Time and Community: A scoping study

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ABSTRACT: This paper reports on the results of a commissioned scoping study that explored the extent of research available on time and community. Using a range of techniques designed to provide a rapid overview of this relatively indistinct research area, 885 studies were identified for inclusion in the study. Importantly only 85 of these were identified as 'highly relevant' to the study's focus. An analysis of these articles revealed eleven core themes in work on time and community. Two cross-cutting themes that arose from the full range of included studies were then selected for further analysis. These were the role of time in inclusion and exclusion and 'critical temporalities', that is, work that develops critical temporal responses as part of addressing social inequalities. This broader analysis suggested three overarching concerns shared by both cross-cutting themes: past, present and future; continuity and discontinuity; and multiple rhythms of time use. After exploring how these concerns are addressed in the literature, the paper concludes with an outline of the gaps in research on time and community, as well as recommendations for further research.

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A survey of the interdisciplinary literature on time suggests that it plays a complicated and wide-ranging role in social processes of belonging and interconnection. Time is implicated in social methods of inclusion and exclusion, as well as understandings of legitimacy, agency, and social change. Questions about the speed, pace and directionality of time, are crucial to work exploring communal futures and pasts, the experiences of accelerating global networks and the timing of economies and methods of production. Likewise, interest in the conflicts that arise between different senses of time sheds light on the production and contestation of social norms, as well as contradictions between industrial, political and ecological time-frames. Finally, assumptions about the essential link between community and shared location have come under sustained challenge by those focusing on the temporal nature of online communities and other technologically mediated networks. What these examples suggest is that thinking through the experience and conceptualisation of community (broadly conceived) must be accompanied by an examination of the experience and conceptualisation of time.

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Even so, across the humanities and social sciences there is surprisingly little research that aims to explicitly problematize the joint relationship between the two. At first glance, such a claim might seem odd given the significant bodies of work that deal with issues such as the relationship of community to memory, history, genealogy, and, interest in the social sciences in methods such as qualitative longitudinal research and community re-studies. However, this study was driven, in part, by the concern that while these approaches may provide ways into thinking through the specificities of time, they can also be accompanied by a tendency to treat concepts such as memory or history as metonyms for time. This runs the risk of conflating separate areas of enquiry and thus making it all the more challenging for researchers to explore the distinctive contributions that time itself might make to work on community.[1] Indeed, within history there have been clear

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[1] When I make reference to 'time itself' I am particularly thinking about questions that arise in the metaphysics and phenomenology of time, but also in

attempts to disaggregate 'history' from 'time' in order for the discipline to explore its implicit temporal assumptions and their consequences (Hall, 1980; see also Aminzade, 1992; Cladis, 2009; Ermarth, 2010; Jensen, 1997; Gallois, 2007). I would suggest that a similar move is required if we are to develop a deeper understanding of the way assumptions about time play a role in the construction, conceptualisation and experience of community.

When looked at from this point of view, there is indeed evidence to suggest that work which deals specifically with the problem of time and community remains fragmented and underdeveloped (e.g. Kenyon, 2000). As a result, knowledge both within and between disciplines has not been adequately connected up and researchers have not been able to build on each other's insights easily. Consequently, the aim of this study was to collect together literature that explicitly problematises both time and community and to thus raise awareness of what work is already available. In particular the study sought to develop a range of thematic mappings in order to provide initial points of entry into the field. Accordingly, after describing the method used in the study and its initial results, I will outline eleven key themes that have emerged from the analysis of highly relevant work identified by the study. I then draw out a broader range of relevant cross-cutting issues that support and extend these themes. I conclude with an analysis of potential gaps in the research and recommendations for further research.

Method

From the outset of the project it was clear that the body of work that needed to be surveyed was extremely diverse. As a result, a standard literature review was not deemed appropriate as a first step, since the field of potentially relevant articles is both vast

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work from anthropology and sociology on social time. This includes, but is not limited to issues such as: whether or not time exists; if it does exist, how it does so; synchrony and dis-synchrony in time; whether time is continuous or discontinuous; the directionality of time; the relationship between parts of time (e.g. between past, present and future), that is, is time linear, cyclical, non-geometrical; is there a single all-encompassing flow of time, is it multiple and conflicting, or something else; how does time feel, what are its paces and rhythms; how is it a carrier of social meaning and so on.

and indistinct. Instead, because there was very little by way of a guide into this area, my aim was to get a quick sense of what might be available and to provide one point of orientation within a complex field. For these purposes, a scoping study was more fitting, since it offers a way of developing a rapid overview of a particular area by identifying and thematising relevant studies, but without providing an exhaustive evaluative summary (which at this stage would be impractical) (Arksey and O'Malley 2005, 27). Scoping studies are themselves still an emerging research method and so in order to build on previous work that has sought to systematise how such studies are done, this project followed the framework developed by Hilary Arksey and Lisa O'Malley (2005, see also Levac et al., 2010), which involves five to six key stages. Due to the novelty of this method for many disciplines, I want to spend some time initially setting out how it was implemented so that readers can have a better sense of the strengths and potential weaknesses of this study, before moving onto the results and analysis.

