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# 1

## Introduction

*Graham Crow and Sue Heath*

Time is an essential but elusive dimension of social inquiry. It is essential because any understanding of social relationships needs to get to grips with how they endure or change over time. It is elusive because the time dimension of social relationships is rarely (if ever) straightforward, and always connected to wider debates and disagreements about the nature and causes of continuity and change. The early sociologists all confronted the problems of studying time. The rise of industrial societies was taken by several observers to indicate the presence of a process of social evolution, among whom Durkheim stands out due to his concern about the adverse effects on social solidarity of change that he considered to be overly rapid (Lockwood, 1992). Durkheim's comment that 'The past predetermines the future' (1984, p. 302) was made in the context of his discussion of the importance of habit in social and economic life, his argument being that new patterns of behaviour necessarily take time to become established and that abrupt change is inevitably disruptive. Marx identified the opposite problem of change taking place too slowly or not at all, as in the Asiatic societies that he described as being characterized by 'millennial stagnation' (in Sayer, 1989, p. 148), and (with specific reference to China) 'vegetating in the teeth of time' (in Avineri, 1969, p. 343). Weber rejected the idea of social change unfolding in an orderly, evolutionary fashion, but his analysis of the rationalization process still led him to explore the preconditions that allowed Benjamin Franklin's admonition 'Remember, that *time* is money' (cited in Weber, 1930, p. 48, emphasis in original) to gain widespread currency. Simmel's question 'What is the relationship between time and the other components of history?' (1980, p. 127) dates from the same period in which the classical sociologists in their different ways attempted to understand the world as it

changed around them and were thereby led to try to make sense of time sociologically.

The sense that time is crucial to the understanding of social relationships is at least as strong today as it was a century ago. Recent contributions to the literature suggest that we live in *Changing Times* (Gershuny, 2000), an age of *Time Pioneers* (Hörning *et al.*, 1995), and that we have entered *The 24 Hour Society* (Kreitzman, 1999), or have become locked into *The Time Bind* (Hochschild, 1997), to take but four titles from a rejuvenated field of research. This rediscovery by contemporary writers of the full importance of the temporal dimension of social relationships followed a long period during which it had been relatively neglected by social theorists, but there is much about current debates that is familiar to historians of social theory, as several commentators have noted (Adam, 1990; Hassard, 1990; Urry, 1996). Young's (1988) analysis of the rhythmic and habitual character of much of our social life has explicitly Durkheimian foundations, to take one example. A very different illustration of the same point would be the intellectual debt to Goffman and several other predecessors that Giddens (1984) acknowledges as influences on the development of his account of the structuration of social systems. It can also be noted that there are numerous antecedents of the often-voiced proposition that the pace of life is speeding up and of the related suggestion that the rate of social change is accelerating (Eriksen, 2001; Shaw, 1998). Ours is by no means the first generation to grapple with the problem of studying time in social life, and the insights (as well as the limitations) of earlier contributions to the sociology of time provide a valuable starting-point for much of the best current research.

There are several broad themes running through the contemporary sociology of time, of which three are particularly important to note in introducing the contributions to this volume. The first of these themes is that there are many different ways of thinking about time. Sociologists, like physicists, have been led 'to recognise a "plurality of times"' (Wallerstein, 1991, p. 33), and consideration of this point has gone well beyond the influential but problematic distinction between natural time and social time. Among the many types of time discussed by Nowotny (1994) are public time and private time, work time and free time, women's time and men's time, individual time and global time, and cyclical and linear time. Literally dozens of other types of time have been distinguished (Bender and Wellbery, 1991; Lash *et al.*, 1998). Many of these distinctions are subversive of the taken-for-granted world of time understood as a linear process captured by clocks

and calendars. The way in which contemporary sociologists of time approach their subject has been transformed so that, as Adam puts it, 'It needs to be conceived as a multivariate with each variant implicating all the others. At the very least, therefore, we would be concerned with time, temporality, tempo, timing, duration, sequence, and rhythmicity as the mutually implicating structural aspects of time' (1998, p. 202). McNeill's (1995) wide-ranging study of the practical obstacles to 'keeping together in time' provides a vivid illustration of why we should be surprised not by how little synchronization there is in social relationships but by how much there is, given the enormous scope that exists for people to be out of step with those around them. Zerubavel's point that 'Temporal symmetry, which involves synchronizing the activities of different individuals, is actually one of the fundamental principles of social organization' (1981, p. 65) is all too easily overlooked; because they are so familiar to us, the rhythms of social life are in a very real sense 'hidden'.

