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WHEN TIMES COLLIDE: TEMPORAL BROKERAGE AT THE INTERSECTION OF MARKETS AND DEVELOPMENTS

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We study the influence of a pervasive Western organizational mentality—clock-time orientation—in market-based models for human development. While a linear, clock-time orientation optimized for markets is meant to enhance efficiency, coordination, and control, it may be unsuitable for managing emergent, complex, and indeterminate processes such as development. To examine how the tension between market and development temporalities plays out at the organizational level, we draw on an ethnography of Fairtrade International, an organization connecting markets in the North with low-income community development in the South. We examine intra-organizational contestation over different temporal structures needed to entrain to discrepant temporal environments. We explain how contestation, temporal reflexivity, interpretive shifts, and mutual appreciation of interdependencies led to the reconstitution of Fairtrade's development model to bridge competing temporal structures. We contribute by (a) elucidating an agentic view of time, where time is used as a cultural resource to regulate attention and render social phenomena amenable to particular types of managerial action; (b) developing the notion of "ambitemporality," where organizations accommodate seemingly contradictory temporal orientations; and (c) explaining how deep-seated Western organizational mentalities truncate the power of development models, and how these models may benefit from embracing processual approaches associated with Eastern thought.

Although time has long been given only limited consideration in management and organization theory, more recently, there has been a profound increase in interest in the topic, particularly in process scholarship (Hernes & Maitlis, 2010; Langley, Smallman, Tsoukas, & Van de Ven, 2013), strategy (Kaplan & Orlikowski, 2013), and sustainability (Garud & Gehman, 2012; Slawinski & Bansal, 2012). A "temporal lens" provides a "powerful way to view organizational phenomena" (Ancona, Goodman, Lawrence, & Tushman, 2001a: 660; Barkema, Baum, & Mannix, 2002) and time constitutes a key meta-dimension of management (Chen & Miller, 2011). Indeed, the rise of management as a scientific discipline in the West[1] saw efforts to "put a

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[1] We recognize that neither "East" nor "West" is a homogeneous concept. East and West do not represent distinct spatial geographies, but denote perceived cultural differences in management thought and practice (e.g., Chen & Miller, 2011). "North" and "South" refer to the socioeconomic divide between industrialized/developed and emerging/developing countries, respectively. Generally, North includes the USA, Canada, Europe, Australia, Israel, and developed regions of East Asia, and the South includes Africa, Latin America, and developing regions of Asia.

handle" on time (Chia, 2002), as exemplified by Taylor's (1911) "time and motion" studies, the use of the clock as a "tool for social control" (Bluedorn & Waller, 2006; Thompson, 1967; Zerubavel, 1981), and post-industrial society's emphasis on "real" or "instantaneous" time (Fine, 1998).

Most management models continue to be optimized for economic efficiency driven by linear "quantitative" time and clock-based structures (Adam, 1994, 2004; TenHouten, 2005). These temporal structures—social structures that shape people's temporal practices (Orlikowski & Yates, 2002)—are manifested in the use of Gantt charts, deadlines, just-in-time inventory systems, and the fiscal year to schedule and pace activities (Ancona, Okhuysen, & Perlow, 2001b; Huy, 2001; Yakura, 2002). While clock time is a potent tool for synchronizing activities, increasing efficiency, and standardizing processes (Adam, 2004), its ubiquity has been described as the marketization of the "temporal commons"—"the shared conceptualization of time and temporal values created by a culture-carrying collectivity" (Bluedorn & Waller, 2006: 355). Imposing "clock time"—a "temporal lingua franca" (Nanni, 2012)—across a range of domains may blur complexities in the pace and timing of organizational processes. It may also fail to account for differences in the "perception and value of time across cultures" (Barkema et al., 2002: 919; Schein, 1992), such as in global virtual teams (Saunders, Van Slyke, & Vogel, 2004). Clock-time hegemony has tended to eclipse alternative conceptions such as qualitative time, often associated with processual approaches and Eastern temporal orientations (Chen & Miller, 2010; Chia, 2010).

As different temporalities are replete with cultural values and interests (Schein, 1992), they can be a source of organizational conflict (Yakura, 2002). For example, Gersick (1994) noted the conflict between managers motivated by deadlines and venture capitalists motivated by achieving specific outcomes, where events, not time, were prerequisites for action. Similarly, in the context of complex product innovation in pharmaceuticals, Dougherty, Bertels, Chung, Dunne, and Kraemer (2013) described a temporal conflict between scientists motivated by learning events and managers demanding linear clock-based progress.

Temporal structures not only influence the pace and rhythm of organizational life, but also shape what we pay attention to, how we attend to problems, and how we interpret phenomena (Huy, 2001; Zaheer, Albert, & Zaheer, 1999). For example, clock time shifts attention towards controllable entities and away from elusive processes in which the temporal rhythm is less manipulable (Thompson, 2011). Similarly, organizations entrained to the temporal horizons of markets such as financial reporting cycles may focus on quarterly results but struggle to accommodate "nature's temporalities" (Hofmeister, 1997), or the vastly different timescales of environmental issues that span generations (Gao & Bansal, 2013). While temporal disjunctures arising from clock-time orientation are common, they are central to pluralistic organizations straddling multiple domains. As these organizations simultaneously connect disparate "social worlds" (Kraatz & Block, 2008; O'Mahony & Bechky, 2008), they are likely to experience conflicting pressures from multiple temporal environments, characterized by different time frames (Ancona & Waller, 2007). How do organizations at the intersection of "temporally asymmetric worlds" (Zerubavel, 1981: 60) negotiate conflicting temporalities?

To examine this issue, we study temporal brokerage in Fairtrade Labelling Organizations International (FLO), where two organizational units conjointly attempted to bridge discrepant temporalities. Fairtrade is an emblematic example of business taking on the role of "development agent" to reduce poverty (Blowfield & Dolan, 2010). Fairtrade operates at the intersection of two different worlds—markets for ethically certified products in the North and producer development in the South. During our study period, its "internal functioning" (Kraatz & Block, 2008) reflected how the conflict between market and development temporalities played out at the organizational level. We draw on a six-month organizational ethnography of Fairtrade, and study internal conflict over the use of different temporal structures for promoting development as an ongoing *process* versus certifying development as an *outcome.* We explain how conflict led to a change in Fairtrade's model, "ambitemporality," purported to bridge competing temporal structures—moving picture and snapshot, temporal asymmetry and symmetry, and long and short temporal depth.

We make three contributions. First, we propose an agentic view of time (e.g., Staudenmayer, Tyre, & Perlow, 2002)—time is malleable and subject to multiple interpretations and explicit modifications. An agentic view contrasts with the conception of time as a reified "worldview" against which individual and organizational behavior is measured (e.g., Chen & Miller, 2011; Slawinski & Bansal, 2012). While human agency is arguably a

temporally embedded process of social engagement (Emirbayer & Mische, 1998; Wiebe, 2010), and time influences our interpretations of phenomena (Zaheer et al., 1999), we show how time is used as a cultural resource to construe phenomena in particular ways. Second, we develop the notion of "ambitemporality"—accommodating seemingly contradictory temporal orientations. While multiple temporal orientations are often coexistent and in competition (Ancona et al., 2001b), we show how organizations connecting temporally incongruent worlds engage in "temporal brokerage" to negotiate diverse temporalities that can enable them to transcend Cartesian dualities and pursue paradoxical goals. Third, while studies about organizations juggling commercial and social objectives have focused on "profit versus people" antinomies (Margolis & Walsh, 2003) and competing institutional logics (Battilana & Dorado, 2010; Tracey, Phillips, & Jarvis, 2011), we show how a deep-seated "organizational mentality" (Chia, 2010; Tsui, 2007)—linear clock-time orientation—can truncate business's ability to tackle chronic social problems. We explain how using clock time to streamline human development may mask the complexities involved, and suggest that process temporality, also associated with Eastern philosophies, can enhance the contextual sensitivity of Western models.

THEORIZING TIME AND TEMPORALITY

Time represents "a sociotemporal order which regulates the structure and dynamics of social life" (Lewis & Weigert, 1981; Zerubavel, 1981: 2), produces social norms (Adam, 1994; Thompson, 1967), and plays a pivotal role in organizing (Huy, 2001). Time has been described as the "heartbeat of culture" (Levine, 1997) and part of the "hidden cultural grammar [that] defines the way in which people view the world, determines their values, and establishes the basic tempo and rhythms of life" (Hall, 1983: 6; Schein, 1992). While time—in particular, clock time—is often a taken-for-granted dimension of organizational life, scholars have challenged this unitary conception of time. What time is and how it is experienced and socially organized—temporality—differs within and across individuals, organizations, cultures, geographies, and societies (Adam, 1994; Bluedorn & Waller, 2006). Scholars have distinguished time conceptions along East/West, event/clock, concrete/abstract, cyclical/linear, subjective/objective, and endogenous/exogenous dimensions (e.g., Bluedorn & Denhardt, 1988; Chen & Miller, 2011; Jaques, 1982; Orlikowski & Yates, 2002). These distinctions can be broadly aggregated into "clock time" and "process time." See Table 1.

Linear Clock-Oriented Time. In this view, often linked to Western thought (Ancona et al., 2001b), time is considered to be an objective and quantifiable measure of motion, events, and actions. This view is rooted in the Judeo-Christian concept of *linear* time beginning with creation and ending with the apocalypse. Consistent with Newtonian conceptions (Adam, 2004; McGrath & Kelly, 1986), time is portrayed as calculable, and absolute, or as "chronos" or "clock time." Clock time is divisible into measurable, standardized, and context-free units in which time is "calibrated into a standard gauge against which we associate events" (TenHouten, 2005: 66). Clock time allows the present moment to be detached from the past and future, and for phenomena to be viewed as distinct, stable, and isolable entities independent of and emancipated from events (George & Jones, 2000; Mead, 1932; Thompson, 2011). The clock always "ticks even if nothing occurs" (TenHouten, 2005: 36).

Clock time is often naturalized as a resource (Zerubavel, 1981) conducive to economic metaphors, such as "time is money," that is "not passed but spent" (Quattrone, 2005; Thompson, 1967: 61). While quantitative time is seen as synonymous with modernity, it is arguably an artifact of attempts to "interrupt flow" in Western industrial organization (Adam, 2004: 34; Chia, 2002). Arguably, scientific management began with Taylor's (1911) "time and motion" studies, followed by the creation of sophisticated systems to "trap," productively utilize, and precisely control time (Adam, 1994). Clock-based structures have been at the heart of society's progressive rationalization, allowing management "to represent the world as an intelligible whole, rendering it readily manipulable for instrumental purposes" (Knights & Odih, 2002: 151). The clock has become the legitimate "arbiter of time" (Smith, 1997), influencing goal prioritization and resource allocation (Staudenmayer et al., 2002).

