

TIME AND SOCIETY: SOCIAL ORGANIZATION AND TIME-CONSCIOUSNESS

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ABSTRACT

Part II contrasts ordinary-linear and patterned-cyclical, and immediate-participatory and episodic-futural time. It is linked to an isomorphic model of social relationships. Hedonic society is based on identity and temporality; agonic community on hierarchy and territoriality. These aspects of social organization are generalized into four social relations: identity into equality-matching, temporality into communal-sharing, hierarchy into authority-ranking, territoriality into market-pricing. Four propositions are framed and examined through ethnographic evidence drawn from Australian Aboriginal and modern, Western culture, that link each kind of social relationship to a kind of time consciousness. Natural and rational time consciousness are seen as results of the unities of equality and community, and of authority and market-pricing and linked to hedonic and agonic sociality.

A MODEL OF SOCIAL ORGANIZATION

The idea that there exist two kinds of society has hoary antecedents and finds modern expression in psychology, sociology, anthropology, and primate ethology. The distinction between formal and informal social organization has found expression in the folk *Gemeinschaft* and the exchange *Gesellschaft*, and their associated mentalities of Natural Will and Rational Will (Tönnies 2000), in whose honor the Natural-Rational distinction to be developed below is introduced, and in that between mechanical and organic forms of social solidarity (Durkheim 1960).

A more recent model of societal-level organization can be found in primate ethology. Through comparative study of the behavior of the higher primates and the human's evolutionary history, it can be seen that Chance's (1988) distinction between *agonic* and *hedonic* forms of societal organization is fundamental to primate social organization. The agonic-hedonic distinction is valid but is at the same time theoretically underspecified, a limitation that can be resolved by conceptually 'unpacking' these two concepts, to reveal that each is based on two complementary social relationships.

Agonic-type societies are conflictual and hierarchically organized. This model of society can be clearly seen in non-human primate societies in which individuals are arranged in a series of status-levels. Such social organization is characteristic of Old World monkeys (the primate superfamily *Cercopithecoidea*), such as macaques and baboons, but not of apes. Any two individuals in such a society are either of the same or of different social rank. Social dominance is the

primary dimension of agonic society. Those high in rank control resources and the behavior of those lower in rank. This control expresses itself spatially, through the proximity of the lower-ranking members to the centrally dominant figure. Chance (1988: 4) explains that in agonic society, "the spatial arrangement is generated around a central dominant individual in hierarchical agonic-type societies." Thus hierarchy is inseparable from, and is articulated in terms of, territory.

Hedonic society appears in the *Hominoidea* (apes and humans). Power (1986), e.g., shows that the chimpanzee possesses a hedonic-type society that is highly flexible in its organizational form. Hedonic society is based on two fundamental social relations, *temporality*—because the mother-offspring reproductive unit is center to society, and *conditional equality*, which requires explanation. In agonic society, there is an inequality principle, with co-existence based on the self-restraint of the subordinate. A state of inequality precedes the state of conditional equality, the negation or suspension of inequality, in the process of primate social evolution. Conditional equality can be seen, e.g., in play, where rank order is ignored and there is self-handicapping by the stronger participant (Itani 1988). Agreement is also needed to open up a fictitious world, an agreement to render inequality non-existent. It is necessary to communicate in order to play, so that

play participants attempt to form media [of communication] even out of their daily behavior by changing its ordinary tempo or rhythm. (Itani 1988: 147)

The fictitious world of conditional equality extends beyond play, as it applies, e.g., to social grooming and to allomothering, formed on an agreement in accord with each separate context, which must always exist in the moment, as immediate, as participatory. Itani (1988) makes a compelling argument that

the egalitarianism seen among the hunter-gatherer and nature-dependent people of today is nothing but a product of the evolutionary elaboration of its counterpart found among the chimpanzee.

The demand for equality among the group, he contends, "permeates every sector of life" (Itani 1988 148).

Plutchik (1991) bases his well-known psychoevolutionary classification of emotions on the proposition that members of *all* species of animals confront the same four fundamental, existential problems of life—identity, temporality/reproduction, hierarchy, and territoriality—the same four principles that result from unpacking Chance's hedonic-agonic social distinction. The negative and positive experiences of these life problems, Plutchik holds, lead to prototypical adaptive reaction, which comprise eight primary emotions, and which in turn are paired to form secondary emotions.

