

ORIENTATIONS OF MARRIED PAIRS TO FOUR
DIMENSIONS OF SOCIOCULTURAL TIME

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PREFACE

Discussions of orientations toward social time characteristic of various social groups have appeared with some frequency in sociological literature, but most of these treatments have been descriptive and impressionistic. Very little has been done toward defining the dimensions of social time or empirically investigating group orientations to these dimensions. The purpose of this study is to define four dimensions of social time, tempo, rhythm, standardized time, and temporal horizon, and to investigate the orientations to them of middle-class married pairs. Orientation patterns and possible group sources of these patterns were found.

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CHAPTER I

THE PROBLEM SETTING

Introduction

The current study is an investigation of the time orientations of husbands and wives in a small, rather homogeneous sample of married pairs. It is designed to explore orientations along four dimensions of time: temporal horizon, standardized time, tempo, and rhythm. Each respondent was asked about his own time orientation and what he thought his spouse's would be. It is believed that the data thus obtained should reveal information about the way time is defined, whether there is a consistent tendency for husbands and wives to define time differently, and whether they are aware of any existing differences.

The specification and clarification of some of the dimensions of time is a major purpose of this study. In the literature, a number of dimensions are subsumed under the rubric of "time orientation." Furthermore, one often finds in the literature such terms as "time perspective," "time imagery," "time concepts," and "time perception" used interchangeably. Clearly, the term "time perception" should be, and generally is reserved for the psychological processes related to time. "Time perspective" usually refers to the relative emphasis placed on the past, present, and future. The other terms do not seem to be employed with

any degree of consistency.¹ In this study four dimensions of time orientation have been identified in the sociological literature, defined, and incorporated into a questionnaire designed to examine these dimensions as background factors of social interaction.

Individuals in marital pairs were chosen as the research unit for several reasons. First, among social groups the marital relationship is normally the most enduring through time and is the most intensive of interpersonal relationships. The assumption was that longevity and intensity increase the likelihood that all time dimensions relevant to interaction will be factors in that relationship. Secondly, by delimiting the study to those cases in which the wife does not work outside the home the probability is increased that differences in time orientation exist within the pairs, and the question of the consequences of time orientation differences can be pursued. Finally, because the marital pair is already "matched" on many variables, it seems that confining the study to married pairs is a fruitful approach.

Underlying this study is the conceptual model shown in Figure 1. Most individuals are born into a family which to a greater or lesser extent embodies the cultural orientations of the larger groups of which it is a part. Within the family, members first learn the appropriate orientations for the roles they will play in the outside world. A primary role for any individual is his sex role which in turn largely determines his roles in the three groups under consideration in this study--the community, the occupational world, and the family. In our society it is assumed that the male will become primarily involved in his

¹Melvin Wallace, "Future Time Perspective in Schizophrenia," Journal of Abnormal Psychology 52 (1956), p. 240.

occupational role, while the female becomes similarly involved in the family role. The cultural prescriptions and orientations of the involving group then become major influences on the individual's definition of interaction situations. This study is examining only one cultural orientation, that of time, by focusing on individuals within the married couple, and looking for group-generated time orientation patterns.

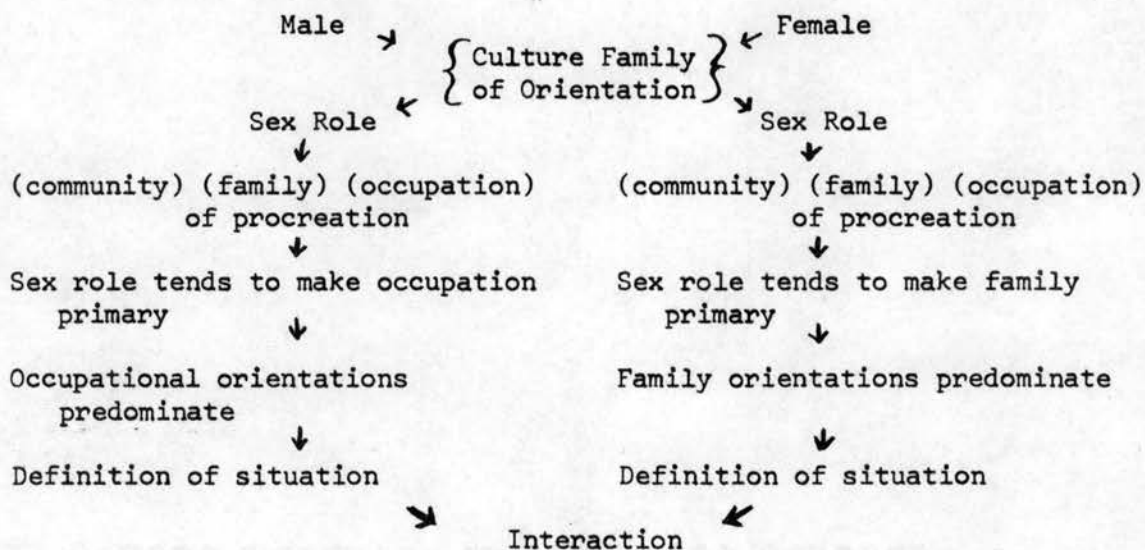


Figure 1 - Conceptual Model

Hopefully, the study will contribute insight into possible sources of time orientation. In addition it may have implications for the study of marital interaction, per se, particularly in the area of consensus. Furthermore, the use of husbands and wives as the research unit may cast light on marital and inter- and intra-sex interrelationships.

General Background of Study

Temporal orientations are considered here to be individual reflections of the time reference systems of groups or collectivities. It is assumed that time orientations can best be dealt with in the general

interpretative sociological frame of reference as described by Wagner, and much of the sociological literature extant on time has been couched in this framework.² The interest of phenomenologists in examining the phenomenon of time is also apparent.³ This study borrows from the phenomenological stand in viewing time orientations as part of the "routine grounds of everyday activities" which generate expectations for behavior in everyday life,⁴ and from the symbolic interaction school the assumption that subjective definition of the situation is a basis for interaction. It focuses upon the social sources of the time-related subjective components, temporal orientations, which go into situation definitions. There appear to be at least two levels of social sources for these orientations. One is the face-to-face interactional level represented here by the married pair and families of procreation and orientation. The other is the subcultural represented by the male and female subcultures in this case.

A premise of this study, then, is that social interaction takes place in a socially determined spatial-temporal frame of reference. This space-time location, designated here as "sociocultural," is not the same as the sense-derived absolute space-time location, nor is it

²Helmut R. Wagner, "Types of Sociological Theory: Toward A System of Classification," American Sociological Review 20 (1963), pp. 735-742.

³Georges Gurvitch is probably the best-known of these authors, although he disclaims formal phenomenology. See his The Spectrum of Social Time (Dordrecht, Holland: D. Reidel, 1964); also "Social Structure and the Multiplicity of Time," in Edward A. Tiryakian, ed., Sociological Theory, Values and Sociocultural Change: Essays in Honor of Pitirim A. Sorokin (New York, 1964), pp. 171-184.

⁴See Harold Garfinkel, "Studies of the Routine Grounds of Everyday Activities," Social Problems 11 (1964), pp. 225-250.

reducible to it. The perception of time is a psychological process which is a necessary condition for apprehending existential space-time location. It is not, however, a sufficient condition. Fraisse says that perception "can always be defined as the apprehension of present stimuli without the explicit intervention of memories and without intellectual elaboration,"⁵ and that time perception is the integration of succession and duration experienced in the present. "Each unit perceived takes its place in a stream in which the durability of our attitude and our memory are the factors which determine continuity."⁶ The psychological processes thus make it possible to construct homogeneous series of events. These can be related to one another and to the experiencing subject only by being transformed into memories. But not all experiences are transformed into memories.⁷ And it is at this point that the concept of sociocultural time becomes relevant as a further condition for the apprehension of the frame of reference for interaction.

Sorokin has pointed out that "one of the indispensable conditions of memory is a "social framework" or "social milieu."

In our recollection of anything, in order to remember it, and to place it in the time process correctly in regard to other things, we need several points of reference to other events and circumstances, amidst which a recollected phenomenon took place. Usually, the role of these points of reference is played mainly by various social phenomena. . . . In this way, the social world serves as a framework of our memory. . . . Our individual memory rapidly evaporates, quickly forgets many things, and still more rapidly distorts facts that happened some time ago. In all such cases, the group and other persons who were connected with the event

⁵Paul Fraisse, The Psychology of Time (New York, 1963), p. 68.

⁶Ibid., p. 97.

⁷Ibid., p. 159.

. . . are the witnesses through which our memory could be "revived," enriched, and corrected. In this sense, again the social milieu is an indispensable condition of our memory and our time apprehension. my underline⁷⁸

Psychological time can be considered analogous to Newton's absolute time--it is local time or individual time in which succession and duration are organized into a series as "one system of reference whose different parts are static in relation to one another."⁹ But sociocultural time is relative and comprises a number of reference systems which may be generated at either the interactional or subcultural levels. Fraisse observes, "When there are various systems of reference which move in relation to one another, there is no common time," and Sorokin says that two social systems may or may not have a common sociocultural time, depending upon whether or not they share common sociocultural phenomena.

Dimensions of Sociocultural Time

The properties Sorokin has described for sociocultural time can be correlated with at least four time dimensions toward each of which different time orientations are possible. The four dimensions and the relevant sociocultural time properties are described below as tempo, rhythm, standardized time, and temporal horizon. Similar orientations toward these dimensions among group members operate to synchronize and coordinate interaction.

Sorokin says the "fundamental trait of sociocultural time is that

⁸Pitirim A. Sorokin, Sociocultural Causality, Space, Time (Durham, North Carolina, 1943), p. 171.

⁹Fraisse, p. 268.

it does not flow evenly in the same group and in different societies."¹⁰ This phenomenon of tempo--of "different beats" of social time results from varying ratios of activity per unit of time. At the psychological level tempo refers to the speed with which any behavioral activity takes place, but at the sociological level it is a measure of the rate of change from one social state to another. Subjective assessments of the flow of time indicate tempo orientations. Time may be "running out," too short, too crowded; or, on the other hand, it may be standing still, too empty, too long.

A second characteristic of sociocultural time is that the moments "are uneven; it does not flow uniformly, but has eventful and critical moments and moments or stretches of empty duration. Rhythm, then, is the division of time into "various recurring" qualitative links of different value."¹¹ Various socially derived periods mark rhythmic patterns:

. . . our life was a weekly rhythm. More than that: within a week, the days have a different physiognomy, structure and tempo of activities. Sunday especially stands alone, being quite different from the weekdays as regards to activities, occupations, sleep, recreation, meals, social enjoyments, dress, reading, even radio programs and newspapers.¹²

The month, the seasons, and the year are also cited by Sorokin as sociocultural units, each with its own rhythm for any given group or society. Time budget studies have long confirmed the existence of these

¹⁰Sorokin, p. 171.

¹¹Sorokin, p. 190.

¹²Ibid.

rhythmic patterns.¹³ Such studies of the quantitative allocation of time to various activities do not tap the orientation or meaning level of the rhythm dimension. This was pointed out by Sorokin and Berger in their early time budget study.¹⁴ Some measure of feeling tone, in addition to knowledge of overt activity, is implied in the words "qualitative" and "value" in the definition of rhythm.

Although different stages of life do not recur for the individual, the individual can become aware of the lifetime's cyclic characteristic through his interaction with his children who, in a sense, repeat his experience, and through his interaction with his parents who anticipate his experience.

In general, however, as the period of time taken into account increases beyond the period of a year, the cyclic characteristic found in rhythm tends to disappear and the problem of orienting oneself in the indefinite sequence of years arises. According to Sorokin it is characteristic of sociocultural time that it "conceives and measures sociocultural phenomena--their duration, synchronicity, sequence, and change--in terms of other sociocultural phenomena taken for the point of reference."¹⁵ Through memory individuals are able to locate themselves in

¹³The study of time budgets has had a rather lengthy history in American social science. Sorokin and Clarence Q. Berger wrote Time-Budgets of Human Behavior (Cambridge, 1939), and at that time reviewed the literature, citing a 1913 study. Sebastian de Grazia's Of Time, Work and Leisure (New York, 1962) is an exhaustive study of adult family time. Nelson Foote has been engaged in time budget studies (unpublished at this time), and F. Stuart Chapin, Jr. recently published an article on the subject, "The Use of Time Budgets in the Study of Urban Living Patterns," Research Previews 13 (November, 1966), pp. 1-6.

¹⁴Sorokin and Berger, p. 14.