The first stage for Arksey and O'Malley is to *identify the research question*. In this case the guiding question was: "What is known from the existing literature about the role of concepts of time in our understandings and experiences of community?" Importantly, I did not attempt to pre-define what community might mean here, as I wanted to cast the net as wide as possible. In regards to time, however, I was more restrictive since I hoped to identify work that explicitly focused on time rather than one of its cognate areas. However, even then, the way 'time' might be interpreted was left relatively open. The second stage was to *identify relevant studies*. The search plan called for the use of a broad range of sources and, given that the study also sought to map out emerging trends, relevant grey literature was included along with peer-reviewed literatures. Sources consulted included electronic databases[2], reference lists, hand-searching of key journals, relevant organisations and conferences, as well as

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[2] The databases consulted included: Abstracts in Anthropology, the ESRC research catalogue, Google Scholar, Illumina, Informaworld, ISI Web of Knowledge, JSTOR, Philosopher's Index, Project Muse, Sage, Scopus/Sciverse, Wilson Social Science Abstracts and Wilson's Humanities Index.

soliciting suggestions from other researchers.

Determining useful search criteria required some trial and error, with unrestricted searches for 'time and community' predictably bringing back an extremely high number of matches, very few of which were relevant.[3] Ultimately, since I was interested in identifying work that positioned itself as explicitly addressing the interconnections between time and community, and needed a way of developing an initial set of relevant items, I restricted searches to titles only.[4] Even with these restrictions in place, most of the initial searches required reviewing many hundreds of titles and abstracts in order to find the small number of items in each round that addressed both of the targeted topics. This stage produced a preliminary set of around 425 potentially relevant studies. Recognising the restrictive nature of this search method, the range of included studies was further developed by hand-searching key journals, analysing bibliographies of already identified studies, some citation searches using Google Scholar, and soliciting recommendations. This resulted in a final total of 885 studies.

The third and fourth stages were then to select which studies to analyse further (*study selection*) and to sort the material in reference to key issues and themes (*charting the data*). In keeping with the aim of developing a rapid and broad overview that was able to include all 885 identified items, these stages were completed in relation to abstracts only. Each item was coded, in an iterative process, in terms of four categories of relevance (from 1-Highly Relevant to 4-Not Relevant, discussed further below). They were then coded according to five additional criteria: discipline, methodological approach, geographical focus, key authors and key themes. These criteria were chosen in order to facilitate the 'quick mapping' of the research area that the study

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[3] 'Time' was a particularly problematic search term, since it is used in such a wide variety of ways. Terms such as 'temporal' or 'temporality' provided more relevant results. However, since they might exclude work from disciplines that did not commonly use these terms, they were not used exclusively.

[4] Initially the keywords used were "time and community", "temporality and community", "time and communities", before being expanded to include terms such as "nationalism", "post-colonialism", "communitarianism", "coalition", "inclusion" and "exclusion" (all with "and time" and "and temporality") as well as "social time".

was aiming for. That is, to get a sense of how the topic plays out across different disciplines, what kinds of influences are being drawn on, what sites are of particular focus and which themes have emerged. The initial round of coding resulted in a large number of individual keywords that were consolidated and simplified. In some cases new terms were developed in order to capture the complexities of the shared thematic foci that became apparent (see Levac et al., 2010: 6). With the completion of these stages, the full coded bibliography was published online to serve as a resource for other researchers.[5]

In order to develop a narrative account of the results included in the bibliography, the fifth stage (*collating, summarising and reporting*) largely consisted of the production of two thematic summaries. First was a review of the key issues arising across the literature that had been coded as Highly Relevant. Second was a deeper exploration of two of the cross-cutting issues that had emerged over the course of coding the entire set of items in the study. This involved reviewing the abstracts of all Highly Relevant and Relevant items that addressed these issues and developing a synthesised summary of the core concerns arising from these subsets of the literature.

Finally, given that this study was conducted by a sole investigator (with a disciplinary background in philosophy and feminist theory), Arksey and O'Malley's sixth stage of *consultation* was particularly important for opening up the process to the inputs of researchers from different disciplinary backgrounds. Thus over the period of the study, a two day workshop was held, where participants shared their key influences and identified emerging themes. Further recommendations for items to include were solicited through a variety of social media channels. Even with these consultative elements, it is important to emphasise that due to the limitations of this study, such as the restrictions placed on the search process and the analyses of abstracts only, it offers only an initial sketch of the research area, rather than a detailed topography. That is,

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[5] This bibliography can be accessed via:
http://www.temporalbelongings.org/the-library.html

this study does not provide a comprehensive analysis of all potentially relevant literature. Instead, what it does provide is an extensive sample that illustrates the variety of approaches taken to the problem of time and community, as well as an initial sketch of key issues and themes.

Results

As already mentioned above, 885 resources were included in the study. Charting out the characteristics of these items could come in many forms, particularly given that they were coded according to a variety of criteria. This work was undertaken in part to enable researchers using the bibliography to get a quick sense of the items available in the areas that were most relevant to them. Here I will outline how the search results broke down in terms of discipline, relevance and theme.

Discipline

The items in the bibliography come from across the humanities and social sciences, with a small number of references from the sciences. The numerically most significant disciplines were History (222), Philosophy (177), Sociology (160), Anthropology (118), Geography (56) and Literature (40). In terms of publication venues, as might perhaps be expected, a significant number came from the journal *Time & Society* (103); however identified items came from across a wide spectrum with 358 different publications represented.

