

The International Division of Temporal Autonomy, Human Agency and Capability

By Chosen Abigail Beatrice M. Canlas

Submitted in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the
Degree of Bachelor of Arts and Sciences
Quest University Canada

And pertaining to the Question
How can Filipinxs gain social mobility?

May 2020

Tamara Trafton

Chosen Abigail Beatrice M. Canlas

Table of Contents

Acknowledgements.....	3
Preface.....	4
Introduction.....	6
Literature Review.....	8
Methods.....	20
Hypothesized Results and Discussion	25
Conclusion	26
References.....	27

Acknowledgements

I would like to thank the following without whom this Keystone would not be possible.

To Doug Munroe and Tamara Trafton, thank you for guiding and supporting me throughout my time at Quest through my intellectual journey and emotional breakdowns in this academic institution.

To my parents and previous generations upon whose shoulders I stand, thank you for financially supporting me, and without whose efforts I would not be here today.

To my best friend, thank you for cooking when I was too busy to feed myself, gently bombarding me with water and medicine when I got sick, reviewing my work and everything else that will not fit on this page.

Lastly, I would like to NOT thank colonization and global inequality. I would prefer that the problem that makes this research necessary to never have existed.

Preface

A recurring question throughout my life course has been “Why can’t I do what they (Americans) can?” Born with the disadvantages of being a Filipinx citizen, and the privileges of membership in a social class with the means and cultural capital to see many American films and shows growing up, I was able to compare and question the differences between my life chances and those of my American peers. My liberal mindset and determination to do the things I love, combined with my experiences of citizenship, nationality, gender and class have led me to this topic. That said, I would like to acknowledge that it takes a certain amount of empowerment and privilege to produce this type of work that unfortunately, most Filipinxs do not have.

Because I was born and raised in an entrepreneurial family located in Metro Manila, the capital city of the Philippines predominated by the ethnocentric Tagalog-speaking Catholic class, I am much more privileged than most Filipinxs. I did not need to spend time from my life to migrate to Manila from the province and work my way up within the Philippine ladder. Standing on the shoulders of previous generations in my family, I am closer to a center of power in the world than they were. I had access to financial and (Americanized) cultural capital that enabled me to jump from the Philippine ladder to the North American ladder. In fact, being able to come to Canada for university is a sign of privilege because there is little financial support (like FAFSA in the United States) for Filipinxs from the Philippine government. For a Filipinx citizen to attend university abroad, they would need to be either a genius who was fortunate enough to be noticed by someone with money and connections, or come from a wealthy enough family. Although I have advantages that many Filipinxs do not have, certain advantages that most middle-class Americans possess still remain inaccessible to me.

Being higher up the ladder in the Philippines meant that I was exposed to American

culture (the more Americanized and Hispanicized you are, the likelier you are higher up the ladder in the Philippines). Watching American life courses led to naive beliefs of being able to achieve my goals the way Americans did in these shows. A dominant social pathway in movies was becoming a server or working in a fast-food chain and getting paid per hour. It became my dream. I would calculate in my head how many hours I needed to work in order to afford the goods I wanted to buy. However, I found that having a job with sufficient income was not feasible in the Philippines especially with lower wages, purchasing power and high foreign exchange rates. Because of job scarcity and abundance of labor, the requirements to even be considered to apply for a job were disproportionately higher than the job description. To apply as a cashier in fast food chains like McDonalds, Jollibee and Starbucks, you need to be at least 2nd year in college. To be a full-time barista in Starbucks you need a bachelor's degree. These conditions were major barriers that meant I needed to spend more of my life to be able to do the things Americans were able to do at a younger age. As I compared my circumstances with my American peers, my sociological imagination began growing when I saw how my development was inhibited compared to them. This comparative perspective spurred me to ask questions that no one in my social network could answer. This lack of satisfactory answers pushed me to seek education abroad.

Now that I am in Canada graduating from Quest University, I am armed with more knowledge than I had hoped for. With this fervor, I have authored this research proposal to address a gap in the current system.

Introduction

Our very existence is situated in time, and yet the inclusion of the temporal dimension as a measure of human agency, freedom and well-being has been neglected in the pursuit of these capacities. While global inequality has been studied in monetary terms, there is still much work to be done within the temporal dimension (Burchardt, 2008, 2010; Goodin, 2010; Goodin et al., 2008; Hirway, 2017; Michelson, 2016; Porter & Stockdale, 2016). Time use research has emerged to reveal economic activities (such as unpaid domestic labor) typically performed by marginalized groups that were undetected by measures solely relying on monetary units (like the GDP and income). However, its usage is not yet commonly considered in measurements of poverty, inequality and capability development on the global scale. Time use data mostly exists in already developed countries, while data in emergent economies is severely lacking despite the greater need (Hirway, 2017). This data gap renders the temporal experiences and its effect on the human agency and development of citizens from poorer countries invisible.

Not only does this data disparity leaves gaping holes in time use research for emergent economies, but it also keeps everyone insufficiently equipped to study transnational temporalities within the current globalized economy that continuous to reach unprecedented levels. The interaction of people across borders and the existing economic, social and political structures in the locations of these actors impacts everyone across the globe. Therefore, investigating the temporal interactions of people from different nation-states remains a critical but understudied piece in our understanding of the world economy.