¹⁵Sorokin, p. 171.

time, and usually, the bench-marks of memory are social phenomena:

How do we find our place on this infinite time-bridge? Through natural signs? Not at all. We orient ourselves through reference to this or that important or conspicuous social event . . . This means that our long "cut-outs" of time are purely social and have only social buoys for our orientation. Possibly for this reason, the eras of different people are different.¹⁶

Memory comprises the past perspective of what is designated in this study as the temporal horizon. This present is "that which is contemporaneous with present activity."¹⁷ Its boundaries vary according to the scope of the activities under consideration. The "present" of a meal is quite different from the "present" of an illness or a love affair. The future is a conceptualization of the outcome of one's present activity in relation to the past. As Fraisse puts it, "Generally speaking, the future only unfolds insofar as we imagine a future which seems to us to be realizable."¹⁸ Temporal horizon then is the habitual time frame of reference within which activity is ordered. Variation in temporal horizon orientation can occur in two major ways: the relative emphasis placed on the past, present, or future; and in the span or length of time taken as a context for social life.

It was stated above that sociocultural time measures sociocultural phenomena in terms of other such phenomena as points of reference. A special case of this characteristic yields a fourth time dimension: standardized time. Standardized time measures sociocultural phenomena in terms of only one common sociocultural reference point, the clock.

¹⁶Ibid., p. 195.

¹⁷Fraisse, p. 84.

¹⁸Ibid.

Although standardized time is intrinsically a quantitative and physico-mathematical standard, it has qualitative aspects which bring it into consideration as a sociocultural time dimension. In a sense, standardized time runs parallel with the more qualitative time dimensions, and orientations vary with respect to the relative emphasis placed on this universal quantitative dimension. The extent to which daily activities are organized in terms of exacting appointments and schedules would be an indication of the importance of the standardized time dimension.

These four dimensions of sociocultural time--tempo, rhythm, temporal horizon, and standardized time--are the "understood" common temporal grounds for everyday activities, functioning to synchronize those activities in group life.

CHAPTER II

DEVELOPMENT OF PRESENT STUDY

Introduction

The literature on time is fairly extensive but diverse in approach. A recent book, subtitled, "a Cooperative Survey of Man's Views of Time As Expressed by the Sciences and by the Humanities," is divided into four parts by the editor, J. T. Fraser.¹ Each part represents a major approach to time. The first part treats time in religious and philosophical thought; the second, time and human behavior at the cultural, social and psychological levels; the third deals with biological time; and the fourth with time and physical and mathematical phenomena.² These divisions correspond roughly with the types of time conception proposed by Sorokin: ontological or metaphysical, physicomathematical, biological, psychological, and sociocultural.³ It is beyond the scope of this study and the competency of the author to deal with time in any but the human behavioral areas. Therefore, the metaphysical, physicomathematical and biological conceptions of time are not dealt with here, fascinating and important though they are. Instead, a brief survey of some of the

¹J. T. Fraser, The Voices of Time (New York, 1966).

²Fraser, pp. ix-xv.

³Pitirim A. Sorokin, Sociocultural Causality, Space, Time (Durham, North Carolina, 1943, p. 158).

treatments of time in anthropology, sociology, and psychology is given here as these relate to the previously described dimensions of sociocultural time. Special attention is directed to husband and wife orientations to these time dimensions, based on the Crestwood Heights study⁴ of suburban family life. Finally, the underlying assumptions, together with the hypotheses of this study, are presented at the end of the chapter.

Tempo

Group differences in the tempo of social life have long been noted by anthropologists and sociologists. The contrasts in tempo between simple and complex societies, rural and urban communities, and Eastern and Western civilizations have often been cited. These differences have been explained, at one level, as resulting from the machine age (Klineberg),⁵ invention of clocks (Kroeber),⁶ the introduction of a money economy (Simmel),⁷ and linguistic structure (Kluckhohn).⁸ At a more fundamental level, Simmel suggested that a slow tempo is associated with a view of the world rooted in persistence and natural order. In contrast, viewing the world as perpetually changing leads to a speeding up of the tempo of social life.⁹ Hoebel uses much the same argument in

⁴John R. Seeley, R. Alexander Sim, and Elizabeth W. Loosley, Crestwood Heights (New York, 1956).

⁵Otto Klineberg, Social Psychology (New York, 1954), p. 216.

⁶A. L. Kroeber, Anthropology (New York, 1948), pp. 451-452.

⁷Nicholas J. Spykman, The Social Theory of Georg Simmel (New York, 1966), p. 247.

⁸Clyde Kluckhohn, Mirror for Man (New York, 1949).

⁹Ibid., pp. 247-249.

discussing the tempo of Chinese culture:

Chinese culture is characterized by a strong sense of rapport with nature; human actions are considered parts of a natural law. The culture sees itself as static. . . . The European stresses change and cataclysm¹⁰

The naturalistic view held by most simple societies might also explain the finding by Klineberg that Indians on the Yakima reservation could not be persuaded to hurry in a test situation.¹¹

Rhythm

The rhythms of social life are dictated by the social activities of any given group. According to Sorokin and Merton:

Agricultural peoples with a social rhythm different from that of hunting or of pastoral peoples differentiate time intervals in a fashion quite unlike the latter. Periodic rest days seem to be unknown among migratory hunting and fishing peoples or among nomadic pastoral tribes, although they are frequently observed by primitive agriculturists. Likewise, a metropolis demands a frame of temporal reference entirely different from that of a small village. This is to say, time reckoning is basically dependent upon the organization and functions of the group. The mode of life determines which phenomena shall represent the beginning and close of seasons, months, or other time units.¹²

Merton and Sorokin cited many examples from ethnographic literature to illustrate this association of rhythm with vital activities. Marcel Mauss's essay on the effect of seasonal variation upon Eskimo social and cultural life is a very famous example of this kind of ethnography. It was based upon the idea that the rhythm necessarily imposed by the habits

¹⁰E. Adamson Hoebel, Anthropology (New York, 1966), p. 46.

¹¹Otto Klineberg, "An Experimental Study of Speed and Other Factors in 'Racial' Differences," Arch. Psychol., No. 93 (1928).

¹²Pitirim A. Sorokin and Robert K. Merton, "Social Time: A Methodological and Functional Analysis," The American Journal of Sociology 42 (1937), pp. 620-621.

of game animals upon which the Eskimos depended for food formed the basis for all other cyclical rhythms, and, in effect, generated two very different ways of life within the culture: a summer life and a winter life.¹³

Fraisse in a discussion of time and the worker describes discrepancies between work and psychophysiological rhythms and consequent social and psychosomatic disturbances among workers.¹⁴ He also suggests that the rhythm of remuneration is of great importance:

. . . how different are the lives of the day laborer, the worker paid every week or fortnight, and the man who receives a monthly salary! . . . the rhythm of remuneration determines the rhythm of the most vital satisfactions. It is true to say that the day laborer lives from day to day, while a monthly salary makes possible longer-range plans.¹⁵

Much the same observation was made by Bernot and Blancard in their study of the contrasts between glasswork employees and farmers in a French village.¹⁶ The workers are paid two or three times a month and live from day to day, while the farmers who receive a little money every day from milk sales and large sums of money several times a year from crops, gear themselves to an annual rhythm.

These studies all emphasize the importance of the means of subsistence in establishing the rhythmic patterns in other areas of social

¹³Marcel Mauss, "Essai sur les variations saisonnières des sociétés eskimos: étude de morphologie sociale," l'Année sociologique, Vol. IX (1904-5).

¹⁴Paul Fraisse, "Of Time and the Worker," Harvard Business Review 37 (1959), pp. 121-125.

¹⁵Ibid., p. 124.

¹⁶Lucien Bernot and René Blancard, Nouvelle: un village français (Paris, 1953). See especially Chapter 12, "Le temps et l'espace," pp. 321-358.

life. They also show that groups differ in the importance placed on particular cycles: week, month, year, and so on. In the next section it is also suggested that some occupational rhythms also influence orientations to temporal horizons.

Temporal Horizon

Temporal horizons, habitual time frames of reference, seem to vary greatly among human groups. Kroeber reported that the California Indians were extremely limited in this respect, unable to report their own ages or place, in time, events occurring more than six years in the past.¹⁷ Hallowell reported that another group of Indians, the Salteaux, located past events only in terms of their own life histories.¹⁸ Florence Kluckhohn has described the variation of modern societies in the rank-order emphasis placed on a three-point range of past, present, and future, suggesting that "far too little attention has been given to the full range of major variations in time orientations."¹⁹

Within a society various groups appear to have their own typical time horizons. Halbwachs observed:

. . . the different chronological series of our memory correspond to the different groups to which we belong: The time of professional life, family, religious, civil or

¹⁷A. L. Kroeber, "Elements of Culture in Native California," University of California Publication of Archaeology and Ethnology 13 (1917-1923), pp. 260-328.

¹⁸A. I. Hallowell, "Cultural Factors in the Structuralization of Perception," in Social Psychology at the Crossroads, J. H. Rohrer and M. Sherif, eds. (New York, 1951), pp. 165-195.

¹⁹Florence Kluckhohn, "Variations in the Basic Values of Family Systems," A Modern Introduction to the Family, eds. N. W. Bell and E. F. Vogel (Glencoe, 1960), pp. 304-314.

military life, is different and has different origins.²⁰

Furthermore, he says, "The relationship between time in the office, time at home, time in the street, time when visiting, is often only fixed between very wide limits."

The variation of time perspectives and orientations according to social class has often been commented upon. Leshan's description of three class-connected temporal orientations is typical:

1. In the lower-lower class, the orientation is one of quick sequences of tension and relief. One does not frustrate oneself for a long period or plan action with goals far in the future. The future generally is an indefinite, vague, diffuse region and its rewards and punishments are too uncertain to have much motivating value. In this social class, one eats when he is hungry; there are no regular meal hours...

2. In the upper-lower, middle and lower-upper classes, the orientation is one of much longer tension-relief sequences. As the individual grows older, he plans further and further into the future and acts on these plans. As an adult he may start planning for retirement when he is in his twenties. In these classes, one eats at regular "clock" hours...

3. In the upper-upper class, the individual sees himself as part of a sequence of several or more generations, and the orientation is backward to the past. One eats at traditional hours and lives out the traditions set up in the past.²¹

The above description compares classes on the past-present-future orientation (temporal horizon) in qualitative time as well as the emphasis placed on quantitative or standardized time. Horton has questioned

²⁰Maurice Halbwachs, "La memoire collective et le temps," Cahiers internationaux sociologies, 2 (1947), p. 6. "Puisque, dans les divers milieux, on n'eprouve pas le besoin de mesurer le temps avec la meme exactitude, il en resulte que la correspondance entre le temps du bureau, le temps de la maison, le temps de la rue, le temps des visites n'est fixee qu'entre des limites quelquefois assez larges."

²¹Lawrence L. Leshan, "Time Orientation and Social Class," Journal of Abnormal Social Psychology, 47 (1952), p. 589. See also L. M. Ellis, et al., "Time Orientation and Social Class: An Experimental Supplement," Journal of Abnormal Social Psychology 46 (1952), pp. 169-183.

the prevailing stereotypes of the various social classes temporal horizons.

The majority stereotypes might be reversed. For example, we might find out that no stereotype is more incorrect than that which depicts the lower classes as having no sense of future time. As Max Weber has observed, it is the powerful and not the powerless who are present-oriented. Dominant groups live by maintaining and expanding their present. Minority groups survive in this present, but their survival is nourished by a dream of the future....It is time to re-examine the meaning of time, the reality of the middle class stereotype of itself, as well as the middle class stereotype of the lower class.²²

In their study, Bernot and Blancard divided what is defined here as temporal horizon into two parts. Cycle A, historical or chronological time; and Cycle B, past time and future time.²³ In the historical time frame the authors found that certain important national events were cited as "markers," by all respondents. The downfall of the kings, the French Revolution, Bastille Day, and the establishment of the Republic were always mentioned. As the subjects approach modern times, they become more exact in their time references, often identifying an event and the appropriate year. The authors found no evidence of a common time reference for the region or the community.

Bernot and Blancard found that in contrast with the generalized historical time common to all residents of Nouville, there existed a more personal and intimate sense of the past, present, and future which greatly separated the rural people from the workers.²⁴ The rural people are very conscious of their relationship to the past, realizing that past

²²John Horton, "Time and Cool People," Trans-action, April 1967, p. 9.

²³Bernot and Blancard, pp. 321-326.