Process-Oriented Time. In this view, time is not autonomous or independent of events, processes, or phenomena, but characterized as non-linear, qualitatively determined, and endogenous to events and processes (Chia, 2002). Qualitative time resonates with processual approaches in organizational studies that embrace Eastern thought; there

TABLE 1
Clock Time and Process Time

	Clock time	Process time
View of time	"Newtonian" view of time as absolute, unitary, invariant, linear, and mechanical	View of time as subjective, open, relative, organic, and cyclical
Cosmological assumptions	"Western" (Judeo-Christian): Beginning (genesis) and end (judgment) of universe. Time as a linear progression	"Eastern" (Chinese, Indian (Buddhist and Hindu)), Ancient and Classical Greece: The universe as an infinite series of cycles
Description	Quantitative	Qualitative
Reference frame	Clock based and absolute. Time is an objective measure independent of human experience. *Chronos*: time measured by the chronometer not by purpose (Jaques, 1982)	Event based and relative. Time is dependent on human experience. Temporality is integral to the experience of being human. *Kairos:* "the human and living time of intentions and goals" (Jaques, 1982: 14–15)
Orientation	Deadline oriented	Process oriented
Link between past, present, and future	Discrete. Past, present, and future as endless "succession of now-points" (Joas, 1997)	Continuous. Temporal continuity and ongoing flow of past, present, and future
Logic	Efficiency: Time as scarce resource	Flexibility: Time as contextual feature
Human manipulation	Time commodification, work discipline, and "machine time" in industrial organizations (Adam, 1994; Zerubavel, 1981)	Not easily manipulable. Follows different event trajectories and is subject to multiple interpretations (Chia, 2010)
Change and interventions	Competitive analysis; strategic planning and positioning; top-down and imposed change. Work process analysis, redesign and reengineering, and quality management	Exposes shared tacit assumptions and cause–effect relationships in organizational life. Experiential learning and workplace redesign around social–technical principles

is no beginning or end of time, only unfolding moments and ongoing transformations (Chia, 2010; Gupta, 1992). Time is seen to flow beyond "an arbitrary stopping of the clock" to assess the state of the world at any point, and to create pockets of stability in the sea of process complexity (Hernes & Maitlis, 2010; Langley & Tsoukas, 2010). Consistent with Einstein's notion of time being relative and contextual, or "a local, internal feature of the system of observation" (Adam, 1994: 56; Chia, 2002), process time is intersubjective with multiple indeterminate trajectories and plural timelines (Ancona et al., 2001b). Process time includes the notion of *kairos* (event time) that regulates people's attention through their recognition of specific social and natural events rather than through meeting deadlines. In process conceptions, temporal dimensions—past, present, and future—are not seen as isolable entities or indistinguishable "knife-edge now-points" (Joas, 1997: 171). As Bergson (1999) argues, clock time may be a "counterfeit" representation of lived durée produced by converting experiences into discrete and measurable moments. Time dimensions form a "temporal spread" (Gell, 1992: 223) or an intertwined "chordial triad" (Emirbayer & Mische, 1998) with a "continuous progress of the past [as it] gnaws into the future, and swells as it advances, leaving its bite or the mark of its teeth on all things" (Chia, 2002: 864). Through temporal sensemaking, organizations engage with the present based on memories of the past and anticipations of the future (e.g., Gephart, Topal, & Zhang, 2010; Schultz & Hernes, 2013).

To sum, a clock-oriented view regards time as a unitary measure of events, activities, or tasks, amenable to a world of objects and products. A process-oriented view regards time as residing within the event, activity, or task, amenable to a world of processes and becoming.

The Social Construction of Time, Temporal Conflict, and Competing Temporalities

Rather than being dichotomous worldviews, linear and process time have been argued to be social and political constructions (Adam, 2004). Time is "not ontologically given but rather invented" (Bluedorn, 2002: 28) and temporal orientations enable the shaping or maintaining of a certain social order (Zerubavel, 1981). For example, markets are inherently defined and constructed against clock time, and their existence depends on discrete and linear temporal boundaries such as closing price, daily price, and average price over a given clock interval. Orlikowski and Yates (2002: 691) suggested that

temporal orientation is "an emergent property of the temporal structures" being enacted at a given moment. Temporal structures are manifested in project deadlines, logs, schedules, and other time-calibrated devices to enable entrained organizational behaviors (Gersick, 1994). Through "temporal structuring," people implicitly or explicitly draw on existing repertoires of temporal structures, and thereby (re)produce (and occasionally change) temporal orientations (Orlikowski & Yates, 2002). This suggests that temporal structures can be shaped and "strategically manipulated" to shape the temporal commons in the interest of certain groups (Adam, 2004; Bourdieu, 1977: 6). During the 19th-century Industrial Revolution, factory owners used time as a tool for social control by imposing clock-time discipline on workers (Thompson, 1967). Bluedorn and Denhardt (1988: 314) have described how the Missouri tourism industry lobbied the state to align public school holidays with the industry definition of the "summer vacation season." Organizations also manipulate time contexts to intervene in ambiguous situations (Albert, 1995) and to foster different types of knowledge production, such as "productive leisure" time for fostering tacit knowledge (Reinmoeller & Chong, 2002).

The attempt to structure temporal environments may generate conflict within and across organizations (Yakura, 2002). This is because temporal structures are replete with cultural values and interests (Schein, 1992) and shape what problems appear salient, how those problems are coped with, and what constitutes a satisfactory solution (Huy, 2001; Zaheer et al., 1999). Temporal conflicts arise between organizational units, such as mature and young (Ancona et al., 2001a); functions, such as R&D and marketing (Ancona & Chong, 1996); professional groups, such as scientists and administrators (Dubinskas, 1988); and internal and external referents, such as managers and investors (Gersick, 1994). Temporal conflicts also arise in managing different processes, such as exploitation and exploration or change and continuity (Ancona et al., 2001a). Industrial production may be amenable to linear clock-based structures geared towards enhancing the efficient, measurable output of products (Adam, 1994). But processes such as learning and innovation may not follow an "orderly, managerially imposed timeline and timetable comprised of discrete, measurable activities with predictable durations, sequencing, and interactions" (Garud, Gehman, & Kumaraswamy, 2011; Saunders et al., 2004: 24). Similarly, processes in the natural environment such as climate change are associated with vastly different temporal horizons than those of markets (e.g., Gao & Bansal, 2013) and are, arguably, ill suited to clock-based metrics such as quarterly sales cycles (Laverty, 1996).

While scholars have asserted that organizations face pressures to entrain to the temporal demands of their environments (Ancona & Waller, 2007), it is not clear how they align conflicting demands. Moreover, as the "temporal commons" in Western industrial society tends to be "judged exclusively by the market-sanctioned metric of efficiency"—clock time (Bluedorn & Waller, 2006: 355; Chia, 2010)—it is worth examining how organizations integrate "other times" to address temporal demands incongruent with clock time. While many organizations experience temporal complexity, we argue that it is central to pluralistic organizations at the intersection of disparate domains (e.g., O'Mahony & Bechky, 2008). Examples include "amphibian" organizations connecting academia and industry (Powell & Sandholtz, 2012) and "social enterprises" or hybrids connecting markets and development (Dolan, 2010). Studies have reported tensions arising from competing stakeholder expectations, but remain relatively silent on the challenges arising from conflicting temporal demands. An organization seeking to simultaneously represent the divergent temporal demands of different audiences may also face pressures to produce and enact a variety of temporal structures. How are different temporal structures used in an organization to guide action, and what warrants particular temporal structures as more useful than others? Prioritizing certain temporal structures over others may trigger organizational conflict. How does an organization navigate through such conflicts? Finally, at times, negotiating conflicts may hit roadblocks, but conflict is not always intractable. How might a consensus emerge?

RESEARCH CONTEXT

Temporalities of Change and Market-Based Development Models

The marriage between markets in the North and development in the South offers a promising setting for understanding temporal brokerage at the interface of colliding temporalities. Market-based approaches to development seek growth that favors poverty reduction—by aligning the dynamism of the commercial world with the wellbeing of the

disadvantaged (Dolan, 2010). However, while growth is typically gauged linearly in markets, development experts argue that development is complex, circuitous, and follows an indeterminate trajectory, which makes it difficult to plan and control (Guijt, 2007; Mosse, Farrington, & Rew, 1998). Temporality associated with developmental change is thus likely to be different from that of markets.

Development does not embody a linear logic associated with *things* (e.g., building bridges); it is about *people* (e.g., building capacity) (Mosse et al., 1998). It involves bottom-up behavioral change captured in the notion of "empowerment" (Sen, 1999)—the expansion of freedom of choice and action to shape one's life. Yet empowerment is a "transformation that is societal and implies a long time horizon" (Guijt, 2007: 4). The layering of structural, cultural, and behavioral factors makes development complex, difficult to predict, and hard to quantify (Holland & Ruedin, 2012), or what MacKay and Chia (2013) called an "unowned" process of change. Because developmental change cannot be reduced to measurable, single-event outcomes, empowerment is described as "a process that never ends" (OECD, 2002: 25).

Market actors and development practitioners may have different expectations about how developmental change occurs and what counts as evidence of change. Yet, we lack an understanding of how market-based temporal demands affect development and how mismatches in temporalities may be resolved.

Case Selection and Research Site: Fairtrade International

Fairtrade International, a non-profit multistakeholder initiative founded in 1997, provides a fertile setting for studying the organizational construction of temporalities at the North–South interface. Fairtrade engages in boundary work (O'Mahony & Bechky, 2008) by connecting marginalized producers of agricultural commodities in developing countries in the South with buyers in the North through an ethical label that promises fairer trading and developmental support (e.g., Reinecke, 2010). It is an "extreme case" (Eisenhardt, 1989) of an organization wrestling with contrasting temporalities of markets and development. Issues of theoretical interest tend to be more visible in extreme cases (Pratt, Rockmann, & Kaufmann, 2006). Temporal dynamics surfaced serendipitously, as is typical in ethnographic research (Fine & Deegan, 1996), during a key event—the introduction of an International Organization for Standardization (ISO) 65 accredited certification system that imposed linear timelines on development. It allowed us "to study the dynamics surrounding the imposition of different models of [temporal] organizing" (Hernes, 2007: xvii).

Founded as an alternative trade movement, Fairtrade is now "a market-led commercial success story" (Nicholls & Opal, 2005: 13). When our research was conducted in 2007, global sales of Fairtrade certified products had increased by 47% year on year to reach €2.3 billion (€4.8 billion in 2012), covering 1.5 million farmers in 59 countries and constituting about 90% of the market in fairly traded products. Located in Bonn, Germany, Fairtrade's secretariat—FLO International—was the node for Fairtrade's global stakeholders, including labeling initiatives in 20 consumer countries and 3 producer networks in Africa, Asia, and Latin America. Most of the 33 staff members from 17 countries came from developing countries or had a background in humanitarian work. They frequently visited producers, providing training and facilitating market access. In addition, local liaison officers were employed in 42 producer countries. While FLO International's task was standards setting and producer support, certification was done by FLO-CERT, the inspection and certification body for labelled Fairtrade. The unit split from FLO International in 2004 following "mainstreaming" (Blowfield & Dolan, 2010) to provide independent guarantees of standards compliance to Northern buyers. FLO-CERT grew rapidly to 53 staff members and 85 inspectors conducting certification audits in 59 producer countries.

Data Sources

To understand how temporal conflicts emerge and are negotiated, we adopted an inductive, qualitative process approach (Langley et al., 2013). Our principal data set comprises a six-month organizational ethnography of Fairtrade International. Ethnographic techniques are useful to capture the interplay of activities and meanings (Van Maanen, 1979), "particularly in the face of competing definitions of reality" (Gephart, 2004: 457). It allowed us to gain detailed insights into the ongoing negotiations between organizational members "over the interpretations and understandings of reality" (Zilber, 2002: 237). Direct involvement got us closer to participants' struggles over the meaning of development and the role of temporality. We also con-

ducted 39 in-depth interviews and collected archival data.

