

CALIFORNIA STATE UNIVERSITY, NORTHRIDGE

THE HOLISTIC CONCEPT OF WORK AND LEISURE  
"IN THE LITERATURE OF UTOPIA

A graduate project submitted in partial  
satisfaction of the degree of Master of  
Science in

Recreation and Leisure Administration

by

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ABSTRACT

THE HOLISTIC CONCEPT OF WORK AND LEISURE IN THE  
LITERATURE OF UTOPIA

by

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and Leisure Administration

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The holistic concept of work and leisure is an emerging theoretical perspective in which the meaning of work and leisure are inextricably related to each other, thus eliminating the traditional dichotomy often drawn between these terms. It has been suggested that this new perspective should become the bases upon which policy makers determine goals, objectives and programs since this concept takes into account recent changes in the work-leisure pattern of Americans, as well as the needs of man due to these changes.

The problem for this investigation was that concrete models which can be used to operationalize this concept were not generally known. The purpose of this investigation was to indicate the existence of literary sources that can provide policy makers with models or images of

societies where work and leisure have a holistic quality. Based upon a review of the literature of utopia, it was proposed that the work-leisure patterns of the communities described in Edward Bellamy's Looking Backward and B. F. Skinner's Walden Two contain holistic characteristics.

The method utilized in order to verify the proposition involved describing the work-leisure patterns of Bellamy's and Skinner's communities in terms of time, choice, environment and value, and identifying the holistic characteristics of these patterns by comparing them to established descriptions and definitions of the holistic concept.

It was found that the work-leisure patterns of these communities were holistic in such areas: the number of hours required for work and the number available for leisure, the freedom of choice in determining work and leisure pursuits, the environmental conditions which promote satisfaction and fulfillment in work and leisure, and in the communities' value or attitude toward work and leisure where one's occupational role does not determine his status, and recreation and leisure are highly valued.



## CHAPTER I

### The Problem and Its Components

#### Introduction

The accomplishments of science and technology have produced tremendous changes in the work and leisure patterns of Americans, changes which in turn have created an intense, but far too often, haphazard search for more satisfaction in work and play. Both industrialists and recreation policy makers are concerned with the need to formulate new goals, objectives and programs which will provide the satisfaction sought by Americans today.

Many social critics have stated that automation, with its accompanying lack of creative satisfaction from the work performed, has decreased the number of hours to which workers are committed but offers few answers to the psychological problems presented by non-creative work and leisure. In 1900, the average work week for a non-agricultural worker was 56 hours, declining to 43 hours in 1930. The depression of the 1930's brought about legislation limiting the work week to 40 hours. (25:183). Since 1940, paid vacations and holidays have been adopted or increased for virtually all types of workers. (25:192). It has been projected that by the year 2000 the average work week will be 4 days at 7.5 hours per day, with

workers receiving 13 weeks of vacation per year. (6:195). From these statistics, we can see that the need for recreation planning is rapidly increasing as is the need for more satisfying work situations.

Industrialists have attempted to solve the dissatisfaction caused by non-creative work but the solutions have been palliative rather than curative as evidenced by newspaper and magazine articles describing the types of work young people are choosing. Employers, believing that the happy worker is the more productive worker, have gradually changed the work environment and have made it more pleasing. In the past, factories were gray, penitentiary-like buildings, constructed mainly with the aim of getting the job done. This aim gave little consideration to the effect on the worker of such an environment.

Today, industry is improving the work setting for office and factory workers through the use of music, color, light and natural materials. For example, one such factory in New Jersey which produces electronic components,

. . . is only one of a growing number of attractive 'next generation' plants that are rising fast along the country's highways and in industrial parks, replacing the monotonous seamy sweatshops. Set amid trees and flower beds, the low, sleek building . . . could well be a modern recreation center. (19:27).

Burlington Industries' new headquarters in North Carolina is another example of an office building designed with the worker in mind. In building design, the architects ". . . provided a whole complex of neo-urban spaces

for the workers to enjoy." (4:105). The interior of the building utilizes paintings, sculpture, banners, prints and graphics, while being penetrated by the planted areas of the landscape.

The changes in the work environment, however, have not solved the dissatisfactions caused by non-creative automated work, as suggested by the fact that recently there has been a revival in a wide range of arts and crafts skills, not only in recreational activity but also in occupational endeavors. Many shopping centers are devoted exclusively to the handmade goods of artisans, working with such materials as metal, wood, leather, or cloth. Many people with particular interests or talents in dance, drama, music, art, photography, skiing or sailing are seeking vocations that directly involve these activities. These work choices on the part of the young suggest a widespread, growing desire for creative satisfaction in the work itself.