²⁴Ibid., p. 323.

generations have built up, little by little, whatever holdings they now have. They are also aware that they in turn are building for future generations:

Past, present, and future are aligned on the family and especially the present family. This succession of generations marks the continuity of time. The present economic activity of rural life falls between this past and future time, and is supported by them. The present is a part of times past and times to come.²⁵

The workers from the glass factory have a very different point of view. Many of them did not know their own parents, and most have had no connection with grandparents. For most of them, the authors report at best a very tenuous hold on the past. The future also is a rather vague and disconnected time perspective. The future is not a time "from now on," a goal to be reached through careful planning, but a point in time when "things will be better." There is no thought of continuity or idea of building through present activities for a better life.

From the level of present facts they go directly to that of future ideas. . . Thus whereas the rural sees continuity in the past and future, they are disconnected for the worker because he superimposes the idea of the "happy life" upon the fact of real life.²⁶

The authors mention one aspect of the future held in common by workers and rural people, and that is the fear of the next war, and of the atomic bomb. Although often a topic for conversation, these fears were not taken into account in either group's activities or future plans.

The studies just discussed emphasize the social origin of temporal horizons. In addition, they illustrate possible orientations in such horizons both in regard to the past, present and future, and also in

²⁵Ibid., p. 324.

²⁶Ibid., p. 325-326.

regard to the span of time encompassed.

Standardized Time

Standardized time is the fourth dimension of sociocultural time discussed in this study. Sorokin points to the trend toward quantitative and mathematical time in modern societies and asks whether the conclusion was warranted that in these societies sociocultural and clock time are synonymous. Answering himself:

Such a conclusion would be rash, first, because the trend mentioned is not as yet completely accomplished; second, because sociocultural time still exists and is as alive as in the past, side by side with mathematical time; and third, because...mathematical time itself is in a conspicuous degree a variety of sociocultural time and has come into existence through a play of sociocultural circumstances enlarging the net of interaction of society.²⁷

Furthermore, locating events in time with reference only to units of clock time would be extremely difficult, if not impossible. "As long as a society exists and has its own rhythms, important and unimportant events, tensions and relaxations, critical and noncritical periods, ordinary and holy dates" sociocultural time cannot be replaced by quantitative time."²⁸ Even though qualitative time cannot be eliminated by quantitative time, there are great differences between groups in the importance accorded clock time. One could conceive of a continuum along which social groups can be ranged according to the importance of clock time. At one extreme, we might cite Cottrell's Railroader, whose entire world of social relationships is ordered by clock time.²⁹ Close to the

²⁷Sorokin, p. 187.

²⁸Ibid., p. 198.

²⁹W. Fred Cottrell, The Railroader (Stanford, 1940), pp. 60-77.

opposite end of the continuum would be the Los Angeles street Negroes described by Horton: "Negro street time is built around the irrelevance of clock time, white man's time, and the relevance of street values and activities."³⁰

There seems to be no doubt that standardized time is of great importance in American culture. Dollard says it is "one of the most vigorously felt and imposed basic concepts..."³¹ Lerner says the American is Exhibit I of Western man's time sense, but that this time sense is not one of relativity or awareness of changing pace and emotional density:

Time to the American, means make-haste-and-get-to-your-appointment; one minute slips into another and all are part of a democracy of equal quality. There is no cumulation in the succession, no leaving of residues. The movement of time is on a flat plane, so that the passage of time may mean 'progress'..., but it does not mean a three-dimensional qualitative development and growth.³²

What seems to be implied here is that preoccupation with quantitative standardized time tends to obscure the awareness of qualitative socio-cultural time.

Edward T. Hall has recorded the contrast between the attitude described above that found in South America. He attributes the differences to "unseen psychological patterns"--ocultos--underlying time-related behavior in North and South America. The North American commitment to the appointment schedule is not shared by the Latin American who is accustomed to a much more leisurely pace. Furthermore, the Latin American does not equate being seen on time with equality, nor failure to see a visitor

³⁰Horton, p. 8.

³¹John Dollard, Criteria for the Life History (New York, 1935), p. 103.

³²Max Lerner, America as a Civilization (New York, 1957), p. 613.

promptly with a claim to superiority as does the North American. Punctuality is not a mark of dependability in Latin America. As Hall puts it, "The Latin American clock on the wall may look the same, but it tells a different sort of time."³³

The example above illustrates two different cultural orientations toward standardized time. It is also possible for the same group to change its orientation toward standardized time. Lazarsfeld and others studied a small community near Vienna.³⁴ The community was suffering from widespread unemployment, and the population, as a consequence, developed a complete indifference to standardized time. People lost the desire to do "anything within a stated period" and "would come hours late to an appointment as the result of this attitude."

These studies indicate that possible orientations toward standardized time range all the way from indifference to preoccupation. These orientations are reflected in the meanings assigned to behavior related to clock-scheduled activities.

Summary

In this review of the literature the author has attempted to treat systematically in terms of tempo, rhythm, temporal horizon, and standardized time, a number of different studies at various social levels. It has been shown that there are group differences in orientation toward these time dimensions. Certain clusters of orientations seem to be

³³Edward T. Hall, "The Silent Language," Americas 14 (February, 1962), pp. 5-8.

³⁴P. F. Lazarsfeld, M. Johoda, and H. Feisl, Die Arbeitslosen von Marienthal (1933), cited in Klineberg, p. 217.

typical of particular kinds of social groups. Table I summarizes the clusters suggested by these studies.

Time Orientations of Marital Pairs

A study which has dealt extensively with the interrelationship of family time orientations and those of outside groups is Crestwood Heights. Implicitly the authors deal with all four of the dimensions outlined above; explicitly only with tempo and rhythm. It is their contention that the husband's career "creates the dominant perspective on time."³⁵ In other words, the time orientations found in the husband's occupational world also prevail within the family unit. This synchronization of orientations holds for the dimensions of tempo, rhythm, and standardized time, but not for temporal horizons, as will be shown below.

Tempo

The tempo and rhythm of the life cycle in Crestwood Heights reflect the influence of the male career. There is, the authors report, "a pervasive feeling that time is running out."³⁶ Children are rushed into social activities at very early ages. Time seems to go too slowly as one approaches the "golden age" (twenty-four for women; thirty-three for men). Thereafter time seems to be going too quickly and efforts are made to hold back the clock. Crises in the life cycle occur at menopause for women and retirement for men. The authors say, "it is clear that the career, as a time system, imposes by its tempo thematic changes and

³⁵Seeley, et al., p. 66.

³⁶Ibid., p. 6.

TABLE I
TYPICAL CULTURAL TIME ORIENTATIONS

CULTURE OR SUBCULTURE	TIME ORIENTATIONS			
	TEMPO Time is viewed as	RHYTHM Important Cycles	TEMPORAL HORIZON a. Emphasis is b. Span is	STANDARDIZED TIME Interest is
SIMPLE (Salateaux, California Indians)	slow	daily, weekly seasonal*	a. present b. short **	little interest
COMPLEX AGRICULTURAL (China, French farmers)	slow	annual	a. past, future b. long	moderate
COMPLEX INDUSTRIAL UPPER CLASS (Latin business- men)	+ moderate	annual	a. past b. long	moderate
MIDDLE CLASS (United States)	fast	monthly	a. present, near future b. short	great
WORKING CLASS (Glassworkers)	fast	weekly	a. present b. short	moderate
LOWER CLASS (Slum negroes)	slow	daily	a. present b. short	little

* Importance depends on means of subsistence.

** Short: within own lifetime; long: beyond own lifetime.

+ The literature indicated class differences are so great that orientations are listed for each class.

dominates the time perspective."³⁷

Rhythm

The Crestwood Heights researchers also noted the influence of the career on the recurring cycles which constitute the rhythm time dimension: the day, week, and year.

The week in Crestwood Heights is divided into two distinct phases: the productive work week of Monday through Friday, and the weekend devoted to consumption which begins Friday afternoon and ends Sunday night. There is a distinct change of pace from the closely controlled time of the work week to the relaxed tempo of the weekend.

In their discussion of the year, Seeley and others point out that there is also a two-phase division of work time and relaxation time. Even though there are four seasons, "sociologically speaking, there are really two seasons--a social-and-work season and a vacation--with two bridging transitional periods."³⁸ Winter is filled with activity, summer is vacation time, and fall and spring are viewed as transitional periods.

Standardized Time

The activities within the family for the workday must be geared to synchronize with the standardized time schedules of the various organizations with which the members are associated: offices, stores, schools, bus lines, and so on. The home is viewed as a converging point for a large number of synchronized orbits, with both husband and wife attempting to regulate the flow of events through the use of desk calendars and

³⁷Seeley, et al., p. 69.

³⁸Ibid., p. 77.

appointment books.

Temporal Horizons

Within the family units of Crestwood Heights the researchers found a fundamental difference between men and women with respect to "the time span habitually taken for granted in thought or action," with women thinking in the long-range, men in the short.³⁹ The authors describe the difference in this way:

The women predominantly think in the long range, almost sub specie aeternitatis, in terms of ultimate effects, Their thinking attaches less to the immediacies of time and place, and tends to take into imaginative consideration not only the here and now, but the new generation, the "children yet unborn," altered circumstance, and perhaps even a new society as yet only vaguely envisioned. The men, on the contrary, much more earthbound and datum-driven, take into consideration an evanescent present, or, at most, a very short-run future in which things will be much as they are now and have always been.⁴⁰

The different temporal horizon orientations described for men and women in Crestwood Heights is at least partially accounted for in sociological and psychological literature. The human time sense is rooted in perception--specifically, the perception of changes at the moment of their occurrence and is the result of the organization of these perceptions in memory:

Perception only permits us to apprehend changes at the moment of their occurrence. Man is not restricted by this limitation because he can form representations of these changes; he can thus relate them to himself and to each other, and make use of them to some extent to his own ends. Through memory we can reconstitute the succession of

³⁹Despite this difference, the authors make the generalization that "Crestwooders live almost entirely in the present but for the near future /with the past largely obliterated/." Again, the predominance of the male orientation is demonstrated.

⁴⁰Ibid., p. 389.

experienced changes and anticipate changes to come. By these means we acquire a past and a future, a temporal horizon in relation to which our every action takes on its full significance.⁴¹

Now, the influence of social factors in both perception and memory has been so well established experimentally that it is virtually unquestioned.⁴² There is reason to suspect that social factors relevant to time are significantly related to sex roles since the influence of sex roles on perception and memory in other areas has been demonstrated experimentally.⁴³ That this should be so is not surprising in view of the fact that sex categorization is of great significance "as a basis of differentiation of role which will never be transcended but remains indelible for life."⁴⁴

The literature then suggests that there may be discrepancies in situational definitions and subsequent failure of husbands and wives to meet expectations when time is an important factor in situations. While many aspects of male-female roles are complementary, and others are not relevant to male-female interaction, certain aspects of these roles are both relevant and contradictory. These relevant and contradictory aspects of social roles may then lead to incompatible time orientations. The contradictory aspects arise in part from the fact that the female

⁴¹Fraisse, Psychology of Time, p. 12.

⁴²For example, see discussion of perception in Social Psychology (New York, 1954); M. Sherif, An Outline of Social Psychology (New York, 1956); and R. Brown, Social Psychology (New York, 1965).

⁴³See discussion of experiments by Zillig and Clark in Klineberg, p. 219, and Fraisse, Psychology of Time, pp. 249-250.

⁴⁴Talcott Parsons, Social Structure and Personality (New York, 1964), p. 44.

role is primarily related to the family, while the male role is primarily tied to occupation.⁴⁵ This anchoring of roles in two different groups may well lead to incompatible time references because, as has already been suggested, temporal horizons are related to group memberships.

Hulett has suggested that the socio-psychological processes involved in the acquisition of roles also impart time perspectives. In the process of socialization:

The group endeavors to provide the individual with associates who are exhibited as models of behavior, with considerable practice of a direct sort in meeting future social situations and, through the myths and legends, with some sort of approved philosophy of the future....If the group changes, the person's responses after the change will be less appropriate and adjustments to the then prevailing group relationships than if no change occurred.⁴⁶

Responses to present situations in terms of past group learning are termed anachronistic by Hulett, and are "characteristic of even the most common roles the individual is expected to fill in the society, such as the age and sex roles and the roles that accompany the different statuses in the familial structure."⁴⁷

Assumptions

The following assumptions underlie the present study:

1. The investigation of meanings is a legitimate sociological pursuit.
2. Everyday life is possible because people in groups

⁴⁵Parsons, *Ibid.*, p. 48.

⁴⁶J. E. Hulett, Jr., "The Person's Time Perspective and The Social Role," Social Forces 23 (1944), p. 156.

⁴⁷*Ibid.*, p. 157.

take for granted the meaning of expected background features of everyday life. In the process these features become invisible to the actors.

