Time as Transition:
Experiences of Time, Culture and Immigration amongst Syrian Women in the UK

Nouha Almahmoud

A Thesis submitted for the Degree of

Doctor of philosophy

Essex Business School

University of Essex

2016

Table of Contents

DECLARATION

I declare that this thesis is entirely my own work and that I have referenced others' ideas or concepts in the text and in the bibliography.

The material contained in this thesis has not been submitted previously for any other degree at any other academic institution.

DEDICATION

This work is dedicated to the soul of my late father – Ahmad Baik Almahmoud, who remained a guiding force all throughout my academic life.

The greatest dedication goes to the dearest to my heart – my mother, who has been my spiritual mantra. I do owe her all respect and gratitude for her enduring support throughout all stages of my life. She deserves a special 'Thank You'.

I also dedicate this work to my husband 'Eyad Shreet', who offered me unconditional support throughout this endeavour and took pride of my long-awaited but worthwhile achievement.

A special dedication goes to my sons – Safi and Sami – who showed great understanding and offered their help whenever needed. You have been wonderful and I do appreciate it.

ACKNOWLEDGMENT

I am greatly indebted to my late supervisor – Professor Heather Höpfl. She had a wonderful spirit that deserves unquestioned respect. Her academic support and patience is beyond all expressions. She was greatly missed by all who knew her. I do pray God to rest your soul.

The greatest thanks go to my wonderful supervisors Professor Melissa Tyler and Professor Philip Hancock. They have always been enthusiastic and professional in their unlimited support - especially their timely and extensive feedback which I greatly appreciate. You have always boosted my confidence and made my work worthwhile. I will never forget your kindness and patience – I do thank you both as I have learnt a lot from your expertise.

I would like also to acknowledge the tremendous help and constant encouragement offered unconditionally by my sister - Dr Hala Almahmoud - and my brother-in-law – Dr Jackson Adams throughout the writing of this thesis.

In acknowledging the extremely valuable help of the participants of this study, I would like to express my greatest gratitude to everyone who offered me the chance to use their perceptions and experiences as the basis of this research. Your generosity and kindness will never be forgotten – your contribution has inspired me. A big 'Thank You' to all of you.

ABSTRACT

This study contributes to the current literature on time, gender, migration, culture and identity by bringing insights into how time is perceived and experienced by Syrian women who are settled and working in the UK. It is a topic that is little known in the extant literature, and that differs in its dynamics form the western literature.

The notion of time has been widely debated but with little reference to its impact on the perceptions and individual experiences of migrant women, who engage with culturally different time structures and different time schedules. The spatial experiences of those women represented by their mobility across cultural boundaries seem to be affecting how migrant women perceive and organise time.

Throughout the study, the Heideggerian interpretive phenomenological perspective has been adopted to make sense of and interpret the meanings and experiences provided by the participants of this study. This has been selected to allow space for considering and acknowledging the impact of the personal experience and prior knowledge of both the researcher and the researched subjects.

Perceptions of time and time experiences have been found to be much diversified across personal, social and cultural contexts which are marked by spatial or geographical boundaries. Also, time structures and time schedules have been institutionally gendered across the cultures of both countries: Syria and the UK, but with varying degrees.

Empirically, this study can help work organisations and agencies interested in working with migrant people to understand the diversity of perceptions and experiences of migrant female workers in the UK to enable them offering the care and services tailored to the needs of those migrants. In doing so, this research is hoped to improve the quality of work and social contributions of migrant women in the UK.

Methodologically, this phenomenological inquiry contributes to the field of empirical and socio-political knowledge as well as the understanding of moral, aesthetic, and personal welfare debated in the migration literature. It contributes to the understanding of human experiences in relation to the notion of time, in isolation of any concern to predicting or prescribing any theory.

INTRODUCTION

Introduction

Time is a notion that seems so familiar that nobody would ever think of questioning it. Nonetheless, the literature contains innumerable studies of time ranging from the philosophical and religious questioning (St. Augustine, cited in Stump and Kretzmann, 2001; Heidegger 1962, cited in Schmidt, 2012) to the very empirical analysis and measuring of time experience (Newoton, cited in Jacquette, 2014; Einstein, cited in Kaku, 2015). In between these ranges, research has investigated the phenomenon of time in organisational (Rifkin, 1987; Harvey, 1990; Rosa & Scheuerman, 2009; and Warf, 2008), socio-cultural (*see* Sorokin, 1964 [c1943]; Hassard, 2002; Rosa, 2003; Hassan, 2003; Shove *et al.*, 2009), anthropological (Hall, 1990, Hofstede, 1999; Evans-Pritchard, 2013) and psychological (*see* Friedman, 2005; Orlikowski and Scott, 2008) studies. In the ancient times, Aristotle has recognised time physically through the motions of cosmos represented it by the number of years, months and days (Lawrence, 1986). But, St. Augustine thought of time as a subjective thing that takes place in the human mind (Shaw, 2012). In practice, humans have associated time through the solar and lunar cycles, the agricultural cycles, and the weather seasons (Castells, 2010). Then, the objective (Clock) model of time was born when humans divided time into measurable units, using the clock (Adam, 2013). Later on, the objective view of time was replaced by a psychological view (*see* Husserl cited in Wood, 1989) and a social view (*see* Sorokin and Merton, 1937; Bergson, 1959 cited in Bergadaa, 1990; Merleau-Pont, 1962; Clark, 1985). In recent times, digital technology made scholars theorise about compressed time and "timeless time" (Castells, 2010; Hassan 2009). So, the literature

has always debated the meaning of time, its organisation, and how it is perceived, constructed and utilised by human actors.

Other questions about time have started to emerge after women's entry into the paid work environment. For instance, comparatively few studies – but not so many – had shown interest in temporal differences between men and women and, particularly, in relation to working practices of men and women (Fagan; 2001; Daly, 2002; Evertsson & Nermo, 2004; Jacobs & Gerson 2005; Cast and Bird 2005; Stone, 2007; Bryson, 2007; West and Zimmermann, 2009; Bouffartigue, 2010; England, 2011). This has raised questions about the gendering of time, its allocation and its experiencing within social and cultural contexts (*see* Fagan and Walthery, 2011; Stone, 2007; Bryson, 2007; Bouffartigue, 2010; England, 2011; Adam, 2013). The practice has extended to work organisations – which made many scholars interested in explaining the roots of the female-male distinction in organisational work settings (*see* Marx, 1971; Cottle and Klineberg, 1974; Giddens, 1995; Geist, 2005; Höpfl, 2007; Linstead, 2009; Sayer, 2010; Dörre, 2011; Mavin & Grandy, 2013).

Some organisational literature has depicted women in relation to experiencing the notion of time as either 'passive playthings of history' or as entirely 'free agents' (Amanatullah and Morris, 2010). However, some researchers (Marx, 1971, Giddens, 1995) have indicated the importance of time in breaking away the social and historical gender arrangements. This is due to essential world changes in socio-economic, cultural and political structures, where women started greater participation in decision making processes (Tucker, 2008). The assumption here is that working women will have similar experience of time to that of working men and across all cultures. However, this has remained a thorny issue where working women have

often reported to be experiencing time differently from men (Hofstede, 2001; Höpfl, 2007; Linstead, 2009; Solomon & Schell, 2009; Steers *et al.*, 2010).

With the realisation that the notion of time – like gender – is socially constructed and it differs from one culture to another, researchers embarked on investigating the impact of geographical mobility on the perceptions and experiences of time. For instance, migrants' life undergoes stages of temporal transitions, where their present is shaped through a series of interactions between the imagined pasts and imagined futures (Bastian, 2011). Although migration research has presented migratory time as a sequence of linear events (Griffiths *et al.*, 2013), the migrant's lived experience has much more complex temporal dimensions (Ansell *et al.*, 2011; Hörschelmann, 2011).

As for the current study, it takes its point of departure from differences between male and female perceptions and experiences of time. It goes further than this to give attention to the intersection between gendered notions of time and socio-cultural, ideological, and philosophical differences which can be applied to women who are exiled from their native culture and who come to experience time in relation to subjectivities which are constructed in one set of cultural assumptions and transposed into another. Hence, Syrian women working in the UK will be the chosen subjects for this study. First, however, it is necessary to give attention to some commonly held notions of gendered differences in the experience of time, which will be outlined in the following sections.

An Overview of Gender in Syrian Culture

Although an abundance of Western literature has discussed various issues and factors that affected Arab women's life negatively (Kahf, 2010; Spierings *et al.*, 2012), none of that literature has recognised the issue of time structure and time control as

contributing factors in the subservience of women to the male-dominant culture of the workplace.

Again, most of that literature tried to criticise or analyse the Arab women's status, using the criteria and concepts of Western cultures without relying on Arab women's own perspectives and perceptions (Al-Malki *et al.*, 2012). It might be argued that women may differ in their techniques of achieving their objectives, yet they will all adhere to their own cultural backgrounds when dealing with time structuring and time control.

However, perceiving these facts depends on whether women can see their time as gendered and to what degree it is gendered. Most often, this kind of time gendering goes unrecognised and consequently unchallenged in the Syrian culture since on the face of it Arab women's struggle is broadly grounded in the religious, cultural, and political norms of the Arab world (Jabbour, 2006; Spierings *et al.*, 2012; Kamla, 2014). In fact, to narrow down this perspective, one can see that the compelling problem of women's discrimination lies in gendering their time, which usurps their power and control over their spaces (public or private) (Adam, 2013). Although Syrian woman have responded to the economic changes in society and started contributing more to the work life and public sphere (Menea, 2011), she was still doomed to the traditional structuring of time which was rooted in the economic, social and legal systems (Crocco *et al.,* 2009).

In the Syrian culture, individuals seem to rely on their extended family for the amenities they need rather than depending on the statutory organisations (Metcalfe, 2007; Metcalfe, 2008; Metcalfe *et al.,* 2011). Hence, unlike western women, most Syrian women cannot think of themselves as individualistic outside the boundaries of

the extended family and the patriarchal society (OBG, 2008). Therefore, their time is mostly allocated to the serving of the public (the family) rather than the private (own) needs. Even in the absence of any statute legislations, the Islamic rules demand that women's time is allocated in favour of others: time for pregnancy, time for suckling infants, time for bringing up children, time for husbands who are either living with them or not (in case of divorce and death) (Olmsted, 2005 & 2009). Islam did not structure women's life in public spaces (workplace) as she is not expected to work for the support of her family – this is a man's duty rather than a woman's (Ramadan, 2012). So, the basic assumption here is that of the "classic" patriarchal household, with its male head as provider, and women are left with day-to-day responsibility for the household (*see* El Sadawi, 2007).

Thus, Islamic groups (even women activists) have emphasised the importance of male authority and the primacy of women's roles as wife and mother (Offenhauer, 2005). Women keep negotiating the way they present themselves at home, in the workplace, and in the larger political arenas of the neighbourhood and nation (Mernissi, 1987: 8). In this regards, Khalidi & Tucker (1992: 8) points out that for many Westeners, Islam seems to be allowing a gender system that denies women equal rights and subjugate them to men, as it is often shown in movies, magazines, books, and academic discourse available in the Arabic culture. However, The Quran, hadith (the collection of Prophet Muhammad' stories) and shari'a offer no clear evidence for understanding the Islamic perspective of gender (Khalidi & Tucker, 1992: 12). In fact, these historical texts offer arguments that support both camps: people who advocate gender equality under Islam and those who argue for restricting women's rights under Islam (Ramadan, 2012).

Syrian Women in Society

Women in most parts of Syria still live lives dictated by tradition, religion, and family; and the majority of working women in Syria work in a non-regulated sector – the agricultural sector (EUROMED, 2011). However, intermediate, preliminary and higher education direct women towards working in the governmental sector although it is noticeable that there is an increase in women with higher education in some specializations such as doctors, pharmacists, engineers and lawyers (OBG, 2008; Kamla, 2012). Moreover, the status of Syrian women in comparison to many neighbouring countries seems to be well advanced. Syrian women have always had their own trade union, and they started to occupy ministerial positions from 1976 (Ministry of Culture, Ministry of Higher Education, Ministry of Labour, Ministry of Expatriates, and in 2006, Dr. Nagah Al-Attar was appointed as Vice President for Cultural Affairs) (Ibid, 2011). Women have also worked in the diplomatic corps and the Judiciary, joined the Police, the Armed Forces and the Military, and all the non-governmental organizations. However, women's representation is less than expected and reflects the reality of the contribution that they are able to make to public life in Syria. Women have contributed to the labour market for many years and gained the right to vote in 1953, and in 1958 they acceded to the People's Assembly.

Women's participation in the formal sector is primarily concentrated in the 'feminized' services such as education and nursing (Zamzam *et al.*, 2013). Women's participation in these sectors amounts to 56.3% of the total female labour force in the formal sector whereas women's participation in the field of industry does not exceed 7.7% and is primarily concentrated in production services; and accordingly, women are absent from economic decision-making forums (Sachs & McArthur, 2005).

Women's work in the services is mainly in the public sector and the percentage is 92.2% of the total of female employees (UNDP, 2008). Women's participation in the private and mixed sectors is mainly concentrated in agriculture activity as this activity constitutes the greatest part of the private sector (Seifan, 2010). In fact, the private sector attracts the less-educated women who have failed to gain employment in the public sector.

Syrian women favour working in the education sector as the comparatively short working hours and the summer vacation enable them to devote more time to their reproductive role (EUROMED, 2011). In the field of nursing this is likewise favourable for rural women who are able to access low-cost education and secure a job opportunity at a relatively early age.

Although labour laws have secured gender equality in wages in the public and private sectors, there are significant gender gaps in the level of accrued income. The ratio of women is high in the low salary brackets and low in the high salary brackets, which is largely attributable to the low education level of women compared to men (EUROMED, 2011). This is due to the common belief that girls' education is a fruitless family investment whereas investment in boys' education is worth the endeavour as they will become the providers of income for parents and the entire family. Thus, women's work is not regarded as significant or contributing in any way to positive outcomes for society; there is little or no recognition of the value of this work inside and outside the family; there is little or no recognition of the value of domestic work and it is ignored in the national statistics (Kabbani, 2009). On the other hand, women are not able to negotiate working conditions and terms which

meet their needs as well as those of the employer. This is due to the prevailing group bargaining principle and collective employment contracts.

In brief, Syrian women have assumed key positions in political, economic, social, cultural, health, educational and business fields; however, the social and cultural barriers still persist through the administrative and social norms and practices which continue to discriminate against women. Hence, the following section will explore how women are treated in the Syrian laws.

Women in the Syrian Legal Framework

The core principles of the Constitution promote equality in rights, duties and freedoms of citizens without any gender-based discrimination. In more specific terms, Article 45 (Appendix III) makes special provision for women, as it emphasizes the need for women's emancipation and elimination of all the constraints that hamper women's participation in the development process, and provision of opportunities to secure their effective contribution in all walks of life. The Constitution further deems the family the core nucleus in the community and encourages marriage (Article 44: Appendix III). Moreover, there are legislations that secure protection and equality for women's work and the practice of commercial, industrial and handicraft professions, as revealed in the articles: 104, 131, 132, 137 (Appendix III).

The Standard Labour Law No. 91/1959 includes provisions that prohibit employment of women in harmful and hazardous jobs. The Law further secures legal facilities and support to maintain women's health and child care (maternal leave or through provision of day care centres and nurseries). Again, any working woman receives family compensation for her children if she is a widow or divorced whereas the

spouse does not receive a family compensation according to Legislative Decree No. 4 of the year 1972 concerning family compensation.

Also, it should be mentioned that legal hurdles are among the most significant that hamper women's economic activities, such as: the Nationality Law, Penal Code, and Personal Status Law which relate to private and family life. These laws do not treat women as equal citizens to men. These provisions conflict with the Constitution, but some amendments were launched in 2011 to ensure conformity, such as: the Nationality Law which states that women now can grant their children and husband the Syrian nationality – which wasn't the case before.

However, the uneven implementation of some of the legislation has often impeded women's advancement and full equality with men and impacted directly or indirectly on their involvement in public work and economic life (Menea, 2011). It is hard to separate the private from the public in women's issues and this constitutes a legal and real duplication. How can we assert that the Constitution and civil legislation provide equal opportunities for women to work and practice in all professions, conclude contracts, manage their own property, projects and companies, deal with banks, and have access to credit without any conditions and hindrances, when the laws regulating women's family relations blatantly state that women are not equal? How can we realize gender equality in political, economic, social, cultural, educational and business fields when women's rights are restricted within the family? Women's movement, residence, travel, choice of spouse are dependent upon the guardian's approval in addition to the threat of divorce, expulsion from the house, deprivation of the children and a mother's right to guardianship or custody of children, or even travelling with them, women have to accept polygamy, and are deprived of

inheritance or disposition of property; they are forced to marry at an early age; are denied access to education; and are killed in the name of honour (Menea, 2011). Women face other forms of 'legal' violence which create a wide gap between the productive and the family role.

The Literature and Research Gap

The Notion of Time

The emphasis on globalising businesses and the introduction of global marketing have had significant impacts on organisational literature, which in turn, has started showing great interest in exploring the cultural orientation of time and its management. Such literature was preceded by an abundance of writings on the notion of time: Hall (1990) has considered time as an important cultural difference, and Hofstede (2001) has identified long-term versus short-term time orientation as a cultural difference since different cultures show different attitudes towards time. Along these lines, Marcus and Gould (2000) have advocated that cultural relativism is necessary in managing the modern workplace, especially in international organisations. In this regard, Solomon and Schell (2009) have attributed culture to a monochronic or polychronic perspective according to the way time is experienced. A monochronic culture believes that time is linear and emphasises scheduling and promptness, where people do things one at a time and "see time as a commodity that can be measured, used and sometimes sold" (Steers et al, 2010: 62). A polychronic culture has non-linear approach to time since it "believes that interaction with others and relationships are the most important things" (Solomon and Schell, 2009:181), and therefore addressing several problems simultaneously and resisting firm deadlines.

The literature of Capitalism culture has conceptualised time as product (object) that must be controlled and managed (Richardson and Robinson, 2008). In this sense, time has been de-contextualised as a quantifiable, standardised and universal unit of measurement, and was conceptualised as a currency that can be spent and exchanged in ways similar to money as clearly expressed by Max Weber, quoting Benjamin Franklin's phrase – 'time is money' (Weber, 1965 [1904-5]: 48). Thus, time would be measured, bought, sold, invested, wasted and saved; This view came in line with ― the Newtonian concept of time as something objective, measureable, divisible and independent of any observer's experience, activity, perception or memory (Bryson, 2007:2). Nonetheless, for some people, time management seems (as a technique) to be an unrealistic notion since time cannot be increased, decreased, compressed, slowed down or extended (Bunting, 2004; Ammos, 2006; Mancini, 2007,).

On the other hand, the launching of the virtual world has created different perspective in the literature for the discussion of time (Castells, 2010; Hassan 2009; Schneider, 2014). Here, time and space are compressed to serve contemporary business practices or functions (Linstead *et al*, 2009). As a result, time has increasingly become a competitive issue, since what matters in the modern business world is the speed of responsiveness of an organisation (Linstead et al, 2009: 594).

Such strand of literature has become more focused on studying the nature of time, the ways to manage it and its impacts on both work organisations and workers from a social perspective, advocating that our understanding of time has been historically and socially formed by various bodies of power and control who have advocated commodifying clock time of the capitalist economy (*see* Eriksen, 2001; Bluedorn, 2002; Hassard, 2002; Greenhouse and Powell, 2003; Ylijoki, 2010). In this regard, time has been viewed through two perspectives: one emphasising the consumption of

time, claiming that time is a scarce resource which is consumed by social practices; and another emphasising on the production of time, seeing time as the rhythm of social life.

In an attempt to optimise their working force, employers introduced more flexible working times. In this regard, the literature has started discussing the new concerns: competitiveness and job uncertainties made people work longer hours or change their work patterns. These have also made people more aware of the notion of time and made them look for more effective ways to manage their time. The question which poses itself here is "how do people manage their work times and their non-work times?", and whether they have any control over the process of time management and time allocation. Thus, time spent at work (paid or unpaid) will adversely affect the non-work time (domestic and leisure), and free time will be affected by time spent on paid and unpaid work. Hence, feminist scholars have started campaigning for quantitative studies to measure the time spent on unpaid work in an attempt to accord it with a monetary value and to identify its distribution between women and men (Bryson, 2007). Hence, the theme of gendered time allocation has started to appear in the various researches, as shown in the following section.

Gendered Time Allocation

Although gendered time might be invisible in the workplace, but in practice it does exist through imposing different time structures based on gendered norms (Bryson, 2007). Hence, the literature has revealed how time spent in paid work is seen as rationally chosen activity in the public sphere and valued because of its association with the mind, while time spent caring for family members is seen as emotionally driven, devalued because of its association with reproduction and the body and the

invisible work (Prokhovnik, 2002; Höpfl, 2007; Linstead, 2009; Dörre, 2011). Thus, research into Western organisations have often demonstrated that differences in time allocations are gendered and resulted into pay inequality between men and women that led to unequal distribution of power between the two genders (Evertsson and Nermo, 2004; England, 2011; Sani, 2014).

Other research has revealed how men think that equal earning will lead to more equal power; for example, Gupta (2007) claims that there is evidence when women earn more, it lowers their housework, giving them power. However, other evidence shows that women's earnings are not necessarily giving power in marriage, and these earnings do not necessarily increase their male partner's house work (Evertsson & Nermo, 2004). In Western countries, domestic work is still seen as a "female-normative" and paid labour as a "male-normative" (Cast and Bird 2005).

Moreover, Jacobs & Gerson (2005) have advocated that taking part-time jobs has significantly gendered time allocation as more women seem to be forced into this work pattern since they carry out domestic work and child care, and they also face larger obstacles at the work place. Even when women chose to have full-time work, they had to squeeze their family time and leisure time - this is not the same for men (Lopez-Claros and Zahidi, 2005).

By taking paid work in the labour market, women have come under more pressure to allocate their time in a way that accommodates organisational control and family obligation. In doing both domestic work and paid work, women have experienced geographical isolation, inflexible work-site schedule, or limited family support (Osnowitz, 2005). Hence, women's work seems to operate within two temporal orders: regulated by measurable productivity, and the other by expectation for

availability and care (Glucksmann, 1998). Hakim (2000) has pointed out how women choose part time employment in case of choosing a family oriented life style. The proportion of fathers who request part time arranged in contrast to mothers is lower than the take-up by mothers (Faga and Walthery, 2011). Hence, part-time schedules have become popular option for many women struggling to reconcile the competing demands of employment and motherhood (Webber & Williams, 2008: 752).

However, some scholars have pointed out that part-time work schedules further institutionalize the gender division of labour and intensify the glass-ceiling effect, the invisible barrier that prevents women's getting into top management positions (Bennetts 2007; Gornick and Meyers 2003; Jacobs and Gerson 2005; Hill *et al.* 2008). On the other hand, research has found that women's time is a qualitatively different temporality from men's, in particular because the mental burden associated with domestic work goes well beyond the spatial and temporal boundaries of the domestic sphere (Haicault, 1984: cited in Bouffartigue, 2010).

In sum, the literature on time is largely structured around themes ranging from the traditional notion based on the natural rhythms of seasons, to the Newtonian clock-time based on the measurement and commoditisation of time (a consumption and production view). Then, globalisation has focused attention on the cultural social conceptualisation of time (monochronic vs polychronic), linking it to behavioural and identity research. Hence, interest in created power structures (such as gender) through time allocation and time management has started to surface in contemporary literature, and more specifically, in organisation research that started focusing on work-life balance and gendering work practices, work patterns and the workplace.

Migratory Time across Cultures

In viewing time as a social and cultural construction, researchers have tried to investigate the time notion and time experience across cultural and geographical or spatial contexts. The assumption was that spatial experience will inform of and affect the temporal experience (*see* Gurr, 1981; Guyer, 2007; Collins *et al.*, 2009; Lindley, 2010; Bastia & McGrath, 2011). Hence, researchers (e.g., Sheller & Urry, 2006; Urry, 2007; Griffiths *et al*, 2013; Adam, 2013) have referred to migration as a form of geographical mobility that involves global synchronisation of time as well as personal 'desynchronization of time-space paths' (Urry, 2007: 121). Other scholars thought of migration as a journey that takes place over a continuum of time (Cwerner *et al*., 2009), leaving places associated with the past (Vathi and King, 2013) to embrace the place of the present (Lauser, 2008; Vigh, 2009).

However, Lauser (2008) and Bailey (2009) have thought of mobility as a form of disruption or temporal interruption to the life course of an individual. Then, the migratory time is experienced subjectively in line with Heidegger's (2003) explanation, yet it is attributed with a sense of temporality, duration, tempo, and synchronicity which have significantly affected the life of migrants (*see* Anderson, 2007; Yeoh and Huang, 2010; Kilkey *et al.*, 2013; Bastian, 2011; Athanasiou, 2012; Collins & Shubin, 2015).

Migration literature has also discussed the exilic perspective of the migratory time, where the individual has been forced to leave the country of origin or to stay away of it (*see* Probyn, 1996, Clifford, 1994; Höpfl, 2000; Mercer, 2008; Dahab, 2009; Berry & Kenny, 2013; Hoskins, 2015). In exile, the migrant feels estrangement and alienation with the new cultural temporalities and time structures. Therefore, they

develop a nostalgic dislocation from their geographical origin (Höpfl, 2007; Linett, 2013) where re-location has turned the exile into a member of a wider exiled Diaspora (Braziel and Mannur, 2003). Here, the cultural "self" and "identity" are always called into question (Hoskins, 2015) – as the migrants live in the present which is associated with the host place, but they keep longing to the past which is associated with their country of origin (Fortier, 2000). This may affect the identity and sense of belonging of the migrant: living between two temporalities may lead to developing two or more identities (Pfaff-Czarnecka, 2013).

The Research Gap

First, the literature chapters have revealed that the relationship between time and gender has not been sufficiently investigated at least across cultural boundaries. Again, time organisation has appeared as a gendered tool for enabling and sustaining power structures that are created in patriarchal cultures. Second, the impact of globalisation seemed to be problematic as it enabled even the Western capitalism to engage and reiterate gendered views on 'time' allocation and 'time' perceptions. Organising time was found to be a gendered activity. Third, the literature has also revealed that despite the abundant academic work on 'time', 'gender', and 'migration', there is little known about time perceptions and experiences of Syrian women in particular and migrant women in general.

Research Questions and Objectives

The literature reviewed above and its research gaps have given insights into some of the issues pertaining to perceptions and organisation of time, especially in relation to

women migrants. This steers the current study into the direction of achieving the following research objectives:

- To scrutinise the notion of time as perceived and experienced by Syrian women working in the UK.

- To identify the factors (personal, economic, socio-cultural and environmental) affecting the experience of time in the host environment.

This exploratory attempt is motivated by the assumption that cultural differences between Syria and the UK will affect women's understanding and experience of time which will be inferred from their daily routines of time allocations to both public/ work routines and private/ non-work experiences.

In line with the reviewed literature and the research gaps found in that literature, the following research questions have been developed for guiding the investigation process:

- *How is time understood in the host and migrant communities amongst Syrian women living in the UK?*

- *What role do gender and culture play in shaping Syrian women's experiences of time and its organisation in the UK?*

- *How does time in the UK shape Syrian women's perceptions and experiences of community and belonging?*

Research Design

Epistemologically, the focus of this study was on the individual's inner perceptions and experiences of time rather than the external or objective nature of time that was argued in classical theories. Ontologically, a subjectivist rather than an objectivist view has been adopted for exploring and interpreting the personal and cultural perceptions of time (Easerby-Smith *et al.*, 2012; Saunders *et al*, 2012). So, the study has adopted 'interpretivism' as a research philosophy/ paradigm that has enabled me

to capture the psychologically-based human lived experience under investigation (Potrac *et al.,* 2014; Yanow & Schwartz-Shea, 2015).

Accordingly, qualitative methods (e.g., interviews) have been used for the collection of the data needed. The narratives were a true representation of their thoughts and statements – and they were the basis of this investigation. As for the methodological approach, phenomenology was chosen as it is claimed to be capable of explaining the experiential meanings through unravelling the constituents of individualised lived experiences and then associating them to generate a theory (Finlay, 2012). However, the current study is not seeking to generate any theory or document any culture (Syrian or British).

So, to understand and recognise the ultimate, rational, ontological and metaphysical essence that is behind the phenomena (Hegel, cited in Moran & Mooney, 2002), phenomenology was also adopted as a theoretical framework for the current study.

Selection of Theoretical Framework

Investigating perceptions and lived experiences of the human individuals entails using an interpretive phenomenology that can allow the use of contextual information derived from the social and cultural background of the participants. For deeper understanding and more accurate interpretation the researcher's experience and preconceptions about the phenomenon are to be called on throughout the research process. Having identified myself with the researched participants, I had to use the Heideggerian phenomenological perspective as the theoretical framework for this study. It shows that every being is a happening in life and it is grounded in the concept of time (Large, 2008; Davis, 2010), and therefore, the temporality context is

quite significant for the understanding of the meanings of human and social experiences. On the other hand, Heidegger advocates that: "*we should bring ourselves forward toward being itself*" (Heidegger, 1982: 21) and where traditional concepts are "*de-constructed down to the sources from which they were drawn*" (Ibid, 23).

Accordingly, the methodology of this study has been also adapted in line with the chosen theoretical framework. I have always called on my preconceptions and prior knowledge to understand and interpret the meanings hidden in the narrative of the participants' experiences in this study. This goes in line with the Heideggerian approach.

Data Collection and Analysis

The sample of study consisted of fourteen Syrian women settled and working in the UK. Face-to-face interviews have been adopted as data collection methods that are capable of extracting the inner thoughts and uncovering experiences of the recruited participants (*see* Kramer, 2011; Easterby-Smith *et al,* 2012).

Being a Syrian woman like the participants, I could not detach my preconceptions and previous knowledge and experience from the interviewees throughout the interpretation process. But, this was quite advantageous for allowing full access, an in-depth and rich set of data, and ease and comfort for the participants - whom I shared their cultural and linguistic background as well as their migratory experience of time.

The true accounts of the narratives were analysed using thematic content analysis, and analytic credibility has been maintained using a coherent argument of what is presented and interpreted. These accounts have been tape recorded and transcribed before the analysis process. The Interpretative Phenomenological Analysis (IPA)

framework (Smith, 2004) was used for developing in-depth descriptions of human experiences.

Research Ethics and Reflexivity

Throughout the investigation process, I have kept to the "Ethical Principles for Research with Human Subjects" produced by The British Psychological Society (2006) (*see* Israel & Hay, 2006). The participants have voluntarily committed to the participation process without any reservation or repercussions.

Again, I have acknowledged formally the role of my previous experience in the investigation process and the impact of it on the meanings attributed to the lived experiences of the participants (Bott, 2010). This is a clear engagement in showing my reflexivity as a researcher, even when it was thought to cause 'uncomfortable assessment about the inter-personal interstitial knowledge-producing dynamics of qualitative research' (Olesen, 2011: 135). So, my pre-knowledge was not bracketed as recommended by Husserl and many methodologists (*see* Starks & Trinidad, 2007; Tufford & Newman, 2012; Berger, 2015): it was utilised in articulating the inner meanings of the experiences of the participants. However, I had to listen to the voices of the participants and silence my own voice all throughout the process of investigation.

Structure of the Thesis

The thesis has started with the current introduction which has presented and overview of the whole thesis. It introduced the research topic, where the focus was on the intersection between gendered notions of time and socio-cultural, ideological, and philosophical differences in relation to Syrian women working in the UK. Hence, an overview of the gender issue in Syria was outlined, and the position of women in the

Syrian society and in the Syrian legal framework has been discussed. A synopsis of the literature review has followed, with a summary of the main academic debates relating to the notion of time, the gendered allocation of time, and migratory time across cultures. The research gaps have been identified and linked to some research objectives and research questions. Then, the research design, theoretical framework, data collection and analysis as well as research ethics and reflexivity have been briefly outlined. This introductory chapter has concluded with an overview of the structure of the whole thesis.

The first chapter of the thesis – Time and Organisation - was the first of three chapters on the literature review. It has explained the ontologies of the notion of time from various theoretical perspectives across the extant literature on 'time'. Thus, the objective perspective of time has included the Newtonian linear clock time as well as the cyclic Einstein time – here time was measured and commoditised as an external object. Network time was a product of the digital and computerised technology. The psychological perspective of time included the personal time that is produced in the mind of the individual or felt and experienced internally, and the social time that is constructed by society and culture. The chapter also showed how time was used in organisation and how it was used as an organising tool, and most importantly it explained how time was perceived and experienced by human actors. However, the chapter has indicated a research gap, namely: the lack of consensus on the nature of time and the neglecting of investigating time perceptions and time experiencing through individualised lived experiences of human actors.

The second chapter – "Time and Gender" – highlighted the gendered differences in perceiving the notion of time and experiencing time. It is the second chapter of the literature review, where studies on gendering practices in general and on the

relationship between time and gender in particular have been brought into focus. The chapter has discussed the gendering of time organisation as a social and cultural construction. Various academic and organisational attempts for challenging gendered assumptions have been outlined. Then, the chapter has discussed how gendered time is experienced in organisations through organisational practices and policies. Non-traditional work patterns and time schedules such as part-time and shift work have been discussed and critiqued as examples of gendering the time experience that disadvantage the modern female worker since such practices are thought to institutionalise the gendered division of labour. Out of this review, a second research gap was identified, namely: the insufficient treatment of the issue of gendered time across cultural boundaries in general and on Syrian women migrants in particular.

The third chapter "Time, Culture and Migration" has explored the relationship between the notion of time and the concept of migration, as it is portrayed in the relevant literature. So, unlike the mainstream literature on migration, it has focused on time in transition across cultures rather than the spatial mobility across geographical boundaries. Again, it has emphasised the individual perceptions as well as the individual lived experiences which are shaped through a series of interactions between the imagined pasts and imagined futures. These interactions entailed exposures to cultural time, industrial time and natural time. Thus, the relevant literature in this chapter was brought in to show how migrants experienced time as a cyclic rather than linear phenomenon through a series of interactions between space and time that aimed to create their futures through re-creating their past. The chapter has differentiated between the experiencing of time from a migratory perspective and experiencing it from an exilic perspective, bringing into focus the dilemma of the cultural self or identity and the feeling of belonging. The relationship between time,

place and culture was explored through the concept of 'home' as it is perceived and felt by migrants. Finally, the chapter has led to the identification of the third research gap, where little was known on the impact of the individualised lived time experiences on the sense of belonging and community engagement of those migrant women working in the UK.

Chapter four "The Methodological Framework" has explained the rationale and personal motivation for conducting the current study, outlining the research objectives, identifying the research questions and explaining the research design. In designing the methodological framework, the issues associated with the personal and cultural contexts have been taken into consideration to enable exploring, understanding and interpreting a human behaviour that is strongly influenced by identity and culture. Hence, the chapter has identified interpretivism as the methodological approach, and the Heideggerian phenomenological philosophy as the theoretical framework for investigating time perceptions and time lived experiences of Syrian women living in the UK. Such a framework was thought of as capable of explaining the experiential meanings through unravelling the constituents of individualised lived experiences and then associating them. So, the ontological stand – Subjectivity - and the epistemological view – inner reality – have been outlined as the researcher's orientation in this study. The qualitative data collection method – semi-structured, in-depth, and face-to-face interviews – as well as the participants of this study have been described, justified and evaluated in details. The chapter has also reflected on the research ethics adopted for this study and the reflexivity of the researcher.

The fifth chapter "Findings: Perceptions and Lived Experiences of Migrants" has presented the findings of the investigation which was aiming to address the three research gaps associated with the three key research questions identified from the

literature review. Thus, the findings have indicated a diversified scale of time perceptions and time experiences that were influenced by personal, social and cultural contexts. It was found that time structures and time schedules have been institutionally gendered across the cultures of both countries: Syria and the UK, but with varying degrees. On the other hand the chapter has revealed the intricate relationship between time perception and time experience on one hand and the feelings of belonging on the other hand, which was often linked to the meanings of 'home', 'migration' and 'community'. Again, the notion of time was found to be dynamic, depending on the context: for instance, with the developing war in Syria, the migratory time experienced by the migrants has changed into an exilic experience affecting their sense of belonging and their cultural identity or the meaning of 'home'. Therefore, the discussion has incorporated the issue of integration within the host community and the role of language in reference to the experiencing of time.

Chapter six has been developed to discuss the findings in relation to the themes found in the literature review. It has re-iterated the diversified views on time perception and time experiencing, which have ranged from looking at time objectively as an external reality - as a resource that can be measured and quantified – to perceiving time subjectively in terms of spatial experiences or social activities. The themes of public time versus private time involving linear versus cyclic time structuring have been discussed in relation to gendered time allocation practices that differentiate between paid work and unpaid domestic and care work which kept affecting the individual lived experience of the migrants in the host country. Thus, the chapter has revealed the various ways of engaging with the notion of time starting with the awareness of the contextual dynamics (personal, socio-cultural, and institutional) that affected their time perceptions and time experiences, and extending to include the actual

experiencing of time in the host country where time was transformative, migratory and exilic.

The seventh chapter has summed up all the major themes discussed in the study focusing on the notion of 'time as transition' and linking it the lived migratory experiences of Syrian women settled in the UK. For them, the past was very significant and needed to be incorporated in the present to bring about the future that is quite rooted in their cultural and ethnic belonging. Time has always transited but with no impact on the cultural identity. The reminiscences of the past were dominant, the duration of the present was hardly noticed for its shortness and speed, and the future needed to be an extension of the past. This was the concept of time continuity that the migrants are experiencing all the time.

Then, the chapter discussed the emerging themes from the data collected and analysed for this investigation. First, the intersectionality between the notions of migration, gender, culture and time has been found to be intricately shaping time perceptions and time experiences of the participants. Second, the duration of time spent in the host country did not affect the cultural identity of the participants but it enabled them to engage in balancing between their public time structures and private time structures. Third, non-western women have used the masculine tool of time organisation to renegotiate their gendered time structures and also they felt time emotionally. Fourth, political and historical contexts were found to cause change of time attitudes and time experiences of the migrants. Fifth, time experiences seemed loaded with senses of compulsion, continuity, and exilic feelings. At the end the chapter has delved into outlining the major contributions and limitations of this study, leading to suggesting few themes for further future research.

CHAPTER ONE - TIME AND

ORGANISATION

*Time has a curious quality of being both a completely mundane every day experience and a complete abstraction which cannot be easily or objectively described or explained (*Shove *et al.*, 2009: 10).

Introduction

Once Albert Einstein said: "*The only reason for time is so that everything doesn't happen at once*" (Einstein, 1940: cited in Canales, 2015). The notion of time has received a great deal of interest by researchers of various disciplines (Augustine, *354-430CE,* cited in Stump and Kretzmann, 2002; Newton cited in Rynasiewicz, Robert, 1995; Einstein, 1940 cited in Canales, 2015; Bergson, 1959; Heidegger, 1962; Husserl, 1962; Sorokin, 1964 [c1943]) in order to understand the nature of time. For instance, Aristotle referred to time within the physical universe as the motions of the cosmos which are represented by the number of years, months and days (Lawrence, 1986); while Augustine thought of time as something within the mind and therefore it is a subjective experience where past is connected to memory, the present is linked to attention and the future is connected with expectation (Rockelein, 2008). In the very ancient history, time was conceived through the motion of the sun and moon, the agricultural cycles, and the weather seasons (Castells, 2010). So, agricultural and religious events have provided temporal landmarks for social activities. Thus, time seems to be marked by the flow of changes that are represented by the succession of seasons, movement of the sun, and lunar cycle that act as orientation points (Šubrt, 2001). Then, advancement in mechanical technology enabled humans of dividing time into measurable units, using the clock which has become a major tool to

organise production time and discipline society. This gave birth to the objective (Clock) model of time, which seemed very cruel in colonising the human lives of workers (Adam, 2004).

Later on, objective time was fiercely criticised and an alternative perspective started to emerge. For instance, Husserl (cited in Wood, 2001) adopted the psychological view of time to reflect its social construction and eliminate all assumptions about objective time. This has led Bergson (1959, cited in Bergada, 1990) to think of time as something created within the internal states of consciousness where past and future are contained in the present. Sorokin and Merton (1937) drew attention to the diversified experiencing of social time and its heterogeneity – so different events in the calendar do have different meanings. In effect, time was thought of as a socially constructed organising devise (Later, 1981, Clark, 1985). Similarly, Merleau-Pont (1962) has regarded time as constructed of human experiences.

In using time for organising practices, time researchers have started looking for a proper mechanism for accomplishing an activity or a task within a time limit that is less than what is usually taken to achieve the same task. For instance, academic research in the field of organisational management has often demonstrated great enthusiasm to investigate the concept of time management and its impacts on the production process as well as the workers' lives. In this regard, Frederick Taylor (1856-1915) and his techniques of 'Scientific Management' known as 'Taylorism' were often mentioned as an example of managing the production time of workers in order to achieve efficiency, predictability and control in the industrial workplace (Gareth, 2006). In this context, time is regarded as something that can be measured, saved, exchanged for money, and standardised across the whole world.

The powerful computers and telecommunication networks of the contemporary digital age have significantly accelerated, compressed, or even annihilated time in search of globalised capitalism (Castells, 2010; Hassan 2009; Schneider, 2014). Capital is moved in different time zones around the clock, crushing the clock time of the industrial age and replacing it by "timeless time" (Castells, 2010) which occurs in a given or controlled context. For instance, timeless time can be traced in attempting to control the biological clock of a woman who conceive a child at an age of her choosing; when blurring the boundaries between working time, personal time, and family time through the introduction of wireless communication devices; and time is also annihilated when we try to do more in less time (Ibid, 2010).

This is one way of looking at the notion of time, but the current chapter will explore different views and debates in relation to the meaning of time, its organisation, and how it is perceived, constructed and utilised by human actors. Hence, the chapter will discuss the ontologies of time (time as a contested, socially constructed concept), time in social and organisation theory (time as formed, organised, and manipulated by capitalism and industrialization), time as an organising process (how time is materialised and exploited as management tool), and time in organisations (time as a cross-cultural issue).

The following section will explore the meaning of the notion of time, how it existed in the minds of people, and how it was contested as a socially constructed concept that varies across cultures.

Ontologies of Time

The literature on 'time' contains so many studies ranging from the philosophical and religious questioning (Augustine, cited in Stump and Kretzmann, 2002; Heidegger

1962, cited in Schmidt, 2012) to the very empirical analysis and measuring of time experience (Newton, cited in Rynasiewicz, Robert, 1995; Einstein, 1940). In between these ranges, research has investigated organisational time (Rifkin, 1987; Harvey, 1989; Rosa & Scheuerman, 2009; and Warf, 2008), socio-cultural time (*see* Sorokin, 1964 [c1943]; Hassard, 2002; Rosa, 2003; Hassan, 2003; Shove, 2009), anthropological time (Hall, 1990, Hofstede, 1999; Evans-Pritchard, 2013) and psychological time (*see* Friedman, 2005; Orlikowski and Scott, 2008). These studies tried to explore how the concept of time influenced different aspects of an individual's life and how such aspects of life influenced people's perceptions of time.

In explaining the nature of time, Zakay & Block (1996) advocate that time is recognised through a psychological dimension. They distinguish between two models of psychological time: a Clock model – where time is perceived through a timer; and a cognitive model – where time is perceived without a timer (Block, 2014). As for the clock model, time is an external process that regulates our lives (McGrath & Kelly, 1986; McGrath & Tschan, 2004) and it is measured by the clock and influenced by the physical universe. In the cognitive/ psychological model, time is a personal process and a flowing property of consciousness, and it is influenced by personality, society and cultural time norms as well as clock time (Ibid, 1986).

But in an attempt to explain how time is depicted throughout academic research, McGrath & Kelly (1986) advocated that time is usually perceived along four dimensions: objective view of time, subjective view of time, social view of time, and biological view of time. The two authors propose that objective time refers to the mental representations of the flow and structure of time; subjective time refers to the

individual time horizon; social time refers to the organisation of time in a social life; and biological time refers to biological life events such as birth and death.

For this study, the following sections of the chapter will outline the objective view of time, which incorporates the Newtonian as well as Einstein's views of time, leading into the contemporary view of time named 'Virtual/ Network Time'. Meanwhile, time as an organisation process and time in organisations will be also discussed. Then, the subjective and the socio-cultural perspectives will be explored in much detail.

The Objective Perspective of Time

Research on time has developed different perspectives regarding the understanding of time as an objective phenomenon. For instance, the Newtonian Perspective has been proposed by Issac Newton where time is regarded as linear (progress without repetition) and unidirectional – it is also a universal unchanging variable that takes place independent from the human consciousness (Levine, 2003). Meanwhile, Einstein thought of time as cyclic (repeated events) and bi-directional. In this sense, time was thought of as concrete and hence can be divided or measured in terms of observable events (moon cycle).

However, time was also argued to be abstract when represented by minutes, hours or weeks (James and Mills, 2005). In line with this objective view, time is looked at as finite resource that cannot be extended, decreased or slowed down (Mancini, 2007). Metaphorically, Ammos (2006) has referred to time as a box of 24 hours of space that cannot be swapped for a bigger or smaller box since everyone has got exactly the same size of this box. Yet, work organisations and workers have kept looking for effective ways to control and allocate this resource more efficiently (Richardson and Robinson, 2008). On the other hand, contrary to the concept of divisibility or

atomistic view of time, there was time which was thought of as holistic, continuous and indivisible (McGrath & Kelly, 1986).

The adoption of such perspective of time made people think that they are in better position now to control their own plans, futures and destinies. They thought that they can also use their current time to improve their future living standards. This attitude has made hard workers ignore their leisure time and eventually lose it in exchange for more productive moments (Arman & Adir, 2012). As a consequence of this objective view of time, people have become conditioned to perceive time through its representational tool, namely: the clock.