Contemporary management is beginning to realize that Americans no longer wish to be forced into the psychologically, artificial categories of work versus play. Employers are beginning to realize that they are not only hiring a foreman, electrician, or secretary, but a person who may have a family, belong to civic groups, like to paint and live a whole life in which work must be a satisfying part. There is a new feeling that industry must attract and hold its workers by assuming some share of

responsibility in promoting the general welfare of the community as a place for living as well as for working. Solutions have taken many forms, from profit sharing to industry-sponsored recreation and from housing units to educational programs. (7:34). These solutions, although an attempt in the right direction, can be improved by fostering more concrete plans and goals.

Contemporary recreation leaders, similar to contemporary management, realize that lack of creativity in the work situation along with an increase in the amount of energy available for creative leisure have caused problems which must be considered if the non-fulfilling, leisure time behavior of masses of young people and far too many older people is to be improved. In his article, "Automation and Leisure," William A. Faunce discusses the effects of the reduction in working hours and our increased productivity on the amount of leisure time and energy. He believes that the combination of decreased working hours and of decreased physical effort required by automated jobs make possible a decrease in the proportion of time spent in recuperation from work and permit more active involvement in leisure pursuits. "Since recuperative time is likely to be non-creative, there would be at least the possibility for more creative use of leisure with increased time available." (25:90).

Although recreation leaders realize that creative use of increased leisure is now a distinct possibility,

they also realize that much of the available leisure time and energy is being used in ways which at best merely serve to make time pass without fulfillment and which at worst are self-destructive. As stated previously, the non-creative use of free time by both young and old is an indicator of the vital need for concrete plans satisfactorily solving the current leisure needs of the American people. Indications of the seriousness of this need are well known. Increased crime, alcohol and drug addiction demand immediate and satisfactory answers. New perspectives on work and leisure are needed, as indicated by the changing nature of these elements as they relate to the needs of man in a post-industrial society. These modified concepts should be fostered as the bases upon which policy makers and planners determine goals, objectives and programs. One emerging perspective views work and leisure as being unified into a holistic concept, a concept which will be defined briefly in Chapter II and discussed in detail in Chapter IV.

#### Statement of the Problem

If policy makers in the field of recreation and leisure accept this challenge to further the holistic orientation of work and leisure, the first task would be to determine some way in which this could be done. What is needed, though, are working formulas or models that we can look to which provide specific components of a holistic

pattern. Such models can provide a picture of the nature and form of work and leisure in a setting characterized by the holistic quality.

The problem for this investigation is that holistic models are not generally known to policy makers in the field of recreation and leisure; yet such models are found in the field of literature, a rich source for illuminating human conduct.

### The Purpose

The purpose of this investigation is to indicate the existence of literary sources that can provide policy makers with models or images of societies where work and leisure have a holistic quality. In addition, the purpose of this study is to show that two of these sources, Edward Bellamy's Looking Backward, and B. F. Skinner's Walden Two are, in fact, visions of societies where work and leisure are characterized by a holistic orientation.

## CHAPTER II

### Definitions, Assumptions and Proposition

#### Definition of Terms

Holistic--a condition whereby any of a wide range of possible emotional satisfactions can be realistically sought by an individual in self-determined work or nonwork action or behavior.

Work--employment, occupation or labor engaged in to obtain the basic items of physical subsistence.

Leisure--nonwork activities engaged in to obtain personal satisfaction for the individual.

Recreation--this term will be considered synonymous to that of leisure.

Work-leisure pattern--the nature of work and leisure as characterized by these elements: the societal values of work and leisure in a community, the provisions and options available for each, and the amount of time devoted to each of these pursuits.

#### Assumptions

1. Work and leisure patterns in America are changing.
2. These changes indicate a need for choosing and fostering a valid concept which will provide more fulfillment in both work and leisure for contemporary America.

3. The holistic concept, though recent in its formulation and introduction to the literature of the field of recreation is a valid concept which can provide fulfillment.
4. The holistic concept appears as a concrete life style in utopian literature.
5. The life style characteristics proposed in the literature of utopia can, if fostered, become characteristic of real life styles.

#### Proposition

The work-leisure patterns of the communities described in Bellamy's Looking Backward, and Skinner's Walden Two contain holistic characteristics.