Ethnographic observation. We obtained consensual access to Fairtrade International when one author volunteered to work full time, five days a week, for the secretariat in Bonn for six months between July and December 2007. She undertook more than 1,100 hours of participant observation. Following standard ethnographic practice (Hammersley & Atkinson, 1989), she observed work routines, assisted staff members with minor tasks, attended meetings, and took part in social activities after office hours. She participated in a two-week training program attended by more than 60 auditors providing training for FLO-CERT's redesigned ISO 65-compliant certification system. Detailed observations of activities, events, and discourse were recorded in a field diary, which extends to 400 pages. She also conducted and recorded "casual, friendly conversations" with staff and office visitors—a key way to obtain immediate reflections on activities and events (Spradley, 1979: 58).

Interviews. Towards the end of the ethnographic observation, staff members were invited for semi-formal, in-depth interviews to follow up on emerging issues. Respondents included staff from the Standards Unit and Standards Committee ($n = 12$), liaison officers ($n = 6$), FLO managers ($n = 4$), FLO-CERT staff ($n = 4$), external consultants ($n = 1$), and Fairtrade licensees ($n = 3$). Interviews lasted between 30 and 120 minutes covering three main topics: Fairtrade's aims, development approach, and the link between standards setting and certification. We also carried out follow-up interviews ($n = 9$) with staff and sustainability standards experts, and attended practitioner conferences. All interviews were recorded and transcribed.

Documents. We collected archival data to trace event chronologies and discourses over time (Langley et al., 2013). The ethnographer's privileged access included policy documents, stakeholder consultations, draft standards, and FLO's internal e-mail correspondence. While not included in the final analysis, these proprietary documents were used to validate observations and interview impressions. Using FLO's records of weekly media monitoring of major English newspapers, we collected around 100 articles about Fairtrade, published between 2006 and 2008. We also collected documentary data on Fairtrade standards, minutes of standards committee meetings, press releases, and annual reports for the period 2006 to 2012.

Data Analysis

Our analysis followed the principles of open-ended, inductive theory building (Corbin & Strauss, 2008), iterating between ethnographic data and theoretical constructs (Van Maanen, 1979). The analysis included five phases. The first phase began with fieldwork (Hammersley & Atkinson, 1989). Besides field notes, the ethnographer created a list of chronological events, commentaries on each interview or meeting, and weekly analytic memos. Initial "hunches" (Lincoln & Guba, 1985) were clustered around: (a) respondents' frequent categorization of development as oriented towards markets in the North or producers in the South, (b) a growing conflict between FLO (standards setter) and FLO-CERT (certifier), and (c) the introduction of "timelines" as a focal point in this tension. The third cluster, time, though not the primary research quest prior to the study, emerged as a central issue. Respondents contested the "concept of time-bound compliance criteria" and "trying to define objective, measurable timelines for development progress." This prompted us to consider the role of time. We used time as a "sensitizing concept," which does not "provide prescriptions of what to see" but can "suggest directions along which to look" (Blumer, 1954: 7).

In the second phase, we imported data into NVivo, a qualitative data analysis software package, to create an integrated database. NVivo facilitated generating codes as well as developing and tracking coding categories. Ethnographic observations, field notes, interview transcripts, and texts enabled us to "triangulate" our sources (Denzin, 1997). We organized data chronologically. This highlighted FLO-CERT's ISO 65 accreditation as a critical event triggering conflict around the use of timelines.

In the third phase, we developed a preliminary list of 92 descriptive codes reflecting respondents' language; for example, "measuring more objectively." To make "scientific sense of members' common-sense constructions" (Gephart, 1978: 568), we consolidated first-order codes into broader categories. As a guiding device, we linked codes to the different concerns of each organizational unit. This yielded a more manageable number of first-order categories, to which we ascribed phrasal descriptors, such as "providing a product guarantee." Through subsequent modification, we created a final list of 29 first-order categories (see Figure 1).

FIGURE 1
Data Structure

First-order categories	Second-order themes	Aggregate theoretical dimensions
FLO's founding mission: Seeking development in the South Development as a complex, emergent and unpredictable process Guiding development through process-oriented standards	Process-time orientation to development (FLO)	**Disrupting the temporal commons**
FLO-CERT's founding mission: Seeking legitimacy in the North Provide a product guarantee for consumers and companies Incongruence between process and certifiable product	Linear clock-time orientation to development (FLO-CERT)	
ISO 65 accreditationto gain market credibility Developing new certification system Translating Fairtrade standards into timelines and 3 year certification cycles Northern capture of development model: Mutual blame	Temporal structuring: Infusing development with clock-time	
Emphasis on development as divisible or as continuous flow Supporting development 'in between' certification audits (development as process) Enabling objective measurement of concrete outcomes (development as product)	Negotiating moving picture and snapshot	**Negotiating competing temporalities**
Emphasis on development as uniform or as variable/contextual Differentiated ability and contextual differences require acknowledging plural development paths (development as process) Ensuring consistency of certification decisions (development as product)	Negotiating temporal asymmetry and symmetry	
Emphasis on development as predictably soon or as "taking time" Focusing on intangible, long-term changes to address underlying causes for poverty (development as product) Focusing on tangible, short-term deliverables to show development outcomes (development as product)	Negotiating long and short temporal depth	
Articulating and making sense of temporal assumptions Interrelating temporality of organizing with time conceptions Recognizing need to balance temporalities	Temporal reflexivity	**Re-constituting the temporal commons: Moving towards ambi-temporality**
Projecting risk of credibility gap in the South Projecting risk of development gap in the North Recognizing interdependencies between certification and producer support	Recognizing mutual interdependencies	
Re-focusing on processes, not outcomes Accommodating multiple development paths Creating a more producer-owned development approach Re-balancing North and South	Aligning market and development temporalities	

In the fourth phase, and third coding cycle, we identified relationships between first-order categories to develop conceptual second-order themes. At this point, we started to consider data and theory in parallel (Gioia, Corley, & Hamilton, 2013). We returned to our initial hunch about the role of time,

which had surfaced during fieldwork and kept reappearing, such as "timelines" as a key source of conflict. In line with Orlikowski and Yates (2002), we labeled FLO-CERT's attempt to modify timelines as the "temporal structuring" of development. As events are occasions for sensemaking (Maitlis & Christianson, 2014), we zoomed in on FLO's standards committee meeting, where development temporality was explicitly articulated and debated. This key event exposed tussles over the temporal organization of development, but also the emergence of collective interpretations (Wiebe, 2010). Contrasting temporal structures emerged, which we grouped into second-order themes by also drawing on interviews and talks outside the meeting.

Second-order themes were sometimes prompted by respondents. To illustrate, several FLO respondents criticized certification audits as "taking snapshots" of development while ignoring processes that "happen in-between." We labeled the second-order theme "negotiating moving picture and snapshot." We also borrowed theoretical labels, such as "temporal symmetry" (Zerubavel, 1981), "temporal depth" (Bluedorn & Waller, 2006), and "time scales" (Zaheer et al., 1999) to conceptualize two other temporal contrasts that emerged. Iterating between theory and data, we linked the first set of second-order themes "snapshots," "temporal symmetry," and "short temporal depth" to clock time (e.g., Adam, 1994), and their counterparts to a "process view" of time (e.g., Tsoukas & Chia, 2002). Connecting temporalities with contrasting development approaches, we related clock time to "development as product" and process temporality to "development as process." While we conceptualized temporalities as contrasting, we noted an emergent collective understanding to address multiple temporalities.

In the fifth phase, we used theoretical coding to relate second-order themes to aggregate theoretical dimensions. To develop a processual account of the temporal conflict, we worked backwards and forwards from the critical event of the standards committee meeting. We identified conflict antecedents that we labeled "disrupting the temporal commons." A cluster of themes emerged around (a) rethinking temporal assumptions that we labeled "temporal reflexivity"—"the human potential for reinforcing and altering temporal structures" (Orlikowski & Yates, 2002: 698)—and (b) mutual appreciation of interdependencies. We identified them as "mechanisms" (Davis & Marquis, 2005) for enabling the organization to embrace plural temporalities. We labeled this dimension "moving towards ambitemporality."

Throughout the analysis, both authors used NVivo to independently develop and relate codes. This is useful to balance intimacy and distancing with the local setting and test the plausibility of theorizing in ethnographic studies (Lok & de Rond, 2013). We progressively refined categories and themes to develop our final data structure that we depict in Figure 1.

FINDINGS

When the fieldwork began, the latent tension within Fairtrade International had already started to erupt. Since its inception in 1997, two distinct units had emerged: the producer-oriented standards setter, FLO, and the market-oriented certifier, FLO-CERT. Both looked at development through a different temporal lens; FLO as a consultant focused on emergent processes enabling development to happen, and FLO-CERT as an auditor focused on monitoring certification outcomes. Their opposition over timelines in Fairtrade's model revealed the critical role of temporalities in construing development as an unpredictable process or as a certifiable product. FLO's and FLO-CERT's approaches to development differed across audience orientation (Southern producers versus Northern markets) and view of development (non-linear versus linear) and development practices (promoting development as a process versus assessing development as an outcome). See Table 2.

Process-Time Orientation to Development: Standards Setter (FLO)

FLO respondents described themselves as "Fairtrade crusaders" and "keepers of the [holy] grail," regarding themselves as heirs of the alternative fair trade movement founded to develop and empower marginalized producers in the South. This sentiment was reflected in FLO's emphasis on training and developing producers through its liaison officers' network, and in its standards to guide development. Standards, described as the "holy book," were "about enabling development to happen," a FLO standards officer explained. FLO's approach to development was rooted in process time. Respondents explained that development was about "respecting the other and letting that person make their own choices." Standards were guidelines, not meant to be as an "enforceable dictate," but "tools

TABLE 2
Two Contrasting Approaches to Development: A Process Versus a Product

	Development as process (FLO = standards setting and producer liaison)	Development as product (FLO-CERT = certification)
Audience orientation	*Mission to create a difference for communities in the South* "I think it's about human dignity: that you allow people the right to live the lifestyle that they believe is right for their family, and empowerment will have to go through a generation." (FLO producer liaison manager) *Developing producer communities* "This is really about sustainable lives, creating sustainable communities." (Fairtrade Licensee) "The ultimate aim of Fairtrade labeling is to bring benefits to [the] disadvantaged producer." (FLO manager) *Guide the process of development*: Consulting, capacity building, providing market access, educating, and training "Some things we find important, but, if we write them into the standard, FLO-CERT has to inspect against them. But, actually, these things might be more to guide the producers . . . we would like them to be there but [. . .] for us it is more about directly dealing with farmers . . . it's about education." (FLO standards officer)	*Mission to address pressures for credibility in Northern markets* "That is market pressure that is credibility. That is the only logical explanation to me. Because we constantly try to be ahead, to be the most stringent standard, have the 'gold standard'!" (FLO-CERT employee) *Certifying development* "FLO-CERT is responsible [for ensuring] that the standards that were developed some day . . . do not just exist in paper format, but that they become reality, on the ground." (FLO-CERT employee) *Convert development into product*: Objectify and operationalize standards, monitoring, controlling, auditing, certifying producer compliance "We need to make it visible for the consumer so that he can read on the product what he is buying. Because I must enable his choice somehow; I cannot just say, 'Buy that product,' . . . he wants to know, 'What am I buying exactly?'" (FLO-CERT employee) "Sustainability then gets reformulated into a marketing message for consumers and their 10 seconds' time span." (Fairtrade licensee)
View of development	*A process* (unpredictable, fluid, emergent, and contingent) *Indivisible and non-linear*: Progress as an ongoing, complex process "We assume that people have these planning management competencies, yet this is idealized or wishful thinking . . . So it is rather a bit trial and error whether and when they might achieve it [development goals]." (FLO producer liaison, Africa) *Immeasurable: Qualitative aspects* "How do we measure the social? [. . .] We can look at how many schools have been built and what did they do with the Fairtrade premiums? But if there's a whole community that has access to fresh water . . . I don't know how to measure it. It is qualitative." (Fairtrade licensee)	*An entity* (stable, measurable, controllable, and defined by a list of compliance criteria) *Divisible and linear*: Dividing progress into a series of static states (fixed timelines for compliance of 0, 3, 6, 9 years) "We create the certainty that, at least once a year, a person goes to the producer and is able to evaluate whether the standards have been complied with." (FLO-CERT employee) *Measurable: Quantitative aspects* "They [standards] must lead to development that can be measured by us." (FLO-CERT Manager) "Your standards look nice on paper, but we cannot check on them. It's very subjective. How do you measure certain things?" (FLO-CERT employee)