The clock model of time has had empirical implications such as the commoditisation of time which also led to the commoditisation of labour: modern workers are paid according to how long they worked. Time has become equated with money and could be measured, bought, sold, invested, wasted and saved; as clearly expressed by Max Weber, quoting Benjamin Franklin (1748)'s phrase '*time is money*' (Weber, 1965 [1904-5]: 48). In this view, people's relationship to time was local, task-oriented, seasonal and repetitive (Thrift, 2006; Thompson, 1999; Adam, 2004) – time is independent of any observer's experience, activity, perception or memory" (Bryson, 2007:26). This is a capitalist perception of time, where "*all time must be consumed, marketed, put to use; it is offensive for the labour force merely to 'pass the time', and where leisure time was seen as unprofitable and morally depraved*" (Thompson, 1999:395).

Later on, people have become obsessed with the connotation of speed or tempo which is derived from computer-based time, as represented by "*the Newtonian Enlightenment science and technology*" (Hassan, 2009:3). Hence, in contemporary

times, the concept of time has taken a different perspective as it has become more associated with digitally compressed clock-time, which seems to be more dictatorial than clock-time since it is unpredictable, volatile and chaotic – it is sometimes referred to as 'network time' (Hassan, 2009).

Virtual/ Network Time & Time Acceleration

Organisations all over the world have subdued their work activities to some form of standardised clock time that has been quantified and accelerated through the advancement of information technology (Ylijoki, 2010). The issue of acceleration has been a characteristic of the contemporary society and has taken the form of technological, social or cultural perspective (Rosa, 2003). For example, the emergence of the Internet has enabled real-time communication on a global scale, enabling a far reaching technological acceleration that contributed to the speeding up of production, processing and telecommunication (Castells, 2010).

As for social acceleration, social relations, values and lifestyles have started showing signs of rapid change (Bakari, 2014). For instance, occupations are no longer meant to last a lifetime; instead, people tend to change occupations several times in their working lives (Torrington, 2005). Then, cultural acceleration has manifested itself through the speeding-up of the pace of all sorts of activities: fashions, television series, the life cycle of books, etc. - these types of temporal accelerations have been associated with the term 'fast time' (Eriksen, 2001). This temporal acceleration seems to contrast with slow time which is associated with predictability, coherence and security.

Accordingly, it is claimed that network-time 'is beginning to displace, neutralize, sublimate and otherwise upset other temporal relationships in our work, home and

leisure environments'. (Hassan, 2003: 235). In other words, people started configuring their daily routines and living matters in line with the newly-created temporalities in order to stay abreast with the calls for speedy functioning that is associated with the term 'efficiency' (Hart, 2009). This process of speeding up temporalities has put pressures on individuals to constantly keep learning new skills to stay employable, and to change their life styles such as the case of adopting an economy of speed which relies on fast techniques of production, distribution and consumption (Kroll and Robbins, 2009).

For instance, people nowadays are forced to consume fast food as a way to cope with the change of tempo, and resign the natural rhythms of life in search of convenience as well as freeing up time to attend to more important issues (Castells, 2010; Crang, 2010; Mooij, 2011; Bakari, 2014). The speeding up of time has had further implications to the time structure: Eriksen (2001) points out how the present seems to be the focal point, causing the submerging of both the past and the future. In rapidly changing environment, past actions are of no significance, and people need constantly to keep up to date and prove their worth (*see* Sennett, 2006).

On the other hand, due to the acceleration of time, the future is shrinking; and when the pace of life and work becomes more and more hectic, there is no time for careful planning and democratic debates about the future line of action (Ylijoki, 2010). This increases the risk level in activity, especially as the organizational environment has become more complex (Sabelis, 2002). For instance, Hassan (2003: 237) claims that reflexive knowledge becomes increasingly difficult, as 'there is simply less time for it and less perceived need for it in an increasingly competitive and profit-driven social-

economic system'. According to him, acceleration leads to 'abbreviated thinking' and instrumental knowledge focused on the here-and-now.

Today's work life has adopted a culture of 'short termism', as termed by Hassard (2002), where certainty and predictability are hard to be found in a shrinking future. For instance, contemporary generations of workers contend themselves with short contracts with the employers rather than looking for permanent work relationship with the employer (Bauman, 2000). The impact of such uncertainty on the identity of such workers has been already discussed by Sennett (2006) who points out how signs of 'fragmentation, non-linearity and discontinuity' start showing in their work lives.

The speed of time, time acceleration and the role of time in society have become the centre points of research on time, such as Warf (2008), Hassan (2009); and Rosa & Scheuerman, 2009 – who claimed that these issues have changed people's social concepts of time. These researchers have started investigating 'social orders and transformations' through the notion of 'time-space compression', claiming that the networking of people across the globe has changed their perceptions of the world as well as of their own worlds (Crang, 2010: 405).

Thus, with the speeding up of time, the human interest has shifted its focus in to the acceleration of the production process, where the globe is the new boundary with a global temporality rather than the local ones (Hassan, 2009). This change in how people conceptualise time has been mainly attributed to computerisation and global networking, which in turn have affected our view of ourselves and the world (Bakari, 2014). For example, the electronic mail has already changed the rhythm of work and made people less sensitive to international time-zone differences (Ibid, 2009; Castells, 2010; Crang, 2010).

Thus, IT is causing changes in the time-frame patterns, eliminating rigidity in work rhythms, giving more flexibility, and enabling the negotiation of deadlines. This provides a qualitative impact on time as we can 'project a virtual reality environment' and help us 'simulate the consequences in advance' (Lee & Liebenau, 2000: 50). Thus, the Internet is always on, enabling 24-hour work across geographical dispersed areas as well as temporally dispersed users (Chaffey, 2013). It has also enabled us to renegotiate the structure of deadlines (Hassan, 2009).

Accordingly, time seems to be more complex than a linear measure would suggest. For Lee and Sawyer (2010: 299), time seems to be attributed "*properties such as punctuality, duration, timing, sequence, deadline, cycle, rhythm and speed; and these properties differ from time and are concerned with norms, rules and conventions*". They use 'temporality' to represent time and its properties to explain things that 'take too long' or 'move too fast' (Ibid: 300). In this sense temporality enables us to understand why the experience of a distressing minute of time seems much longer than that of an enjoyable minute of time (Gable & Poole, 2012). This will lead to consider time as a diversified psychological experience that takes place in the mind of the individual rather than being an external or objective event that is universalised across the human experience (Adam, 2004). This will be the discussion point of the following section.

The Psychological Perspective of Time

Einstein has viewed time as an intellectual product of the mind which intricately links life experiences (Slife, 1993). According to this approach, time does not progress in a linear and homogenous manner (Yamada & Kato, 2006; Rudolph, 2006); and its duration and flow can be shortened or extended, and the sequencing of events can be

reversed (Piaget, 1969; Arlow, 1989). Consequently, time is experienced subjectively yet in line with the social and cultural norms of the individual's environment. Hence, time can be looked at as both subjective and sociocultural event.

This perspective looks at time as being felt and experienced internally by individuals and influenced by their perceptions, emotions, and cognitions (Livneh, 2012). Here, time is non-uniform since it is influenced by age and life stage of the individual and partially determined by sociocultural influences and values (Zimbardo & Boyd, 2008; Lang & Carstensen, 2002; Martz, 2003; Adam, 2004; Mello & Worrell, 2006; Jonas & Huguet, 2008). In this regard, Mosakowski & Earley (2000) have advocated that subjective time perceptions assign meaning to specific activities within a society, which then influence individual and collective behaviors. Hence, Duncheon & Tierney (2013) pointed out that "Individuals' temporal experiences thus cannot be reduced to universal, measurable generalizations".

The meaning of time has been diversified in line with the different cultures, social norms and institutional practices that allowed for different interpretations (Birth, 2004) due to changes in culture, social norms. Hence, Munn (1992) has linked the perception of time to the basic sociocultural processes that construct temporality. This social constructionist framework of time believes in the fragmentation of experienced time and its variation according to sociocultural context (Usunier & Valette-Florence, 2007).

Research on time has taken cultural norms into consideration when investigating the conceptualisation of time. For instance, Hall (1990) has advocated that time is conceptualised differently by different cultures, and Hofstede (2001) has argued that cultures differ in how they think and deal with time frames in their work routines:

44

some adopt long-term orientation, while others show emphasis on short-term time scales. So, it was evident for some researchers (*see* Marcus and Gould, 2000) that cultural relativism in relation to organising time is an important issue to take into consideration when managing human resources in the globalised or multinational work environments. It was also advocated that people from different cultures also place different emphasis on past, present and future times as well as on long and short time horizons (Newell and Scarbrough, 2002).

Time in Organisations

Time was incorporated in theorising in organisational research through studying time-related constrcusts (Sonnentag, 2012). For instance, the time perspective of the individual has been investigated by Ancona *et al*. (2001), such as: time conflict within work family, time pressure and polychronic time. Shipp & Fried (2014: 2) have explored temporal focus and defined it as: ''*the allocation of attention to the past, present, and future''*. Temporal processes such as mapping activities to time have been the focus of some organisational research, such as when and individual or a group synchronize their activities with other internal/ external processes (Campbell *et al*., 2010).

Moreover, temporal context is another area of interest that has been investigated in organisational research, and found to incorporate the broader historical context, the economic context, as well as the temporal contexts of the organisation, the team and the individual (Johns, 2006).

Thus, the issue of time has become central in organisational research, where Crossan *et al*. (2005) have differentiated between clock time versus event time and between a linear perspective on time versus a cyclical perspective on time. Again, Temporal

Motivation Theory (TMT) has been developed by Steel and Konig (2006) to propose that time plays an important role in motivational processes. Giving 'time' proper attention enhances the understanding of goal setting and goal striving processes (Fried and Slowik, 2004). Shared understanding of pace, time cycles, and time orientation was found to be necessary for the performance of teams (Standifer and Bluedorn, 2006).

In practice, work organisations have taken the view of 'time' as a scarce resource that is being consumed by social practices and hence it needs to be constantly produced through the rhythms of social life. In an attempt to bridge the gap between the objective perspective of time and the sociocultural one, work organisations have developed their own processes of 'temporal structuring'. Thus, employees regulate, co-ordinate and account for their activities through temporal structures (Orlikowski and Yates, 2002).

As for the current business environment, the virtual world of the information economy has come up with the radical increase in the compression of time and space (Linstead *et al.*, 2009). Thus, through the use of ICT (information and communication technology), managers thought to save time, speed up work, and allow people to collaborate and communicate with others located in different places and across different time zones (Friedman, 2005; Orlikowski and Scott, 2008). As a result, time has increasingly become a competitive issue, and it has taken many different shapes: time-to-market, down-time, real time, customer-facing time, free-earning time, and on-time. This could be taken as a shift from the economies of scales to economies of time since what matters in the modern business world is the speed of responsiveness of an organisation (Linstead *et al.*, 2009).

The challenge of managing and organising time clearly shows in globalised/internationalised companies, where there is interaction between organisational members from different cultures, both between organisations in different locations and in the multicultural workplace. For instance, in relation to how time is managed, a culture could be monochronic or polychronic (Hall, 1990; Hofstede, 2001; Solomon and Schell, 2009) in its approach. A monochronic culture believes that time is linear and discrete, and emphasises scheduling and promptness, where people do things one at a time and "*see time as a commodity that can be measured, used and sometimes sold*" (Steers *et al*, 2010: 62).

However, a polychronic culture has non-linear approach to time, and it "*believes that interaction with others and relationships are the most important things*" (Solomon and Schell, 2009:181), and therefore several problems could be addressed simultaneously and firm deadlines are often resisted. Other researchers such as Lane (2000) have argued that monochromic time is artificial, and that in all societies polychromic time (which Lane also describes as female time that is similar to Kristeva (1987)'s notion of 'women's time') takes over in the home. This is why the Western view has emphasised the colonising characteristic of time, as pointed out by Adam (2004) who described time as the '*most effective colonising tool*'.

In brief, with the birth of globalisation, businesses started shifting away from the Taylorist style of organising working time, in an attempt to optimise their working force through more flexible working times. On the other hand, competitiveness and job uncertainties made people work longer hours or change their work patterns. These factors have created more awareness of the notion of time and made people look for more effective ways to organise their time. The side effect of such time awareness

was the confusion created for employees when attempting organising work times and non-work times. Also, employees seem to have no control over their time allocation since employers are the ones who are in control of the time of their employees: employers do measure that time and then decide the income of the employee. Therefore, time spent at work (paid or unpaid) will adversely affect the non-work time (domestic and leisure), and free time will be affected by time spent on paid and unpaid work. Hence, feminist scholars have called for quantitative studies to measure the time spent on unpaid work in an attempt to accord it with a monetary value and to identify its distribution between women and men (Oakley, 1974; Bryson, 2007:152).

Time as an Organization Process

Researching the organisation of time is not a straightforward process because of the fact that time is often linked to other dimensions, such as culture and gender (Solomon and Schell, 2009; Steers *et al*, 2010). Hence, scholars such as Greenhouse and Powell (2003), Adam (2004), Solomon and Schell (2009) and Steers *et al*. (2010) have conceptualised time and time management as socially and culturally bound, and that they are widely open to different interpretations, which are instigated by human interactions that differ across culture and gender. The attitudes towards time can be described as an 'invisible factor' that makes culture visible through 'visible behaviours' (Solomon & Schell, 2009: 47). Under time management, employees are expected to comply with deadlines, and show ability to plan, set goals, analyse time spent, schedule, and prioritize.

In practice, to extend their material and cultural control over national landscapes and daily life, the state and corporate capitalism have often used 'time' as a tool for increasing productivity, updating regulation, timing synchronisation and ensuring

standardisation (Carey, 1989; Zaheer, 1999; Ancona *et al.* 2001; Bluedorn, 2002; Johns, 2006; Roe, 2008; Claessens *et al.*, 2009; Campbell *et al.*, 2010; Lapierre, and Allen, 2012; Shipp & Fried, 2014).

North (2004) sees time organisation as associated with estimating the time needed for accomplishing a task or an activity, deciding on when it is to be completed, and ensuring that peripheral events are reached within the appropriate time. This is usually done in expectation of increasing performance and effectiveness, as pointed out by Claessens *et al.* (2009), who identify planning behaviour as a core element of effective time management. For Claessens *et al.* (2007), strategies for time management fall into three broad categories: time assessment behaviours, planning behaviours, and monitoring behaviours, and in each category using a variety of personalized strategies is essential to effectively manage time. In this regard, Lapierre and Allen (2012) have addressed the potential benefits of planning behaviour in relation to work–family conflict, stating that:

> *Planning behavior may facilitate the individual's ability to effectively shift resources such as time and energy from one domain to the other. (p. 1504)*

Critique of Time Perspectives

Perspectives of time have been affected by various factors and theories: the clock time or objective model has been based on the Newtonian mathematical theory and later has been adopted by capitalists to enhance productivity. This time model has significantly contributed to the creation of occupational structures worldwide, which have later been transformed by new technologies. However, the transformation process was always subject to the interaction between technological change, the institutional environment, and the evolution of relationships between capital and

labour in each specific social context (Castells, 2010). Hence, the clock model was doomed to be replaced by an alternative perspective of time that derives from the human experience within a cultural and social context. In turn, this alternative was known as the psychological or subjective model, which has been based on social research that accorded personal, social and cultural norms a specific interest in understanding and experiencing time.

Nonetheless, all time perspectives have been criticised in one way or another as none of them could capture and depict the time concept and time experience in their totalities. The following sections will outline the most significant critiquing points directed at the objective as well as the subjective/psychological time, including the sociocultural perspective of time.

Critique of Objective Time

The 'clock time' model has first dominated the Western capitalist culture (Usunier & Valette-Florence, 2007), yet this model has been fiercely criticised for its ideological and theoretical implications (Duncheon & Tierney, 2013). Ideologically, the clock model is trying to put all people in straightjackets, where time structures are created to dictate all human activities (see Munn, 1992). Hence, Marx (1877) and Weber (1876) looked at work schedules as tools of clock time to oppress workers and control their work lives with the aim of maximising organisational productivity (Serge, 2000), ignoring the interests and wellbeing of workers.

Thus, time here is commoditized by work institutions and is being exchanged between workers and employers. Theoretically, clock time model is falsely assumed to be universal ignoring the diversified cultural dimensions. For example, the claim that time is a scarce resource is a historically and culturally specific belief (Birth,

2004) since time is perceived differently across history and culture. Again, people are not necessarily willing to accept the principle of scarcity regarding time (Aminzade, 1992). Finally, quantifying time allocation in the clock time does not necessarily explain the relationship of the individual with time (Ibid, 1992) and that the time allocated for a task does not necessarily indicate the importance of that activity (Birth, 2004).

On the other hand, Greenhouse and Powell (2003: 93) argued that in any society "Meanings of time are themselves variable and unsettled"; and Adam (2004) has argued that any individual in any society inhibits a multiplicity of time cultures and at any moment we are never simply in the present but also in the past and future. This contrasts with the Newtonian concept of time as objectively measurable (Bluedorn, 2002).

Today's time has been often described as 'fragmented and incoherent', 'global and local', and 'compressed and expanded' (Harvey, 1989). Thus, the logic of capitalism is now speeding up time itself in a way that "*A present geared to accelerated innovation is beginning to devour the future*" (Nowotony, 1994: 11). The technological advancements (such as mobile phones and emails) have made commoditised clock time intruding into every area of life, blurring the boundaries between home and work (Fleming & Spicer, 2004; Senior & Fleming, 2006). Therefore, Adam (2013: 94) has clearly protested against commoditisation of time, pointing out that:

> *Not all time is money. Not all human relations are exclusively governed by the rationalized time of the clock. Not all times are equal.*

This tendency of protesting against time commoditisation has led to the recognition of the emergence of overwork culture that resulted from the clash of "*two different*

time frames: the 'timelessness' required by employers and the 'timeliness' required by intimate relationships", as identified by Bunting (2004: 16). In this overwork culture, workers are seen as '*willing slaves' prepared to work ever-longer hours in a society that equates busyness with success and status* (Ibid, 215-16).

Other researchers (e.g., Hochschild, 1997; Putman, 2000; Epstein & Kalleberg, 2004) have claimed that the overwork culture has affected family and community life, leading towards "*not only the parent-free home, but also the participation-free civic society and the citizen-free democracy*" (Hochschild, 1997: 243). Eventually, in their different fight against time and commoditised clock time, contemporary employers and employees debated various policies around parental leave and flexible employment (Allen & Paddock, 2015).

Therefore, other views about the nature of time have emerged taking into consideration the human aspect and its social context, where time is believed to be socially constructed and subjectively experienced according to social and cultural contexts (Usunier & Valette-Florence, 2007). Here, the subjective view of time concerns the present activities and future goals of an individual, and which varies across people, cultures and histories (Shipp & Fried, 2014).

For instance, unlike Western societies, Eastern societies believe that maintaining positively valued behaviour in the present will lead to securing a positive future (Hofstede, 2001). In this social perspective of time, time is allocated socially, giving life a social pace. On the other hand, time is culturally diversified in perception (Arman & Adir, 2012).

Thus, Hall and Hall (1989) and Fulmer *et al.* (2014) identified how cultures have different meanings of punctuality and lateness as well as different time

characterisations. For example, Western individualistic cultures focus on goal-related performance and hence on punctuality and time pressures (Hofstede, 2001; Arman & Adir, 2012), while collectivistic cultures emphasise social harmony, ignoring fixed time schedules (Ibid, 2012; Bond & Smith, 1996). Again, cultures may differ in their norms in regards to the appropriate speed of work, leisure and other activities (Levine, 1988).

However, with the rise of global organisations, the notion of time has been explored from a cultural perspective as proponents of globalisation stressed the convergence of national cultures with the spread of global marketing (Arman & Adir, 2012). Hence, it has become important to explore the social and cultural perspective of time. Accordingly, Durkheim claims that time is neither captured through an innate feeling nor produced by external natural forces (Gell, 2000). In other words, time has been recognised by many sociologists as:

> *A socio-cultural construction which aids people in their efforts to collectively orient themselves in the world and to co-ordinate their activity.* (Goudsblom, 2001: 20).

Nonetheless, the socio-cultural perspective of time has been also criticised for various reasons, which will be discussed in the following section.

Critique of Socio-Cultural Time

Attributing the socio-cultural perspective to the interpretation of the nature of time, its perception and its experience can be criticised for its treatment and inclusion of individuals as a homogenous group, ignoring their individualism, personal distinctiveness and historical context. In fact, time does exist in the personal experience and not outside it.

In attributing differences in temporal perceptions to various cultural norms, this perspective is giving signals that people are submissive things and that their behaviours are already pre-determined for them with no possibility of rational thinking or choice. Such misconceptions may be taken as grounds for justifying gendered practices and assumptions, and hence indirectly contributing to the grounding them in everyday experiences.

Again, it is worth mentioning that researchers basing their interpretations in the socio-cultural perspective may be accused of choosing culture as a catch-all container that makes interpretations of time easier.

Finally, such kind of culturally-based research could be criticised for its methodology – which can be thought of as anecdotal.

Metaphysical Perspective of Time

Unlike the materialistic western view which commoditised time (Adam, 2004), the Arabic philosophy has portrayed time as something external yet recognised in the relationship between happenings and states of being. For instance, in his book *Futûhât al-Makkiyya* [the Meccan Revelations], Ibn Alarabi (a Muslim Philosopher) has explained that:

> *the time of anything is its presence, but I am out of time , and you are out of time, so I am your time and you are my time (1202 AD, cited Haj Yousef, 2008: 29).*

Hence, it is claimed that time acquires its meaning from its flow and continuity, where 'the future becomes the present and the present becomes the past" (Diriwachter, 2006: 165). In line with Aristotle, time is used to measure the difference and consequently to evaluate a change. Nonetheless, according to Augustine (1998, cited in Manning *et al.*, 2013), time was argued to be linear and to have come into

existence when the world was created and therefore it is grounded in the present, its reality is only recognised through people who can remember, perceive and expect events.

This view of linearity has also been reflected in the Islamic culture (*see* Al-Kindi) where time starts from a point (Gensis) and ends at a certain event (Day of Judgement). This culture tends to portray time as a sequence of pre-determined and irreversible events in the life of a person, which renders time as something that does not exist outside the personal experience.

However, other Arabic philosophers (such as al-Farabi and Ikhwan al-Safa cited in Böwering, 1997) have advocated that the movement of celectial sphere or the planets is what makes time. Thus, the Arabic philosophy has also differentiated between 'dahr' (absolute time or perpetuity) and al-zaman (time) which is flowing and bound by the motion of al-falak (the celestial sphere) (see Abu Bakr al-Razi cited in Böwering, 1997). It has also differentiated between a span of time, a period of time, a duration, a space of duration, a moment in time, a duration without end, and a duration without beginning (Bowering, 1997: 58-59).

Hence, the Islamic thinking has been fluctuating between the Aristotlian view of time (an accident of motion) and the Platonian View of time (duration or the stream of consciousness of a thinking mind). Then, in Islamic culture, time is only real from the perspective of God; so from a human perspective, time seems imaginary as it does not exist apart from God. Humans participate in the present moment of eternity, which belongs to God (Ibn Arabi 1202, cited in Haj Yousef, 2008).

It should be noted here that the meaning of time has remained a challenge throughout the human history despite all the new theories that emerged in response to advances

in the science of cosmology. One thing was agreed on is that the whole of existence is nothing but consecutive series of events in time.

Conclusion

The above discussion has elaborated on how 'time' has been portrayed in the social and organisation theory describing the various strands of objective time and critiquing them, identifying views of time as organising process, and looking at how time is used in organisations. Such debating of 'time' has revealed that contemporary social theories are based on Newtonian science and classical dualistic philosophy; and therefore, it becomes quite essential to look for newer frameworks of thought to conceptualize the contemporary world of standardized time, computers, and global telecommunications. In fact, the studies reviewed above have demonstrated that time is more than clock and calendar – it is viewed as an enabler of the social development, interaction and the practice of knowledge.

In reviewing the scholarly work done on the notion of 'time', the above literature has identified themes that have ranged from the traditional notion based on the natural rhythms of seasons, to the Newtonian clock-time based on the measurement and commoditisation of time (consumption vs production view). At this stage, few important questions remain unanswered in a very straightforward way, namely: "what is the meaning of time?", "How time is perceived?", and, "Why knowing the answer to these questions matters to the body of knowledge?". These questions constitute part of the research gap which this study is trying to address through investigating the perceptions and lived experiences of some migrant women working in the UK.

In line with Adam's thinking (2013), time is the context, where health, education, work, globalization and gender are developed. This is a new understanding to the

meaning of time where its task is not to deconstruct but also to reconstruct common-sense and social science understanding.

Therefore, the above literature has also reviewed the debates on socio-cultural and metaphysical perspectives of time; yet, it was found that not much has been done in the area of organisational research in regards to the relationship between time and gender. However, in reviewing the notion of globalisation, the focus of attention has drifted to the cultural and social conceptualisation of time (monochronic vs polychronic), linking it to behavioural and identity research.

Hence, interest in created power structures (such as gender) through time organising has started to surface in contemporary literature, and more specifically, in organisation research that started focusing on work-life balance and gendering work practices, work patterns and the workplace.

As this study concerns the perceptions and experiences of time by working migrant women, it is essential to uncover the pertinent issues related to the experiencing of gendered temporalities in the host environment of those women. In other words, the following chapter will be dedicated for investigating the impact of the gendered cultural norms on the perception and experiencing of time. The subjects of this study have come from a patriarchal culture (Syria) that genders time allocation, and lived and worked in a less-gendered western culture (UK). Accordingly, the chapter will relate to the second research question of this study, namely:

> *"What role do gender and culture play in shaping Syrian women's experiences of time and its organisation in the UK?"*.

CHAPTER TWO - TIME AND GENDER

Gender identities are not free-floating: they involve deep-rooted investments on the part of individuals and historically sedimented practices transformability. Although subject formations receive their shape from tendencies may still continue to effect embodied practices long after their original conditions of emergence have been surpassed. (McNay, 2000: 18).

Introduction

This chapter is developed with the aim to highlight the differences between male and female notions of time, giving attention to the intersection between gendered notions of time and socio-cultural, ideological, and philosophical differences which can be applied to women who are exiled from their native culture and who come to experience time in relation to subjectivities which are constructed in one set of cultural assumptions and transposed into another. In other words, the discussion below will build up the theoretical background that enables addressing the second research question, namely:

"What role do gender and culture play in shaping Syrian women's experiences of time and its organisation in the UK?".

So, the study will be steered towards exploring whether the participants' time allocation has remained gendered throughout their lived experiences in the UK; whether gendered assumptions have been challenged in the host environment; and whether Syrian culture has kept steering their experiencing of time. Thus, the focal points of the chapter will be the gendering of time organisation, challenging gendered assumptions, and experiencing a gendered time.

The relationship between time and gender has been often theorised in the various disciplines of literature. For instance, in sociology, Adam (2013) has established a link between gender, time and economic development through the notion of

globalisation – which is believed to have affected the whole world in general and the women world in particular. This view has thought of globalisation as a male action that affected the lived experiences and the daily practices of both women and men. Hence, Western capitalism was often attributed a gendered perspective.

Therefore, temporal differences between men and women have been investigated in relation to working practices in the western culture (*see* Bryson, 2007; Stone, 2007; Amanatullah and Morris, 2010; Bouffartigue, 2010; England, 2011; Fagan and Walthery, 2011). For example, Amanatullah and Morris (2010) have found that women have been portrayed in the organisation literature as either 'passive playthings of history' or as entirely 'free agents' in regards to their experiencing of time. Further, Cottle and Klineberg's empirical research (1974) has concluded that while men proved to have a linear conception of time in that their focus is directed towards future achievement, women were found to be more aware of time in which they are currently living and they viewed it as "community".

Hence, Dörre (2011: 72) has confirmed that women have remained "*linked more closely to cyclic time, to biorhythms and natural cycles than men*" since they are in charge of unpaid reproduction and care giving work. Hence, linear time of men is thought of as superior to cyclic time and its associated activities; and therefore, for women, having time off work means time away from paid work but not from other types of work, such as domestic and care duties (Ibid, 2011).

The female-male distinction in organisations has been explained by Höpfl (2007), who attributes such kind of role gendering to historical and social manners and arrangements – which in turn have manipulated and formed the female-male identity,

and associated the disorder and mad with women whereas the order and logic has been associated with men:

> *"Despite years of theorizing, feminist activism and a generally acknowledged commitment to gender equality, in day-to-day discussions about men and women in organizations, the same tired themes seem to emerge. Men are logical and rational. Women are emotional and sensitive. Men are achievement oriented. Men are able to compartmentalize problems. Women cannot. And I watch how male friends seem able to respond to disjunctures with work, whereas I and so many of my female friends collapse like the walls of a plastic swimming pool: flood out, become completely washed out, can't work" (p. 624-625).*

These social and historical gender arrangements have been thought to be doomed to demolish over time (Marx, 1971; Giddens, 1995; Sayer, 2010). This change in gender arrangements is effected by the essential world changes in socio-economic, cultural and political structures, where women started greater participation in decision making processes (Tucker, 2008). Accordingly, it was expected and assumed that working women will have similar experience of time to that of working men and across all cultures. In this regard, Castells (2010) has pointed out how the wide participation of women in the labour force has contributed to bettering the living standards for the majority of households, claiming that:

> *This feminization of the labor force has substantially affected the economic foundations of patriarchalism and has opened the way for the rise of woman consciousness (p. xxii).*

However, this has remained a thorny issue where working women have often reported to be experiencing time differently from men (Linstead, 2009; Solomon *et al.*, 2009; Steers *et al.*, 2010; Hook, 2010; Ruppanner, 2012; Hess & Sussman, 2014). Thus, the gender gap in time structuring does not seem to disappear even in environments where women have large presence in the public sphere (Sani, 2014). For instance, Gerson (2010) has found that men doing long working hours spend less time at home and consequently cannot share their partners the domestic work. This may reinforce

the traditional gendered labour division and lead women to perform more than their share of housework (Geist, 2005).

As for time perceptions and experiences of Syrian women in particular and migrant women in general, it seems to be such a rare research topic in contemporary studies despite all the interest in research topics, such as: 'time', 'gender', and 'migration'. It is of significant interest to explore how time perceptions and experiences are shaped by personal, social and cultural norms for those participants – who crossed the boundaries of their culture to be subjected to the norms of another culture.

The Gendering of Time Organisation

Society has been looked at as the establishment that constructs the gender values and attributes of both men and women differently, and keep institutionalising them throughout all social practices. For instance, societal institutions (such as: family, educational, political, economic and religious structures) have significantly contributed to the gendering of time organisation through establishing values that govern and shape the whole culture of a society (Moghadam, 2013). These institutions have also embedded gender arrangements by ascribing different roles to women and men in line with cultural perceptions of what is feminine and what is masculine. Again, many scholars (Charles, 2014; Powell and Butterfield, 2013; Kelan, 2010) have claimed that work organisations are also contributing to the gendering practice through their discourses and practices that underestimate the value of women in the male-dominated workplace. For example, Tyler (2012) has explained how society 'do gender' negatively by stigmatizing and stereotyping both sexes who are doing dirty work.

Hence, gender is often thought of as a social construction rather than a product of the biological differences between male and female. In this regard, West and Zimmerman (2009) argue that social gender is expressed in ways appropriate for the biological sex of the individual. This is the 'doing of gender' that implies "*managing social situations in such a way that one's behavior and display are regarded gender appropriate or inappropriate*" which involve deploying bodily, linguistic and social practices (such as make-up, 'lady-like' manners, and rehearsed carelessness) (*see* Thanem and Wallenberg, 2014: 4). Thus, researchers (e.g., Mavin and Grandy, 2013; Czarniawska, 2013) have claimed that such gendered values, behaviours and meanings seem to be acceptable for both, men and women. Yet, Czarniawska (2013) has raised a concern that doing gender involves coercive and discriminatory practices in which women and men 'treat women worse than they treat men' (p. 236). On the other hand, Powell and Butterfield (2013) have explained how undoing gender may lead to devaluing one's own gender.

Historically and socially women were burdened with caring responsibilities, and this has made them believe that time is 'inherently relational' and that it should be shared and negotiated with others, meanwhile men thought of time as a personal possession (Bryson, 2007). In this regard, Höpfl (2007: 624) has explained how the women of her study have *'felt that the bulk of their activity was "done for others" and "not freely chosen".* Höpfl has also felt that woman's life is "*a conceit to the male construction*" and that a woman needs to 'ask' for her time from a man if she needs it:

> *"when I went up to the university tonight, I had to make sure you would look after George (our son) but if you want to go out, you just assume it is OK and that I will be here". "As I said", he responded, "it isn't true at all. You can do whatever you want. You only need to ask". . .For me, I learned I could do whatever I liked as long as I sought permission. (p.624)*

Accordingly, gender can be done or undone by the use of time, and gendered time norms play a key role in maintaining oppressive gender differences. In this regard, Prokhovnik (2002: 13) argues that "*abstract issues around mind/ body, reason/ emotion and public/ private distinction have affected how time use is valued*". Hence, time spent in paid work is seen as rationally chosen activity in the public sphere and valued because of its association with the mind; while time spent caring for family members is seen as emotionally driven, devalued because of its association with reproduction and the body and the invisible work (England, 2011).

Being perceived as a reproductive or embodied creature, woman was often associated with the cyclical mode of time as she recreates herself in time again and again. As for man, he was always perceived as the subordinator of body and nature in the aim of progressing through the use of reason not the body, so he is not supposed to create himself and hence he was associated with the linear mode of time. In fact, these gendering of roles, rights, and values are embedded within the family as well as the workplace and driven by male-female sexual differences which are based on the reproduction function of women (Powell and Butterfield, 2013; Kelan, 2010). It should be noted here that "*women and men continue to evaluate themselves and are evaluated by others against the femininity-masculinity binary divide*" (Mavin *et al.*, 2015: 4).

In addition to the legal and ideological factor, the gender inequality in the household is mostly based in women's lack of economic power. So, traditionally, woman's work has been often associated with the housework, care work and reproductive activities. Even when women's work lies in the public space, it is allocated time that is relevant to their gender and it is less paid in comparison to men. This has often led to unequal distribution of power between the two genders (Evertsson and Nermo, 2004; England,

2011). In this regard, it is often assumed that earning will lead to more equal power; for example, Gupta (2007) claims that there is evidence when women earn more, it lowers their housework, giving them power. Therefore, it was argued that men seem uncomfortable when women's achievements exceed their own although in modern times more men are married to women who are economically equal than previously (Ibid, 2007).

However, other evidence shows that women's earnings are not necessarily giving power in marriage (Kilkey *et al.*, 2013), and these earnings do not necessarily increase their male partner's house work (Evertsson & Nermo, 2004; Glucksmann, 2013). Thus, family duties such as domestic labour and providing care for children and the elderly at home have appeared to be significant factors that have created the discrepancy in time allocation between women and men, since these domestic duties are more often performed by women than men. This trend is clearly traceable in Middleastern communities such as Syria where women dedicate much more time for domestic work than their male counterparts on the basis that men have the main responsibility for earning in paid work (Tucker, 2008; Eagly & Wood, 2013; Sidani, 2016). In this regard, Moghadam (2013) also explains how the patriarchal gender contract implies that "*men are the breadwinners and are responsible for financially maintaining wives, children, and elderly parents, and that women are wives, homemakers, mothers, and caregivers*". This patriarchal gender contract is inscribed in Muslim family law (MFL), which Jütting *et al*. (2006) identify as an institutional obstacle to women's work and mobility, contributing to ascribe the status of economic dependence to women. Even in Western countries, this discriminatory trend seems to be dominant – where domestic work is still seen as a "female-normative" and paid labour as a "male-normative" (Cast and Bird 2005; ILO, 2010).

Challenging Gendered Assumptions

Social roles are always assumed to differ between men and women: for instance, women are expected to be more communal, relations-oriented, and nurturing than men, whereas men are believed and expected to be more agentic, assertive, and independent than women (Schein, 2007). Therefore, men's characteristics are taken to be more suitable for leadership roles (Paustian-Underdahl *et al*., 2014).

It is worth mentioning here that there is a significant shift in women's role as they have become more engaged in 'production work', as termed by Marx (1971) who has predicted that the distinction between reproduction work and production work on the basis of gender will not be sustainable any more. In similar lines, Giddens (1995) has pointed out that the practices that gave rise to such gender discrimination are doomed to be challenged or exterminated over time. Hence, Bryson (2007: 20) has pointed out that "*conformity to gendered time norms that maintain an unequal division of the domestic and workplace labour*" is consequently to be eliminated at some stage of the human life. This has been confirmed by Amanatullah and Morris (2010) who argued that changing gender arrangements in regards to the division of labour will require changing the 'temporal assumptions'. He added that although contemporary working women are still suffering the historical assumptions of gendering their work and their time, they cannot be regarded as '*passive playthings of history nor entirely free agents'*. This is a reference that such gender arrangements are historically and socially produced and maintained by human agents over time, and they often develop in unintended and contradictory ways, and they are open to challenge and change.

In the cyclical time of working mothers, there is the oppression of long working hours since there is no differentiation or separation between their time off work and their

time dedicated for domestic and care work (Lewis & Simpson, 2010). On the contrary, the differentiation between work and leisure time is possible only in linear time (Dörre, 2011) which is always associated with male workers. In line with Marx's view, the struggle for shorter working time will become necessary for freeing women from oppression and achieving their independence. From a feminist perspective, this struggle will lead to "*the commitment to achieving a social revaluation and fairer division of labour between the genders concerning reproductive and caregiving work*" (Ibid, 2011: 73).

The male exercise of power over women has been maintained through the mode of production that was always associated with patriarchy – which is "identified as a root of women's oppression" (Swigonski and Raheim, 2011). For example, even when women make it to the leadership positions, they feel oppressed and marginalised in patriarchal organisations (Bryans & Mavin, 2003; Mavin *et al.*, 2015). This is further explained by O'Neil *et al.* (2008: 735) who claim that "*women's careers are complex and multidimensional, yet work practices appear to exist in a single dimension – the male defined organisational dimension*". In response to gendered assumptions, some women were found to act like a man in the workplace to gain male acceptance in a male-dominated environment (Powell and Butterfield, 2013) or to achieve a traditional "*masculine strategic situation*" (Tyler, 2005: 572).

To challenge the historical gendering assumptions, one can argue that neither men nor women can form a consistent homogenous group that has distinct qualities, experiences or ways of knowing the world. On the other hand, such grouping is so dynamic that can change over time and from one culture to another and the meaning of woman or man is socially constructed and it is also changing across time and culture (*see* Genz & Brabon, 2009). For instance, being a woman or a man is a

qualitative experience that differs from time to time, from a social class to another and from an ethnicity or culture to another. So, Siltanen and Doucet (2008) argued that gender is an achieved characteristic rather than an ascribed characteristic, and that cultural and psychological aspects of gender are quite varied. Therefore, some feminist scholars have argued that gender can be multiple, fluid and freely chosen, rather than the stable core of our identity (Lister, 2007); while other scholars have regarded gender identity as inherently fragile and liable to disruption, and can be maintained only by gender-appropriate behaviour (Bryson, 2007: 57).

As far as the concept of femininity is concerned, Lewis (2014) has pointed out that not all femininities are equally valued with a hierarchical relationship existing between different modes of femininity. For instance, Genz & Barbon (2009) explains that white, middle class, heterosexual femininity is privileged over ethnic, racial, class and non-heterosexual femininity. Again, she claims that femininity of white, Western, heteronormative hegemony is the most fought over, contentious and contradictory (p. 5).

As for equality in time division, it will not be achievable unless such dichotomies (linearity versus cyclicality) are replaced by 'revolutionary time' as termed by Söderbäck (2014) and implied in Kristeva's work '*Women's Time*' (1995) which calls for recognising:

> *embodiment as the condition of possibility for transcendence and projection into futures as yet unknown to us....to set in motion a temporal movement that neither forgets nor repeats the past, a model of time that allows us to redeem the past and the present. (P.303-304).*

For Lewis (2014), the 'revolutionary time' may take place through Billing's (2011: 303) call to stop "defining women as victims of the male norm" and interpret women's organisational experiences in different ways. This is a call to 'doing

femininity' through cultural feminization of management and organisational work (*see* Bruni *et al.*, 2004; Kelan, 2008; Lewis, 2014). Here, femininity has become "*a cause for celebration not a mark of subordination*" (McRobbie, 2009, p. 157). Through a different attempt, some feminist researchers (e.g., Gillis & Munford, 2013; Gill, 2007, Genz & Brabon, 2009, Gunnarsson, 2011; Robinson, 2013) have tried to emphasise the need for "*the subversion of stable meanings of gender as well as disrupting and deconstructing authoritative models and practices*" (Lewis, 2014: 5).

Experiencing a Gendered Time

The gendering of work relations in organisations implies differentiating between males and females in terms of policies and practices associated with privileges, control, emotions, actions, meanings and identities (Lewis and Humbert, 2010). In effect, gender has become a fundamental element of structure, culture and practice (Britton 2000), and gendered assumptions that construct masculinity and femininity needed to be made visible and challenged (Bailyn, 2006; Benschop and Verloo, 2006; Genz & Brabon, 2009; Robinson, 2013). This becomes more compelling when thinking of how women are given a secondary position in the labour market, where the ideal worker is thought of as someone who can work as though they have no social or caring obligations outside work (Kugelberg, 2006).

Thus, professional women experience a crisis of legitimacy as they need to adopt the ideal worker model which requires separating between the public sphere of work (a man's world) and the private sphere of the family – a woman's world or responsibility (Haas and Hwang, 2007). Accordingly, work commitment has been defined in terms of spending unlimited time at work since the workplace is prioritised to the demands of family, community and personal life. This has resulted in blurring

the boundaries between work time and family time (Brannen, 2005; Glucksmann, 2013). This is the ideological context that a professional woman should submit to in order to legitimise herself as an ideal worker, and which demands that social reproduction and care should not interfere with core workplace processes, structures, culture and goals (Lewis and Humbert, 2010; Lewis & Simpson, 2010).

The idealised masculine attributes have been assumed to be: individualistic behaviour, competitiveness and self-promotion (Miller, 2004). In fact, the ideal worker ideology contrasts with that of the ideal mother and can create identity dilemmas for women themselves (Lewis, 1991, cited in Lewis and Humbert, 2010).

For working women, work and family areas have become blurred so they arranged their schedules to meet domestic needs by working at all hours (Fagan, 2001; Glucksmann, 2013). Hence, women's work seems to operate within two temporal orders: regulated by measurable productivity and the other by expectation for availability and care (Ibid, 2013). This has been often argued as leading to the fragmentation of women's time; and hence, it could be argued that the social organisation of time has produced gender inequality. Lewis *et al.* (2009) have argued that the conflict between the ideology of motherhood and the competing ideal worker led mothers to take up flexible working options, which in turn has affected her career progress and perpetuated inequities in the workplace as well as at home (Skinner and Pocock, 2011).

In explaining how women experience a gendered time, Jacobs & Gerson (2005) have advocated that taking part-time jobs has significantly gendered time allocation as more women seem to be forced into this work pattern since they carry out domestic work and child care, and they also face larger obstacles at the work place (e.g.,

unfairness in promotion, inequality in pay, sex discrimination) (Fursman and Zodgekar, 2009; Christensen and Schneider, 2010).

In fact, global conditions such as the new emphasis on flexibility have resulted in emphasis on temporary work; and technological developments have resulted in a '24/7' work philosophy (Hassan, 2009; Castells, 2010; Adam, 2013). These factors have put both women and men under pressures in their lives. However, it was women (with no proper choice) who were more interested in achieving work/ life balance, accepting more part-time work which resulted in less gender equity in the work place (Lewis & Simpson, 2010). Thus, a part-time job between 20 and 27 hours a week would be women's preferred choice (Booth and van Our, 2013). Other flexible work arrangements may include shift work, varied work days, different timing, different duration; different job roles, different job types, compressed work week, zero hour, or self-employment (Golden, 2008; McNall *et al.*2009). These work arrangements are supposed to allow workers to "*make choices influencing when, where and for how long they engage in work related tasks*" (Hill *et al.*, 2008: 152). However, such choices were not always favourable; for example, through self-employment, women are meant to cope with the demands of both personal and professional spheres of life (Lewis 2013) – but this has made women's businesses appear more marginal, because activities in the domestic sphere are not counted as 'real' work (Bourne & Calás, 2013).

Even when women chose to have full-time work, they had to squeeze their family time and leisure time. This is not the same for men, and therefore, Lopez-Claros and Zahidi (2005: 2) claim that:

> *the reality is that no country in the world, no matter how advanced, have achieved true gender equality, as measured by comparable decision-*

making power, equal opportunity for education and advancement, and equal participation and status in all walks of human endeavour.

By taking paid work in the labour market, women have come under more pressure to allocate their time in a way that accommodates organisational control and family obligation (Conley.*et al.*, 2011). In doing both domestic work and paid work, women have experienced 'geographical isolation', 'inflexible work-site schedule', or 'limited family support' (Osnowitz, 2005; Brigden, 2011; Donnelly *et al.*, 2012).

To cope with the temporal orders between public sphere (workplace) and private sphere (home), some women found a different mode of work – home-based contract employment (Bourne & Forman, 2014). Such work pattern is supposed to enable the woman of maintaining her domestic unpaid and invisible work and grant her a sense of autonomy in organising her time without keeping to the standardised working day schedule (Osnowizt, 2005). Thus, contractualization and agency work (also known as dispatched work or outsourced work) (Chang, 2009, p. 172) is one form of flexible working that is based on fixed-duration contract (Arnold and Bongiovi, 2013). The contract can be either offered by the work organisation or by an outsourcing agency (Arnold & Toh, 2010). Work can be obtained through subcontract agencies that are affiliated with the work organisation (Ofreneo, 2010).