3. Social time is one of these background features.
4. The scientist can discover some of their relationships to past experience and implications for ongoing action without directly investigating behavior.

Hypotheses

The following hypotheses test the proposition that husbands and wives are differently oriented in the dimensions of tempo, rhythm, standardized time and temporal horizon. In addition, the contention that the husband's temporal horizon is derived from his occupational group while the wife's is rooted in the family is examined. These are the hypotheses to be investigated:

1. Different tempo orientations for husbands and wives will be observable.
2. Different rhythm orientations for husbands and wives will be observable.
3. Different orientations toward standardized time will be observable for husbands and wives.
4. Different orientations toward temporal horizons of husbands and wives will be observable. The aspects of temporal horizons in which patterns can be discerned include:
 - a. perspective emphasis on past, present, or future;
 - b. magnitude of span included in the horizon;

- c. group source of reference events;
- d. core of common reference events.

CHAPTER III

DESIGN AND METHODOLOGY

Introduction

The time dimensions used in this study were abstracted from the literature and defined by the investigator. They have been described herein as parts of the everyday world to which people respond in patterned ways and which are part of the setting for social interaction. The problem then was to take these dimensions and measure orientations along them. From the outset the most difficult part of the study was working out a way to tap the unconscious orientations of subjects to time dimensions. That is, although these dimensions are basic grounds in the formation of thought and behavior, actors are seldom cognitively aware of them.

Structure and Analysis of the Questionnaire

General Approach

A frequent methodological recourse of researchers studying an unexplored area is the in-depth interview. This is a very expensive method in terms of the time and talent required, and not practicable for this study. Furthermore there was some indication that the hidden quality of time dimensions would limit the value of information elicited by this approach. Knapp and Garbutt reported attempting to use free interviews to investigate time attitudes. They abandoned interviewing and adopted

a more structured, although indirect, approach because of the difficulties encountered in the original approach.¹

A different unstructured method was employed by Eson in his study of the emphasis which respondents at different age levels placed on past, present, and future. He asked respondents to write down all their thoughts for a two-week period, then classified the results in terms of content and time perspective.² The apparent onerousness of this approach for the respondent precluded its consideration for use in this study.

A closely structured, attitude scale type of questionnaire was thought to be inappropriate for this study. Such an instrument would be premature in view of the limited amount of information available at the present time. Moreover, it was felt that a rigid format, as opposed to a flexible one, would not be as likely to elicit responses at the phenomenological level.

The instrument as finally developed attempts to make background features of everyday life, in this case, the dimensions of sociocultural time, visible to the respondent to the extent that he can say something about his orientation toward them. It consists of three sections. The first one concerns rhythm and tempo dimensions of sociocultural time and is structured to facilitate the comparison of answers for pairs. The second part explores temporal horizons and is semi-structured. The format is designed to focus the attention of respondents on three major

¹Robert H. Knapp and John T. Garbutt, "Time Imagery and the Achievement Motive," Journal of Personality 26 (1958), p. 427.

²M. E. Eson, An Analysis of Time Perspectives at Five Age Levels, Unpublished Doctoral Dissertation, (University of Chicago, 1951).

sources of temporal horizons, husband's occupation, family, and the "larger world," but is open enough to allow respondents to construct their own horizons within these broad limits. The final section is an open-end question which taps orientations toward standardized time. These sections are described in more detail below.

Rhythm

Rhythm is defined as the division of time into recurring periods or links of differing value. Time budget studies, as well as less rigorous observations, have established that there are units of time within which activities are more or less patterned. The question here, then is not so much whether such patterns exist, but concerns the nature and meaning of these patterns. As Farber has put it:

In Western society we have a recurrent pattern--the week--within which work and leisure are more or less uniformly distributed. . . . That is the objective situation: but what of our perceptions of it? Man is driven by needs and thus oriented toward goals; one might expect gratifications and frustrations which would lead to different feeling tones toward different parts of the week. /One would expect/ that the uniform pattern of work and leisure results in some uniformity of feeling-tone toward different segments of the week.³

Preference, then, is taken as an indicator of the orientation of subjects toward rhythmic cycles. The cycles examined are the day, the week, the year, and the lifetime, and attitudes toward segments of these cycles were measured. Respondents were asked to rank the items in each of four lists in order of liking and then to rank the items as they thought their spouses would. It was felt that an examination of the mutuality of orientations would add depth to the analysis of rhythm

³Maurice Farber, "Time Perspective and Feeling Tone: A Study in the Perception of the Days," Journal of Psychology 35 (1953), p. 253.

data.⁴ The problem of the effect of temporal orientations on interaction is not a central one for this study. Information regarding the extent to which husbands and wives either predict or fail to predict one another's responses is used in this study to illuminate the nature of the orientations themselves. In addition, respondents were asked to rate each list as a whole regarding its importance to them: very important, somewhat important, or not very important.

List I (the day) includes five times of the day: morning, afternoon, evening (5-7 p.m.), night (7-11 p.m.) and late night (11 p.m. on). List II (the week) simply lists the seven days of the week; List III (the year), the four seasons; and List IV (the lifetime) consists of seven age categories: childhood, teens, twenties, thirties, forties, fifties, and sixties and over.

Within each marital pair five comparisons are made of the way the husband and wife rated each list: (1) Stated Agreement, a comparison of the wife's preference with the husband's; (2) Wife's Perceived Agreement, comparison of wife's preference with what she thinks her husband's is; (3) Husband's Perceived Agreement, comparison of husband's preference with what he thinks his wife's is; (4) Wife's Accuracy, a comparison of what she thinks her spouse likes and his stated preferences; and (5) Husband's Accuracy, a comparison of what he thinks his spouse likes and her stated preferences. Kendall's tau was the rank correlation coefficient used in these comparisons. The Stated Agreement comparison was also made for random pairings within each sex as a controlling

⁴For an excellent discussion of this approach see Thomas J. Scheff, "Toward a Sociological Model of Consensus," American Sociological Review 32 (1967), pp. 32-46.

device.

Mean preference ranks for the items on each list was computed. This yielded an overall picture of preferences. In addition, it provided a validity check in the case of the days of the week inasmuch as the results could be compared with those of Farber.⁵

Tempo

Orientation toward tempo, the rate of change from one social state to another, is investigated indirectly by asking respondents to state their preferences for time metaphors. They were presented with a list of nine such metaphors and asked to choose the three most preferred, then the three second-most preferred, and finally the three least preferred.

These metaphors were taken from a list of twenty-five such items constructed by Knapp and Garbutt.⁶ By factor analysis, these authors found three clusters: the Dynamic-Hasty, the Naturalistic-Passive, and the Humanistic. For the questionnaire, three items were chosen from each cluster. "A dashing waterfall," "a speeding train," and "a galloping horseman" were selected from the Dynamic-Hasty cluster. From the Naturalistic-Passive cluster "a vast expanse of sky," "a quiet motionless ocean" and "wind-driven sands" were used. Selected from the Humanistic cluster were "a string of beads," "a winding spool," and "a large revolving wheel." Knapp and Garbutt found a high positive correlation between preference for items in the Hasty-Dynamic cluster and high Achievement Motive scores, while items identified with the other two

⁵Farber, p. 254.

⁶Knapp and Garbutt, p. 429.

clusters were negatively correlated with achievement. These items can also be grouped with reference to tempo: the horseman, waterfall, and train metaphors suggest swiftness, the spool, wheel, and sands are slow-moving images; and the ocean, sky, and beads metaphors are static. It is the tempo aspect of the metaphors which is of interest in this study. The responses are considered to be a measure of beliefs about the nature of time.

The following definitions of orientations have been devised to categorize responses to these metaphors. The first choice of at least two of the fast metaphors plus the third-choice designation of at least two of the static metaphors defines a Fast orientation. A Static orientation is marked by the first choice of at least two of the static metaphors and the third-choice designation of at least two of the fast metaphors. Three moderate categories were defined: Moderate-Fast, at least two first-choices of fast metaphors and any third-choice responses (except two static); Moderate, at least two first slow metaphors and any third-choice responses; and Moderate-Static, two static first choices and any third choices except two fast. Designated as Indifferent were those who chose no like pair as first choices. Table II summarizes these definitions.

Couples with like orientations were counted, and the binomial test was made to test the hypothesis that couples are alike in this dimension. Again, responses from random pairs were also compared.

Two attempts were made to validate this portion of the questionnaire. First, statements made in response to the open-end question, when they pertained to tempo, were compared with the metaphor responses. Secondly, entrepreneur males were compared with bureaucratic males, the

TABLE II
TEMPO ORIENTATIONS

Orientation	First Choice at least:	Third Choice at least:
1. Fast	2 Fast	2 Static
2. Moderate Fast	2 Fast	any except (1)
3. Moderate	2 Moderate	any
4. Moderate Static	2 Static	any except (5)
5. Static	2 Static	2 Fast
6. Indifferent	no pair	any

assumption being that entrepreneurs would be oriented to a fast tempo more often than bureaucrats. This assumption was made on the basis of the Knapp and Garbutt study.

Standardized Time

Standardized time was defined as the time frame of reference having the clock as its only reference point. Orientations vary in the importance attached to punctuality, the importance of scheduling activities, and the value placed on units of time. Attitudes toward these aspects serve as an index to these orientations. The standardized time dimension was not included in the original plan for this study. Responses to the open-end question, "Do you think men and women have different feelings and ideas about time?" included so many comments on this dimension that the decision was made to include it. The analysis of these orientations was handled descriptively.

Temporal Horizons

Temporal horizon is defined in this study as the habitual time frame

of reference within which activity is ordered. The temporal horizon orientation places one in some time continuum. The Bernot and Blancard study seemed to bear out Sorokin's contention that orientation in time is made possible through the common acceptance of certain reference point events. The same point was made by Fraisse:

This construction /of temporal horizon/ is not uniform however. If I look at my past, my memories do not come with regularity. In this past perspective there are knots formed by crucial events--a death, success in some competition, a war. . . .

The indication in the literature of the importance of reference events was the basis for the temporal horizon investigation, and beliefs regarding these events and their importance are indexes of orientations. Respondents were asked to list and date thirty important events: five past events and five future events pertaining to each of three categories--occupation, family, and nation-world. Since most of the wives had never worked, and none were working at the time of the interview, very few items were listed in the occupational category by women. From the events listed, they were then asked to designate the eleven most important to them. In effect, each respondent was being asked to list the reference events for three temporal horizons--family, work, and society--and from these to construct a composite temporal horizon. This procedure was, in part, suggested to the investigator by Fraisse:

Everyone of us who belongs to several groups has several perspectives to his past which do not coincide. . . . we can pass from one set of perspectives to another by reasoning and placing all the events in an abstract time which does not correspond to real experience.

We believe that it is true that our temporal perspectives bear a relationship to each of the groups to which

⁷Paul Fraisse, The Psychology of Time (New York, 1963), p. 167.

we belong and which both our experiences and their frames of reference have their origin. . . /and/ that we are never alone and our most individual memories are closely linked with the groups in which we live.⁸

The temporal horizons constructed by respondents are analyzed for orientation in terms of span; past, present, or future emphasis; and social source. Comparisons were made within married pairs for each of these orientation aspects. These findings were then combined and the hypotheses regarding them examined using either the binomial test or χ^2 . The occupational temporal horizon was not analyzed separately because the wives were not able to complete it.

Spans for husbands and wives were compared by checking the earliest and latest event and date listed by each. A decision was made as to which spouse, if either, had the greater span on the basis of the event as well as the date. If, for example, both husband and wife listed "world peace" as the event furthest into the future, but dated it differently, in future end point of the span was still considered to be the same for both. Span comparisons were made for the family and for the nation-world categories, and χ^2 was used to test the span hypothesis.

The respondent's emphasis on past, present, or future was ascertained by simply counting events in each of these perspectives which had been selected for inclusion in the abstract horizon. The present was defined for this purpose as 1966-1968. This seemed justified since respondents were asked only for important items, and a major event in such temporal proximity could reasonably be assigned to the present category. For the reason mentioned previously, items in the occupation horizon were not counted in the overall score, but were in the abstract

⁸Ibid., p. 170.

horizon.

The question of the social source of composite horizons was examined by counting the number of items in that horizon pertaining to each of the three specific horizons and noting which group contributed the most items.

It was believed that the listing of like events by husbands and wives in the family and nation-world categories would be evidence that the questionnaire was getting at temporal horizon reference events. Similarity in the nation-world category for the whole sample would also contribute to construct validation. Bernot and Blancard, it will be recalled, found about five events consistently mentioned by their informants in the "historical cycle." The similarities between events listed by couples and for the entire sample are compiled and displayed in tabular form.