TABLE 2
Continued

	Development as process (FLO = standards setting and producer liaison)	Development as product (FLO-CERT = certification)
	Local variation and need for flexibility "Many things that make total sense here [in Germany] are much less straightforward in practice. You need to interpret them and see what they actually mean. The classic example is child labor. When you see those kids walking on the fields with their mothers, do they work there, or do they just accompany their mothers because there is no kindergarten?" (FLO standards officer)	*Invariance and need for consistency* "There might be several certifiers in the system, and then that [interpreting of the same standard differently] would mean several different policies. We already have the situation where different parties are carrying out certification, so we need to avoid having a space where approaches clash and don't always align." (FLO-CERT manager)
Activities to promote and assess development	*Process-oriented standards*: Standards as process descriptors (open ended) emphasizing the temporal dimension of continuous changes/gerund of things "happening" (verbs) "Encapsulating what Fairtrade, what the core values, core purposes are. And they should be about enabling development to happen." (FLO standards officer)	*Product certification system*: Standards as a wish list translated into objectively measurable compliance criteria (nouns) ISO 65 accreditation as proof of competence "In the end, it is a product that we deliver with Fairtrade." (FLO-CERT employee) "You can have a very nice standard. But if you cannot check it, then your standard is void." (FLO-CERT employee)
	Environmental contingencies (unowned change) "These things seem simple, like 'no child labor anymore.' But they are not that simple, and function in a very, very difficult environment. And when you're operating in a difficult environment doing complex things, things will go wrong." (FLO standards officer)	*Codification and control (owned change)* "It's a control process. Here is a promise. There are the rules. Louis gets a fair price for his bananas—to break down what this is—there are clear rules. And then there is a system to make sure that rules are complied with." (FLO-CERT employee)
	Producer liaison officers *Experiencing diachronic "soft" changes as evidence of ongoing progress* "Two years ago, they [producer group Sri Lanka] were very shy, they didn't really know what their planning was. And now, the way they spoke, they just had developed this confidence! The amount of ownership that they took of their organization and communities was fantastic." (FLO producer liaison, Asia)	Auditors and inspectors *Episodic compliance checks of conformity to "hard" rules* Inspectors (rotating) check compliance according to the *Auditor's Manual* "Create a system that creates a transparency that also makes verifiability possible." (FLO-CERT employee)

that producers can use in a flexible way to achieve their own development." For example, the Fairtrade standards for small-scale producers (FLO, 2007: 2.2) encouraged producers to increase incomes by "gradually assuming more control over the trading process." FLO sought behavioral changes based on people's capacity to overcome structural and psychological barriers to change, such as lack of confidence. "The reality on the ground," as a producer consultant explained, was that the poorest producers were passive price takers "at the hand of exporters, that's the pivotal power relationship." Taking greater ownership of their production and trade required a significant shift in mindset, which "you can write down in the standards, but still not know how to make it happen." Development was seen as ongoing and unpredictable "work in progress." Many Fairtrade standards were "progress criteria" designed to capture processual aspects. They emphasized continuous change by using open-ended, procedural terms such as "measures are being taken," "the organization will continue to develop," or it "shows efforts." To assist individual development pathways from the ground up, local liaison officers would consult producers in their development journey and focus on education and capacity building. FLO saw development as something that could be encouraged but not enforced.

Linear Clock-Time Orientation to Development: Certifier (FLO-CERT)

Having split from FLO in 2004, and occupying the floor just below FLO's offices, Fairtrade's certification body FLO-CERT had grown into an independent, third-party certifier with its own mission. The opening statement on its 2007 website stated:

> Our certification provides a guarantee to consumers of certified Fairtrade products that they are contributing to the social-economic development of people through their purchases.

FLO-CERT sought to be the guarantor of consumer trust in Fairtrade-certified supply chains. It saw its role as a "controller" to "cert-ify" (from the Latin *cert*, meaning "to be sure") development progress so that Fairtrade was not "cheating on consumers." While, in the past, buyers and FLO staff "visited producers to do their sourcing and evaluate whether they were good or bad Fairtrade partners," the creation of an independent certification body reflected growing market pressures for independent and credible product certification. As Fairtrade scaled up to enter mainstream markets, Northern buyers began demanding more credible guarantees for Fairtrade's promise. Seeking legitimacy with Northern buyers, FLO-CERT adopted the ISO 65 product certification norm. Its director explained the rationale:

> ISO 65 is the leading internationally accepted norm for certification bodies operating a product certification system. It is accepted in the world as the strongest indicator that a certification body is competent.

This quote shows how quality certification templates were imported to demonstrate the credibility of Fairtrade's product certification system to Northern markets. Yet, they also decoupled certification from development processes. One event revealed how their competing aims involved different temporalities: in 2006, an ISO 65 mock audit declared FLO-CERT an "intransparent system" that was misleading for buyers and unfit for accreditation. This was because most producers, unable to achieve full compliance with FLO's "wish list," were certified as "partially compliant." For FLO, they were in the process of getting more developed. But "this is not transparent because the consumer and the market don't understand this." Product certification required certifiable "time-bound," not "open-ended," outcomes, an "architect" of Fairtrade certification from FLO-CERT explained. He further noted:

> Trade is a process, production is a process, and development is a process. But the consumer doesn't buy an idea. Nor does the consumer buy a process. A consumer buys a pack of coffee—and wants to know the guarantee behind the coffee!

This quote alludes to how ISO 65 accreditation exposed the discrepancy between process-oriented standards and product-certification claims, which became a subject of controversy. Development was a variable, emergent, and unownable *process*. But, *product* certification meant certifying *outcomes* as evidence of development. While FLO's standards emphasized ongoing "work in progress" based on process-oriented temporality, FLO-CERT had to interrupt progress at definitive points in time during audits, and take a slice through time to assess clock-based outcomes.

Temporal Structuring: Infusing Development with Clock Time

Our analysis suggests that temporal structuring enabled the certifier to sever development from its social dynamic, and showcase tangible outcomes in the certified *product*. To get accredited, FLO-CERT worked for four years on a new ISO 65-accredited certification system that could objectively assess "compliance" at a given time. In 2007, at a two-week training program for 60 auditors from Africa, Asia, and Latin America, FLO-CERT staff praised the new system as "creating transparency and enabling control." During the program, it became clear that the steps taken to comply with ISO 65 profoundly affected the model's temporal orientation. FLO-CERT linked developmental change to standardized timelines in a three-year certification cycle. "We developed timelines for each standard; zero, three years, six years, or nine years," one respondent explained. Whereas the use of "partial compliance" had allowed more subjective interpretations of progress, the new guidelines for auditors translated FLO's open-ended, process-oriented standards into verifiable control points or compliance criteria subject to categorical 'yes'-or-'no'-type decisions. The definition of development became pegged to a linear, preset trajectory from present to future.

Timelines imposed a linear view of development. Producers were expected to develop over certification cycles from the time they entered Fairtrade in year 0 to a date set in the future. For example, FLO-CERT (2008) had to translate the "loose" progress requirement in FLO's standard "that wastewater is handled in a manner that does not have a negative impact on water quality, soil health or food safety" for protecting community access to potable water. FLO-CERT created five compliance criteria to be consecutively implemented, with each criterion assigned a timeline of 0, 3, 6, or 9 years after initial certification. In year 0, producers started monitoring water quality. In year 3, they had to demonstrate the adoption of corrective measures. In year 6, they had to show compliance with baseline levels, and so on. Some "major" compliance criteria (e.g., "no child labor") were linked to timeline 0. Non-compliance would result in immediate decertification of the offending producer group.

The new certification system also removed the past and future dimensions from the auditors' temporal spectrum. First, "independent" auditors were prevented from advising producers on how to improve in the *future*. Auditors who used to simultaneously train and counsel producers during field visits were oriented towards their long-term development. Now, they were restricted to inspection activities that focused exclusively on present-state compliance. Tasks that used to be performed simultaneously—auditing and consulting—got temporally and spatially separated. Second, auditor rotation, introduced to prevent corruption, eliminated the *past* as a reference point for auditors when they evaluated progress at the *present* stage. Rotating auditors no longer visited the same producer again. Cut off from the past and prevented from witnessing how development as a process of change unfolded over time, the auditors' temporal perspective became limited to seeing development in snapshots.

Disruption of the Temporal Commons: Contesting the North's Capture of Development

Temporal structuring of development allowed clock time to permeate Fairtrade's development model. Respondents explained that certification had always been seen as a "foreign body" in an organization that defined development in the South as its raison d'être. The latent tension erupted when FLO-CERT announced ISO 65 accreditation-led changes in mid-2007. Staff meetings, intense e-mail exchanges, and office talk centered on what FLO saw as the invasion of linear time and a subversion of its development model. A respondent noted:

> Certification has become far too important, whereas we are about development, really. Like the "guest" has taken over the house.
>
> (FLO manager)

This quote captures how the chasm between FLO and FLO-CERT deepened. Even though FLO had created FLO-CERT, its staff accused the certifier of diluting "our mission [which] is to empower people." "By trying to get it right, we created a monster," as FLO's former managing director stated. FLO regarded ISO 65 certification as a strategy to help "Northern traders manage their risk, rather than develop and empower producers in the South." FLO members began to question the logic of certification, "which is all about checking." They cited examples of producers being decertified. When a producer group in Haiti faced losing their certificate and access to Fairtrade markets, a liaison

officer shared her frustration: "When I see FLO-CERT say, 'Tomorrow, you'll be decertified,' then I could cry!"

When confronted with such outbursts, FLO-CERT staff struggled to understand why "we get more criticism from our owners than from our clients." The certifier shared FLO's concern that the poorest producers faced decertification, but blamed this on FLO's long list of ill-defined standards that showed "wishful thinking" but had ignored conditions "on the ground." "You have a dream and we live the nightmare!" a FLO-CERT's director described the challenge. The "nightmare" referred to the certifier's difficult task of translating Fairtrade's "dream" of development into certifiable outcomes. For FLO-CERT, ISO accreditation signified their ability to accomplish this task. Its staff were thus perplexed at being criticized for their efforts to gain a well-renowned external stamp of approval.

Critical Event: Negotiating Competing Temporalities

To understand the temporal basis of the polarization between the two units, we undertook a detailed analysis of the protracted two-day meeting of the standards committee, a critical event during which the unfolding conflict over temporalities was revealed. Before it could receive ISO 65 accreditation, the certifier needed the backing of FLO's standards committee, a multistakeholder body consisting of elected representatives of Fairtrade's global stakeholders. Discussions before the meeting had indicated strong resistance against the new certification system, with committee members threatening to veto implementation. At its core was the use of "invariable timelines that objectified development." The committee noted its objections in a formal letter to FLO-CERT: "We are seriously concerned about trying to define objective, measurable timelines . . . for development progress."