It cannot be denied that such work pattern allows contractors to limit working time without concern for promotion, yet it requires them to maintain the boundaries between paid work and unpaid work (Booth *et al.* 2013). In fact, most working women did not get rid of their domestic management role; while men contracting from home had managed to separate between their work and the domestic issues of the house since their female partners are taking care of the domestic sphere (Ibid,

2013). This is due to the maintaining of gendered expectations of the work and family.

In her research, Halford and Leonard (2013: 39) have investigated the effect of space on gendering work times through working from home, claiming that the organisational motivation for doing so is cost-cutting as well as to be seen as a cutting-edge, modern type of employer. This has been taken as a challenge to the separation between paid work (public sphere) and the home (private sphere), but man's role has persisted to be the main bread winner and gender roles and responsibilities remained unchallenged (Ibid, 2013). In this regard, Sirianni and Negrey (2000) have called for adopting self-management of time as a means to promote gender equality, claiming that workers' autonomy allows flexibility of allocating time for paid employment and domestic labour. Osnowizt (2005) claimed that home-based contracting did not change the conventional notion of gender difference, indicating that:

> *"gendered notion of domestic space, working time, household management and career imperatives continue to make home work a gendered phenomenon associated with women's unpaid labor" (p.100).*

This rising demand can be linked to the shifting representation of women and men in the labour force (particularly within non-standard employment), the changing structures of families, the ageing of populations and the extension of traditional caring responsibilities for workers, in particular women (Clark, 2001; Todd and Binns, 2013). Consequently, gender inequality at work is a significant aspect that has both driven and shaped the outcomes of workplace flexibility (Collom, 2000; Skinner and Pocock, 2011).

The issue of compressing time or providing flexibility in the work patterns and work structures seems to be serving the ambitions and goals of the employer rather than those of the employee, as pointed out by Sabelis *et al. (*2008). Technological advancements have allowed work to creep into the domestic space through the availability of computerised processing and networking, causing family and social life to fragment within the private sphere of the employee (Castells, 2010). This has increased the expectations of the employer that the employee is always available to serve the public interests of his/ her work organisation, resulting in new patterns of power and politics (Purser and Hassan*,* 2007). In fact, the introduction of IT within the work schedule has increased the potential for work flexibility, yet it has also increased the scope for employee monitoring, control and work intensification (Scarbrough & Corbett, 2013) but without being felt as such by the employee.

Furthermore, it should be noted here that dealing with time flexibly did not enable contemporary working women of balancing their time spent between the workplace and the private sphere (Adam, 2013). Again, Sabelis *et al. (*2008) have found that women who tried balancing their times to meet all expectations have failed and this has caused them to stress out. Their strategies for more balance have sometimes resulted in undesirable outcomes because they couldn't cope with the gendered 'running on time' sought by contemporary organisations.

Thus, it was wrongly assumed that a balance can be achieved between work and life on one hand, and it was wrongly identified that work is not 'life' (Roberts, 2008). Working time flexibility was often welcomed by researchers as a means to motivate workers and consequently provide the supply of labour for the needy markets.

However, part time work was taken by male students and male workers approaching retirement (Fagan and Walthery, 2011).

So, according to Booth *et al.* (2013), part time work was taken up more by female workers as it allowed them to maintain their caring role within their families. In a similar line of findings, Fagan and Walthery. (2011) have reported a higher take up of part time by working mothers than that of working fathers. As a result of such 'choice' – as rhetorically termed by employers - Stone (2007) claimed that more and more mothers are abandoning their professional careers to provide care to their families at home:

> *While they couch their decisions to opt out in the language of choice and privilege, the stories they tell reveal not the expression of choice, but rather the existence of a choice gap, a gap that is a function of the double bind created primarily by the conditions of work in the gilded cages of elite professions (p. 19).*

This is a clear indication that part time jobs were not a choice; they were a matter of necessity in the world of women who prefer to work and wish to continue carrying out their domestic duties and child care responsibilities. In this regard, Connolly and Gregory (2008) and Manning and Petrongolo (2008) show that part-timers in Britain are doing more menial work at lower pay than if they were full-time. So if part-time jobs are bad jobs, overall job satisfaction might be lower since working part-time does not help future advancement and it is characterized by low prestige (Booth and Van Ours, 2013).

This has also affected their free or leisure time, which has been squeezed more and more, and consequently, working mothers started experiencing social isolation. This is the negative impact of part time work that affected women more than men as it undermined the security of their work as well as their career development opportunities. Nonetheless, battling to satisfy the demands of both motherhood and

74

work, working women had no option but to accept part time work patterns (Webber & Williams, 2008: 752). Meanwhile, men had remained the ideal choice of the employer for a job as they are the only ones who can embody such expectation (Correll *et al.,* 2007). It is widely believed that male workers are able to show greater commitment to their careers than their female counterparts: they do not mind working long hours, and they do not compromise their work duties as much as female workers to accommodate their personal lives.

Therefore, Jacobs and Gerson (2005) have argued that part time work schedules have been one of the significant factors for institutionalising the gendered division of labour; and that they constitute a big hurdle that prevents working women from reaching top management roles (Bennetts 2007). These practices have often been criticised as cost-saving exercise on the part of the pushing company rather than an employee's need or even choice. Hence, part-time work seems to be more concentrated in industries that depend significantly on a big labour force, such as retail trade and service sectors, where part-time workers are paid less than full-time workers and they receive no company-provided employee benefits (Fagan and Walthery, 2011). Moreover, part-time workers can be used in seasonal periods to satisfy peak-time demands of labour (Hakim, 2000).

The supportive rhetoric for such pattern of work is always addressed to women and it entails that working part-time helps women stay in the labour force even if they cannot attain a full-time job. In this regard Blair-Loy (2003) has argued that mothers working part time will never lose their work skills during their time of child rearing, and this will keep them competitive when they revert back to full-time work. Hakim (2000) has also found that using part time workers enhances management control of

labour, as they show more commitment to work than their full-time colleagues, and this sets a bench mark for the full time workers in the organisation.

The criticism against part-time work for women caring for children has been mounting, as more concerns were addressed by scholars (Golden, 2008; Chang, 2009; Bouffartigue, 2010; Ofreneo, 2010; Epstein *et al.*, 2014), such as: the regularity, predictability and controllability of the working hours of those women. In this regard, Bouffartigue (2010) claims that these issues depend on whether these women are members of a certain trade union or not and whether they are working in a protected segment of the labour market. He also plays down the impact of work flexibility on the activities carried out by women outside the work place and on their distribution by gender. For instance, men and women kept to their assumptions in regards to their gender roles in the family life. It is hardly a noticeable change in allocating men and women's times and roles for child caring and domestic labour (Ibid, 2010). Unlike men's time, women's time transcends beyond the domestic space and its temporal boundaries, causing women more mental burden that men do not experience when they are in the workplace (Haicault, 1984 cited in Bouffartigue, 2010).

Conclusion

From the above literature on time allocation, one can argue that cultural norms and legal systems in the past has shaped and institutionalised the notion of time, which has been modified and reconfigured at present by modernity that created new institutional rules and power relations that control the organisation of time. Thus, according to Peter (1999), organising time is a gendered activity: it is a privilege for men (not women) to have total freedom in organising their own time. Hence, the two sexes differ in their ways of organising their time for paid work, unpaid work, and

leisure. Thus, to have leisure time, the time spent on paid work has to be reduced and vice versa.

As the main line of investigation in this study is confined to time organising as experienced by migrant women working in the UK, the literature has reviewed scholarly work done on the notion of 'gendered time', where interest in created power structures (such as gender) through time organising has started to surface in contemporary literature, and more specifically, in organisation research that started focusing on work-life balance and gendering work practices, work patterns and the workplace.

In general, the themes of the chapter have ranged from the traditional gendering notion based on the biological differentiation between male and female, to the organisational work and practices that perpetuated gendered assumptions and hence gendered roles. However, the literature has also shown that globalisation has focused attention on the cultural and social conceptualisation of time and linked it to the issue of geographical mobility. Hence, the next chapter will explore the relationship between the notion of time and the concept of migration, as it is portrayed in the relevant literature.

CHAPTER THREE - TIME, CULTURE AND MIGRATION

*the essence of life is not a feeling of being, of existence but a feeling of participation in a flowing onward, necessarily expressed in terms of time, and secondarily expressed in terms of space" (*Gaston & Jolas, 1994: *xvi).*

Introduction

Migration research has often focused on the spatial mobility rather than temporality (Griffiths *et al.*, 2013) although migrants' life undergoes stages of temporal transitions: entering the host country, settling in the host community, family reunion, obtaining the citizenship of the host country. Alongside the dynamic process of migration, migrants' present is shaped through a series of interactions between the imagined pasts and imagined futures (Bastian, 2011). On an individual level, a human life is thought to be organised by habits that are shaped by cultural time, industrial time and natural time (Edensor, 2006: 532).

Thus, time is often presented in migration research as a sequence of linear events that cannot represent the movement of time (Griffiths *et al*., 2013). Hence, the complex temporal dimensions of the migrant's lived experience cannot be properly explained through changing rhythms, times and transitions (Ansell *et al.*, 2011; Hörschelmann, 2011).

The literature in previous chapters has demonstrated how 'natural time' is often associated with 'tradition' and it refers to biological and astronomical times – it is not reversible, but it can be cyclical. Then, industrial time is required and facilitated by technologies and bureaucracies (Adam, 2013) - it is ruled by 'clock time' which is standardised and divisible into smaller units, and, can be commoditised. Finally,

'cultural time' is associated with the organising of years, months, days into certain routine ways of being; it can bridge natural and industrial time.

However, these types of time or temporalities can affect cultures in different ways and they may not be shared by people whether they exist within the same time zones or geographical spaces or across the temporal and geographical boundaries (Ibid, 2013).

The current chapter will explore how migrants perceive and experience time in the host country, explaining the relationship between time attributes (time structures, duration, tempo and synchronicity) and spatial experiences of the migrants. In assessing this temporal-spatial relationship, the chapter will delve into discussing the exilic perspective of time. Hence, the discussion will be driven into the boundaries of answering the third research question of this study, which is:

> *How does time in the UK shape Syrian women's perceptions and experiences of community and belonging?*

In other words, the chapter will incorporate a discussion on the sense of belonging and identity as they are experienced by migrants in the host country.

Experiencing Migratory Time

This study is based on the participation of migrant women who experience different temporal structures that shape their time experiences in the host country – the UK. Therefore, it is important to outline the concept of migration because migration scholars have often used the concepts of migration, emigration and immigration interchangeably to refer to both migrants and immigrants, who left their home country to reside in a host country, either permanently or for a limited period of time (short or long) – regardless of the reason for migration. Accordingly, the migrants

constitute a very diverse group as individuals are of different age, sex, social status as well as of varied cultural ethnic and religious background. In other words, migration was often looked at as a geographical movement that entails life style change accompanied by emotional experience and adaptation mechanisms on the part of the individual; and economic, cultural and political implications for the involved countries. However, for this study, the term 'migration' or 'migrants' will be used to refer to individuals who left their country of origin to live and settle in the UK permanently, regardless of the reason for their geographical move.

The participants of this study are female migrants working in a cultural host that is different to their country of origin. To understand their perceptions and lived experiences of time, it is essential to see their spatial experience of exile (King, 2012), as it is advocated by Gurr (1981:10): "*Distance in space reinforces the effect of distance in time".* Therefore, the interaction between space and time needs to be explored in more details in order to capture the lived experience of those migrants in its totality.

Starting with the relationship between the different time structures, scholars (e.g., Hassan, 2009; Bastia and McGrath, 2011) have advocated that migrants perceive the present in terms of its use value to the future, and that the present is always contracting. For the migrants, the relationship between the past, present and future is tensed, complex and contradictory. For instance, Bastia and McGrath (2011) have pointed out how migrants who incurred debts in order to migrate value their future and mortgage their present to an anticipated future. Thus, temporal implications are recognised by the migrants through the debts they incurred and the money they sent back home (Collins *et al.*, 2009; Lindley, 2010). So, time as discrete moments has

been conceptualised by those migrants through repayment of these debts and sending money (Guyer, 2007).

As for the relationship between time and migration, researchers (e.g., Sheller & Urry, 2006; Sirkeci, 2009; Urry, 2012; Griffiths *et al*, 2013; Adam, 2013) have often referred to migration as a form of geographical mobility that involves global synchronisation of time as well as personal 'desynchronization of time-space paths' (Urry, 2012: 121). Some people might think of the migration movement as a single, directed displacement, presumably taking place in an instant; but the migration journey could be repeated, circular and frequent movements (Bastian, 2011; Griffiths *et al.*, 2013). Other scholars have pointed out that the migration journey is a process that takes place over a continuum of time, hence the relative duration, the sites through which journeys are organised (Cwerner *et al*., 2009), and the involved temporalities during the journey are quite significant for understanding the migratory experience. In this regard, Lauser & Weißköppel (2008) and Vigh (2009) have seen migration as an attempt to progress to the future, while Vathi and King (2011, 2013) have regarded it as an attempt to leave behind 'backward' or 'traditional' places that are associated with the past.

For, Cole (2010), migration is a tactic for creating future, "a temporal phenomenon that is informed by the past and orientated to future" (Griffiths, 2013: 15) – although Johnson-Hanks (2005) has claimed that migrants may make decisions without proper contemplation especially in moments of experiencing extreme insecurity. However, McCormack and Schwanen (2011) have attributed a sense of agency to the migration decision, leading to a rather rational-choice style of analysis by thinking of the migration decision as:

A differentiated affectively registered, transformative and on-going actualisation of potential against a horizon of undecideability in which past, present and future fold together in complex ways. (p. 2801)

The migrant is presumed by some scholars (e.g., Elder *et al.*, 2004; Hoy, 2012; Collins & Shubin, 2015).to be the agent of his migration experience who makes choices through a painful process which follows a certain order of time instances that take place internally. On the other hand, May and Thrift (2003:5) argue that time is "*multiple and heterogeneous*" and it cannot be internalised; and hence, "*the temporal norms and rhythms of migration are rather non-linear, and often characterised by surprising and divergent experiences*" (Collins & Shubin, 2015: 97). As far as temporal rhythms and cycles of the migration process, Lauser (2008) and Bailey (2009) have thought of mobility as a form of disruption or temporal interruption to the life course of an individual. So, the migrant time is not a chronological succession of instances, and such consideration will make the exploration of the actual passage of time difficult since it does not capture the complexity of relations between past, present and future. For migrants, the three time structures are interrelated and can co-exist or take place simultaneously (Heidegger, 2003). So, a migrant can be assumed to be constantly developing – he/she is always futural rather than emerging in the present. Migrants are 'living on the move' as open-ended and always becoming (Collins & Shubin, 2015: 97).

Accordingly, time is a primal issue in migration and it cannot be regarded as external to the lived experience of the migrant – it is a framework which is subjectively experienced by the migrant – as expressed by Heidegger (2003), who identifies migrant times as either a framework structuring migrant movements or a mind-dependent feature of migrant lives. In this regard, the migrant time could be distributed between the public measured, ordinary and objective time of the host

country and that of his/ her own qualitative and subjective private time, and between the time of the origin country and that of the host country.

As for temporal duration, the migration process can be either temporary or permanent. This could be taken as a control factor of time, especially when employers use the temporary status of those migrants to control and exploit them (Anderson, 2007). In such instances, migrant workers are confined to specific time-spaces in a way that would be less possible for citizen workers (Yeoh and Huang, 2010). Other time issues may affect migrant workers include: long hours, shift work, multiple jobs or night-time work – which also are due to the migration status as well as gender and age (Kilkey *et al.*, 2013; Athanasiou, 2011). In addition, immigration policies have also the power to impose temporary migration stages on some migrants, and these stages become 'permanent temporariness' (Simmelink, 2011). This has been described as the institutional production of insecurity for migrant workers (Anderson, 2010a).

As far as the speed or tempo of the migration process is concerned, mobility has become much faster and covering greater distance than before, due to easier and less costly technologies (Feenberg, 2012). This made citizens of host countries complain of the speed of social change caused by immigration or cosmopolitanism (Connolly, 2000). Modes of citizenship have been accelerated (Rosa and Scheuerman, 2009), the process of naturalisation in the UK is lengthening and slowing, and "*Ministers are calling for deportations to occur at ever-quicker rates*" (Griffiths, 2013: 20).

The complexities of time and migration in research have been attributed to the oversight of migration research to investigate the phenomenon based on the length of stay that the individual has undergone in the host country and the type of gender and nationality he/ she belongs to (Griffiths *et al.*, 2013). Therefore, King *et al.* (2006)

have called for investigating the relationship between time and migration through a mixture of approaches: life course, longitudinal studies and the use of cross-sectional and cross-cutting axes of analysis, including gender, the family and generations.

Synchronicity - a temporal simultaneity - has acquired its position in the migration research through the concept of continuity versus disjuncture (Spurk, 2004), especially in cases of belonging felt by migrants (Cwerner, 2001: 23). For instance, a shared sense of time between individuals makes them feel more bonded to each other (Griffiths *et al.*, 2013). On the other hand, institutionalised synchronicity of time aims to cover discontinuities and engender regional cooperation and identity (Eder, 2004). Time is sometimes invoked to produce and preserve communities (Bastian, 2014), using time to maintain social cohesion (Fontainha, 2005).

For instance, in diaspora individuals create group identities by drawing on the past and their nostalgic experiences (Berg, 2011), such as when migrant communities use the performance of war remembrances and historical processions to re-establish minority identities (Fortier, 2000). Again, time is used to destroy communities or to exclude other groups (Bastian 2014). In case of individual migrants, they may experience temporal ruptures or disjunctures through abrupt transition or unexpected deportation. This negative disruption or temporal discontinuity may alter the temporal patterns and expectations of individuals. On the other hand, some unassimilated migrants may become marginalised from host communities, experiencing temporal disharmony and disconnection. Meanwhile, the relationship between the migrant and the host community may change over time (McLean & Campbell, 2003; McLean, 2011).

Time from an Exilic Perspective

From a different temporal perspective, the migration literature has sometimes mixed the notions of migratory experiences and exilic experiences and their connection to the sense of belonging. As for this study, the distinction needs to be highlighted since the participants have left their country as migrants rather than exiles – although they could have changed into exiles at a later stage. The difference between the two categories is based in the differences in their motives for migration (past time and past space), the way they experience their migratory time in the host country (present time and current space), and the way they imagine their future destiny (future time and imagined future space) (Mercer, 2008; Hoskins, 2015).

Exiles could be thought of as migrants who were forced to leave their country and live in another (Probyn, 1996, Clifford, 1994; Höpfl, 2000; Mercer, 2008; Dahab, 2009; Berry & Kenny, 2013; Hoskins, 2015). Barbour (2007) has tried to define it as:

> *Exile resembles but is not the same as being a refugee, expatriate or member of a diaspora. In practice, however, these terms are now often used interchangeably to refer to people displaced from their original home, even when they leave it willingly. Exile is a way of dwelling in space with a constant awareness that one is not at home. The exile is oriented to a distant place and feels that he does not belong where he lives. Exile is also an orientation to time, a plotting of one's life story around a pivotal event of departure and a present condition of absence from one's native land. (p. 293)*

In essence, exile is associated with a mobility that imparts no choice on the part of the individual who is to be distanced geographically, socially and culturally from his/ her homeland and families (Berry & Kenny, 2013; Hoskins, 2015). The exiled individuals become stranded in a country where they can claim no past time (histories, memories, etc.). Their present time becomes uncertain and unpredictable and their future time is totally bleak (Draga-Alexandrou, 2000; Tatman, 2008). So,

their time structures have been disrupted and are not necessarily experienced as better ones. This is well expressed in the following statement:

> *...we just don't want our particular past(s) or present(s). Because they are filled with painful memories, painful happenings. All those everyday endings add up to a lot of emptiness inside, blank spaces where what could have been won't ever be. And nothing can fill those spaces.* (Tatman, 2008: 404).

Hence, such mobility and transition will be deemed as an act of punishment, and therefore exiles will keep looking forward to and dreaming of the moment of return to the place which they have been banished from (Ng & Höpfl, 2014). For them, the time spent in the host place will be a time of displacement, disruption and dislocation – and hence it is "*a downward mobility in socioeconomic status and loss of social support networks*" (Shahidian, 2000: 76).

Therefore, they tend to think that their stay in the host country is a temporary one, and they work hard on defending their original cultural norms, beliefs and values against those of the host country (Hoskins, 2015). Their sense of exile comes from the fact that they feel strangers with all new cultural temporalities and time structures. Therefore, they develop a nostalgic dislocation from their geographical origin (Höpfl, 2007; Linett, 2013) where re-location has turned the exile into a member of a wider exiled Diaspora (Braziel and Mannur, 2003). In this sense, exile can be considered a temporal stage of alienation and loss of harmony with the surrounding space, which also leads to anxiety with the unfamiliar present and nostalgia for the past. This could generate sense of incompleteness and loss of identity (Sully, 2002: 3) as the new place demands suspending the migrants' original cultural and temporal norms in order to serve a new role or interpret that role.

Hence, the cultural "self" and "identity" are always called into question; and this keeps migrants thinking of devising a strategy after another to cope with their

undesirable long-term realities of their exilic life, and to find ways to protect their own cultural and personal identities from disintegration (Hoskins, 2015). In fact, they live in the present which is associated with the host place, but they keep longing to the past which is associated with their country of origin (Fortier, 2000). So, they are always in-between different time structures or temporalities.

From a different perspective, exile has been defined as 'a punishment for outright refusal of the dominant social and political order' (Shahidian, 2000: 73) and this takes the form of expulsion or rejection from one's own homeland because they are perceived as social strangers who pose a threat or a danger to the dominant power (Said, 2001). This is totally different from metaphoric exile (Naficy, 2013), where the host community and its internal dynamics produce social estrangement, a condition of otherness that leads to internal or external exile (Berry & Kenny, 2013). Hence, the sense of homelessness and statelessness deprive exiles of their sense of belonging – they do not hear their own voices or see their own reflections in the host society (Stabler, 2013). It is a sense of marginalisation that the exiles keep experiencing.

Yet, both groups (immigrants and exiles) have been subdued in one way or another to values, beliefs and roles which may not show consistency with their own social experience (Mercer, 2008). On the other hand, both groups show an intricate relationship between place and time. For instance, time can affect the life of exiles in the host country and turn them into immigrants, and vice versa, time can turn immigrants into exiles (as the case of all Syrians after Syrian revolution that has recently erupted). Thus, Syrian immigrants have lost their mobility between the two spaces (UK – Syria) and kept their transition between the past memories and the present reality. After a long time in the host country, an exile may develop deeper

roots in that country and hence becomes an emigrant (Shahidian, 2000: 72), yet maintaining their identity with the homeland (Said, 2001; Dahab, 2009; Naficy, 2013). In doing so, exiles face the reality of being in-between person, yet belong to neither homeland nor host land.

In some other cases, individuals can be defined as intellectual exiles who can be physically in one place and intellectually in another (Dabashi, 2011). In some instances, they might succeed in modifying their social norms and values; or they might fail and consequently they experience an internal or external exile (Call, 2015). Living in an exile implies moulding a new identity through simultaneous deconstruction and reconstruction of the spatial past, where homeland takes a new appearance and the exile adopts new ways of articulating and reasoning (Shahidian, 2000: 83). For instance, however patriotic in feelings exiles are, their fight against injustice becomes associated with their support for the autonomy of ethnic and national minorities. This raises the question of identity, especially for migrants who spent such a long time in the host country that they may call 'home'. So, how long migrants need to stay in the host country to give up on their dream to go back home? Is time really a factor in the meaning of 'home'?

Time and Culture – the Identity Dilemma

As the study is concerned with investigating the concept of time and time experience of Syrian women, it is of significance to link their perceptions and experiences to their cultural context. Therefore, culture as a concept needs to be explored and its impact on the participants' perceptions and experiences of time needs to be investigated and outlined for comprehensive understanding of the phenomenon.

Academic scholarship has also come up with so many definitions of the concept 'culture' (*see* Hall, 1976; Haviland, 1994; Hofstede, 2001; Fong & Wyer, 2003; Hong, 2009; Jahoda, 2012; Wyer *et al*, 2009; Schwartz, 2014). In this regard, Pedersen (2013) has confirmed the difficulty of defining 'culture', referring to such definition as 'complicated and dynamic but not chaotic' (p. xxi). This is due to the fact that culture contains some other sub-cultures based on identity components, such as: gender, age, language, sexual orientation, religion and politics (*see* Wheeler and Nistor 2003). Also, culture is linked to and embedded in these components (Fong & Wyer, 2003; Chiu & Hong, 2013); and identity is understood through differentiation from dissimilar identities (Chiu & Hong, 2013).

In general, the concept of culture is often used to refer to a set of beliefs, values, customs and laws shared by groups within a specific society which influence every aspect of human life (Hall, 1976; Haviland, 1994; Hutnyk, 2006). In other words, culture - as a system of shared meanings - constitutes the medium of communication (verbal or nonverbal), the basis of human behaviour as well as the way for experiencing the world by those individuals.

On the other hand, it should be mentioned here that culture could be dynamic as it changes across generations, time and place. Hence, Hofstede (1980) has defined culture as "the collective programming of the mind which distinguishes the members of one group from another" (p. 21). Then, Goodenough (1981) has seen in culture a concept legitimising the actual behaviour of the individual as well as the social practices shared by a group of individuals. Similarly, Hofstede (2001) agreed that culture is a set of learned behaviours or shared meanings assigned by culture members with the purpose of regulating social activities and achieving a sense of

communal identity. For him, culture makes people perceive and interpret the phenomenological world through their learned lens of meaning (Hofstede 2001).

As for this study, the term 'culture' will be used to refer to the predominant and common values, beliefs, traits, traditions and languages that are learned and shared by members of a group (Matsumoto & Juang, 2012). However, the study is also recognising that such group membership is what drives our sense of belonging and determines the resources we can have access to such as: education, employment, information, opportunities and power (Giddens, 1984; Ariff and Beng 2006; Hong, 2009; Nunn, 2012; Schwartz, 2014). For instance being a male in a patriarchal society is much more advantageous as it enables greater access to resources than a female. Thus, the components of both social and cultural identities (e.g., ethnicity, gender, religion, nationality, sexual orientation and class) will be thought of as interacting together and contributing to the formation of the human perception and experience of the world. Yet, as Phillips (2009) points out, culture does not define individuals and individuals should not be viewed as 'cultural dupes'. So, these individuals may acquire a sense of agency through challenging and resisting culture.

The sense of bondedness to culture is often revealed through maintaining an ultimate wish to go back to the original roots of the migrants, which they can call 'home'. It is a triangulated connection between people and place that becomes stronger with the passage of time. In fact, both migrants and homeland do undergo changes over time, and these changes affect their feelings of belonging and the meaning of home, resulting in a gap between the longing to the past and the reality of the present. The past seems to be much idealised so that the real present does not meet the nostalgic expectations of the migrant.

For migrants who could not integrate and have success in the host country, going to the past is assumed to be relieving them of the miseries of the abhorred exilic present. It is the sense of belonging which matters most for those migrants, they need to fulfil it – they never felt that they belong to the host community. The problem is that there is no surety that the present of their homeland can fulfil emotional gap. Time has effected so many changes to the homeland as well as the exiled migrant in a way that makes the place of origin not sufficiently qualified to be made an appropriate place to live.

The past has been linked to a place – which migrants have mistakenly thought of as an independent geographical or physical space that can be called home. In fact, such a space is created socially and experientially through human interaction between social actors (*sees* Hillier, 2008). This is not to deny that the fact that losing the territoriality of physical space may destabilise the cultural identity and sense of belonging (Brown *et al.*, 2005) since physical spaces acquire special meanings in the minds of its occupants (Vischer, 2007). Thus, the new host space - filled with different social and cultural norms - requires social and cultural compliance from migrants (Taylor and Spicer, 2007). This is quite evident in the British political discourse, where Nick Clegg - the British Deputy Prime-minister was quoted saying:

> *We have every right to say if you are in Britain and are coming to live here ... you have got to be sensitive to the way of life in this country. (Tall in the Guardian Nov 14th 2013)*

This statement has followed the footsteps of the former British Home secretary David Blunkett, who said to BBC Radio Sheffield upon arrival of a large number of Slova Roma migrants:

> *You've got to adhere to our standards and to our way of behaving and if you do this you'll get welcome. We have got to change the behaviour and the*

culture of the incoming community, the Roma community, because there's going to be an explosion otherwise (Tall in the Guardian Nov 14th 2013).

This is the political discourse that tries to demand a sense of belonging – which is totally differentiated by Anthias (2013) from the sense of identity. For Yuval-Davis (2011: 4): "*Belonging is about emotional attachment, about feeling 'at home'*". Similarly, Antonsich (2010: 644) argues that:

belonging should be analyzed both as a personal, intimate feeling of being 'at home' in a place (place-belongingness) and as a discursive resource that constructs, claims, justifies, or resists forms of socio-spatial inclusion /exclusion (politics of belonging).

Belonging is more associated with the endeavours of integration, while identity is something felt and experienced within the mind of the migrant. In fact, both concepts are associated with the boundaries of 'difference', inclusion and exclusion (Anthias, 2013: 1). Again, this is also evident in many practices and policies of European host countries, where migrants are asked to have citizenship tests, selective migration systems are adopted, and securitisation discourse has become dominant– all of such acts are used as ways to manage migration and integration policies in recent years. In the meantime, strenuous asylum systems, naturalisation and repatriation policies make it difficult and undesirable for migrants to identify with the host country and strengthen the bondedness with the roots and the ethnic community (Braakman & Schlenkhoff, 2007).

Yet clinging to living in the host country and giving up on the dream to return home are motivated by the need for safety, economic security, education for the children, housing, medical care, and comfortable life style which are not necessarily available in the home country (Ibid, 2007). Failing to return home could force migrants to keep imagining their roots from distance or replant them in the host country – it is an

attempt to engage in recreating a new home and a new temporality; then returning home will be thought of as an uprooting exercise that need to be avoided at all costs.

Accordingly, migrants will be living within two temporalities – the past and the present. These could be public temporalities when associated with public spaces that demand adhering to different time rituals or schedules. In additions, migrants will have their own temporalities that apply once entering one's own private or personal space. So, migrants may need to possess multiple identities (Pfaff-Czarnecka, 2013) based on different conceptualisations of time in order to cope with the behaviour that is convenient within a certain cultural or social setting. For instance, within the boundaries of the host country, female migrants seem to be capable of investing in gender-differentiated practices: they often use time as a tool to empower and mobilise them. They are empowered by the very tool that appeared to confine or oppress them in the patriarchal culture which assigned the attribute of time organisation only to the male. The term 'patriarchal' is used here to indicate the cultural norms that mark men and women as different citizens with different rights and different duties. This could be done when the state is regarded as the protector of women (Young, 2003), when women are excluded from power (Connell, 1990), and when the different (and subordinate) position of women is reiterated, rather than reworked (Brown 1995).

On the other hand, the past is still dominant for some migrant women who try to maintain their cultural tradition within the host boundaries through embracing gender differences, thinking of this practice as an act of piety and modesty that may sustain the "*patriarchal bargain*" — that is, their worthiness of protection (Andrews & Shahrokni, 2014: 153). However, this relationship between cultural gender and migration is believed to undergo a change over time due to economic pressures (Ibid,

2014). In addition, the element of the future time does also appear through the planning process of some migrants to return home, but most often they are clinging to the past especially when they express their sense of belonging. Their future is sought through their clinging to the past - they are confined to the past. Moving between the two different cultures (home and host) entails swinging between two different time structures as well as between different cultural conceptualisations of time.

Conclusion

The chapter has tried to bring the notion of time and temporality into focus within the migratory and cultural perspectives. Time for migrants is often marked by boundaries of different activities and temporal stages that bind the whole experience of migration. On the other hand, the migrants' perception of time is based on their linking between their imagined past and imagined future while experiencing living within the boundaries of the present. In other words, the migrants are living within temporalities other than the archetypal modes of time – natural time, industrial time and cultural time. In more particular terms, this chapter has tried to set the scene for exploring the answer to a third research question, namely:

> *How does time in the UK shape Syrian women's perceptions and experiences of community and belonging?*

The other literature chapters have tried to set the scenes for investigating two different research questions.

Literature Reviews Combined

The chapter on 'Time and Organisation' has argued for the incapability of classical 'time' theories to capture the nature of time as perceived and experienced by social actors. It has presented the various views on 'time', exploring its meaning, its organisation, and how it is perceived, constructed and utilised by human actors. So,

the literature has incorporated debates on the ontologies of 'time', time in social and organisation theory, time as an organising process, and time in organisations. Throughout the discussion of the chapter, it was found that neither time abstraction nor time objectivity is capable of accommodating social development, technological advancement, and human interaction within spatial boundaries. Again, in reviewing the debates on psychological and socio-cultural perspectives of time, the chapter pointed out that the relationship between time and gender has not been sufficiently investigated at least across cultural boundaries. Here, time organisation has appeared as a gendered tool for enabling and sustaining power structures that are created in patriarchal cultures. Hence, the chapter has raised the first research question of this study, namely:

> *How is time understood in the host and migrant communities amongst Syrian women living in the UK?*

The gendered cultural norms could have significant impacts on 'time' perceptions and experiences of migrant women, and therefore the second chapter of the literature review - 'Time and Gender' – has been developed to set up the theoretical background for exploring such impacts in more details. Hence, it has introduced the dominant debates on the relationship between time and gender through discussing the gendering of time organisation, the challenging of gendered assumptions, and the experiencing of gendered time. The impact of globalisation seemed to be problematic as it enabled even the Western capitalism to engage and reiterate gendered views on 'time' allocation and 'time' perceptions – time has remained linear for men, while women remained linked more closely to the 'inferior' cyclic time. The doing and undoing of gender seems to be socially constructed through imposing gendered temporal structures and within the cultural as well as organisational boundaries.

Organising time was argued to be a gendered activity: it is a privilege for men (not women) to have total freedom in organising their own time.

The literature has also revealed that despite the abundant academic work on 'time', 'gender', and 'migration', there is little known about time perceptions and experiences of Syrian women in particular and migrant women in general. This is definitely a key research gap that the current study will be addressing at length. Hence, the chapter has raised the second research question of this study, namely:

> *What role do gender and culture play in shaping Syrian women's experiences of time and its organisation in the UK?*

In brief the literature reviewed has demonstrated how challenging is to deconstruct and reconstruct the gendered notion of time relying on the current social institutions and their advocating. Classical time theories, globalisation and organisation practices did not show serious tendencies to eliminate gendered time structures. Temporal discourses and time structuring have been greatly adhering to the cultural gendering of roles engrained in human perceptions and experiences. This is quite evident in the governmental and organisational policies as well as societal and cultural structures. However, in crossing the geographical boundaries that entail cross-cultural adaptation, women migrants may have a hope to challenge patriarchal gendered assumptions by capitalising on gendered time organisation and using time as a tool to empower and mobilise them.

In other words, the central theme connecting the three literature chapters has been the treatment of the concept of 'time' and its organising throughout the organisation literature. Some strands of this literature have looked at time as it is used in organisation relying on some objective portrayal of time that is derived from Newtonian science and classical dualistic philosophy. However, in practice, time

perceptions and experiences seem to be affected by the subjectivity and diversity of the human behaviour. An example of this subjectivity is the gendered role differences that exist between male workers and female workers; and an example of diversity is the cultural differences that become more highlighted through geographical mobility such as migration.

Previous research has found that the relationship between time and gender is often entrenched within the cultural norms and legal systems of each country but with varying degrees. Such relationship has sometimes been modified or re-configured in line with the modern work organisation but with no challenge to the gendered time allocation since organising time has remained a privilege to male workers rather than female workers. For instance, the phenomenon of globalisation has brought the notion of time, gender and economic development much closer and affected women workers across the world. Eventually, the literature has looked at globalisation as a male action, and consequently, Western capitalism was accused of maintaining gendered time organisation. This gendering notion was based on the biological differentiation between males and females - which has always led to gendered job roles and gendered social roles.

An Emerging Concept of Time – 'Gendered Migratory Time'

Globalisation has enabled more women to migrate and work in different geographical and cultural settings that required identity reconfiguration and cultural negotiations. In this regard, the literature has linked the notion of time to the concept of migration, where the focus has shifted to the cultural and social conceptualisation of time.

Accordingly, the literature on time needs to incorporate new visions of time: time has become the context that accommodates redevelopment of gender-based work

97

practices and culture-based identity re-configuration or negotiation throughout geographical mobility or 'migration'. It is a new concept that can be referred to as a 'gendered migratory time' which has never been recognised in the body of the extant literature. This triangular relationship between 'time', 'gender', and 'migration' was not much debated in previous organisational research. Therefore, the current study will look into the cultural and social conceptualisation of time and link it to behavioural and identity research.

Hence, studying time perceptions and time experiences by women migrants will contribute to the creation of a new framework for conceptualising time in the contemporary world and its organisational structures. As a contribution of this study, the call for a new framework is hoped to shed some light on the meaning of time, how it is perceived and how it is experienced through multiple gender-based and culture-based subjectivities.

Again, the study will derive from the research on work-life balance and gendering work practices, and work patterns and the workplace. Working migrant women will be investigated to explore the impact of the gendered cultural norms on the perception and experiencing of time as well as the experiencing of gendered temporalities in the host environment.

As far as the notion of time is concerned, the experience of migration takes place over a continuum of temporality: it is not a one-off stage and it is not linear. Throughout this migratory experience, the migrant is subject to a continuum of temporal transitions between the past, present and future. So, migrants live within temporalities of the 'migratory time', which does not belong to natural time (Newtonian perspective), industrial time (organisational perspective) or cultural time (social

perspective) – it is a time that can accommodate identity change and human interaction within and across spatial boundaries. In addition, 'migratory time' may have a special impact on the migrant's cultural identity and her sense of belonging to the host and ethnic communities.

Thus, in linking between the three notions of 'time', 'gender', and 'migration', the literature will be able to investigate the use of time as an empowerment tool for challenging or even eliminating power structures that have been institutionalised by cultural and social practices. Meanwhile, the impact of culture, historical context and the migration experience on how time is perceived and experienced drives the link between the three notions quite closely.

As far as time perceptions are concerned, the literature has revealed that the 'clock time' model has served the capitalist who worked on controlling and exploiting humans as commodities for exchange, ignoring the interests and wellbeing of workers. This model has also ignored the cultural variations as not all cultures believe that time is a finite resource. Again the model does not explain the relationship between time and the individual, ignoring how people actually experience time – due to the objectivity claim about time in this model. Therefore, this model has been replaced by the psychological model which advocates that time is a subjective experience - that is fluid, indivisible, and constructed and experienced in the human mind.

However, the psychological model has committed a mistake in considering individuals as a homogenous group, ignoring the personal distinctiveness and historical context. Hence, a socio-cultural approach was developed which takes into consideration the societal and cultural forces that give rise to time perceptions. Yet

again, this perspective was criticised for implying that humans are predetermined by their social and cultural upbringing, and for its anecdotal methodology.

Hence, it is important to investigate the impact of time on the feelings and attitudes of migrants toward the community they live within as well on their sense of belonging and attachment to that community in relation to their temporal experiences (past and present as well as imagined future one). Such investigation should be based on a suitable philosophical framework for interpretation of findings, which need to be derived by using the right methods and methodology. These issues will form the discussion points of the next chapter.

CHAPTER FOUR - THE METHODOLOGICAL FRAMEWORK

The qualitative researcher's perspective is perhaps a paradoxical one: it is to be acutely tuned-in to the experiences and meaning systems of others—to indwell—and at the same time to be aware of how one's own biases and preconceptions may be influencing what one is trying to understand. (Maykut & Morehouse, 1994: 123)

Introduction

The concept of time and how it is understood and experienced by Syrian women working in the UK is the subject of this thesis. This research topic was derived from my own migratory experience in facing different culturally-based time structures. In fact, as a Syrian woman working in the UK, I have experienced gendered time structuring throughout my work experience in both the home country and the host country. Yet, I needed to know whether my experience is unique or there are other women like me perceiving and experiencing time like I do. Hence, I decided to investigate the lived experiences of other Syrian women working in the UK, but this entailed negotiating access to some relevant participants and getting too close to their privacy. This has stepped up my ethical concerns and I needed to find some type of academic research methodologies and data collection techniques that guarantee data reliability and validity without violating or exposing the most personal and private information of those participants. Self-restraint and respect for others had to be maintained professionally by applying codes of ethics advocated in academia.

The methodological framework for this study was designed in a way that is capable of uncovering the principles that recline behind the concept of time, and offering different perspectives about how time was experienced by women migrants in the host country. The framework has called into question the relationship between time

and space to enable better understanding of those experiences of time – as advocated by Durkheim ([1912, *cited in* TenHouten, 2005:1):

> *"it seems that we cannot think of objects that are not in time and space, which have no number, etc.. they are like the framework of the intelligence."*

Other factors incorporated in the methodological framework were the issues associated with the personal and cultural contexts since understanding and experiencing of time are a human activity or behaviour which is strongly impacted by identity and culture. Thus, individuals of a certain culture would experience time according to their own understanding and interpretations of this concept, which are derived from their interactions within the boundaries of their cultural norms, values and space. Therefore, in selecting an appropriate research methodology, I needed to survey few possible methodologies that are normally used for researching the concept of time and its management.

The following sections of this chapter will address methodological issues adopted for this study, such as: research questions and purpose, research design, data collection, data analysis, critical evaluation, research ethics and reflexivity. So, the chapter will outline the methodological consideration and data collection techniques used in this study for extracting, compiling, analysing and interpreting the narrative accounts of the participants.

Research Questions and Purpose

My personal experience was not sufficiently systematic to be representative evidence that may be used to generate knowledge and inform decisions (Saunders *et al*., 2012) in regards to time perception and experiencing of time. This has prompted me to formulate some research questions and research objective which were based on an extensive exploration of the relevant literature, which has exposed some research

gaps that needed to be addressed in this study. For instance, the research on 'time' did not clearly engage in explaining the individualised perceptions and experiences of time across the boundaries of culture; it has no sufficient discussion of the relationship between the notion of time and the notion of gender within a migratory community; and finally the literature did not have much engagement about the relationship between time perception and experience and the perception and experiences of community and belonging by migrant women. These gaps have promoted the following research questions:

- *How is time understood in the host and migrant communities amongst Syrian women living in the UK?*

- *What role do gender and culture play in shaping Syrian women's experiences of time and its organisation in the UK?*

- *How does time in the UK shape Syrian women's perceptions and experiences of community and belonging?*

Hence, the study was designed with the purpose of providing different ontological insights of the experience of time through an interpretive account of the individualised lived experiences of migrant women in relation to their gender, tradition, preconceptions, norms and beliefs. The rationale of such research lies in the empirical implications sought: there is a need for work organisations and agencies interested in working with migrant people to understand the diversity of perceptions and experiences of migrant female workers in the UK to enable them offering the care and services tailored to the needs of those migrants. Hence, a phenomenological research was thought to be capable of exposing those needs, and hence improving the quality of work and social contributions of migrant women in the UK. As an alternative to positivist approaches, the phenomenological inquiry contributes to the field of empirical and socio-political knowledge as well as the understanding of moral, aesthetic, and personal welfare debated in the migration literature. It

contributes to the understanding of human experiences in relation to the notion of time, in isolation of any concern to predicting or prescribing any theory.

Research Design

The research objective was to seek understanding and explanation of a social phenomenon associated with the human behaviour. So, the emphasis was on the individual's inner perceptions and experiences of time rather than the external or objective nature of time that was argued in classical theories. Involving personal and cultural perceptions of time would entail deploying a subjectivist rather than an objectivist view (Easerby-Smith *et al.*, 2012). In the realms of social inquiry, one can have more freedom to deconstruct, interpret and reconstruct the phenomenon of his/ her inquiry (Saunders *et al*, 2012), adopting a subjectivist stance and using various interpretive techniques to formulate his/ her theory – which need not to be always generalised (Kim, 2003). Accordingly, the study has adopted 'interpretivism' as a research philosophy/ paradigm that is applicable to the problem under scrutiny (Babbie (2015). The following section will outline the principles of the interpretivist stance adopted for this study.

The Methodological Approach - Interpretivism

Over so many years, there was a growing debate that 'time' is understood and experienced differently in different cultures (Hall, 1990; Marcus and Gould, 2000; Hofstede, 2001; Epstein & Kalleberg, 2004; Arman & Adair, 2012; Duncheon & Tierney, 2013; Fulmer, *et al.,* 2014). On the other hand, some research has started looking at the phenomenon of time as a shaper of human behaviour and human thinking in all daily routines (Solomon and Schell, 2009; Steers et al, 2010). This is not agreeable to empiricist approaches, such as positivism, where the focus is on

external realities (natural, physical or material) of the phenomenon in order to get a genuine knowledge that can be scientifically measured and tested, duplicated and hence generalised (Easerby-Smith, 2012; Saunders *et al.*¸ 2012). However, the outcome of the current investigation is quite diversified and may not be universalised: time is understood and experienced differently by individuals, and this may be relevant to their personal beliefs, values and levels of achievements and accomplishments.

Ontologically, the positivist approach would require objectivist stand where the researcher is completely detached from the observed phenomenon (Creswell, 2013*)* in order to avoid bias and contamination of the data findings. Then, to attain such objective knowledge, the research will use various quantitative techniques (statistical or mathematical) to carry out the inquiry that is aiming at producing universal facts about cause and effect (Bryman & Bell, 2015). Therefore, to collect relevant data, positivist researchers often use research methods, such as: surveys, questionnaires, and laboratory experiments to collect relevant data.

Unlike positivist research, this study is focusing on investigating the inner realities of the participants. Using the interpretive paradigm – as holistic perspective - has enabled me to capture the psychologically-based human lived experience under investigation (Potrac *et al.,* 2014; Yanow & Schwartz-Shea, 2015). Perceptions and experiences of time can never be measured objectively or reached through external assessment of individuals – like investigating natural science phenomena (Thanh & Le Thanh, 2015). This goes in line, with the research objective of the current study – it is the individual human experiences of perceiving and organising time that the research is trying to explore from the perspectives of the participants.