However, time use research methodologies largely conform to the hegemonic and homogenizing world standard time and global time zone regime imposed by the West on the rest of the world to facilitate global capital flows (Porter & Stockdale, 2016). Therefore, uncritically

following established time use methodologies can be dangerous because it risks further eroding already marginalized temporalities. Since methods can produce and reproduce reality (Law & Urry, 2004), much care must be taken in designing research methods so that marginalized temporalities are not obscured through the lens of the dominant temporal model. We still have much to learn from these marginalized temporalities

Many of these differing temporalities are determined by the predominant implementation of the nation-state model (Huebener et al., 2016a). This model of organizing the world draws boundaries between people through the use of citizenship and nationality. These delineations dictate the laws, institutions and privileges a person is governed by and has access to. Having a certain citizenship and nationality is largely beyond the influence of the average person because these aspects of identity are often determined by the lottery of birth. Furthermore, the privileges that come with an individual's citizenship and nationality are predicated on the work of their previous generations. Despite the individual's lack of control over their citizenship and nationality, these aspects of identity play a significant role in determining the individual's temporal autonomy (Huebener et al., 2016a), or the ability to make choices over how to spend one's time. Because every action requires and is situated in time, the amount of control over one's time, along with other dimensions used to measure poverty, hinders human agency and capability. Furthermore, with time being used as the unit of measurement for life expectancies around the world, temporal autonomy directly relates to how much control a person has over how they spend their life. This makes time a necessary dimension in global justice pursuits towards increasing human agency, eliminating poverty, developing capability, and facilitating upward social mobility for the underprivileged.

With citizenship dictating much of one's temporal autonomy, investigating temporalities across borders warrants further research in the intersection of citizenship, globalization, human agency and time. Therefore, this research will be guided by the question: *How does citizenship and nationality affect one's temporal autonomy, and how does this impact human agency and capability?* For the rest of this research proposal, I will discuss previous research on this topic, my proposed methods, and hypothesized results. By studying the temporal dimension in transnational contexts where citizens of different nationalities interact, we can directly see how different nationalities affect each other's agency and capability development in the web of time. It is in these nexuses where underlying temporal inequities that escape conventional ways to measure human well-being can be revealed.

Literature Review

Time has largely been treated as a background condition in mainstream social sciences because it is thought to originate from the natural world and is therefore, independent of human agency (Porter & Stockdale, 2016). However, various researchers have brought the temporal dimension to the forefront by illustrating its importance and relevance when intersected with human agency, power and globalization. Throughout this section, I will review previous literature that relates to both human agency and temporalities, and the effect of temporalities on the development of human capability. These will be the architecture of time maintenance in globalization studies, the history and major trends of time use research, how feminist economics uses time use research in global justice pursuits and foundational literature in mainstream economics.

In a collection of time and globalization literature (Huebener et al., 2016b), Huebener and colleagues (2016a) identified themes in analyzing the intersection of time and globalization. Of these themes, I will discuss the following: *chronopolitics*, *heterotemporalities*, and *materiality*. *Chronopolitics* refers to the role of power in the relationship of time and globalization. In a 1983 pioneering work (Fabian, 1983/2014), Fabian conceptualized time as a form of power and argues that “geopolitics has its ideological foundations in chronopolitics” (p.144). He states that the colonial West used time to produce a ‘one-way history’ with terms like ‘progress’ and ‘stagnation’, ‘development’ and ‘underdevelopment’, and ‘modernity’ and ‘tradition’. Huebener and colleagues (2016a) then connect this to the works of theorists Paul Virilio, Zygmunt Bauman, and Hartmut Rosa who find that that high-speed actors dominate slower actors (Bauman, 2000; Rosa, 2003; Rosa & Scheuerman, 2009; Rosa & Trejo-Mathys, 2015; Virilio, 1977/2006). This aligns with the digital divide wherein former colonial powers that constitute the global North have greater access to high-speed technology than much of the global South.

Following these lines, Porter and Stockdale (2016) challenge notions that uphold time’s independence of human agency by identifying three ways agency interacts with temporal systems: *creating them* (these systems in turn can independently organize human activities. Some examples are when a schedule becomes a routine, and when Sanford Fleming exercised his agency and created a temporal institution linked to the planet’s rotation that currently dictates the world standard time, and which in turn dictates the tempo of globalized human affairs), *working within them* (through the temporal organization of one’s affairs, or that of others’) and *using them against actors external to them* (such as when high-speed actors dominate slower actors, according to the works of theorists Paul Virilio, Zygmunt Bauman, and Hartmut Rosa (Bauman, 2000; Rosa, 2003; Rosa & Scheuerman, 2009; Rosa & Trejo-Mathys, 2015; Virilio,

1977/2006)). The key questions asked in chronopolitics are: Who has the ability to impose their preferred temporal frames and ideologies? Why do some forms of time fail to gain traction?

Time as we measure it today is rooted in the temporal domination arising from colonization, and the economic and political relationships between the global North and South (Fabian, 1983/2014). This standardization of temporalities originated from the Western professional industry and economic elites that would benefit from synchronized global capital flows particularly in the technology, finance, and communications industries. Imposed by capitalist globalization, this temporal framework emphasizes growth, accumulation, innovation, operates 24/7, is future-oriented, and is infatuated with speed (Li, 2016). Examples of current and standardized temporal frameworks are the 24-hour day, the 8-hour workday, the designation of time zones, daylight savings time, leap years, and the insertion of leap seconds to reconcile clock time systems with variations in the Earth's rotation.