The meeting was perceived as a critical juncture in the evolution of Fairtrade toward placating markets or "doing what's right for development." Committee members called for making certification "future proof" as a benchmark for other certification bodies. As the minutes recorded: "discussion focused on the concerns about the implications of the ISO 65 accreditation for producers, in particular in linking development to timelines." The following extract from the meeting transcript captures an animated, direct exchange among stakeholder representatives. It occurred about 15 minutes into FLO-CERT's presentation on ISO 65:

> FLO STANDARDS COMMITTEE MEMBER 1 [*interrupting PowerPoint presentation*]: How do you determine the time period to comply with progress requirements? Would it be possible to ask producers to comply with only some of these components during a certain period of time? This would give flexibility to producers. We cannot define fixed progress.
>
> FLO STANDARDS COMMITTEE MEMBER 2 [*nodding, and adding in support of committee member 1*]: I don't agree with the timelines introduced . . . 3, 4, 6 years. It's [development] not just a matter of timelines. How can we define them precisely? For instance, living wages. It is not a simple concept that we could say is achievable after 9 years.
>
> FLO STANDARDS COMMITTEE MEMBER 3: I am not sure if we really can put a fixed number of years for our standards.
>
> FLO-CERT MANAGER [*defensively*]: The timelines were based on the opinion of our inspectors. The dates did not come out of the blue.
>
> FLO STANDARDS COMMITTEE MEMBER 2: The problem is that we are losing the option for subjectivity. To promote development you sometimes need a degree of flexibility.

This excerpt reflects FLO's quandary: How could "standardized, invariable timelines" accommodate the "lived experience" of development? Through delving deeper into meeting negotiations, and complementing our analysis with conversations outside the meeting and follow-up interviews, three contrasting temporal structures emerged. We grouped them under either process- or clock-time orientation towards development (see Table 3). This corresponded with FLO's emphasis on development as an emergent process and FLO-CERT's emphasis on development as a certified product. Below, we analyze the negotiations.

Negotiating moving picture and snapshot. As the meeting unfolded, temporal assumptions about development were questioned. Could development be observed in a "snapshot" at a discrete point in time when the certification audit took place? Or, did it require a "moving picture" of ongoing observations over time? FLO-CERT emphasized the need to measure development progress against a set of "objectively measurable" performance indicators, at fixed points in time. Moreover, auditor rotation cycles meant that auditors, visiting a different producer each time, could not observe the changes occurring over time. FLO's standards committee

TABLE 3
Contrasting Temporal Structures

Clock-oriented temporal structures	Process-oriented temporal structures
Taking snapshots of development at a discrete moment in time	*Moving picture of unfolding "in-between" process of producer development over time*
Freeze the development process into static, concrete entities for objective measurement	"Development happens 'in between' inspections [. . .] whatever it is that really is an issue for farmers' lives, like gender training, you know, all these other things that happen 'in between' inspections." (FLO Standards Committee member)
"We are certifying, so you need very concrete concepts. We can't say, 'The trader needs to be committed to fair trade.' That is not enough, you need things that you can check." (FLO-CERT employee)	"What the purpose of the standard is, is not to try make everything perfect, it is actually about supporting certain processes. Is it a tool, or a robot?" (FLO standards officer)
"That gap between development and measurement is what FLO-CERT is trying to bridge with its compliance criteria. They try to translate our social standards into forms and entities that you can measure more objectively. That's what they tried to do with ISO 65, [those] are all translations." (FLO standards officer)	*Complexity of development process on the ground*
"We try to depict the processes and conditions under which Fairtrade takes places absolutely transparently!" (FLO-CERT director)	"One can try to grasp this thing [development] with a few basic rules to express its essence, but in detail it is very, very complex and there are so many things . . . like the question of 'producer support' that producers need in order to understand this new world [of standards] and to be able to develop in the long term. These processes are not easy." (FLO manager)
Uniform timelines to ensure consistency of certification decisions	*Plural timelines to allow for different development paths*
"We need to take responsibility that reality corresponds each time in the same way to what the standards are saying." (FLO-CERT manager)	"We should allow individual development scenarios. We should have some principles that should not be allowed at all, like child labour. But we should integrate more flexibility and exceptions in terms of timelines." (FLO producer liaison manager)
"We certify that we take the same decisions each time . . . so you need a stringent system to make sure that the same thing is being produced." (FLO-CERT employee)	"It is very difficult to certify against the same precise yardsticks for 120 different countries around the world!" (FLO standards officer)
Short-term temporal depth to demonstrate immediate impact to consumers, buyers, and donors	*Long-term temporal depth to enable impact over "generations"*
"On our latitude [referring to Northern countries], it's at the moment not acceptable not to monitor results. That's because we need to get donor monies in. And donors want to see results quickly, see that processes are really working." (FLO-CERT manager)	"It takes an awfully long time for that to make a difference." (FLO producer business unit manager)
"That's what everyone wants here [Western buyers] now: We must measure ourselves according to the results we achieve!" (FLO-CERT manager)	"When we're working with the really disempowered, [. . .] and when we sit down with the farmers and talk about what it [empowerment] means, it's just unimaginably distant for them; some are talking about 20–30 years, and I think that is realistic." (FLO producer liaison manager)
"People get very impatient. Why is it [achieving development results] not happening more quickly?" (FLO press officer)	"Empowerment can come from many intangible sources, and the only thing I'm sure [about] is that you're very rarely empowered if you're poor. And I think the overriding belief in the North that we need to prove impact is fundamentally flawed, and it smacks to me of colonialism." (FLO producer liaison member)

members criticized FLO-CERT's timelines (0, 3, 6, 9) for converting development into a series of discrete measured points, which they described as "snapshots." After the meeting, a committee member complained that Fairtrade had "been chartered for this [deadline-oriented certification], rather than helping people to improve their lives."

> I'm not sure that inspection and certification are the way to development. You know development happens *in between* inspections. Inspections are a way to measure progress, but what about this *in-between* process? How do you make sure we really have an impact on producers' lives? Certification is not the right tool for this *in-between* part.

The emphasis on "all these other things that happen in between inspections" underlined FLO-CERT's approach to development as a fixed entity captured by periodic "snapshots." While a snapshot takes a slice through time and severs development from its social dynamic, a "moving picture" tracks the situated, contingent, and emergent aspects of development. In a follow-up conversation, a liaison officer explained how, in her experience,

capturing the most impactful, often intangible, changes required repeated observations over a period of time:

> When you just see people in a snapshot, it is very difficult to say what is impressive or not. What is really satisfying is when I go back to a [producer] group I have been to before, and see whether they have changed.

Returning from a repeat visit to a producer group in Sri Lanka, she was impressed by producers' growing determination over time. Initially, "they were very shy, they spoke through their exporter." Over time, she could witness how they gradually became more empowered: "Now they really had plans [. . .] and, the way they spoke, they just had this confidence . . . the amount of ownership that they took of the future of their organization and communities was fantastic!" The emphasis on intangible changes, such as confidence, or seeing "pride in people's faces," points to the processual nature of changes in people's attitudes, as opposed to tangible, single-event outcomes captured in snapshots. For FLO, development was an unfolding and indeterminate process. Because the precise impact of development projects could not be predicted or planned through a standardized schedule, FLO's standards used verbs to describe the unfolding process of change, rather than nouns indicating outcomes. In the standards text, development was "moving," happening "gradually," or progressing "continuously." In sum, negotiating whether temporality took the form of divisible clock-time units or continuous flow connecting past, present, and future was related to parties' orientation towards development as a "snapshot" or as a "moving picture."

Negotiating temporal symmetry and asymmetry. A key point of conflict, as showcased in the dialogue—FLO members insisting that "we cannot define fixed progress"—was reconciling uniform timelines to ensure consistency in certification with temporal flexibility to adapt to "individual development scenarios." FLO-CERT began its presentation by advocating the new certification system as "an equal treatment principle"—all producers would be subject to the same predefined timelines. FLO-CERT justified uniform timelines as an objective measure "to make sure that, in this system, each time exactly the same thing is produced." Uniform timelines were thus seen to be an objective performance metric and became an external reference point to measure development.

FLO standards committee members opposed the "equal treatment principle" on the grounds that it contradicted the intention to build variability into the standard: "With ISO 65, you start implementing equal timelines to parties that are not equal." Prior to the meeting, standards committee members had already voiced their concerns in a letter regarding the difficulty of synchronizing the pace at which different producers developed:

> The ISO 65 norms specify that all certified parties should be treated equally. But the level of compliance expected from producers in the Fairtrade system *cannot be equal*—it must be modified in light of particular producers' means to comply with requirements, including geographical and market contexts as well as financial means, training, access to support, and other capacities. Many FLO progress requirements relate to producer empowerment; living wages and worker rights, which are difficult to define and will be achieved with *different amounts of time* and resources for each and every producer.

This quote points to the different "starting positions" of producers as well as the different paces of progress, which FLO staff and standards committee members often experienced during their field visits. They thus argued that "local, regional, and producer-specific contexts and abilities be taken into account when judging progress." This debate about the need to reconcile the variability of development with capturing change at regular intervals continued at the meeting:

> FLO STANDARDS COMMITTEE MEMBER 5: How rapidly you can move towards development depends on individual circumstances. We can't define this in terms of some tick-list goals.
>
> FLO STANDARDS COMMITTEE MEMBER 4 [*referring to a case in South Africa*]: Producers should be decertified because they have no will and no objective to empower workers. But we need to assure that producers who want to comply are able to.
>
> FLO PRODUCER LIAISON OFFICER: How do you capture whether a producer is really working towards our principles while also allowing for individual development scenarios? We should have some universal principles, like no child labor. But we need to integrate more flexibility and individual solutions in terms of timelines.
>
> FLO STANDARDS COMMITTEE MEMBER 5: The point is to know whether a producer that has the resources and *can* do it earlier but chooses not do it, and a producer that does not have the resources to comply in time. There is not enough flexibility in the system.

> The point is to acknowledge we have a problem and find a solution. But how do we make a judgement and codify it?

This debate points to the challenge that temporal symmetry would disadvantage "the poorest of the poor" who were willing to comply but likely to require *more time* to achieve compliance or else risk decertification, while being too lenient on better-off producers who had the resources to make desired changes earlier, such as paying their workers decently. By "fixing progress" against the clock, certification would force multiple and largely unpredictable pathways to empowerment into a "one best way," a committee member argued, and exclude the worst-off producers who could not keep pace.

FLO-CERT conceded that development did not follow a uniform, linear trajectory, but was highly variable, asynchronous, and circuitous. As a product certification system, the challenge was to ensure consistent outcomes while accommodating producers' "individual development scenarios" and pace of progress. This needed balancing a conception of time as an external reference point to measure development, with time as an inherent feature of change, where the past, present, and future were uniquely connected for each producer.

Negotiating long and short temporal depth. A third point of conflict was how short-term indicators could capture developmental changes that required a long-term horizon. The following quote indicates concerns over the ways in which FLO-CERT translated FLO's open-ended standards aimed at promoting the indeterminate process of development into performance indicators and tools that were apt for measuring time bound outcomes:

> FLO STANDARDS COMMITTEE MEMBER 5: The question is what your performance indicators measure? Our standards only require that "measures are in place," so that certain development processes get started. They don't say anything about performance outcomes.