Hence, the nature of knowledge (epistemology) sought was dormant in the inner reality, and hence needed a subjective ontology to be exposed (Maxwell, 2012). So, the roots of the observed social phenomenon were exposed by uncovering the feelings, perceptions and beliefs of the data subjects (*see* Alvesson *et al.*, 2009). This is enabled by using qualitative methods, which enabled me first and the reader second to understand why time was perceived and experienced differently by the participants and how it was experienced in the host community (Bryman and Bell, 2015). The participants have produced narratives reflecting personal, cultural and social influences that driven their temporal behaviour and time structures.

In contrast to the interpretivist view, the notion of 'time' could be studied using a positivist approach; for instance, organizational time was often studied as being conceived solely as a linear measurement of chronology: hours, minutes, days and quarters (Macey, 1989). This assumption has looked for effective methods and techniques to control and allocate finite time resources so that they are able to increase productivity (Richardson and Robinson, 2008). However, this line of investigation does not fit with the research objectives of the current study, as the aim is to achieve a deeper understanding of how the research subjects conceive and experience time.

As an interpretivist, I tried to avoid any claims of generalisation and I did not engage into the search of causality (Collis & Hussey, 2013; Ritchie *et al.,* 2013) – all what I did is presenting a true account of the narratives which have been obtained from the participants without any restraints or repression. Here, qualitative methods are thought to capture the true statement of the reality of the participants (Easterby-Smith *et al.*, 2012). In fact, qualitative research methods have been appreciated by the

majority of the researchers in recent years , and progressively they have engaged with latter more than quantitative, particularly, in the areas of, organisational (Rifkin, 1987; Harvey, 1990; Rosa & Scheuerman, 2009; and Warf, 2008), socio-cultural (see Sorokin, 1964 [c1943]; Durkheim, 1982; Hassard, 2002; Rosa, 2003; Hassan, 2003; Shove, 2009;), anthropological (Hall, 1990, Hofstede, 2001; Evans-Pritchard, cited in Douglas, 2013) and psychological (see Heidegger 1962, cited in Schmidt, 2012; Friedman, 2005; Orlikowski and Scott, 2008) studies**.**

The positivist paradigm may appeal more to natural scientists rather than sociological and social scientists. For the current research topic, I thought that a positivist approach is not quite capable to scrutinize the complexity of the human behaviour in relation to time temporalities and time structures in a profound way (Saunders *et al.*, 2012). Also, I believe that positivistic data collection methods provide a superficial view of the observed phenomenon as they do not go so deep in the heart of the matter (Bryman & Bell, 2015). Statistical figures do not answer my qualitative questions of 'how' and 'why'. For instance, measuring or quantifying time is not capable of reflecting on how data subjects thought and felt of time, the phenomenon is not subject to fixed interpretations and hence it cannot be explained through fixed social laws. In fact, time is more complex than a linear measure would suggest. Time has properties such as punctuality, duration, timing, sequence, deadline, cycle, rhythm and speed; and these properties differ from time and are concerned with norms, rules and conventions (Lee and Sawyer, 2010; Adam, 2013).

Again, the positivist paradigm – with its emphasis on objectivity - would not be able to understand and explain the diversity of the outcomes of experiencing time by Syrian women working in the UK. Such outcomes are associated with feelings and

emotions, such as: satisfaction, preconceptions, and sense of belonging to the environment. These issues cannot be simply detected, measured and portrayed through quantification, and accordingly, they do not constitute an acceptable knowledge in the positivist paradigm. Additionally, such experiences do not stand alone in the environment, they are always affected by other variables that cannot be observed or measured through positivistic methods. They are often the product of many contextual factors that relates to the environment, the cultural background or the personal attributes – which are always ignored by positivist researchers.

Thus, time is culturally and socially constructed through human action and interaction with others. This is a social construction that is based on the view that we are "self-interpreting beings" (Buchanan & Huczynski, 2010: 18). Consequently, perception of time and experiencing of time cannot be dealt with as an experimental controlled phenomenon. The investigation of this phenomenon needs to adopt an approach and technique that provide the investigator (or researcher) with a deep understanding and rich description of the perceptions and experiences of the data subjects; and the data collected needs to be analysed and interpreted in depth. In fact, the differences and peculiarities of such experiences cannot be explained within the positivistic paradigm and its techniques. It is more to do with the interpretivism paradigm, which is capable – with its effective qualitative techniques – to better explain human perceptions and lived experiences as well as feelings, beliefs and behaviour associated with a particular social phenomenon such as that of 'time and time organisation'. This is the way to address the inefficiency of positivistic methods in dealing with inadequately-controlled social phenomena. In this current research, the search was to be after a paradigm that allows for subjective experiences and internal realities to surface

throughout the investigation at hand – it was the paradigm of interpretivism, which was the adopted methodology for the current study.

The Methodological Strategy - Phenomenology

As the target of this research is investigating and exploring a social reality - 'understanding and experiencing time' by migrant women, phenomenology has been selected as the methodological strategy for this study. The participants of this study have moved spatially from one country to another, and transcended across a spectrum of temporalities and time structures that were associated with different personal, social and cultural contexts. In the phenomenological approach, the emphasis is always on the interpretation given to a certain lived experience, and description is a type of interpretation (Heidegger, 1962, cited in Giorgi, 2007). Thus, meanings are created through the experience of moving through space and across time (Starks and Trinidad, 2007). In explaining the difference between embodied time and chronologic time, Einstein is claimed to have said:

> *Put your hand on a hot stove for a minute and it seems like an hour. Sit with a pretty girl for an hour and it seems like a minute. That's relativity (Ibid, 1374).*

Phenomenology is claimed to be capable of explaining the experiential meanings through unravelling the constituents of individualised lived experiences and then associating them to generate a theory (Finlay, 2012). For instance, in experiencing any phenomenon, people interact with the world through their senses and their bodies, such as thinking, seeing, hearing, and feeling (Polit and Beck 2006; Davis, 2010). Therefore, objectivity is not a concern for this study, but the personal level of understanding, personal interpretations, and the subjectivities of the women migrants are what matter most. All of this is possible within a phenomenological approach that

enables understanding subjective experiences, gaining insights into people's motivations and actions, and avoiding taken-for-granted assumptions (Finlay, 2012).

However, it should be emphasised here that the current study is not seeking to generate any theory; otherwise, I could have opted for the grounded theory – which is described by Glaser and Strauss (2009) as: 'the discovery of theory from data systematically obtained from social research'. So, in this methodology no theoretical preconceptions are used for generating theories: a theory emerges from the data through spiral modification of the open ended questions until all possible information reach a theoretical saturation point. In this regard, the two scholars have claimed that this methodology seeks 'to generate or discover theories' that are stranded in reality, believing that human behaviour is based on meanings which are derived from social interaction (Charmaz, 2014; Corbin & Strauss, 2014), and these meanings are handled in, and modified through an interpretive procedure used by the individual in dealing with the thing he /she encounters (Blumer 1969: 2). Such methodology also examines social processes (causes, contexts, contingencies, consequences, covariances, and conditions) to understand the patterns and relationships among these elements (Atkinson *et al,* 2007; Corbin & Strauss, 2014). This strategy is claimed to be good for exploring social relationships and the behaviour of groups where there is little exploration of the contextual factors that affect individual's lives (Birks & Mills, 2011). However, these research scopes are not within the boundaries of the current investigation.

Moreover, another methodological approach could have been possible, namely: 'ethnography'. As the interest of this study is the individualised experiences, such methodological approach has been avoided since it allows for the understanding and

interpretation of the ethics, beliefs and practices of a particular group or community which take place within specific social situation. So, it does not focus on the individual perspective of the experiential phenomenon. Wilson and Chaddha, (2009: 549) points out:

> *The ethnographic method examines behaviour that takes place within specific social situations, including behaviour that is shaped and constrained by these situations, and people's understanding and interpretation of their experiences.*

Again, the objective of the current study is not to come up with cultural patterns and descriptions of a particular group of people. The focus in this study is not how individuals are influenced by the culture they live in, but to explore the individuals' perceptions and experiences of organising time in the host environment. So, there is no intention to emphasise any shared reality or self-recognition of those participants because the researcher will be looking for factors other than the cultural ones that might be influencing the experiences of the migrant women. In this respect, ethnographical methods may limit or narrow the possible investigative range.

Being of similar cultural origin and experiencing time structures in the same host country, I could not hide my interest in and enthusiasm for the researched phenomenon, and consequently I did not detach myself completely as a researcher to claim that I was an impartial observer (Paley, 2014). I cannot deny my role in understanding, uncovering, reflecting on and interpreting Syrian Women's lived experiences of organising time inside and outside their work environment during their residence in the UK. In this respect, I could have chosen the updated version 'the constructivist grounded theory' (Urquhart, 2012; Charmaz, 2014), as a methodological framework for the current study, because this theory allows for the researcher and participants to interact. But the problematic issue for my research is

the fact that in this theory, the researcher's perspective becomes part of the process of investigation – which disallows the proper representation of the true perceptions and experiences of the participating data subjects or the researched sample.

In other words, and according to my own assessment, the grounded theory was not the appropriate choice of methodology that can address the main concern of this study since it emphasises exploration of themes and operationalising any emerging concepts and themes in quantitative ways. Quantification is not the objective of the current study, as the focus is on the qualitative experiences of the participants from their own individualised perspectives. The other problem is that whatever materials are derived from the data, they wouldn't be adequate for theoretical generalisations – interpretations could be plausible but not necessarily genuinely verified (see Blumer, cited in Glaser & Strauss, 2009). So operationalism is not capable of closing the gap between the empirics and the theory – this requires developing a "*rich and intimate familiarity with the kind of conduct being studied and in employing whatever relevant imagination observers may fortunately possess*" (Blumer, 1940: 707-19). In fact, the grounded theory tries to understand experiences by providing an explanatory framework (Calrke & Charmaz, 2014). To explain the notion of time and how it is experienced there is no need to generate theories or models.

Alternatively, adopting a phenomenological approach has enabled me to stay visible in the 'frame' of the research as an interested and subjective actor – yet, I derived all interpretations and meanings from findings (Ibid, 2014) rather than from operationalising some theoretical framework or testing a model. The data collected has been derived from the research participants, based on their own individual accounts, using their own words and terminologies to interpret the phenomenon under

investigation. In other words, phenomenology has been adopted for the current study as an approach that allows for the identification of a phenomenon as it is perceived by the actors in a situation, through inductive, qualitative methods such as interviews, discussions and participant observation, and representing it from the perspective of the research participants (Lester, 2013). This goes in line with the objective of this study, where women's individual perceptions of time and their experiences of time organisation have been the focus of investigation.

Again, in this respect, I could not go for the ethnographical approach since it concerns researchers who immerse themselves in the field of the culture that is under study, using data collection methods such as participant observation and in-depth interviews that requires the researcher to spend a long time in the field (Cresswell, 2013). Participation and spending lengthy periods with the data subjects is quite essential for the ethnographic researcher (Lambert *et al.*, 2013). In doing so, the researcher will try to reveal and classify the traits and practices of the particular cultural group and distinguish the patterns of that culture with descriptive explanation from inside (Petty *et al.,* 2012). For this study, such immersion is not valid for the type of investigation sought: time perception and time experiences are issues not for direct and lengthy observation or participation.

Similarly, the grounded theory was not on the list of methodological choices since it also asks for the researcher to immerse oneself in the data and try to understand what participants see as being significant and important. Migrant women's perceptions and experiences of time took place in the past and are still going on in the present, and this is a temporal space that the researcher can never occupy to undergo similar feelings, emotions, thinking and experiencing to those of the participants. So the

current study – based on the nature of the research topic and its objectives - does not call for such investigative position, as their main concerns are: the actual perceptions and lived experiences of the participating subjects. In other words, there is no room for the researcher to be part of those experiences or to have those women's perceptions. It is a very highly individualised subject loaded with diversity. In order to comprehend such experiences, there is no need to generate theories or models to explain the phenomenon being investigated. There is however a need to understand the meaning in women's experiences, as opposed to predicting, interpreting and explaining behaviour.

On the other hand, unlike anthropological advocating (*see* Hale, 2012; Fabian, 2014; Rapport, 2014), the proposed study does not intend to document any culture (Syrian or British) or the perspectives and practices of the Syrian women in those cultural settings. In fact, I did not plan to engage with the participants in their social settings during the study period as I am not interested in providing a holistic perception of a specific cultural group. The study was intended to focus on the experiences of Syrian women from their perspectives as individuals (personal level) not as a group in the specific setting who might have shared the same cultural norms.

Thus, phenomenology allows for the subjective interconnection between my lived experience - as a researcher – and the lived experiences of the researched. So, the interest of the current study is the actual perceptions and experiences of the participants, and not what other people think of those perceptions and experiences. It is not an interest in developing some metaphysical or academic philosophy, but it is an interest to go 'back to the things themselves!' (Large, 2008: 4). So, this goes in line with Heidegger's (1962: 54) clarification that "*Phenomenology is about making*

manifest what one is talking about in one's discourse"; and with Hegel's definition of phenomenology as an approach to philosophy which assists to explore the phenomenon as it appears to us in the conscious experience to reach the level of 'dialectical phenomenology' - which is to understand and recognise the ultimate, rational, ontological and metaphysical essence that is behind the phenomena (Hegel, cited in Moran & Mooney, 2002).

The Philosophical Framework - Heidegger's Phenomenology

Martin Heidegger (1889-1976) has emphasised the significance of the 'time' notion to the nature of being – 'being' is not an object, it is rather a happening which – when connected to time – constitutes a life journey (Large, 2008; Davis, 2010). For instance, Heidegger has seen death and life as grounded in time, and facing death makes us appreciate the time and being in the present (Watts, 2001). This is a reflection of why humans understood time as sequential (Bear, 2014). In similar lines, the current study has tried to explore the existence of time perceptions and time experiences through a temporal perspective. The investigation also incorporates querying whether the participants' experiences were affected by some pre-knowledge and preconceptions. Here,

In Heidegger's phenomenology, the temporality context is quite a significant contributor to the understanding of the meanings of human and social experiences. To understand meanings we need to use our 'a priori' or former cognition which constitute phenomenology:

> *The a priori character of being and of all the structures of being accordingly calls for a specific kind of approach and way of apprehending being—a priori cognition. The basic components of a priori cognition constitute what we call phenomenology. (Heidegger, 1982: 20).*

115

The objective of this study is to explore the meaning of time and its lived experience – which goes in line with the Heideggerian phenomenology. This is quite different from explaining 'how we know what we know'– which concerns the transcendental consciousness advocated in Husserl's phenomenology (Benner, 1994; Large, 2008). As for Heidegger, he defined phenomenology as the method that:

> *"informs us of the "how" with which what is to be treated in this science gets exhibited and handled" (Heidegger, 1962, 1996:59).*

Again, in investigating a phenomenon, Heidegger calls for "phenomenological construction", where: *"we should bring ourselves forward toward being itself"* (Heidegger, 1982: 21) and where traditional concepts are *"de-constructed down to the sources from which they were drawn"* (Ibid, 23).

Throughout this study, I have identified with the perceptions and experiences of the participants – which is a mixing act between the subject of the research and its object. This is quite acceptable in the Heideggerian phenomenology since Heidegger himself has blended the notion of 'subject' and the notion of 'object' (Davis, 2010). Accordingly, Heidegger did not believe in separating humans from their experience through objectifying their experiences, claiming that the world and individuals are indivisible (Heidegger, 2003). For him, humans exist within a temporality context that represents human personal and social historical context (past, present and future) (Watts, 2001). Therefore, I tried investigating relevant affecting contexts in order to develop full understanding of time experiences of the participants. These experiences are taking place in the world 'out there', forming what is known as 'existence'- and this world is a personal one or the world within the self (Laverty, 2008). Therefore, I presupposed this existence and adopted data collection techniques that can extract the deeply-hidden meanings and interpretations of the lived experiences. In doing so, I

116

was convinced that understanding the underpinning meaning of an experience requires deploying the historical background of it. Thus, it seems illogical to deny the past knowledge and presuppositions when trying to understand any experience.

As for the current research, an interpretive analysis of the concept of time and the process of organising it will be conducted, utilising pre-understanding, understanding, interpretation, and projection. Here, I do not deny the impact of own practical experience on the interpretations of the narrative accounts of the research subjects. In doing so, I allowed for such narrative accounts to represent or reconstruct reality with the aim of finding common behaviours and thoughts among the participants. Thus, such an articulation of interpretations goes in line with the Heideggerian phenomenology. So, the outcomes of such an interpretive investigation will be no more than a description of what is discovered, including the attempt to uncover what was hidden in the narratives of the participants and reporting it to them as well as reporting anomalies and flaws of interpretation– which can be regarded as a positive finding according to Heidegger's perspective.

In similar research endeavours, researchers may use Husserl's phenomenological approach but they have to observe three significant imperatives (Large, 2008): first, the researcher has to suspend any assumptions about the phenomenon under investigation, and describes the object as it is felt – through an intuitive vision (Rapport, 2001). Second, the phenomenon must be described from within the consciousness, without construction, interpretation or explanation (Giorgi, 2007). Third, the meanings ascribed to the phenomenon are those expressed by the participants through their own memories of experience and in their own language.

However, such reduction leads to emphasising description of the phenomenon rather than interpreting it, regarding interpretation as an articulation that is assigned to the phenomenon under study. In contrast to this approach, Heidegger has encouraged interpretation of the phenomenon in order to get to the root meaning of it and understand it properly. Heidegger affirms that:

> *"the meaning of phenomenological description as a method lies in interpretation." (Heidegger, 1962:61).*

Thus unlike Husserl's attitude, the current researcher will not exclude previous knowledge and former personal experience with the phenomenon from the proposed research.

Data Collection

For a phenomenological methodology, interviews are most often used to collect data and also a purposive sampling method is needed to recruit the relevant participants who had similar experiences of the phenomenon under investigation.

A sample of fourteen Syrian women of different age groups- who are settled and working in the UK permanently - has been selected through some acquaintances of mine who enabled snowballing sampling. As for the sample size, Starks & Trinidad (2007: 1375) states that "Typical sample sizes for phenomenological studies range from 1 to 10 persons". For the current study, a purposive sampling (selecting participants based on culture, gender and experience) was selected as it is capable of ensuring rich data for in-depth study. It allows selecting only relevant participants that have the experience that permits for the understanding of the phenomenon investigated (Silverman, 2013; Saunders *et al, 2012*). Thus, all participants were married with children, and they had university-level education. They have come to

the UK mainly as wives accompanying their husbands or pursuing further education and without the intension to settle in the UK (*see* Appendix II).

Although the sample is relatively small and focused, the data extracted is quite rich as it was derived from lengthy in-depth interviews: each interview has lasted between 2 -2.5 hours. Although, the data collected cannot present a representative view of all Syrian migrants living and working in the UK, there are quite diversified accounts of how the participants have perceived time and experienced time in the host environment. So, the findings do apply to the sample of this study only with no potential extending to other individuals outside this sample.

Being a Syrian woman settled in the UK, I consider myself part of the researched sample and that made me an insider researcher – and this has affected my choice of the research topic, my access to participants, and the whole investigation process (Berger, 2015). So, my personal experience of time as a migrant woman has always enabled me to understand how the participants perceived time and experienced it in a country other than the country of their origin. This has enhanced my understanding significantly and allowed me full access that other non-native researchers may not have (Karra & Philips, 2009). It has also enhanced my research confidence, established a great sense of trust between me and the participants, and provided me with rich insights as we shared the same cultural, linguistic, and social skills. All participants have acted naturally and felt at ease being interviewed by someone like them who can understand what they mean without great effort.

Following a phenomenological methodology, I have interviewed the participants face-to-face, using open-ended, semi-structured questions (*see* Appendix I). The interviewing process has taken place in the participant's home to make the

interviewee feel at ease with the place of interview and to allow me to have some insights about their personal, social, and cultural context. Such insights were hoped to assist in linking between such contextual information and the participants' perceptions and experiences. Being an insider researcher, I did not experience the difficulty or barriers faced by other researchers when interviewing across cultural and political differences. So, I was able to gain full access to the complex and context-specific attitudes of all participating individuals. Of course, being an insider has raised questions of objectivity and reflexivity, which have been identified and dealt with as described in other sections of this chapter.

For this study, observing participants when they are engaged in time organisation seemed impractical since it could be taken as intrusive and since it involves logistical difficulties. So interviewing was sufficient to obtain accounts of the participants' experiences of time organisation; and when clarity and more details were sought, the participants have been asked probing questions. Therefore, semi-structured face-to-face interviews have been adopted as data collection methods that are capable of extracting the inner thoughts and uncovering experiences of the recruited participants (*see* Kramer, 2011; Easterby-Smith *et al,* 2012). Such methods were thought of as being capable of revealing the complex and interchangeable relationships between various personal, cultural and social factors that may have impacted the time perception and time experiencing of women migrants in the UK. The narratives of the interviews have been quite distinctive to reflect the individualised lived experiences of those migrants, but without the intention to generalise any of the findings of this study.

Data Analysis

Rose (1985) has stated that:

> *There is no neutrality. There is only greater or less awareness of one's biases. And if you do not appreciate the force of what you're leaving out, you are not fully in command of what you're doing (p. 77).*

In qualitative analysis, the researcher becomes engaged in the process of 'sense making' or understanding the phenomenon rather than predicting or explaining. In this study, I have used a thematic description of the common elements of the experience. In doing so, I have given true accounts of participants' perceptions and experiences with an open mind, maintaining vigilance about my own personal views, preconceptions and beliefs (Gearing, 2004).

However, I have engaged myself in bracketing my previous conceptions and experiences in some – but not all - stages of the investigation – this has been explained below in the section of 'Reflexivity' of this chapter. For instance in choosing the research topic, making sense and interpreting the narrative accounts of the participants, I did not engage in bracketing. This was in line with the Heideggerian phenomenological approach which I have adopted for this study – this is 'being in the world' advocated by Heidegger (1962). However, when collecting and presenting the data, I have bracketed my previous beliefs, conceptions and experiences. So, all evidence is brought from the interview narratives delivered by the participants themselves. Again, I have maintained a coherent argument of what is presented and interpreted to ensure analytic credibility.

In analysing the data, I used my own thematic analysis of the narratives in combination of the methodological literature guidelines about the analysis process. The field notes and observations compiled during and after the interviews have been

also incorporated in the analysis process to explain, support and enrich the meanings assigned to the statements of the participants.

In practice, I have listened to the recorded interviews and transcribed the narratives myself to ensure accuracy. Instead of explaining the text, I have embarked on inferring the hidden meanings in the text. Each interview was analysed separately but put into comparison with others to detect similarities and contrasts in perceptions and experiences of the participants. All themes found were quite reflective and representative of the time perceptions and time experiences of the participants. Then, I used the Interpretative Phenomenological Analysis (IPA) framework introduced by Jonathan Smith (2004) for developing in-depth descriptions of human experiences. It does not consider the researcher's pre-knowledge as a bias rather as an enabler of rich understanding of the experiences of others.

Interpretative phenomenological analysis (IPA) is concerned with understanding what the respondent thinks or believes about the topic under discussion, trying to explore how participants make sense of their experiences. In other words, IPA engages with the meaning that experiences, events and actions hold for participants (Smith & Osborn, 2003). At the same time, IPA recognizes that the researcher's own conceptions are required in order to make sense of the personal world being studied through a process of interpretative activity (Smith, 2010). This technique *"concurs with Heidegger that phenomenological inquiry is from the outset an interpretative process"* (Smith *et al.*, 2009: 32).

Thus, in line with Smith and Osborne's (2008) advocating, I have followed four key stages of inductive analysis. First, I have read one transcript at a time, looking closely for familiarity and emerging themes, annotating significant points. Then, I have written down my notes and developed them into concise themes that capture the

essence of the participant's comments. Second, I have put together connected or related themes to create overarching themes. Third, I have used the emergent themes from the first transcript to orient the analysis of subsequent transcripts, in an iterative fashion. Once each transcript has been analysed, a final table of overarching themes is constructed. Fourth, the outcome of the analytical process is a narrative account where "*the researcher's analytic interpretation is presented in detail with verbatim extracts from participants*" (Smith *et al*., 2009: 4).

An example of these stages is the transcript of one participant called Rasha:

> *I have been in the U.K. for 30 years and the time has passed very quickly. I have worked part of it and have studied part of it*

> *that I get up early for prayer. I usually drop kids at school and I normally go straight to work.*

> *I'd say the focus of my time is mainly my children; they come first before anything else, and for me, making sure my children are ok is my priority. I also have the extra responsibility of teaching my children Arabic and religion (Quran) - which puts more stress on us as immigrant women.*

> *I have flexibility to work from home, because nowadays everything is via emails ...because my work is based on emails and phones and talking to workers and that can be done from home; for example, if my children are ill or whatever, I can give them the treatment and get back to my phone and computer*

> *Sometimes, I find the mundane caring, cleaning, cooking, etc. boring; and sometimes I enjoy it after a lot of mental stress at work especially by the end of the week. This lets me forget all the mental stress from my work. That mix in my life is very satisfying and looking after children gives me the satisfaction.*

> *I look forward to have a bit more time to myself when my children grow alder to develop some things that I would like to do,...*

> *As I grew older, time has become more valuable to me and I appreciate that life is very short*

> *When I go back [to Syria], I see the rich have become extremely richer and the middle class to become poor and the poor to be even poorer. I think one aspect of this is because of time - because people don't appreciate time and its value, and a day passes by where they haven't achieved anything.*

In these extracts, there are various themes. Therefore, throughout the analysis stage I worked on decontextualizing the data by separating it from original context and then assigning codes to its units of meaning. For example, the above extracts were decontextualized as follows:

- Time as structured and objective: time for religious practices, time for children and domestic work, and time for paid work.

- Time flexibility as a control over time structures and as a marker of gendered time as it is needed for gendered roles – motherhood and care work come first in Syrian culture.

- Mobility between public linear time (workplace) and private cyclical time (domestic and care work) – a polychromic culture dealing with time.

- Ageing as a time marker.

Another stage in the analysis was the act of re-contextualisation, where codes were examined for patterns and then the data was reintegrated, organised and reduced around the central themes (Ayres *et al.*, 2003). Thus, the above themes extracted from one transcript have been connected together to create the super-ordinate or overarching theme of: 'objective time', 'subjective time', 'social time' and 'biological time'. These concepts relate clearly to the issue of time perception and time experience.

As far as conceptualisation of time, these themes are falling within the conceptual boundaries of the cognitive model of time (without a timer) where Rasha has recognised and spoken of her time structure through the various cognitive landmarks she is used to do in her daily routine (taking children to school, bringing them home, before work, after work, when I was young, etc.). Thus, she used no references to any

time slots, time spans or dates. Her appreciation of time is based on the outcome of her behaviour during that time: it is either beneficial or a waste, depending on her own experience.

As far as experiencing time is concerned, there was the cultural perspective of time: adherence to cultural norms of the past time where Rasha is trying to ensure allegiance to the ethnic culture and traditional system. So, her time has been structured round others, she is more interested in the sense of collectivism rather than individualism, and the community around her is more important than the self. However, the long time spent in the UK created awareness of the self. Again, there was the theme of experiencing time biologically as the concept of time was associated with the ageing process. Then, the general theme of experiencing time was attributed a sense of dualism where time was spent on or planned for own individual needs and where time was spent in serving other social actors (husband, children, community). Therefore, Rasha has maintained mobility between the micro level (individualistic) and the macro level (collectivist).

The socio-cultural perspective or social time as a theme has also appeared where the participant has compared between the Syrian culture and the UK culture in relation to their different meanings of punctuality and lateness and their differences in time characterisation. The cultural emphasis has been highlighted - in contrast to Western individualistic cultures - when Rasha did not show in interest in focusing on her own individualism, on goal-related performance and hence on punctuality and time pressures.

In brief, throughout the whole analysis process I was trying to understand the perceptions and experiences of the participants rather than trying to predict or explain

their behaviour. So my attempt was to describe experiences from the point of view of the ''experiencer'' who seek meaning from their experiences and that their accounts convey this meaning. Therefore, I had to stay close (Smith *et al.*, 2009) to the participants' language to provide a faithful account that clearly connects a researcher's interpretations to the participants' experiences.

Finally, in order to avoid labelling my qualitative analysis as biased, I have discussed my reflexivity and the validity of my research. As for validity, it is associated with the sense of trustworthiness in the minds of the readers that derives from credibility, transferability and dependability (Silverman 2013).

For credibility, I made sure that findings are true representations of the participants and by presenting some actual quotations of the interview narratives for the readers to consider potential meanings. Again, all transcripts were returned to the participants to confirm their authenticity and accuracy. To achieve transferability, I have provided full contextual information about the participants to enable the readers to compare to similar experiences and make similar judgments (Marshall & Rossman, 2014). Reliability in qualitative research is not achievable since interpretations are subjective and differ with different researchers, and participants views change across time, place, and culture (Yilmaz, 2013). Hence, dependability is the term used for qualitative research as reliability has no value in this regard (Ibid, 2013). In this study, the Heideggerian phenomenological approach and this made the researcher's interpretation unique and allowed for the diversified meanings to emerge from the different individualised experiences of the participants. This diversity of meanings have enriched the understanding of the phenomenon under investigation.

Critical Evaluation

As far as interpretivism is concerned, it should be warned here that too much subjectivity on the part of the researcher may result into significant biases that may lead other researchers to diverse explanations or conclusions; and this poses a great challenge for interpretivism (Crossan 2003) as it is not achieving universality. However, this study does not aim at achieving universality since it is based of the researcher's analytical skills and interpretation. It also aims to depict and interpret the diversified thoughts and experiences of the participants in regards to the concept of time. What matters here is the vigour of the research which has been achieved through reflexivity and validity of the research claims.

Again, it must be warned that interpretivism is often criticised for its subjectivity which makes its outcomes unique to the context of investigation (Saunders *et al.*, 2012); and hence, findings cannot be replicated and thus the research cannot be regarded as valid. However, in qualitative research, subjectivity is not a flaw as advocated in Heidegger's phenomenology; and validity can be achieved through credibility, transferability and dependability.

Accordingly, the subjectivist view I have adopted for this study could be accused of interference by affecting the outcome of the research through framing the research questions and interview questions to steer the insights into a certain direction (Silvarman, 2013). Such claims are available in Husserl's phenomenology where no external factors or researcher interference should influence meanings, and where the researcher is totally detached from the phenomenon in order to eliminate any possibility of contaminating the study (Easterby-Smith *et al.*, 2012). This is described as the procedure of 'bracketing' – restraining the researcher from using a first-person,

self-reflective process (Crotty, 1996; 1998). However, this call for bracketing has been criticised by Tufford & Newman (2012) who advocate that researchers will never put away their preconceptions because they will always use them whenever they face any new phenomenon.

To respond to such criticism addressed against my interpretivist stand, I tried to present the reality as it is without any bias or personal judgement during the collection, presentation and analysis of the data – it was a prejudice-free inquiry that was called for by academic methodologists, such as: (Easterby-Smith, 2012; Collis & Hussey, 2013; Bryman and Bell, 2015; Saunders *et al.*, 2012).

As for the epistemology or the nature of knowledge sought throughout this research, the concern was not to generate law-like generalisations and not to engage in developing a value-free view of the investigated phenomenon (Ryan et al, 2002). The objective was to seek interpretations and meanings, where the meanings given to individuals by their representative culture are what might be regarded as objective reality, while the meanings internalised or reproduced by the individuals could be regarded as subjective reality.

Research Ethics

The nature of the objective of this study was to depict, understand and interpret individual lived experiences of some human subjects, and this required certain ethical issues to be taken into consideration throughout the investigation process (Bell, 2014; Lange *et al.*, 2013). So, I have demonstrated sensitivity to avoid any undesired potential impact on the lives of the participants, in line with the guidelines known as "Ethical Principles for Research with Human Subjects" produced by The British Psychological Society (2006). So, first I have obtained the ethical approval from the

research ethics committee of the University of Essex, where I have been conducting my research project. This was to prove my competence and adherence to the basic research tenets. Only after I gained such approval, I have embarked on the data collection process. The participants were given relevant information about the study and the interviewing process as well as a consent form which they have signed before starting the interview.

The participants were also assured that they can choose not to participate or terminate their participation at any time of the process with no prejudice. Throughout the interview they were always asked if they feel 'OK' to continue or if they have any queries to raise. Their personal privacy and data confidentiality were also ensured by eliminating any data that may expose their identity – they were completely anonymised (Halse & Honey, 2014). Thus, their names were coded, and the audio recorded data obtained and its transcripts were encrypted with passwords and securely kept away from the reach of unauthorised persons.

All participants were quite happy to participate with no reservations at all, and none of them has experienced any kind of discomfort during the interviewing process. Some of them have expressed anguish when started recalling their nostalgic events back in Syria – as during the project their home country was undergoing a horrible war. These were the moments when I had to pause recording to comfort them or to allow them the space to recollect themselves; then they always chose to continue after a little break. However, I need to clarify here that the nature of my research topic did not demand considerations of any safety issues – neither to myself or my participants.

After I have finished the interviewing process, I always thanked the participants and kept in contact with them since then as they were mostly friends of my friends. Since

the end of my research project, I have never stopped exchanging visits with them from time to time. They have even added me to their online social network to maintain a continuous relationship and inform me of potential social events that may be held in their community.

Reflexivity

Reflexivity is a tool that allows me the space to acknowledge formally the impact of my previous experience on the investigation of the phenomenon and the meanings attributed to the lived experiences of the participants (Bott, 2010). In reference to the role of emotion, reflexivity can be regarded as a protection technique against a researcher's bias (Finlay, 2008). Hence, for some researchers reflexivity may demand 'uncomfortable assessment about the inter-personal interstitial knowledge-producing dynamics of qualitative research' (Olesen, 2011: 135). Thus, research bias can be derived from two interrelated spheres: the personal sphere (such as: attitudes, beliefs, political investments, relational attachments, and identity); or from public sphere (such as: cultural and institutional practices that guide human behavior and control human desires, dictate entitlements, and support privileges and political injustice) (*see* Pelias, 2011).

Throughout the current study, my pre-conceptions have proven to be a great asset: my concepts, principles, beliefs and adherence to Syrian culture have been similar to those of the participants. Bringing such preconceptions on board has helped me understand those migrants' perceptions and experiences of time in the UK. So, unlike Husserl's advocating (1931), my pre-knowledge was utilised in articulating the inner meanings of the experiences of the participants. They were not bracketed as recommended by Husserl and many methodologists (*see* Starks & Trinidad, 2007;

Tufford & Newman, 2012; Berger, 2015) who feared that using pre-knowledge and preconception may taint the research process. In this sense, bracketing was called for by Husserl (1931), who argued that to understand the lived experience, you need to directly observe or see it without involving any sensory experience. This 'direct seeing' has been defined by Gearing (2004) as the process that:

> *look beyond constructions, preconceptions, and assumptions (our natural attitude) to the essences of the experience being investigated (p.1430).*

Defining bracketing was quite divers: for instance, Gearing (2004) explains bracketing as a:

> *scientific process in which a researcher suspends or holds in abeyance his or her presuppositions, biases, assumptions, theories, or previous experiences to see and describe the phenomenon (p. 1430)*

For Starks and Trinidad (2007), the researcher:

> *must be honest and vigilant about her own perspective, pre-existing thoughts and beliefs, ...and developing hypotheses engage in the self-reflective process of ''bracketing'', whereby they recognize and set aside (but do not abandon) their a priori knowledge and assumptions, with the analytic goal of attending to the participants' accounts with an open mind (p. 1376)*

Despite the lack of a uniform definition of bracketing, Tufford & Newman (2010) have pointed out the advantages of bracketing:

> *While bracketing can mitigate adverse effects of the research endeavour, importantly it also facilitates the researcher reaching deeper levels of reflection across all stages of qualitative research: selecting a topic and population, designing the interview, collecting and interpreting data, and reporting findings. The opportunity for sustained in-depth reflection may enhance the acuity of the research and facilitate more profound and multifaceted analysis and results (Tufford & Newman, 2012: 81).*

Throughout the research process, I must admit - my preconceptions were always there but they were often floating rather than going into the depth and roots of the phenomenon. As the study has progressed, these preconceptions have been deepened; I have never used them in the process of data collection. This goes in line with Creswell and Miller's (2000) recommendation that researchers need to acknowledge

their beliefs and biases early in the research process to allow readers to understand their positions, and then 'bracket or suspend those ... researcher biases as the study proceeds individuals reflect on the social, cultural, and historical forces that shape their interpretation' (p. 127).

In practice, I was totally aware that throughout the investigation process the boundary between myself as a researcher and the participants as the researched may diminish, and hence my work can be characterised as being joined or co-constituted with the help of the participants (Poindexter, 2003). In order to avoid such pitfalls, I had to stick and listen to the voices of the participants and silence my own voice all throughout the process of investigation. On the other hand, I was always aware that there are differences between my own ideology (professional, religious, and political) and that of interviewees (Berger, 2015), but I tried not to impose mine throughout the interpretation process.

Methodologically, I could not easily apply Husserl's principle of bracketing. For him, a phenomenon exists when it is experienced by a human being; and therefore it has to be studied as it appears to the consciousness of that human being (Giorgi, 2007). So, he regards the life world - empirical happenings that we live before we know - as a source of evidence for enquiry (Todres and Holloway, 2004). Husserl was not interested in reaching an objective reality rather in describing the phenomenon as grounded in experience without offering any explanation. So, he is more interested in reaching a pre-reflexive knowledge. Thus, for Husserl, the world is not something out there, rather we are our world, there is not a subject and object separate from one another… but they are intertwined in our direct experience in the world (Large, 2008).

Therefore, I had to seek an alternative research philosophy to replace Husserl's phenomenology. Being a female of a Syrian origin and working in the UK, I have benefited from my pre-knowledge in the current study, and therefore, the Heideggerian phenomenology seemed more appropriate as it allows using my preconceptions as a starting point for interpreting the data found. In this regard, Heidegger (1962) has argued against bracketing out preconceptions, advocating that understanding a lived experience is an interpretative process (LeVasseur, 2003), which entails being in the world, where contextual interpretation and meaning were sought and valued (Gearing, 2004).

Conclusion

The chapter has outlined the methodological framework adopted in this study, which has enabled retrieving, describing and interpreting a set of rich and diversified views of the concept of time and time experience. The choice of the research topic, the research questions and the participants of the study were all derived from the personal experience of the researcher. Hence, a Heideggerian phenomenological approach was chosen to enable use of the preconception and prior experience of the researcher. As the purpose of the study was to explore the meanings and experiences of time, an interpretive methodology was adopted with a qualitative technique (interviewing) for data collection. Thus, an explanation of the data collection process has been provided, detailing the sampling procedure, the participants, the interviewing process, data analysis techniques and a critical evaluation of the methodological design. Meanwhile, research ethics have been reviewed and the reflexivity of the researcher has been acknowledged with reference to the achieved rigour of the research findings.

So, in the next chapter, the various ontological insights of how time was perceived and experienced by migrant women will be presented through the actual narratives of the participants of this study. Hence, the next chapter will try presenting the findings of the study in a detailed manner that allows for proper academic interpretation of the phenomenon in question. The interpretation will be based on the Heideggerian theoretical framework and the research approach will take a subjectivist view in line with the sought diversified realities represented by the actual time experiences of the participants. Hence, contextual and historical environments will be taken into consideration in the analysis of the data found.

CHAPTER FIVE – FINDINGS
PERCEPTIONS AND LIVED EXPERIENCES OF MIGRANTS

Introduction

The objective of the interviewing process was to explore how Syrian women working in the UK perceived the concept of time and how they actually experienced it. The literature has revealed that there is an intersection between gendered notions of time and socio-cultural, ideological, and philosophical backgrounds of human actors. The review has demonstrated a synopsis of the main academic debates relating to the ontologies of the notion of time, the gendered allocation of time, and migratory time across cultures. Then, some research gaps have been identified, such as: the lack of consensus on the nature of time, and the neglecting of investigating time perceptions and time experiencing through individualised lived experiences of human actors. The second research gap was the insufficient treatment of the issue of gendered time across cultural boundaries in general and on Syrian women migrants in particular. The third research gap was the fact that little was known on the impact of the individualised lived time experiences on the sense of belonging and community engagement of those migrant women working in the UK. Hence, the methodological and philosophical approach has been designed in a way that is capable of capturing the individualised perceptions and experiences of the participants and addressing the following key research questions:

- *How is time understood in the host and migrant communities amongst Syrian women living in the UK?*

- *What role do gender and culture play in shaping Syrian women's experiences of time and its organisation in the UK?*

- *How does time in the UK shape Syrian women's perceptions and experiences of community and belonging?*

Accessing the personal or inner world of the interviewees was the main focus of the interviews, and therefore an interpretive subjective approach based on the Heideggerian phenomenological perspective was selected for the investigation process. This approach has enabled me to link the findings of this study to the personal and cultural contexts of the individual participants, and also to identify with the participants' perceptions and experiences of time through my own personal views and experiences.

The interview narratives have been thematically analysed based on the following key themes: the participants' perceptions of the concept of time in both – the host country and the country of origin; the role of gender and culture in shaping the experiencing of time; and the impact of time on the sense of belonging. The main interview questions have been based on these primary themes, but there were also other sub questions that helped in digging deeper for hidden factors and further clarifications of ideas proposed by the participants.

Throughout the narratives of the participants, the concept of time has been associated with the gendering practices, mobility between spaces, socio-cultural processes, and personal perspectives. Relevant factors that affected the shaping of such perceptions of time appeared to be mostly linked to the feelings of belonging which was often linked to the meanings of 'home', 'migration' and 'community'. Thus, on the macro level, cultural and social perspectives of time have driven the participants' perceptions of time; yet on the micro level, their own individual experiences of time had significant impacts on how time is understood and how it should be organised. Hence, the macro level has been associated with issues such as: motherhood, culture, motherland, and the UK community. It is here that participants have showed great disparity between their past social experiences (acquired from 'home') and their

present host community. The similarity was more apparent in their values, beliefs and roles that they have tried to adopt in the host community.

The first section of the chapter will address the first research question which entails the understanding of time through what time is and what time does for the interviewed participants. The second section will address the role of gender and culture in shaping the time perceptions and time experiences of the participants – and this is in line with the requirement of the second research question. The third section will address the third research question by addressing the impact of time perceptions and experiences on the participants' sense of belonging and their community experience.

Understandings of Time

This section will be developed on the basis of the narrative accounts given by the participants in relation to the first research question of this study – which is:

> *How is time understood in the host and migrant communities amongst Syrian women living in the UK?*

In exploring how time is perceived by the Syrian women, the findings have revealed a wide diversity of conceptualization that relate to their own personal backgrounds as well as to their individual experiencing of time. In addition, the participants have showed awareness of the fact that time is a socially-constructed notion that can vary through movement in place or space. Despite variation of perception and experiencing of time, the most common observation was that time has never been perceived as static and that it was always been associated with some activity or experience in order to be mentally processed. It was also found that migration from one geographical place into another has significantly affected the perception and experience of time by those participants.

What Time is

Time has been perceived differently by different people, as it was clearly driven by the personal views, beliefs and attitudes of the participants. These perceptions, however, have driven the actual experiences; and the main factors that affected the process of perception are the educational level; family engagement; self-awareness; the meaning of value and desire to achieve; and personal motivation.

As for the family engagement, Dima – as a working mother – gives an account of her perception of time through her mothering experience:

> *"I spent 8 months doing nothing but nursing my crying baby. Then, I decided to get out of my vicious circle because I was very stressed out ... so I was a new mum and suddenly I was uprooted from my home and thrown in another universe (if you'd like to say) and handling a boy which can't be satisfied".*

For her, experiencing such time was transformational – it is a move from the care-free time at the 'home' country into the stressing or demanding time in the host country. She is alone in this new environment: there are no cultural duties exercised by the relatives who will have been ready to help her – as the case in her home country - to cope with such stressful time. Dima has captured the moment which made her realise that time is dynamic and changeable (between past and present) since it is attached to the mobility between places and spaces. Once she has left her country and moved into a different social and familial (personal) space, time has started to take a new shape or perception which demanded her to deal with it according to her new experiencing of time.

For Dima, time is now dualistic in experience: there is her own personal time which is to be spent on her own needs, and there is time dedicated for her family engagement – such as caring for the husband and the children. She describes her way of dealing with such dualistic concept, saying:

> *Since my feet touched the UK ground I knew I will stay here for five years because of my husband's study ... so I decided to do something different to go out of that nightmare... since I already have an English degree I decided to resume my education. I applied to the University of Manchester for a diploma and I carried on with that.*

She recognises that time could be used as a transforming experience to develop her career and better her life. This can be taken as a clear awareness of her own understanding of the concept of time as well as its value through its impact on her own individual life. She shows determination to make the most of her time spent in the UK during her husband's study. She referred to her obsession with the issue of time through describing it as: *"a MONSTER chasing me".* It is an attempt to associate time with an inevitable external reality which is hoped to lead to a sense of achievement.