Relevance

Only 85 of the 885 were categorised as being of High Relevance. These items explicitly address the significance of time for understandings of community. The majority (500) were classified as Relevant. Work in this category explores areas such as: the importance of time for sociality more generally; the links between memory and community, history and community and future and community; the role of time in social inclusion and exclusion; and how time operates within critical social movements such as feminism, queer theory and post-colonialism. 249 resources were deemed to be Of Some Relevance. These items address a range of issues including: individuals and social

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time; questions to do with methodology; or time and more specific social formations, such as families. Finally work in the fourth category (Not Relevant) was removed from the database, except for 17 cases where it might appear from the title that a resource is relevant, when in fact it is not.[6]

Themes

The themes covered by the resources are again extremely diverse with over 300 identified in the bibliography.[7] However, what appeared to be of most use initially was a focused analysis of the items marked as Highly Relevant. This resulted in the identification of eleven core themes which are discussed below. In order to learn more about some of the cross-cutting themes that had emerged across all of the items included in the study, two were selected for further analysis. Numerically, articles that argued for time being multiple and socially-shaped were most prominent, with 178 and 177 instances respectively. However, since both of these claims are already well established in many disciplines (though not all), a detailed analysis of these articles was not thought to be critical at this stage. Instead, in order to focus on more novel themes that emerged from the study, analyses of the two next most numerically significant themes were completed. These were the role of time in social processes of inclusion and exclusion (149), and work on critical temporalities, which argues that innovations in time concepts are required as part of addressing such exclusions (148). The themes were found to have a close relationship with each other in terms of the issues they addressed, conceivably because the second suggested responses to many of the problems identified in the first. Thus they have been amalgamated into a single discussion below, which focuses on the three central issues that mutually arose: past, present and future; continuity and discontinuity; and multiple rhythms of time-use.

Summary of Work Currently Available

In this section I focus specifically on the 85 items that were

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[6] Such items were retained, since information about false positives might be useful to future researchers seeking to review the area.
[7] The full set of identified themes can be viewed at http://www.citeulike.org/group/14819/tags

identified as Highly Relevant, each of which explicitly thematise
the relationship between time and community. They arise from a
diverse disciplinary background, with philosophy, sociology and
history being most highly represented. My analysis suggests that
this work clusters around eleven core themes.

First were (1) studies that analysed **the way communities are
formed or maintained over time**. This included work on how
specific types of communities are formed, such as a migrant
community (Li, 2007) and an online community (e.g. Holme et
al., 2004).[8] For other researchers, the interest was in exploring
how communities could retain a sense of continuity over time
despite a range of significant changes impacting them, including
colonisation (Dover et al., 1992), modernisation (Stuckenberger,
2006) and temporal standardisation (Pertierra, 1993).

Next were (2) studies that **focused on the need for spending
time with a community**, either for the community to operate
effectively, or for individuals to be included within it. In
contrast to the stereotype of community as traditional, static, or
even timeless, this work emphasised the way communities are
dynamic processes that happen over time (e.g. Viegas, 2003),
and that also require resources of time from its members
(Sander, 1984; The Committee for Free Time/ Free People, 2000;
Middleton, 2009a; Maya-Jariego and Armitage, 2007).
Negotiating the competing requirements for individuals' time,
as well as methods for allocating time were thus key concerns
(e.g. Kattan, 2008).

As is perhaps to be expected, the role of (3) **the past** and (4) **the
future** also arose as two significant themes. It was argued that
from the perspective of community, the past and future cannot
be understood in terms of empty, homogeneous time (Eisenlohr,
2004; Glenn, 2006). Nor is the time of community compatible
with broader social accounts of the past as something that is

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[8] As a methodological side note, online communities were proposed as an
important avenue for studying the changing nature of communities over time,
given the large amounts of very precise data available on the timing of
community interactions.

simply over (Frings, 1983) or the future as simply not yet (Bezold, 1999). Instead shared representations of the past and/or future shape how a community is imagined (Alonso, 1988; Dicks and Van Loon, 1999) and legitimised (Maines et al., 1983; Golden, 2002). Disaggregating a putatively shared 'historical time' from embodied shared experiences was also identified as key to understanding generational communities (Orlowski, 1996). Further, there were a small number of articles that emphasised **(5) the intertwining of the past and the future** in the experience of community, such as Josiah Royce's argument that both a 'community of hope' and a 'community of memory' are required elements of a community (1968, see also Russon, 2008; Schäfer-Wünsche, 2001).

The importance of the broader issue of shared time was also evident in work that explores (6) questions of **synchronisation and de-synchronisation.** Here the role of changing communicative technologies in shifting senses of community, such as the telegraph (Anderson, 1991; Putnis, 2010) and the Internet (Zhao, 2004), was a particular emphasis. More generally, there were cases made for the constitutive link between synchronised senses of time and the sense of belonging to a community (Kelly, 1998). This included embodied synchronisation such as marching or dancing (McNeill, 1997), or the synchronisation of tastes and sensibilities (Lingis, 2000-2001).

Overall, work within these six themes often linked the possibility of community with the ability of its members to experience a shared time. However, alongside this were a number of themes that emphasised the role of time in social conflict and in the exclusion of certain groups from communities. Here there was a much greater emphasis on understanding time as multiple both within and between communities, rather than time as an all-encompassing phenomenon (see Gurvitch, 1964).

Following on from this then, the next theme to arise in the literature was the way (7) **community conflict is produced in**

part through conflicts over how time is understood. Significantly, a number of such studies argued that because time is so often treated as a passive background to social life, community conflicts were often erroneously understood in terms of a moral or motivational failing on the part of certain community members, rather than recognising deeper conflicts over conceptions of time (Ryan, 2008; Hayes, 2007).