Table III summarizes the treatment of each of the four dimensions. A word of explanation needs to be made here regarding the tests of significance used in this study. In each case, the null hypothesis was that possible outcomes of couple comparisons were equally likely, that is, that $p_1 = p_2 \dots = p_n$. The significance level was set at .10, though in each instance the probability associated with the finding is reported. As Siegel has pointed out, there is a trend away from arbitrary setting of significance levels.⁹ More researchers are taking into account the nature of the study itself in the setting of these levels. Two major considerations prompted the decision made here. First, the findings of this study are not likely to be translated into action in the real

⁹Sidney Siegel, Nonparametric Statistics for the Behavioral Sciences (New York, 1956), p. 8.

TABLE III
SUMMARY OF ANALYSIS PROCEDURE

Dimension	Indicator	Basis of Comparison within couples	Overall Pattern Statistic
Tempo	Metaphor Preferences	Tempo type assigned by definition	binomial test
Rhythm	Period Preferences	Agreements for each unit (Kendall's τ)	binomial test Kendall's W, X^2
Standardized Time	Subjective Statements	Coded Statements	None
Temporal Horizon	Events and Dates in occupation family and nation-world categories	a. span covered in family and nation-world b. perspective emphasis of events c. source of items selected as most important d. events listed by both husband and wife	a. X^2 b. X^2 c. binomial test d. Range, mean

world--there are no immediate practical consequences for them. In other words, the rejection of a true null hypothesis here will not cause harm to others. Secondly, the findings of an exploratory study are usually considered to be tentative rather than definitive, and the researcher is justified in allowing himself more latitude in reporting these findings, provided the reader is supplied with the probability level actually associated with them.

The Sample

It was decided that a purposively selected sample would be the most appropriate for this exploratory investigation. The criteria for inclusion in the sampling frame were middle-class urban occupation for the husband,¹⁰ non-working wife, and the couple's having been married at least five years. The sampling frame was taken from the Stillwater, Oklahoma, 1963 City Directory. This book contained information about marital status, occupation, religion, and number of children. Use of the 1963 edition assured, with some certainty, that the couples had been married five years. The names taken from this book were checked with the latest edition to be sure they were still residents of the town and married to one another (wives' first names were listed in both editions).

There were 224 names in the original sampling frame. Errors in occupational classification (including job changes or retirements), recent moves from the city, and deaths and illnesses reduced the number to 199. A high refusal rate, which will be discussed under "Special Problems" at the end of this chapter, reduced the sample still further.

Sixty-four pairs of interviews were secured. Of these, fifty pairs were complete enough to be included in the final sample. Four interviews were rejected because respondents failed to meet the sampling criteria. The rest had major response "errors." For Part I (rhythm and tempo) of the questionnaire three husbands and three wives made these errors; for

¹⁰Included were those described by Richard Centers as being small business and white collar workers in The Psychology of Social Classes (New York, 1961), p. 49. His "small business" category includes "small retail dealers, contractors, proprietors of repair shops employing others, and so on. It includes both owner and managers." His "white collar" category includes "clerks and kindred workers, salesmen, agents, semi-professional workers, technicians, and so on."

Part II (temporal horizon) five husbands and one wife erred.

The sample used in this study, then, composed of fifty couples. The median age group was forty-one to forty-five years. There were eighteen husbands working in the small-business occupational category, while the remaining thirty-two were white-collar workers. Of these thirty-two, thirteen were government workers. Table IV summarizes the occupational and age composition of the sample.

TABLE IV
SAMPLE COMPOSITION BY AGE AND OCCUPATION

Husband's Age Group	Number of Pairs in Sample	Husband's Occupation		
		Small Business	White Collar	
		Entrepreneur	Bureaucrat	Other
21-30	4	3		1
31-40	14	3	3	8
41-50	15	6	5	3
51-60	11	4	2	5
Over 60	<u>6</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>1</u>
TOTAL	50	18	13	19

Interviewing Procedure

Interviewers were instructed to contact assigned respondents in the evenings or on weekends--times when both husband and wife could be expected to be at home. Interviews were conducted in the homes of the respondents. The interviewer asked the husband and wife each to fill out the first two parts of a questionnaire without consulting one another in any way. When both had completed this task, the interviewer asked the open-end question and recorded the responses of husband and wife

separately. It was not possible to separate the husbands and wives for this portion of the interview, nor was a consistent order of questioning maintained. Undoubtedly, some bias was introduced here because of the procedure. The average time for interview completion was reported by interviewers to be fifty minutes.

Pre-test

Fifteen interviews were conducted in a pre-test of the questionnaire. In the original version, Parts I and II were reversed so that respondents were asked to construct the temporal horizons first. In this version, also, an attempt was made to force respondents to complete the listing of thirty items. They were also asked to date future events by year. Interviewers reported great difficulty in getting respondents to complete this task. Many said they just could not think of that many events, particularly future events. In addition, they were reluctant to date by year any future events. In order to alleviate these problems, the two parts were reversed in the revised questionnaire, so that the relatively easy task of rating items in time units preceded the temporal horizon construction. Instructions were changed so that respondents were asked to list as many events as they could, up to thirty, and dating of future events was changed from "year" to "approximate year or decade." These changes resulted in reduced interview time and an increase in positive attitudes on the part of respondents.

Special Problems

As the study progressed it became apparent that the initial refusal rate was high. In addition, interviewers reported that some respondent

hostility was generated by the questionnaire itself. The hostility was generally reported to have been expressed by males. While these two problems had the common effect of reducing the size of the sample, the investigator is of the opinion that, for the most part, they stemmed from different sources.

The refusal rate reflected a combination of influences on the townsmen's attitude toward the survey. Their proximity to the university had exposed them to previous surveys, and "sample fatigue" was responsible for some of the refusals. Also, an unfortunate series of incidents on the campus itself activated an unfavorable image of the social sciences, and sociology in particular, in some of the population segment included in the study sample. It was necessary to instruct interviewers not to mention "sociology" unless directly confronted with a question about the departmental source of the study.

In several instances the revelation that the study was sociological was followed by a refusal. In one, a couple agreed to be interviewed but changed their minds after a visitor surmised that the survey was sociological and advised them not to participate. The conservative attitude of the occupational strata included in the sample made it especially responsive to the campus situation and created a real hardship in this study.¹¹

Interviewers repeatedly reported difficulty in getting male respondents to complete the temporal horizon portion of the questionnaire.

¹¹See Centers, p. 57. A national survey showed 74 per cent of small businessmen to be ultra-conservative or conservative, and 55 per cent of white-collar workers were in these categories. Regional attitudes of those in the study make it likely that the sample was even more conservative than these figures indicate.

Typical complaints were: "This is too hard;" "I refuse to fool around with this nonsense any longer;" and "These questions will not show anything." Two reasons for this hostility are suggested. First, asking for important past events gave the respondent a feeling of "summing up" his life experiences, and this may have been ego threatening.

The second reason involves the approach itself. In his research on everyday background features of interaction, Garfinkel reported that the questioning of assumptions basic to social interaction sometimes provoked the subjects to such fury that the investigations had to be terminated.¹² In the case of this questionnaire, respondents were not asked the kinds of questions they expected. They were not able to "figure out" the reasons for either the questions or their own responses. They could not call upon the "natural facts of life" for responses, but were being asked to respond at the phenomenological level, that is, to tell something about the time-related phenomena which underlie time as an everyday background feature. That reactions to being subjected to this approach would be strong was predicted by Garfinkel:

In short, the members' real perceived environment on losing its known in common background should become "specifically senseless." Ideally speaking, behaviors directed to such a senseless environment should be those of bewilderment, uncertainty, internal conflict, psychosocial isolation, acute and nameless anxiety along with various symptoms of acute depersonalization.¹³

This combination of a rather unfriendly local environment and an anxiety-producing approach to interviewing may have been responsible for the high loss rate in the sample.

¹²Garfinkel, p. 232-233.

¹³Ibid., p. 237.

CHAPTER IV

STUDY FINDINGS

Introduction

The fact that most of the data gathered in this study were of nominal character limited the number of tests available for hypothesis testing. The two tests most commonly used throughout were the χ^2 goodness-of-fit test, and the binomial test. Inasmuch as the hypotheses themselves predict only the existence of patterned frequency distributions, these tests were usually sufficient for the task at hand. In the following discussion each of the dimensions of sociocultural time is dealt with in terms of the appropriate hypothesis, and the evidence for accepting or rejecting this hypothesis is presented.

Tempo

The data pertaining to tempo were derived from the responses to the time metaphors in the questionnaire. Subjects were defined as fast, moderate fast, moderate, moderate static, static, or indifferent. Table V shows the distribution of individual respondents in these categories by sex and age.

The next step was to compare the husband and wife in each married pair. Table VI shows that ten couples had the same defined tempo orientation while forty differed. The table also gives the two-tailed confidence limits for the distribution in each age-group. (In this case,

TABLE V
 TEMPO ORIENTATIONS* BY SEX AND AGE

Sex	Age Group	Fast	Moderate-Fast	Moderate	Moderate-Static	Static	Indifferent
Male	21-35	4	3	2	0	1	0
	36-50	6	2	5	3	5	2
	51-65	<u>5</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>1</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>1</u>	<u>5</u>
Total		15	8	8	5	7	7
Female	21-35	3	0	1	2	4	0
	36-50	1	1	2	4	13	2
	51-65	<u>1</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>5</u>	<u>4</u>	<u>2</u>
Total		5	4	5	11	21	4

*Orientations defined by metaphor choices.

Fast: First choice, 2 Fast; third choice, 2 Static.

Moderate Fast: First choice, 2 Fast; third choice, any except 2 Static.

Moderate: First choice, 2 Moderate; third choice, any.

Moderate Static: First choice, 2 Static; third choice, any except 2 Fast.

Static: First choice, 2 Static; third choice, 2 Fast.

Indifferent: First choice, no pair; third choice, any.

TABLE VI
SIMILARITY OF TEMPO ORIENTATIONS FOR MARRIED PAIRS

Age	Different	Alike	Confidence Limits*
21-30	4	0	.500-1.00
31-40	11	3	.578-.919
41-50	11	4	.500-.878
51-60	9	2	.577-.951
Over 60	<u>5</u>	<u>1</u>	.458-.983
Total	40	10	

*P (Different) = .83

P = Q because there are thirty ways in which pairs can be different and six ways in which they can be alike.) The data show that the proportion of pairs differing is not different from the expected proportion.

Further examination of the differing pairs reveals that the differences do seem to be in one direction. In thirty-one of the forty differing pairs, husbands have faster orientations than their wives. A one-tail binomial test shows that a probability of .0003 is associated with this distribution. In this sample husbands have faster tempo orientations than their wives. The fact that Table VI shows only one age group with significant differences may be due to the small number in the last category. Combining the pairs into three age groups results in a significant difference for each group. This maneuver, however, obscures the fact that the husbands and wives in the forty-one to fifty-year old pairs may be more like one another than those in any other age group.

The design of this study makes it difficult to compare overall sex differences. It is possible, however, to look for patterns within each

sex. For this purpose, categories of tempo orientation were collapsed to four: Fast (Fast and Moderate Fast), Moderate, Static (Moderate Static and Static), and Indifferent. Three age groups were used. It is of some interest to note that forty-eight respondents fell into the original Fast and Static categories. This is shown in Table VII. Table VIII gives response frequencies of the sample for the collapsed criteria.

TABLE VII
FAST AND STATIC RESPONSES
(Original Definition)

Sex	Orientation	
	Fast	Static
Male	15	7
Female	5	21
Total	20	28
p (male Fast = Static) = .067		
p (female Fast = Static) = .001		

TABLE VIII
FAST AND STATIC RESPONSES
(Collapsed Categories)

Sex	Orientation	
	Fast	Static
Male	23	12
Female	9	32
p (male Fast = Static) = .045		
p (female Fast = Static) = .0002		

A Fast orientation is more common for males than a Static one, while the opposite is true for females. Table IX, however, shows that the number of males having a Fast orientation is not significantly greater

than the number of those having other orientations, with one exception. In the twenty-one to thirty-five year age group a Fast orientation does predominate. The Static orientation for females does predominate. This orientation is most evident in the thirty-six to fifty year group, but for every age group it is more frequent than any other, or combination of others. This is shown in Table X.