Asma has also recognised the time through time structuring: time for home and care work, time for outside paid work, time for personal needs, time for social networking. This is evident in her statement which indicates how she engaged in time structuring and organising her life style in the UK. In describing her daily routine, Asma says:

> *My daily routine is usually split into four periods, and I try to do each one of them, but if my time does not allow doing so, I would try my best to at least do three out of the four. These parts are as follow:*
>
> *Home time: this includes, domestic work, grocery shopping, looking after my children –obligation as a wife and a mother- (emotionally and physically)*
>
> *Time for sport: I try to go to gym four times a week.*
>
> *Social life: this includes socialising through Face book, Skype, and other means of electronic social networking, and trying to gain some general knowledge through the internet.*
>
> *Studying: this is probably the most important part of my daily routine, and is worthy of being mentioned firstly, rather than last. This is to help me get a better job here in UK.*

She also compares her time structure in the UK to the previous one back in Syria, indicating the worthiness of her UK time. She views her UK time as an objective

reality that needs to be captured and used as a finite resource for self-development

and self-esteem in addition to her outside work and domestic and care work. Asma

says:

> *I do not like to waste my time, because I need the qualification which I am studying hard to achieve.*
> *I am very happy here, because back in Syria, I was always giving, but never got anything in return. In fact, I have never got as much as half an hour a day for myself and my needs as an individual.*
>
> *The way which I used to organise my time in Syria was intended to be exactly like the way I use here in the UK, but back home it was not that achievable or even effective - probably due to the difference in culture.*
>
> *which is very effective - is the exact same way I used back in Syria, with the exact same intentions and ideologies, though in Syria it never helped me reach the intentions and ideologies I had.)*

Although other participants have expressed similar conscious awareness and

expectations of their time experiences, they have expressed it in different ways. For

instance, Hala G deals with the time issues in line with her husband's time

arrangements:

> *I have come with my husband because he was studying here and we are supposed to stay here temporally for only 3 years and then we will be back to Syria after he finishes his study.*

Her experiencing of time is totally linked to her husbands' circumstances – this is

clearly a cultural impact where Syrian wives are always expected to revolve within

the orbit of their husbands. However, not all participants have been subdued to such

cultural impact. For example, Haifa has recognised the changeable nature of time in

terms of her own life cycle – she acknowledges the impact of time through her own

historical ageing stages:

> *My feeling ..... Time seriously is flying. It flies because it came into stages I was young and started studying and then work... and then working on my 3 kids who started their teenage period.*
> *When I came to the UK I was 16 years old, yet I was like a baby. My husband was very busy at that time with his business (restaurant) and he used to work from 3 pm to the 3 am... and after a year I had my daughter.*

Her ideas of time are derived from surrounding comparators: her ageing process, the growing of her children, the things she and her husband have done through their life in the UK, and the changes in her duties. This is all done within a historical context to recognise the existence and flow of time. It is a transformational impact of time on the life of the individual.

What Time does

The commenting on the speed of time in the UK was a common notion in all narratives of this study. Time was always referred to through a contextual comparison between its status in the home country and that in the host country. In fact, people seemed much more engaged in their familial and work commitments in the host country as they cannot rely on the help of others available to them in their mother culture. For instance, Raja states that time in the UK runs very fast:

> *I was living in the UK about 35 years but they ran very quick....*

Again, Susan has also iterated:

> *I have been here for 10 years and the time went very quick.... I think the older I get, it affects my concept of time.*

The chronological ageing and work engagement have been used by the participants as indicators of the speed of time as well as their perception and experiencing of time. For instance, Suha has recognised that her full work engagement has given her the impression of a speedy time flow:

> *I have been in UK for 16 years and I felt that as if it was yesterday, time went very fast... And I do not know why I said that ... maybe because I have been very busy during those days.*

Her perception of time as well as her time experience has been shaped, recognised and renegotiated by her growing older and her change of awareness to the value of time.

In fact, not all participants have experienced time in the host country in the same way. For some, the time spent in the UK was quite valuable as it had a positive transformational impact on their individual or personal lives. For instance, Raja has claimed:

> *I feel that time here is more fruitful than it is in Syria, though I believe people everywhere should not waste time regardless of where they live.*

Similarly, Hala G has differentiated between her perception and experience of time in Syria with that she had in the UK. She gives an account of how her time was organised in terms of her personal daily routines:

> *Time organisation in Syria was very different from here.... so the only thing I used to do there is helping mum with domestic work, and going to university as well as looking after myself...it was no rush.... the way of living there is really different... maybe the people there are relaxed in dealing with the time..... but living in the UK has forced me to focus on my time and made me very organised in controlling it.*

The words 'no rush' and 'relaxed' have been used to indicate the experiencing of time in Syria, while words such as 'focus' and 'control' have been used to refer to experiencing time in the UK. Hala G seems quite aware of the difference between the two time experiences and she claims that in the UK she has become more conscious about the significant value of time as a management instrument for handling the challenge in completing her every day job and duties as well as for attaining her future gaols.

Making sense of the concept of time and recognising its speed were often done through evaluating past lived experiences. For example, *Rasha* says:

> *I have been in the UK for 30 years and the time has passed very quickly. I have worked part of it and have studied part of it.*

Thus, Rasha summarises the 30 years of time she spent in the UK by talking about the life stages she has gone through:

> *I came at the age of 15 and studied A- levels and then went University. Later on, started working in the family business, and I have been working here since then.*

For some other participants, they failed to recognise the full picture of their time spent in the UK as they were always engaged in dreaming about their past life that they spent in the mother country. This nostalgic exercise has been their shelter from a pressurised environment they have experienced in the host country – which seemed totally different from their original country and which was quite difficult to cope with. For example, Ghada confirmed such feelings, saying:

> *Everything was new for me and as you know: UK is very different form my country and I have dreamt about it and this is why I did not think about UK time.*

Moving into the host country has required those Syrian women to change their life style, which has affected their perception of time and reflected quite significantly on their experiencing of time. Ghada has reflected on this, stating:

> *Like other immigrants, my time was spent on familiarising myself with the new way of life which is in contrast to the way that I have got used to in my country. Then after I have had my first son and since then my time was fully dedicated to my husband and my kids as a typical mother, being inside the home. So I had no time to finish the course I applied for...*

Thus, Ghada did not find time in her advantage as a management and controlling tool – like some others. She could not find a way to balance between the time needed for family care and the time needed for her own personal development. So, she had to compromise her own personal time for the sake of keeping to the cultural norms – which dictate being a typical mother.

In a similar tone, the concept of time has been attributed with a sense of scarcity by Galia, who comments:

> *I've been here for more than 8 years so far. I feel that the time here goes faster than the time in Syria, I feel as if there is no abundance of it. I came here when my oldest son was 1.5 years and now he is nearly 10, so it has been a*

long time but it feels like it's been a short time compared to when I was in Syria.

From a different perspective, the concept of time has become much more crystallised by participants who were keen on using time as an organising tool for enhancing their lives through carrying out some significant achievements. For them, time is a life changer and achievement enabler. For instance, Dima explains her feelings toward time, saying:

I have got the feeling that I have to do something with my 5 years; because my husband will stay here for five years for his PHD.. Since then the concept of time kept chasing me all the time and I had to keep running in order to achieve something

The participants have got an aspiration to be in full control of time: they want to use it and organise it better for achieving their desires (such as pursuing academic development) as well as for enabling them of accomplishing all duties expected of them. For example, Ghenwa describes her experience:

My time here is going very fast but I did work and I did a course in child care education. While I was still doing my master, I looked after my kids at the same time If I am not working or studying, I feel I do not have aim in life, and my time will be wasted and not worth enough.

This indicates the neutrality of time as a concept, where there is no change of its rhythm or its velocity: it is the sense of human achievement which gives time its meaning or value. In this regard, Zeina confirms that her sense of time is coming from the things she has done:

I have been in the UK for 21 years and I have really thought that my time in the UK was very useful, I gained a lot of things.

This has been helped by the time structuring of the UK, where women were more able to think of the nature of time and time structuring in terms of increased functionality and decreased gendering. Zeina thinks that:

> *Time here encourages you to study because there is less time for social life. There is more time in Syria but the outlook of life is different and people are relaxed and not aware about their time.*

Nonetheless, some other participants did not see a benefit out of the UK time structuring. For instance, Hala J has described her time in the UK as unproductive and ineffective using the word 'fruitless' as her time was void of the attainments she was expecting. She has explained:

> *I have been here 6.5 years and I feel that my time here (UK) has passed very quickly without sensing the value of time here because I have not done what I should have done or what I was expected to happen in regards to my achievement – which was every little...*

> *while in Syria my time was very organised and useful because I used to have a permanent job; my family was around me; my son was with me; I did not waste my time in transportation or filling out applications for job and moving from place to another for that job ... here my life is very difficult but in Syria life was very comfortable... I feel I have wasted my time here and I feel that it was very slow maybe because I could not make most of it or used time in a useful way.....*

So, time was either running slow or has no value for participants who did not achieve their expectations in the host country. This is another instance showing that 'time' is a concept that is attached to the actual experience of it and the sense of achievement attained through it.

Yet, in other narratives 'time' seemed to be either neutral or appreciated through the quality of experience: it is measured here through the sense of enjoyment felt rather than the achievement attained through it. For example, Syrsa confirms her satisfaction of the time she has spent in the UK saying:

> *I have been in the UK for more than 19 years and the time that I have spent here was very good and I imagine if I have spent that in Syria it would not be better than here. This is not because of achievement, because I did achieve in both Syria and the UK. Feeling free and having the life style of UK is better for me...life here is less hassle than Syria... It is easy if you get used to it ...so, I feel that the time I have spent here was not fast or slow it was normal maybe because I have enjoyed that time until now.*

However, in addition to the impact of age and geographical space, the participants' narratives have been loaded with the impact of gender on the structuring and experiencing of time. Therefore, the following section will widen the scope of the analysis to inspect the participants' experience of time in relation to their culture and gender role. So, the next discussion will be dedicated for exploring the controlling of time and how Syrian women dealt with this issue throughout their life experiences in the host country.

Gendered Time and Culture

The theme of this section is based on the second research question of this study – which is:

> *What role do gender and culture play in shaping Syrian women's experiences of time and its organisation in the UK?*

In the UK Syrian women started looking at themselves as independent of others- which is contrary to the Syrian culture where women see themselves in relation to others (i.e.: mother, sister, and wife). They have been always appreciative of the time they have spent in the UK, as pointed out by Asma:

> *Regarding the time I have spent in UK, I can regard it as the most precious period of my life. This is due to the fact that, what I have achieved within this period of time, I never achieved in Syria –or even come close to it- in the 17 years of marriage which I spent in Syria. Hence, I am very happy and proud of the time I am spending here in UK, and I am very regretful of the time I spent in Syria.*

Time is always sensed through comparing what was accomplished in the past to the achievement done in the present and across spaces and places. In the case of Raja, the achievement was coupled with a sense of challenge – where she has worked on scoring the highest in math to prove that her skills are beyond any limits. Raja says:

> *...my intention was not only to develop my skills in math but to race with myself and test my capability and limitation in this subject since I have been told by my parents that math is a man's subject while girls are better in humanities.*

For many participants, coming to the UK represents a new era or time that allows for less gendering in regards to time structuring and time experiencing. Women participants seemed to focus their academic achievement as an indicator of their mastering of time. They tried to show that they were able to functionalise their time and make it more productive while being in the UK, where the culture and the environment are more supportive in terms of facilities and regulations. The prime of their achievement in dealing with time is when they are capable of multitasking and parallel functioning. However, they have expressed their concerns about the fast flow of time, its rigidity and the lack of control.

Coming into contact with the British system made participants aware of the new way of dealing with time: in the UK they have started to differentiate between private time and public time. Also, they have realised the power of time and its controlling element of human lives. In this regard, Suha says:

> *If I want to define the concept of time especially in this country, so I will describe it as a power which puts pressure on us, and we cannot escape it whatever we do... it's there and we work within it , it is the master and king and we have to obey it , time does really scare me because you can't say no to it or control it ... so we can't jump on it here - there is dead line for everything; while in Syria we do not think like this , here they are obsessed with time and wherever you go there is a clock or a computer which reminds you of the time....*

Added to the controlling element of time is the control of the patriarchal culture, where women believed that men can handle time much better than women. For instance, Rasha has been subtly affected by this view but without noticing it, as she claims:

> *I don't think my gender effects the way I organise my time `but I think it's my personality. I think sometimes, people are just better than others. My husband is a better organiser and he sometimes helps me out in that regard.*

The above statement could be understood and interpreted as a trace of the patriarchal beliefs in the Syrian culture, and such statement cannot be totally neutralised since

Rasha has been brought up and lived for years within a male dominated culture that institutionalised gendered thinking and gendered roles. Thus, being a female, Rasha must have been already shaped and configured in accordance to her gendered role in society. Hence, her concept of time and its organisation seems to be gendered and thus different from that of her husband. This is why she sees men better than women in doing things but she attributes this difference not to the gendering process rather to her own personality.

Being affected by her gendered upbringing, Rasha seems to think that what she is doing or thinking is the norm. This made her not recognise that her time was dedicated for much more responsibilities and duties than what occupied her husband's time. Ending up with much fewer responsibilities, her husband could joggle and organise his time better and even he did have time to remember things and to remind her of appointment times, as she explains:

> *He's better at remembering things and he'll remind me of my appointment...he does that because he knows I will forget since I have a lot of things to do when I arrive from my work...so I am always in rush I have to be at home before him I need to prepare the cooking for my children as well.*

Rasha does not recognise her husband's attitude toward her paid job – he must be thinking that working outside the home must be an optional paid work which should not eliminate her unpaid domestic work load. She forgot that her husband is never lumbered with the child care and family care responsibilities, and she considers this care work is totally gendered – it is a woman's role rather than a man's duty. However, later on, Rasha seems to be aware of the difference in time structuring between her and the husband, admitting:

> *He always comes at 6 pm and the meal should be ready by then... despite the fact that he does help me out a lot at home but still there is more pressure on me and sometimes it makes me feel that he doesn't really appreciate it as much.*

This is a clear indication of the gendered structuring of time, where women are always expected to carry out all domestic and care work in addition to their paid job outside the home, while it has never been an expected duty of man – at least in the case of these Syrian participants. On the other hand, the woman is expected to complete these duties within the boundaries that fit the husband's time structure or according to his own clock.

However, when the woman's time structure dedicated for her own needs interferes with the husband's time structure, the husband will show descent and disregard of his wife's personal time, regarding it as not an important priority. This is evident in Raja's complaint of her husband's pursue of his own personal interests with complete disregard of her own time structure:

> *When I did my English course my husband was not happy about it because he wants me to be around him firstly, and secondly, he does not want me to progress...*

Therefore, Raja was totally aware that her time experience is gendered and this happened because of the patriarchal attitude of her husband toward her. So she tried to make her target and manage her time to accomplish her aim by harmonising and balancing between issues such as: her self-esteem, her husband mentality and her gender. She stated:

> *When I started attending the math class he laughed at me claiming that women can't learn math, it's hard for them.*

> *So, on the exam day I told him that I have to go early because my teacher is leaving and we decided to have a party for her (my intention was not to tell him I have exam).*

Thus, Raja has realised that she has acquired another role in addition to her role as a wife and a housekeeper, she is aware that this additional role will not be welcomed by her husband, but she insists to play that role and fulfil the task and meet both: her

potentials and her husband's needs. It is a role to balance the gendered time structure which is manipulated by men. She explains:

> *Yes of course women's time structure is different from men's time ... women's time is far much full of wok than men's .... men have a certain time and task to do and that's it ... they will stop.... whereas women and I'll take it personally here, I wake up very early for doing my domestic (cleaning, cooking) work before going to work and in my work I have a lot of commitments and targets to meet...*

> *Women's timetable is much longer than men's timetable... men can't work much as a woman.... Women are multitasking and they work from different angles ... Men have one certain thing to be applied every day....*

The gendered time structure here can be assumed as a cultural issue since it was much more apparent in the home country – Syria. For example, Asma admits that her time in Syria was structured round the needs and demands of other people, towards whose service she has fully dedicated her time; she explains:

> *My time is controlled by my husband, by my children and by the family-in-law as well.... simply due to the influence of my husband's attitude as a man, which is a typical attitude of Syrian men.*

This male or patriarchal attitude towards the gendered structuring of time has been clearly recognised by Asma as one of the factors that significantly affected her perception and experience of time when she was in Syria. She has bluntly claimed that her husband has influenced her future plan and decision of how to manage her time for long-term visions, and has led her to disappear from public spheres where she could have contributed to the structuring of public times. She seems to have gone through a familiarisation stage of such gendered practices and experienced them first hand during her stay in the Syrian society. In this regard, Asma emphasises the cultural environment as a disabler for women's public engagement:

> *I always liked to be a productive person in my community and had this intention ever since I was back in Syria as well, but I could never achieve that back there, simply due to the influence of my husband's attitude which is condoled by the Syrian society at large.*

Similarly, Ghada has raised the alarm that spending too long in the UK is not necessarily sufficient to ensure a change in male attitudes towards women's time. Her husband is claimed to represent the typical Syrian gendered attitude although he has spent a very long time living in the UK. She confirms this, saying:

> *My husband never helps me with the kids at all... so I am the only one who takes care of everything even if he has time to help, but he does not. He learned that my time is to be dedicated for him and the children. By the way, my husband has been in the UK more than 30 years and still has the traditional mentality... 'I am the man'.*

Throughout the participants' narratives it became clear that a participant woman's time is structured according to her gendered role which is mainly to serve others. For instance, Rasha gives a clear account of her time-structuring practice that is stretched out over her commitments as a working woman and her domestic and caring duties as a mother and wife:

> *Actually, my time at work is rewarding as it takes me out of the limited family environment, and by nature, I like to feel I'm giving something... Sometimes I find the mundane (domestic work) such as cleaning, cooking as boring, and sometimes I enjoy it after a lot of mental stress at work especially by the end of the week ... and this mixture makes me happy.*

Yet, Rasha insists that her primary role as a mother and a wife, and the time allocated for this role is her priority – she thrives on dedicating her time for satisfying the needs of her children and husband:

> *I do feel happy about this, and I feel happier and satisfied when I help my husband out even if that puts pressure on me; and I'd say the focus of my time is mainly my children and husband - they come first before anything else, and for me, making sure my children are ok is my priority and this will give me lots of happiness.*

Rasha – in doing this – seems to be unable to break away with the cultural gendered background that formed her personality and consequently her perception of time organising and time structuring. She is more than happy to stay within the boundaries of gendered time allocation designed for her by others. This is not unique for Rasha:

for instance, Haifa has expressed similar commitment to gendered structuring of time, and she has experienced it without complaints. She explains:

Always my mind is thinking of my children and husband they are my past and future ...so my personal plan if I have it will be in relation to them....

Again, Dima seems quite convinced to prioritise her husband's time and she sees no time gendering coming from her husband's side. She also thinks that the time dedicated for domestic and care work needs to be prioritised to her time spent in paid work. She asserts:

I think that my husband organises his time according to his job and study interest and when he has spare time, he shares it with us; but my priorities are domestic work and children. Very often, I had to cancel my classes and my job commitments when one of my children is ill and I had to look after him - which is my job.

She even admits that her time structure is gendered, and that her husband's time has no room for domestic and care duties; and hence, she has to do it. She sees nothing peculiar about this difference in time allocation:

Yes sure time is gendered because, simply, whenever my husband leaves the house, he doesn't have to think about what he has to feed the children, when they come back or whether they do their homework or not. For me, I have to cope with managing my life as well as my family's demands.

Such views and conceptualisation of time and time allocation have been recurring throughout all other narratives. It is the impact of social and cultural norms which dictate that Syrian women need to respect their marital status, maintain their bondedness to their children, and attend to the needs of the husbands. So their time needs to be fully dedicated to those issues. For example, Suha's behaviour in dealing with her time is quite stratified and normalised in accordance to such norms and practices – as revealed in her comments below:

My marital status and my children are the greatest factor in organising my time because I have to give them the priority in everything; and even though I consider my husband in my time organising as well because I know that

> *husbands like to be cared for, even if they don't say it and I know my husband is flexible but to some extent.*

For Suha, the gendering of her time and the sense of inequality in time allocation compared to her husband come from her marital status – being a married women. However, she thinks that her behaviour is due to her inner dialogue, ignoring the bigger social and cultural picture. She justifies her assumptions, saying:

> *I would cancel some activities which I enjoy just to stay at home with my kids, I Even used to cancel some seminars when I was doing my PhD just to care for the children, to read them some stories whenever I feel they need me...*

> *This is done because I am a mum and being a mum restricts you; you can't escape it. I would like to do a lot of things but there is a voice in my head and heart saying "Suha, you're not a single woman, you are a married woman and mother" so you have limitations. So I put my boundaries by myself; I'm very strict on myself I must say.*

Suha thinks of herself as being the agent/ subject rather than the object of some historical male practices or other externalities, such as culture, society and religion. For her, this limitation in how to organise and control her time is coming from marital status – a false assumption that she fails to recognise.

In adhering to gendered time structures, some participants found satisfaction as they felt in control of the domestic domain and contended in leaving the outside public domain to the husband. They believed in the division of labour and time structures between men and women. For instance, Susan is even taking pride for being the sole responsible person for all domestic duties, and she sees no problem in gendering her time:

> *Yes, my gender has affected in a way my time structure because I am the one who is mainly responsible more than my husband for dealing with organising the house in terms of shopping, cooking, cleaning and even in socialising...He helps me a lot but I am still the main person who attends to all these things.*

She was quite happy that when there is a need she can exchange duties with her husband and work round her time allocation, especially in examination times that are associated with their jobs and studies. She clarifies this by stating:

> *We do everything together and we are relying on each other most of the time especially when we have an exam which is related to our job. So we will prioritise our time for helping each other.*

The idea of sharing time structures for carrying out commitments and duties was not always possible as some participants have explained. For example, Galia has made the distinction between domestic house work and child care work, pointing out that domestic work:

> *is gender related, but it can be made easier with my husband helping me, but some biological things such as pregnancy and breast feeding, these things we cannot get help with and they do affect our time.*

In such a statement, Galia has clearly attributed differences in time structuring and time allocation to biological differences between men and women. She does not agree that these differences are purely due to cultural and social norms, and consequently men cannot help in every task at home, especially when it comes to 'pregnancy and breast feeding'. A significant deal of women's time is consumed in attending to such gendered needs.

It is worth mentioning here that even men have gendered needs to attend to. So, in comparison to the gendered time structure of women, men have had similar gendered structuring, especially in their original country. The participants of this study were quite aware of this and commented on it. For example, Suha has referred to the patriarchy of the Syrian society as a factor affecting the male time structure as well, stating:

> *When my husband was in Syria, he was still supportive as he is now but again the social commitment stopped him from doing a lot of things, especially because he's the only man in his family; so he has to take care of his parents,*

> *do things for them. It's a patriarchal society, the laws are male, and the principles are male.*

In other narratives, participants tried to gender some needs, and thereby the gendering of time structure has included a further gendered role for women – which is the ensuring of allegiance to the ethnic culture and traditional system. This has been regarded as one of Rasha's duties or responsibilities towards her ethnic roots:

> *I also have the extra responsibility of teaching my children Arabic and religion (Quran) - which puts more stress on us as immigrant women.*

Being migrants, the Syrian participants emphasised the spending of their time on their new role in the host country, which is the reproducing of the historical and cultural identity for their children. It is the linking between the past time and the present time to maintain a sense of belonging as well as balancing between the two spaces and two cultures – that of the UK and Syria. For instance, Ghenwa has clearly referred to this culturally-gendered role of migrant mothers, pointing out:

> *broadly speaking there is no major difference between mine and my husband's in organising our time, but I feel I have more responsibility than him, I need to balance between work and children and family...yes, I know he is very helpful, but still my gender does affect my time's organisation and allocation in some way...*

> *My culture affects me as it assigns more tasks on women at home than men.... here there is no support from my extended family and so my husband has a duty to help and he does....*

> *and still Syrian women have more pressures here than English women because they need to mix between life in the UK and their Syrian culture ..... They need to get the best from each culture.... Syrian women also need to fill the gap of the missing family relationships in the UK.*

Again, all participants with school children talked about the task of running their children to school as a gendered role – it was always the expected mission to be done by women rather than men. This gendering exercise has taken place in the UK since in Syria women do not take their children to schools. This role has infringed the woman's time structure even more and affected her time allocation.

In brief, the participants thought of the new place (UK) as an opportunity to re-configure their perception of time and re-shape their lived experiences within the boundaries of some new time structures which were hoped to reduce the gender gap in time allocation. However, it seems that such dreams have never come true, and the participants tried to adjust to the new realities by repositioning themselves on the boundaries between their national background and the new transnational place.

Hence, it has become important to explore their new time experiences from a socio-cultural perspective, where the participants tried to allocate time for developing their own cultural identity within their own children through engraining their mother tongue, religion and many other cultural practices in their daily routines in the host country. In doing so, the participants have thought of time as a tool for investment and attributed to it a socio-cultural sense, and this will be the discussion of the next section.

Experiencing a Transitional Time

Experiencing two culturally-different time perspectives was quite evident in the narratives of the participants, who often showed their awareness of such differences throughout various narratives. For example, Rasha has stated:

> *I think that time is not the same at all in Syria compared to Britain because in Syria anything that you can't do today, you can do tomorrow, it doesn't really matter. Unfortunately, people in Syria don't realise the importance of time.*

It seems that the Syrian culture is not influenced by the authority of the 'clock' in terms of the relationships between people, as claimed by Haifa – who has recognized the commodity of time in the UK context. This has made her defend her opposition to the new culture of time (in the UK) by stating that human relationships are more valuable and vital to be controlled by the cruel elements of time or measured by units of time.

> *Here every minute of time is measured in terms of money and regarded in terms of financial cost. But I do not like that – human relations and human life cannot be regarded as such.*

For Haifa, the Syrian culture values the time spent with the dear ones as quality time. Hence, she does not accept the materialised context of time she discovered in the host country saying:

> *I can't value time in the same way people do here, they have strange ways for valuing time so much ... they differ from us ....you cannot see your best friend as often or at any time. But back home you are always in contact with your loved ones and at any time you wish even without any prior arrangements.*

Similarly, Zeina has reflected on the materialisation of the time by using the phrase 'very useful' to describe the time she has spent in the UK. She expresses her great satisfaction with the cultural norms of time in the host country as they enabled Syrian women of achieving their educational ambitions. She points out her view:

> *People don't waste their time here, they go and study because they have more individualistic attitude which is good ... more Syrian women are studying here with a great ambition but you wouldn't find that in Syria I think... Time here encourages you to study because there is less time for social life. There is more time in Syria but the outlook of life is different and people are relaxed - unaware of the issue of time.*

The metaphoric assumption that 'time is money' has been also reflected on by Suha but in a more pragmatic way than Haifa. Suha thinks of the 'rhythms' of time in the UK as a facilitator for accepting the host view of time rather than the native view of time. She explains:

> *In the UK you are restricted within a framework of Time... here the rhythm of the time will make you aware of the power-ness of time and also here in Britain they say time is money so if you waste time it means you are wasting money – and I do not mind such view. In Syria the rhythm of the time is completely different: it is very soft, unplanned and not fixed....so we can push it - there you feel time is power-less ... Syrians have time for social interactions... Here we can't push the boundaries - which I do not mind as well since this view has enabled me to be more productive in the UK.*

Suha has clearly distinguished between her experiencing of time in Syria as a facilitator for social interaction and her experiencing of time in the UK as a facilitator

for productivity. She seems to accept both views but each in its separate environment. She has clearly reconciled between the two cultural views of time, seeing that reconciliation as the best strategy to adapt to the divergences and the contestations faced in the host country (the UK).

On the other hand, the participants have referred to the collective infringement on the individuals' time in Syria. This has had a particular implication for women as their time was organised by other people round them. For instance, Suha has explained how organising a woman's time is a collective matter in the Syrian culture:

> *In the UK people can control and organise their own time, but in my case the people who are around me (my small family and extended family) have controlled my own time because I never say no to them and I am here for them, this is how I grew up .. and I am still stuck with my Syrian norms.*

This has made many participants look at their Syrian experience as more sophisticated or complicated than that of the UK. For example, Hala G. Comments:

> *Life in Damascus is different: people there are very complicated and lives are overloaded with things that are not really important ... it is a waste of time. Only when I went to Syria after spending 5 years in the UK, I realised that in the UK life is easy and normal, and people here are less complicated. The time I spent in the UK taught me how to make sense of my life and this enhanced my lived experience.*

Suha reiterates a similar experience of time, thinking of the time spent in the UK as a facilitator of more productivity and a liberator from the burden of social commitments:

> *I am sure that if I was in Syria I would be influenced by the social framework there because I have to satisfy a lot of social norms, such as visiting people...see your father, mother and your relatives ...so, your time will be organised in relation to your social events.... so I think my productivity is better here than in Syria because, I am free from social commitments.*

Thus, the host context has enabled participants to liberate some of their cultural concepts and practices and adopt new mechanisms to engage themselves within the new philosophy or understanding of the concept of time. It is a reforming time

experience that enabled them to reconceptualise the norms and practices that they inherited from their past experiences. In performing time organisation in the host country, the participants needed extra efforts as they haven't been used to the UK time structure. In this regard, Raja reflects on the Syrian women's attempt to self-create themselves in the host country, saying:

> *Syrian women here tend to be more hard working due to the fact that they are not used to this life style, and so they tend to put in more effort. They are foreigners trying to make a place for themselves in a foreign country.*

It is a difference between British and Syrian social structures that creates such discrepancy between the two time experiences. In the UK, Syrian women have departed from their own personal space and time, and this has resulted in a new experience of time that changed their conceptualisation of time. This will form the discussion points of the following section.

Community and Belonging through Migratory Time

The discussion of this section will be drawn as an attempt to answer the third research question, namely:

- *How does time in the UK shape Syrian women's perceptions and experiences of community and belonging?*

Although some participants have shown resistance to the new time structure, they have later become appreciative of this structure. This could be due to the sense of achievement they have felt while being in the UK or due to the effect of the long time they have spent in the host country. However, neither of their achievement nor the period spent in the UK could weaken the participants' strong bondedness to their authentic cultural norms and practices. In this regard, Dima says:

> *...my life here is quite settled because my husband and children and my work are here yet, I still miss my home country, especially my family (Mum, dad, my brother and sisters) ... I am always scared or anxious of having the rest of my future time here, not there (Syria).*

Their sense of autonomy in dealing with the time issue was somewhat unreal since they did not really exercise their preferences in how to organise and allocate their time in the host country. This is quite evident in Haifa's comments:

> *Unfortunately I have lived here more than 22 years but I do not like it and I have always lived here and always felt I am living here for a purpose which is my kids and my husband...if I have a choice, I will never choose to be here.*

The fluctuation between two different time structures (the Syrian past and the UK present) was clearly explained by Asma. In her home country, a woman's time should be solely dedicated for motherhood and housewifery. So, women are denied a role in the public sphere – it is a social emphasis that their role is re-production rather than production. She claims:

> *The practices and attitudes of the Syrian society towards women are not right...whatever a woman does beyond her house and family duties seems unimportant and unnecessary*

Asama explains the discrepancy between the host country and the home country, saying:

> *The UK culture is more civilised and more open about working women in society ... women in the UK have more freedom about how they allocate their own time..... so, If the facilitation available in the UK was also available in Syria, I would have been able to achieve what I have done in the UK back in Syria.*

Therefore, Asma believes that for women to be able to achieve they need to have the right environment that supports their willingness to attain. To use her time more productively, a woman should have at her disposal the necessary facilities and the right supportive environment – being her family or her society. This issue of supporting environment has been reflected in the participants' vouch for a time-oriented governmental and organisational system as well as a time-oriented culture and society. For instance, Rasha attributes Syrians' negligence of the value of time to governmental culture in Syria, claiming:

> *Living in Syria is very frustrating because government, organisations, and the whole system there doesn't appreciate time; and this makes you not appreciate time since things are not as much organised as here in Britain.*

However, these are not the only factors that affected the time experiences of the participants. For example, the political situation back home has made participants feel the remoteness of their past and how sour the experience of time has become in the host country. It is a time that does not allow them the mobility between their home country and host country – here they seem to have no real choices about how to experience time and their sense of anxiety has been aggravated by the issue of increasing uncertainty of the future. Suha has expressed her feelings of disappointment, saying:

> *I am very unsettled because we are losing our country which is our past, our future as well, now I count myself as a refugee or as a child who lost their mother. I feel I am displaced…. Maybe because I lost my choice to go back there (Syria) even for visiting.*

This indicates that 'time' is experienced in relation to other factors, events or happenings. During the current war in Syria, the participants started to feel the negative sense of their time spent in the UK away from their struggling relatives and friends in Syria. Although they have spent a long time in the UK, the participants reverted to their roots and following up news from home. Thus, their current time has been totally consumed by watching news, as explained by Haifa:

> *The current situation in Syrian is a disaster; I am watching the news 24 hours because my family are there.*

Again, Rasha seems to be pre-occupied by focusing on future time in regards to the sad events taking place back home. She says:

> *This situation does occupy my thinking... yes we came here and we are working here but still in some way we connect to Syria and we look forward to go back there and enjoy a new Syria.. a free Syria ..a .peaceful Syria.*

Experiencing of migratory time in the UK has affected the sense of belonging of those participants: they started to experience a dual loyalty to spaces. For instance,

Asma expresses her thoughts by relating to two perspectives – one emotional, and another rational:

> *Emotionally, Syria is my mother land and I will never forget that I belong to there, but logically, I would say that the UK is my home, I must say that I have certain loyalty to UK for offering me what I had always desired back in Syria.*

For Asma, it is impossible to give up her cultural identity but she can adopt different homes and different nationalities:

> *A cultural identity is not a jacket which we can take off anytime we like...we are British nationals but we do not feel 'true British' and we are not regarded as such by the host community. However, we have two homes: one is our original country and the other is the host country.*

In explaining the meaning of home and their sense of belonging, the participants have reflected on the issues of social as well as cultural inclusion and exclusion within the host community. It is an implicit experience of time that is not clearly defined but it is metaphorically identified. The time experience has become very associated with the movement in space and culture. Haifa says:

> *In Syria - my home - I feel more relaxed as I belong to that culture, those people, and my family is there ...I find myself there as I am supported and empowered by the family*

The sense of inclusion is strongly associated with the past and the home community rather than with the present and host community. Susan explains this by stating:

> *I am very nostalgic about my homeland ... this is something you can't forget ... it is where you grow up, your childhood, your school, your ties with your family... these are engraved in yourself and your mind.*

Experiencing time through such feelings and emotions did not go into one single direction. Other participants insisted that the UK is their home but still through relating to their past experiences of time in their home country. For example, Raja has always associated the time she spent in Colchester with the time she has experienced in her home town in Syria:

I have been in Colchester about 35 years and whenever I go out of this town and return to it, I feel that I am back to Latakkia. For me, Colchester is very much like Latakkia .... Home lives in us, we do not live in it.

Again, Rasha feels that she is at home in the UK since this is the place that contained her family since her childhood, where her children will spend their future, and where she works.

My family is here, my work is here and the future of my children is here and I don't have much connection in Syria except some relatives. In general, I consider the UK to be my home. I love my homeland, I go there and love seeing people for short periods but I want to go back to UK because I'm used to the life here.

Zeina has clearly mixed between the physical sense of 'home' and the emotional 'home'. She claims affirmatively:

Well I have both my home is Syria but I also consider UK as part of my home, because I live here, my house is here, I don't have a house in Syria when I go there I stay with my parents' house.

In fact, not all participants shared similar views: for example, some of them felt that spending a long time in the UK has resulted in a sense of confusion about their identity. Identity has become an issue of participation rather than the feeling of being or existing in a community. For example, Hala G is not decided on what 'home' is:

I am sorry to say that neither Syria nor UK are my home ....I feel I have no home to belong to and some time I feel my house is my home. So when you feel you are being neglected or facing an inappropriate behaviour because of your identity, this really will influence and suppress your belonging.... home is with its people.

As far as the issue of community is concerned, participants expressed varied views, feelings and attitudes towards the Syrian community in the host country. For some, the community is a representation of what it feels to be back home. For example, Dima elaborates on this saying:

I think that the principle of community is quite reassuring here because you feel just like you are breathing from home. At the same time, it's a chance for your children to feel how it's like to be at home.

Again, Haifa did not understand what makes a community and what makes her belong to a community in the host country; she says:

> *There is a Syrian community here, but I do not belong to it. You can communicate and mix with hundreds of Syrians but they do not think like you. For me, a community does not necessarily represent me or my home country. ....I cannot explain what community means to me.*

The Syrian community does not seem to be very engaging to the participants, who prefer to make and keep friends rather than belong to a specific community. For example, Hala G. said:

> *My sense of belonging is to my friends rather than to the Syrian community. I do attend some events for Syria sometime, but this does not mean I belong to that community...my friends are from different countries.*

In seeking engagement, some participants felt much more engaged in a Muslim community rather than in a Syrian one. For them, religion seems to be more a combining factor than nationality or cultural bondedness since moral values are derived from their religion, and that is what they like to see in other people. Rasha has commented on this issue, saying:

> *I do belong to community but not so much as expatriate but more of a general Muslim community. The reason is because we share similar values and the way of life..... They don't have to be people from the same country but as long as we share the same values, more importantly, religious values more than cultural. I mix with many different people as long as they share the same values as us. A lot of my friends are from the UK but mainly from a Muslim background.*

In addition, some participants explained that interacting with different communities will enrich their life time experiences, as indicated by Zeina:

> *I liked all these different communities because in fact we are people of the world, I don't like the inward feeling or the insular feeling to be just by you. ...I like to give what I know and learn from others. That's how you increase in knowledge and live better.*

However, not all participants share such views: for example, Suha insists on sharing some national events with Syrians rather than others. So her views about mixed communities are explained below:

> *The community gives me a sense of belonging; I find myself with the ladies talking about babies because I can't speak about Eid with the Pakistani ladies since we are different; although we are both Muslims, they have different traditions but when I speak to Syrians, it's as if I'm speaking to myself.*

Suha is clearly making a statement about what constitute her national identity and sense of belonging. She has excluded religion as a basis for such identity but included traditional norms. She continues:

> *I can still share stuff with a Christian Syrian Lady even though we both have different religions, we both share the same culture. My belonging is for the Syrian culture rather than the religion.*

Additionally, some participants have realised that the expatriate community may act as an emotional or spiritual bridge rather than a proper physical representation of the home country. For example, Galia acknowledges what she is missing from that Syrian community:

> *...the Syrian community is like a mini Syria....though I still miss Syria's weather, the land, the air, the water and the sunshine. ...even language spoken in the community is not always Arabic, particularly when it comes to communication between our children during the community activities.*

Other participants have denied that the Syrian community in the host country can represent them or their home country; they felt that belonging to such community is a sign of their inability to engage and integrate within the host community. For instance, Susan has stated:

> *We are integrated and we celebrate events of our friends from different cultural backgrounds. Still we maintain our own identity and we are glad for that...we are open to other cultures. However, it should be noted here that the Syrian community does not represent my home country. A community is important but it is not necessary to consist only of Syrian people.*

In an attempt to establish a neutral community, some Syrian women have set up a virtual community online of which many of the participants have become members as well as myself. This virtual community is not founded or based on any religious or political views that may lead members to clash. Hence, the members have purely focused on discussing social and cultural issues as well as the everyday mundane that

concern Syrian women living in the UK. For example, Suha did like such community as it allowed her to share her migratory experience with culturally similar citizens. She explains:

> *...there is an online group of Syrian ladies in the UK and we just communicate with each other... We don't know each other face to face but we share ideas, we ask questions and help each other. This social network allows us to share our experience of living in a foreign country and make it less painful so when we communicate with each other we know that we're not alone in this country, we are sharing the same feeling of nostalgia, lonesome.*

This virtual community seems to be more appealing to its members as it does not carry any religious, racial or political orientation. All Syrians may feel part of it as it connects their present time experience to that of the olden times. It is a bridge between the two cultures and a reminder of the ethnic roots, yet it is hoped that it will reduce the feeling of estrangement and loneliness experienced in the host country. Suha confirms, saying:

> *I feel sad because of the crisis in Syria but I think that the online group unites us in a time of crisis. Such community is good as it enables me to meet people with views and attitudes similar to mine. I feel happy when I log onto the site and see the group, I feel I belong somewhere.*
>
> *The group may discuss something I have experienced and I know all about or I may benefit from, such as traditional Syrian cooking, historical events, educational and schooling issues, child care, health problems, etc.*

The joy of belonging to such community comes from sharing the same historical background – past times – and from the connecting to the current lived experiences – present time. In doing so, the national identity and cultural roots are maintained, strengthened and revived. All of these pertinent issues are quite significant to the survival of the migrants in a host country and for feeling a sense of participation and engagement. In the long run, virtual communication offers a compensatory strategy for maintaining the sense of belonging or inclusion which was under threat since the moment of migrating.

To sum up, the participants have experienced time in relation to their own understanding of what constitute a 'home' for them. Time was always connected to places: in Syria time was considered in relation to memories, while in the UK time was a matter for participation, achievement and enjoyment. This experience of time has significantly affected the feeling of belonging which was ranging between affiliation and identity, and which was suppressed at some occasions and clearly revealed at others. Therefore, it seems important to investigate the issue of integration within the host community by the working Syrian women.

Integrating within the Host Community – the Role of Language

The issue of integrating within the host community was on the mind of the participants, who realised that learning the language of the host is the most significant step towards integration. For example, Haifa confirms such a view by saying:

> *When I first came here, my English was not that good and I needed to spend much time to improve it. English was the tool to communicate properly with the staff at work and the community I am living in; it allows me to understand the British culture better and hence I can integrate more within the society. It was the source of my confidence and the feeling that I am a participating member of that community. Yet, this does not mean that I like the social life here.*

Hence, the span of time to learn English needed proper organising or management on the part of the Syrian women. Haifa did that in order to feel included in that community, yet this does not necessarily make her feel the full belongingness. Hence, her time spent in the UK enabled her satisfying her work needs and community participation but did not allow her full integration within the British social life.

Other than integrating in the host community, understanding their own children and the culture they are exposed to at schools were the main objectives of mastering the host language. Rasha has pointed out that, saying:

167

> *It's essential to have the English language here in order to communicate with your children since they are brought up here. You need to understand their culture, their education and how they think.*

The significance of learning English was quite highlighted in the narratives of the participants. For Dima, English was thought of as a matter of social inclusion, a source of confidence and a tool for being productive:

> *Communicating with the English society on a daily basis will definitely require a good command of the language. Hence, it was natural for me to work on improving my language capability...I do not like to be embarrassed when expressing my thoughts in the host community.*

> *In fact, a language is a key to your character. Not knowing the language contributes to your exclusion from the society as well as from its productive circles.*

However, narratives like the above are not necessarily reflecting proper integration intentions on the part of the participants. This is evident in Suha's statement below:

> *I try to make an effort everyday to improve my English because at the end of the day, I will be living in this society for a long time... but I will not be British and they won't consider me a British because they know I'm a stranger.....*

For Suha, the language will never be an integrating factor since society has got the tools to constantly detect and remind foreigners of their ethnic background. Suha also cites organisational application forms as an example of reminding even her children of their ethnicity. She says:

> *Even the kids when they grow they will be asked about their ethnicity in every application form even though they are native speakers of English..... They know we are strangers, they know that we are not from this country*

For Suha, learning a language seems to be a tool for ensuring environmental safety.

> *...but still, we need to understand their language to understand their culture and to be safe... because you are safe when you understand directions; you are safe when you understand how to use something so it's for your safety.*

Suha's statements will render the factor of time as irrelevant for the full integration within the host society. In fact, she is not sure that immigrants will ever be fully integrated within the British society, and therefore, they seek perfecting their British

accent as a tactic to show a sense of belonging to that society – it is an attempt for social inclusion:

> *We want to copy the British accent because we want to be considered as British.... At the end, you want to belong, when you belong you feel safe, you feel secure. To some extent we want to belong to them, we don't want to stay on the margin.*

Again, Raja was in doubt about the possibility of achieving full integration within the British society. It seems that the decision of inclusion is in the hands of others – who got the power of full belongingness, as explained by Raja:

> *First of all you will never be close to the society here or maybe they will not allow you to be close to, they will never accept you as an English person at all.... they will still call us foreigners even if we lived with them for a long time ... in Syrian I will never be in such a situation.*

It should be noted here that some participants were not even sure about the meaning of full integration in the host society. Sometimes, they thought of factors such as: mastering the language, knowledge of the culture, and familiarity with the British system as contributing factors. For example, Hala J. has wrongly assumed full integration when saying:

> *Now I feel safe in the UK because I get familiar with culture... since my language has improved.... and I can successfully integrate with the British culture.*
>
> *so being familiar with culture I feel I am safer than before ....but now I feel comfortable because I am aware of the UK culture and its system.*

Furthermore, the issue of language has been cited as an inclusive factor within the expatriate community – but this time the participants discussed their Arabic language. For example, Raja has found her Arabic as a binding factor that allows her to be included into the Syrian community:

> *I feel I have a sense of community... so whenever I hear people speaking Arabic, I straightaway or spontaneously go to them and introduce myself to them as Syrian and start speaking with them Arabic..... I never hide my mother language, it gives me the sense of community......Every time when I meet Syrian people I feel very excited especially when I see them in my class .... I still hold within myself the sense of belonging to the Syrian community*

The element of language has triggered the memories of the past and it has given a different flavour to the present for some participants. For example, Asma tried to explain the importance of using Arabic with members of her expatriate community:

> *I love communicating with Syrian people here, because it does trigger that feeling of nostalgia when you speak Arabic, and in a way it increases my comfort here in UK, because I can practice my language with my people, which cements the idea that UK now is my home.*

> *The Syrian community for me is very important - as human beings, we always try to stay connected to the roots and the positive things that we have experienced in the past - this flourishes and vitalises our present time.*

In this regard, language seems to be used as a connector between the past and the present as well as between two geographical spaces – Syria and the UK. The participants seemed to be keen on practicing the past within the boundaries of the present in order to give meaning and purpose to their stay in the host country. The language is an identity marker that distinguishes the participants from the others, and maintaining its use is a reminder as well as an enabler of the social and cultural differentiation of the participants.