At stake was the "temporal depth" of developmental change—temporal distance into the past and future. FLO-CERT members advocated short temporal depth, arguing that time-bound performance outcomes were essential to satisfying Northern audiences. They favored tangible deliverables reportable within a shorter timeframe, as opposed to intangible changes, such as "self-confidence," the impact of which could only be visible in the distant future. A FLO-CERT Manager noted: "The market wants schools and hospitals! This [impact] is understood by consumers in the North." This put producers under pressure to show quick results dictated by certification deadlines. As one respondent explained: "After one to three years, you have to comply 100%. FLO-CERT is then hard hitting and says, 'Sorry, we gave you two years' time.'"

Given "how slow processes are," FLO staff members questioned the emphasis on short-term impact. A liaison manager noted the North–South clash regarding temporal depth:

> To work with the most disempowered, we're talking about half a generation . . . our measurement should be generations. It's not about what happens to the fathers and mothers, but to the daughters and sons, and true impact we won't know for 20 years. The whole bollocks about "we must find out what our impact is" [is] flawed . . . We should be selling human dignity, not material things. That's [material things] a Northern understanding of impact. Southern impact would be "where do my grandchildren work?"

The quote indicates the clash over short versus "generational" temporal horizons. FLO's aim was to foster long-term systemic change in poverty-stricken contexts, such as capacity building to benefit future generations. It was less focused on producing materially measurable outcomes in the short run that could be promoted as immediate impact for consumers in the North. A controversial issue was the elimination of child labor—a year "0" entry criterion. A FLO liaison officer described her experience in post-conflict zones in Africa, where young girls relied on paid work to secure their livelihoods because they "don't have parents or their parents don't earn any money." The eradication of child labor was a short-term certifiable outcome. However, FLO respondents criticized this goal as diverting attention from the systemic barriers to development. They argued that, if systemic factors were not addressed, children prevented from employment on farms could be driven into worse forms of labor and "end up as prostitutes on the street." Similarly, newly built schools and hospitals—"material things"—would lack capable teachers and nurses if less tangible issues such as capacity building were not addressed. But, while development could take generations, a long temporal depth would not meet buyers' expectations of quick and tangible results from their support for producer development. At stake was the need to demonstrate impact within the expected timeframe of Northern audiences while addressing the deeply

entrenched structural, cultural, and behavioral causes of poverty in the South.

Through negotiations over the course of the meeting, both units began to acknowledge the need for both market and development temporalities. This is captured in the following excerpt from a dialogue that occurred towards the end of the meeting:

> FLO STANDARDS COMMITTEE MEMBER 2: We would like you to recognize that there is a problem and work together on a solution!
>
> FLO-CERT MANAGER: We share your concerns . . . The question is what do you want? You have to tell us what to do. What is your proposal to put in place and how does it differ from our proposal? This is a unique chance to define development. What is the aim of Fairtrade? To what kind of development should we be held accountable? To what should we contribute? Inspectors need to know on what basis to certify.

Meeting minutes recorded an agreement between the two units "to revise the concept of time-bound compliance criteria for progress and to investigate whether other possible indicators can be put in place to measure development." Both units agreed to "work together on a solution" to align process-oriented standards with clock-driven certification.

Reconstituting the Temporal Commons: Moving Towards Ambitemporality

As negotiations over timelines unfolded, we identified two mechanisms that enabled the two organizational units to deal with competing temporal needs. These are constitutive of what we describe as an "ambitemporal approach."

Recognizing plural temporalities. The confrontation over timelines led to each unit explicitly articulating their temporal pressures and assumptions. In a post-meeting interview, the FLO-CERT director noted the change in Fairtrade's temporal environment:

> You pull this [Fairtrade] out of its niche which had its Eigenzeit [local, proper, or system-specific time]—where the others in your environment did not care about you. We are now in an environment which functions according to market times, there are quick decisions, quite speedy, everything changes constantly. And this organization here [Fairtrade] needs to find ways to cope with these time demands!

As the quote indicates, Fairtrade's ability to "future proof" its development model involved making sense of present concerns in light of the organization's history. Fairtrade's move from niche to mainstream markets had changed its temporal environment, and required changes in the temporal structures of its model. In the niche market, Fairtrade could operate in process-oriented development temporality, where "producer support and certification were one." Mainstreaming made Fairtrade more susceptible to the pressures of market temporality.

Through ongoing dialogue and confrontation, both units became more sensitized to each other's temporal requirements. FLO thus recognized these new time demands that had motivated FLO-CERT to temporally structure development. Because "we have become more market driven," FLO experienced greater scrutiny as to whether "something is really happening" and acknowledged that "you need to have certain deadlines in place" to account for development taking place. FLO thus became more reflexive about the role of clock-oriented structures in a development model also catering to Northern markets.

FLO-CERT, in turn, began to question its own clock-time orientation. FLO-CERT's director, who travelled regularly to Fairtrade farms, noted the discrepancy between the mono-chronicity of the market and the time-variant problems of producers; or, as he put it, the challenge of aligning "different time themes within one single organization."

> You have so many different problems and needs, which are not always articulated synchronically, which means they get articulated asynchronically. Each [producer] group has different problems at different times. That means they all have their Eigenzeit.

This quote again invokes the notion of "Eigenzeit," consistent with Einstein's view of time as relative and contingent on the observer's perspective rather than Newton's linear and absolute notion of time. The articulation is reflective of the certifier's critical engagement with the role of temporality in Fairtrade's model. Both units recognized the temporal tensions arising from their foci on either markets or producers. Rather than seeing time as merely the background against which things happen, temporal conflict created opportunities for scrutinizing how different temporal structures entrained to different target audiences affected development.

Linking development and credibility gaps. The second mechanism pertained to both units becoming more appreciative of their interdependencies. Being part of an organization connecting markets and producer development, both units realized that an isolated approach would compromise their common goal. While drawing from their historical conditioning as a development consultant and certifier, respectively, both units projected the undesirable scenarios that could arise if they failed to align development and market temporalities.

Imposing market temporality on development in the South could lead to a *development gap*—the failure to empower marginalized producers. Respondents from both units pointed to evidence that the rigid Tayloristic time discipline created by ISO 65 risked "the most vulnerable groups falling out of the system." FLO-CERT acknowledged that "the smallest of the small, who you wanted to support originally" could thus get excluded by "chasing timelines." Failing to generate a benefit from the North to the South would ultimately also undermine FLO-CERT's guarantee to consumers of certified products that they were supporting development through their purchases of Fairtrade certified products.

In turn, imposing development temporality on Northern markets could create a *credibility gap*—a failure to provide a credible guarantee for developmental progress. Respondents from both units noted that, without slicing change at certain cut-off dates to report tangible outcomes, Fairtrade product consumers would not know how their purchases benefitted "deserving producers." There would be no safeguard against producers misusing the Fairtrade label. This could alienate companies that had staked their reputation on the Fairtrade label and whose resources were central to a market-led development model. Producers could then lose access to Fairtrade markets and premiums.

In both scenarios, a *development gap* in the South could eventually become a *credibility gap* in the North and vice versa. The unfolding conflict between FLO and FLO-CERT led both units to recognize the interdependence between developing Southern producers and assuring Northern audiences. FLO-CERT respondents began acknowledging the need to adapt their approach: "How do we manage to create a balance between the industrial needs of the Northern market and development work in the South?" FLO, in turn, appreciated that it could not simply "wish away" time discipline while working with mainstream market actors, but had to entrain, at least partly, to the temporal demands of the market. A FLO standards committee member summarized the challenge as follows:

> On the one hand, they [FLO-CERT] have to inspect the producers. So you need standards that you can inspect against. On the other hand, they're working in a system that is to support development and empowerment, and they're part of that . . . We'd probably better find a better balance between being inspectorial and being developmental.

FLO came to accept certification "as a necessary evil" for making Fairtrade work in mainstream markets, but demanded changes: "We need a socially effective way of certification." The mutual appreciation of each other's stance represented an important shift in the relationship between the standards setter and the certifier, paving the way for joint action.

Aligning market and development temporalities. As agreed at the standards committee meeting, both units subsequently collaborated to align standardized timelines with development temporality. They set up a joint working group to "introduce more flexibility into the system" and "come up with more creative solutions" to align different temporal demands. FLO entertained a multistakeholder process lasting over a year to develop a "new standards framework." FLO's CEO described this "redefinition of Fairtrade standards [as] one of the most exciting things in Fairtrade for years." In conjunction, FLO-CERT worked on a major revision of its certification system ("Strengthen the Core": SCORE) to "align certification with . . . the FLO empowerment model." Key changes included introducing temporal structures that could simultaneously integrate contrasting temporalities.

First, FLO revised its "standards [to] focus more on processes that lead to development rather than perfect results" (FLO, 2010a: 2). Recognizing that the nature of audits meant that inspectors could only see development in snapshots, FLO (2010b) clarified its "process-oriented criteria . . . to ensure that development can take place." This provided guidance for how auditors could identify cues about ongoing processes and interpret them consistently. In addition, more emphasis was put on training and consulting producers by using liaison officers and local partners to support development processes "in between" audits.

Second, FLO-CERT changed its system to "score" producers on a 1–5 scale but evaluate progress in *average* levels of compliance (3 out of 5). Average

compliance would allow producers to move along different timelines. This subtle change converted uniform timelines into plural timelines at the local level. The certifier could "adapt to producers' needs without a 'one size fits all' approach" (FLO, 2010a) while retaining certification consistency. This step towards aligning mono-temporal timelines with pluri-temporal development paths allowed producers greater flexibility in prioritizing development issues.

Third, FLO took steps toward aligning Northern expectations for short-term impact with the long-term horizon of development. "[I]n contrast to the fixed progress requirements," FLO allowed producers to "make their own development plan, set their own ambitions and goals" and self-monitor progress (FLO, 2010b). FLO's CEO explained how development plans engaged "producers themselves [in] determining what they want to achieve" and when:

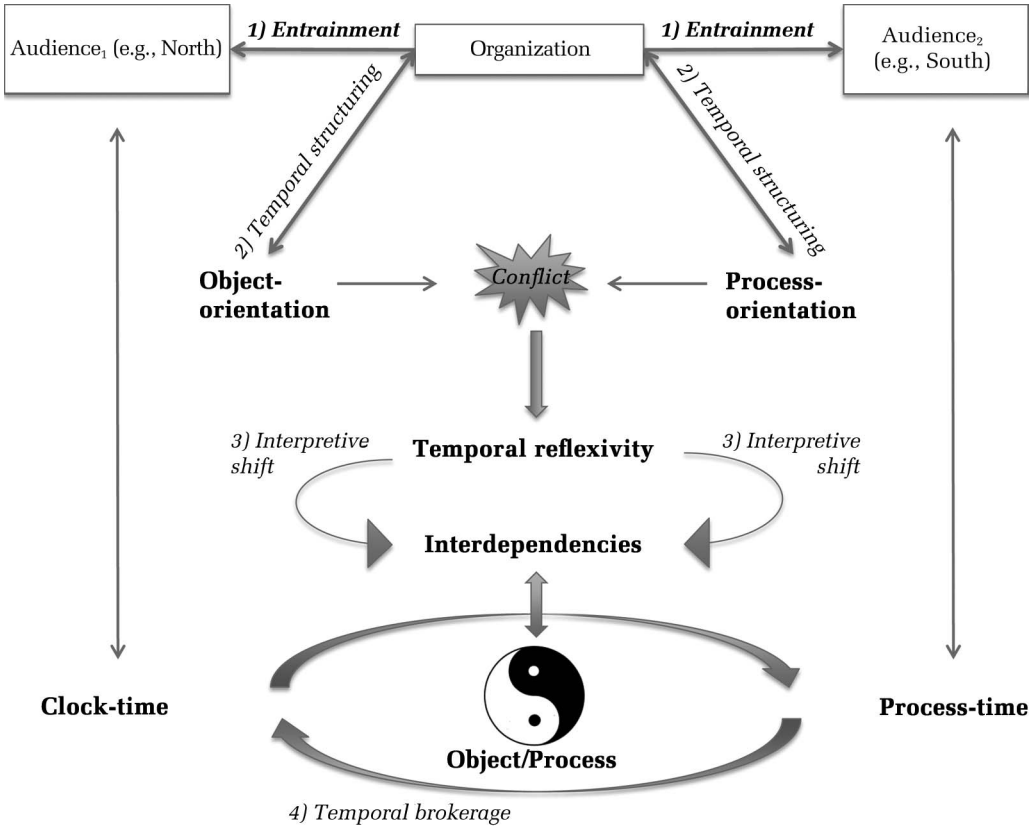
> Instead of just saying "get certified," we're asking "So, what are you looking to achieve from your engagement with Fairtrade? Is it around improving quality? Water treatment? Is it around something much more sophisticated like capturing more of the value chain?"