The second theme relating to recent work in the sociology of time to which it is important to draw attention is the significance of the methodological strategies adopted by researchers. Increasingly sophisticated tools have become available to researchers who are concerned to explore various dimensions of time in social life, for example in relation to the longitudinal study of time use, the value attached to time, and sequence alignment (Merz and Ehling, 1999). Sociologists have been able to draw upon developments in other disciplines, as they have when, like economists, they are confronted with the need to smooth out time series data in order to reveal the general trend and not to be misled by minor fluctuations (Marsh 1988). The ongoing debate about the relationship between sociology and history has also helped to sharpen awareness of what is needed in order to capture the complexity of the connection between time and social change (Engelstadt and Kalleberg, 1999). The diversity of methodological tools available is a reflection of the presence of a range of problems to be researched. As Young and Schuller have observed about the study of social rhythms, some 'require a very wide-angle lens to bring them into focus, and would be completely invisible to the social scientist peering at a more limited segment of historical time. Conversely, the broad sweep of history at the macro level cannot capture the infinity of pulses that sustain particular households, housegods, workplaces or individuals in their daily lives' (1988, p. 14). The existence of an impressive array of findings about the place of time in contemporary social life demonstrates

that researchers have risen to the challenge of developing imaginative techniques of investigation. Chattoe and Gilbert's (1999) analysis of time and uncertainty in household budgeting provides a good illustration of this point. Methodological innovation is currently being given a further spur by the need to capture the nature of the flows which cross national frontiers with increasing regularity in an age of globalization and which have, according to Urry (2000), made study in terms of 'society', the conventional unit of sociological analysis, increasingly problematic.

The third broad theme connecting research in the field of the sociology of time relates to the unavoidable engagement with issues of causality. The quest to discover what forces lie behind the social changes that are manifest in the various aspects of our lives has prompted Giddens to observe that 'We need not accept all aspects of Marx's account to see the significance of what might be called the "commodification of time" in modern society' (1987, p. 150). Others have taken up this idea and identified the development of global capitalism as the driving force behind 'time-space compression' (Harvey, 1989), although Giddens's (1999) own account of globalization treats it as the product of a combination of forces of which economic ones are only a part, albeit a very important part. Hochschild's account of what she refers to as 'the current speed-up in work and family life in the United States' (1996, p. 14) provides a good illustration of the value of paying attention to non-economic causes of changes in time use. Her argument that the increase in the number of hours women spend at work is rooted less in financial considerations than in a desire to escape from the pressures of home life goes against the conventional wisdom concerning the causal connection between work and family life, that family is the dependent variable. Mulgan and Wilkinson's observation that 'large majorities would continue to work even if there was no financial need' (1997, p. 79) also goes against conventional wisdom by questioning the presumption that people in post-industrial societies will have a preference for leisure over work. Nor should it be presumed that the escape from work will even be an option. Recent developments in this and in other areas of life have had the effect of shattering 'the modernist illusion that historical time was moving ahead toward some indefinite but well-advertised improvement upon present circumstances' (Lemert, 1997, p. 162). Divorced from the assumption of social progress, sociologists are free to consider alternative scenarios, including the view that social relationships are characterized to an important degree by repetition and the reworking of tradition (Giddens, 1996).



The contributions to this volume add to these debates in a number of ways. In relation to the theme of the many faces of time, several contributors seek to explore the distinction between work time and other types of time. The conventional distinction between work time and leisure time is problematic for a number of reasons. Gershuny's chapter reveals the importance of recognizing the significance of trends in relation to unpaid work as well as paid work, a distinction that links to the contrast between women's time and men's time that Holmes draws upon to investigate the unequal opportunities that exist to participate in the public sphere. The political economy of time is concerned with time as an unevenly distributed resource, and this issue is particularly prominent in the consideration given by the contributors to the second section of the volume to how people allocate time to paid work and to domestic responsibilities. The importance of gender is emphasized by Fagan, and by Smith and Carroll, and it is also treated as a vital factor by Warren, and by Deem and Hillyard, albeit that the latter pair of chapters direct more attention to the complex interplay of class and gender inequalities. Hareven's (1982) notion of 'family time' offers another point of departure for thinking about different types of time, and the influence of family practices on people's experience of time is central to the accounts of everyday life in the chapters by Silva, Goode and Chaplin. The contributions to this volume frequently return to the theme elaborated upon by Nippert-Eng (1996), that the boundary between home and work is problematic in a temporal sense as well as a spatial one. The activities that make up people's lives do not fall neatly into work time and home time, any more than they fall into public time and private time, or any of the other analytical dualisms that have been developed.