As discussed by Porter and Stockdale (2016), this standardization of temporalities through the emergence of a universal standard time and the global time zone regime are the current predominating measures of time. This temporal standardization constitutes the hegemonization and homogenization of the temporal dimension by former colonial powers in the global North. It is this temporal model that much of time use research conforms to. This is demonstrated by the methods of time use surveys and time diaries that record activities as they occur in time according to the specifications of the global time zone regime (i.e. the 24-hour day). These methods can produce and reproduce reality (Law & Urry, 2004) through their subscription to the 'world' standard time (the temporal model imposed on the world by the West) and support this hegemonization particularly when they are applied to non-Western contexts that still have retained different temporalities. With the destructive nature of Western temporal

hegemonization in mind, using methods that have originated in the West in a non-Westernized context may lead to significant cultural risk and further erode endangered temporalities.

Therefore, when studying the temporalities of cultures unsubdued by the ‘world’ standard time, much care must be involved in designing time use research methods targeting such temporalities.

This existence of *heterotemporalities*, or the plurality of temporalities, is the second theme identified by Huebener and colleagues (2016a). Situated in different cultures, places, histories and human experiences from the dominating force, these temporalities are either annihilated or forced to synchronize with each other. Actors, systems and temporalities that do not conform to the temporal framework imposed by capitalist globalization are considered ‘untimely’ and excluded because they disturb globalization’s temporality (Li, 2016). This in turn results in marginalized temporalities that threaten and resist the hegemonic temporality’s naturalization and normativity. According to Rancière (2013), “time is the best medium for exclusion” (p.11). While the Western temporal domination does seek to annihilate differing temporalities, it is not the only approach. In conjunction with economic globalization, the existence of multiple temporalities are strategically used to exploit less powerful actors by creating and utilizing boundaries to create temporal inequalities that benefit the temporal elite (Porter & Stockdale, 2016).

Heterotemporalities are primarily based on nation-states. These have varying and unequal speeds of information flow which allows powerful actors likely originating from more powerful nation-states to dominate, exploit and profit off of actors from weaker nation-states. With much of the world subsumed by the temporal Western hegemony and capitalist system, nation-states in the margins have insufficient time-use data for research unlike the centers in the global North. This may be attributed to the greater existence of different temporalities in these margins that do

not conform to ‘universal’ temporal standards, and the distance of these margins from the origin of time use research—the West.

Our experience of time through this socially constructed temporal framework is mediated by the *materiality* of technical artefacts such as clocks, schedules, timelines, time zones, routines, stages of life, typologies of pre-historic eras and many others (Porter & Stockdale, 2016). While these materials are human constructions that align with the world standard time, there are material rhythms that do not. Examples of these are the rotation of the Earth around the sun and the human body. While technical artefacts are used to plan and schedule the future, the materiality of people do not necessarily conform to their temporal rhythm. As defined by Huebener and colleagues, *materiality* is “our experience of time involv[ing] a relationship between human consciousness of time and material rhythms” (p.249). The theme of materiality “explores the multidirectional entanglements of ideas, technical artifacts, bodies, and the natural environment in the interaction of time and globalization” (p.247).

According to Sharma (2014), subjects must recalibrate themselves in order to fit into the “temporal expectations demanded by various institutions, social relationships, and labor arrangements” (p.151). This may involve synchronizing their body clocks and senses of the future or present. Additionally, subjects’ experiences of time are structured and controlled by the institutional arrangements they inhabit. Examples of these are immigration status, citizenship, gender, race, geographical location and positionality in the biopolitical economy of time.

Within the capitalist globalization temporality, individuals also synchronize themselves to each other. Dan Clawson and Naomi Gerstel (2014) introduce the *web of time* to illustrate the interconnectedness of the temporalities of various individuals as they are situated in institutional contexts. Using a mixed methods approach, Clawson and Gerstel explore the inequality of

temporal autonomy when it comes to unpredictable events within the medical field. They find that there is the intricate entanglement of various actors with each other: temporality of institutions with the schedules of workers, the workers with their families, and workers with each other. The decisions and constraints individuals face affect those of other people connected to them. When an actor lacks time, other actors whose schedules are connected with them to adjust. An example Clawson and Gerstel give is when a worker covers a co-worker's shift when a family emergency arises. This temporal dynamic is reflective of the nature of the *web of time* as it is mediated by technical artefacts and governed by the world standard time.

The elasticity within the web of time is not equal. Clawson and Gerstel apply an intersectional lens (2014) by studying positions that vary in class and gender. When they investigate the underlying temporal implications of these intersectionalities, they find that women, persons of color and people from lower classes face more institutional restrictions on their time which determines how they are able to respond to unpredictable events.

While Clawson and Gerstel's (2014) study remains within the national context, we can extend the concept of the *web of time* to the international landscape. With globalization, the temporalities of individuals are not just connected to those immediately in their proximity. Developments in the speed of communication technology has compressed time and space so that the temporalities of citizens from the global North and South can influence each other. With capitalist globalization comes the prevalence of citizens from the global North to outsource cheaper labor to citizens of the global South (Parreñas, 2000, 2012; Piachaud, 2008; Warren, 2003).