This shift from clock time as a measure of progress eased temporal discipline by relaxing compliance pressures. "So it's not, 'if you don't comply with our certification criteria now, you're out,'" a FLO respondent observed. The mutual adaptation of standards and certification criteria allowed for the coexistence of multiple temporalities—ambi-temporality—to accommodate both the emergent nature of development and the rigidity of certification.

THEORIZING AMBITEMPORALITY

Looking across these observations, we explain how an organization connecting temporally disparate domains can develop an ambitemporal approach. Figure 2 presents our theoretical model of this process.

FIGURE 2
A Process Model of Ambitemporality



Organizations in pluralistic environments straddle domains of activity and face multiple goals, interests, and priorities from different internal and external audiences (Kraatz & Block, 2008), often with conflicting temporal demands (Ancona et al., 2001a). For example, a company faces external pressures to regularly produce new products, but its R&D staff may not experience innovation as predictable and schedulable. To entrain to conflicting temporal demands of their audiences (arrow 1 of Figure 2), organizations engage in temporal structuring (arrow 2). For example, to objectively report innovation outcomes to market audiences, companies may use clock-based structures, such as a technology company's yearly patent count. But, to foster creative processes among its innovators, organizations may create "time to think," such as the 15% time the technology company 3M gives to its people for pursing their own ideas. Clock-time structuring can thus make phenomena appear as products or static objects, while process time is consonant with flow, emergence, and fluidity (Tsoukas & Chia, 2002). In our case, the Fairtrade certifier time sliced development into a series of objectively verifiable states to portray it as a "certifiable product" for Northern buyers. The standards setter, in contrast, focused on the variable and uneven process of development of Southern producers. Entrainment to the temporalities of their respective audiences may polarize organizational units and create conflict, which may not necessarily be recognized as having a temporal dimension. This is because temporal conflict may arise not just from discrepancies in scheduling and pacing (Gersick, 1994), but also from discrepancies in meanings created by temporal structuring.

While conflict can lead to deadlocks, what we found to be revelatory was how conflict can be generative (cf. Murray, 2010) and enable the reconstitution of an organization's "temporal commons" (Bluedorn, 2002: 288). We identified two key mechanisms. First, through dialogue and contestation, parties may develop "temporal reflexivity" (Orlikowski & Yates, 2002) and be able to question and reflect upon the temporal assumptions underlying their conflict. This may lead parties into viewing an issue from an alternative temporal lens and move to an "interpretive shift" or new ways of thinking about the world (Staudenmayer et al., 2002) (arrow 3, Figure 2). Second, parties may begin to appreciate alternative stances over an issue and recognize the "mutual interdependencies" between seemingly conflicting goals. Together, the two mechanisms—temporal reflexivity and mutual appreciation of interdependencies—can allow an organization to engage in "temporal brokerage" between competing temporalities (arrow 4). This refers to renegotiating temporalities that may enable progress towards ambitemporality. Next, we examine the role of these two mechanisms more closely and explain how this may enable parties to transcend "either/or" dichotomies into "both/and" dualism consistent with the yin–yang principle (Chen & Miller, 2010).

Temporal Reflexivity and Interpretive Shifts

The first mechanism—"temporal reflexivity" (Orlikowski & Yates, 2002)—allows the negotiation, construction, and modification of temporal structures. While temporal structures are part of the cultural fabric and often perceived as worldviews (Adam, 1994), contestation and dialogue may induce actors into questioning, articulating, and potentially rethinking the temporal assumptions anchoring organizational practices. While reflection refers to the thoughtful consideration of situations, *reflexivity* involves iterative sensemaking that can lead to questioning existing attitudes, behaviors, assumptions, and values, and exploring alternatives (Giddens, 1990; Tsoukas, 2009). In our case, temporal reflexivity refers to parties questioning, articulating, and reconsidering their temporal assumptions about development. On-the-ground experience with poverty-stricken farmers sharply contrasted with the temporal demands of Northern markets. By articulating how temporal structuring could affect development, both units began to view development from the other's perspective—as a product or as a process. The ability to view the same phenomenon through a different temporal lens represents an "interpretive shift" (Staudenmayer et al., 2002)—a departure from the ontological categories that anchor our understanding of the world. Temporal reflexivity can prompt shifts in "chrono-centric" temporal orientations—attributing "more positive attributes to one's own times" (e.g., clock time)—to include multiple temporalities and broaden an organization's temporal commons. This can enable overcoming the time paradox—seeing different temporal orientations as contradictory. The more parties become temporally reflexive, the more likely they are able to achieve interpretive shifts and transcend their narrow stance on a conflictual issue.

Mutual Appreciation of Goal Interdependencies

The second mechanism refers to how temporal reflexivity, and the interpretive shifts it enables, may lead to shared appreciation of the interdependencies between conflicting goals. The reconstitution of the temporal commons became possible when both units recognized that a market-based development model depended on both certifying development *and* staying true to the mission of developing producers. Mutual appreciation of interdependencies can allow colliding groups to recognize that their fates are positively "correlated" (Boje, 2000), and that victory for either side would only be a "pyrrhic victory." The awareness of being "inextricably linked and mutually influential" (Chen & Miller, 2011: 23) allows parties to consider conflicting elements as part of one holistic whole rather than as conflicting opposites. Such "both/and" thinking enables the integration of paradoxical "cross-realm" tensions (Cameron & Quinn, 1988; Smith & Lewis, 2011) and enables parties to see "opportunities in contradiction" (Wong, 2001: 310). In our case, both units appreciated the problem arising from their narrow foci on either development as a product or a process. Casting polarities as unified suggests that, "on the one hand, all matters have inherent contradictions and opposites; on the other hand, the opposites are unified," complementing each other in one whole (Tung, 1994: 61).

The adaptation in Fairtrade's model represented a working consensus that did not conclusively resolve differences between units. Ambitemporality is thus a process where paradoxical tensions are continuously being reworked through confrontation, reflexivity, and adaptive innovation (cf. Hargrave & Van De Ven, 2006). Ambitemporality is a continuous act of becoming, with emphasis on the process of ongoing change, adaptation, and learning, rather than on an arrived-at or ideal state of being. The root of the prefix *ambi-*, meaning "around" and "both," conveys an active quest for expansiveness and inclusiveness (Chen, 2014). To the extent that temporal conflict may underpin the conflict over competing goals, tasks, or values, ambitemporality may allow an organization to address seemingly paradoxical goals.

DISCUSSION

Our first question concerned how different temporal structures are used in an organization to guide action, and what warrants particular temporal structures as more useful than others. We found that organizations use timelines and performance indicators as tools to produce and reproduce temporal structures that format their management models and render organizational activities amenable to particular types of managerial intervention. At Fairtrade, we observed that portraying development as a controllable, predictable, and measurable object (e.g., development as a product) required clock-time structures. To understand it as dynamic and unfolding (e.g., development as a process) required process-time orientation. Fairtrade's certifying unit introduced clock-based structures to modify open-ended standards and reduce the complexity of development into a certifiable product to placate Northern audiences. Clock-time structures are thus powerful temporal constructions for portraying a process as predictable and controllable, such as through Taylorist organizing (Taylor, 1911). Fairtrade's standards setter, in contrast, focused on the variable process of development from the producers' perspective, and embraced a process-time orientation consonant with flow, emergence, and fluidity. Process time accommodates complex and indeterminate processes, such as creative learning, for which the outcomes cannot be known a priori. Temporal structures thus shape whether we see change as linear and controllable or as an unowned ongoing process (MacKay & Chia, 2013). Time thus serves not just as an external referent but also operates at the ontological level by framing social phenomena in different ways.

Our second question was to understand how prioritizing certain temporal structures over others may trigger organizational conflict, and how an organization attempts to resolve such conflict. We studied how the confrontation between the concerns of Northern markets and Southern producers played out in organizational negotiation over Fairtrade's temporal commons. Simultaneously supporting social change while needing to monitor, evaluate, and demonstrate timely results, as if linear and predictable, in line with ISO norms, led to a clash of temporalities. Our study is an extreme case of temporal conflict because poverty alleviation, human flourishing, and social justice are complex and unpredictable change processes that do not follow a linear trajectory (Guijt, 2007). Development involves changes that are "less about creating time-thrift and time-discipline" and that cannot be assessed on short-term results, but that "have to be sustained in the longer term," such as a sense of fulfillment, empowerment, and dignity

(Mosse et al., 1998: 7; Sen, 1999). While the market-development clash was an extreme case of temporal disjunctures, these types of conflicts can also arise in other contexts. For example, the recent Eurozone financial crisis reveals the conflict between lenders demanding their loans back at fixed points in time and debtors seeking to change engrained institutions—an inevitably slow and protracted process.

To explain how the organization addressed temporal conflicts between development and markets, we identified two mechanisms—temporal reflexivity and mutual appreciation of interdependencies—that drove ambitemporal organizing. We found that contested timelines become "temporal boundary objects" (Yakura, 2002) for bridging different temporal worlds. Through an ambitemporal approach, Fairtrade accommodated non-linear development processes in the South, while maintaining linear timelines of progress desired in the North. Connected to notions such as ambidexterity (Tushman & O'Reilly, 1996) and ambi-culturalism (Chen, 2014), ambitemporality can enable interpretive breakthroughs amid conflicting goals. As elaborated in our model, managing time paradoxes can enable managing goal paradoxes. While temporal structures shape how we view the world, contestation can problematize existing assumptions and lead to temporal reflexivity. This can precipitate interpretive shifts and release dualistic straitjackets. It is worth examining how Eastern thought, where dichotomies such as emic/etic are seen not as Cartesian dualities but as Taoist interdependencies, can enable organizations to manage dualities.