Plutchik's claim that his four problems of life apply to *all* animals is dubious. There is evidence, however, for a more modest claim, that these four problems are shared by *higher* animals, by reptiles, birds, and mammals (including the human). MacLean's (1964, 1973, 1977) triune brain theory holds that the reptilian brain (R-complex) was the infrastructure for the evolution of the paleomammalian brain of mammals, which in turn was the infrastructure for the evolution of the two neomammalian brain structures of higher primates, the left hemisphere (LH) and the right hemisphere (RH). In the human, the R-complex persists, roughly, as the brainstem. This theory, especially in its claim that the limbic 'system' (including the amygdale, hippocampus, hypothalamus, and septum) is the seat of the emotions, has its limitations and its harsh critics (LeDoux 1996 85-103), but here interest is limited to a non-controversial component of MacLean's (1977 211-12) model, to wit, his description of the R-complex as having just four concerns—identity, reproduction, hierarchy, and territoriality.

Because mammals retain the R-complex as their first stage of brain evolution, it follows that mammals, including the human, share these four elementary problems of life (and, of course, perhaps other existential problems as well). Plutchik and MacLean apparently developed their biological models of the fundamental problems of life independently but their conceptualization is identical, notwithstanding a terminological difference: Plutchik refers to existential problem of 'temporality', meaning the cycle of life, which has the positive function of 'reproduction' and the negative function 'reintegration' of the group following a death or other loss of a community member, whereas MacLean simply refers to 'reproduction'.

The four problems of life identified by Plutchik, and implicit in MacLean and Chance, are characterized by a certain sociological emptiness. We live in a rich and complex social world. What we do in this world is much more than one might infer, e.g., from a reading of Plutchik's work. This is not a criticism of Plutchik, but does suggest that the four-dimensional model needs to be generalized in a way that gives it social and cultural content.

A corrective to this limitation was provided by Scheler, and more recently, by Fiske. Scheler (1926) conceptualized four elementary forms of sociality, paired under two larger principles: kinds of being with one another; and the kind and rank of values the members see with one another. Scheler conceptually unpacked the first, informal level of society, seeing that it contained two elements, identity and community. Formal society he saw as based on two kinds of social relations, rank and value, corresponding to the institutional domains of politics and economics. He argued that these social relations develop, in the life of the individual person, and in sociohistorical development, in the order identity, life-community, rank, and then value. Fiske (1991) has identified *the* four elementary forms of social life, which he terms equality-matching, communal-sharing, authority-ranking, and market-pricing.

THE COMMON STRUCTURE OF THE TWO MODELS

Both models are formed from a double polarity, which pair in such a way that the elements of one pair are the opposites of the elements of the other. Von Franz (1974

Figure 1 : A - The Communion-Agency Polarity; B - The Equality-Inequality Polarity; C - The Social Quaternio