Driven by lower labor prices in the global South and technological advancements in communication technology, business process outsourcing (BPO) has become a large industry.

Large corporations have begun outsourcing tasks to the global South where labor is cheaper in order to cut costs and increase profits. These products are then sold at increasingly competitive prices to citizens in the global North who have greater purchasing power than those in the South. Citizens and organizations originating from the global North can save money by paying global South citizens to accomplish certain tasks because they have lower rates. Limited by the delineations of citizenship and nationality, the citizenship status of people from the global South restricts their economic choices and opportunities within the borders of their country of citizenship or residency. Constrained to economic conditions that drive labor prices low, global South citizens become vulnerable to exploitation by the global North.

If we apply a temporal lens, this arrangement grants global North citizens more time and temporal autonomy. By paying global South citizens lower rates than those in the global North, but higher rates than what is typical in the global South, global North citizens are able to relegate tasks they do not prefer to global South citizens. Global South citizens are incentivized to accept these tasks because of the higher pay even though they may be overqualified for the job. This contradictory social mobility (Parreñas, 2000) that simultaneously promotes and demotes the global South citizen frees the global North citizen to perform their preferred tasks. Moreover, global North citizens can exchange less of their time to earn the income needed to afford paying for a service if it is cheaper than global North market rates. Ultimately, global North citizens ‘save time’ by temporally profiting off of the economic inequality between the global North and South. This economic structure grants global North citizens more time and temporal autonomy. This liberates them pursue other projects that can increase their own capability.

On the other hand, the global South citizen will be highly incentivized to tasks global North citizens do not want. These are likely to be menial and time consuming. Even though they

are likely receive a more income per unit of time than is typical in their locality, this time-income exchange rate (units of time per unit income) will likely be lower than the employer's. This constrains the agency of global South citizens to pursue their preferred occupations. Because of economic push and pull factors, the need for higher time-income exchange rates strongly incentivizes them to adjust their schedules in order to cater to richer foreign clients, even if this means that they are overqualified for the job. With globalization, distant clientele who are residents from wealthier economies gain more influence over the schedules of citizens from less wealthy economies. Sharma (2014) mentions that “call-center employees straddle multiple time zones in order to uphold the work and leisure demands of people on the other side of the globe” (p.152). This has negative externalities for call center agents whose schedules are subject to foreign demands (Aneesh, 2012; Porter & Stockdale, 2016; Sharma, 2014). Instead of calibrating their schedules to local time, call center agents have to meet the temporal demands of remote clientele from different time zones. This significant temporal adaptation can have serious consequences for the physical and mental well-being while privileging citizens and residents of richer countries. This further widens the capability development gap as it constrains the ways in which global South citizens choose to develop, and liberates global North citizens to pursue their own goals. This is the international division of temporal agency, autonomy and capability. It is predicated on the unequal capital accumulation between countries.

With the unequal distribution of capital, the temporal importance of the global North is elevated while that of the global South is drained and exploited. Using Sharma's denotation of temporality as *lived* time (2014), and the fact that life expectancies are measured using time (years), we can conceptualize the exploitation of people's time to be an exploitation of their lives. Life expectancies in the global South are already generally lower than those of the global

North. This means that the *time budgets* (or should I say, *life budgets*) of global South citizens is lower than those of the global North. That said, it is a wonder that the temporal dimension is not yet widespread in global justice pursuits within mainstream economics.

In the pursuit of eliminating poverty, increasing human agency, developing capability, and facilitating upward social mobility for the underprivileged, a number of ways to measure multi-dimensional poverty, development and inequality have been proposed over the last two decades. One of the most prominent is the Multidimensional Poverty Index (MPI) developed by Sabina Alkire and James Foster (2011), which relies heavily on the capabilities approach as introduced by Amartya Sen (1980) and expanded upon by Martha Nussbaum (2002) and Sabina Alkire (2005). This index become widely used widely used by international organizations such as the United Nations. However, while it is a major development in the field due to its inclusion of non-monetary dimensions such as healthcare and education, and it is still missing the fundamental dimension of time, and has it is still missing the fundamental dimension of time.

Including the dimension of time is essential because time, not just money and labor, is a necessary input in production and consumption functions (Becker, 1965). Without time, goods and services cannot be consumed or produced. Everything, even objects are situated in and are consumers of time (Porter & Stockdale, 2016). Time can be traded for other resources such as income, and the lack of it can constrain this acquisition. While time is a ubiquitous, universal but limited resource, as I mentioned earlier, the distribution of control over or availability of one's own time is not equal.

Institutions, as well as cultural, gender and social norms play a role in shaping time allocations that can constrain certain individuals to enable others (Folbre, 2004). A well-studied example of how institutions, culture and gender can shape time allocations is the uneven

distribution of unpaid household labor between the men and women in a household. Using time use research methodologies, feminist economics has found that the sole use of monetary measures do not reveal tasks that directly contribute to the economy such as domestic unpaid labor that are typically performed by women and other marginalized groups. Including the time dimension has become a means to make visible the plight of marginalized groups and should therefore be included in pursuits involved in eliminating poverty, increasing human agency, developing capability, and facilitating upward social mobility for the underprivileged. Feminist economics has found that women tend to have less time to exchange for resources like income because of gendered expectations. Even if women have begun entering the workforce and contribute to the household's finances, they are still expected to bear most reproductive labor and therefore have a temporal deficit.

