunford, & Wilson, 2018), communication-based demands that derive from one's professional activities have real consequences for organizational members' physiological wellness; similarly, communication-based demands that originate from any number of physiological processes (emotional or otherwise) can also shape organizational members' professional agility. Second, however, the most ironic exclusion comes from ignoring the natural pace of the *physiological demands that organizational members face in carrying out their professional activities.* These demands are inherent in the work as opposed to simply being consequential for the work.

The problem of professionally focused demands creating physiological stress, or disruption, concerning organizational members' time, energy, resilience, and coping resources is not limited in scope or exceptional by any means (Manville, Akremi, Niezborala, & Mignonac, 2016; Pang, 2016). In 2016, 2.9 million organizational members across industries such as construction, transportation, manufacturing, oil and gas, and agriculture were injured on the job (Bureau of Labor Statistics, 2017). As well, recent work on rates of suicide among physicians shows how the work itself contributes to physiological trauma (Anderson, 2018). Research on social work (Yuill & Mueller-Hirth, 2018) and health care, more generally (Wang, 2018), athletic and military careers (Stein et al., 2014), and a range of blue-collar professions (Kreiner, Ashforth, & Sluss, 2006) indicates that the cause of slow physiological processes have professional origins. Thus, organizational chronemics—that is, the ways in which time and communication are bound together—often gives rise to the very demands that members must manage in order to maintain their resilience. As a result, the impact of professional and physiological demands that shape members' resilience is frequently separable in analytic terms only, as depicted in Figure 6.1: Organizational membership entails both professional and physiological demands.

Figure 6.1 also illustrates the ways in which time scale can include or exclude professional and physiological processes. We conceptualize professional processes, those driven by the work and/or the formal organization, as oriented toward either exploitation or exploration as theorized by March (1991). Each concept occupies a place on the continuum—rather than a dichotomy—of organizational learning processes. March argues that organizational processes more governed by exploitation will highlight and privilege efficiency, production, and execution. In contrast, processes driven by exploration will
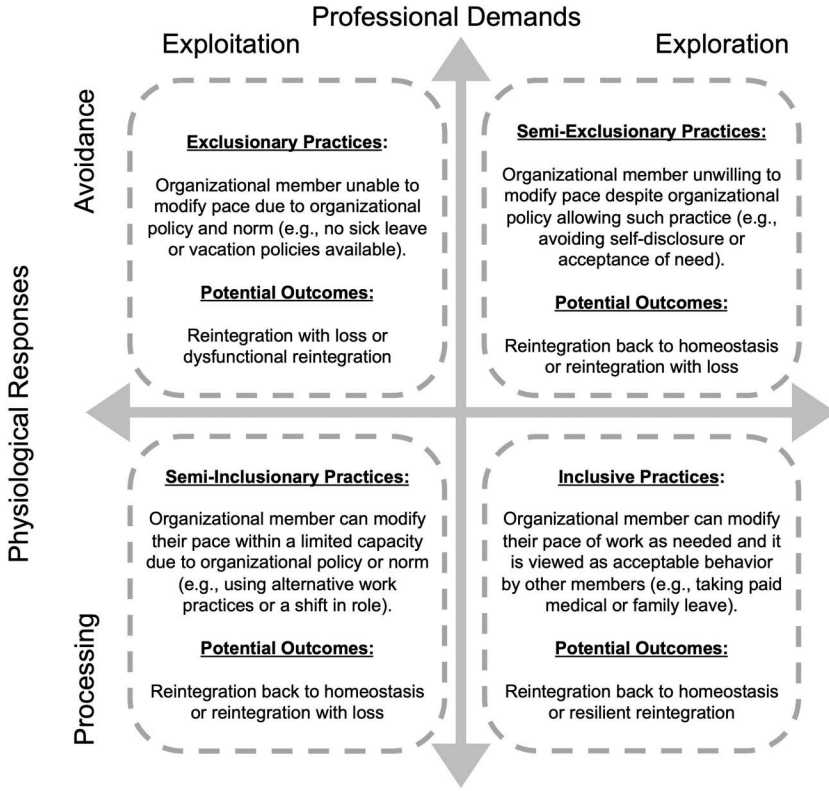
Figure 6.1 The impact of physiological responses and professional demands on resilience outcomes.

exhibit more flexibility, experimentation, innovation, and variation. He illustrates how a balance between the two is necessary for organizational effectiveness and survival. Notably, the time scale of each differs. Exploitation values speed, while exploration values deliberation. We use this continuum to characterize the temporality of professionally focused communication processes and their related outcomes, reflected in the horizontal axis.