Thus, time is objectified through the creation of the Syrian community within different spatial boundaries - the host country. It is an attempt to create the past and bestowing it on the children of the participants. Ghada has seen quite a benefit in belonging to a Syrian community in the UK, especially sharing the past:

> *Yes I love to be active and belong to the Syrian community in specific because I need to get my children to know about the Syrian culture and communicate with the Syrians....we share the same history.... and we share the social identity.*

But for Hala J., the idea of belonging to an expatriate community is to alleviate the feeling of homesickness rather than segregate members from the host community, as she explains:

so the view of community for me is a way to survive or to feel less tension about being away from home and to avoid homesickness. Yet, we should not exclude ourselves from the British society

Other Factors for Integration

The participants did not show clear understanding of the meaning of integration within the host community. In answering a question about the status of their integration, they have cited factors such as having a job, a house, friends, and achievements as enablers of full integration. This is a confusing issue to them since they take their sense of satisfaction and settlement as integration status. For example, Susan stated:

> *I am quite settled ... I am working ... and have our own home ... we established our own routine... when you have secure job... have a house ... have friends and when you feel as ease and comfortable ... this will be your home ... it doesn't have to be your country.*

However, the issue of feeling integrated is much more complicated than participants thought of. For instance, Zeina admits that although she feels settled, there is a part inside her making her feel not integrated yet. She says:

> *I feel I am settled, but also there is something unclear to me about feeling integrated or not ... I am not really a local, I am still an immigrant despite the many years I have lived here. I always feel like I am from a different culture, so I feel like I am here at the present but my future here is never certain.*

This could be taken as a reference that the issue of time in its totality (past, present and future) needs to be incorporated in the process of integration. Hence, for full integration, the participant needs to feel inside oneself that he is a full member of the host community in addition to having similar attitude or confirmation by others. The historical past and the uncertain future are preventing complete integration or adopting the national identity of the host. For some other participants, feeling comfortable with the British system has been taken as a sign of full integration, as declared by Dima:

> *I do feel settled because the system here is quite comfortable since there are pre-schools for children which allows me to do my courses and there are also many activities for children as well. I feel that it's quite flexible and relaxing which makes me feel quite settled...*

This is a utilitarian attitude where Dima is appreciating the availability of the means of comfort and easy living. Yet, she is not really talking about proper integration since she denied that the British community will be the future of her children. She pointed out:

> *... this is not your land and this is not the optimum environment for your children to grow in. I think that when everything is settled in Syria, we will go back to Syria.*

Having such a statement is a clear indication that Dima is regretting losing the time of her past and she regards her present time in the host country as a temporary period that will lead to what she thinks of as a better future. These are all signs of no integration.

In some situations, the participants were not very keen on adopting factors of integration. For example, Haifa has insisted on using the Arabic language at home with her children in order to mark the boundaries between their ethnic roots and the host culture, and between the past and the present.

> *I use Arabic in everyday life especially at home with my kids ... I speak my language to remind them of our culture...so when we go home they can speak with my family Arabic since my family cannot speak English.*

This is an attempt by the participants to maintain their Syrian identity and to pass it over to their children, believing that language is the container of thought and the protector of the past. Meanwhile, children are the future time as well as the future extension of the participants' lives – which they need to invest in.

There are other purposes for teaching children the Arabic language, such as enabling them to practice their Islamic religion - praying and reciting Qur'an – the holly book and reading un-translated Arabic writings. Hence, Rasha has stated:

> *I would like for them to learn the Arabic language because it's part of our life, religion (Qur'an), culture and some scriptures and Arabic literatures which aren't translated to English. Also, the Arabic language will benefit them in the future. Now that we have Arabic channels, it's good for them to get both sides of the story.*

This is a futuristic attitude that the participants have demonstrated as a tactic to deal with the unexpected and uncertainties of the host culture and present time. It is still thought of as a bridging exercise between the various stages of time: past, present and future, and which is hoped for to have rounded knowledge. Again, this is an attempt to create a future environment which enables them to create links between them and their children by sharing something from the past time.

However, some other participants did not follow similar tactics in regards to the use of Arabic language. For example, Suha explains how she approached this issue within her family:

> *I am not a typical Arabic mother who should speak Arabic all the time… when I speak with my husband, I use Arabic; but my children talk to me in English…they are brough t up here as British.*

It is a distinction between issues related to the past (i.e, the husband) and the present and future (i.e., the children).

In brief, languages seemed to have an influence on the ways that the meanings of time are made by migrant women. Outside their own homes, they needed to use English so they can complete their everyday outside–home duties, communicate, work and manage children schooling business, but the quality time at home seemed to be more enjoyable and preferable when they use Arabic and the main purpose is to keep the children rooted to their cultures, religion and parents

Conclusion

This chapter has presented the findings of the current investigation that was about exploring, understanding and interpreting time perceptions and time experiences of some Syrian women living and working in the UK. The purpose was to identify the factors affecting the experience of time in the host environment by addressing the research gaps found in the literature and the relevant research questions raised. By using the Heideggerian phenomenological perspective, the chapter has linked the findings of this study to the personal and cultural contexts of the individual participants. With the thematic analysis of the participants' narratives, the chapter has captured the intricate relationship between perceiving time and the actual personal and cultural contexts of the participant. The concept of time has been associated with the gendering practices, mobility between spaces, socio-cultural processes, and personal perspectives.

Time has appeared to be a gendered concept that was already institutionalised in both cultures but in different forms and with varying degrees. Despite their diversified perceptions and their awareness that time is a socially-constructed notion that can vary through movement in place or space, the participants did not show any serious attempts or individual engagement in challenging the gendered time concepts, the time-gendering practices or the gendered time allocation. So, the findings have shown that time gendering has crossed the geographical and cultural boundaries as well as the time temporalities.

On the other hand, the time experienced by migrants has been found to be transformational in both senses: positively developmental and negatively exilic. Such experience has also affected the sense of belonging to and engagement in the host

community. So, for all participants, that time has never been perceived as static and that it was always been associated with some activity or experience in order to be properly understood. Its dynamicity has been clearly indicated in the shifting of feelings from associating time experiencing with the migration experience to associating time experiencing with the exilic experience due to the change in political and historical contexts of Syria (i.e., developing a war).

The chapter has also outlined the impact of time experiences on the process of integrating within the host community, where the sense of belonging, meaning of 'home' and cultural identity have been highlighted as being affected by the lived time experiences of the participants.

The following chapter is dedicated for an elaborate discussion of the findings of this study, where time perceptions and time experiences are interpreted within the boundaries of the migratory experience of Syrian women. Hence, spatial mobility combined with cultural transition will be drawn upon to explore a new emerging concept, namely: the gendered migratory time. It is a time that accommodates the three time structures (past, present and future) over a dynamic continuum. In this migratory time, every temporality and cultural issue seems negotiable except the sense of ethnic bondedness and belongingness to the historical past of the motherland.

CHAPTER SIX - DISCUSSION OF RESEARCH FINDINGS

Introduction

The data compiled in this study was collected and analysed to provide some representation of how time is experienced by non-western women migrants living and working in the UK permanently. The investigation has tried to explore the intricate relationship between time experience and gender across spatial-cultural boundaries. Hence, the effect of the migratory experience was called into question to understand the transformative effect of time on culturally-gendered practices in regards to some Syrian women who are settled in the UK. The literature have revealed some research gaps in regards to the research topic of this study, especially in the area of individualised lived temporal experiences of non-western women living in a community based on the western culture. Secondly, very little was mentioned about the relationship between time, gender and culture in the migratory research. The third gap was in relation to the impact of time experiences on the women migrants' experiences of community and belonging.

The study was designed to address the above-mentioned research gaps found in the relevant literatures, and to identify factors affecting time perceptions and time experiences of the migrant women. Therefore this thesis has been written in an attempt to answer three relevant research questions, namely:

- *How is time understood in the host and migrant communities amongst Syrian women living in the UK?*

- *What role do gender and culture play in shaping Syrian women's experiences of time and its organisation in the UK?*

- *How does time in the UK shape Syrian women's perceptions and experiences of community and belonging?*

The extent literature has been non-uniformed in defining the nature of time and in explaining temporal human experiences. Similarly, quite diversified views, attitudes and experiences of time have been expressed throughout the interviewing process of the participants of this study. For instance, time was understood objectively as an external reality where participants thought of it as a resource that can be measured and quantified. Hence, they expressed it in terms of time structures (e.g., talking about the past, present and future), speed of time, temporal sequences, and time rhythms. They were quite aware of the impact of time on their daily routines and life stages. On the other hand, time was also perceived subjectively in terms of their spatial experiences or social activities, where they have realised that there is a public time that is dedicated for paid work outside home, private time dedicated for domestic and care work, and personal time associated with own needs for self-development through specific achievements that transform status. The participants have also demonstrated their awareness of the contextual dynamics (personal, socio-cultural, and institutional) that affected their time perceptions and time experiences. They have also understood the non-static or dynamic nature of time, thinking of it as being in constant process of transition.

The current chapter is based on the individual narratives of the participants in regard to their perceptions of time and their experiencing of time. The analysis of these narratives has come up with the key themes for this study: diversified perceptions of time: objectified as a commodity and socio-culturally gendered; and diversified experience of time (transformative, migratory and exilic). These narratives will be situated within the appropriate personal and socio-cultural contexts, using the

Heideggrian phenomenological perspective and its conceptual framework. Thus, the lived experiences of the individuals can be linked to others as well as to past experiences or historical contexts. So, the chapter will bring into focus issues of language, place and time, demonstrating their relationship to the experience of belonging and community. In brief, the chapter will discuss the key findings and the emerging themes of this study in relation to the research questions.

Time Perceptions

The issue of temporality has been on the mind of every participant – who in turn felt being more controlled by the element of time in the host country. For such participants, time was an issue that they fear and time was present everywhere through various indicators which humans cannot escape. Time is being feared because no one can control it (*see* Ammos, 2006; Richardson and Robinson, 2008). For instance, the participants have linked their perceptions of time to significant issues in their personal lives, such as: work commitments, familial obligations and socio-temporal norms. Unlike their country of origin, the host country seemed quite rigid in its time structures (Thrift, 2006; Thompson *et al.*, 1999; Adam, 2004), and participants have realised the difficulty of challenging such temporal structures (Bryson, 2007). In the meantime, they have recognised the dynamic nature of time which makes it fly quicker – time is subject to the changes of the environmental context - as more pressures and duties make time flies much quicker (Eriksen, 2001; Castells, 2010). The transition of the participants through and between different time zones and places have made them realise the disparities and differences between their country of origin and the host context in conceptualising and experiencing the concept of time.

The findings of this study have centred on exploring the perceptions of time by female migrants living in a host country, which is the theme of the first research question below:

- *How is time understood in the host and migrant communities amongst Syrian women living in the UK?*

In answering this question, the narratives of the interviews have been swinging between two key time perspectives: one emphasising the consumption of time (Thompson *et al.*, 1999), claiming that time is a scarce resource which is consumed by social practices; and another emphasising the production of time, seeing time as the rhythm of social life. The discussion in the next sections will outline the two perspectives as they have been defined by the participants themselves.

Commoditisation of Time

The narratives have demonstrated that the participants tried to talk about time through linking their activities within a specific space to a specific Newtonian or clock time. This is done by referring to the measuring units of time (such as hours, days, months and years) and its duration and tempo or speed (Adam, 2013). In doing so, they showed an awareness of the difference between linear time and cyclical time (Castells, 2010). For instance, when talking about their daily activities and the time spent in the UK, they referred to time as an objective finite resource that progresses into one direction and hence it cannot be saved, repeated or extended. This is a view confirmed in the literature review where individuals and organisations keep looking for ways to make their time more efficient (*see* James and Mills, 2005; Mancini, 2007; Richardson and Robinson, 2008). This goes in line with the capitalist thinking especially when they think of the repetitive nature of their work tasks and domestic

duties which keep happening within a very finite but cyclical time (*see* Thompson *et al.*, 1999; Thrift, 2006; Ammos, 2006; Mancini, 2007).

In their commoditisation of time, the participants showed an awareness of a cyclical motion of time and they worked on consuming it while in the UK in achieving educational progress (e.g., Dima Zeina, Souha, Ghenwa), career (Hala G, Hala J, Rasha) and self development (Asma, Ghada, Galia), and family building (all participants). However, their behaviour was quite localised in the space of the UK since they have admitted that they could not make much use of their time spent in their home space – Syria.

In remembering the time they spent back home, the participants talked about cyclical time. They have always wished to go back to that time, and therefore they kept visiting their home country even after developing strong ties with the host country. However, they realised that time did not exist externally in the home country they re-visited – things have changed as it is not the same time they were thinking of or they experienced in the past (Castells, 2010). This is an acknowledgement that time is not static but dynamic and that it is a socially-constructed notion that can vary through movement in place or space (*See* Griffiths et al, 2013; Harvey, 1990; Hillier, 2008; Hörschelmann, 2011; King, 2012).

In understanding the nature of time, some participants have tried linking its concept to other happenings accompanying the flow of time. For example, Haifa has detected the changeable nature of time through her chronological aging and life stages of others such as her growing children. So, in line with the literature (Shove *et al*, 2009), she understands the concept of time and its flow by situating it within its contextual and historical environment (*see* Heidegger, 1962; Mello & Worrell, 2006; Hoy, 2012).

Similarly organisational literature has also investigated the mapping of activities to time (*see* Campbell *et al*., 2010), and the temporal context (Johns, 2006) of activities. Such temporal linking was important for the participants – who have always recognised the tempo or the speed of time through comparing the flow of work activities and the familial engagement experienced in the home country to the activities done in the host country. In this regard, the issue of time acceleration has been discussed in the literature (Warf, 2008; Rosa & Scheuerman, 2009) and it was attributed to advancement of information technology (Ylijoki, 2010), forcing people to re-configure their lives in line with the speedy temporalities and to shift their focus to the present, submerging both the past and the future (Hassan, 2009).

Hence, for the participants, time in the UK ran much faster than in Syria; and this confirms what the literature investigated as the creation of new 'social orders and transformations' through the notion of 'time-space compression' (Crang, 2010: 405). It is an indication that the participants recognise the temporality of time and its relation to spatiality. For instance, Dima has perceived time through her mothering experience as a transformational factor and realised that her past time (care-free) in the Syrian space is different from her present time (stressful) in the UK space. This is an attempt to show the dynamicity of time by linking it to spaces and geographical mobility (*See* King, 2012; Griffiths, 2013).

A different view of time has also emerged from the narratives – time is ascribed a sense of neutrality: it is felt through the sense of enjoyment rather than achievement. A similar sense of neutrality about time was introduced by Durkheim who thinks that time is neither captured through an innate feeling nor produced by external natural forces (Gell, 2000). Thus, Syrsa claims that she achieved well in both Syria and the UK but enjoyed the UK time better and that the UK time was neither fast nor slow.

This also goes in line with the view cited in the literature (*see* Jonas & Huguet, 2008; Livneh*, 2012*; Duncheon & Tierney, 2013) that time is a feeling rather than being an objective reality that is experienced the same everywhere (*see* Lee & Sawyer, 2010). For Birth (2004), such differences in time perceptions are due to changes in cultural and social norms as well as institutional practices (Castells, 2010).

The participants have also perceived the difference between their private time consumed in domestic and care work and their public time consumed in productive or paid work. For example, Dima and Ghenwa have tried to dedicate part of their private time to attend to their own personal needs such as continuing their further education. This is a notion that was little mentioned in the literature of migrant women, but it has surfaced in quite a few of the narratives of this study.

However, this is not the case of all participants since they have perceived and experienced time quite differently. For example, Ghada G dealt with time in line with her husband's temporal arrangements. Her perception of time structuring or allocation is seen through a cultural lens where Syrian wives are expected to be bound by the time structure and spatiality of their husbands (*see* Kamla, 2014). These differences in adopting various personalized strategies have been referred to in the literature as essential for the effective organisation of time, indicating that time is viewed by the participants as an organisation process that involves assessment behaviours, planning behaviours, and monitoring behaviours (Claessens *et al.*, 2007; Claessens *et al*., 2009).

Consumption of Gendered Time

A woman's time was often seen as a resource that is to be consumed by others, such as: husbands, children, parents and other family members - who are always being

cared for by the woman of the family. Thus, the issue of 'time-for consumption' was more attributed to women by men who always thought that women are incapable of using their time for production, and who thought that men are more capable of using time for production. This is a very gendered view of time that has been adopted by the partners/ husbands of some women participants. Strange enough a woman's time is not regarded as productive as that of the man of the family, although women participants have seemed gasping for such resource as it was hardly sufficient for organising their personal needs and family needs (*see narratives of* Souha, Rasha, Dima, Asma, Raja). For women, time is a resource that needed a lot of bargaining and negotiating by the woman with the man of the family (*see* Höpfl, 2007; Dörre, 2011, Moghadam, 2013).

Meanwhile, a man's time seemed to be a source of production which needs to be respected and left untouched by women when trying organising their own time (Bryson, 2007; Gerson, 2010). It is a priority that needs to be taken into consideration when organising all other family social events. In this regard, some narratives showed a complete submission of the participants to the idea that men are better organisers of time (Rasha – an interviewee). This is due to the fact that the participants' mental and psychological formation has long been subdued to the gendered thinking institutionalised by the family, culture, society, religion, and so many educational, political, and economic arrangements (Linstead, 2009; Mavin and Grandy, 2013; Czarniawska, 2013). So such attitudes cannot be totally neutralised since being females, the participants must have been already shaped and configured in accordance to their gendered role in society. Hence, their concept of time and its organisation seems to be gendered and thus different from that of men. This is why they see men better than women in doing things.

Being affected by their gendered upbringing, some of the participants (Ghalia, Susan, Dima, Rasha) seem to think that what they are doing or thinking is the norm. This situation seems to allow for the sustaining of gendered practices and disallow challenging the gendered time allocation. Some women seem to be indirectly involved in keeping the status quo, or even not recognise that their time was dedicated for much more responsibilities and duties than what occupied their husband's time. Ending up with much fewer responsibilities, the husband could joggle and organise his time better.

The interview narratives have all confirmed the view that women's time is always assumed to be secondary to that of man and should not be spent in serving the woman's best interests. Women's time is always controlled by her surroundings and organised in a way that serves others. This is a stereotyped, traditional gendered attitude that has been institutionalised by cultural, social and political establishments (Beyson, 2007; Linstead, 2009; Kelan, 2010; Powell and Butterfield, 2013) – whether in the home country or the host country. It is a man's attribute, a man's right, and a man's domain. This is clearly evident in time allocation practices of the women participants of this study.

In other words, the narratives have demonstrated a general tendency of the participants to believe in gendering time structure and time allocation which is based on the gendered roles of both men and women. Hence, time perception and time experience have been affected by gender in one way or another. Moving away from original home did not eliminate these gendering tendencies, but it aggravated the gap in time structuring between the two genders. Mistakenly, some participants saw a sort of liberation in the host environment but only to increase their workload within their fixed time structures: they did have paid jobs as an extra option to the domestic

workload. Being women, they found this option as a generator of self-respect and self-esteem as it paves the way for further life achievements or self-development.

This does not deny the fact that some participants (*see statements by* Ghada, Raja, Rasha) were aware that men can be responsible for reducing the quality of women's times; hence, women participants (Participants: Galia, Dima, Asma & Raja) tried to find their own methods to reduce the patriarchal influence: they went on educational courses, they got work outside the home, they showed compliance with the patriarchal culture. In contrast, some other participants (e.g, Rasha) were convinced that men are better in terms of dealing with time management, and that it would be very kind of men when they try helping women in managing time (e.g., Zeina, Dima, Souha). There was also the general tendency to believe that men are not really doing much effort in closing or even narrowing the gap in time structuring between themselves and women. They are not capable or willing to break away with the influence of their social and cultural roots which have constructed gender roles based on the biological sex of the individual (West and Zimmerman, 2009). Hence, society and individuals have become engaged in discriminatory practices through 'doing gender' (Tyler, 2012; Mavin and Grandy, 2013), where individuals are supposed to behave in a manner that is appropriate for their biological sex (*see* Mavin and Grandy, 2013; Czarniawska, 2013; Thanem and Wallenberg, 2014). Some individuals have tried undoing gender in retaliation to those discriminatory practices, but this was argued to have devalued one's own gender (Kelan, 2009; Powell and Butterfield, 2013). All women participants of this study seemed quite engaged in 'doing gender' as expected by their cultural and social institutions. One of the examples of such engagement is to adopt and experience the gendered time structuring that was inherited from their past and pre-knowledge attained in their country of origin.

The experiencing of time by the migrant women has taken many shapes: experiencing gendered time, experiencing cultural time, and experiencing migratory time. These issues will form the discussion in following sections.

Experiencing Time

While many participants viewed the time spent in Syria as a culturally-enjoyable social time, the time spent in the UK was seen as a better time for pursuing education and career as well as achieving self-developmental goals. Therefore, the participants of this study showed an ability to pursue opportunities across spatial-temporal boundaries. In the host country, all participants of this study have confirmed that they enjoyed increased educational progress and better chances for employment, yet without breaking away with their previous cultural norms. Hence, a research question in this regard was asked in their study, as follows:

- *What role do gender and culture play in shaping Syrian women's experiences of time and its organisation in the UK?*

So, the following sections will address the afore-mentioned research question in line with the narratives compiled from the participants of this study.

Experiencing Gendered Time

Through comparing to past experiences, some participants expressed a sense of enjoyment towards the time they have spent in the UK as they felt a sense of independence rather than seeing themselves in relation to others. Their time has become less gendered in the supportive UK environment which enabled multitasking. Yet, they have realised that escaping the patriarchal or cultural time allocation or domination does not necessarily eliminate other elements of control, such as the dictatorial clock or industrial time. It does not also change attitudes toward a woman's time that is allocated for paid work – it is still unproductive in the eyes of

men. On the other hand, in the UK women participants have seen new gendered roles for them to eat away their time, such as the school runs and the task of maintaining their cultural and religious past in their children.

In fact, all participants were quite aware of these gendered temporal assumptions – there is a clear difference in structuring male time and female time. This gendering of time structure has been transferred from the home culture of the participants - a process that was not changed radically in the host culture. The male clock time remained unchanged, unchallenged and always prioritised (*see Höpfl*, 2007), despite the long time spent in the UK – as expressed by participants, such as: Asma, Ghada, Rasha and Raja. Even when women started spending their time in the public sphere to carry out paid work like men, their time spent in the private sphere was not reduced. It seems that paid work outside home has blurred the boundaries between their public time (time spent at work organisation) – which has required a sense of linearity in time structure and entailed a sense of production, and their private time (time spent at home doing domestic and care work) which was deemed to be cyclical and associated with reproduction (*see* Powell and Butterfield, 2013; Kelan, 2010; England, 2011). In this regard, it could be argued that the participants have engaged in replacing their past which was associated with coercive time slavery with optional or voluntary time slavery. At least in the host country, they were able to negotiate their time structure and time allocation with others (*see* Bryson, 2007; Höpfl, 2007; Gerson, 2010) – a thing that was non-negotiable in their country of origin.

On the other hand, perceiving gendered time structuring by the participants did not lead to any kind of active protesting against such prejudice exercised by men (*see* Rasha, Dima, Ghada, Suha). The participants kept their heads down and continued their submission to their cultural norms and traditions even in the host country. Some

participants have thought of their biological make-up as an excuse for them to accept those gendered time structures and a justification for men not to engage in full sharing of the domestic care and work care experienced by their women (Mavin *&* Grandy, 2013). Thus, some participants have condoled the non-sharing of the male partner with the domestic and care duties by basing their argument on the biological differences between men and women (*see* Galia about pregnancy and breast feeding).

Again, they have also thought of the modern work patterns and the work cultures that sustain long hours of work and absence from home as a reason for not enabling men to share their wives the domestic and care work load. For them, man is the main bread winner rather than the women (Tucker, 2008; Eagly & Wood, 2013; Moghadam, 2013; Sidani, 2016): this is due to subjugating women historically to the principles of the male culture and the social context they lived in before coming to the UK. For instance, they seemed to be directly and indirectly affected by their Islamic beliefs and values - a contributing factor in entrenching gendered time structuring in their daily life (*see* Cast and Bird 2005; Jütting *et al*., 2006; ILO, 2010). Hence, their past was spent in a cultural space that was based on instituitionalised gendered thinking and gendered roles.

However, such findings may pose a challenge to the feminist assumptions that women wanted liberation. Participants seem to have engaged indirectly and unintentionally in reproducing gender inequality by choosing not to resist gendered social arrangements, embracing the family notion and subjugating to others (Ennaji & Sadiqi, 2011). In doing so, some women have often attempted to reinterpret religious narratives to justify their actions and to draw on cultural norms to forge their lifestyle. For example many of the participants have chosen to keep the Islamic scarf on their heads indicating an attitude of non-reconciliation with the cultural norms of the host

country. It is worth mentioning here that although the original religious text of Islam has constantly demanded that men and women are equal, this specific religious aspect has been "obscured by dominant patriarchal interpretations" (Rinaldo, 2014: 833).

The Participants' adherence to their religious teachings was evident in their persistence on passing them over to their children, their bondedness to their culture was clear through their sending of their children to Arabic lessons, insisting on making them visit their country of origin and maintaining close ties with the Syrian community in the UK. Women participants have dedicated most of their caring work to such issues which pertain to their own past times, their cultural roots and their true felt identity (Kristeva, 1995; Höpfl, 2007; Söderback, 2014). They kept trying creating their past into the present of their children for the sake of reproducing their past identity and culture into the future of their children. It is a conflicting issue as they tried to replace their past when they came to the UK, yet they are trying to recreate it in their offsprings. However, all participants thought that maintaining connectedness of the children to the original roots of their ethnicity is a gendered need that requires female time to be attended to. It is the role of linking the past with the present, the home space/ culture with the host space/ culture in order to reach a certain future that guarantees a sense of belonging to the home country or the past (*See* Ghenwa, Ghada, Rasha, Galia, Dima).

In brief, the participants did not see the gender gap in time structures narrowing in the host culture as they have expected. They remained in the no-man land ascribed to them by their cultural and social norms. This land was the meeting point of both time structures, both cultures, both spaces and all types of temporalities (past, present and future).

Experiencing Cultural Time

Some participants have been subjected to a conflict between the native perspective of time and the host time structure. Thus, their personal views, family responsibilities and social as well as work commitments have always steered their time experiences in one direction rather than another. According to the findings of this study, the participants have tried to show a great sense of loyalty to their ethnicity or cultural origin. This was clearly demonstrated through their attempts to dedicate a significant time for re-creating their own cultural environment within the boundaries of their own homes. For instance, the Syrian dialect was the language taught to their children; Syrian traditions are the dominant practices in the house; Syrian food, music, TV channels are dominant in their daily routines. In doing so, the participants were linking between their past time and the present – for them they were living a transitional period which requires them to move things from their olden times and implant them in their children to ensure continuity of cultural identity within the new time structure and the new hosting space (*see* Ansell *et al.,* 2011; Andrews & Shahrokini, 2014).

The participants found in 'time' a management tool that enables them of striking a balance between paid work and domestic and care work. This tactic has become much needed when the participants felt culturally bound. A women's primary duty in the Syrian culture is to give her time to others such as: children, husband, and parents (Jabour, 2006; Seifan, 2010; Kamla, 2012). Therefore, it is the woman rather the man who is expected to sacrifice their personal time to serve those others. Only in the host country, some participants talked about personal time to be eroded by the impinging cultural time (domestic and care) and industrial time (paid work). In fact, motherhood was the weakest link in a woman's life to which she has given up most, if not all, of

her time. Hence, Suha, Ghada and Galia thought of time as a scarce resource and that they are being controlled by time rather than being in control of time.

The idea of mastering time was on the minds of the participants who tried to achieve as much as they could within their limited time frame. In doing so, the participants perceived the rhythm and velocity of time through the actual human achievements – which can be measured against past time. The Syrian women realised that the UK structuring of time would serve their ambitions better than the Syrian time structures, thinking that UK time structures have less gendering. But some participants found difficulties in adapting to the UK time structures whenever they failed to perform as they expected to. For example, Hala J admits that her time in the UK was not used efficiently as should be because she suffered the spatial and cultural differences between the host country and her home country. This is an indication that Hala J has acquired the industrial or capitalist view of time – it is a waste whenever it is used unproductively. For her, the UK time is very slow, and this is an indication that the tempo of time is recognised through personal achievement – which fits with the Heidegerian perspective as experience is always linked to temporality. This goes in line with the literature (*see* Greenhouse and Powell, 2003; Solomon and Schell, 2009; Steers *et al*., 2010; Castells, 2010; and Adam, 2013) that regards historical experience is the basis for the socio-cultural interpretations of time, and hence to differences in interpreting the nature of time.

In the new cultural setting, the participants found themselves allocating time for maintaining their children's sense of belonging and enhancing their Syrianness. It is a way for investing more in the time spent in the UK: the host environment forced them to structure time differently to what they used to do in their home country. Now migrant women have to allocate time for their domestic chores, for their children, for

their own self-development, and for work. Such time allocation practice fits more with the Syrian culture since it focuses on the long-term goals rather than taking the western capitalist short term orientation (*see* Hofstede, 2001; Newell and Scarbrough, 2002). Again, the participants showed another cultural orientation that emphasises polychronicity (Solomon and Schell, 2009; Steers *et al*, 2010) when they tried to do multitasking as they combined between paid work, domestic work, care work and pursuing educational progress (Genwa, Dima, Rasha, Suha, Raja, Hala G, Zeina).

Experiencing a transitional time in the new host country did not eliminate the patriarchal supervision rooted in the Syrian context but it has equipped the participants with an agentic force and an individualistic attitude in dealing with the new time structures. For instance, the participants have tried to focus on their own needs and dedicate some of their time for self development and educational progress (e.g, participants, such as: Hala G, Suha, Zeina, Asma, Raja). They could always see the difference between their time structures in the country of origin in comparison to their time organisation in the host country. So, although the participants showed reluctance to break away with the norms of the past, yet, their articulation of the past and clinging to their reminiscences have helped them to reflect on the self and on their realities: to contemplate how they were socialised to be mothers and wives in the Syrian context, but also they realise that some transformation is taking place, as now they have the ability to allocate time for outside work, for community contribution, for self development. Some of them expressed their satisfaction with the new status quo in the host country as it enabled them to choose how, where and when to commit their time. They have discussed their new time structures within the cultural context through the language of comparing and contrasting their temporal activities within the two cultures.

Throughout the narratives, time was also thought of in terms of a personal experience that is closely connected to personal attitudes, emotions and spaces. The most important factor in shaping time experiences was the sense of bondedness to the home country and the meaning of 'home'. The participants have been aware that 'home' is not necessarily associated with a geographical or spatial place; and the data has shown that the meaning of 'home' is not fixed as it has changed across the span of time or during certain events (such as the current war in Syria). Home has become associated with their cultural identity which comes from the past, and which is to be recreated in the present through the constant connection to the home land. Thus, the reality of time experience was swinging between the past time (source of cultural identity) and the present time (the enabler of self-recreation). The participants adhered to their cultural identity through the act of plunging themselves into the past memories and authentic routes (*See* Barbour, 2007; Berg, 2011; Bastian, 2014). Therefore, the experiences came as individualised rather than stereotyped.

As far as the views and attitudes toward the Syrian community in the UK, the participants showed some conflicting views about what may constitute the basis of such community. In fact, they have mistakenly assumed the Islamic religion as a bonding factor between the members of that community (*see* Rasha, Zaina, Gada,Galia). They have totally ignored the fact that Syria consists of various races that belong to different religions and sects and speak different languages. The participants seem to have abbreviated the diversified Syrian culture and portrayed it as one single-coloured culture. This was due to the fact that the sample of this study has contained only Syrian women of Arabic origin and Islamic faith who – more or less – belonged to the same social class. This was the outcome of my focused and purposive sampling technique that relied on snowballing. During this research

project, Syria was undergoing a very violent and destructive war that affected people's sense of religious and ethnic belonging. Hence the participants – who recruited each other - have linked to each other on the basis of their ethnic, political and religious backgrounds. The war seems to have disbanded the components that constituted the Syrian culture in the host country. The Syrian migrants have established different ethnic-based communities in the host country (e.g., the Arabs, the Kurds, the Armenians, the Assyrians, and the Turkmens) within which there are other divisions that are based on their religious sects (Muslim Sunni, Muslim Alawist, Muslim Shiaat, Muslim Durzi; Christian Orthodox, Christian Protestant, Christian Rome, Christian Moran) (*see* UNDP, 2008).

Experiencing Migratory Time

The Migratory experience was shown to be taking place within a cyclical rather than linear perspective of time, and with a clear temporal impact on the lives of the woman migrants of this study (**Anderson, 2010**). This experience is based on perceptions and experiences of community and belonging. This section will attempt discussing the findings that pertain to the third research question of this study, namely:

- *How does time in the UK shape Syrian women's perceptions and experiences of community and belonging?*

Although women have lived a long time in the host country – the UK, they keep thinking and revisiting their time spent in the home country – Syria. Their lives have been constantly shaped and reshaped by the complex and intricate relationship between their various temporalities: the past, the present, and the future.

In fact, the connectedness between their migratory experience and their time experience has affected their concept of community and their sense of belonging, which have been engraved in them through certain cultural, religious and moral

values. These are values brought into their present host community from the olden past times of their place of origin.

Throughout these transitions, the participants have experienced various emotional feelings which showed strong bondedness to their original ethnicity as well as strong sense of belonging to the host country (Braakman & Schlenkhoff, 2007; Berg, 2011; Collins & Shubin, 2015). Yet, they always thought that they have been quite settled and integrated within the host community. They are still living within and thinking of the cultural boundaries of the past times. They see and maintain a sense of continuity between their past and their present as well as a sense of discontinuity with the expatriate community that represents their past time and their homeland because they see it as not the genuine one. This community is the figurative dwarfing of the real Syria and original memories.

Thus, the migration process was found to have affected perceptions and experiences of time – it is a space that all temporalities are mixing together in a very complex and intricate relationship to each other. The participants live in the present, which is affected by the past and they keep an eye on the future while their mind is preoccupied by past memories and experiences. Time here has acquired a cyclical motion as explained in the literature (Cwerner, 2001; Crossan *et al*., 2005; Edensor, 2006).

Again, the value of time for those participants has changed when they migrated to the UK, reflecting that even the perception of time is dynamic or contextual (Fontainha, 2005). Their full understanding of time is enabled in the social and historical contexts of the phenomenon. For instance, time has become more valuable for some participants in the space of the UK because of its positive impact on their lives (*see*

Raja, Syrsa, Ghada, Suha). However, some other participants did not feel the same about the notion of time - they failed to take notice of their present as they kept dreaming of the past and wishing to reunite with it (Hala J, Haifa). In this sense, they were aiming to reach the future time through their past, and this is a Heidegerian thought where individuals cannot exist without their past experiences. Their present seems to be much pressurised and stressful, and this led them to take shelter or refuge in their past memories and experiences. For example, although Ghada, Haifa and Raja (like all other participants) have spent a long time in the UK, they kept dreaming about and thinking of their home country – which is a thing of the past.

This migratory time has become quite apprehensive in certain stages of the lived experience of the participants. The fierce war in Syria – a political and historical context – has made all Syrians experience fear for the loss of their past, anxiety for their future, and disregard for their fast-diminishing present (Hassan, 2009; Hoy, 2012). Their migratory time at present has disabled their transition to the past as they were deprived of their geographical mobility because of the current war – it is the remoteness or loss of physical spatiality that enabled a sense of imaginative temporal transition between past, present and future. This indicates that time in general and migratory time in particular is relational as it is experienced in relation to other events and contexts (May & Thrift, 2003).

Participants seem to have realised that it is an issue of social and cultural differentiation that they are facing within the host society, and which cannot be eliminated by mastering the English language or by the time spent in that society. They are also aware that their identities in the host country are decided, shaped and manipulated by others who master the power of full belongingness to the host community. It is an admission on the part of the participants that there exists an

196

ideological struggle between them and the host community, which denies them access to power within the British social order, or at least decides for them when and where this power can be granted.

As a strategy for surviving the impact of the migratory time spent in the UK, the participants have developed a sense of dual loyalty to spaces: an emotional loyalty associated with their cultural identity derived from their Syrian background, and a logical one related to their home of residence – the UK. Socially and culturally, they felt more at home or included within the past space (Syria). However, the participants' views about their identity were very mixed and confused, as they could not differentiate between belonging and identity – for them, the sense of belonging is determined by the length of time, the personal feeling and will as well as the views of the British society.

Some participants thought that membership to the expatriate community helps quite a lot alleviating the negative impact of the migratory time. It helps recreating the past in the minds of the children and makes them link more to the roots of their parents. It is an imaginative community or an emotional bridge that is supposed to represent the home culture. It also creates a sense of bondedness in the group that shared the same past. However, not all participants liked such membership as they did not see a true representation of their past culture – especially when the community is based on some religious or political orientation, or they saw a kind of segregation attempt that may hinder their integration process in the host community. Hence, virtual communities were much preferred as they do not carry any religious, racial or political orientation. So, the idea of belonging to a virtual social network community has enabled the participants of dedicating some of their time to community participation and social engagement. They may have seen such membership as a compensation strategy

enables their sense of belonging and maintain connection with the cultural roots as well as forgetting the miserable present.

A significant time of the migratory experience was spent on learning and acquiring the linguistic skills of the host country. Such time was seen as necessary for the integration process and achieving full membership. This goes in line with the many European countries' naturalisation policies – Britain is one of them, as all immigrants should undergo a language test before applying for the nationality of the host country. Yet, this is done after staying in that country for a certain period of time. The role of language in the integration process within the host community will be the discussion topic for the next section.

Integration Time – the Role of Language

The participants have spoken of their time experience throughout the learning process of the English language, which was thought of as a tactic for social inclusion. They used time for integration purposes thinking that mastering the language will enable them to be included within the British society. They seem to have achieved community participation and work engagement rather than fully integrating within the British social life (Yuval-Davis, 2011). They thought of the British society as having the mechanisms that keep reminding them of their ethnic roots – even if individuals are born in the UK (*see* Suha's and Raja's statements).

In the Syrian expatriate community, the participants thought of their Arabic language as a binding factor as it triggered memories of the past (*see* Raja, Asma). In this regard, language was used as a connector between the past and the present as well as between two geographical spaces – Syria and the UK. It was utilised as an identity marker that distinguishes the participants from the others. All women migrants (*see*

Dima, Rasha, Ghada, Ghalia, Syrsa) believed that language is the container of the thought, enabler of religion, and protector of the past. They have insisted on using the Arabic language with their children at home as a marker of the boundaries between their ethnic roots and the host culture, and between the past and the present (*see* Matsumoto & Juang, 2012). In other words, the past is shared by the participants and recreated in their present and passed over to the future of their children. Hence the establishing of community membership was hoped to help in managing and dealing with the migratory time of the participants (*see* Ariff and Beng 2006; Hong, 2009; Nunn, 2012; Schwartz, 2014).

Throughout the narratives, the participants did not show a consensus on what may help the process of integration. In addition to the factor of time duration, the historical past and the uncertain future are contributors to the enabling of disabling of the integration process. On the other hand, the present was thought of as temporary period that is necessary for the constant linking between the past and the future.

Integrating the Findings

In line with the institutional (Newtonian) perspectives on time, the participants have understood time as an external reality that is socially-constructed: here it is a commoditised object that can be public or private, with attributes of rhythm, speed, flow and structure. For instance, time was thought of as a finite resource that can be used in the private domain for self-development or in the public domain for paid work. In this respect, time was understood through a comparator, such as aging, life stages, historical events, etc. as well as through its speedy flow.

Alternatively, time was thought of as a psychological experience – as advocated by Einstein. It is perceived as a dynamic rather than a static phenomenon, for example,

the migratory experience has significantly impacted how migrants perceive and experience time. Full engagement with human activities and life events will render time as a very brief, short-lived phenomenon; and it is more valued or productive when it is spent on successful achievements. However, a woman's time was less valued as it was consumed by non-paid domestic and care work in contrast to a man's time that is dedicated for paid public work.

It was evident that despite the diversified time perceptions and time experiences of women migrants of this study, the cultural roots of those participants have been a contributing factor in the gendering of time allocation, time perception and then time experiences. The migratory experience has helped developing new ways of perceiving time and experiencing time; but the migratory place has not eliminated the gendering element of time perception and time experience as it was expected by the participants. This gendering of time seems to be institutionalised in the work organisation, political spheres and even social and personal practices.

These contextual forces have helped in shaping a new 'gendered migratory time' that is experienced by the participants across the spatial and cultural boundaries through the migration experience. This migratory time was perceived as a life changer or self-development enabler for some migrant women at some stage of their life, where they could master some control over this time by negotiating their gendered time allocation within the host country. Hence, a migrant woman's time has become more stressful than before as she had to perform both in house and outside to become labelled as productive.

However, the political and historical contexts have changed this 'gendered migratory time' into 'exilic time' where participants had no control over time or temporal

events. Here, they have lost their geographical mobility between the home country and the host country. This is an indication that time perceptions and time experiences are quite dynamic.

One of the characteristics of the migratory time was the freezing of the past and the attempt of reintroducing it in the present through adherence to cultural roots. Within this migratory time, the participants have tried to glorify the past and plant it in the future of their children via teaching them the mother tongue, the ethnic religious teachings and the ethnic life style. Then, going through the exilic time made them lament the present, fear the future and long for the past. Therefore, spending much time in the host country did not change their identity; they kept a strong attachment to the mother land representing the past time; and they developed a sense of belonging to the host community representing the present time. In other words, their experience of migratory time has been a constant transition between the past, the present and the future. Then, the experience of exilic time has consumed the present of the participants, made their past quite remote, and changed their future into uncertainty. In this regard, time was closely connected to places with a limited role for integration: the act of inclusion within the host community will be in the hands of those who have full belongingness. Thus, the historical past and the uncertain future have prevented complete integration or adopting the national identity of the host.

Conclusion

The chapter has tried to link the findings of this study to the key themes derived from the literature review, such as: the non-uniformity of time perceptions, the diversified live experiences, the impact of gender on such perceptions and experiences of time, the impact of the migratory time on the sense of belonging and community engagement. Following the Heideggrian phenomenological perspective, the

researcher could identify with the participants' perceptions and experiences and could bring in as true presentation as possible of the phenomenon under investigation. So, a lived experience is linked to others' experiences as well as to its historical and cultural context. For instance, the researcher could understand and interpret what other participants have tried when depicting their migratory time in the UK: they have tried to articulate a sense of settlement in order to make them develop a sense of belonging to the time structures and temporalities of the host place. It was the researcher's interpretation that the sense felt through spatial and temporal settlement does not necessarily result in a sense of belonging or developing a new identity. It is a matter of adjusting or adapting to the new environment through adopting the local time structures. All participants have put on the face of an active agent rather than a passive refugee. Their narratives were vibrant with their success stories and achievements in dealing with the time concept. For example, they tried to avoid references to any personal fragmentation, insisting on showing coherence, continuity and meaning of their existence. This has been an important issue for differentiating themselves as migrants from diasporas, associating the term 'migrant' with a sense of choice while the term 'diasporas' is associated with compulsion.

In brief, the chapter has shown that in moving between the home and host country, the participants developed new gendered assumptions about time, new cultural norms and new sense of belonging that showed elements from both cultures and environments. So, some ethnic cultural norms and perceptions have been preserved, renegotiated, or rejected throughout the process of settlement in the host country. In addition, languages have been acquired, qualifications have been pursued, and social connections have been established. So, time spent in the UK was thought of as an opportunity to obtain the best of the place and progress with lives. Yet, the migrant

women in this study have also experienced the negative sides of the time spent in the UK: they have transited from the migratory time experience into an exilic time experience that was due to the accompanying historical and political contexts that the home country was plunging into. Time has proved quite relational and dynamic for them – it has never been static, yet they also recognised the subjectivity and diversity of their time experiences.

The next chapter will present the conclusions of this study, offering a new vision of how time is perceived and experienced by women migrants. It is a new emerging concept of time – the gendered migratory time – which will integrate the analytical themes of this study and offer a unique contribution to the field of organisational studies and related fields. This new concept could be taken forward by future researchers as a new avenue for further research. The chapter will also identify other emerging themes, methodological contributions and the limitations of the current study.

CHAPTER SEVEN -

CONCLUSIONS, LIMITATIONS AND SUGGESTIONS

Introduction

Perceptions and experiencing of time by migrant women have been summed up in the previous discussion chapter. The contextual impacts on such perceptions and experiences have been identified in line with the requirements of the research questions of this study. The analysis of the research findings has yielded few emerging themes, which will be discussed in this chapter together with the proposed methodological and empirical contributions of the study. In addition, the chapter will identify some of the research limitations and conclude with few thoughts and ideas for further or future research.

The narratives of the participants of this study has demonstrated that time was always in a constant motion or transition throughout their migratory experience in the UK. It is a constant swinging between the past and the future, especially when dealing with the bringing up of children in the host country. The past times associated with ethnic norms, cultural traditions, beliefs, language, religious practices, social behaviours, and life style have been always recreated within the spatial boundaries of the participants and passed over to the children to maintain the authentic cultural identity. This could be interpreted as a defence mechanism against the cruel contracting present and uncertain future felt by the participants who often claimed that: "time runs very fast in this country [the UK]"; "time was slow in Syria"; etc. Thus, the study has mainly reflected on the transition of time that was evident in the time

perceptions and time experiences of the Syrian migrant women living and working in the UK.