As well as producing conflict, a range of authors identified time as one of the tools used by communities to manage conflict, both internally and externally (e.g. Birth, 1999; Greenhouse 1996). That is, time is recognised as an important element in (8) **producing and maintaining boundaries between communities**. This theme was explored in a variety of ways, but is particularly clear in work that comes out of time geography where the more traditional notion of spatial segregation is shown to be compounded by temporal segregations (discussed further below). There were also examples where segregation was not maintained primarily through the management of the timing of activities but through more conceptual divisions, such as Uri Ram's (2000) account of the role of the 'neo' and the 'post' in separating out mutually antagonistic civic identities in Israel.

If each of the previous themes increasingly shows the importance of time for the construction of community, then researchers from the next theme take this recognition even further by exploring how (9) **time is implicitly or explicitly transformed in order to produce different kinds of communities**. For some, this transformative work is focused on producing or reinvigorating a sense of unified time, as Bella Dicks (1997) documents in relation to a community heritage project, and Ekaterina V. Haskins (2003) in relation to nationalist cinema. However, to a large extent, work in this theme identifies linear temporal models as antithetical to the goal of creating more inclusive and welcoming communities, and so advocates shifts to non-linear accounts of time and less traditional conceptions of what it means to be in community with others. Work exploring this issue arises out of a range of philosophical debates in particular (e.g. Agamben, 1993; Cornell, 1992; Derrida, 1997; Nancy, 1991; Ost, 1998; Rosenthal,

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1996), but also in literature, where non-linear narrative methods are linked with more complex portrayals of community (Robert, 2011; Wright, 1990).

Finally, methodological issues were prominent across the range of items. Given that 'community' itself can be used as a shorthand term to indicate a certain kind of timelessness, particularly when talking about 'traditional communities', the focus on time and community has supported an interest in exploring (10) **how to research communities as dynamic, rather than static social forms**. There were a number of interventions into debates within sociology in particular (Crow, 2008; Kenyon, 2000), as well as within social network analysis (Zhou et al., 2007). Finally, if community is not static then neither are understandings or experiences of time. That is, in keeping with issues raised across the other themes there was also a broader group of work that argued that (11) **time is not a stable background to community**, but is itself changeable and historical. As such, it needs to be made an explicit component of research on communities if we are to develop a more comprehensive understanding of this area (e.g. Crow and Allan, 1995; Engel, 1987).

Cross-Cutting Themes

As previously suggested, in order to explore some of the more novel themes arising from the study, a thematic analysis was subsequently produced around two of the emerging issues in the study – the role of time in social methods of inclusion and exclusion, as well as the kinds of critical temporal strategies that have been developed to challenge social exclusions.[9] Apart from their novelty, these themes offer a good opportunity for developing a more complex understanding of the relationship between time and community since they deal with problems that are core to work on community more generally. These include: how the boundaries of a community are constructed and

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[9] Interestingly, these themes, which arose in the process of coding the full set of literature included in the study, resonate strongly with two of the issues identified in the smaller group of Highly Relevant items. Namely, (8) producing and maintaining boundaries between communities and (9) how time is implicitly or explicitly transformed in order to produce different kinds of communities.

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maintained (including how they inevitably fail) and the possibilities for transforming communities, for opening them up in more inclusive ways, or for shifting what 'community' itself means.

Neither of these two themes has yet been the subject of a sustained review and so there is not yet a clear sense of how various approaches to these themes might support, contradict or complicate each other. Interestingly, my analysis suggests that there is a great deal of convergence between the two. In particular, after summarising the core argument from each of the 249 items that addressed either theme, the subsequent clustering process revealed three overarching concerns that both sets of literatures conformed to. First was the varying role of **past, present and future**, including how particular understandings of these aspects of time can work to exclude groups, but also how more critical relations to them might allow communities to be imagined differently. Second was an interest in questions to do with **continuity and discontinuity**. To a large extent this body of work dealt with the problems that arise when a particular kind of time becomes hegemonic and those who are guided by other times are judged as deficient. Here 'continuity' often signalled a successful community, while 'discontinuity' was attributed to those who were excluded or denigrated. However, the reverse was also possible, in that maintaining continuity with the past could instead be judged as being too traditional, or outdated, and in this case the ability to consciously occupy a discontinuous time could be seen more positively as progressive and inventive. This then led to the development of critical temporalities that challenged ideas of progress, periodisation, chronology or continuity itself.

The third overarching concern was with the issue of **multiple rhythms of time-use**. Rather than the focus being on whether communities are in time or out of time in relation to a single dominant temporal schema, as was the case above, the key issue here was how *multiple* normative models of time-use included some, while excluding others. This comprised of work on the effects of normative life-course models, how particular values are

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attached to faster or slower paces of life, how time is differently allocated between groups, and the interplay between space and time where spatial separations enabled the segregation of temporal rhythms and trajectories from each other. A range of 'critical rhythms' were also developed within these literatures, with the most well-known of these arguably being work on the slow movement (Honoré, 2005).

Thus, given the complementarity of the two themes under analysis here, the following discussion will flesh out each of these three initial sketches by first setting out how each one relates to issues of social inclusion and exclusion, and then identifying some of the critical temporalities that have been developed in response.