## CHAPTER III

### Method of Procedure

The subject under investigation was handled in the following manner:

1. Examined Edward Bellamy's Looking Backward and interest in current work-leisure problems was stimulated.
2. Reviewed literature on the subject of utopia and determined that writers in general were not interested in the use of fictional utopias as models for the holistic concept since such writers viewed these works as mere fiction.
3. Developed the problem statement.
4. Read various classical utopian works and through content analysis determined the sources to be used in the investigation.
5. Developed the proposition.

### Balance of the Project

1. Chapter IV will contain an overview of work-leisure concepts, organized from the past to the present in concepts concerning work and the past to the present in concepts concerning leisure, followed by an extended discussion of the holistic concept as defined by various writers, past and present.

2. Chapter V will analyze and discuss the various underlying factors which are necessary stimuli for the creation of utopian literature, will describe the various distinguishing characteristics of such literature and will indicate the social values to be derived from such literature.
3. Chapter VI will present background information concerning Edward Bellamy and the writing of Looking Backward, as well as a brief summary of the plot. Additionally, this chapter will contain a description of the work-leisure pattern of Bellamy's community in terms of time, choice, environment and value.
4. Chapter VII will present background information concerning B. F. Skinner and the writing of Walden Two, as well as a brief summary of the plot. Additionally, this chapter will contain a description of the work-leisure pattern of Skinner's community in terms of time, choice, environment and value.
5. Chapter VIII will use the processes of identification and comparison in order to specify the holistic characteristics of the work-leisure pattern of the communities described in Looking Backward and Walden Two.
6. Chapter IX will contain concluding comments based on the preceding chapters, with special reference to Chapter I where the problem was stated.

## CHAPTER IV

### Literature Related to the Problem

#### Pre-Industrial Work Perspectives

In traditional European societies, the upper classes looked upon economically productive work as a negative aspect of life and regarded leisure as the positive aspect of life, necessary for the realization of its highest values. As might be expected, the peasant or farmer as the major force of labor, has throughout history, valued himself for doing such work. A fundamental fact of these societies was that purposeful work was not separated from all that was not work as sharply and unequivocally in terms of time, effort and attitude as it is today. For the most part, work used to be on the land, which is difficult to compartmentalize in terms of time, and traditional work was adulterated more or less by irrational practices, customs, rites, observances which, conceived of originally as means of helping work achieve its ends, became ingrained as matters of propriety and custom. Occasions were actually furnished inside work for relief from the strain of its purposefulness. (10:38-39). "With the distinction between work and leisure blurred in this way, culture could preserve a certain place and role within the former--at the cost, to be sure, of its efficiency." (10:39).

### Industrial Work Perspectives

With the coming of the Protestant Reformation, work for the masses took on an even greater significance, while non-work was looked upon as evil. Work provided people with a sense of purpose and meaning in their lives. The Protestant work ethic, which glorified work and demeaned leisure and play, became even stronger as a consequence of the Industrial Revolution.

In an effort to increase productivity, capitalism, Protestantism, and industrialism have brought about a separation of work from all that is not work. As work has become more concentratedly and actively work, it has pushed leisure out of the foreground of life and turned it into the negative instead of positive complement of itself.

(10:39). While work may be less arduous physically than it used to be, its present standards of efficiency require one to key oneself to a higher level of nervous and mental effort, if only for the sake of the self-control and self-denial required by any kind of sustained activity directed solely towards an end outside itself. According to Clement Greenberg in "Work and Leisure under Industrialism," leisure has become much more emphatically the occasion for flight from all purposefulness, a time for rest and recuperation. Leisure is not the sphere par excellence of realization, but for many workers, a passive state, primarily, in which one's least passive need is for distraction or entertainment that will give those immediate

satisfactions denied one during working hours by the constraint of efficiency. (10:39).

Max Kaplan takes an opposite view to Greenberg with respect to work and leisure today. He feels that since many of the values that were formerly associated with work (industriousness, perfection, rewards, response, gratification) can now be found in nonwork activity, taking us farther away from the Calvinist view that work is positive and nonwork is negative. (7:43).