An appropriate term for this lack of time is *time poverty* which was first coined by Clair Vickery (1977), and is comparable to income poverty. In line with this, Goodin et al. (Goodin, 2010; Goodin et al., 2005, 2008) introduces *temporal inequality* and *discretionary time* as a new way of measuring freedom. Discretionary time (comparable to disposable income) is the time left over after spending the necessary time to gain a minimum level of income, unpaid household labor, and physiological self-care. Therefore, the abundance of discretionary time is directly connected to *temporal autonomy* and capability development. Building on this, Burchardt (2008, 2010) develops the time-income capability model that shows the possible tradeoff combinations of time and income amounts an individual can choose from before falling below the poverty threshold. Using time use data, Burchardt grounds her model in Amartya Sen's capability approach and substantive freedom. Using the concepts developed by Amartya Sen, Burchardt looks at the differential rates of inputs into valuable outcomes. In other words, it is the

conversion of resources such as time and income into the pursuit of a person's goals and projects.

The lack of discretionary time and temporal autonomy restricts human agency, autonomy and capability. As discussed in the earlier paragraphs of this section, much of it is determined by one's position within the biopolitical economy of time. This position is determined through various delineations such as race, class, gender, citizenship and nationality. With the capitalist globalization imposing one temporality on the world to synchronize capital flows and processes, actors within these systems can exercise their agency within it. However, this agency has limits and temporal autonomy is not distributed equally.

A small elite receives temporal investments that enables them to pursue valuable outcomes and capability development while the rest receive disinvestments that restrain their pursuits. Particularly within business process outsourcing and call centers, citizens from the global North have gained more influence over the temporalities of workers from the global South. This is made possible by the imposition of temporal synchronicity by the Western capitalist globalization and developments in communication technology that result in time space compression which connects citizens all over the world. Despite ever increasing connectedness, borders between countries are reinforced to maintain the economic inequality between countries upon which the time-income exchange rates are predicated on. The local limits on the capability of global South citizens are utilized by the global North in order to gain temporal autonomy and save time while that of global South citizens is exploited and drained. This reflects the intricate interconnections of the temporalities of institutions, corporations and individual actors in a web of time.

Therefore, for this research proposal my objective is to identify, conceptualize and analyze a web of time to investigate temporal inequalities in transnational sectors within our globalized economy. The goal is to gain a comprehensive understanding of temporal inequality and how the temporal relationship of citizens in the global North and South affect each other's agency, autonomy and capability. I will apply these concepts I will investigate the intersection of temporality (denoted as lived time) and its interaction with various delineation such as gender, race, ethnicity, class, and citizenship and nationality. I will be focusing on citizenship and nationality because it is understudied in time use research (Burchardt, 2008, 2010; Goodin, 2010; Goodin et al., 2008; Hirway, 2017), in large part due to the lack of data in emergent economies. Therefore, the data I will gather will help fill this lack of time use data. For this study, I am choosing the context of call centers as they are located in the nexus of countries and are spaces in which citizens from different countries interact. In line with chronopolitics and its roots in imperialism and colonialism, I am choosing my country of origin, the Philippines, and its last colonizer, the United States.

The Philippines has become the leading offshore destination for back office processes (such as call centers and software development) due to lower labor costs relative to United States prices. The call center industry in the Philippines has overtaken India in 2011 as the largest offshore voice-related call center market (Bajaj, 2011) and roughly employs 1.3-1.5 million employees (Confesor, 2018). It has also attracted major American companies such as JP Morgan Chase, Wells Fargo, UnitedHealth Group and Citibank (White, 2018). This makes call centers in the Philippines a relevant context in this research.

Because the Philippines and the United States have a historical colonial and economic relationship, I expect to find significant results. Furthermore, context involves temporal

interactions between Philippine citizens from the global South and American citizens from the global North. This allows me to investigate the temporal relationship of citizens from the global South and North and compare their temporalities as it can be converted to capability development and choice with each other.

Methods

To accomplish my research objective, I will integrate various methodologies and models from Clawson and Gerstel (2014), Burchardt (2008, 2010), and Goodin (2010) and his colleagues (Goodin et al., 2005, 2008) in a factorial research design. I will look at combinations of the following factors in a 6x6 matrix: country of origin/birth, citizenship, country of occupation, country of market served, citizenship of employer along with intersections of gender, ethnicity and class. While I will be using time use research methodologies that conform to the global temporal standardization, it does not pose risk of further erosion of temporalities in the Philippine context of call centers as these locations have already been subsumed by Western temporal hegemonization.

The main methodological framework will be adapted from the mixed methodology of Clawson and Gerstel (2014) to map the web of time and examine the patterns of social inequality in the temporal dimension. While their study involved three stages, I will add two more stages involving the recording of time diaries (Stage 2 below) and the plotting of data on the 6x6 matrix (Stage 5 below). Therefore, my study will be a four-stage process: 1) mailing surveys that gather demographic, time use, and income data; 2) conducting time-use surveys in the form of time diaries; 3) conducting intensive face-to-face interviews, transcribing the responses, and

developing a coding system for analysis; 4) observing a small sample of participants as they spend their time; 5) plotting the data in a 6x6 factorial matrix to discover trends. Only the first and third stages necessitate significant adaptations from the methods outlined by Clawson and Gerstel (2014) to better fit the contexts I am studying.