The Multiple Pasts, Futures and Presents of Community
It will, perhaps, be no surprise that particular mobilisations of the past, both in terms of content and of structure, were some of the key tools identified in processes of 'managing' difference. The struggle over what kinds of content should be included or excluded from shared accounts of the past highlights the way that often only certain groups or individuals are seen to be the rightful representatives of a community. The exclusion of immigrant soldiers from UK military history provides just one example among many (Puwar and Powar, 2010). Importantly, a less well-developed set of literature emphasised the need to recognise the multiplicity of excluded narratives, which may themselves be unequally related to each other (Hage, 2001). The inability to recognise the past as multiple was a particular issue for work that addressed structural questions around how concepts of time affect the types of histories that could be told (Wyschogrod, 1998). A particular target was the assumption of a single homogeneous past, rather than an acknowledgement of the possibility of multiple, conflicting accounts (Chakrabarty, 1992; 2008). The hegemony of linear narratives was identified as an important element in the exclusion of indigenous peoples from many modern states (Bauerkemper, 2007; Donaldson, 1996), while the technique of periodisation also received strong critiques within feminist work (e.g. Felski, 2000). Others sought

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to highlight the way linear models of time continued to be utilised in attempts by less dominant groups to recover their history, risking an uncritical repetition of homogeneous narratives that cover over multiple and discordant pasts (Odysseos, 2009; Waterton and Smith, 2010; Yoneyama, 1999).

Alongside a focus on the kinds of narratives told about the past, another key issue was the way certain communities are associated with the past in such a way that they come to be seen as 'static' or 'timeless'. This included, criticisms of the way the conception of 'Africa' is held hostage to a conception of the past that differentiates a teleological Europe from the supposedly uniformly static and dysfunctional Africa (Adesanmi, 2004). Interestingly, the literature suggested that the use of 'static' pasts is ambiguous since there were examples where being the representative of a relatively static history could also support the dominance of a particular group. One case was that of ex-Yugoslavian immigrants in Denmark whose history of movement and change excluded them from local understandings of shared pasts which are understood in a relatively narrow and unchanging way (Buciek et al., 2006).

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In relation to the future, three core techniques of exclusion were suggested by the literature. The first mirrored some of the issues raised just above, focusing on contexts where the future is already claimed for a particular group, thus subsuming or hiding the futures of excluded groups. Lee Edelman's critique of 'reproductive futurism', where the figure of the child co-opts 'the future,' is a prominent example (2004; see also Thomas, 2007). 'Industrial progress' also represents another figure of the future that influences which kinds of communities are legitimised and supported (Larsen, 2006). Further, the rejection of a particular community's right to the future might still take place in contexts where efforts have been made to produce more heterogeneous past narratives (Wohlrab-Sahr 2004).

The second exclusionary use of the future was where a

community's potential futures were not ignored or subsumed, but were explicitly denied. This method of exclusion has been recognised more widely in relation to indigenous peoples in particular, and in this scoping study there was further attention to activist communities. For example, such communities might be denied their futurity either because the movement itself was seen to be a failure (Elliott, 2008) or alternatively, because the movement was perceived as having already been successful and any continued focus on its future would be anachronistic (Freeman, 2010). Third, there might be a certain willingness to recognise a community's orientation toward the future, but accompanied by claims that their sense of future possibilities were deficient and could therefore be dismissed once again (Ford, 2008).

Finally, there was a smaller range of work that focused on the role of conceptualisations of the present in methods of social inclusion and exclusion. Two main themes arose. First were articles that took up philosophical critiques of metaphysics of presence and analysed the role these play in our understandings of community. For Iris Marion Young, for example, the ideal of community is fundamentally suspect because of its basis within an idealisation of presence that excludes difference (1986; see also Bernasconi, 1993). Second were articles that contested the notion that there was a single all-encompassing present, arguing instead for a multiple and contested present (e.g. Kahn, 2006-2007; Odih, 1999). For example, Jennifer Johnson-Hanks (2002) critiques the unreflective use of 'modern' in reproductive health projects in African communities focused on contraception awareness and provision. She points out that while technology often represents modernity in European contexts, in the Cameroonian communities she has worked with, to be modern is more likely to be understood as having self-control and showing restraint. As a result development workers understand local communities as being too tied to traditional ways of being, rather than as contesting their definition of what can signify 'the present'.

These accounts of how the past, present and future are taken up

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in social methods of inclusion and exclusion have already hinted at a number of critical temporalities, which I will now take up in more detail. Recognising that 'the past' is often selectively constructed around a particular group's narratives and memories, a number of critical methods were proposed for recovering lost or ignored pasts. Wyschogrod's 'heterological historian' (1998) and Hobsbawm's account of the production of 'counter-traditions' (1983) provide two well-known examples. Other methods of positing a complex, heterogeneous past included: Deborah Bird Rose's (2008) exploration of story-telling methods developed by supposedly 'ahistorical' indigenous cultures; Laurent Olivier's (2008) argument for the contemporaneity of the past with the present in light of its continued, and yet fragmented, physical presence; and Donald Donham's proposal of a 'narrative historical anthropology' that emphasises the variable emergence of social change (2001: 134).