#### Post-Industrial Work Perspectives

Today, then, as well as in the past, there are various attitudes toward work and the related element of leisure. The very meaning of the words work and leisure are continually changing. No definitions are agreed upon as evidenced by the number of concepts which attempt to explain them. (8:253). These concepts, currently competing for dominance, are described in a three-fold framework (called "scenarios") by Denis F. Johnston, in his article, "The Future of Work: Three Possible Alternatives." These concepts will be described at length in order to facilitate understanding of the holistic concept which emerges as a life style in Looking Backward and Walden Two. Johnson, like others, feels that the meaning of work in American society is undergoing change because of advances in automation. These changes in the meaning of work to the life of the individual range from the assertion that work will

continue to provide a central focus for personal satisfaction and status achievement to the argument that the traditional work ethic is undergoing rapid erosion, to be displaced by new criteria of personal worth and achievement unrelated to work performance. (5:3).

Johnston's three scenarios, depict possible alternative directions of change which may emerge in our society with respect to the role and significance of work. The essential characteristic of the first (blue) scenario is the realization and maintenance of a full employment economy, along with the progressive removal of the remaining barriers to the employment of those groups whose desire for employment has been frustrated by discrimination or by a variety of handicaps. (5:4-5). This scenario sees a continuation of our traditional work ethic.

In Johnston's second (green) scenario, basically antithetical to the blue, automation will decrease the need for a fully employed economy, while advanced processes and social legislation will ensure economic security for all. "An underlying assumption here is, of course, a nearly complete separation of work and rewards." (5:3). In such a society, the conventional definitions of work and leisure will take on new meanings. "The society would evolve into a two-cast system, comprised of a small elite of highly trained cybernetic engineers, and a growing majority of persons whose primary relationship to the economy would be limited to consumption." (5:4).

The life style of the majority would be oriented toward a variety of forms of expressive behavior, thus a veritable greening of America. (5:4).

The third (turquoise) scenario, a partial synthesis of the blue and green into a holistic pattern, assumes the growth of automated machinery and related technological advances in meeting the growing needs of the society. It differs from the second scenario, though, in terms of the work and leisure pattern. The level of economic security and material wealth created by sophisticated machinery are accompanied by a sustained demand for work in the following four areas:

(1) a core of highly trained technicians and engineers to maintain and improve the machinery of production and distribution, supplemented by a growing corps of ombudsmen to provide the feedback information needed to direct this machinery in accordance with public wishes and agreed-upon social values; (2) a growing number of workers in the fields of public and personal services; (3) a growing number of craftsmen and artisans whose handiwork continues to be valued because of its individualistic, nonmachine characteristics and stylistic qualities; and (4) a major expansion of employment in what Toffler has aptly termed the experience industries--a blending of recreation and educational opportunities packaged to appeal to the interests of an increasingly affluent and educated population enjoying greater amounts of leisure time. (5:5).

Work in the turquoise scenario retains much of its traditional significance in both economic terms and socio-psychological terms. Unlike the blue scenario, however, it envisions a major change in the relative importance of economic and non-economic work needs. With a shrinking

proportion of workers engaged in the tasks of production and distribution, more workers will be involved in occupations where conventional measures of productivity are inappropriate. This transformation links the economic sector more closely to noneconomic aspects, ". . . such as changes in life styles, so that nonmaterial cultural values tend to become the primary determinants of what we produce and consume." (5:6).

The major characteristic of this scenario is the gradual reunification of work and leisure into a holistic pattern much like that of many preindustrial societies.

Such a reunification may already be observed in the guise of coffee breaks, informal on-the-job socializing, and increasing concern for the amenities of the work setting. But these are only the surface manifestations of more profound changes. The proliferation of on-the-job training courses, for example, reflects an increasing concern with the need to elicit from workers a greater sense of commitment by increasing their opportunities for growth and fulfillment within the work setting. What is significant in these developments is not the claim or belief that such innovations are conducive to increased productivity, but rather the fact that they represent an attempt to humanize the work setting [and] . . . promote a more socially and psychologically satisfying work experience [in a] . . . blending of work and leisure activities. (5:6).

### Future Work Perspectives

While each of the three scenarios described by Johnston has the possibility of dominating in the future, a strong case can be made for the successful realization of the holistic turquoise scenario. Johnston believes that continued changes in the direction of the turquoise



scenario stem

. . . from the increasing educational attainment of workers, together with the progressive removal of barriers to the employment of individuals whose participation in the labor market was formerly restricted. The more highly educated individuals now entering the labor force in rapidly increasing numbers have acquired high levels and expectations concerning their work roles and careers. (5:6).

Therefore, new programs in the work setting are expected to be developed in order to tap the workers' enormous potential.

Additional programs and goals can be expected if equal opportunity for satisfying work is to be achieved by the disadvantaged.