Contributions

We offer three contributions to the literature on time and social change. First, while time is often conceptualized as a reified or immutable "worldview" shaping individual and organizational behavior (Chen & Miller, 2011; Slawinski & Bansal, 2012), an agentic notion suggests that temporal structures are constituted in action, and, therefore, always potentially malleable and subject to multiple interpretations and manipulation (Bluedorn, 2002; Orlikowski & Yates, 2002). We show how time is not just a cultural-cognitive lens shaping behavior but an element of the "cultural toolkit" (Swidler, 1986). Organizations may explicitly produce and modify temporal structures to frame change and render social phenomena amenable to particular types of managerial action. Relating temporality to agency resonates with the idea that agency is a temporally embedded process (e.g., Gephart et al., 2010) that influences strategic action (Kaplan & Orlikowski, 2013) and identity construction (Schultz & Hernes, 2013). While organizational scholars have studied the strategic use of time to enact different types of change or interventions, influence decisions, and justify activities (e.g., Albert, 1995; Huy, 2001), we show how temporal structures can be used to change the meaning and relationships among phenomena, and promote different causal explanations for organizational change (Zaheer et al., 1999). Despite being highly reified, clock time needs to be seen as a manipulable managerial construction, rather than as an explanatory or exogenous variable. Temporalities can be purposefully shaped to construe phenomena in ways to fit desirable, legitimate, and valued ontological categories.

Second, we explain how organizations incorporate multiple temporalities—"ambitemporality"—to entrain to multiple temporal environments and respond to their constituents. While multiple temporal orientations have been argued to be often coexistent and in competition (Ancona et al., 2001b), we demonstrate how organizations at the intersection of temporally incongruent worlds engage in "temporal brokerage" to navigate through temporal complexity. Conflicting parties can then come to develop a coincident interpretation of the problem, and recognize that they are both the source of and solution to the problem (cf. Ansari, Wijen, & Gray, 2013). The notion of ambitemporality is not meant to denunciate clock time as a negative tool for discipline, a "metrical straitjacket," or an ill of Western civilization (Thrift, 2004). Rather, ambitemporality suggests the need for being mindful of process time (time residing in the process) alongside clock time (a managerial construction to measure, synchronize, and control activities) in tackling complex challenges.

Third, while scholars have questioned the premise of using business for development (Dolan, 2010; Lyon & Moberg, 2010), we suggest that time may be a missing link in understanding how models, such as base of the pyramid and microfinance (Ansari, Munir, & Gregg, 2012; George, McGahan, & Prabhu, 2012; Jay, 2013; Mair, Martí, & Ventresca, 2012), can be adapted for development contexts. Studies on organizations using these models to pursue both commercial and social objectives have often focused on "profit versus people" antinomies (Margolis & Walsh, 2003; Tracey et al., 2011). We show how certain ontological commitments, such as

clock-time orientation, underlying Western management models truncate their power to address the problems of poverty-stricken communities (Gibson, 2012; Khan, Munir, & Willmott, 2007; Mair et al., 2012). Deep-seated "organizational mentalities" (Chia, 2010) not only shape priorities, practices, and modes of engagement but may also tilt market-based development models towards a particular audience. The tendency to attribute entitative existence to processes and privilege static, measurable categories over emergent changes can conceal the complexity and messiness of social problems and prevent addressing them effectively (Thompson, 2011). Specifically, we expose the limits of a clock-based approach in managing complex and locally variable processes such as human development. This suggests the need to reconfigure market-led models for making them suitable within specific contexts.

Implications

Temporal brokerage and ambitemporal organizing. While we studied how times collide at the interface of extreme contexts—human development and markets—times may also clash, more generally, wherever the desire for managerial control and prediction meets the complexity of change. The notions of temporal brokerage and ambitemporality have implications for how organizations in temporally complex domains perform the "dance of entrainment" (Ancona & Waller, 2007; Czarniawska, 2004) to meet conflicting expectations of both *external* and *internal* audiences. While organizations connecting disparate audiences perform boundary work to facilitate connections between conflicting goals (e.g., Ancona & Caldwell, 1992), we argue that goal conflicts may be underpinned by temporal conflicts that require a particular type of boundary work—temporal brokerage. For instance, organizations at the science–industry interface (e.g., Murray, 2010) temporally broker between the serendipitous process of scientific research that eludes clock-based scheduling and industry requirements for regular tangible output.

Temporal brokerage is not only critical for organizing at the interstices of multi-temporal environments, but is also at the core of the organizational tension between competing for the present (exploitation) and preparing for the future (exploration) (Ancona et al., 2001a). While exploitation requires tightly controlled time management, exploration involves serendipitous discovery that cannot be scheduled by the clock (Dougherty et al., 2013; Garud et al., 2011). We argue that creating different "time zones" within organizations to separate tasks (Ancona et al., 2001a; Garud et al., 2011) may end up masking the temporal interdependencies between interrelated tasks. Consistent with the notion of "contextual ambidexterity"—creating a supportive organizational context to align current goals with future adaptability (Gibson & Birkinshaw, 2004)—we argue that ambitemporality can make managers more "temporally responsive and adaptive" (Barkema et al., 2002: 919; Crossan, Cunha, Vera, & Cunha, 2005) to different but interdependent tasks. It is worth exploring how organizations juggle different temporalities to manage complex processes and balance coordination and control with flexibility and responsiveness.

Temporal brokerage and ambitemporality also address the paradox of intertemporal choice; "decisions and outcomes that pursue a course of action that is best for the short term but suboptimal over the long run" (Laverty, 1996: 826). A unidimensional relationship to time has been associated with problems, including "short-termism" (Marginson & McAulay, 2008) and "speed traps" (Perlow, Okhuysen, & Repenning, 2002), which impede long-term performance (Bridoux, Smith, & Grimm, 2013; Souder & Bromiley, 2012). Our findings suggest that ambitemporal organizing can reduce business preoccupation with short-term temporal pacers, such as quarterly reporting (Perlow et al., 2002), that fail to capture intangibles, such as employee motivation, necessary for sustained performance.

Temporal brokerage also provides insights into how organizations deal with institutional complexity—different and often competing prescriptions from multiple institutional logics (Greenwood, Raynard, Kodeih, Micelotta, & Lounsbury, 2011; Thornton, Ocasio, & Lounsbury, 2012). While the role of time as the "hidden cultural grammar" (Hall, 1983: 6) in institutional processes has been overlooked by institutional scholars (except Lawrence, Winn, & Jennings, 2001), we suggest that time is an important building block of institutional logics. Ambitemporality is one explanation of how organizations navigate through institutional complexity and conflicting logics—accommodating the different temporalities associated with logics. Examining the role of time can shed new light on institutional complexity and change.

Organizational process studies. Our work foregrounds the role of time in organizational process

studies. While time is an innate characteristic of processes (Tsoukas & Chia, 2002), temporal dynamics are rarely the object of study (Hernes & Maitlis, 2010). We show the role of temporal structuring in construing emergent processes as static objects. It is through the temporal rigidification of social situations, activities, and events that "time sheds its qualitative, variable, flowing nature." Activities no longer appear as fluid movements but are frozen "into an exactly delimited, quantifiable continuum filled with quantifiable 'things'" (Lukács, 1969, cited in Zerubavel, 1981: 59). We suggest that temporal assumptions are intertwined with how we relate to organizational phenomena. Studying the temporal structuring of processes can illuminate not only how processual or entitative orientations are performed, but also their institutional consequences. For instance, to objectively evaluate academic knowledge production, the U.K.-based Research Excellence Framework freezes research activities into snapshots of "research outputs." But the visibility created through the "timeless logic of a standardized indicator" is likely to conceal the "real-time nature" of research processes (Strathern, 2000: 317–321) and make managing outputs the end rather than the means (Tsoukas, 1997). Examining the role of temporal structuring can reveal how complex and variable processes are reduced into measurable and controllable entities.

Metrics for social and environmental performance. Our argument about contextualizing Western development models (scf. Ansari et al., 2012; Tsui, 2007) can be extended to the development of social and environmental metrics. Development thinking and practice tend to be steeped in Western ideologies of linear progress (Gupta, 1992; Li, 2007). This is illustrated by the widespread use of metrics such as the "logical framework analysis" by international donor agencies to reduce the complexity of development projects into a predefined, linear, and measurable change process (Holland & Ruedin, 2012; Mosse et al., 1998). Donors, investors, and buyers continue to demand evidence of their resources being "well spent." However, the precise impact of development projects cannot be known a priori, as Northern models of cause and effect expect. When progress cannot be scheduled by the clock, using linear metrics for assessing progress may detract from supporting development.

We also suggest rethinking temporal assumptions in non-financial performance measurement, such as "triple bottom line" or "integrated reporting" (Eccles & Serafeim, 2013). As businesses seek to integrate societal issues into their models, they have imported financial reporting templates into non-financial domains to make impact assessment metrics comprehensible for market audiences (Etzion & Ferraro, 2010). However, while "economic success has meaning only when mapped onto a clock-time horizon" (Huy, 2001: 604), social and environmental performance may be revealed through intangible cues that financial metrics are ill placed to capture. Moreover, the three dimensions—economic, social, and environmental—differ in their temporal horizons (Gao & Bansal, 2013). While business discounts time—the future takes on less value than the present (Laverty, 1996)—sustainability places value on the needs of both current and future generations. Evaluating these three dimensions by a uniform temporal yardstick developed for market cycles may prevent effective integration. Future studies can incorporate temporal variance in developing suitable metrics for assessing social and environmental performance.

CONCLUSION

We highlight a key paradox underlying Western management thought and practice—the duality of linear clock time as both a structuring device and a fiction. Clock time is a structuring device because it provides external order that renders organizational phenomena amenable to mechanistic control and coordination (Adam, 1994). But clock time also rests on a fiction as it construes processes as linear and predictable, even when fluid and emergent as emphasized in processual thinking and Eastern temporal notions (Tsoukas & Chia, 2002). While abstracting time from processes creates pockets of order and stability, it keeps us from understanding non-linear processes (Wiebe, 2010). Nevertheless, the lingua franca of clock time has permeated not just business but also education, creative arts, and innovation without regard for the unique temporal complexities involved. We suggest that chronocentrism masks process complexity. Process time, emphasizing flux and becoming, may reveal some of the complexity. By exploring the challenges a pluralistic organization faces in the extreme context of development, and how it manages the tension between clock-time control and process complexity, we bring a fresh perspective to temporal dynamics in organizations.

To sum, we have advocated rethinking deep-seated mentalities in management models. In particular, we have argued for the need to transcend

clock-based linearity and cultivate heterogeneity in organizational temporal commons. We explain how fostering ambitemporality through temporal brokerage can enable organizations to juggle seemingly conflicting yet intertwined objectives. It allows us to move from a conception of time as an immutable worldview to one in which time is endogenous to organizing processes. This matters to the extent that all forms of organizing involve a temporal dimension, be it rhythm, pace, temporal horizon, or ontological assumptions about change.

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APPENDIX

Illustrative example of FLO-CERT Public Compliance Criteria—Hired Labor, Category 3.4: "Soil and Water Management"[a]

FLO standard		FLO-CERT compliance criteria		FLO-CERT timeline
3.4.1.3	The company ensures that wastewater is handled in a manner that does not have a negative impact on water quality, soil health and structure, or food safety.	3.4.1.3.1	The company has set up a monitoring plan to control the water quality of all wastewater discharges. The monitoring plan is in line with the guidance notes of standard requirement 3.4.1.3.	0
		3.4.1.3.2	Monitoring results above the established baseline levels are recorded, evaluated, and corrective measures initiated or technical improvements planned.	3
		3.4.1.3.3	Corrective measures related to the installation of water filtration or other treatment systems have been implemented to meet set baseline levels for water quality.	6
		3.4.1.3.4	Wastewater is handled in accordance with the established baseline levels for wastewater quality.	6
		3.4.1.3.5	There are consultations with surrounding communities and with local and environmental authorities in relation to wastewater quality and pollution where possible.	6

[a] Source: FLO-CERT, 2008.