Interestingly, methods for challenging the co-option of the future were significantly less well represented than critical approaches to the past.[10] One approach was to deny the importance of the future altogether (Edelman, 2004), or alternately, to maintain an orientation toward the future, but one which eschews the positing of perfect utopias in favour of working with the possibilities available in the present (Bhavnani and Foran, 2008). Others, notably Elizabeth Grosz (2005), questioned the emancipatory potential of a future that flowed from the present and instead emphasised the radical unpredictability of the future. More numerous were approaches that intertwined the past and future, suggesting that a more open and inclusive future required critical approaches to the past (Larsen, 2006; Chambers, 2003; Decker, 1993). Sinead McDermott, for example, argues for a feminist recuperation of nostalgia, where the 'what might have been' offers new visions for the future (McDermott, 2004). While Nick Mansfield (2008) draws on Derrida's notion of *hauntology* (where the past returns unpredictably *from* the future), as a way of understanding the consequences of climate change for political community.

[10] Supporting Johan Siebers' and Elena Fell's work on the lack of research on community and concepts of the future (Siebers and Fell, 2011).

Continuity and discontinuity: being in and/or out of time with community

In writing about the nature of linear time, Aristotle noted that one of its key ambiguities is that it can be understood as both continuous and discontinuous. This is because the present moment, or the now, is thought to both connect the past to the future (making time continuous), but it also marks the end of the past and the beginning of the present (so that time becomes discontinuous) (*Physics* IV 222a 10-12). As I have argued elsewhere (Bastian, 2013), this ambiguity is mapped onto communal understandings of 'with' or 'not with' such that what is to be connected to the community is made continuous with it in time, while that which is to be excluded is understood as being temporally discontinuous from the community. Thus 'sameness' is associated with being in time with the community and 'difference' is associated with being out of time with the community.[11] Importantly, while the common-sense view of time (as a passive background) would suggest that the qualities of continuity or discontinuity are simple facts, linear time's ambiguous conceptual structure means that assigning these qualities to particular communities is not free of decision, but can be motivated by a range of political considerations.

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The method of associating difference with temporal discontinuity is perhaps best represented by the work of Johannes Fabian (1983) whose account of the 'denial of coevalness' (or a denial of a 'shared time') has been a touchstone for work exploring the uses of time in practices of inclusion and exclusion. Other work in the study showed how similar mechanisms operated in relation to Romani peoples (Trumpener, 1992), Indigenous Australians (Lloyd, 2000), and more broadly in relation to Eastern Europe (Todorova, 2005) and indeed all 'developing'

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[11] To add a further complication here, this 'time of the community' might itself also be understood as continuous or discontinuous. So to be 'in time' with a community might mean, for example, that an individual is viewed as sharing its continuous link to the past, or that they share the view that the past needs to be rejected in favour of a revolutionary future. In both cases, the individual's inclusion in the community is partly determined by whether they share the 'time' of the community, however this is defined. Further these experiences of being 'in time' might themselves be fleeting (see Crow 2002).

peoples (Helliwell and Hindess, 2005). An important subtlety here is that the denial of coevalness might posit that an excluded group is capable of change, but has simply not 'kept up' with Western societies and so are disjointed from the community, or there might be stronger claims that the group in question is incapable of change and is therefore completely discontinuous from the community (Frink et al., 2002; Jordan, 1995).

However, responses to these types of exclusion cannot be a simple affirming of a shared time, since work in the study also identified exclusionary uses of 'continuity' where the assumption that time must be the same for everyone supports attempts to absorb or hide particular others. Giordano Nanni (2011), for example, has questioned the assumption that Indigenous Australian temporalities have been successfully 'absorbed' by the supposedly all-encompassing time of Western modernity, while Saree Makdisi (1995) has analysed the uses of literature to overwrite the history of a place (Scotland) by absorbing it into the history of another (England). Although much of the analysis of this method of temporal exclusion has taken place in relation to colonialism and post-colonialism, there were also examples which illustrate the breadth of contexts that this method operates in. John Lofty (1995), for example, argues that literacy studies needs to develop a deeper understanding of the different 'learned time codes' that might affect academic success, in place of the assumption that time is a shared background for those in a particular learning community (see also Weis, 1986).

Having identified this particular range of temporal tactics, there was a diversity of critical temporalities proposed in response. This included reasserting synchrony in the face of denials of coevalness (Todorova, 2005; Wright, 1990) or cultivating alternative senses of continuity over time. Interestingly, a number of studies emphasised the role of embodied or material temporal practices in supporting these alternative continuities (Donaldson, 1996; Pertierra, 1993; Yafeh, 2007). For others, the desire for continuity was itself at issue, leading to the proposal of a number of what might be called 'anti-chronologies'. This included calls for archaeologists to revalue what is fleeting or

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ephemeral, rather than that which is stable and continuous (Witmore, 2006), or alternatively a rejection of feminist histories that idolise neat generational succession in favour of a critical, non-continuous duration in the present (Wiegman, 2000).

These anti-chronologies were accompanied by alternatives to the ideal of continuous progress, found at the heart of narratives used to legitimise the colonial enterprise and later uncritical manifestations of international development. This included shifts towards non-teleological notions of becoming (Jauhola, 2011), or efforts to explore how traditions that have been dismissed as 'primitive' might be reclaimed and used to resist the dominance of modernity. Examples include the use of 'taboo' days in Madagascar to resist the temporal infrastructure of industrial capitalism (Jarosz, 1994; see also Bevernage and Aerts, 2009; Jordan, 1995), or the deployment of notions such as 'uneven development' (Jameson 2003), or 'polycentric modernities' (Friedman 2006). Finally, a number of authors highlighted the way communities might make strategic use of continuity and discontinuity depending on the context. Manuchehr Sanadjian (1995) argues, for example, that the migrant experience is never simply one of maintaining continuity through an emphasis on tradition, or of creating discontinuity through methods of cultural translation, but a strategic use of both.