The possible measures to be adopted or expanded in this area from a variety of training courses--remedial education, skill upgrading, and the like--to the provision of facilities such as daycare centers designed to permit the fuller participation of those persons in some way handicapped in seeking and holding jobs. (5:6).

The turquoise scenario, in its emphasis upon a fusion of work and leisure into a holistic pattern, has been a current deviation from traditional views and as a goal for society.

#### Traditional Leisure Perspectives

The traditional views of leisure and the more recent holistic interpretation are described by Richard Kraus, James F. Murphy and others. The classical view of leisure dating back to Aristotle as summarized by Kraus,

is defined as

a state of being in which activity is performed for its own sake. It was sharply contrasted with work, or purposeful action. Instead, it involved such pursuits as art, political debate, philosophical discussion, or learning in general. (8:254).

According to Kraus, two modern writers, Josef Pieper and Sebastian de Grazia, both proponents of this traditional view, ". . . agree that leisure involves a spiritual and mental attitude, an attitude of nonaction, inward calm, silence, contemplation, serenity, and openness." (8:254).

Another ". . . historical concept of leisure is that it is non work activity in which people engage during their free time." (8:256). Kraus, interpreting Joffre Demazedier suggests that leisure provides pleasure and a sense of liberation and ". . . it provides man with three essential functions: relaxation, entertainment and personal development." (8:256). This conceptualization views leisure as an end in itself, and rejects the notion that work or purposeful activity are the only source of value in our society. (16:26).

One of the traditional approaches to leisure regards it as unobligated or discretionary time. It is that period of time which is free from work or personal maintenance requirements and thus, lacks a sense of obligation or compulsion. (8:257). "Most leisure service programs are geared to this concept of leisure which embraces the work ethic and is oriented around an industrial rhythm of life." (16:25).

In the main, then, while the more or less traditional views of leisure have been useful approaches for the times, they are no longer as useful due to changes in the attitude toward work and leisure. It is necessary to both recognize the nature of the emerging holistic view as outlined by Johnson and Murphy and to foster its growth by concrete programs which take into consideration the changed needs of contemporary Americans.

### Emerging Leisure Perspectives

The holistic concept of leisure, as mentioned previously, is an emerging construct based upon the idea that life should be approached as a whole. Joseph Lee, an influential pioneer of the recreation movement in America, was ahead of his time, when according to Kraus, he saw work and play ". . . as closely related expressions of the impulse to achieve, to explore, to excel, to master." (8:246). Norman P. Miller and Duane M. Robinson note that Lawrence P. Jacks, in Education Through Recreation (1932), express the view that the greatest good for the individual comes from a synthesis of work and leisure. (13:169). "Jacks' philosophy is based, in part, on the idea that man is by nature and in essence a creative being, creation being an essential human function and a key aspect of human nature." (13:168). Jacks believed that life should be approached as an art and as a total experience. Life

. . . becomes an art when work and play, labour and leisure, mind and body, education and recreation, are governed by a single vision of excellence and a continuous passion for achieving it. A master in the art of living. . . pursues his vision of excellence through whatever he is doing and leaves others to determine whether he is working or playing. (13:168).

Charles Brightbill takes a similar view when he states that "It is the wholeness of the person that is important." (2:11). Modern living he feels, encourages fragmentation and we often forget the totality of living. (2:11). According to Max Kaplan, we should begin to think of a society in which the line between such concepts as work, play and leisure have faded. (7:43). In fact,

one might say that the more nearly ideal the organization of society, the more perfectly would every individual's work be adapted to his abilities and the greater would be the number of people who enjoy similar qualitative leisure through, rather than outside of their work. (10:5).

A current description of the holistic concept is provided by James F. Murphy when he writes:

Max Kaplan, Marshall McLuhan, Robert Theobald, and others have suggested that the future structure of society will see the fusion of all aspects of the social order, including work and leisure. (17:8).

The holistic concept of leisure views leisure as a construct, a full range of possible forms of self-expression which may occur during work or leisure. . . . According to the holistic concept of leisure, the meaning of work and leisure are inextricably related to each other.

. . . This synthesizing perspective may be the most fruitful theoretical conceptualization of leisure as our society moves through postindustrialism. According to

this perspective, in a cybernated era of coordinative relationships, man is no longer viewed as an aggregate of various social functions but rather as an integrated, whole organism. (16:26).

Further, Murphy has synthesized his descriptions of the holistic concept of leisure and Johnson's turquoise concept of work, indicating that these views are essentially synonymous and, therefore, this view can be labeled "the holistic concept of work and leisure." Murphy suggests that this concept, when introduced in the form of tangible programs, can aid in meeting the needs of Americans in the future.