We characterize the continuum of responses to physiological stressors (identified on the vertical axis) as ranging from *processing* to *avoidance*. On one end of the vertical axis, responding to physiological stressors—such as illness, injury, or trauma—through seeking needed medical treatment or communicating with others reflects a response of *processing*. In contrast, failing to communicate about or seek treatment for physiological stressors reflects an *avoidance* response. Richardson (2002) describes how individuals vary in their disposition to either process or avoid communicating about stressors—a decision which can shape their recovery and long-term resilience.

We also use March's (1991) terms to characterize a continuum of professional demands (on the horizontal axis) marked by organizations' orientations toward either exploitation or exploration. At one end of the continuum, organizations create policies that reflect the high value placed on risks which favor innovation and long-term rewards. This reflects a culture of exploration. In contrast, at the other end of the continuum, organizations maintain policies that reflect a "sink-or-swim" approach and place value on shorter term, easier to predict rewards. This reflects a bias toward exploitation.

While both approaches (avoidance versus processing and exploitation versus exploration) are continuous in nature, below we depict four types of practices and outcomes expected as a result of norms and policies that fall along the ends of each continuum. Some norms and policies lead to more exclusionary outcomes and other practices lead to more inclusive outcomes. This depicts the intersecting role of professional demands associated with particular organizational environments *and* physiological stressors associated with particular responses by individuals in an organization. Findings by Richardson (2002) assist with potential outcomes we identify in each quadrant. Following this discussion, we also describe multiple types of data, at varied time scales, and collected at various organizational levels, that provide a window into temporal inclusivity.

Exclusionary Practices and Outcomes

When organizational norms and policies privilege exploitation over exploration and individuals tend toward avoidance over processing related to the physiological stressors they face, slow processes will be excluded. For example, physician burnout and suicide (Anderson, 2018) is the highest among all occupations, in part, due to the long hours, chronic sleep deprivation, role strain, and personal isolation. The institutional culture among attending physicians leads to professional demands that reflect exploitation over exploration. The training model also leads to personal isolation and a high level of competition which makes avoidance a more likely response to physiological stressors than processing. Taken together, this means that organizational members will be unable to modify their pace and unwilling to violate institutional norms of seeking help. As a result, as physicians manage the demands of the physiological stressors they face, they are likely to develop burnout and/or substance abuse. Burnout reflects Richardson's (2002) description of *reintegration with loss*, situations in which people lose hope, motivation, and drive. Substance abuse is an example of *dysfunctional reintegration*, wherein individuals cope through substance abuse or other destructive behaviors to manage the professional-physiological demands placed on them (Richardson, 2002). In these cases, a range of human experience will be excluded from the organization (Jammaers et al., 2016).

Semi-Exclusionary Practices and Outcomes

In contrast, when organizational norms and policies value exploration and long-term gains, over exploitation marked by short-term wins, the institutional or organizational culture may afford their members greater resilience. Nonetheless, if the organizational member is more oriented toward avoidance than processing, self-exclusion may still result. In the case above, related to burnout and mental illness, an individual may still be unwilling to modify their pace despite organizational policies and norms which permit it. Rather than being driven by professional demands, an individual's personal disposition toward self-disclosure of illness or hardship can lead them to avoid processing the physiological stressors. This may take the form of not taking (allowable) vacation days or not utilizing formal leave policies, even when others use these policies without negative consequences. Passalacqua (2017) describes the role of personality and the problem of personal isolation in contributing to high burnout rates among physicians.

When the individual finally begins the process of addressing the issues that require their attention, their resiliency outcomes are likely to be the same as for the next quadrant—described as semi-inclusionary—although the reasons differ. A key distinction for the practices and outcomes in this semi-exclusionary quadrant, that makes them more exclusionary, is the norm setting function that they can have for others. As others witness these, essentially, *self*-exclusionary practices, tacit beliefs may form that serve to exclude behaviors focused on processing one's physiologically focused needs (Dyrbye et al., 2010).