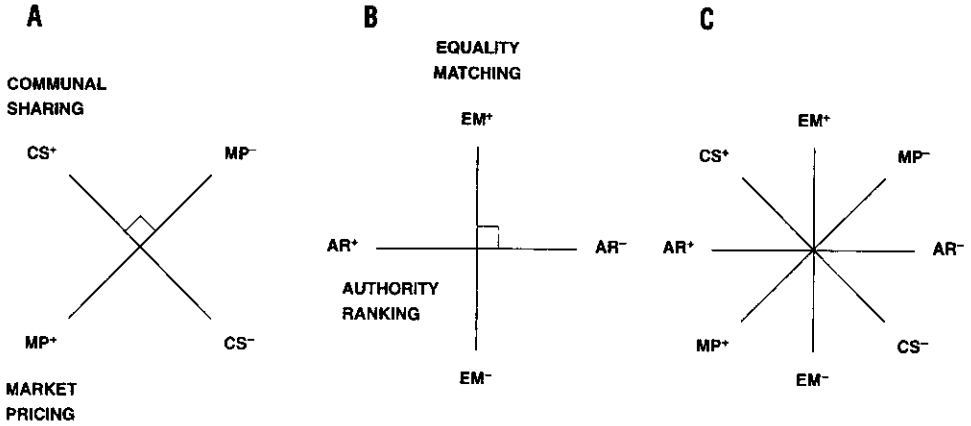


Table 1: Map of the Concepts of the Theory of Time and Society

Basic Problems of Life	Elementary Social Relations	Kinds of Society	Modes of Time Experience	Kinds of Time-Consciousness	Kinds of Information Processing	Brain Region Infrastructure
Identity, Equality	Equality Matching			Immediate-Participatory	Participatory	Posterior Cortex
Temporality, Reproduction	Communal Sharing	Hedonic	Natural	Patterned-Cyclical	Gestalt-Synthetic	Right Hemisphere
Hierarchy	Authority Ranking			Episodic-Futural	Episodic	Frontal Lobes Limbic System
Territory, Resources	Market Pricing	Agonic	Rational	Ordinary-Linear	Logical-Analytic	Left Hemisphere

127) referred to such a dynamically-related double polarity as a *quaternio*, so that we can refer to the social quaternio and to the time-consciousness, more generally the mental, quaternio.

The social relations model is based on two pairs of opposite social relations, market-pricing (MP) and communal-sharing (CS), and authority-ranking (AR) and equality-matching (EM). First, MP and CS are opposites in that they refer to communion and agency, respectively, and insofar as they involve different mappings of individual and society: CS relations requiring the incorporation of shared paleosymbolic images in the mind of the individual, and MP relations involving the individual acting in her or his self-

interest in the society. And second, EM and AR are also opposite tendencies, the first to make things equal between people, the second to make things unequal: This opposition has a logical basis, for if it is not the case that $A > B$ or $A < B$, then $A = B$. By definition, hedonic society is the unity of CS and EM; agonic society, of MP and AR. Because their components are opposites, it follows that the agonic and the hedonic are not only different but opposites (see Figure 1).

The cognitive model is also based on two pairs of opposites: patterned-cyclical (PC) and ordinary-linear (OL) time-consciousnesses have been shown to be opposites insofar as the seven features of PC, when turned into their opposites, provide a full de-

scription of OL. Moreover, PC and OL, it is proposed, are aspects of larger cognitive structures, the gestalt-synthetic and logico-analytic modes of information usually lateralized to the left hemisphere (LH) and right hemisphere (RH), and which involve simultaneous and sequential time processing, respectively. RH- and LH-dependent processing has been widely seen as opposites (Bogen 1977) that are capable of a dialectical unity of creative thought (Bogen & Bogen 1969). Bogen (1973) has speculated that the RH and LH map the world and self in opposite ways, with the RH modeling the world as a subset of the self and the LH modeling the self as a subset of the world. IP and EF time-consciousnesses are also opposites, one involving temporal compression and the other a temporal stretch, and are aspects of the larger participatory and episodic forms of information processing that are united by what Laughlin (1988) calls the 'prefrontosensorial polarity principle'. Natural time-experience is conceptualized as a unity of the patterned-cyclical and the immediate-participatory; Rational time-experience, a unity of the ordinary linear and the episodic-futural. Because the components of these two kinds of time-consciousness are opposites, it follows that Natural time-present-oriented and cyclical, and Rational time-linear and futural, are also opposites (see Table 1).

PROPOSITIONS OF THE THEORY

1. To the extent that members of a culture participate in social relations that involve territory, property, symbolic capital, and other resources that are valued, priced, or rendered marketable as individuals acting in their self interest, they will give emphasis to logical-analytic thinking, including a time-consciousness that is ordinary, linear, and based on clocks, calendars, and schedules.

2. To the extent that members of a culture participate in social relations that involve interrelatedness, communality, and collective representations, as a basis of social solidarity, they will give emphasis to gestalt-synthetic thinking, including a patterned-cyclical time-consciousness.

3. To the extent that members of a culture participate in social relations that involve power, prestige, influence, rank, authority, and other forms of social hierarchy that are prized, sought after, earned, or otherwise allocated to high-status individuals, they will

emphasize episodic, conative, rational information processing, including an experience of temporality that is emotion-laden, future-oriented, episodic, and temporally stretched.