Stage 1: Demographic and Income Survey

The survey stage will involve various kinds of data both for analysis and for preparation for the subsequent stages. While there will be demographic and financial questions, I will also be asking questions regarding participants' willingness to continue to participate in all the other stages, and their access and familiarity to the technology that will be used for time diaries in the next stage. Because Clawson and Gerstel's survey questions are geared towards investigating the control respondents have over their schedules when an unpredictable event occurs, many of these questions will not be applicable to my context. Therefore, instead of using the questions asked by Clawson and Gerstel in their study, I will integrate the time use survey methods developed by Gershuny (Fisher et al., 2012; Gershuny, 1983, 2003, 2011, 2013) and Szalai (1972) to gather data needed for the models proposed by Burchardt (2008, 2010) and Goodin (Goodin, 2010; Goodin et al., 2005, 2008). Combined with the time diary in the subsequent stage, this will serve the purpose of calculating discretionary time and temporal inequality using the models developed by Burchardt, and Goodin and colleagues. This will be used as a quantitative benchmark to examine the patterns of social inequality in the temporal dimension. I anticipate gathering the most quantitative macro-level data needed to identify broader trends in the web of time using the models of Burchardt and Goodin from these first two stages.

Stage 2: Time Diaries

For the time diary stage, significant methodological changes are unnecessary other than its technological implementation. Conducting time diary research has ranged from having the researcher record the participant's activities throughout specified periods of time, having the participant record their own activities (usually every 10 minute intervals) using pen and paper, and using mobile phone apps that prompt the participant to enter their activities every time interval. The latter has been evaluated to be the best option because it provides a higher rate of accuracy and (depending on the app design) is more capable of tracking the simultaneous occurrences of multiple activities (Ainsworth et al., 2018; Chatzitheochari et al., 2018; Harvey, 1993). Furthermore, it minimizes the researcher's time spent in data entry. However, not all participants will have the access or familiarity with the technology needed to use a time-use survey app (we will know this through the survey). While I anticipate technological access and familiarity within the call center context, I cannot assume this. Therefore, I will discuss alternative technological options for various levels of smartphone technological access and familiarity.

There are several options to accommodate for differences in access and familiarity with technology: a) provide the technology; b) ask the participant to record their own activities using pen and paper, or surveillance technology; or c) shadow participants and record their activities (stage 4). The first option is the most ideal. However, this is only feasible if the number of participants that do not have access or familiarity with the appropriate smartphone technology is low. If it is high, it may be too expensive financially. In this case, I will ask the participant to record their own activities with a pen and paper. However, the negative tradeoff of this option (other than decreased accuracy of data gathering and interruption to the participant's activities) is

the increased time cost for researchers to manually enter data in computers for statistical analysis. This time cost will have to be weighed against other options once we know how many of the participants have access to the appropriate technology. The last alternative is for researchers to shadow all willing participants who do not have access to technology. If there is a high number of participants, this will not be feasible because this will take too much time. This time cost will also likely decrease the possible sample size. While surveillance technology may be used, not everything can be captured on camera and some environments might not permit video recording. However, camera technology does have the benefit of being replayed, allowing the researcher to notice things they may have missed. Therefore, the utilization of surveillance technology will be determined on a case to case basis. That said, the necessary shadowing will occur in the fourth stage once researchers have determined what information is still lacking and who is necessary to shadow. Since the first and second options have the most benefit and greatest feasibility, these will be the preferred options for the second stage of this study.

Stage 3: Interview and Coding

For the third stage, I will be conducting intensive face-to-face interviews, transcribing the responses, and developing a coding system for analysis using NVivo, a qualitative analysis software. The main adaptation here is that many of the interview questions will be different from those Clawson and Gerstel's used. Because many of their questions were geared towards investigating the control respondents have over their schedules when something unpredictable happens, most will not be applicable to my context. Instead, I will design these questions to reveal temporal inequalities between cohorts in the micro or subject level. These questions will be open-ended and designed to encourage storytelling from the participants to reveal data that I

may miss with close-ended questions. Furthermore, these interviews may involve additional questions needed to further understand or clarify participants' responses to survey questions from the previous stage. Additionally, the questions will be different for each context and new questions may arise depending on the situation.

In transcribing the interviews, because the Philippines has two official languages many people frequently code-switch between the languages particularly in Metro Manila where many call center agencies are located. Therefore, using transcription software may be limited to the English sections of the interview because there is no code-switching support for English and Tagalog. Thus, interviews will be recorded for later transcription and correction of the software's failings. If participants prefer to speak in their own dialects, we will acquire a trained translator to work with us during the interview and during transcription.

Stage 4: Ethnography

The fourth stage involves ethnography. Researchers will observe a small number of participants to shadow as they go about their workday, for two days. Although this may seem redundant given the addition of the time diaries stage, the direct observation of participants by researchers would enable researchers to be in the context and observe the context in more depth. Furthermore, this stage is the least likely to interrupt the participants' activities since they do not need to stop their activities to log it in a time diary.