Semi-Inclusionary Practices and Outcomes

In some cases, organizational norms and formal policies may privilege exploitation over exploration, but individuals persist in attempting to process the physiological demands they face. If alternative work practices are available (such as part-time work, job sharing, or telework, for example) or if shifting roles is permitted (such as with internal rotations), and the organizational member uses them, slow processes will be accommodated, but not accepted (Ballard & Gossett, 2007). In the physician burnout example described thus far, this might take the form of shifting roles (such as one's specialty). In other professions, it might take the form of temporarily shifting to part-time work. This highlights the economic privilege that might be associated with this particular practice. Minimum wage earners are unlikely to find any suitable options without adequate organizational policies that support medical leave or paid vacation time.

In the event that this is a viable option for an individual, the member will be able to modify their pace to a degree; however, they still risk reintegration with loss. In addition to burnout, this could take the form of depression based upon hurting one's chances for promotion or the feeling of unfilled professional

goals. In the best case of this scenario, eventual *reintegration back to homeostasis* is possible. This means that things can eventually return to normal. Richardson (2002) describes, "The essence of reintegration back to homeostasis is to heal and 'just get past' a disruption" (p. 312). This is not always possible, such as in cases of permanent physical loss. In this case, inclusion will likely require a great deal of impression management work on the part of the organizational member. In these conditions, many may decide to simply withdraw given the efforts and coping resources it requires.

Inclusionary Practices and Outcomes

In the most temporally inclusive of all settings, organizational members can modify their pace of work (e.g., through paid medical or family leave) if needed and it is viewed as acceptable behavior by other members. When organizational norms and policies privilege exploration over exploitation *and* individuals tend toward processing (as opposed to avoiding) the physiological demands they face, slow processes will be included. In these cases, reintegration to homeostasis can be expected and even *resilient reintegration* is possible. Resilient reintegration occurs when individuals "experience some insight or growth *through* disruptions. The process is an introspective experience in identifying, accessing, and nurturing resilient qualities" (Richardson, 2002, p. 312, italics added). It also provides additional support to weather and recover successfully from future disruptions. When organizational members have access to and take sick leave or vacation time to deal with a professionally focused and/or physiologically focused disruption this reflects temporally inclusive behavior. In the case of epidemic physician burnout rates described earlier, offering paid medical leave as well as mental health resources and training in healthy coping strategies to physicians could help to minimize the recurrence of burnout.

   Access to this level of inclusion, however, is rare in practice. Below we describe the types of organizational data that will help to identify and track changes in temporal inclusivity. A host of data can help to identify inclusionary/exclusionary practices and their related outcomes.

Finding Metrics that Help to Identify Temporal Exclusion/Inclusion Organizational Data

Objective measures of time-based indicators in an organization are a key resource in understanding temporal exclusion. Are alternative work practices, sick and family leave policies, and paid vacation time available? If so, the data collected should also include records of unused vacation time, days used of family and medical leave, and the use of alternative work practices. Are members who utilize these resources promoted and retained at similar levels? Additionally, records of hours worked, absenteeism, and turnover are important sources of organizational data. If an intervention is planned, large-scale (not

personally identifying) data on organizational members' health (such as BMI, rates of hypertension, and chronic illness) can serve as a baseline to track the effectiveness of new policies or norms.

Multiple Performance Measures

Many organizations collect various forms of data on performance outcomes. In order to include multiple stakeholders, multiple types of performance measures are essential. Notably, these data must be longitudinal in nature—capturing three- to five-year time frames. This allows long-term processes to emerge, such as resilience and sustainable productivity. For publicly traded organizations, stock market performance over even longer time scales—such as a decade—is important depending upon the historicity and current volatility of the market. For privately held organizations, records of profits should be collected over similarly long time scales. News stories may also yield relevant information. From the member perspective, exit interviews can be invaluable. As well, exploring online "suck sites" or other forums where current and former organizational members describe their experiences may also offer insights (Gossett & Kilker, 2006). For current members, performance measures that include quarterly target goals met as well as feedback from client or customer surveys are important. Additionally, community surveys may be vital in certain situations. This may take the form of face-to-face or phone interviews or mail-based surveys in the surrounding area.