Time Perception

The literature has debated the nature of time (Einstein, 1940; Bergson, 1959; Heidegger, 1962; Husserl, 1962; Sorokin, 1964 [c1943]), how it is organised objectively in social and organisational institutions (Rifkin, 1987; Harvey, 1989; Warf, 2008; Rosa & Scheuerman, 2009; and Castellsls, 2010), and how it was perceived and experienced subjectively by individuals (*see* Friedman, 2005; Orlikowski and Scott, 2008; Rockelein, 2008). Both objective and subjective views of time have surfaced in the narratives of the interviewees of this study, where time was commoditised (Senior & Fleming, 2006) and organised differently by men and women and across different cultures and spaces (Adam, 2013). Therefore, the study has tried to answer the first research question, namely:

> *How is time understood in the host and migrant communities amongst Syrian women living in the UK?*

It is a time in transition that the participants were concerned about as it is of different temporality, different tempo and different structuring from that of their home country (Adam, 2013). It is a cross-cultural temporality entailed by the mobility across geographical boundaries. In the host country, everything was labelled with a time attribute and measured with a time unit, ranging from the family life events, domestic chores, care work, to outside-home paid work and leisure times (McGrath & Kelly, 1986; McGrath & Tschan, 2004). Time seems quite divisible, measured and quantified in the lived experiences of the participants, but it was not to the same precision back home.

However, the actual activities and behaviours of the participants have transited across the standardised notions of time to incorporate the motion or transition attributed to the concept of time. Time has been experienced as dynamic and diversified in relation to historical and cultural contexts that can decide its nature. This goes in line with Coulter *et al.'s* (2015) claim that "the timing and ordering of life events and transitions varies from person to person" (p. 5), and Heidegger (1962)'s claim that the actual experience of time should be situated or embedded within its related context. For instance, time has become upsetting during the Syrian war and it has changed the feelings of the participants from a transformative and developmental migratory perspective to a bitter and depressing exilic sense. Losing their geographical mobility due to the raging war in Syria has changed their attitudes to the time spent in the host country. So, their perceptions of time and experiencing of time do change over time – time has become disruptive (Sennett, 2006; Warf, 2008; Hassan, 2009; Castells, 2010; Crang, 2010; Mooij, 2011; Bakari, 2014).

The transiting of time has been also felt through their actual ageing process, the growing of their children and the sense of nostalgia they have developed to their country of origin. In this sense, they have recognised time in relation to other activities or events: work organisation time structures, the constant movement between local places (home and workplace) and between geographical boundaries (travelling between Syria and the UK), the clock handles, and the cosmos movements (Solar, lunar, weather, day and night). Time transition constitutes a significant factor that drives the migratory experience – migrants have always had to be temporally institutionalised and controlled by migration policies (Braakman & Schlenkhoff, 2007; Rosa and Scheuerman, 2009; Simmelink, 2011; Griffiths, 2013): when to come into the country and for how long, when to live the country, and when to apply for

naturalisation. So, the migratory experience is based on an intricate relationship between time and space that is imposed by others.

The migration literature seems to show no sufficient interest in the closely knitted relationship between geographical mobility and perceptions and experiences of time by migrant women. Such literature did not investigate the true impact of the personal and cultural contexts on such perceptions and experiences. In fact, the study has found that time experiences have been affected by structural factors such as: institutional policies, political stability, employment status and cultural norms which back up the objective view of time. Personal factors have also had a role in shaping such time experiences, such as: long-term goals, aspirations or desires. Hence, this study has used the Heideggerian framework to interpret time experience in relation to other knowledge, other spaces, other cultures and other lives. This is the notion of relationality advocated by Jones (2009), where "objects can only be understood in relation to other objects" (p. 491). So, the concept of time will be in transition only through linking it to other people, events, spaces and cultures.

Experiencing Time

This study has demonstrated the thematic richness of the literature on 'migration', 'time', 'gender' and 'culture'. Yet, the empirical data of this study has come up with few emerging themes that were not sufficiently and clearly dealt with by the relevant scholars, especially in areas that show thematic intersectionality. For instance, gender, time, migration and culture have been intricately involved in shaping the individual lived experiences of the migrant women in their host community. The study developed a critical perspective on how these non-western women dealt with their

foreign time structures (past, present and future) throughout their migratory experience.

Experiencing Gendered Time

The literature did not elaborate much on the relationship between time and gender from an individualised perspective (*see* Amanatullah and Morris, 2010). This was an emerging theme in the findings of this study, where the participants revealed individualised experiences of gendered time in both organisational and social spheres. This theme has emerged in response to the second research question, namely:

> *What role do gender and culture play in shaping Syrian women's experiences of time and its organisation in the UK?*

Gendering practices have extended to both paid and non-paid work and was masked behind terms such as 'work-life balance' or 'work flexibility' which were associated with woman's work rather than man's work (Höpfl, 2007; Dörre, 2011). In the case of migrant women, these gendered temporalities have been engraved within their ethnic culture first and maintained within the host community at a later stage. Thus, it was clear from the findings that gendered cultural norms have significantly impacted time allocation and time organising of the participants (Kelan, 2010; Charles, 2014; Moghadam, 2013; Powell and Butterfield, 2013). In other words, the migration experience did not result into any challenges against gendered time allocation. In fact, even the host community has provided the environment for maintaining gendered time structures through institutionalised and organisational policies and practices. The findings have revealed how the host country tried to reconfigure or modify the relationship between time and gender only when organisational work required or needed such re-configuration or modification.

Hence, 'time', 'gender' and 'migration' have been experienced by the participants through an intricate relationship that gave birth to a new concept: 'gendered migratory time', which has also surfaced throughout the interviews as an emerging theme. The experience of migration has brought the notion of time and temporality into focus through the different activities and temporal stages that migrants go through. It is a continuum of temporality that entails multiple time transitions between the past, present and future. In this regard, the findings have shown that the participants have lived within temporalities of their own (frozen past, un-noticed present and imagined future) (Mercer, 2008; Bastian, 2011; Hoskins, 2015), and within geographical and cultural boundaries that required them to adapt, negotiate and re-configure their cultural identity (Probyn, 1996, Clifford, 1994; Höpfl, 2000; Dahab, 2009; Berry & Kenny, 2013).. All of these acts have taken place within the boundaries of the migratory time which has been attributed with new meanings: it is a time for re-creating the past with its gendered notions of time and time structures, developing the self, re-configuring the ethnic identity, and re-modelling the future time. Geographical mobility or 'migration' was the initiator of this gendered migratory time – a notion that failed to be recognised in previous studies.

Experiencing Migratory Time

Migratory time has affected the migrants' sense of belonging and attachment toward the community they live within (Maclean, 2003; Brown *et al.*, 2005; Braakman & Schlenkhoff, 2007; Phillips, 2007). Migrants live in the present, but they keep longing to the past: they are always in-between different time structures or temporalities. Hence, the cultural "self" and "identity" are always called into question. This finding was in line with the third research question of this study –

How does time in the UK shape Syrian women's perceptions and experiences of community and belonging?

In addition to the impact of time transitions, migrants have experienced the impact of geographical mobility which was another emerging theme that showed the relationship between time, gender and migration (Gurr, 1981; Dongen, 2004; Barbour, 2007; King, 2012; Craig & Kenny, 2013; Hoskins, 2015). The findings have shown that the absence or lack of this mobility has changed the experience of 'migratory time' into an experience of 'exilic time', and that was due to a destabilised political or historical context (e.g., the rise of the Syrian war). Thus, the relationship between the political context and the time experience was another theme that showed a new kind of time transition that changed perceptions and experiences.

Due to the break out of the current war in Syria, migrants have had an emotional experience of time (Dongen, 2004; Craig & Kenny, 2013; Hoskins, 2015) where their relationship to place has suffered tension and deprivation (Linett, 2013; Yuk-kwan Ng & Höpfl, 2014). Their home, their past and their emotional and psychological existence were all under threat of destabilisation or even extermination (Said, 2001; Dahab, 2009; Naficy, 2013 Berry & Kenny, 2013). Here, they started to feel the cruelty of time which has gone into a transiting stage from being positively valued or enjoyed into being bleak and abhorred. So, this political context was another emerging issue that played a significant role in making the participants experience a disabling exilic time rather than a normalised migratory time. It is an intricate relationship between time transition and some historical or political context. This was a life stage where time transition has negatively impacted the participants' geographical mobility and caused the lived experience to take a different route with different emotions. Hence the dynamicity of the time experience was due to some

historical or political context. So meanings and interpretations are embedded in the relationship between the individual lived experience and the surrounding environment – a Heideggerian perspective.

Time has got the power to change the immigrants into exiles and vice versa. For instance, spending long time in the host country can make exiles develop deeper roots in that country and hence become immigrants but they may become in-between persons, belonging to neither homeland nor host land (Fortier, 2000; Call, 2015). In other words, the impact of time experience on loyalty, sense of belonging and cultural identity of those women has also emerged from the findings with new understanding and interpretation.

Time and Community Belongingness

Neither the migration literature nor the 'time' studies have paid sufficient attention to the time subjectivities felt by non-western women living in a western culture. The focus on the past has made them see the present as very brief deserving no planning, and that the future is the recycling land of the past. They tried to pass over a lot of their past represented by language, culture and social behaviour to their children – the containers of the future. For them, the past was always a distinguishing boundary between the members of their own community and that of the host community (Cwerner, 2001). It is a temporal boundary that they have set up as a defence mechanism against the threat of the present. Participants with children have all confirmed that they spend most of their time on maintaining their ethnic and cultural roots in their children.

Although the participants have spent a significant time of their lives in the host country and expressed a sense of settlement within the local community, they never

stopped longing to the past and its cultural context. They seem to have adapted to the time structures in the public spheres (paid work domains) rather than to the private spheres (unpaid domestic and care work). Their biggest challenge was to maintain a sense of harmony within their time experiences through striking a balance between public time structures and private or domestic time structures; between their cultural temporalities and the host-country temporalities; and between their past, present and future.

Again the length of time spent in the UK has not changed their cultural identity – they seemed more attached to their home country and expatriate community. In doing so, they were prioritising their emotional and psychological needs, and they kept thinking of their past place. This is done despite their acknowledging that the time they have spent in the UK was quite developmental and transformational, and despite all the achievements they have done. In this regard they seem to have developed a sense of a frozen past – they have felt time emotionally but they moved across time geographically.

Eventually, time transition has shaped the migrant women's experiences of time in the host country. These time experiences were not always a matter of free and informed choice – like some other experiences pointed out by those migrant women throughout their narratives (e.g., continuing education, having a paid job, choosing the time pattern, structure and duration of their paid work). For instance, allocating time for paid and unpaid work commitments was an objective optional tactic; while the time associated with cultural identity, sense of belonging, and social behaviour was a subjective (emotional), compulsory experience.

On the other hand, this experiencing of migratory time was based on the sense of continuity that the participants have developed and tried to recreate within the personalities of their children. They wished for their cultural and ethnic roots of the past to dominate both the present and the future times (Mercer, 2008; Hoskins, 2015). Hence, it could be argued that time perceptions and time experiences of those participants have been personally and culturally driven: some have thought of time as a dividing element that separates individuals from their past, their home and their dear ones (Spurk, 2004); while others thought of it as a binding element for those who felt the shared past during their exilic and diasporic life stages (*see* Berg, 2011; Griffiths *et al*., 2013; Bastian, 2014).

In brief, the above emerging themes have constituted the theoretical contribution of this study in addressing the research gaps found in previous studies. Future research endeavours could be based on the discovery of these themes. However, other contributions have been provided by the current research, such as: the choice of the research topic, the themes approached, and the philosophical and methodological choices made for this investigation. The following section has been dedicated for the outlining of the contributions of this study to the relevant field of knowledge.

Research Contributions

The most important contribution of this study is the setting up of the right project at the very right time – Syrian migrants have been flooding various countries in Europe due to the current war in their country. Their mass exodus has raised so many political questions by all states who are receiving those migrants to establish their immediate needs and accommodate them in various resettlement programmes. The UK was one of the countries who offered to take 20000 Syrian refugees, indicating

that the aged, the disabled, women and children are a priority and setting up the Vulnerable Persons Relocation Scheme for Syrian Refugees (Ostrand, 2015). It was a crisis that started in March 2011 which was the date of commencing this study. The crisis has led to displacing 7.6 million internally and the fleeing of 4.1 million abroad (Ibid, 2015). So, the study is a timely one and it is about the group of people who is the focus of all world media and policy makers.

Theoretical Contributions

As a conceptual contribution, this study has shown that notion of time is a complete whole that extends over a continuum with no clear or discrete stages. It is an evolving or dynamic concept that transit across temporality, spatiality and culture, affecting spatial mobility and human behaviour as well as feelings, emotions and mode of self-identification. The argument here is that contextual forces have helped in shaping a new 'gendered migratory time' that is experienced by the participants across the spatial and cultural boundaries through the migration experience.

This new concept of time has embedded endeavours of self-development, negotiation of gendered time allocation, and increase of women's stress to perform across multiple spaces: the public sphere and the private sphere. It has also incorporated new visualisations of time, such as: the frozen past associated with the homeland, the contracting present associated with the host country, and the uncertain future seen through desperate attempts for continuity via children.

The gendered migratory time was produced by the migratory experience but it was reconfigured and changed into a cruel 'exilic time' with the terrible historical and political events that were ravaging across the original country of the participants. Here, for the participants, the past has become remote and glorified, the present is

ridden with deprivation of geographical mobility, and the future has become bleak and worrying. Thus, migratory time was a constant transition between the past, the present and the future, and hence it denied participants access to full integration with the host community or to acquire the national identity of the host country.

Dealing with the non-western migrants was another contribution of this study. Time researchers have mainly focused on investigating time perceptions and experiences of western individuals who are living and working within familiar time structures and cultural temporalities. In contrast, this study has focused on the non-familiar time structures within an unfamiliar spatiality. It is a contribution that brought in the ethnic and cultural voices within the scholarship on time, and this is quite important for the work organisations and governmental agencies who are serving Syrian women in particular and migrant women in general. In addition, organisations are alerted to setting up special training programmes for migrant workers and providing work flexibility that cater for their cultural needs.

Again, this study has mainly contributed in establishing the link between gender, time, culture, and migration through empirically-investigated phenomenon. Hence the relevant body of literature will benefit through opening up a debate on the impact of time on the identity and the sense of belonging of women migrants. Time is not experienced on the basis of one single factor – it is the intricate association between various elements that create the time perception and time experience of the individual. Time is experienced as a mental frame that includes many other signals to events, other individuals, previous experiences, and various time attributes, such as: speed, temporality, duration, synchronicity and structures. Accordingly, McNay (2000) has explained that:

experience is organized along the temporal dimension, in the form of a plot that gathers events together into a coherent and meaningful structure which, in turn, gives significance to the overall configuration that is the person. (pp. 81-82)

It is a different perspective of looking at the notions of time in relation to the notions of gender, migration and culture. This will inform social analysts and policy makers to pay more attention to the reality of lived experience rather than depending on the so-called universal theories of human perceptions and human behaviour in regards to the concept of time. For instance, the participants have demonstrated that time is not always experienced through a chronological perspective, an industrial perspective or cultural perspective only – they have also engaged with the concept of time emotionally. Hence, the study has shown the need to engage into different political debates about the concept of time: migratory literature did not focus on the temporal experiences of migrants, and the time literature did not engage in the migratory experiences. However, this study has incorporated the concept of time as being experienced within the migratory space. Thus, it has shifted the emphasis onto the individualised lived experience which may significantly contribute to time studies, migration research, and to the literature on culture and identity.

Hence, this study can contribute to the creation of a new framework for conceptualising time in the contemporary world and its organisational structures. Calling for a new framework is hoped to shed some light on the meaning of time, how it is perceived and how it is experienced through multiple gender-based and culture-based subjectivities. This could be taken as a contribution to organisational studies as it unmasks the reality of work-life balance and gendering work practices, and work patterns and the workplace. It is giving voice to the working migrant

women, who are underrepresented within time allocation structures and who may be empowered through time organising practices.

Methodological Contributions

In adopting the Heideggerian phenomenological approach, this study has contributed in pushing the boundaries of the approach to include perceptions and experiences that have been contextually shaped by culture, but without cultural generalisations that are based on cohorts of migrants. The approach has situated the individual experiences within the intersectional boundaries of the debate on both time and migration. Thus, the gendered cross-cultural experiences have been brought into focus, adding a different lens to the western-focused concept of temporality and time structuring.

Thus, the study has created an impression of how to use a phenomenological approach in the field of management studies, which has relatively refrained from using such approach as a common methodology. The adopted methodology has shown that perceptions, beliefs, attitudes and experiential meanings can be derived from human participants – which is quite important for management areas, such as: marketing management, human resource management, and leadership. This represents a break away from the quantitative approaches of traditional sciences since generalisation of findings is not the objective of this study. Yet, the study does not claim the non-validity of quantitative methods or a substitution for other qualitative methods. It aims at capturing the lived human experiences of migrant women and their perceptions of time – which are not necessarily captured through rational or logical frameworks. It is the deeper understanding and interpretation of the complexity of human experience that this study is trying to reach.

The Heideggerian perspective has entailed a methodological consideration that can be taken as a contribution of this study. Going into the migrants' homes has helped the researcher to take notes and observations about certain cultural and social clues that help in interpreting the context of their time perceptions and lived experiences – it is looking into the temporal space and the intersection points. Again, the researcher has been part of the imagined lived experience as her preconceptions, prior beliefs and attitudes and pre-knowledge have been utilised in understanding the meanings and farming the interpretations of the phenomenon being investigated. So, the study has demonstrated that time experiences link to time transitions, spatial mobility, cultural contexts, and emotional experiences – time is subjectively felt despite its objective attributes derived from the host culture.

Discussing the contributions of this study does not entail that there are no research limitations that need to be addressed to enable suggesting future research. These limitations, the insights of the study and relevant suggestions for future research will be the topic in the next section.

Limitations and Suggestions for Future Research

Like any other qualitative research, this study cannot claim that its findings are universal, they are quite localised to the chosen sample of the participants with no intention to generalise to any other groups outside the sample. So, the study does not concern migrants or a geographical place in general – it is about the Syrian women living in the UK and who participated in this study only. Again, the study has focused on the participants' own individual perceptions and experiences of time with no aim to extend such issues to other concepts or notions even for the same sample. As for the sampling issue, the study is based on a relatively small number of participants –

only fourteen – which does not allow for the cultural and ethnic as well as the social and educational variations found in the Syrian population, whether the one located in Syria or the one settled in the UK.

As the sampling technique was snowballing, the researcher was bound by the relevant ties and relationships established by the participants since they recruited each other from the same social, religious and ethnic groups. Hence, it was quite difficult to capture the original Syrian diversity in a small sample like this. The study claims the consistency of the Syrian culture through a very focused and selective sample, but in reality Syrian culture is a much diversified one that incorporates other ethnic groups, such as: Arabs, Aramaic, Armenians, Assyrians, Kurds and Turkmens. Within those ethnicities, there are different religious groups (Muslim, Christian, and Jewish) that contains various sects.

Thus, having participants of the same cultural background is not meant to engage into cultural patterning as the perceptions and behaviours of the participants are not culturally representative in anyway. The Syrian culture with its ethnicities and religions make it quite difficult to infer any consistent trends. In addition, not all Syrian migrants had similar motives and reasons for leaving their home country – a fact that may have significantly affected their perceptions of their past, present and future times and how they felt about their sense of belonging in the host country. Such issues were impossible to capture with the current sample and the kind of participants available in it.

To capture the diversified population of Syria, future studies can incorporate wider representations that are capable of reflecting more general trends and patterns in relation to how time is perceived and experienced. In this case, it is suggested that

future research needs to compile a larger sample. As for the background of the participants, in this study they were all employed and educated to a high level of attainment. Therefore, there is no information yet on how the unemployed and the less advantaged educationally perceive and experience time in the UK. Hence, it is suggested that a future research look into these categories of migrants who may have something different to add to the body of research in the area of time. Again, as the study is emphasising the women's perceptions and experiences of time, it would be quite interesting and of significance to explore how their men thought of their own time and their women's time.

The study has been significantly affected by the fast developing political events and the deteriorating situation in Syria: at the start the study was focusing on Syrian individuals living in the UK as migrants rather than as members of a diasporas. However, with time transition the participants have undergone an emotional change due to their loss of geographical mobility – they are not able to maintain their visits back to Syria any more. They felt that their stay in the UK has become compulsory and they have lost their past and their country – which is often known as a diasporic phenomenon. This change in attitudes has affected their migratory time in the UK, which is not the norm with all other migrants. This can be a disruptive element in the interpretation of the phenomenon under investigation, causing bias and contamination in attitudes and feelings of the participants. In fact, it is not necessary that all Syrian women in the UK would feel the same towards their country of origin; and the time imposed on this research project did not allow for further investigation of such issues through different sampling, where participants could have different social status, personal circumstances and past experiences to that of the current participants.

The study has focused on migrant women having husbands and children, but this is not a representative case of all Syrian migrants living in the UK. It will be worth investigating other people, such as single mothers or single women with no partners that may gender their time allocation. This may have different implications for time perceptions and time experiences. Single persons may have less domestic and care work and more freedom in structuring or organising their times. On the other hand, all partners of the participants did have paid work commitments, and this has excluded families with no male bread winner. The findings could be different when women are working outside the home and men are not: these women could experience time differently, and their time might not be as gendered as thought in the sample of this study. The work/ non-work status of the male partner need to be explored as well since it may affect the attitudes and perceptions of their female partners toward the concept of time and time allocation. Therefore, future studies may take such issues into consideration and explore the interplay between men and women in various work/ non-work scenarios, especially in non-standardised and non-unified families.

The study did not dive much into the institutionalised gendered discourses at the disposal of organisational and state policies in regards to time organisation; and more specifically, it did not relate to the power discourses which reproduce gendered power structures. This could be one of the objectives of some future studies.

Finally, this study derives its uniqueness from the fact that it can be regarded as a pioneer research in the area of time and migration in regards to investigating the subjectivities of Syrian women working and settled in the UK. Its insights can theoretically inform and add to the scholarly work in the fields of time and migration studies. Its empirical nature can serve the needs of the policy makers and analysts

who are working on the Syrian crisis which has been in full swing all throughout the carrying out of this study. To be different from traditional trends of similar research, the study has brought into focus the non-western, cultural and personal dynamics that influenced the participants' perceptions and experiences of time. Additionally, the biggest value of this study lies in its key theoretical contributions to the relevant literature by linking the notion of time to gender, culture and migration. Its empirical contribution derives from its being the first study that investigates the time perceptions and time experiences of Syrian women living and working in the UK. Conceptually, the study has contributed by introducing the concept of migratory time as a transition that has been affected by the gendered cultural notions of time structures, and has affected time attitudes and time experiences of the participants.

REFERENCES

Adam, B. (2004). *Time*. Cambridge: Polity Press.

Adam, B. (2013a). *Time and Social Theory*. John Wiley and Sons,

Adam, B. (2013b). *Timewatch: The Social Analysis of Time*. John Wiley and Sons,

Allen, T. D. and Paddock, E. L. (2015). *How being mindful impacts individuals' work-family balance, conflict, and enrichment: A review of existing evidence, mechanisms and future directions*. New York, NY, US: Cambridge University Press, xviii, 418 pp. http://dx.doi.org/10.1017/CBO9781107587793.011

Al-Malki, A., Kaufer, D., Ishizaki, S. and Dreher, K. (2012). *Arab Women in Arab News: Old Stories and New Media*. London: Bloomsbury Publishing.

Alvesson, M. and Billing Y. D. (2009). *Understanding Gender and Organizations*. London: Sage Publications.

Amanatullah, E. T. and Morris, M. W. (2010). Negotiating gender roles: Gender differences in assertive negotiating are mediated by women's fear of backlash and attenuated when negotiating on behalf of others. *Journal of personality and social psychology*, 98(2), pp. 256.

Ammos, J. A. (2006). *Manage your time: what to do and how to do it in order to do more*. Mumbai: Jaico Publishing.

Anderson, B. (2007). Battles in time: the relation between global and labour mobilities. *New Migration Dynamics*, pp. 5-24.

Anderson, B. (2010). Migration, immigration controls and the fashioning of precarious workers. *Work, employment* and *society*, *24*(2), pp. 300-317.

Andrews, A, and Shahrokni, N. (2014). Patriarchal Accommodations: Women's Mobility and Policies of Gender Difference from Urban Iran to Migrant Mexico. *Journal of Contemporary Ethnography* 43, pp. 148

Ansell, N.; van Blerk, L.; Hajdu, F. and Robson E. (2011). "Spaces, times, and critical moments: a relational time-space analysis of the impacts of AIDS on rural youth in Malawi and Lesotho."

Anthias, F. (2013). Identity and Belonging: conceptualisations and political framings, KLA Working Paper Series No. 8; Kompetenznetz Lateinamerika - Ethnicity, Citizenship, Belonging; URL: http://www.kompetenzla.uni-koeln.de/fileadmin/WP_Anthias.pdf.

Antonsich, M. (2010). Searching for Belonging – An analytical Frame, *Geography Compass*, pp. 644-659.

Ariff, K. M. and Beng, K. S. (2006). "Cultural Health Beliefs in A Rural Family Practice: A Malaysian Perspective." *Australian Journal of Rural Health* 14(1): 2-8.

Arlow, J. A. (1989). Time and emotion. In J. T. Fraser (Ed.), *Time and mind: Interdisciplinary issues* (pp. 85–96). Madison, CT: International Universities Press.

Arman, G. and Adair, C. K. (2012). Cross-cultural differences in perception of time: Implications for multinational teams. *European Journal of Work and Organizational Psychology,* 21(5), pp. 657-680.

Arnold, D. and Bongiovi, J. (2013). *Precarious, Informalizing and Flexible Work:* Transforming Concepts and Understandings. *American Behavioral Scientist* 57(3), pp. 289- 308.

Arnold, D. and Toh, H. S. (2010). A fair model of globalisation? Labour and global production in Cambodia. *Journal of Contemporary Asia*, 40, pp. 401–424.

Athanasiou, A. (2012). WHO'IS THAT NAME? Subjects of gender and queer resistance, or the desire to contest. *European Journal of English Studies*, *16*(3), pp.199-213.

Atkinson, P., Coffey, A., Delamont, S., Lofland, J. and Lofland, L. (2007). *Handbook of Ethnography*. London: Sage.

Ayres, L., Kavanaugh, K., & Knafl, K. A. (2003). Within-case and across-case approaches to qualitative data analysis. *Qualitative Health Research*, 13(6), pp. 871-883.

Babbie, E. (2015). *The practice of social research*. London: Cengage Learning.

Bailey, A.J. (2009). Population geography: lifecourse matters. *Progress in Human Geography*, 33 (3), pp. 407–418.

Bailyn, L. (2006). *Breaking the mould: Redesigning work for productive and satisfying lives*, ILR Press.

Bakari, M.E. (2014). Sustainability's Inner Conflicts: From 'Ecologism'to 'Ecological Modernization'. *Journal of Sustainable Development Studies,* 6 (1), pp.1-28.

Barbour, J. D. (2007). Edward Said and the Space of Exile. *Literature and Theology*, *21*(3), pp. 293-301.

Bastia, T. and McGrath, S. (2011). Temporality, migration and unfree labour: migrant garment workers. Manchester Papers in Political Economy. Available on: https://www.escholar.manchester.ac.uk/uk-ac-man-scw:146037

Bastian, M. (2011). The contradictory simultaneity of being with others: Exploring concepts of time and community in the work of Gloria Anzaldúa. *Feminist Review*, 97(1), pp. 151-167.

Bastian, M. (2014). Time and community: A scoping study. *Time and Society*, Vol. 23 (21), pp. 37-166.

Bear, L. (2014). Doubt, conflict, mediation: the anthropology of modern time. *Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute*, *20*(S1), pp. 3-30.

Beinin, J. and Vairel, F. (Eds.) (2013). *Social Movements, Mobilization, and Contestation in the Middle East and North Africa*. Stanford University Press.

Bell, J. (2014) *Doing Your Research Project: A guide for first-time researchers*. McGraw-Hill Education (UK),

Benner, P. (1994). *Interpretive Phenomenology: Embodiment, Caring, and Ethics in Health and Illness*. Thousand Oaks, SAGE Publications, Inc.

Bennetts, L. (2007). *The Feminine Mistake: Are we giving up too much?* New York: Voice/Hyperion.

Benschop, Y. and Verloo, M. (2006). Sisyphus' Sisters: Can Gender Mainstreaming Escape the Genderedness of Organizations? *Journal of Gender Studies*, 15 (1), 19-33.

Berg, M. L. (2011). *Diasporic generations: memory, politics, and nation among Cubans in Spain* (Vol. 33). Oxford: Berghahn Books.

Bergadaa, M. M. (1990). The role of time in the action of the consumer. *Journal of Consumer Research*, 17, pp. 289-302.

Berger, R. (2015). Now I see it, now I don't: researcher's position and reflexivity in qualitative research. *Qualitative Research* 15.2, pp. 219-234.

Berry, C. and Kenny, M. (2013). Ideology and the Intellectuals. In Freeden, M., Tower, L.S. and Stears, M. *The Oxford Handbook of Political Ideologies*. Oxford: OUP.

Billing, Y. D. (2011). Are women in management victims of the phantom of the male norm? *Gender, Work & Organization*, **3**(18), pp. 298-317.

Birks, M. and Mills, j. (2011). *Grounded Theory*: A practical guide. London: Sage publications.

Birth, K. K. (2004). Finding time: Studying the concepts of time used in daily life. *Field Methods*, *16*, pp. 70–84.

Blair-Loy, M. (2003). *Competing Devotions*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.

Block, J. (2014). *Lives through time*. London: Psychology Press.

Bluedorn, A. C. (2002). *The Human Organization of Time: Temporal Realities and Experience*. Stanford: Stanford University Press.

Blumer, H. (1940). The problem of the concept in social psychology. *American Journal of Sociology*, pp. 707-719.

Blumer, H. (1969). *Symbolic Interactionism: Perspectives and Method*, Englewood Cliffs, Prentice–Hall, NJ.

Booth, A. L., & van Ours, J. C. (2013). Part-time jobs: what women want? *Journal of Population Economics*, 26(1), pp. 263-283.

Bott, E. (2010). Favourites and others: reflexivity and the shaping of subjectivities and data in qualitative research. *Qualitative research*, *10* (2), pp. 159-173.

Bouffartigue, P. (2010). The Gender Division of Paid and Domestic Work: Some remarks in Favour of a temporal perspective, *Time Society*, 19, pp. 220 – 238.

Bourne, K. A. and Calás, Marta B. (2013). *Becoming 'Real' entrepreneurs*: Women and the gendered normalization of 'work'. *Gender, Work & Organization*, 20 (4), pp. 425-438.

Bourne, K. A. and Forman, P. J. (2014*).* Living in a Culture of Overwork An Ethnographic Study of Flexibility. *Journal of Management Inquiry*, 23(1), pp. 68-79.

Braakman, M. and Schlenkhoff, A. (2007). Between Two Worlds: Feelings of Belonging While in Exile and the Question of Return. *ASIEN* 104, pp: 9-22.

Brannen, A (2005). Time and the negotiation of work-family boundaries: Autonomy or illusion? *Time and Society,* 14, pp. 113-131.

Braziel, J. E. and Mannur, A. (2003). Nation, migration, globalization: Points of contention in diaspora studies. *Theorizing diaspora: A reader*, 1-22.

Brigden, C. (2011). The legacy of separate organizing: Women in the Victorian trades hall council in the interwar years. *Labor Studies Journal*, 0160449X11404074.

Britton, D. M. (2000). The epistemology of the gendered organization. *Gender and Society,* 14 (3), pp. 418-434.

Brockwell, P. J. and Davis, R. A. (2013). *Time Series: Theory and Methods*. New York: Springer Science & Business Media.

Brown, B. A., Reveles, J. M. and Kelly, G. J. (2005). Scientific literacy and discursive identity: A theoretical framework for understanding science learning. *Science Education*, *89* (5), pp. 779-802.

Brown, W. (1995). Finding the Man in the State. In *States of Injury: Power and Freedom in Late Modernity*, 166–96. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.

Bruni, A., Gherardi, G. and Poggio, B. (2004). Doing gender, doing entrepreneurship: An ethnographic account of intertwined practices. *Gender, Work and Organization*, *11*, pp. 406–429.

Bryans, P., & Mavin, S. (2003). Women learning to become managers: learning to fit in or to play a different game? *Management Learning*, *34* (1), pp. 111-134.

Bryman, A. and Bell, E. (2015). *Business Research Methods*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Bryson, V. (2007). *Gender and the Politics f Time: Feminist Theory and Contemporary Debates.* Bristol: Policy

Buchanan, D. A. and Huczynski, A.A. (2010). *Organizational Behaviour*. London: Prentice Hall.

Bunting, M. (2004). *Willing Slaves: How the Overwork Culture is Ruling our Lives*. London: Harper Collins.

Burrell, G. and Morgan, G. (1979). *Sociological Paradigms and Orginsational Analysis*. London: Heinemann

Call, C. Y. H. N. (2015). Communal Violence and Women at Home and in the Diaspora. In Anita Rau Badami's *Can You Hearthe Nightbird Call? Exploring Gender in the Literature of the Indian Diaspora*, 35.

Campbell, J., Cothren, D. and Burg, A. (2010). The perpetuation of entrained behavior during computer-mediated communication. *Social Influence*, 5, pp. 59–73.

Cast, A. D. and Bird, S. R. (2005). Participation in household and paid labor: effects on perceptions of role-taking ability. *Social psychology quarterly*, *68*(2), pp. 143-159.

Castellslss, M. (2010). *The Rise of the Network Society*, 2nd edn. London: Wiley-Blackwell.

Chang, D. O. (2009). Informalising labour in Asia's global factory. *Journal of Contemporary Asia*, 39, pp. 161–179.

Charles, N. (2014). Doing gender, practising politics: Workplace cultures in local and devolved government. *Gender, Work & Organization*, *21*(4), pp. 368-380.

Charmaz, K. (2014). *Constructing Grounded Theory*. Sage.

Chiu, C.Y. and Hong, Y. Y. (2013). *Social psychology of culture*. Oxford: Psychology Press.

Christensen, K. and Schneider, B. (2010). *Workplace Flexibility – Realigning 20th Century Jobs for a 21st Century Workforce*. Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press.

Claessens, B. J. C., van Eerde, W., Rutte, C. G. and Roe, R. A. (2007). A review of the time management literature. *Personnel Review*, 36, pp. 255–276.

Clark, P. A. (1985). *A review of the theories of time and structure for organizational sociology* (No. 6). Work Organization Research Centre, University of Aston.

Clark, S. C. (2001). Work cultures and work/family balance. *Journal of Vocational Behavior*, *58*(3), pp. 348-365.

Clarke, A. E. and Charmaz, K. (Eds.) (2014). *Grounded Theory and Situational Analysis: Sage Benchmarks in Social Research Methods: History, Essentials and Debates in Grounded Theory*. London: Sage Publications.

Clifford, J. (1994). Diasporas. *Cultural anthropology*, *9* (3), pp. 302-338.

Cole, J. (2010). *Sex and salvation: Imagining the Future in Madagascar*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press,

Collins, D., Morduch, J., Rutherford, S. and Ruthven, O. (2009) *Portfolios of the Poor*: *How the World's Poor Live on $2 a Day*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.

Collins, F. L. and Shubin, S. (2015). Migrant times beyond the life course: The temporalities of foreign English teachers in South Korea. *Geoforum,* 62, pp. 96-104.

Collis, J. and Hussey, R. (2013). *Business Research: A Practical Guide for Undergraduate and Postgraduate Students*. London: Palgrave Macmillan.

Collom, E. (2000). Worker control: The bases of women's support. *Economic and Industrial Democracy,* 21, pp. 211-235.

Conley, H., Kerfoot, D. and Thornley, C. (2011). Editorial: Gender Equality and Modernization of Public Sector Employment. *Gender, Work & Organization*,18 (5), pp. 439-442.

Connell, R. (1990). The State, Gender and Sexual Politics: Theory and Appraisal. *Theory and Society* 19 (5), pp. 507–44.

Connolly, S. and Gregory, M. (2008). Moving down? Women's part-time work and occupational change in Britain, 1991–2001. *Econ J* 118:F52–F76.

Corbin, J. and Strauss, A. (2014). *Basics of qualitative research: Techniques and procedures for developing grounded theory*. London: Sage publications.

Cornwall, A. (2007). Myths to live by? Female solidarity and female autonomy reconsidered. *Development and Change*, 38 (1), pp. 149–168.

Correll, S.; Benard, S. and Paik, I. (2007). Getting a job: Is there a motherhood penalty? *American Journal of Sociology* 112 (5), pp. 1297-338.

Cottle, T. J. and Klineberg, S. L. (1974). *The Present of Things Future: Explorations of Time in Human Experience*. New York: Free Press.

Coulter, R., Van Ham, M. and Findlay, A. M. (2015). Re-thinking residential mobility Linking lives through time and space. *Progress in Human Geography*, 0309132515575417.

Crang, M. (2010). The calculus of speed: accelerated worlds. Worlds of acceleration. *Time & society.*, *19* (3), pp. 404-410.

Creswell, J W. (2013). *Research Design: Qualitative, Quantitative, and Mixed Methods Approaches*. London: Sage Publications.

Creswell, J. and Miller, D. (2000) Determining Validity in Qualitative Inquiry, *Theory into Practice,* 39 (3) pp. 124–30.

Crocco, M. S., Pervez, N. and Katz, M. (2009). At the crossroads of the world: Women of the Middle East. *The Social Studies*, *100* (3), pp. 107-114.

Crooks, V., L. Turner, J. Snyder, R. Johnston and P. Kingsbury (2011). Promoting Medical Tourism in India: Messages, Images, and the Marketing of International Patient Travel. Social Science and Medicine, 72, pp. 726 –732.

Crossan, F. (2003). *Research Philosophy*: towards an understanding. *Nurse Researcher,* 11 (1), pp. 46-55.

Crossan, M., Cunha, M. P., Vera, D., and Cunha, J. (2005). Time and organizational improvisation. *Academy of Management Review*, 30, pp. 129–145.

Crotty, M. (1998). *The Foundation of Social Research: Meaning and Perspectives in the Research process*. London: Sage Publications.

Crotty, M. (1996). *Phenomenology and Nursing Research*. London: Churchill Livingstone.

Cwerner, S. B. (2001). The times of migration. *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies*, Vol. 27 (1), pp: 7-36.

Cwerner, S.; Kesselring, S. and Urry, J. (eds.) (2009). *Aeromobilities*. London: Routledge,

Czarniawska, B. (2013). Negotiating selves: Gender at work. *Tamara Journal of Critical Organisation Inquiry*, *11* (1), pp. 59-72.

Dabashi, H. (2011). *Post-Orientalism: Knowledge and Power in a Time of Terror*. Transaction Publishers.

Dahab, E. F. (2009). *Voices of Exile in Contemporary Canadian Francophone Literature*. Lexington Books.

Daly, K. (2002). Time, gender and the negotiation of family schedules. *Symbolic Interaction*, 25 (3), pp. 323-42.

Davies, P. (1995). *About Time: Einstein's Unfinished Revolution*. New York, NY: Simon & Schuster.

Davis, K. (2010). Intersectionality as buzzword: A sociology of science perspective on what makes a feminist theory successful. *Feminist Theory,* 9 (1), pp. 67–85.

Donnelly, N., Proctor-Thomson, S. B. and Plimmer, G. (2012). The role of 'voice'in matters of 'choice': Flexible work outcomes for women in the New Zealand Public Services. *Journal of Industrial Relations*, *54* (2), pp. 182-203.

Dörre, K. (2011). Capitalism, Landnahme and social time régimes: An outline. *Time & Society,* 20 (1), pp. 69-93.

Douglas, M. (2013). *Evans-Pritchard*, (Vol. 7). London: Routledge.

Draga-Alexandru, M.S. (2000) Exiles from Power Marginality and the Female Self in Postcommunist and Postcolonial Spaces. *The European Journal of Women's Studies* Vol. 7, pp. 355–366.

Duncheon, J C. and Tierney, W. G. (2013). Changing conceptions of time implications for educational research and practice. *Review of Educational Research*: 0034654313478492.

Durkheim, E. ([1912], 1982). *Las Formas Elementales de la Vida Religiosa*. Madrid: Akal.

Eagly, A. H. and Wood, W. (2013). The nature–nurture debates 25 years of challenges in understanding the psychology of gender. *Perspectives on Psychological Science*, 8 (3), pp. 340-357.

Easterby-Smith, M., Thorpe, R. and Lowe, A. (2012). *Management Research*, London: Sage Publications.

Edensor, T. (2006). Reconsidering national temporalities: Institutional times, everyday routines serial spaces and synchronicities. *European Journal of Social Theory,* 9 (4), pp. 525–45.

El Saadawi, N. (2007). *The hidden face of Eve: Women in the Arab world*. London: Zed Books.

Elder, G., Johnson, M. and Crosnoe, R. (2004). The emergence and development of life course theory. In: Mortimer, J., Shanahan, M. (Eds.), Handbook of the Life Course. Springer, New York.

England, P. (2011). Reassessing the uneven gender revolution and its slowdown. *Gender & Society*, 25, pp. 113 – 123.

Ennaji, M. and Sadiqi, F. (Eds.) (2011). *Gender and violence in the Middle East* (Vol. 4). New York: Taylor & Francis.

Epstein, C. F. and Kalleberg, A. L. (eds.) (2004). *Fighting for Time: Shifting Boundaries of Work and Social Life*. Russell Sage Foundation,

Eriksen, T.H. (2001). *Tyranny of the Moment: Fast and Slow Time in the Information Age*. London: Pluto Press.

EUROMED (2011). Enhancing Equality between Men and Women in the Euromed Region (2008-2011) Programme financed by the European Commission, available at: www.euromedgenderequality.org

Evans-Pritchard, E. E. (2013). *Social Anthropology*. London: Routledge.

Evertsson M. and Nermo, N. (2004). Dependence within families and the division of labor: comparing Sweden and the United States. *J Marriage Fam*, 66, pp.1272–128.

Fabian, J. (2014). *Time and the other: How anthropology makes its object*. Columbia University Press.

Fagan, C. (2001). The temporal recognization of employment and the household rhythm of work schedules: the implications for gender and class relations. *American Behavioural Scientist*, 44 (7), pp. 1199-1212.

Fagan, C. and Walthery, P. (2011). Individual Working-Time Adjustments between Full-time and Part-time Working in European Firms. *Social Politics*, 18 (2), pp: 269-298.

Feenberg, A. (2012). *Questioning Technology*. London: Routledge.

Finlay, L. (2008). A Dance Between the Reduction and Reflexivity: Explicating the Journal of Phenomenological Psychology Phenomenological Psychological Attitude, 39 (1), pp. 1–32.

Finlay, L. (2012). Debating phenomenological methods." Hermeneutic phenomenology in education. *Sense Publishers*, pp. 17-37.

Fleming, P. and Spicer, A. (2004). You can checkout anytime, but you can never leave': Spatial boundaries in a high commitment organization. *Human Relations, 57* (1), pp. 75-94.

Fong, C. P. and Wyer, R. S. (2003). Cultural, social, and emotional determinants of decisions under uncertainty. *Organizational Behavior and Human Decision Processes*, *90* (2), pp. 304-322.

Fontainha, E. (2005). Social cohesion across Europe. Does time allocation matter? *Transfer: European Review of Labour and Research*, *11* (1), pp. 97-111.

Fortier, A. M. F. (2000). *Migrant belongings: memory, space, identity*. Oxford: Berg.

Franklin, B. (1762). *Advice to a Young Tradesman*. Boston: CUP.

Friedman, T. (2005). *The World is Flat*. New York: Farrar, Straus and Giroux

Fulmer, C. A., Crosby, B. and Gelfand, M. J. (2014). Cross-cultural perspectives on time*: How Time Impacts Groups, Organizations and Methodological Choices. Time and Work, 2 (1), pp.* 53-59.

Fursman, L. and Zodgekar, N. (2009). Making it work: The impacts of flexible work arrangements on New Zealand families. *Social Policy Journal of New Zealand,* 35, pp.: 43–54.

Gable, P. A. and Poole, B. D. (2012). Time flies when you're having approach-motivated fun effects of motivational intensity on time perception. *Psychological Science*, 0956797611435817.

Gaston, B. and Jolas, M. (1994). *The Poetics of Space*. Vol. 330. Boston: Beacon Press.

Gearing, R. (2004). Bracketing in Research: A Typology. *Qualitative Health Research,* 14 (10), pp. 1429–52.

Geist, C. (2005). The welfare state and the home: Regime differences in the domestic division of labour. *European Sociological Review*, 21, pp. 23-41.

Gell, A. (2000). Time and social anthropology. *Time in Contemporary Intellectual Thought*, pp. 251-265.

Genz, S and Brabon, B. A. (2009). *Postfeminism: Cultural Texts and Theories*. Edinburgh, UK: Edinburgh University Press.

Gerson, K. (2010). *The Unfinished Revolution. How a new generation is reshaping family, work and gender in America*. New York: Oxford University Press.

Giddens, A. (1984). *The Construction of Society*. Cambridge: Polity.

Giddens, A. (1995). *A Contemporary Critique of Historical Materialism* (2n edn.), Basingstocke: Macmillan Press Ltd.

Gill, R. (2007). Critical respect: The difficulties and dilemmas of agency and "choice" for feminism. *European Journal of Women's Studies*, *14*, pp. 69–80.

Gillis, S. and Munford, R. (2013). Introduction: Harvesting our Strengths: Third Wave Feminism and Women's Studies. *Journal of International Women's Studies*, 4 (2), pp. 1-6.

Giorgi, A. (2007). Concerning the Phenomenological Methods of Husserl and Heidegger and their Application in Psychology. *Collection du Cirp Volume 1,* pp. 63 à 78.

Glaser, B. G. and Strauss, A. L. (2009). *The Discovery of Grounded Theory: Strategies for Qualitative Research*. New Jersey: Transaction Publishers.

Glucksmann, M. A. (1998). What a difference a day makes: A theoretical and historical exploration of temporality and gender. *Sociology*, *32* (2), pp. 239-258.

Glucksmann, M. (2013).*Cottons And Casuals: The Gendered Organisation of Labour in Time and Space*. London: Routledge,

Golden, L. (2008). Limited access: Disparities in flexible work schedules and work-at-home. *Journal of Family and Economic Issues,* 29 (1), pp. 86–109.