The challenge of a postindustrial society will be to provide its members with the moral reinforcement to express leisure attitudes and behavior--whether during free time or during working hours--and with the opportunity to be identified by their leisure life-styles and cultural tastes rather than solely by occupational roles. (16:56).

The holistic concept as it is emerging today, therefore, contains a changed emphasis in relation to traditional work-leisure constructs which in the past either emphasized the value of work over the value of leisure, or emphasized the value of leisure negating the value of work. From the foregoing definitions by current writers, the holistic concept is seen to be a fusion of work-leisure with equal emphasis on the value of each, an emphasis which takes into account the needs of the whole man as he both works and plays. Prose writers, however, are not the only writers concerned with the problems of the work-leisure

needs of the whole man. Writers of fictional utopias have also been concerned with the wholeness of man and have constructed societal models containing patterns of living that support and enhance the blending of work and leisure.

## CHAPTER V

### The Literature of Utopia: Causes, Characteristics and Social Value

In order to estimate the value of utopian literature as a source of investigation, a description of its causes, characteristics and value is necessary.

From the time of Plato and his Republic, visions of perfect societies or utopias have fascinated and influenced mankind and yet many readers still regard the study of utopian literature as a form of fiction with little social significance. Close attention, however, to the forces underlying the creation of such literature and to the characteristics of such literature indicate that its value and influence are considerable. (14:8).

#### Causes

Underlying the creation of utopia is the basic human desire for the good life in a socially perfect setting and the positive believe that such perfection is possible. Desire for progress and positivism [a philosophical system founded by Auguste Comte, dealing with facts and excluding consideration of ultimate causes or origins] therefore, are common stimuli for all writers of utopias, just as it was a source of hope and excitement for such philosophers as Comte. Rhodes states:

Indeed, the social aspects of positivism as a systematic view of human life, so excited Comte with its possibility for human betterment that he concluded it to be of first-order importance for the progress of all classes in society, including the working class and woman--not to mention the arts and sciences. (22:15).

Both Plato and Comte were animated by the belief that man was capable of knowing something which would permit self-improvement and the improvement of society. This impulse represents the human search for a world less chaotic and in some respects more satisfying than that which currently exists. Thus utopia is a condition to be realized in the future. (22:16).

Although, in the main, people have the desire for a better life, many do not have the other stimulus necessary for the writing of utopian literature, that of believing in the possibility of perfecting the social situation. In The History of Utopian Thought, Joyce Hertzler states that people of every age fall into three classes when considered from the point of view of their social outlook.

The relative predominance of one or the other of these groups is dependent upon a variety of social forces and conditions, and the ascendancy of one or the other causes a society to be static or dynamic, conservative or progressive in character. These three groups differ in placing emphasis on things past, things present or things to come. (3:257).

While the first group is oriented to the past and the second to the present, the third group consists of those persons, who looking ahead, hope for a more perfect society in the future. "The representatives of this class



have been in every age the prophets of a new and better but untried social order. . . ." (3:258).

### Characteristics

According to Frederik L. Polak, one of the main characteristics is that utopian thought always relates to the future, whether near or far away, and a future very different from present reality. Change, therefore, is in some way a part of this thought. The conceptualization and visualization of change is a precondition for actualized social change. "Our culture is largely the product of the preceding images of the future. . . ." (21:53). Visionary thinking and imaginative projecting are prerequisites for social change. (21:56). He sees such images of the future as a new category of thought for the social sciences. (21:16).

Additional characteristics of utopian thought are its commentary on the existing order and its effort to expose new potentials. Nearly every utopia is an implicit criticism of the society that served as its background. Likewise, utopian writers ". . . attempt to uncover potentialities that the existing institutions either ignored or buried beneath an ancient crust of custom and habit." (15:2). The utopian novel has been utilized by various authors, throughout history, as a vehicle in which to present their ideas of what the goals of society should be. (23:10).

A positive characteristic of utopia, according to Paul Tillich, is in its fruitfulness.