Self-Administered Scales

Finally, a number of highly reliable self-administered scales exist to capture subjective and intersubjective reports of temporal exclusion/inclusion. For instance, data on burnout, job satisfaction, and psychological safety help to assess the broader climate of inclusion. Measures of organizational and individual temporality are also available—including specific measures of pace or speed (Ballard & Seibold, 2004; Schriber & Gutek, 1987). When possible, cross-sectional data should be avoided (Ballard, Waller, & Tschan, 2008). Capturing members' reports over time, especially tied to the timing of other performance measures will help scholars and practitioners to understand larger trends of resilience and performance declines related to external pacers such as market volatility (McGlone, Merola, & McGlynn, 2017). Triangulating these varied types of data—self-administered scales, performance measures, and available organizational data—will offer an informed view of the culture of temporal inclusivity.

Conclusion

One vantage point from which to pursue the question of inclusion in organizing is to interrogate existing and alternative treatments of one of the central

constitutive aspects of work and institutions: Time. For example, the increasing speed with which new employees are expected to create measurable value for the company, as compared to hiring organizational members based on demonstrated promise and trainability, leads to greater numbers of underemployed and unemployable mid- to late-career professionals (Gliner, 1999). Relatedly, routine layoffs have accompanied the trend toward demonstrating larger and larger quarterly profit margins (Fairhurst, Cooren, & Cahill, 2002). This truncated time scale drove the mortgage crisis, fueled by the desire to create illusory short-term investor profits. Similarly, recent protests by Walmart employees demanding better wages amid record profits for the retailer are fueled by executives' shortsighted conceptions of profitability and productivity (Miles, 2013).

There are mainstream examples of efforts to reconsider the temporality of how value creation occurs in 21st-century work. The LifeTwist Study, a report by The Futures Company (and commissioned by American Express), revealed that contemporary organizational members report a nonlinear path to career "success" that has altered their definitions of success compared to previous generations (Tugend, 2013). Relatedly, Arianna Huffington, editor in chief of the *Huffington Post*, hosted a gathering called "The Third Metric: Redefining Success Beyond Money & Power" where Missouri Senator Claire McCaskill stressed that:

> renewal and redefining success are not just for those at the top of the corporate or the political ladders. Because the destructive definition of success we're living (and dying) under affects people at every social and economic level. But those working two or three jobs are also those with the least leverage to insist on policies and workplace practices that allow for any kind of work-life balance. And, of course, by redefining success we'll end up with leaders able to make better decisions—which, of course, affect everybody. For example, we'll have leaders less likely to make the sorts of terrible and shortsighted decisions that led to the financial meltdown, and led to the misguided decision to respond to the ensuing crisis with austerity measures. (Huffington, 2013)

At the same event, Aetna CEO, Mark Bertolini described how company wellness programs—while costly in the short term—save companies money in the long term (Young, 2013).

As scholars and practitioners, Bluedorn and Waller (2006) draw our attention to the stewardship of *the temporal commons* that underlies these varied time-related sites of inclusion and exclusion. As such, it is an ideal means through which we can consider temporally based inclusion in organizing. Taking up this perspective points to three issues we develop in this chapter. First, the issue of time scale emerges as a key factor underlying temporal exclusion as well as a path to (re)consider the value of effectiveness over efficiency. We consider the traditional concept of productivity as well as its wellness-based companion, resilience, through a temporal lens. Next, we

leverage these insights (derived from careful attention to time scale) as well as Browning's (1992) theory of lists and stories to identify key stakeholder interests that matter in any discussion of temporal inclusivity. Finally, we develop and elaborate on a model that highlights the interlocking nature of professionally focused and physiologically focused processes in developing more resilient organizational members.