Stage 5: Factorial data analysis

After all the data has been gathered, I will group the data in a matrix according to the following factors: country of origin/birth, citizenship, country of occupation, country of market served, citizenship of employer and if appropriate, with intersections of gender, ethnicity and class. I will then search for trends according to these factors and themes that arise from coding the data in NVivo and plot these in the matrix. Although not all cells in the matrix will be filled any lack of data in cells is still significant information as it signifies either potential further research or the nature of the context I am studying.

Hypothesized Results and Discussion

Based on the colonial and economic relationship of the United States and the Philippines, I hypothesize that citizenship, nationality, country of origin and country of occupation will prove to be major determinants in how much temporal autonomy and discretionary time a person has. Therefore, I anticipate seeing temporal inequities between Philippine and American citizens, and temporal negotiations in the web of time between employer and employees, between coworkers, and between workers with their families. In the interview stage, I expect to gather data that reveals how time affects a person's agency and capability development. I hope to connect this with time use data collected in the survey, time diary, ethnography stages.

In terms of seeing how Philippine and American citizens' time use constraints and decisions affect each other, I expect this research to reveal temporal power dynamics between them, within their own national contexts, and how these contexts interact in our globalized world.

Conclusion

In conclusion, this research serves to further global justice pursuits in developing human capability around the global. Although these liberal and democratic pursuits have been largely led by Western nation-states, “the predominant model of organizing political space in the modern world is marked by a tension between universalistic liberalism and particularistic nationalism, the first pushing toward equal rights and liberties for all of its members, the second toward excluding from these privileges all nonmembers” (Joppke, 2005). That said, the pursuit for human agency is not equal in our globalized economy. The focus on citizenship and nationality as a category by which people are discriminated will hopefully enlighten audiences to the inequities perpetuated by capitalist globalism through a universal resource. Because time is directly linked to lived time (Sharma, 2014), the exploitation of time is the exploitation of lives. I hope that this work inspires those pursuing global social justice to include this citizenship and the temporal dimension in the pursuit of universal human agency, capability and autonomy.

References

- Ainsworth, M. C., Pekmezi, D., Bowles, H., Ehlers, D., McAuley, E., Courneya, K. S., & Rogers, L. Q. (2018). Acceptability of a Mobile Phone App for Measuring Time Use in Breast Cancer Survivors (Life in a Day): Mixed-Methods Study. *JMIR Cancer*, 4(1), e9. <https://doi.org/10.2196/cancer.8951>
- Alkire, S. (2005). *Valuing freedoms: Sen's capability approach and poverty reduction*. Oxford Univ. Press.
- Alkire, S., & Foster, J. (2011). Counting and multidimensional poverty measurement. *Journal of Public Economics*, 95(7), 476–487. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.jpubeco.2010.11.006>
- Aneesh, A. (2012). Negotiating Globalization: Men and Women of India's Call Centers: India's Call Centers. *Journal of Social Issues*, 68(3), 514–533. <https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1540-4560.2012.01761.x>
- Bajaj, V. (2011, November 25). A New Capital of Call Centers. *The New York Times*. <https://www.nytimes.com/2011/11/26/business/philippines-overtakes-india-as-hub-of-call-centers.html>
- Bauman, Z. (2000). Time and Space Reunited. *Time & Society*, 9(2–3), 171–185. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0961463X00009002002>
- Becker, G. S. (1965). A Theory of the Allocation of Time. *The Economic Journal*, 75(299), 493. <https://doi.org/10.2307/2228949>
- Burchardt, T. (2008). *Time and income poverty* (CASEreport 57). Joseph Rowntree Foundation.
- Burchardt, T. (2010). Time, income and substantive freedom: A capability approach. *Time & Society*, 19(3), 318–344. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0961463X10369754>

- Chatzitheochari, S., Fisher, K., Gilbert, E., Calderwood, L., Huskinson, T., Cleary, A., & Gershuny, J. (2018). Using New Technologies for Time Diary Data Collection: Instrument Design and Data Quality Findings from a Mixed-Mode Pilot Survey. *Social Indicators Research*, 137(1), 379–390. <https://doi.org/10.1007/s11205-017-1569-5>
- Clawson, D., & Gerstel, N. (2014). *Unequal time: Gender, class, and family in employment schedules*. Russell Sage Foundation. <https://doi.org/10.7758/9781610448437>
- Confesor, M. (2018, August 31). Largest Offshore Location for BPOs, Call Centers. *TDS Global Solutions*. <https://www.teledevelopment.com/largest-offshore-location-call-centers/>
- Fabian, J. (2014). *Time and the other: How anthropology makes its object*. Columbia University Press.
- Fisher, K., Gershuny, J., & Gauthier, A. (2012). *Multinational time use study: User's guide and documentation*. Centre for Time Use Research, University of Oxford.
- Folbre, N. (2004). A theory of the misallocation of time. In *Family Time* (pp. 17–34). Routledge. <https://doi.org/10.4324/9780203411650-11>
- Gershuny, J. (2013). National Utility: Measuring the Enjoyment of Activities. *European Sociological Review*, 29(5), 996–1009. <https://doi.org/10.1093/esr/jcs077>
- Gershuny, J. I. (2003). *Changing times: Work and leisure in postindustrial society*. Oxford Univ. Press.
- Gershuny, Jonathan. (1983). *Social innovation and the division of labour*.
- Gershuny, Jonathan. (2011). *Time-use surveys and the measurement of national well-being*. Office for National Statistics.
- Gershuny, Jonathan. (2013). *Multinational Time Use Study*. <https://ora.ox.ac.uk/objects/uuid:952fa988-cd66-4022-a6e8-1156a6b939f7>