Every utopia is an anticipation of human fulfillment, and many things anticipated in utopia have been shown to be real possibilities. Without this anticipatory inventiveness countless possibilities would have remained unrealized. When no anticipating utopia opens up possibilities we find a stagnant, sterile present--we find a situation in which not only individual but also cultural realization of human possibilities is inhibited and cannot win through to fulfillment. The present, for men who have no utopia, is inevitably constricting; and, similarly, cultures which have no utopia, remain imprisoned in the present and quickly fall back into the past, for the present can be fully alive only in tension between past and future. This is the fruitfulness of utopia--its ability to open up possibilities. (11:297)

Francois Block-Laine, in "The Utility of Utopias for Reformers," presents an outline of the Components of an acceptable modern utopia. The following describes three of these elements:

Man fulfills himself through three sorts of activity; education, work and leisure. In order that he may not miss any opportunities to make the most of himself and his environment and that he may have a well-balanced existence, it is necessary that these three avenues of access to material and abstract goods all allow him an equal opportunity to enrich and develop himself. It is not so much a question of choosing among them, . . . as of making sure that none of them is lacking and that all three combine together to make the maximum opportunity possible. (11:212).

## Social Value

Though utopia has long been a subject for controversy, it would be an injustice to dismiss utopian thought as merely an exercise of the imagination, or impractical fantasy of no value. Paul B. Sears, in his article, "Utopia and the Living Landscape," writes:

To consider it restricted to literary forms that bear its label is to underestimate its wide prevalence at many levels and in all cultures. However expressed, it is essentially a critique of the defects and limitations of society and an expression of hope for something better. For this purpose, the artist-thinker must be acutely aware of things as they are, even though he may never mention them in his presentation. (11:137).

Frederik Polak sees in utopian images of the future another aspect of their significance. He believes that man would know more about the future if he studied its prereflections in society, the prevailing images and crystallized expectations of the future in various periods of history.

Historically, these images of the future not only reflected the shape of things to come; they also gave shape to these things and promoted their very coming. Magnetizing images of the future and their inspiring prophets were writing the history of the future. They made history by creating this future, by fulfilling their own prophecies. They were like powerful time bombs, exploding in the future, releasing a mighty stream of energy, then flowing back toward the present, which, in turn, is pushed and pulled to that future. (11:237).

The value of modern utopian literature is also recognized by Bertrand De Jouvenel and Martin G. Plattel who see a dissatisfied society which ironically also refuses to become excited by the promises of progress. In their articles promoting the value of utopian literature, these writers see a deep need for the concrete images provided by such works. Though our society has an unprecedented material base, who would say that we have made optimal use of our technological advances with respect to obtaining the good life? (11:225).

There is an ever-increasing prosperity in the West but, in spite of this, there is a growing mood of discontent. A threatening by-product of prosperity turns out to be a dissatisfied society. There are many people who refuse to get excited by the prospect of a higher standard of living and a growing national product; they are no longer able to adore such gods. A large segment of the younger generation in particular no longer believes in the American way of life. (20:13).

Plattel writes that "All contemporary complaints are concerned with the phenomenon that our unprecedented wealth of means threatens to block the road to authentically human needs." (20:16). While we are pouring ever increasing intellectual efforts into improving our prosperity, we seem to give no thought to the ends it should serve. Each year we are better armed to achieve what we want. But what is it that we do want? There is a lack of any clear images of the style of life that we are building. (11:225-226).

Utopian literature, therefore, is seen by some current writers as a valuable source of models for social planners in that it supplies imagistic or concrete solutions to problems related to man's needs and in that it takes change into account as it simultaneously promotes such change. Yet, because too many people still dismiss this literature as mere fiction with only entertainment value, further promotion and explication of individual sources is valuable.

It seems fruitful to explore in depth specific utopian writings in order to document the proposition that such literature illuminates the holistic concept of work and leisure. Two such writings have been selected, Edward Bellamy's Looking Backward and B. F. Skinner's Walden Two.

## CHAPTER VI

### Edward Bellamy's Looking Backward

This chapter contains information about the background of Edward Bellamy, the writing of his book Looking Backward, a brief summary of the plot, and a description of the work-leisure pattern of the community in Looking Backward in terms of time, choice, environment and value.

#### Causes

Edward Bellamy's Looking Backward is considered a "classic" American utopian novel and in the field of literary criticism, it has been widely analyzed with much attention being given to Bellamy's motives. (1:V).

The author's motives for its creation were somewhat varied in that they changed during the planning of the novel. In the early stages, Bellamy first thought of writing a mere fantasy. He soon realized, however, that it could serve as a vehicle for a specific plan of social reorganization. (1:XII).