Multiple rhythms of time-use
The final overarching issue in this analysis opens up a broader focus on the qualitative aspects of time, including differences in the feeling of time, its tempo, sense of flow, and values associated with particular uses of it. In the themes discussed above, a core concern was the way that assumptions about the singular and overarching nature of time were used to either absorb or exclude non-dominant groups. As a result, critical responses often emphasised the existence of multiple social times. However, in turning to a focus on temporal rhythms, what emerges is that the recognition of multiple times does not in and of itself constitute an antidote to various forms of normative temporalities. Instead, such a recognition can itself be inscribed in a further range of hierarchies that are ranged around the way

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time is differently valued and allocated across groups.

Labour time provides a particularly well-known example of the way social discriminations between types of temporal rhythms intersect with practices of communal boundary-keeping. Items included in the study highlighted a range of related examples including discriminations arising from the clash between task-oriented and clock-based work patterns (Pickering, 2004), or clashes between different tempos, such as the pejorative use of 'GDR time' in Germany to describe the seemingly slower work practices of East Germans (Rau, 2002). Others focused on the way the experience of belonging is affected by the inability to participate in rhythms of paid employment at all, as Anne-Marie Bostyn and Daniel Wight (1997) discuss in relation to an ex-coal mining village.

More broadly, conflicts between the timescapes of various institutions and those who are 'managed' by such organisations was a key interest (e.g. Bryson and Deery, 2010; Urciuoli, 1992). Failing to synchronise oneself with the institutional frameworks that guide the time of our lives (whether by choice or circumstance), and the types of penalties that result, was taken up in a wide range of work. This included a focus on the rigid normative codes that continue to guide understandings of the successful life-course, contradicting the widespread sense that such ideals are being replaced by more individualised temporal patterns (Elchardus and Smits, 2006). This was explored in relation to LGBTQ people (Freeman, 2010), women in contrast with men (Glucksmann, 1998) and the unemployed (Mains, 2007). In many of these examples, those who failed to exemplify dominant temporal patternings were the subject of a range of normative judgements that situated them as lazy, childish, or overly demanding.

Accompanying critiques of norms that apply at the level of the life-course were the more day-to-day issues of time allocation and scheduling. This included critiques of simplistic approaches to punctuality and delay, for example, understanding them solely in terms of individualised self-management practices

(Shaw, 1994; Schwartz, 1978). There were also discussions of the importance of the appropriate kind of temporal availability if one is to participate in community (Bryson, 2007; Williams et al., 2009). For the most part, these examples drew out the effects of relatively implicit mismatches between temporal rhythms. However, the deliberate use of scheduling to produce divisions or separations between groups was also addressed, for example Eviatar Zerubavel's (1982) discussion of the development of Ecclesiastical calendars, particularly the scheduling of Easter to avoid overlapping with Passover.

Finally, it was within this theme that the inter-relations between time and space were most clearly addressed. Indeed, there were a number of works that showed how spatial separations combined with scheduling techniques to isolate some communities from the temporal trajectories of others. Rowland Atkinson and John Flint, for example, explored the way gated communities insulate their members "against perceived risk and unwanted encounters" by supporting the segregation of residents' time-paths from undesirable social interactions (2004: 875). Alternatively, Donna Perry (2000) discusses the intertwined spatial and temporal tactics of a small farming community in Senegal, which allows periodic scheduled encounters with those outside of the community at their weekly markets, but does not allow outsiders to settle in the community. In this case, spatial exclusions predominantly support the 'shared time' of the community, but room is made for a broader temporal and spatial inclusion during 'market time'. As a counterpoint to this, Nespor et al. (2009), highlight the way schedules can work to maintain spatial separations between disabled children and non-disabled children in schools. Finally, there were also studies that showed how exclusion from particular spaces compounded temporal exclusions. Diasporas, according to Esther Peeren, need to be understood not just as spatial relocations, but as a removal from "a particular social time-space" (2006: 67). While for homeless living in Los Angeles' Skid Row, exclusion from the standard 'daily paths' that include home and work, led to the creation of substitute time-space continuities (Rowe and Wolch, 1990).

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These social methods of exclusion, which arguably focused on more fine-grained aspects of time, produced a particularly varied set of critical responses. One key issue was around intervening into dominant flows of time. Some were quite broad, suggesting that the time of community itself was antithetical to the flow of historical time, instead requiring a "static or synchronic conception of time" (Wright 1990: 101). More common, however, was an acceptance of the multiplicity of time, accompanied nonetheless by calls for a gap or break in dominant flows in order to allow for other experiences or activities. A good example of this is Judith Shulevitz's (2010) discussion of the critical role of the Sabbath, or a 'time outside time,' in supporting communities and challenging the experience of speeded-up time.