The methodological challenges that the study of time in social life presents have been responded to in a variety of ways. The majority of the contributions to this volume report on empirical research, evenly divided into chapters that draw upon quantitative data and chapters that are reliant on qualitative data. Comparison of national data sets on time use drawing on diary and survey material allows Gershuny and Fagan to discuss emergent trends in different types of societies. Within individual societies it is also possible to chart the process of change, as van den Broek, Breedveld and Knulst do in relation to patterning of daily life in the Netherlands in recent decades. The chapter by Roberts, which explores the relationship between hours of work and leisure among a nationally representative sample of English respondents, demonstrates the potential of quantitative data to confound popular conceptions, as

does the analysis of data from the British Household Panel Survey by Warren. Quantitative data also have the potential to illuminate differences in the forces that operate at a more local level to influence people's time allocation decisions, as Smith and Carroll show in their analysis of two local authority policies. The arguments that these chapters advance are in many ways complementary to those of contributors who adopt more qualitative approaches. The theme of rhythms and routines highlighted by van den Broek, Breedveld and Knulst, for example, is also prominent in the analysis of the ethnographic and interview data on time in everyday life collected by Chaplin and Silva. The longer-term collecting habits described by Goode's interviewees might also be mentioned in this context. The interview data collected by Deem and Hillyard nicely illustrate how people often have to juggle several different activities as part of the management of their time, and their point about the difficulties of maintaining boundaries around different types of time is also a key conclusion of the documentary analysis carried out by Holmes. The ethnographic methods employed by Knights and Odih in their chapter on work in call centres are equally revealing about the processes whereby time is made, and their qualitative data about what it is like to work under surveillance help to explain why it is that the statistics for staff turnover are so high.

The explanations of the patterns and trends identified in the various chapters are no less diverse than the subject matter that the contributors discuss, although some common points of reference can be identified. Several of the contributors cast doubt on the efficacy of analyses framed in terms of the concept of globalization. Urry does so on the grounds that the processes involved are more complex than globalization analyses allow, arguing that complexity theory offers a more fruitful starting-point for the attempt to capture movement in time and space more adequately than conventional causal analysis is able to. Roberts also casts doubt on the extent to which globalization explains changes in work time, while the chapters by Gershuny and Fagan suggest that welfare state regimes can have some modifying influence on the impact of global economic forces. The move away from the 'male breadwinner' model of welfare provision has been taken in contrasting directions in different countries, as several of the contributors note, with the result that there is no uniformity in the impact of welfare state regimes on time budgets. The doubts voiced by Gershuny about the utility of Marx's labour theory of value are contested by Neary and Rikowski, whose chapter develops the argument that Marx's political economy approach still has an important role to play in the explanation of the speeding up of the pace of life that is widely

experienced. Technological developments would necessarily figure prominently in any account of the processes that have made possible the type of work regulation described by Knights and Odih, although they are careful to avoid adopting a technologically determinist perspective, preferring instead to explore the negotiated character of time in the workplace. The account of change in Dutch society advanced by van den Broek, Breedveld and Knulst refers to the effects of that country's secularization, a process that has unfolded alongside the feminization of the labour force and the spread of a more informal and individualized culture. Individualization is also discussed by Silva, who arrives at similar conclusions about the greater difficulty in achieving the synchronization of social relationships that such a development entails. All of these trends have helped to create an increasingly diverse pattern of social relationships, which require continued monitoring of the methods and analytical frameworks employed by researchers. The variety of household types in Silva's sample demonstrates the importance for the analysis of time use of capturing the diversity of lifestyles that exists beyond the much-researched married couple. In similar fashion, the recognition of household diversity is increasingly a feature of analysis based on large data sets, made possible by their being redesigned in order to capture living arrangements beyond the married couple, for example cohabitation. The welcome recognition of gay and lesbian couple households in the 2001 Census of Population is a further indication of how times are changing in this respect.

The chapters in this volume serve to confirm that time is necessarily central to the understanding of social life. They are sufficiently diverse in their focus on different aspects of time, in their employment of different methodologies, and in their underlying theoretical assumptions to convey at least some sense of the range of ideas, practices and debates that make up the sociology of time. They are united by the shared conviction of their authors that the social dimensions of time and the temporal dimensions of social relationships are still imperfectly understood, and that a better understanding of these issues is a matter of very real consequence. By illuminating the structures and processes that are to be found in work and everyday life, they show that there are many faces of time, all of them made in different ways. As Landes (2000) has shown, we have been 'making time' for a very long time indeed, and time is central to the ways in which social relationships are (more or less) organized. The contributions to this volume suggest that there are good reasons to believe that the sociological study of these phenomena will continue to repay those who undertake it.

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