4. To the extent that members of a culture participate in social relations that result in agreement, likemindedness, consensus, reciprocity, and other forms of social equality that are shared, matched, and agreed-upon, they will emphasize the participatory mode of information processing, including an experience of time that is immediate-participatory, present-oriented, and temporally compressed.

5. To the extent that members of a culture participate in positive, agonistic social relations (the unity of the positive experience of MP [MP-pos] and of HR [HR-pos]), their time consciousness should be simultaneously ordinary-linear and episodic-futural, i.e., they should have a Rational experience of time.

6. To the extent that cultural members participate in positive, hedonic social relations (the unity of the positive experiences of CS [CS-pos] and of IM [IM-pos]), their time-consciousness should be simultaneously immediate-participatory and patterned-cyclical, i.e., they should have a Natural experience of time.

A CASE STUDY OF AUSTRALIAN ABORIGINES AND EURO-AUSTRALIANS

The Australian Aborigines possess the world's most ancient civilization, based on a hunting-and-gathering mode of economic production, which has continually existed in Australia for an estimated 50,000 - 60,000 years.

Communal Sharing And Patterned-Cyclical Time

An exhaustive study of Aboriginal time-consciousness shows little evidence that 'cyclical' time is linked to equality-matching social relations. Patterned-cyclical time-consciousness can, however, be associated with all seven features of patterned-cyclical time as defined here, and, by inference, to patterned-cyclical time in general.

P1. Dualistic Time and Communal Sharing. Munn (1970) and Stanner (1979) see a split inherent in the Aboriginal conceptualization of time as a necessary aspect of the typical Aboriginal world-view within which moral autonomy is embedded. The putting together of that which is split, ordinary reality

and the extraordinary reality of the Dreaming, require a cognitive process of *synthesis*. Synthesis is, by definition, the mental process of putting together of parts, or elements, to make up a complex whole. This process, on the visual level, is well known in cognitive psychology as 'gestalt synthesis' or 'visual closure' (TenHouten 1985 129).

P2. Fusion of Past and Present and Communal Sharing. When communal sharing is interpreted on the level of temporality, it is the past that is reproduced through ritual and tradition. Communal sharing supports a kind of time-consciousness that links the past to the present and is stimulated by ritual. For Aborigines, there is for every tribe an elaborated cosmology, characterized by narratives, songs, dances, and other artful renderings of the exploits of cultural heroes during a primordial, creator-being time. In these sacred narratives—songs and stories—the riddle of time is the riddle of the 'beginning'. As van der Leeuw explains,

In the beginning lies the whole past. The beginning is the past. Yet we say that we begin something, that we make a new beginning. And we call the long list of such beginnings, time. (1957 325)

This idea of a primordial time is not a fixed date in the distant past but is rather a connection of the past and the present, and a manifestation of the sacred, inner reality with the current reality of enacting the ritual and the story it tells. Thus, myth creates time, giving it content and form. This duality of being does not lead to alienation but rather to unity and—through protracted effort and successive initiations into the sacred-secret knowledge of the tribe—to a *sense of totality* brought about by the feeling of oneness with the Dreaming and by the psychologically pleasing experience of synthesis.

P3. Discontinuity, Irregularity, and Communal Sharing. The very discontinuity, irregularity, and heterogeneity of Aboriginal totemistic belief system creates a situation in which disparate, even contradictory elements, including the primal discontinuity of the sacred and the profane, creates the raw materials for a world-view that must be synthesized, much as fragments of a whole are put together as in the process of gestalt completion. Durkheim (1965) saw the alternation between times of the profane and the

sacred as an oscillation of two distinct kinds of time, ordinary-life time and the sacred time, where emotionally evocative interaction rituals and other social events are carried out with law-like replication. Each replication provides for its participants the phenomenal experience of inner reality and awareness of the eternal. Through injunction, taboo, interdiction, ascetic practices, and negative rites, this replication both substantiates and separates the sacred and the profane. Thus, the Aborigines' time is not—as in ordinary linear, clock-time—an oscillation with a stable *frequency* pattern but is rather focused on the dialectics of *regularity* and *irregularity*, the punctuation of ordinary, secular time with the extraordinary, sacred time of interaction rituals.