Negotiating speed was also an important focus (Purser and Hassan, 2007), with Wendy Parkins highlighting the adoption of slowness as a means for subjects "to generate alternative practices of work and leisure, family and sociality" (2004: 363 see also Pink, 2007). While there was also work that sought to reclaim devalued rhythms of time including repetition (Deutscher, 2006) or the fleeting and ephemeral (Witmore, 2006). The temporal frame used to guide understandings of the present also came under examination, including a focus on developing longer senses of time. This included thinking with geological time (Clark, 2010) and James Perkinson's account of the use of a longer (religious) time frame as a "survival tactic inside the regimes of enslavement and racialization" (2003: 60). Finally, given the prominence of labour time as a source of discrimination and exclusion, reworking the regimented time of the clock was also important. Alternative accounts discussed those who maintained task-based rhythms despite cultural pressures (Pickering, 2004), support for more individualised time perspectives (Nowotny, 1994) or plural methods of valuing rhythmic time (Middleton, 2009b).

Gaps and Recommendations

In moving towards the conclusion of this article, I would now like to briefly outline some of the potential gaps in the literature that have been identified in the study, which also suggest ways

of further developing the field. The word 'potential' is used here in recognition of the quick and broad approach utilised by the scoping study method. Even with this caveat, a range of interesting issues emerged that are well worth highlighting. Perhaps most obviously, given the small number of articles included in the Highly Relevant category (less than 10%), the apparent absence of literature on time and community, which gave impetus to the study, received a qualified confirmation. Indeed a high number of articles included in the study (93) expressed an explicit concern about the lack of analyses focused on time. Work highlighted this gap across multiple disciplines, including sociology (e.g. Schlesinger, 1977; Michelson, 2006; Maines, 1987), history (e.g. Jensen, 1997; Cladis, 2009) and philosophy (e.g. Grosz, 2005), with a smaller number of works from other disciplines such as management (e.g. Bluedorn and Denhardt, 1988; Lervik et al., 2010). A key concern for many of these authors was the question of method, particularly how to develop a dynamic, rather than static, approach to their objects of study (e.g. Rummel, 1972; Radu, 2010; Macmillan, 2011). Other issues included concerns over whether implicit assumptions about time might be obscuring the complexity of a research area (e.g. Whipp, 1994; Mills, 2000; Nellis, 2002); the failure to adequately grasp the importance of the symbolic and explanatory role of time (e.g. Mische, 2009; Auyero and Swistun, 2009); and lack of attention to the role of time in attaining political and/or social goals (Fitzpatrick, 2004; Casarino, 2003).

A further striking gap, which seems to have remained unidentified, pertains to the literature on time and political communities. Within the study, politics was a particularly strong cross-disciplinary theme (112 items), with work on time and nationalism being extremely well represented (with over 80 references addressing this theme, e.g. Anderson, 1991; Bauerkemper, 2007; Edensor, 2006; Hesford and Diedrich, 2008). However, other approaches to political community were startlingly under-represented. For example, only one item in the study looked explicitly at time and cosmopolitanism (Cwerner, 2000). Additionally, even though issues to do with shared pasts are of vital importance within communitarianism, it was again

the case that only one item explicitly engaged with communitarian writers around the subject of time (Rosenthal, 1996). Undoubtedly, a targeted search within these areas seems likely to find more work that explores these issues, but this study suggests nonetheless that these specific research questions are significantly under-developed in comparison to work on other political formations, specifically nationalism.

One of the shared themes identified at the consultative workshop, which seems worthy of more explicit attention was experiential features of time, particularly the aesthetic and affective aspects of shared time. Exploring this issue seems particularly opportune given the current emphasis on affect in research in the humanities and social sciences. There was some evidence of research into affective embodied experiences of time and their importance for community (e.g. McNeill, 1997; Luciano, 2007; Guenther, 2011), but crucially this work has not been explicitly joined up. One niche gap that may be of interest is an exploration of sound in relation to temporal communities. This gap is noted by Christopher Witmore (2006) in relation to archaeology, and while creative responses noted by the study include Kuldip Powar's *Noise of the Past* (see Puwar and Powar, 2010), there was little else. This issue is particularly interesting given Glennie and Thrift's argument (2009: 82), that although time is widely identified with the visual, historically time was more often experienced aurally, for example through bells and chimes.

Further themes such as the role of cultural institutions, the diversity of cultural understandings of community and how values and beliefs about community are supported or challenged would also benefit from a more explicit emphasis on time. For example, research on 'organisational temporalities' (e.g. Ballard and Seibold, 2004; Crang, 1994; Gross, 1985; Zerubavel, 1979) would enhance understandings of how cultural institutions 'manage' the diversity of their members. Additionally, since cultural values are often embedded within 'common sense' notions of time, the study of values and beliefs also requires an emphasis on time if these issues are to be comprehensively

explored. More specifically, given the range of insights suggested by the initial analysis of two of the study's cross-cutting themes, it seems important to review and synthesise this specific range of literatures in more detail, as well as to explore the potential of some of the further cross-cutting themes that have been identified, but which have not yet been studied.

Conclusion

By now, the reader will hopefully have a stronger sense of the wide-ranging nature of this multifaceted field and a better understanding of the complex and sometimes contradictory role that time plays in the construction of community. What this study has suggested is that time is an important variable in understanding core issues of community, including: how 'community' comes to be conceptualised in the way it is, and how it might be understood differently; whether an individual is able to develop a sense of belonging to a community and how they make judgements about the status of others; that time is not a passive background to community but is itself a source of conflict, with struggles over who can define dominant understandings of time being played out both implicitly and explicitly; and finally that responding to the exclusions produced by the flexible deployments of community, should not only focus on identity, sexuality, religion, location, gender, etc., but also on the types of 'being-with' that are produced, curtailed or promised by different notions of time.

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