

view of man and nature, believing that some middle ground of cohabitation exists (Hepworth & McNamee, 1996). *Desert Solitaire* is in some sense a plea to his fellow humans to enjoy the wilderness but not at any cost. He eloquently advocates for man to find his place in the wild:

Out there is a different world, older and greater and deeper by far than ours, a world which surrounds and sustains the little world of men as sea and sky surround and sustain a ship. The shock of the real. For a little while we are again able to see, as the child sees, a world of marvels. For a few moments we discover that nothing can be taken for granted, for if this ring of stone is marvelous then all which shaped it is marvelous, and our journey here on earth, able to see and touch and hear in the midst of tangible and mysterious things-in-themselves, is the most strange and daring of all adventures. (p. 37)

This is Abbey's legacy. His emotional and intelligent writing compels new generations to consider the beauty and necessity of the wilderness for man's survival and continued freedom (Hepworth & McNamee, 1996).

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The Harried Leisure Class. Staffan Linder. New York: Columbia University Press, 1970.

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Staffan Linder was perhaps the first economist to understand and predict the frantic pace of modern life and leisure. A Swede, who taught at both Yale and Columbia, his modest little book—*The Harried Leisure Class*—challenged the thinking of economists by pointing out that consumption had to be measured in temporal as well as economic terms. Consumption takes time. As specialized work led to higher rates of productivity, the increased level of products and services had to be consumed. Hence the process of consuming must be sped up—by consuming more rapidly, by consuming higher quality versions of a product or service or by simultaneous consumption in which one consumed more than one thing at a time. Such

an acceleration of consumption led to an acceleration of the pace of life and a harried leisure class.

Much of what Linder discussed in regard to time scarcity was *perceived* scarcity. Work time and leisure existed in a theoretical equilibrium, he argued, in terms of outputs. Increases in the productivity of work destroyed this equilibrium. The outputs from leisure then had to be increased to restore the balance. This was done by combining leisure activity with a higher volume of goods in the ways mentioned above—thus commodifying leisure and bringing its outputs into parity with the increased outputs of work. This new situation led to a general perceived scarcity of time in modern life. We must be careful, Linder argued, not to image a mythical society in which citizens have both lots of material goods and lots of unused time. In a highly consumptive culture, the demand for time exceeds the supply.

Interestingly, Linder's conclusions were not that people would work longer, a common misinterpretation of his work, but rather that they would feel rushed and attempt to increase the yield on a unit of time in all areas of life—minimizing activities such as singing or political debate, which could not easily have their yield on time spent increased. The value of efficiency and increased productivity, carried to extremes, he argued, produced a kind of decadence in which the goal of economic growth is never questioned. When one asked if increased economic growth had led to more tranquility, eliminated poverty or improved public taste, possible justifications for such growth, the answer was “no.” Economic growth became an unquestioned good, an open-ended goal that was a priori worthwhile. (President George Bush is an uncritical subscriber to this idea).

Linder's thinking led to the conception of “time deepening.” As German sociologist Erwin Scheusch (1972) observed about the landmark 12-nation time-diary study of 1965:

A main problem in recording the use of time derives from the fact that many people during a large part of the day do more than one thing at one time. Our pretests suggest that the more a person is part of an industrial society with a very high density of communication, the more educated a person, the more likely he is to do a number of things simultaneously. While it is generally true that everyone—regardless of status or nationality—has merely the same 24 hours at his disposal there is actually something like “time deepening” (to coin a term in analogy to capital deepening): if a person develops the ability to do several things simultaneously, he can crowd a greater number of activities into the same 24 hours. (p. 77).

Time deepening was also conceptualized as having four elements (Godbey, 1976; Robinson & Godbey, 1997):

- Attempting to speed up a given activity. Bringing the relief pitcher in from the bull pen in a golf cart, visiting a national park without getting out of your car, telling a date your life story in under two minutes.
- Substituting a leisure activity which can be done more quickly for one which takes longer. Phoning for home-delivered fast food instead of cook-

ing it yourself. Substituting the game of racquetball or squash for tennis, since tennis takes longer.

- Doing more than one activity at once. Watching television while reading the newspaper and eating dinner. Eating, drinking, doing your income tax and watching a movie while traveling in an airplane.
- Undertaking a leisure activity with more precise regard to time, perhaps planning an evening with friends of cocktails, dinner and attending the theater with only a five minute tolerance in the schedule.

These elements of time deepening are highly related to Linder's categorization of ways in which consumption is increased as a result of more efficient labor: faster consumption, consumption of more expensive versions of a product and simultaneous consumption of more than one product.

The net result of increasing the tempo of life was to lose some of the pleasure associated with a broad range of activities, from eating to sex. More things, Linder observed, have not made us happier. Faster food, for instance, is not better food. All forms of human endeavor are sped up or, if they cannot be, begin to disappear. Thus, poetry disappears and shopping is sped up.

The relevance of Linder's book in 2003 is stunning. The period of decadence Linder predicted is evident everywhere from ubiquitous cell phone conversations while driving and eating to the rationalization of work to kids soccer games in which people show up five minutes before the match and leave immediately after without a word to anyone.

The field of leisure studies has largely ignored this issue, although it is the most critical one in terms of constraints to leisure. Linder's main message is emphatically not that people are working longer. It is, rather, that the pace of life has sped up and has caused the ways in which leisure is used to change. For Linder, increases in productivity at work resulting in higher pay have two conflicting effects: you can make just as much money as previously and work shorter hours but, at the same time, every hour you don't work means you are "losing" more money by not working an hour than you would have previously.

Linder's vision of the speed up of consumption and a resulting period of decadence seem to have come true. Economic growth rules, "efficiency" has become an obsession, rationalizing both work and leisure and producing "the harried leisure class." Linder saw it coming.

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