P4. Event-Orientation and Communal Sharing. Aborigines are not, in general, future-value oriented but they do look with serious and concerned imminence to events that have not yet occurred. Aborigines are event-oriented because of "the extraordinary value they place on the sharing of experience" (Sansom 1980 3). The Aborigines' high level of event-orientation is an expression of the importance they place on communal life and the striving for likemindedness. At Wallaby Cross, Sansom (1980 84) reports, one cannot simply 'tell what bin happenin' and give a blow-by-blow account to someone who did not witness the event. There must rather be a public recounting of events before a general audience. Such verdicts communicate changes and shifts in camp affairs, telling interested people that as a result of a chain of un-recounted events, there is a new state of affairs, a new totality.

P5. Cycles, Patterns, and Communal Sharing. D. Rose writes of the Yarralin people that,

Temporally, one's life progresses back toward the Dreaming. As generations are washed away, ordinary time is collapsed into the Dreaming... (1992 209)

She explains that people's lives expand in terms of spatially located knowledge, but toward the end of life,

people refocus their attention on the country in which they wish to die. The whole of life, one might say, is a great circle from the earth, around the top, and back to the earth...

(1992 209)

Thus, in addition to reincarnation cycles, cyclicity also can be found within the lifetime. The rhythms of nature—associated with the day, the month, and the year—are for the Aborigine neither separated nor mutually exclusive. As Young writes,

Organisms do not respond to the solar and lunar rhythms separately, one after another; we...reach to them simultaneously, synthesizing them into one response in a continuing present. (1988 30)

Insofar as Aborigines tend to have a gestalt-synthetic mode of, it is reasonable to presume that the times of the day and year, as described above, are perceived as a simultaneous and constantly-updated gestalt.

P6. Quality and Community. In their study of Australian Aboriginal religious categorization and classification, Durkheim (1965 488) and his followers developed a concept of 'qualitative time' (see Hassard 1990 2-3), emphasizing the rhythmic nature of human society but also acknowledging the necessity of understanding time on a multiplicity of levels which are synthesized not by logic or verbal clarification but rather by qualitative assessment of interdependent social and natural phenomena. The Aborigines' *qualitative time*, in this analysis, is "the sum of the temporal procedures which interlock to form the cultural rhythm of a given society" (Hassard 1990 3).

P7. Long Duration and Traditional Community. The individual's reflective self must endure by opposing its changeability in time to its permanence. The experience of patterned-cyclical time thus finds its fullest realization in the awareness of duration, an awareness of the "co-existence" of past, present, and future, and as the experience of time as a whole. The waking state of consciousness can be described as primarily the experience of succession with duration implicit in the continuous awareness of self-identity. An experience of long duration comes about through the archaic ideology of the punctilious repetition of rites and rituals that is required of group members, results in the participants experiencing an effervescent feeling of indissoluble connection with the Cosmos and with the cosmic rhythms. Continuing participation in ceremony and the

ritual gradually leads to an "assent to the disclosed terms of life" (Stanner 1979 122), i.e., to an acceptance of the liturgical, moral order encoded in the rites and ceremonies and to an awareness and appreciation of the Abiding Law. What is done in the ritual has been done before, so that experience of inner reality comes about through ceaseless repetition of gestures initiated by others. Out of the past comes a cryptic determination for the here and now. Camp life is for witnessing, but this spatial openness is not extended in time. Sansom concludes,

Instead...there is a *temporal closure*. It is the present not the past that is open to inspection even though a version of the detailed past could be easily represented. (1980 86 emphasis added)

EQUALITY-MATCHING AND A PRESENT ORIENTATION

The culture of the Australian Aborigines has been described as giving great emphasis to equality, to making things 'level'. When an Aborigine does a favor for another Aborigine, there is no felt need for a "Thank you," because it can be assumed that the favor will be returned in an appropriate way. It has also been described as giving great emphasis to family, community, clan, subsection, and tribe.

There is also evidence that Aboriginal culture predisposes its members to be present-oriented but not futural in their time-consciousness. Members of indigenous, oral cultures emphasize conditional equality in their social relations. Such equal social relations involves efforts to attaining an equivalence of thought, mood, and behavior, i.e., a likemindedness. The first principle of Aboriginal culture, as Stanner puts it, "...is the preservation of balance" (1979 40). The Aborigines place a profound importance on making things 'all-level', and to maintain a congenial consensus, in which everyone has an equal voice in developing the collective consensus, the 'word'. Great value is placed on shared experience.