TABLE IX
COMPARISON OF FAST WITH OTHER ORIENTATIONS FOR MALES

Age	Orientation		Lower Limit of p
	Fast	Other	
31-35	7	3	.448*
36-50	8	15	.214
51-65	8	9	.297
Total	23	27	

*Significant at $\alpha = .10$; $P(\text{Fast}) = .33$

TABLE X
COMPARISON OF STATIC WITH OTHER ORIENTATIONS FOR FEMALES

Age	Orientation		Lower Limit of p
	Static	Other	
21-35	6	4	.354*
36-50	17	6	.587*
51-65	9	8	.350*
Total	32	18	

*Significant at $\alpha = .10$; $P(\text{Static}) = .33$

Because Knapp and Garbutt found a correlation between metaphor choices and the achievement motive, the possibility of occupational

influence on tempo was investigated--the assumption being that the entrepreneurs (small business owners) are more achievement oriented and faster in tempo than either the bureaucratic workers or the miscellaneous group. Siegel's table¹ of approximate significance levels for the Fisher Exact Probability Test was used to test for differences. No difference was found between entrepreneurs and either of the other two groups. Table XI gives the frequencies in the three occupational groups of Fast and Static orientations.

TABLE XI

FAST AND STATIC ORIENTATIONS OF MALES BY OCCUPATIONAL GROUP

Tempo	Entrepreneurs	Bureaucratic Workers	Others
Fast	9	6	8
Static	5	2	5

The hypothesis that husbands and wives exhibit a pattern of differences in tempo orientation is provisionally accepted: husbands and wives differ in orientation, husbands having faster orientations than their wives. The acceptance is provisional because it was not demonstrated that time metaphors are valid measure of tempo. There were not enough comments in the open-end responses to validate the items.

Rhythm

The hypothesis that married pairs have a different pattern of orientations in the dimension of rhythm was tested by comparing preference

¹Siegel, pp. 256-270.

agreements on four units: time of day, day of week, season, and stage in life. Respondents ranked their preferences with each of these units. A rank correlation coefficient, Kendall's tau, was calculated for each married pair's ranking of these units. Kendall's taus significant at the .10 level, one-tail test, were counted as agreements.

Table XII summarizes the married pair agreements, agreements predicted by husbands and wives, and the accuracy of those predictions. Included in parentheses are figures obtained from a random pairing of husbands and wives with members of the opposite sex. The difference between the figures for random pairs and those for married pairs gives some indication of the effect of marital interaction on orientation consensus and on the ability to predict the orientations of one's spouse. It would seem reasonable to expect that both agreements and prediction accuracy would be greater for married pairs than for random pairs. This is not the case for this sample. The number of stated agreements for married pairs is not significantly greater than those for random pairs for any of the rhythm units. The wife's prediction accuracy is greater for married pairs for time of day, day of the week, and life stage. The husband's prediction accuracy is greater for married pairs for day of the week and season. The binomial test one-tail probabilities associated with the differences in Table XII are shown in Table XIII.

Even though there was no consistency in the rhythm unit agreed upon, the fifty-three stated agreements for married pairs were distributed among thirty-five couples. Thus a majority of couples did have a similar orientation toward at least one of the units. There may be a tendency for agreement to decrease with age. This is in keeping with other family studies which have reported a loss of consensus over time for married

TABLE XII

PREDICTED AND STATED RHYTHM ORIENTATION AGREEMENTS
FOR 50 MARRIED PAIRS AND 50 RANDOM PAIRS*

Unit	Stated	Number of Agreements			
		Wife's Prediction	Husband's Prediction	Wife's Accuracy	Husband's Accuracy
Time of Day	8 (4)	11 (11)	12 (12)	11 (4)	5 (4)
Day of Week	14 (8)	21 (21)	24 (24)	20 (10)	17 (6)
Season	7 (7)	12 (12)	22 (22)	13 (8)	10 (4)
Life Stage	24 (18)	38 (38)	32 (32)	30 (21)	23 (21)
Total	53 (37)	72 (72)	90 (90)	74 (43)	55 (35)

*Random pairs in parentheses

TABLE XIII

PROBABILITIES ASSOCIATED WITH DIFFERENCES BETWEEN NUMBER
OF AGREEMENTS FOR MARRIED PAIRS AND RANDOM PAIRS

Unit	Stated Agreement	Wife's Accuracy	Husband's Accuracy
Time of Day	.19	.06	.50
Day of Week	.14	.05	.02
Season	.60	.19	.09
Life Stage	.22	.10	.44

couples.² Table XIV illustrates this point.

TABLE XIV
AGREEMENT AND NON-AGREEMENT FOR MARRIED PAIRS BY AGE

Age	At Least One Agreement	No Agreement	P
21-35	9	1	.011
36-50	17	6	.017
51-65	<u>9</u>	<u>8</u>	.500
Total	35	15	

An investigation of the mean preferences of husbands and wives was made in an attempt to locate any differing patterns of preferences within each sex which might explain the general lack of consensus for the married pairs. The mean preference data are shown in Table XV. Kendall's coefficient of concordance W , which may be interpreted as meaning that the respondents applied the same standard in the unit rankings, is significant for all cases.

The first four rankings of time of day preferences for husbands and wives are not alike. Wives give first place to the night period (7 p.m. to 11 p.m.), while husbands rank this period third. The morning is ranked in second place by wives and first by husbands. In third place for wives is the afternoon, followed by the evening period (5 p.m. to

²For example, Clifford Kirkpatrick and Charles Hobart, "Disagreement, Disagreement Estimate, and Non-empathetic Imputation for Intimacy Groups Varying from Favorite Date to Married," American Sociological Review 19 (1954), pp. 10-19; J. Richard Udry, Harold A. Nelson, and Ruth Nelson, "An Empirical Investigation of Some Widely Held Beliefs About Marital Interaction," Marriage and Family Living 23 (1961), pp. 388-390.

TABLE XV

MEAN PREFERENCES* - TIME, DAY, SEASON AND TIME OF LIFE

	Morning	Afternoon	Evening	Night	Late Night	W	X ²	P	d.f.		
Female	2.480	3.080	3.120	2.100	4.220	.26	51.79	.001	4		
Male	2.320	3.440	2.440	2.520	4.280	.28	56.77	.001	4		
All	2.400	3.260	2.780	2.310	4.250	.25	100.58	.001	4		
	Sunday	Monday	Tuesday	Wednesday	Thursday	Friday	Saturday	W	X ²	P	d.f.
Female	2.960	4.580	3.940	4.140	4.460	4.280	3.640	.07	19.94	.01	6
Male	2.620	5.460	4.560	4.740	4.520	3.940	2.160	.30	91.68	.001	6
All	2.790	5.020	4.250	4.440	4.490	4.110	2.900	.15	90.49	.001	6
	Winter	Spring	Summer	Fall	W	X ²	P	d.f.			
Female	3.320	1.680	3.040	1.960	.39	57.84	.001	3			
Male	3.560	1.580	2.620	2.240	.41	61.56	.001	3			
All	3.440	1.630	2.830	2.100	.38	114.55	.001	3			
	Childhood	Teens	Twenties	Thirties	Forties	Fifties	Over 50	W	X ²	P	d.f.
Female	3.700	3.900	3.380	2.600	3.740	5.240	6.440	.48	131.18	.001	6
Male	4.540	3.740	2.520	2.720	3.720	4.820	5.940	.31	93.24	.001	6
All	4.120	3.820	2.450	2.660	3.730	5.030	6.190	.36	218.03	.001	6

*(1 = most liked)

7 p.m.). Husbands rank the evening second. Husbands place afternoons and late night in fourth and fifth places respectively; wives give these ranks to evening and late night.

The husbands' rankings for days of the week were the same as those reported by Farber for male college students having Saturday classes: first Saturday, then Sunday, Friday, Thursday, Tuesday, Wednesday, and Monday, last.³ This may be taken as validity evidence for the rankings obtained. Wives also preferred the weekend days, but ranked Sunday first. There was also agreement in ranking Monday seventh. The interior sequence of Tuesday, Wednesday, Friday, and Thursday for wives is very different from the husbands' interior rankings.

The season preferences for both husbands and wives fall in this order: spring, fall, summer, and winter. Actually, a list of four items was not as useful here as a lengthier list might have been. The number is so small that husbands and wives had to be in absolute agreement in order for the agreement to be significant. This explains the apparent disagreement between the similarity of mean preference rankings and the very low orientation agreement for married pairs.

The rank preferences for stages of life reflected agreement that the twenties and thirties were the most preferred, and that the fifties and over were least preferred. Surprisingly, however, the wives ranked the thirties first. The preferences for the two pre-adult stages, childhood and teens, were different for husbands and wives. The wives placed childhood third, while the husbands rated it sixth. The teen-age years were relatively unpopular with both sexes--they rated sixth with wives

³Farber, p. 254.

and fifth with husbands.

One further investigation into rhythm orientation was made by randomly pairing each sex within age groups and comparing the agreement of married pairs with agreement found in these same sex pairs. There were twenty-four pairs of each sex. One pair was lost for each in the process of pairing. Randomly paired husbands show as much agreement in rhythm orientation as do married pairs. Wives, however, show much less agreement, the exception being, strangely enough, days of the week.

TABLE XVI

PER CENT OF AGREEMENT FOR MARRIED AND SAME SEX PAIRS

Unit	Married N = 50 Per cent	Male N = 24 Per cent	Female N = 24 Per cent
Time of Day	16	17	12
Day of Week	28	33	32
Season	14	17	4
Time of Life	48	42	12

The hypothesis that there is a pattern of differences in orientations for couples toward time of day, day of the week, season and life stage is partially accepted. Husbands and wives differ in preferences for morning, afternoon, evening, and night, but are alike in their low preferences for late evening. Both prefer weekend days and dislike Mondays, but do not agree on the other days of the week. Agreement on seasons is indicated by the mean preferences. Husbands and wives do not like their teens and agree that each successive decade after the thirties is less preferable than the preceding one. They differ in their

preference for childhood, wives ranking this period third and husbands, sixth.

Standardized Time

The evidence for the acceptance of the hypothesis that there is a pattern of differing orientations toward standardized time between husbands and wives was obtained from open-end question responses. These responses indicate that this is probably the most visible of the four dimensions. Forty couples made comments which fell into four general categories: consciousness of clock time, the importance of scheduling time, the importance of being punctual, and the value of time as a quantity.

Seventeen couples commented upon time consciousness. Of these, fourteen said, in effect, that women are much more conscious of short units of time than are their husbands, while only three thought women less conscious of exact time than their husbands. The following are typical comments:

To women time is definite periods, and they plan their lives around periods. Men look at time as a goal or an accomplishment. The periods are not important to men as a definite period, but more as a certain amount of time to get something done. (Husband)

For men, time is when you have to do something or be somewhere--for women it's something that is on your neck all the time. (Husband)

Time is unimportant when I'm doing something I like. This includes work, hobbies, everything. (Husband)

Women are probably more time-conscious at any given point in time; they are more aware of minutes, hours, and days. (Husband)

Women are more on a routine. Men lose track of the time. (Wife)

Men look upon time as a whole, and women stew about minutes.
(Wife)

Nineteen couples mentioned the value of time. Of these, sixteen said the husband's time was more valuable than the wife's, two that the wife's was more important, and one couple was divided--each thinking his own time most valuable. The following comments are representative:

Assuming man is working, time is more important to him.
(Husband)

Time means more to men because of their jobs--women don't have the responsibility of time. (Husband)

Time means more to men than women. Men probably work harder at making use of their time. (Husband)

There is a difference between husbands and wives because time is so important to them because of their occupation.
(Wife)

Men think of time in terms of their business. Women have a set time for their business and any time after that they feel is their own. A woman spends her time doing things that men feel are unimportant. (Wife)

Time is so important to men because of their occupation--each minute counts. (Wife)

The attitudes toward the importance of organizing activities into set time periods--scheduling--and of meeting scheduled obligations--being punctual--are not as clear-cut as those described above. It is possible that these attitudes reflect personality differences to a greater extent. There is general agreement that one should be prompt and that scheduling is important, but not on the relative importance of each for husbands and wives. There were ten comments to the effect that scheduling was more important to husbands, seven that it was more important to wives, and in two couples each spouse thought it more important to himself. In seven cases the husband was thought to be more punctual; in two, the wife, and in three, each thought himself more punctual.

Idiosyncratic differences may influence these attitudes, but another factor may also be working here. Although wives agree with husbands that time spent in making a living is more important than time spent at home, they may not be so willing to accept this inequality for time spent together. Wilbert E. Moore has made some stimulating comments on the control of time. He notes various strategies people use to control the time of others: keeping others waiting, deliberate changing of pace, demanding others' time and the authority to allocate it.⁴ The following remarks suggest that a certain amount of tension exists between husbands and wives regarding the management of time together. Husbands' and wives' comments are presented in pairs.

She: I like routine, meals at a certain time and everyone ready--not military, but on time.