- Goodin, R. E. (2010). Temporal Justice. *Journal of Social Policy*, 39(1), 1–16.
<https://doi.org/10.1017/S0047279409990225>
- Goodin, R. E., Rice, J. M., Bittman, M., & Saunders, P. (2005). The Time-Pressure Illusion: Discretionary Time vs. Free Time. *Social Indicators Research*, 73(1), 43–70.
<https://doi.org/10.1007/s11205-004-4642-9>
- Goodin, R. E., Rice, J. M., Parpo, A., & Eriksson, L. (2008). *Discretionary Time: A New Measure of Freedom*. Cambridge University Press.
- Harvey, A. S. (1993). Guidelines for Time Use Data Collection. *Social Indicators Research*, 30(2/3), 197–228. JSTOR.
- Hirway, I. (2017). *Mainstreaming unpaid work: Time-use data in developing policies*. Oxford University Press. <https://doi.org/10.1093/acprof:oso/9780199468256.001.0001>
- Huebener, P., O’Brien, S., Porter, T., Stockdale, L., & Zhou, Y. R. (2016a). Exploring the Intersection of Time and Globalization. *Globalizations*, 13(3), 243–255.
<https://doi.org/10.1080/14747731.2015.1057046>
- Huebener, P., O’Brien, S., Porter, T., Stockdale, L., & Zhou, Y. R. (2016b). *Time, Globalization and Human Experience: Interdisciplinary Explorations*. Taylor & Francis.
- Joppke, C. (2005). Exclusion in the Liberal State: The Case of Immigration and Citizenship Policy. *European Journal of Social Theory*, 8(1), 43–61.
<https://doi.org/10.1177/1368431005049327>
- Law, J., & Urry, J. (2004). Enacting the social. *Economy and Society*, 33(3), 390–410.
<https://doi.org/10.1080/0308514042000225716>
- Li, V. (2016). The Untimely in Globalization’s Time: Don DeLillo’s Cosmopolis. *Globalizations*, 13(3), 256–269. <https://doi.org/10.1080/14747731.2015.1056493>

- Michelson, W. M. (2016). *Time use: Expanding explanation in the social sciences*. Routledge.
- Nussbaum, M. (2002). Capabilities and Social Justice. *International Studies Review*, 4(2), 123–135. JSTOR.
- Parreñas, R. S. (2000). Migrant Filipina domestic workers and the international division of reproductive labor. *Gender & Society*, 14(4), 560–580.
- Parreñas, R. S. (2012). The reproductive labour of migrant workers. *Global Networks*, 12(2), 269–275. <https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1471-0374.2012.00351.x>
- Piachaud, D. (2008). Time and Money. In *Why Money Matters: Family Income, Poverty and Children's Lives* (pp. 96–103). Save the Children.
- Porter, T., & Stockdale, L. (2016). The Strategic Manipulation of Transnational Temporalities. *Globalizations*, 13(3), 270–284. <https://doi.org/10.1080/14747731.2015.1056497>
- Rancière, J. (2013). In What Time Do We Live? *Política Común*, 4(20200129). <https://doi.org/10.3998/pc.12322227.0004.001>
- Rosa, H. (2003). Social Acceleration: Ethical and Political Consequences of a Desynchronized High-Speed Society. *Constellations*, 10(1), 3–33. <https://doi.org/10.1111/1467-8675.00309>
- Rosa, H., & Scheuerman, W. E. (Eds.). (2009). *High-speed society: Social acceleration, power, and modernity*. Pennsylvania State University Press.
- Rosa, H., & Trejo-Mathys, J. (2015). *Social acceleration: A new theory of modernity* (Paperback ed). Columbia University Press.
- Sen, A. (1980). Equality of What? *The Tanner Lecture on Human Values, I*, 197–220.
- Sharma, S. (2014). *In the Meantime: Temporality and Cultural Politics*. Duke University Press. <https://www.dukeupress.edu/in-the-meantime>

- Szalai, S. (1972). *The Use of Time: Daily Activities of Urban and Suburban Populations in Twelve Countries*. Mouton.
- Vickery, C. (1977). The Time-Poor: A New Look at Poverty. *The Journal of Human Resources*, 12(1), 27. <https://doi.org/10.2307/145597>
- Virilio, P. (1977). *Speed and politics* (2006 ed.). Semiotext(e).
- Warren, T. (2003). Class and Gender-based Working Time? Time Poverty and the Division of Domestic Labour. *Sociology*, 37(4), 733–752.
<https://doi.org/10.1177/00380385030374006>
- White, K. (2018, October 22). *Largest Call Center Employers in the Philippines Indicate the Power of Global Site Selection Strategies*.
<https://info.siteselectiongroup.com/blog/largest-call-center-employers-in-the-philippines-indicate-the-power-of-global-site-selection-strategies>