For Aboriginal fringe dwellers, the source of all realized value is called 'Going through something longa somefellas'. Those who go through significant events together are made 'all same'. Sansom explains the Aboriginal principle of consociate identity:

shared experience makes sharers [the] same; experience unshared signals, proves and constitutes difference. (1980 137)

Non-participants lose, and are considered to have 'thrown' the opportunity for shared experience 'away'. Tribal-living Aborigines throughout Australia have no chiefs and headmen, decision-making being rather left to the collective wisdom of the elders. Sansom refers to inter-mob balance and intra-mob balance. To imply such balance, countrymen might use the phrase 'being level' and its counterpoint, 'not level'. To 'level up' or 'come level' are phrases that refer to the leveling process. Two mobs might reestablish balance with the snatching of a potential wife of one mob by the other, with the celebrating captors saying, 'This mob n ol Frank mob, wefella all level now'. Equality matching is accomplished by such devices of settling inter-community differences, and also of resolving interpersonal indebtedness. 'To come clear' means to achieve balance in relationships that have a relevant history of consociation (Sansom 1980 196-98).

There is, in rituals and in spiritual life, a celebration of the identification of the community and the larger ecological field, ensuring an appropriate flow of nourishment from the totemic landscape to the human inhabitants back to the local earth, so that the relationship between human society and the larger society of totemic beings is balanced and reciprocal. Abram persuasively argues that what members of indigenous and oral cultures view with the greatest awe and respect is nature itself—the plants, animals, forests, mountains, and winds. It is the concern of the shaman, in Aboriginal culture the Clever Fellow, to slip out of the perceptual boundaries that demarcate his or her culture in order to make contact with, and learn from, the other powers of the land, through a heightened receptivity to "...the meaningful solicitation—songs, cries, gestures, of the larger, more than human field" (Abram 1996 9). This attunement to the enviroing nature of native cultures, Abram explains,

is linked to a more primordial, *participatory* mode of perception... [P]erception is *always* participatory. (1996 27 emphasis added, 276 emphasis in text)

The best single term that we could use to

characterize the events of perception as it disclosed by phenomenological attention is "participation," a term used by Levy-Bruhl (1985 69-104) to characterize the animistic logic of indigenous, oral people. For such people, including Australia's Aborigines, mountains, plants, and animals are felt to participate in one another's existence, influencing each other and being influenced in turn. Of the western-desert Pintupi, Myers concludes:

The Pintupi are dominated by immediacy.... [T]he immediacy of *current* relations so dominates Pintupi social life that the production of an enduring structure that transcends the immediate and present is a cultural problem for the Pintupi, for other Aboriginal people, and for many other cultures as well... (1991 17)

Aborigines exert little power over things. There is little use for a large store of food that will not keep, or of a pile of spears too heavy to move about. Stanner describes Aboriginal society as one in which the primary virtues are generosity and fair dealing, as he writes:

Nearly every social affair involving goods—food in the family, payments in marriage, inter-tribal exchanges—is heavily influenced by equalitarian notions; a notion of reciprocity as a moral obligation; a notion of generously equivalent return; and a surprisingly clear notion of fair dealing, or making things 'level'. (1979 40)

Lieberman (1985 5-32) similarly identifies "congenial fellowship" to be a basic organizing principle of Aboriginal social life. This congeniality of fellowship has been suggested in numerous ethnographic studies and reports (Myers 1991; Tonkinson 1991; Sansom 1980; Lieberman 1985).

MODERNITY, AUTHORITY, AND FUTURALITY

Authority ranking social relations are always oriented to the future, to command and control of the future. In Western civilization there has developed a futural time-consciousness. Most definitions of education, for example, incorporate, either implicitly or explicitly, the concept of preparing the student—by means of transmitting information, knowledge, and civic values—for effective

participation in his or her future life. There are important class and cultural differences in future-time orientation. The Western 'core culture' emphasizes the deferring of gratification of needs and desires. This emphasis requires that the individual have goals set at various future times for which he or she is willing to work. This future-oriented time-perspective is less than fully shared with those at the lower end of the socioeconomic continuum with those of various minority-group memberships. One important characteristic of Western culture is its orientation towards the future, its striving for improvement and advancement, and its concern for what lies ahead.