He: Time is unimportant when I'm doing something I like. This includes, work, hobbies and everything.

She: Women are more on a routine.

He: Men don't pay much attention to time, but women pay a great deal and expect you to be on time. You have to pay some attention to it.

She: He thinks I have no sense of time and am always late, but I'm not. He's always in a hurry about insignificant things.

He: Ten--ten-thirty, it's all the same to her.

She: My husband and I do not agree too often about time. I think there should be some time for doing nothing.

He: My life is regulated by my business, and it interferes with plans my wife might have.

She: Women are more inclined to be on time or get something done on time.

⁴Wilbert E. Moore, Man, Time and Society (New York, 1963), pp. 52-53 and p. 75.

He: Women like structured time and men couldn't care less. Women like to structure their time, and men like the opposite.

She: He is very exact about time. If he is kept waiting, he gets very upset.

He: Exact time means more to me; a woman is only concerned with approximate time.

Temporal Horizons

The final dimension to be examined is that of the temporal horizon. The respondents were asked to list important items in each of three areas, occupation, family, and nation-world. They were to list and give approximate dates for five past and five future events in each of the three categories. They were then asked to choose the eleven most important items from those listed. Two difficulties developed in this procedure. Only ten respondents, all males, listed all thirty items as requested. Most of the omissions were in the future perspective. Also, many women did not make any responses in the occupation category, since they had never worked. It would have made for a more balanced picture if they had been asked for important events in their husbands' occupations. Even with these rather serious problems, it was possible to draw some conclusions about span, perspective emphasis, and source and core of reference events in temporal horizons.

Span was determined by looking at the earliest and latest event in the family and nation-world categories and deciding which spouse, if either, had the greatest span in each case. Recall that Crestwood Heights women were described as living in time sub specie aeternitatis. Table XVII makes it clear that this is not the case for women in this sample. Only twelve wives had greater spans than their husbands in

the family category and eleven in nation-world. The X^2 value for the distribution of largest-span frequencies is too small to allow safe predictions for the family category, but it is safe to conclude that husbands are more likely than wives to have the greatest span in the nation-world category.

TABLE XVII
SPAN COMPARISONS FOR MARRIED PAIRS

Spouse with Greatest Span	Category	
	Family	Nation-World
Husband	17	24
Wife	12	11
Neither	<u>21</u>	<u>15</u>
Total	50	50
	$X^2 = 2.50, .30 > p > .20$ d.f. = 2	$X^2 = 6.80, .05 > p > .02$ d.f. = 2

Perspective emphasis is another aspect of temporal horizons. The questionnaire was structured only into the past and future perspectives, but it was thought that respondents would enter present events--those dated 1966, 1967, or 1968--in one of the two places if they were important. Overall, both husbands' and wives' responses to present events were very few--about eight per cent of their totals. Because of the great variation in the number of responses, it is quite difficult to draw conclusive comparisons for husbands and wives. Table XVIII shows the individual responses by sex and age. It indicates that there is a tendency for wives to list more future events than for husbands to do so.

When husbands and wives are compared with one another in terms of

TABLE XVIII

PERSPECTIVE OF EVENTS LISTED BY HUSBANDS AND WIVES

Age	Wives						Husbands					
	Past		Present		Future		Past		Present		Future	
	Num- ber	Per Cent	Num- ber	Per Cent	Num- ber	Per Cent	Num- ber	Per Cent	Num- ber	Per Cent	Num- ber	Per Cent
21-30 N = 4	25	(58.2)*	8	(18.6)	10	(23.2)	24	(52.2)	4	(8.7)	18	(39.1)
31-40 N = 14	74	(53.6)	7	(5.1)	57	(41.3)	87	(69.0)	4	(3.2)	18	(27.8)
41 - 50 N = 15	94	(58.8)	8	(5.0)	58	(36.2)	100	(60.3)	17	(10.2)	49	(29.5)
51-60 N = 11	69	(62.2)	11	(9.9)	31	(27.9)	59	(59.6)	9	(9.1)	31	(31.3)
Over 60	<u>25</u>	<u>(43.8)</u>	<u>8</u>	<u>(14.0)</u>	<u>24</u>	<u>(42.2)</u>	<u>38</u>	<u>(73.0)</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>(5.8)</u>	<u>11</u>	<u>(21.2)</u>
	287	(56.4)	42	(8.2)	180	(35.4)	308	(62.9)	37	(7.6)	144	(29.5)

*Per cents total across

which lists the event furthest in the future, however, wives do not think further into the future than their husbands. See Table XIX. The data show that in the family category there is no apparent tendency for either husbands or wives to list a date further in the future than their spouses do. In the nation-world category, it is the husbands who more often list a date further in the future if there is a difference between the spouses.

TABLE XIX
COMPARISON OF MARRIED PAIRS' FUTURE DATING OF EVENTS

Spouse with Remotest Date	Category	
	Family	Nation-World
Husband	15	21
Wife	12	10
Neither	<u>23</u>	<u>19</u>
Total	50	50
	$\chi^2 = 3.85; .20 > p > .10$ d.f. = 2	$\chi^2 = 4.12; .20 > p > .10$ d.f. = 2

In the composite horizon a significant number of wives listed a majority of family items; thirty-six as opposed to fourteen who did not. Husbands, on the other hand, named a majority of family items in half of the cases. They listed a majority of occupational items in thirteen cases. The remaining twelve were divided between nation-world and the various possible ties.

It is reasonable to expect that most husbands and wives would have more family items in common than either occupation or nation-world. Table XX shows that this is the case overall. Curiously enough, within

age groups, the forty-one to fifty age group is the only one in which this distribution is statistically significant. The data in Table XXI suggest that orientation consensus may decline in the same manner as other attitude consensus appears to for married pairs.⁴

TABLE XX
MARRIED PAIRS' CONSENSUS ON FAMILY IMPORTANCE

Age	Agree	Disagree	P
21-30	3	1	.31
31-40	7	7	.60
41-50	14	1	.0005
51-60	5	6	.50
Over 60	2	4	.34

TABLE XXI
OVERALL CONSENSUS AMONG MARRIED PAIRS

Age	Item Agreements (All Categories)	
	Range for all pairs	Average for all pairs
21-30	2 - 13	7.25
31-40	1 - 11	5.14
41-50	5 - 10	6.06
51-60	4 - 9	5.82
Over 60	4 - 7	4.83

⁴E. Lowell Kelley, "The Reassessment of Specific Attitudes After Twenty Years," Journal of Social Issues 17 (1961), 29-37.

The most frequently-mentioned events in the family and nation-world categories are shown in Table XXII. Not unexpectedly, the family category yielded the most items which over half of the sample agreed were important. And reflects the influence of marital interaction on temporal horizons. Marriage and major events in the lives of children comprise these events. World War II was the only event a majority of both husbands and wives mentioned. The astronauts and the space program followed the Kennedy assassination in frequency of listing.

The subcultural influences of historical age group and sex also appear. That age does have some effect on the events listed can be shown by referring to Table XXIII. There is a significant difference between the number of respondents under forty years of age and the number over forty who mention World War I or the Depression. With the exception of marriage and birth of child events, wives tend to list core family events more frequently than do husbands. The difference is significant, however, in only one case, travel ($p = .07$). Husbands list wars as reference events more frequently than wives do, but the difference is significant only for the Korean War ($p = .04$). Only three nation-world events were mentioned more often by wives than husbands: President Kennedy's assassination and the astronauts in the past; and medical discoveries in the future. None of these differences is significant.

The hypothesis that temporal horizons of husbands and wives are patterned differently is accepted. Although wives list fewer past events and more future events, husbands list events dated further in the future. In the nation-world category, husbands have longer spans than their wives; couples tend to be more alike in the family category. The greatest overlap of temporal horizons for married pairs is in the area of the

TABLE XXII

CORE REFERENCE EVENTS FOR THE SAMPLE:
FAMILY AND NATION-WORLD

Event	Family			Event	Nation-World		
	Male	Female	Total		Male	Female	Total
Marriage	46	41	87	<u>Past</u>			
Birth of Child*	43	43	86	World War II	42	31	73
Education of Child	28	34	62	President Kennedy's Assassination	19	25	44
Marriage of Child	22	35	57	Astronauts	15	22	37
Grandchild	17	23	40	Korean War	15	6	21
Travel	11	20	31	Viet Nam War	9	5	14
				Depression	9	5	14
				<u>Future</u>			
				Space Program	25	18	43
				End of Viet Nam War	21	20	41
				World Peace	17	13	30
				Political or Moral Change	16	14	30
				Medical Discoveries	12	15	27

*Four couples did not mention children

TABLE XXIII

FREQUENCY OF WORLD WAR I AND DEPRESSION
RESPONSES BY AGE OF RESPONDENT

Age	World War I	Depression
Under 40	3	2
Over 40	12	11
p	.02	.03

family. The number of common reference events for couples may tend to decline with age. Reference events in the family are the couple's own marriage and the birth, education, and marriage of children. The nation-world temporal horizon is anchored at one end in World War II and at the other in world peace. The space program, combining the past and future aspects of it, the assassination, and the Viet Nam war were cited often enough to be considered true reference events for this sample.

CHAPTER V

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

Introduction

This study was designed to investigate the orientations of individuals in married pairs to four sociocultural time dimensions. Specifically, orientations toward the dimensions of tempo, rhythm, standardized time, and temporal horizon were explored. The use of husbands and wives as subjects was helpful because in addition to their being matched on a number of variables, they exemplify a situation in which members of different subcultures form a group.

The literature suggests that temporal orientations are derived largely from memberships in collectivities. Although husbands and wives have a common family membership, the husbands in this study are also members of the occupational world, while the wives are not. In addition, husbands and wives are de facto members of their own sex subcultures. These different memberships led to hypotheses that differing patterns of orientation in married pairs exist for each of the four time dimensions.

Summary

Thirty-three of the fifty couples stated that men and women had different feelings about time because they had separate lives to lead. This, coupled with the fact that male pairs often showed more consensus than married pairs, suggests a parallel, rather than interaction pattern

of marriage for this sample.¹ That is, these couples appear to have segregated roles and be more traditional in their family patterns than is generally thought to be true of modern middle-class families.

The hypothesis that different tempo patterns would be observable within married pairs is accepted. Husbands have faster orientations than their wives. Wives are predominantly static in orientation.

The hypothesis that different patterns of rhythm orientations exist for spouses toward time of day, day of the week, season, and life stage is partially accepted. Thirty-five of the couples agreed on at least one of the rhythm units, ranking the items in it in the same manner. Of these thirty-five, twenty-four show similar preferences for life stages. Mean preferences of ranks reveal that within the time of day, days of the week, and stages of life there are patterns of differences. For time of day wives prefer night, morning, and afternoon in that order. Husbands give the first three places to morning, evening, and night. Both rank late night fifth.

Days of the week were ranked by husbands in the following order: Saturday, Sunday, Friday, Thursday, Tuesday, Wednesday, and Monday. Wives also preferred the weekend days, but ranked Sunday first, followed by Saturday, Tuesday, Wednesday, Friday, Thursday, and Monday. Season preferences were ranked the same by husbands and wives. Spring was the first choice, followed by fall, summer, and winter.

Husbands ranked the twenties and thirties first and second respectively, while wives reversed this order. Both ranked the fifties and

¹See Jessie Bernard's description of these patterns in "The Adjustment of Married Mates," in H. T. Christensen, ed., Handbook of Marriage and The Family (Chicago, 1964), pp. 687-689.

over seventh. Wives ranked childhood third, the forties fourth, and the teens fifth. Husbands ranked the forties third, the teens fourth, and childhood fifth.

The hypothesis that there would be different orientations toward standardized time could not be rigorously tested because of the lack of appropriate data. The available evidence indicates, however, that wives are more conscious of clock time and time in small units than are their husbands. Both husbands and wives view the husband's time as being the more valuable because it is spent in earning a living. Scheduling and promptness were equally important to both spouses.

The hypothesis that temporal horizons of husbands and wives are different is accepted. Husbands' temporal horizons extend further into the future than do those of their wives. Husbands also have a greater span than their wives in the nation-world category. Couples tend to have similar spans in the family category, although this tendency is not statistically significant. Common reference events for married pairs are most likely to be found in the area of the family and concern the couple's marriage and the births, educations, and marriages of their children. The reference events tended to coincide with the life experiences of the respondents. The Depression and World War I were more likely to be mentioned by those over forty years of age than by those under forty. This suggests that something like an age subculture must also be taken into account in the matter of temporal orientations. The highest averages of item agreements were found in the youngest age group and in the forty-one to fifty age groups. This may indicate that there may be certain stages in the family life cycle at which consensus is more likely to be found than at others.