In summary, conversations centered around stewardship of the temporal commons have the potential to create more temporally inclusive organizing structures. Nonetheless, contemporary repackaged conceptualizations of productivity abound: They simply mirror organizing norms designed to keep Chaplin's character in a loop of ever-greater value creation by utilizing new, human-centered discourse. As a result, common treatments of resilience, or even grit, valorize individual perseverance and striving in the face of remarkable obstacles (Duckworth, Peterson, Matthews, & Kelly, 2007). Rather than create more temporally inclusive workplaces, these constructs work to systematically exclude certain bodies, minds, and emotions from particular institutions (Jammaers et al., 2016; Kossek & Lautsch, 2018). Examples of this are found in primary and secondary education, social work, and law enforcement, to name a few (Yuill & Mueller-Hirth, 2018). This means that certain work will lack members with seniority (due to turnover), those with more non-work obligations (such as elder care and young families), as well as those with higher levels of concern for their own mental health.

Pioneering epidemiological research on John Henryism—a measure of "prolonged, high-effort coping with difficult psychosocial environmental stressors" (p. 167)—demonstrates that the impact of ignoring the long-term consequences of active coping leads to a host of physiological costs paid by the individual not the institution (James, 1994; Bennett et al., 2004). The John Henryism measurement scale includes items such as (a) *When things don't go the way I want them to, that just makes me work even harder*; (b) *I've always felt that I could make of my life pretty much what I wanted to make of it*; and (c) *Once I make up my mind to something, I stay with it until the job is completely done.*

James (1994) describes the genesis of this construct and resultant measure. In a series of related studies published in the early and mid-1970s—some field-based and others controlled laboratory experiments—researchers found that active, sustained coping (marked by cognitive and emotional engagement) with structural inequities led to increased heart rate and systolic blood pressure. In the late 1970s, informed by this stream of research, Syme (1979) proposed that certain forms of coping (i.e., prolonged and marked by high effort) could explain both the inverse relationship between hypertension and socioeconomic status and the increased risk for hypertension among African Americans. At the same time, James (1994) describes a chance encounter that led to the John Henryism construct.

> It was my good fortune to come across this literature, and Syme's (1979) commentary, shortly after I had met a fascinating, retired Black farmer named *John Henry* Martin. His name could hardly have been more

appropriate, since his life story (James, 1993) contained a number of features that evoked the legend of John Henry, the "steel-driving man" … known far and wide among late 19th century railroad and tunnel workers (Williams, 1983) for the remarkable physical strength and endurance he displayed in his work. John Henry beat a mechanical steam drill in a famous "steel-driving" contest pitting "man against machine." Moments after the contest ended, however, John Henry dropped dead from complete physical and mental exhaustion (Johnson, 1927; Williams, 1983). *John Henry* Martin, the retired Black farmer, also won an epic battle against "the machine." In his case, however, the "machine" was the ruthlessly exploitative sharecropping system of the rural South. Mr. Martin was born into an extremely poor, sharecropping family in 1907, in the Upper Piedmont region of the state of North Carolina. As a child, he was not able to attend school beyond the second grade; but, as an adult, he somehow taught himself to read and write.

Even more impressively, however, through unrelenting hard work and determination (i.e., effortful active coping), John Henry Martin—against tremendous odds—freed himself and his offspring from the debt bondage of the sharecropper system. Specifically, by the time he was 40 years of age, he owned 75 acres of fertile North Carolina farmland. Like the legendary "steel driver," however, John Henry Martin also paid a price for his victory. By his late 50s, he suffered from hypertension, arthritis, and a case of peptic ulcer disease so severe that 40% of his stomach had to be removed (James, 1993) … In tribute to John Henry Martin, and the larger historical drama that I believe his life story represents, I decided to provide a context—cultural as well as historical—for the active coping hypothesis by referring to it in my own work as the "John Henryism Hypothesis."

Since work on the John Henryism Hypothesis began, an entire body of work has repeatedly supported the idea that high-effort coping among disadvantaged populations—persevering against all odds—leads to physiological illness (Bennet et al., 2004). Thus, for certain groups, grit comes with a high cost. Instead, through the theory of TRIOS (Time, Rhythm, Improvisation, Orality, and Spirituality), Jones (2003) suggests that this sort of perseverance must be complemented by a reflexive understanding of one's larger temporal, cultural and even spiritual context. While individual resilience can be invaluable, the stewardship of the temporal commons relies upon a collective commitment to long-term, sustainable outcomes. Taking ever-greater time scales into account in our conceptions of key organizational constructs, like resilience and productivity, is critical to ensuring inclusive organizing.

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