Schedules are the means of temporal control within bureaucracies and formal organizations of all kinds. Schedules contribute to the routinization of short durations through endless repetition (by day or week). They also confine human productive activities by delimiting goals. Schedules involve authority by virtue of the fact that some agents must construct and then implement them, in the process appropriating the time of others. Schedules are used to impose discipline on workers and students, and are instruments of surveillance (Rutz 1992 5).

A Heideggerian ecstatic-futural temporality is a fundamental capability of human consciousness, a form of consciousness that has been developed in an exaggerated form in the modern, Western world. Such conscious action is, in most of its forms, teleological insofar as it plans to achieve and is situated not in the here-and-now but in the future. The immediate, first realization of the adaptability of time-consciousness is the concept of the future. In order to adapt to, and resolve, the problems that life presents, it is necessary to look to the future with careful planning, a projection of the likely outcomes of various courses of action, a getting-ahead-of-oneself that enables: anticipating; anticipatory resoluteness; commanding-and-controlling; editing, monitoring, planning, willing, and intending. This forecasting mind cares about itself, about others, and about the world. To adapt to changing circumstances is to take care of yourself. The future, according to the common wisdom of the Western world, is where we will spend the rest of our lives. Westerners tend to like new things and show a preoccupation with change and overcoming resistance to

change. Progress historically became a key concept, meaning openness to change and innovation—to new ideas, new ways of doing things, and new things. With the concept of progress comes a new way of conceptualizing time, according to which the past is unrepeatable, the present is transient, but the future is both infinite and exploitable. Western civilization has developed, as a key belief, the notion that change and development are desirable and that future events can be shaped, planned, and scheduled. Members of modern societies strain toward the future.

MARKET-PRICING, ECONOMIC SOCIAL RELATIONS AND LINEAR TIME

The traditional Aboriginal culture sees the person as coming from, being part of, the land and country. They experience a totalistic involvement with, and a harmonious balance with, the forces and life forms of nature. Nature is humanized and the human is naturalized. In modern, Western, capitalistic society culture stands as the antithesis of nature. All of nature is seen as a resource available for conquest, 'development', and economic exploitation, so that the land, as in the Australian case, is partitioned into lots of real estate, which can be bought and sold as commodities in the market economy. The Aboriginal approach to land is through their social and religious institutions, whereas the Western approach to land is individualistic and materialistic.

Time has become commodified in the processes of market society, where the common practice has changed from the traditional notion of selling one's labor skills in product units to the new concept of selling one's labor power in units of time. The hourly wage helped to validate Benjamin Franklin's proverb, 'Time is money', which reflects the dominant time-orientation of the capitalist world-system. The calendar has historically been an effective instrument of power in large-scale social organizations that maintain continuity over long periods, such as empires, religious communities, and nation states.

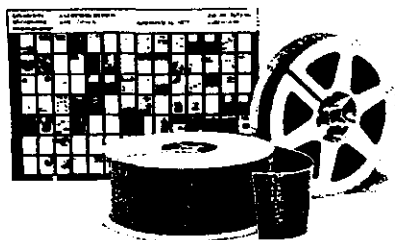
Implicit in this notion of time as commodity and as the measure of work is that time becomes both linear and quantitative; insofar as labor is extracted from the worker by time measured on a ratio-level scale and workers are paid by the hour, day, or month. This abstract time is homogeneous, objective, measurable, and infinitely divisible (Has-

sard 1990 12). Thus, time becomes a scarce resource, potentially consumed by a vast number of competing claimants. Time now has value, the scarcity of which has enhanced its worth. Under capitalism, time and money become exchangeable commodities. Money can be used to buy time, and money has developed a future value, while time can be invested now to yield money at later times.

Once time was created as a commodity, it became an ineradicable reality of industrial social life, which in turn structured the nature of control of the timing and temporality of everyday life.

[The cumulative references are at the end of the third part: "A Cross-Cultural Study".]

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