A reexamination of the conceptual model used in this study should be made at this point. Some revisions seem to be in order in view of the findings. Age should be included in two senses: age relative to historical time, which exerts a subcultural influence upon one's temporal horizon; and age, or better, aging relative to the life span, which also apparently exerts an influence in time orientations. In addition, the modifying influence of marital interaction on the sex role should be included in the model. Figure 2 presents this revised conceptual model.

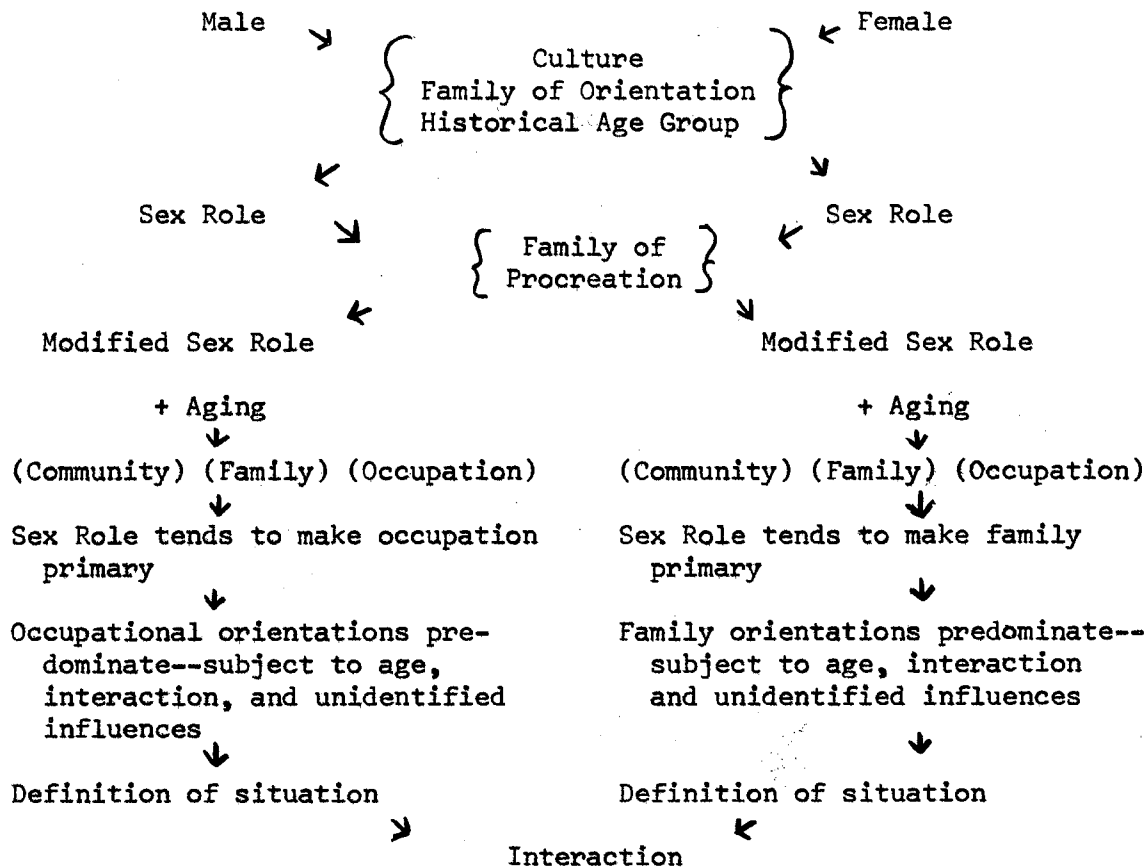


Figure 2 - Revised Conceptual Model

CONCLUSIONS

The finding that there are different temporal orientation patterns for husbands and wives suggests that to some extent they are living in different sociocultural times as a result of their memberships in different subcultural collectivities. Since orientations originating in sociocultural time function as part of the frame of reference for situational definitions, the implication is that there will be some lack of understanding between husbands and wives regarding temporal matters. The inability of husbands and wives to predict one another's responses is one indication that such a lack of understanding does exist. On the other hand, some of the similarities found, particularly those in the area of rhythm and temporal horizon, suggest that group interaction also functions as a temporal orientation force.

Reexamination of the findings regarding the various dimensions of time is of some help in suggesting possible explanations for orientation differences found in this study, in terms of their subcultural or interactional origins. The phenomenon of tempo results from varying ratios of activity per unit of time, and in the social sense, measures the rate of change from one social state to another. The fact that much of the housewife's day is spent routinely and in relative isolation, while her husband's is spent in the more varying and social occupational world may account for the husband's having a faster tempo orientation. The occupational world also functions to reinforce the male-sex subculture which may result in its being much more clearly defined than the female-sex subculture is for the women in this sample. Changes of social states are likely to occur more frequently in the husband's occupational environment. Whether the female sex-role generates a more naturalistic view

of the world which Simmel says is associated with a slow tempo is a possibility not pursued here.

The literature indicates that the various qualitative links of time comprising rhythm take on different values according to the activities associated with those time periods. Married couples show less agreement on three of the four units investigated than do husbands randomly paired within age groups. Age is the only exception. Women randomly paired within age groups show agreement about day of the week preference, but much less on the other units. Again this suggests that the male sub-culture exerts a stronger influence on the husbands' orientations than marital interaction does. The rank preferences for stage of life do reflect the most agreement between couples. Of some interest here is the difference in the ranking of childhood. Wives placed it third, while husbands rated it sixth. The influence of the family of orientation interaction may account for this difference since a more demanding socialization process is probably experienced by middle-class sons in American society.²

The temporal horizon is the habitual time frame within which activity is ordered. It is anchored by reference events in the past and by what are perceived to be realizable events in the future. The longer span evidenced by husbands may again be due to their participation in a larger social world than is true of their wives. Of the five reference events listed by more than half of the respondents, four pertained to

²For instance, see David F. Aberle and Kaspar D. Naegele, "Middle-Class Fathers' Occupational Role and Attitudes Toward Children," American Journal of Orthopsychiatry, 22 (1952), pp. 366-378 and Arnold W. Green, "Why Americans Feel Insecure," Commentary, 6 (1948), pp. 18-28.

the family, and thirty-one couples had more consensus regarding the family than either the nation-world or occupational categories. This strongly suggests the influence of marital interaction on temporal horizon orientations.

Limitations of the Study

The major weakness of this study is that the measures were not consistently validated, nor were they checked for reliability. In the matter of validity, the only relevant study known to the author was the day of the week study by Knapp and Garbutt. The results found here were consistent with that study. Time and money limitations made reliability checks impractical. In addition, the only way to check reliability on temporal horizon orientations would have been to go back and re-interview people in the same sample. In view of the difficulties encountered in obtaining the first interviews, this alternative was not seriously considered.

The second major weakness of the study is that it cannot be generalized to a larger population since a purposive sample was employed. In addition, there was evidence that this sample was more traditionally oriented in terms of family patterns than what is generally thought to be true of middle-class families.

A third limitation is that the study attempted to deal with too many variables. Any one of the four dimensions of sociocultural time could have been dealt with in depth, and this seems preferable to attempting to appraise all four at a necessarily more superficial level.

Implications for Further Study

Each of the four dimensions of sociocultural time needs more precise definition and further refinement. In addition, valid and reliable measures for them should be developed.

The consequences for various temporal orientations in interaction needs to be explored. The relative visibility of the punctuality and scheduling aspects of standardized time seemed to result in the development of some tension in regard to them. It is probable that the differences in other orientations found in this study also affect marital interaction.

Finally, it would be fruitful to investigate the existing patterns of temporal orientations in collectivities in the larger society--not impressionistically, but empirically, and to assess the extent to which differing orientations lead to differing situational definitions, thus introducing a measure of misunderstanding into interaction.

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APPENDIX A

TEMPORAL DIMENSION SURVEY - Oklahoma State University

PART I. Time Preferences

Directions: Some people say they look forward to certain days of the week and dislike others. They also like some parts of the day better than others, enjoy some seasons more than others, and have preferences for certain ages in life. We would like to know how you feel about these things. Please rate each of the following four lists twice: first in the order you normally prefer them and then in the order you think your spouse prefers them. Rank the best-liked item "1," the second-best "2," and so on through the last item in each list.

Time of Day (Ranks 1 thru 5)

	<u>I like</u>	<u>I think my spouse likes</u>
Morning	_____	_____
Afternoon (noon to 5 p.m.)	_____	_____
Evening (5-7 p.m.)	_____	_____
Night (7-11 p.m.)	_____	_____
Late night (after 11 p.m.)	_____	_____

Days of the Week (Ranks 1 through 7)

	<u>I like</u>	<u>I think my spouse likes</u>
Sunday	_____	_____
Monday	_____	_____
Tuesday	_____	_____
Wednesday	_____	_____
Thursday	_____	_____
Friday	_____	_____
Saturday	_____	_____

Seasons of the Year (Ranks 1 through 4)

	<u>I like</u>	<u>I think my spouse likes</u>
Winter	_____	_____
Spring	_____	_____
Summer	_____	_____
Fall	_____	_____

Time of Life (Ranks 1 through 8)

	<u>I like</u>	<u>I think my spouse likes</u>
Childhood	_____	_____
Teens	_____	_____
Twenties	_____	_____
Thirties	_____	_____
Forties	_____	_____
Fifties	_____	_____
Sixties	_____	_____
After sixties	_____	_____

Time Metaphors

Directions: The following phrases might be used by a writer to describe time. Please choose the three (3) you like best and mark them "1". Then choose the three you like next best and mark them "2". Finally mark the three you like least "3". In the same manner rate the phrases as you think your spouse would.

Time is like:	<u>I like</u>	<u>I think my spouse likes</u>
a revolving wheel	_____	_____
a dashing waterfall	_____	_____
a vast expanse of sky	_____	_____
a string of beads	_____	_____
a speeding train	_____	_____
a galloping horseman	_____	_____

Time Metaphors (continued)

	<u>I like</u>	<u>I think my spouse likes</u>
a quiet motionless ocean	_____	_____
a winding spool	_____	_____
wind-driven sands	_____	_____

PART II. Temporal Horizon

Directions: Under each of the following three categories (family, nation-world, and occupation) please list and date five (5) important past events and five (5) important future events. Please try to complete the lists, but if you are not able to do so, list as many as you can. Future events, of course, are never certain. We are not asking you to predict the future, but to list the future events you have thought about and which will be important if and when they occur.

OCCUPATION (List here those events which pertain to your work)

<u>Past Event</u>	<u>Year</u>	<u>Future Event</u>	<u>Approximate Year/Decade</u>
1. _____	_____	6. _____	_____
_____		_____	
2. _____	_____	7. _____	_____
_____		_____	
3. _____	_____	8. _____	_____
_____		_____	
4. _____	_____	9. _____	_____
_____		_____	
5. _____	_____	10. _____	_____
_____		_____	

FAMILY (Include here events pertaining to your present family or the family you or your spouse came from)

<u>Past Event</u>	<u>Year</u>	<u>Future Event</u>	<u>Approximate Year/Decade</u>
11. _____	_____	16. _____	_____
_____	_____	_____	_____
12. _____	_____	17. _____	_____
_____	_____	_____	_____
13. _____	_____	18. _____	_____
_____	_____	_____	_____
14. _____	_____	19. _____	_____
_____	_____	_____	_____
15. _____	_____	20. _____	_____
_____	_____	_____	_____

NATION-WORLD (You may include here any events pertaining to the world outside your home and work)

<u>Past Event</u>	<u>Year</u>	<u>Future Event</u>	<u>Approximate Year/Decade</u>
21. _____	_____	26. _____	_____
_____	_____	_____	_____
22. _____	_____	27. _____	_____
_____	_____	_____	_____
23. _____	_____	28. _____	_____
_____	_____	_____	_____
24. _____	_____	29. _____	_____
_____	_____	_____	_____
25. _____	_____	30. _____	_____
_____	_____	_____	_____

* * * * *

Directions: From the events you have listed in the three categories above, please choose the eleven (11) most important to you and list them below by number (not necessarily in order of importance or date). Choose on the basis of importance to you only, disregarding categories or tense of events.

- Event No.
1. _____
 2. _____
 3. _____
 4. _____
 5. _____
 6. _____
 7. _____
 8. _____
 9. _____
 10. _____
 11. _____

BACKGROUND DATA

1. Male _____ Female _____
2. Length of time married _____
3. Husband's occupation _____
4. Age Group (check one)

21-25	46-50
26-30	51-55
31-35	56-60
36-40	61-65
41-45	

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