Goodenough, W. H. (1981). *Culture, Language and Society*. London: The Benjamin/ Cummings Publishing Company.

Gornick, J. and Meyers, M. (2003). *Families that Work: Policies for Reconciling Parenthood and Employment*, NY: Russel Sage Foundation.

Greenhaus, J.H. and Powell, G.N. (2003). When work and family collide: deciding between competing role demands. *Organizational Behaviour and Human Decision Processes*, 90 (2), pp. 291–303.

Griffiths, M.; Rogers, A. and Anderson, B. (2013). Migration, time and temporalities: review and prospect. COMPAS research resources paper, Oxford: Centre on Migration, Policy and Society, available at: www.compas.ox.ac.uk/publications/research-resources

Gunnarsson, L. (2011). A defence of the category 'women'. *Feminist Theory*, 12, pp. 23–37.

Gupta, S. (2007). Autonomy, dependence, or display? The relationship between married women's earnings and housework. *Journal of Marriage and Family,* 69, pp. 399-417.

Gurr, A. (1981). *Writers in Exile: The Identity of Home in Modern Literature*. Brighton: Harvester.

Guyer, J. I. (2007). Prophecy and the Near Future: Thoughts on Macroeconomic, Evangelical, and Punctuated Time. *American Ethnologist* 34(3), pp. 409–421.

Haas, L. and Hwang, C. P. (2007). Gender and Organizational Culture: Correlates of Companies' Responsiveness to Fathers in Sweden, *Gender & Society*, 21 (1), 52-79.

Hakim, C. (2000) *Work-Lifestyle Choices in the 21st Century: Preference Theory,* Oxford: OUP.

Hale, C. R. (2012). Activist research v. cultural critique: Indigenous land rights and the contradictions of politically engaged anthropology. *Cultural Anthropology*, *21*(1), pp. 96-120.

Halford, S. and Leonard, P. (2013). Gendered Organizations and Working Lives: continuities, change and policy engagement. *Observatoire de la société britannique*, (14), pp. 25-36.

Hall, E. (1990). *Understanding Cultural Differences*. Yarmouth: Intercultural Press.

Hall, E. T. (Ed.) (1976). *Beyond Culture*. New York: Anchor Press.

Hall, E. T. and Hall, M. R. (1989). *Understanding cultural differences*. Intercultural press.

Halse, C. and Honey A. (2014).Unravelling ethics: Illuminating the moral dilemmas of research ethics. *Signs,* 40 (1).

Hart, S. (2009). *Capitalism at the Crossroads: Aligning business, Earth, and Humanity* (2nd ed.). New Jersey: Pearson Education, Inc.

Harvey, D. (1989). *The Condition of Postmodernity*, Oxford: Blackwell.

Harvey, D. (1990). Between Space and Time: Reflections on the Geographical Imagination1. *Annals of the Association of American Geographers*, *80* (3), 418-434.

Hassan, R. (2003). *The Chronoscopic Society: Globalization, Time and Knowledge in the Network Economy*. New York: Peter Lang.

Hassan, R. (2009) *Empires of Speed: Time and the Acceleration of Politics and Society*. Leiden: Brill.

Hassard, J. (2002). Essai: Organizational time: Modern, symbolic and postmodern reflections. *Organization Studies*, *23*, pp. 885–892.

Haviland, W.A. (1994). *Anthropology*, 7th ed., New York: Holt, Rinehart & Winston.

Heidegger, M. (1962). *Being and Time*. Oxford: Basil Blackwell (original work published 1927).

Heidegger, M. (1982). *The Basic Problems of Phenomenology* (A. Hofstadter, Trans.). Bloomington, IN: Indiana University Press.

Heidegger, M. (1996). Being and time (Trans. J. Stambaugh). Albany, NY: SUNY Press.

Heidegger, M. (2003). *The End of Philosophy*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Hess, B.and Sussman, M. B. (2014). *Women and the family: Two decades of change*. London: Routledge.

Hill, EJ; Grzywacz, JG and Allen, S. (2008). Defining and conceptualizing workplace flexibility. *Community, Work & Family,* 11 (2), pp. 149–163.

Hillier, B. (2008). Space and spatiality: what the built environment needs from social theory. *Building Research & Information*, *36*(3), pp. 216-230.

Hofstede, G. (1980). Culture and organizations. *International Studies of Management & Organization*, *10* (4), pp. 15-41.

Hofstede, G. (1999). Problems remain, but theories will change: The universal and the specific in 21st-century global management. *Organizational Dynamics*, *28* (1), pp. 34-44.

Hofstede, G. (2001). *Culture's Consequence: Comparing Values, Behaviours, Institutions and Organizations across Nations*. Beverly Hills, Sage.

Hong, Y. Y. (2009). A dynamic constructivist approach to culture: Moving from describing culture to explaining culture. In Wyer, R. S., Chiu, C. Y., & Hong, Y. Y. (Eds.). *Understanding Culture: Theory, Research, and Application*. Routledge: Psychology Press.

Hong, Y. Y., & Chiu, C. Y. (2001). Toward a paradigm shift: From cross-cultural differences in social cognition to social-cognitive mediation of cultural differences. *Social Cognition*, *19*(3: Special issue), pp. 181-196.

Hook, J. L. (2010). Gender inequality in the welfare state: Sex segregation in housework, 1965-2003. *American Journal of Sociology*, 115, pp.1480-1523.

Höpfl, H. (2000). The suffering mother and the miserable son: Organizing women and organizing women's writing. *Gender, Work & Organization*, *7*(2), pp. 98-105.

Höpfl, H. (2007). The codex, the codicil and the codpiece: Some thoughts on diminution and elaboration in identity formation. *Gender, Work & Organization*, *14* (6), pp. 619-632.

Hörschelmann, K. (2011):"Theorising life transitions: geographical perspectives". *Area*, 43 (4) pp. 378-383.

Hoskins, J.A. (2015). What is a Refugee'Religion? Exile, Exidux, and Emigration in the Vitnamese Diaspora. In Horstmann, Alexander and Jung, Jin-Heon (eds.) *Building Noah's Ark for Migrants, Refugees, and Religious Communities.* New York: Palgrave Macmillan, Chapter 1, p. 23.

Hoy, D. C. (2012). *The time of our lives: A critical history of temporality*. MIT Press.

Husserl, E. (1931). *Ideas: General Introduction to Pure Phenomenology*, trans. Gilson W. R. B. New York: Humanities Press, Original work published 1913.

Husserl, E. (1973). *Experience and judgment: Investigations in a genealogy of logic* (Trans., J. S. Churchill & K. Ameriks). Evanston, IL: Northwestern University Press.

Husserl, E. (2001). *The Shorter Logical Investigations* (Trans., J. N. Findlay). London: Routledge.

Husserl, E. (2012). *Ideas: General Introduction to Pure Phenomenology* (Trans., W. R. Boyce Gibson). London: Routledge.

Hutnyk, J. (2006). Culture. *Theory, Culture and Society,* 23, pp. 351–75.

Ibn Alarabi (*Futûhât al-Makkiyya* [the Meccan Revelations], *1202 AD. In Haj Yousef, 2008: 29*

ILO (International Labor Organization) (2010). *Women in Labour Markets: Measuring Progress and Identifying Challenges*. Geneva: ILO.

Israel, M. and Hay, I. (2006). *Research ethics for social scientists*. London: Sage.

Jabbour, G. (2006). Syrian women and human rights. Paper presented at the Women in Syria Today Conference, 25–26 June, Damascus University, Damascus, Syria.

Jacobs, J. A. and Gerson, K. (2005). *The time divide: Work, family, and gender inequality*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.

Jacquette, D. (2014). Newton's Metaphysics of Space as God's Emanative Effect. *Physics in Perspective*, *16* (3), pp. 344-370.

Jahoda, G. (2012). Critical reflections on some recent definitions of "culture". *Culture & Psychology*, *18* (3), pp. 289-303.

James, W. and Mills, D. (2005). Introduction: From representation to action in the flow of time. In W. James & D. Mills (Eds.) *The qualities of time: Anthropological approaches* (pp. 1–15). Oxford, UK: Berg.

Johns, G. (2006). The essential impact of context on organizational behavior. *Academy of Management Review*, 31, pp. 286–408.

Johnson-Hanks, J. (2005). When the future decides. uncertainty and intentional action in contemporary Cameroon. *Current Anthropology* 46(3), pp. 363-85.

Jonas, K. J., & Huguet, P. (2008). What day is today? A social psychological investigation into the process of time orientation. *Personality and Social Psychology Bulletin*, 34, pp. 353–365.

Jones, M. (2009). Phase space: geography, relational thinking, and beyond. *Progress in Human Geography*, *33* (4), pp. 487-506.

Jütting, J.; Morrisson, C.; Dayton-J, J. and Drechsler, D. (2006). Measuring Gender Inequality: Introducing the Gender, Institutions and Development Data Base (GID). Paris: OECD Development Centre, Working Paper No. 247.

Kabbani, N. (2009). Why young Syrians prefer public sector jobs. Middle East Youth Initiative: Policy Out Look, Wolfensohn Centre for Development at Brookings, Dubai School of Government, No. 2, March, 2009.

Kahf, M. (2010). *Western Representations of the Muslim Woman: From Termagant to Odalisque*. Texas: University of Texas Press.

Kaku, M. (2015). *Einstein's Cosmos: How Albert Einstein's Vision Transformed Our Understanding of Space and Time*. Hachette UK.

Kamla, R. (2012). Syrian women accountants attitudes and experiences at work in the context of globalization. *Accounting, Organization and Society*, 37 (3), pp. 188–205.

Kamla, R. (2014). Modernity, space-based patriarchy and global capitalism: implications for Syrian women accountants. *Accounting and Business Research*, *44* (6), pp. 603-629.

Karra, N. and Phillips, N. (2009). Researching "back home". International management research as autoethnography. *Organizational Research Methods, 11*, pp. 541-561.

Kelan, E. K. (2008). The discursive construction of gender in contemporary management literature. *Journal of Business Ethics*, *81*, pp. 427–445.

Kelan, E. K. (2009). Gender fatigue: The ideological dilemma of gender neutrality and discrimination in organizations. *Canadian Journal of Administrative Sciences*, *26*, 197–210.

Kelan, E. K. (2010). Gender logic and (un) doing gender at work. *Gender, Work & Organization*, *17* (2), pp. 174-194.

Khalidi, R. and Tucker, J. E. (1992). Women's rights in the Arab world: Middle East Report. *Middle East Research & Information Project*., Vol. 4 (17).

Kilkey, M., Perrons, D. and Plomien, A. (2013). *Gender, migration and domestic work: masculinities, male labour and fathering in the UK and USA*. London: Palgrave Macmillan.

Kim, S. (2003). Research paradigms in organizational learning and performance: Competing modes of inquiry, Information Technology, *Learning, and Performance Journal*, Vol. 21 (1), pp. 9-18.

King, R. (2012). Geography and migration studies: Retrospect and prospect. *Population, Space and Place*, 18 (2), pp. 134-153.

King, R., Dalipaj, M. and Mai, N. (2006). Gendering migration and remittances: Evidence from London and northern Albania. *Population, Space and Place*, *12* (6), pp. 409-434.

Kramer, A.M. (2011). Telling multi-dimensional family histories: Making the past meaningful. *Methodological Innovations Online* (2011) 6 (3), pp. 17-26.

Kristeva, J (1995). *Women's Time in New Maladies of the Soul*. Trans. Ron Mitchell Guberman. New York: Columbia University Press.

Kroll, G. M. and Robbins, R. H. (Eds.). (2009). *World in Motion: The Globalization and the Environment Reader*. Lanham: AltaMira Press.

Kugelberg, C. (2006). Constructing the deviant other: mothering and fathering at the workplace, *Gender, Work and Organization*, 13 (2), pp. 152-173.

Lambert, V., Glacken, M. and McCarron, M. (2013). Using a range of methods to access children's voices. *Journal of Research in Nursing*, *18* (7), pp. 601-616.

Lang, F. R. and Carstensen, L. L. (2002). Time counts: Future time perspective, goals, and social relationships. *Psychology and Aging*, 17, pp. 125–139.

Lange, M. M., Rogers, W.and Dodds, S. (2013). Vulnerability in research ethics: a way forward. *Bioethics*, *27* (6), pp. 333-340.

Large, W. (2008). Heidegger's *Being and Time:* An Edinburgh Philosophical Guide. Oxford: Oxford University Press

Lauser, A. and Weißköppel, C (eds.) (2008). Migation und religöse Dynamik. Ethnologische Religionsforschung im transnationalen Kontext [Migration and religious dynamics. Cultural anthropological research on religion in transnational contexts], (pp.7–34). Bielefeld: Transcript.Verlag.

Laverty, S. M. (2008). Hermeneutic phenomenology and phenomenology: A comparison of historical and methodological considerations. *International journal of qualitative methods* 2 (3), pp. 21-35.

Lawrence, N. (1986). The origins of time. *Time, science, and society in China and the West: The study of time V*, pp. 23-38.

Lee, H. and Sawyer, S. (2010). Conceptualizing time, space and computing for work and organizing. *Time Society, Vol.*19, pp. 293-316.

Lester, P. (2013). Visual Communication: Images with messages. London: Cengage Learning.

LeVasseur, J. (2003) The problem of bracketing in phenomenology. *Qualitative Health Research,* 13 (3), pp. 408–20.

Lewis, P. (2013). The search for an authentic entrepreneurial identity: difference and professionalism among women business owners. *Gender, Work and Organization* [Online] 20, pp. 252-266

Lewis, P. (2014). Postfeminism, Femininities and Organization Studies: Exploring a New Agenda. *Organization Studies,* 35 (12), pp. 1845-1866.

Lewis, P. and Simpson, R. (2010). Meritocracy, Difference and Choice: Women's Experience of Advantage and Disadvantage at Work: Introduction. *Gender in Management: An International Journal* [Online] 25, pp. 165-169.

Lewis, S. (1991). Motherhood and/or employment. In A Phoenix, A. Woollett and E Lloyd (eds) *Motherhood: Meanings, Practices and Ideologies.* London: Sage.

Lewis, S. and Humbert, A. L. (2010). Discourse or reality: "Worklife balance" flexibility and gendered organisations. *Equality, Diversity and Inclusion*, 29 (3), pp. 239-254.

Lewis, S., Brannen, J. and Nilsen, A. (2009). *Work, Families and Organisations in Transition. European Perspectives.* London: Policy Press.

Lindley, A. (2010). *The Early Morning Phone Call: Somali Refugees' Remittances*. New York: Berghahn Books

Linett, M. (2013). Modes of Dislocation: Jewishness and Deafness in Elizabeth Bowen. *Studies in the Novel*, *45* (2), pp. 259-278.

Linstead, S. (2009). *Managing Culture*. In Linstead, S., L. Fulop & S. Lilley (eds.) *Management & Organization: A Critical Text*. 2nd ed. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan.

Lister, R. (2007) *Citizenship, in G. Blakeley and V. Bryson (eds) The Impact of Feminism on Political Concepts and Debates*. Manchester: Manchester University Press.

Livneh, H. (2012). The Concept of Time in Rehabilitation and Psychosocial Adaptation to Chronic Illness and Disability: Part I, *Rehabilitation Counseling Bulletin,* 55 (4), pp. 195–206.

Lopez-Claros, A. and Zahidi, S. (2005). Women's empowerment: measuring the global gender gap. Geneva Switzerland World Economic Forum 2005.

Macey, S. (1989). *The Dynamics of Progress: Time, Method, and Measure*. Athens, GA: The University of Georgia Press.

Mancini, M. (2007). *Time Management: choices about Time Management.* New York: The Rosen Publishing Group.

Manea, E. (2011). *The Arab State and Women's Rights: The Trap of Authoritarian Governance*. New York: Routledge.

Manning, A. and Petrongolo, B. (2008). The part-time pay penalty for women in Britain. *Economics Journal* 114:F28– F51

Marcus, A. and Gould, E. W. (2000). Crosscurrents: cultural dimensions and global Web user-interface design. *Interactions*, 7 (4), pp. 32-46.

Marshall, C. and Rossman, G. B. (2014). *Designing qualitative research*. London: Sage publications.

Marx, K. (1971 [1867]). *Capital*, Vil2. Moscow: Progress Publishers.

Matsumoto, D. and Juang, L. (2012). *Culture and psychology*. London: Cengage Learning.

Mavin, S, and Grandy G. (2013). Doing gender well and differently in dirty work: the case of exotic dancing. *Gender, Work & Organization,* 20 (3), pp. 232-251.

Mavin, S., Williams, J., Bryans, P. and Patterson, N. (2015).'Woman as a project': key issues for women who want to get on. *Handbook of Gendered Careers in Management: Getting In, Getting On, Getting Out*, p. 305.

Maxwell, J. A. (2012). *Qualitative Research Design: An Interactive Approach*. London: Sage Publications.

May, J. and Thrift, N. (eds.) (2003). *Timespace: geographies of temporality*. London: Routledge.

Maykut, P. and Morehouse, R. (1994). *Beginning qualitative researchers: A philosophical and practical guide.* Washington, DC: Falmer.

McCormack, D P. and Schwanen,T. (2011). "Guest editorial: the space-times of decision making." *Environment and Planning,* A 43, pp. 2801-2818.

McGrath, J. E. and Kelly, J. R. (1986). *Time and Human Interaction*. New York: Guilford.

McGrath, J. E. and Tschan, F. (2004). *Temporal Matters in Social Psychology: Examining the Role of Time in the Lives of Groups and Individuals*. Washington, DC: American Psychological Association.

McLean, C. A. (2011). Cultural Dialogue as Identity-Work. *Yearbook of the National Society for the Study of Education*, *110* (1), pp. 153-172.

McLean, C. A. and Campbell, C. M. (2003). Locating research informants in a multi-ethnic community: Ethnic identities, social networks and recruitment methods. *Ethnicity & Health*, 8 (1), pp. 41-61.

McNall, L. A., Masuda, A. D. and Nicklin, J. M. (2009). Flexible work arrangements, job satisfaction, and turnover intentions: The mediating role of work-to-family enrichment. *The Journal of Psychology*, *144* (1), pp. 61-81.

McNay, L. (2000). *Gender and AGENCY: RECONFIGURING. The Subject in Social and Feminist Theory*. Cambridge: Polity Press.

McRobbie, A. (2009). *The Aftermath of Feminism*. London: Sage.

Mello, Z. R., & Worrell, F. C. (2006). The relationship of time perspective to age, gender, and academic achievement among academically talented adolescents. *Journal for the Education of the Gifted*, 29, pp. 271–289.

Mercer, K. (Ed.) (2008). *Exiles, Diasporas & Strangers*. Mit Press.

Merleau-Ponty, M. (1962). *Phenomenology of perception* (C. Smith, Trans.). London: Routledge and Kegan Paul.

Merleau-Ponty, M. (1964). *The primacy of perception* (Ed., James Edie). Evanston, IL: Northwestern University Press.

Mernissi, F. (1987). *Beyond the Veil: Male-Female Dynamics in Modern Muslim Society*. Indiana: Indiana University Press.

Metcalfe, B.D. (2007). Gender and human resources management in the Middle East. *International Journal of Human Resources Management*, 18 (1), pp. 54–74.

Metcalfe, B.D. (2008). Women, management and globalization in the Middle East. *Journal of Business Ethics*, 83, pp. 85–100.

Metcalfe, V., Giffen, A., and Elhawary, S. (2011). *UN integration and humanitarian space: An independent study commissioned by the UN Integration Steering Group*. London: Humanitarian Policy Group.

Miller, J. (2004). Frontier masculinity in the oil industry: the experience of women engineers. *Gender, Work and Organization,* 11 (1), pp. 47-73.

Moghadam, V. M. (2013). *Modernizing Women: Gender and Social Change in the Middle East* (3rd ed.) Boulder, CO: Lynne Rienner Publishers.

Mooij, M. K. D. (2011). *Consumer Behavior and Culture: Consequences for Global Marketing and Advertising* (2nd ed.). London: Sage Publications.

Moran,D. and Mooney,T.(eds.) (2002). *The Phenomenology Reader*. London, Routledge.

Müller, U. and Giesbrecht, G.F. (2006). Psychological Models of Time: Arrows, Cycles and Spiral, *Culture Psychology*, 12, pp. 221-32.

Naficy, H. (ed.) (2013). *Home, Exile, Homeland: Film, Media, and the Politics of Place*. London: Routledge.

Newell, HJ and Scarbrough, H. (2002). *Human Resource Management in Context: A Case Study Approach*. Houndmills, Baskingstoke: Palgrave.

Ng, R. Y. K. and Höpfl, H. J. (2014). The aesthetic diaspora: a photographic study of objects in the workspace. *International Journal of Work Organisation and Emotion*, 6(1), 92-130.

Ngeleza, B., Mkhize, P., & Lubbe, S. (2009). The Application of an Organic Model for Strategic Management to FOSS Migration Within the South African Public Sector. In *The Proceedings of the 5th European Conference on Management, Leadership and Governance: Hellenic American University and the Atexcelixi Conference Centre, Athens, Greece, 5-6 November 2009* (p. 133). Academic Conferences Limited.

Nunn, N. (2012). Culture and the historical process. *Economic History of Developing Regions* 27, no. sup1, S108-S126.

O'Neill, D. A., Hopkins, M. M., and Bilimoria, D. (2008). 'Women's careers at the start of the 21st century: Patterns and paradoxes'. *Journal of Business Ethics*, 80 (4), pp. 727-743.

OBG, (2008). *Emerging Syria*. Oxford: Oxford Business Group Publications.

Offenhauer, P. (2005).Women in Islamic Societies: A Selected Review of Social Scientific Literature. A Report Prepared by the Federal Research Division, Library of Congress. Available from: http://www.loc.gov/rr/ frd [Accessed 25 March 2014].

Ofreneo, R. E. (2010, November 20–21). Labor law reforms in globalizing East Asia. Paper presented at the 2010 Manila Biennial Conference of the Asian Society of Labour Law, Quezon City, the Philippines.

Olesen, V. (2011). Feminist qualitative research in the millenium's first decade: developments, challenges, prospects. In: Denzin NK and Lincoln YS (eds) *The Sage Handbook of Qualitative Research* (4th ed.). Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage, 129–146.

Oliver, C. and O'Reilly, K. (2010). A Bourdieusian Analysis of Class and Migration: Habitus and the Individualizing Process. *Sociology*, 44 (1), pp. 49–66.

Olmsted, J. C. (2009). 'Women, Work, and the Arab World: A Conversation with the Economist Jennifer Olmsted. Economical: Women and the Global Economy. International Museum of Women. Available at http://www.imow.org/dynamic/pdfs/wpp/ wpp_podcasts_transcript_en_230.pdf [23 January 2011].

Olmsted, O.C. (2005). Gender, aging, and the evolving Arab patriarchal contract. Feminist Economics, 11 (2), pp. 53–78.

Orlikowski, W. and Scott, S. (2008). The Entanglement of Technology and Work in Organizations. London School of Economics and Political Science, Department of Management, Information Systems and Innovation Group Working Paper 168.

Osnowizt, D. (2005). Managing Time in Domestic Space: Home-Based Contractors and Household, *Gender and Society*, 19 (1), pp: 83-103.

Ostrand, N. (2015). The Syrian refugee crisis: a comparison of responses by Germany, Sweden, the United Kingdom, and the United States. *Journal on Migration and Human Security*, *3* (3), pp. 255-264.

Paley, D. (2014). Principles of Deformity Correction. New York: Springer.

Paustian-Underdahl, S. C., Walker, L. S., & Woehr, D. J. (2014). Gender and perceptions of leadership effectiveness: A meta-analysis of contextual moderators. *Journal of applied psychology*, *99*(6), p. 1129.

Pedersen, P. (2013). *Multiculturalism as a Fourth Force*. London: Routledge.

Pelias, R. (2011). *Leaning: A poetics of personal relations*. Walnut Creek, CA: Left Coast Press.

Peters, P. (1999). *Time Allocation in Times of Structural Transformation : A Synchronic View on (Gender) differences in the Netherlands. Time Society, 8, pp: 329-356.*

Petty, N. J., Thomson, O. P. and Stew, G. (2012). Ready for a paradigm shift? Part 2: Introducing qualitative research methodologies and methods. *Manual therapy*, *17* (5), pp. 378-384.

Pfaff-Czarnecka, J. (2013). Multiple Belonging and the Challenges to Biographic Navigation. MMG Working Paper 13 (5).

Phillips, A. (2009). *Multiculturalism without Culture*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.

Piaget, J. (1969). *The Child's Conception of Time*. New York, NY: Basic Books.

Poindexter, C. (2003). The Ubiquity of Ambiguity in Research Interviewing', Qualitative Social Work, 2 (4), pp. 383–409.

Polit, D. F. and C. T. Beck (2006). *Essentials of Nursing Research: Methods, Appraisal, and Utilization*. Philadelphia, Lippincott, Williams and Wilkins.

Potrac, P., Jones, R. L. and Nelson, L. (2014). Interpretivism. In *Research Methods in Sports Coaching (p. 31).* London: Routledge.

Powell, G. N. and Butterfield, D. A. (2013). Sex, gender, and aspirations to top management: Who's opting out? Who's opting in? *Journal of Vocational Behavior*, *82* (1), pp. 30-36.

Probyn, E. (1996). *Outside Belongings*. Oxford: Psychology Press.

Prokhovnik, R. (2002). *Rational Woman: A Feminist Critique of Dichotomy* (2nd ed.), Manchester and New York, NY: Manchester University Press.

Purser, R. and Hassan, R. (2007). Time in the Network Society. Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press.

Ramadan, T. (2012). *Islam and the Arab Awakening*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Rapoport, R., Bailyn, L., Fletcher, J. K. and Pruitt, B. H. (2002). *Beyond Work-Family Balance: Advancing Gender Equity and Workplace Performance*. San Francisco, CA: Jossey-Bass.

Rapport, F. M. (2001). Best Research Practice: In Pursuit of Methodological Rigour. *Journal of Advanced Nursing*, 35 (3), pp. 373-383.

Rapport, N. (2014). *Social and Cultural Anthropology: The Key Concepts*. London: Routledge.

Richardson, D. and Robinson, V. (2008). *Introducing Gender and Women's Studies*. London: Palgrave Macmillan.

Rifkin, J. (1987). *Time Wars: The Primary Conflict in Human History*. New York: Henry Holt& Co.

Rinaldo, R. (2014). Pious and Critical Muslim Women Activists and the Question of Agency. *Gender & Society*, 0891243214549352.

Ritchie, J., Lewis, J., Nicholls, C. M. and Ormston, R. (Eds.) (2013). *Qualitative research practice: A guide for social science students and researchers*. London: Sage Publications.

Roberts, E. (2008). Time and Work–Life Balance: The Roles of Temporal Customization and Life Temporality. *Gender, Work and Organization*, 15 (5), pp. 430-453.

Robinson, F. (2013). Global care ethics: beyond distribution, beyond justice. *Journal of Global Ethics*, *9* (2), pp. 131-143.

Rosa, H. (2003). Social Acceleration: Ethical and Political Consequences of a Desynchronized High-speed Society. *Constellation* 10 (1),pp. 3–33.

Rosa, H. and Scheuerman, W. (eds) (2009). *High-Speed Society: Social Acceleration, Power, and Modernity*. University Park, PA: The Pennsylvania State University Press.

Rose, P. (1985). *Writing on Women: Essays in a Renaissance*. Middletown, CT: Wesleyan University Press.

Rudolph, L. (2006). The Fullness of Time. *Culture & Psychology*, *12*, pp. 169–204.

Ruppanner, L. (2012). Housework conflict and divorce: A multi-level analysis. *Work, Employment and Society*, 26, pp. 638-656.

Ryan, B., Scapens, R.W. and Theobald, M. (2002). *Research Method and Methodology in Finance and Accounting* (2nd Edn), London: Thomson.

Sabelis, I, Nencel, L., Knights, D. and Odih, P (2008). Editorial: Questioning the Construction of Balance: A Time Perspective on Gender and Organization. *Gender, Work and Organization, 15 (5),* pp. 423-429.

Sachs, J. D. and McArthur, J. W. (2005). The millennium project: a plan for meeting the millennium development goals. *The Lancet*, *365* (9456), pp. 347-353.

Said, E. W. (2001). *Reflections on Exile: and Other Literary and Cultural Essays*. London: Granta Books.

Sani, G. M. D. (2014). Men's employment hours and time on domestic chores in European countries. *Journal of Family Issues*, Vol. 35 (8), pp. 1032-1047.

Saunders, M., Lewis, P. and Thornhill, A. (2012). *Research Methods for Business Students*, 6th edition, Harlow: Financial Times Prentice Hall.

Sayer, L. (2010). Trends in housework. In J. Treas & S. Drobnič (Eds.), *Dividing the domestic* (pp. 19-38). Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press.

Scarbrough, H. and Corbett, J. M. (2013). *Technology and Organization (RLE: Organizations): Power, Meaning and Design*. London: Routledge.

Schein, V. E. (2007). Women in management: reflections and projections'. *Women in Management Review*, 22 (1), pp. 6-18.

Schmitt, B. (2012). The consumer psychology of brands. *Journal of Consumer Psychology*, *22* (1), pp. 7-17.

Schwartz, S. H. (2014). Rethinking the concept and measurement of societal culture in light of empirical findings. *Journal of cross-cultural Psychology*, *45* (1), pp. 5-13.

Seifan, S. (2010). Syria on the Path to Economic Reform. St. Andrews Papers on Contemporary Syria. St. Andrews: University of St. Andrews Centre for Syrian Studies.

Senior, B. and Fleming, J. (2006). *Organizational Change*. London: Pearson Education,

Shahidian, H. (2000). Sociology and Exile: Banishment and Tensional Loyalties. *Current Sociology*. 48 (2),pp. 71-98.

Shaw, R. J. (2012). Augustine's Extraordinary Theory of Memory. In S. Dixon, J. Doody and K. Paffenroth. *Augustine and Psychology* (P.a85). Plymouth, UK: Lexington Books.

Sheller, M. and Urry, J. (eds.). (2006). *Mobile Technologies of the City*. Londn: Routledge.

Shipp, A. J. and Fried, Y. (2014). *Time and Work, Volume 1: How Time Impacts Individuals*. Oxford: Psychology Press.

Shove, E., Trentmann, F. and Wilk, R. (eds) (2009). *Time, Consumption and Everyday Life*, Oxford: Berg.

Sidani, Y M. (2016) "Working Women in Arab Countries: A Case for Cautious Optimism." In *Handbook on Well-Being of Working Women*, (pp. 689-701). Netherlands: Springer.

Siltanen, J. and Doucet, A. (2008). *Gender relations in Canada: Intersectionality and beyond*. Ontario, Canada: Oxford University Press.

Silverman, D. (2013). *Doing Qualitative Research: A practical Handbook*. London: SAGE Publications Limited.

Simmelink, J. (2011). Temporary citizens: US immigration law and Liberian refugees. *Journal of Immigrant & Refugee Studies*, *9* (4), pp. 327-344.

Sirianni, C. and Negrey, C. (2000) Working time as gendered time. *Feminist Economics*, 6 (1), pp. 59-76.

Sirkeci, I. (2009). Transnational mobility and conflict. *Migration Letters*, *6* (1), 3-14.

Siwale, J. (2015). Why did I not prepare for this? The politics of negotiating fieldwork access, identity, and methodology in researching microfinance institutions. *SAGE Open* 5.2: 2158244015587560.

Skinner, N. and Pocock, B. (2011). Flexibility and work-life interference in Australia. *Journal of Industrial Relations*, *53* (1), pp. 65-82.

Slife, B. D. (1993). Time and Psychological Explanation. New York, NY: *State University of New York Press*.

Smith, J. A. (1996). Beyond the divide between cognition and discourse: Using interpretative phenomenological analysis in health psychology. *Psychology & Health*, 11 (2), pp. 261-271.

Smith, J. A. (2004). Reflecting on the Development of Interpretative Phenomenological Analysis and its Contribution to Qualitative Research in Psychology. *Qualitative Research in Psychology*, 1 (1), pp. 39-54.

Smith, J. A. (2007). Hermeneutics, human sciences and health: Linking theory and practice. *International Journal of Qualitative Studies on Health and Well-being*, 2 (1), pp. 3-11.

Smith, J. A. (2010). Evaluating the contribution of interpretative phenomenological analysis. *Health Psychology Review,* 5 (1), pp. 9-27.

Smith, J. A. and Osborn, M. (2008). Interpretative phenomenological analysis. In J. A. Smith (Ed.), *Qualitative Psychology: A Practical Guide to Research Methods* (pp. 53-80). London: Sage.

Smith, J. A., Flowers, P. and Larkin, M. (2009*). Interpretative Phenomenological Analysis: Theory, Method and Research.* London: Sage.

Söderbäck, F. (2014). Revolutionary Time: Revolt as Temporal Return. *Signs 40* (1).

Solomon, C. M. and Schell, M. S. (2009). *Managing Across Cultures*. Noida, UP, India: Tata McGraw-Hill Education.

Sorokin, P. A. and Merton, R. K. (1937). Social time: A methodological and functional analysis. *American Journal of Sociology*, 42, pp. 615–629.

Sorokin.P. ([1959] 2001). *Excerpt, from cultural and social mobility.* In D. Grutsky, ed, *Social Stratification*: *Race ,Class, and Gender in Sociological Perspective*, (pp. 303-8). Boulder, CO: Westview.

Spierings, N., Smits, J. and Verloo, M. (2012). Arab women's employment in a globalized world. A multilevel analysis of changing participateion rates and shifting influences in Egypt and Jordan". *Institute for Management Research, RU, Nijmegen, The Netherlands.*

Spurk, J. (2004). Simultaneity within non-simultaneity? Continuity, rupture, emergence–on the temporal dynamic of social formation. *Time & Society*, *13* (1), pp. 41-49**.**

St. Augustine (1998). The Confessions, English version; Bibliothèque de La Pléiade: Paris, France, Available online: http://www.ourladyswarriors.org/saints/augcon10.htm (accessed: 22/02/2013).

Stabler, J. (2013). *The Artistry of Exile*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Starks, H. and Trinidad, S. B. (2007). Choose Your Method: A Comparison of Phenomenology, Discourse Analysis, Qualitative Health and Grounded Theory. *Research*, 17 (10), pp. 1372–80.

Steers, R. M., Sanchez-Runde, C. J. and Nardon, L. (2010). *Management across Cultures: Challenges and Strategies*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Stone, P. (2007). *Opting out? Why Women Really quit Careers and Head Home.* Berkeley: University of California Press.

Strauss, A. and Corbin, J. (1998). Basics of Qualitative Research: Techniques and Procedures for Developing Grounded Theory. London: Sage Publications.

Stump, E. and Kretzmann, N. (2001). *The Cambridge Companion to Augustine*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press

Sully, N. (2002). The privileged place of home: place, memory and the disease of nostalgia. In Addition to architectural history: XIXth Conference of the Society of Architectural Historians, Australia and New Zealand, Brisbane, (pp. 60-60). *Society of Architectural Historians*, *Australia and New Zealand*.

Swigonski, M. E. and Raheim, S. (2011). Feminist Contributions to Understanding Women's Lives and the Social Environment. *Journal of Women and Social Work* 26 (1), pp. 10-21.

Tall, S. (2013). It's "Immigration Hysteria Day". Again. Here's how Lib Dems need to respond. *The Guardian* Nov 14th 2013. Available on: http://www.libdemvoice.org/clegg-cameron-immigration-hysteria-37324.html (Accessed on: 13/05/2015).

Tatman, L. (2008). In exile from no homeland: or, being at home in the middle of time. *Feminist Theology*, *16* (3), pp. 397-405.

Taylor, S. and Spicer, A. (2007). 'Time for space: A narrative review of research on organizational spaces'. *International Journal of Management Reviews*, 9(4): 325-346.

TenHouten, W. D. (2007). A General Theory of Emotions and Social Life. London and New York: Routledge

Thanem, T. and Wallenberg, L. (2014). Just doing gender? Transvestism and the power of underdoing gender in everyday life and work. *Organization*, 1350508414547559.

Thanh, N. C. and Le Thanh, T. T. (2015). The Interconnection between Interpretivist Paradigm and Qualitative Methods in Education. *American Journal of Educational Science*, *1* (2), pp. 24-27.

The British Psychological Society (2006).

Thompson, E. P. (1999 [1967]). Time, work-discipline and industrial capital. In E.P. Thompson (ed.) *Customs in Common*, (pp. 352-403). London: Penguin Books.

Thrift, N. (2006). Space. *Theory Culture Society*, 23, pp.:139- 146.

Todd, P. and Binns, J. (2013). Work–life balance: is it now a problem for management? *Gender, Work & Organization*, 20 (.3), pp. 219-231.

Todres, L. and Holloway, I. (2004). Descriptive phenomenology: Life-world as evidence, (pp. 79-98). In F. Rapport (Ed.) *New Qualitative Methodologies in Health and Social Care Research*. London: Routledge.

Treas, J. and Tai, T. (2012). How couples manage the household: Work and power in cross-national perspective. *Journal of Family Issues*, 33, pp. 1088-1116.

Tucker, J. E. (2008). *Women, family, and gender in Islamic law* (Vol. 3). Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Tufford, L. and Newman, P. (2012). Bracketing in Qualitative Research. *Qualitative Social Work*, 11: 80, DOI: 10.1177/1473325010368316

Tyler, M. (2005). Women in change management: Simone De Beauvoir and the co-optation of women's Otherness. *Journal of Organizational Change Management*, 18 (6), pp. 561-577.

Tyler, M. (2012). Glamour Girls, Macho Men and Everything In Between': Un/doing Gender and Dirty Work in Soho's Sex Shops. In R. Simpson, N. Slutskaya, P. Lewis and H. Höpfl (eds) *Dirty Work* (pp. 65-90). London: Palgrave Macmillan UK.

UNDP (2008). *Syria*. New York: United Nations Economic and Social Commission for Western Asia publication.

Urquhart, C. (2012). *Grounded theory for qualitative research*: A practical guide. London: Sage Publications.

Urry, J (2012). *Sociology Beyond Societies: Mobilities for the Twenty-First Century*. London: Routledge.

Urry, J. (2007). *Mobilities*. Cambridge: Polity.

Vathi, Z. and King R. (2013). Have you got the Britísh? Narratives of migration and settlement among Albanian-origin immigrants in London. *Ethnic and Racial Studies,* 36 (11), pp. 1829-1848.

Vathi, Z. and King, R. (2011). Return visits of the young Albanian second generation in Europe: Contrasting themes and comparative host-country perspectives. *Mobilities,* 6 (4), pp. 503-518.

Vigh, H (2009). Wayward migration: on imagined futures and technological voids. *Ethnos,* 74 (1), pp. 91-109.

Vischer, J. (2007). *Space meets Status: Designing Workplace Performance*. London: Routledge.

Warf, B. (2008). *Time-Space Compression: Historical Geographies*. London: Routledge

Watts, M. (2001). *Heidegger: A beginner's guide*. London: Headway.

Webber, G. and Williams, C. (2008). Mothers in "Good" and "Bad" Part-time Jobs: Different Problems, Same Results. *Gender & Society*, 22(6), pp.752-777.

Weber, M. (1965). *The Protestant Ethic and The Spirit Of Capitalism*. New York: NY Scribner.

West, C. and Zimmerman, D. H. (2009). Accounting for doing gender. *Gender & Society,* 23, pp. 112-22.

Wheeler, S.and Nistor, N. (2003). Human behavior in the online subculture.*Towards the Virtual University—International On-Line Learning Perspectives*, pp. 119-130.

Wilson, W. J. and Chaddha, A. (2009). The role of theory in ethnographic research. *Ethnography*, 10 (4), pp. 549-564.

Wood, D. (1989). *The Deconstruction of Time*. Evanston, USA: Northwestern University Press.

Wood, W. and Eagly, A. H. (2015). Two Traditions of Research on Gender Identity. *Sex Roles*, *73* (11-12), pp. 461-473.10.1007/s11199-015-0480-2

Wyer, R. S., Chiu, C. Y. and Hong, Y. Y. (Eds.). (2009). *Understanding Culture: Theory, Research, and Application*. Oxford: Psychology Press.

Yanow, D. and Schwartz-Shea, P. (2015). *Interpretation and Method: Empirical Research Methods and the Interpretive Turn*. London: Routledge.

Yeoh, B. S. and Huang, S. (2010). Transnational Domestic Workers and the Negotiation of Mobility and Work Practices in Singapore's Home Spaces. *Mobilities*, *5* (2), pp. 219-236.

Yilmaz, K. (2013). Comparison of Quantitative and Qualitative Research Traditions: epistemological, theoretical, and methodological differences. *European Journal of Education*, *48* (2), pp. 311-325.

Ylijoki, O. H. (2010). Future orientations in episodic labour: Short-term academics as a case in point. *Time & Society*, *19* (3), pp. 365-386.

Young, I. M. (2003). The logic of masculinist protection: Reflections on the current security state. *Signs*, *29* (1), pp. 1-25.

Yuval-Davis, N. (2011). Power, Intersectionality and the Politics of Belonging. FREIA Working Paper No. 75. Aalborg Denmark.

Zakay, D. and Block, R. A. (1996). The role of attention in time estimation processes. *Advances in psychology*, *115*, pp. 143-164.

Zamzam, S. Anoosheh, M. and Ahmadi, F. (2013). Barriers to diabetes control from Syrian women's perspectives. *Japan Journal of Nursing Science*, *10* (1), pp. 121-129.

Zimbardo, P. G. and Boyd, J. (2008). The Time Paradox: The New Psychology of Time that can change Your Life. New York, NY: Free Press.

Appendix I - Interview Questions

Questions about Time

1. How long have you been in the UK? How do you feel about that time?
2. Can you describe a typical day from the time you get up until the time you go to bed, telling me about what you do and how you feel about what you do?
3. What are you looking forward to?
4. Can you tell me a little about the happy times and sad times you have experienced throughout your life?
5. What are the most significant events in your life so far?

Questions about the Country of Origin

6. Where do you consider to be your "home"? Is it here or Syria? Why?
7. Explain what you miss most about your country of origin?
8. How important is the idea of "home" to you?
9. Throughout your previous visits to Syria, explain how you felt about the country. Did it change for better or worse? In what ways?
10. Would you return back to Syria? Why?
11. How do you feel about the current situation? And how do explain it to your children and non-Syrian friends?

Questions about the Community

12. Do you share social occasions and celebrations with your expatriate community where you live? Why is that?
13. Does the expatriate community represent home to you? In what way?
14. How do you describe your relationship with the expatriates?
15. How do you describe your relationship with the local people?
16. Explain how you found integrating into the UK life, and why you did or didn't want to integrate within the host community?

Questions about Language

17. What language do you use at home? Why is that?
18. How do you describe your children's linguistic ability?
19. What efforts have you made to improve your English?
20. How much do you consider language skills have contributed or not to your integration process?

Questions about Gendered Time

21. Explain how you understood and organised your time in Syria and in the UK.
22. What differences do you and your partner have in dealing with time issues?
23. How much did your gender affect your time organisation in the UK & Syria?
24. Do you feel that your life style has affected the way you organise your time? Explain.

Appendix II – The Participants List

Code	Age	Lived in UK (years)	Education	Children	Employed
Rasha	48	32	BSc Management Science	5	Yes
Zeina	48	27	BSc French Literature	4	Yes
Raja	54	30	BSc Mathematics	4	Yes
Ghenwa	35	10	MA Childcare Education	3	Yes
Ghada	44	21	High School and Accounting Training	3	Yes
Dima	34	8	BA English Literature Diploma in Translation	3	Yes
Hala G	33	10	BA Law	2	Yes
Asma	39	4	GCSE and English to continue her education	3	Yes
Suha	45	16	PhD English literature	4	Yes
Galia	34	8	PhD psychology	2	Yes
Syrsa	47	19	MSc in Medicine Doctor	3	Yes
Susan	45	12	Gynaecologist Medical Doctor	0	Yes
Haifa	39	20	BSc Nursing	3	Yes
Hala J	39	7	PhD Linguistics	1	Yes

Appendix III – Syrian Legal Articles about Working Women

Article 44:

The family is the fundamental nucleus of the community that the State protects. The State shall secure and encourage marriage. Same shall eliminate the financial and social impediments that hamper marriage; shall safeguard motherhood and childhood; foster the youngsters and youth; and shall provide the appropriate conditions for development of their faculties.

Article 45:

The State shall provide all opportunities for women to secure full and effective participation in political, social, cultural and economic life, and eliminate the constraints that impede women's development and participation in community building.

Article 104:

Women shall not be employed in the following industries and fields:

1. mines, quarries and all stone extraction activities

2. smelters for melting, refining and cooking of minerals

3. silver-plating mirrors through the use of mercury

4. making explosives and fireworks and handling them manually

5. fusing and cooling of glass

6. mineral self-welding

7. treatment, transformation and stirring of lead-inclusive ashes ; and extraction of silver from lead

8. installation of welding frames

9. manufacturing of lining materials, litharge, aluminium, and lead silicates, sulphates or chromates

10. use of tartar in the repair or manufacturing of electric tanks

11. cleaning of laboratories or factories where the works aforementioned in items(7-10) are conducted

12. asphalt making

13. producing fertilizers extracted from animals, manure, bones or blood, and working in the aforementioned fertilizers' depots

14. cutting up and skinning animals

15. all tanning processes.

Article 131: *Women may not work from eight pm to seven am except in the conditions and occasions determined by a decision issued by the Minister of Social Affairs and Labour.*

Article 132: *Women may not be employed in physically and morally harmful jobs, hard or other work as determined by a decision issued by the Minister of Social Affairs and Labour.*

Article 137: *Within the eighteen months following delivery, the female employee who breastfeeds has the right to two breaks daily for this purpose, no less than half an hour each. These additional breaks shall be calculated within the office hours and shall not lead to any reduction in wage.*