The social climate of the time certainly influenced Bellamy's writing. The late 1880's saw the rise of the labor and social reform movements. Many people, in fact, were already reading his descriptions of a world free from want when major strikes took place at the Carnegie Steel Works and at the Pullman plant. Workers were calling for

an eight-hour day and other programs to decrease the large number of unemployed. For the reader of Looking Backward in this period of unrest, Bellamy's reform ideas, encompassed in an attractive social system, seemed to be an attainable goal. (1:vii).

### Characteristics

Bellamy's novel, a blend of specific, semi-socialistic proposals with traditional romantic aspects, contains the description of an ideal community of the year 2000 in which the United States Government is established as "The Great Trust" superseding the giant industrial trusts characteristic of Bellamy's era. This utopian community was a projection of trends which were already evident in nineteenth-century America and was a form of "Nationalism," as Bellamy called it, which seemed far removed from the unacceptable form of Socialism requiring the elimination of class differences by a takeover of the proletariat. Bellamy's system, however, is ". . . a modified form of socialism, although his contemporaries failed to recognize it as such." (1:ix).

### Social Value

When considering the value of Looking Backwards, Robert L. Shurter states in the introduction to the novel, ". . . it should be considered both as an illuminating commentary on America in the Gilded Age and a sincere attempt to chart a course for a better society." (1:vi).

Additionally, Shurter asserts,

Perhaps the significance of this novel is best shown by the fact that in 1935, Columbia University asked the philosopher, John Dewey, the historian Charles Beard and Edward Weeks, the editor of the Atlantic Monthly, to prepare independently a list of the twenty-five most influential books since 1885. On each of these lists, Looking Backward ranked second in influence only to Marx's Das Kapital, or in other words, the most influential book by an American during that fifty-year period. (1:ix).

Another indication of the value of Looking Backward is that this popular book became the source of inspiration for concrete political activism. More than 150 Nationalist Clubs were formed throughout the country for the purpose of translating Bellamy's ideas into action. (1:xvi).

The influence of this novel, then, has been considerable in the past, but the value of the book as a holistic model is unknown and a discussion of its characteristics is necessary. In order to understand these holistic characteristics, it is necessary to be acquainted with the major details of the plot.

### Plot

The main character and narrator of Looking Backward, Julian West, is an educated and wealthy young man living a life of luxury in the city of Boston. The first section of the novel takes place in December 2000 and begins with the explanation that he, Julian West, is



writing a historical account of the great contrasts between the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. He proceeds to describe the inequities that existed between the rich and poor in the nineteenth century, the labor troubles of the time, and the fact that competition was a necessary way of life in order to obtain a comfortable economic and social position. West is able to give an exceptionally clear picture of the nineteenth century because he was living at the time.

One night in 1887, having gone to his subterranean sleeping chamber but finding himself unable to sleep, West sought the aid of a doctor who used hypnotism and left him in a deep slumber. West awakes in the presence of a stranger and discovers that he has been in a trance for one hundred and thirteen years. He learns that a fire had destroyed the upper portion of the house while he slept, leaving him buried until unearthed by a Dr. Leete, who subsequently invites him to become a member of his family.

After leaving his chamber, West looks upon the city of Boston in the year 2000 and is amazed at the changes. Boston is now a great city with broad streets, grand buildings and open spaces filled with trees and fountains. Later that evening, West and Leete discuss the economic changes that have taken place, comparing the economic status of the general population of West's time to that of the great material prosperity on the part of the people in the year 2000. Leete explains the transition

of the country to the year 2000 in which the government is the sole employer, the final monopoly, with the people conducting their own business for the interest of all.

The remainder of the novel contains a graphic, extended description of the work-leisure patterns of the day. The plot ends with West supposedly reawakening in the year 1887 to his former society which now shocks him when he compares it with the utopian one which, again supposedly, was a dream world. The return to 1887, of course, gives the author the opportunity to describe imagistically the faults of his contemporary society. Bellamy, however, is kind both to his readers and to his hero in that West is permitted to return to the twentieth century, again by awakening and discovering that he had only dreamed of returning to the nineteenth century.

#### Work Time

In Bellamy's envisioned plan, the nation is the sole employer of all citizens and this national organization of labor is based upon the idea that is the duty of every citizen to contribute his or her service to the nation for a specific period of time.

"The period of industrial service is twenty-four years, beginning at the close of the course of education at twenty-one and terminating at forty-five." (1:48). To regulate the number of volunteers necessary for a particular trade, the hours of labor required are adjusted to

make all jobs equally attractive.

It is the business of the administration to seek constantly to equalize the attractions of the trades, so far as the conditions of labor in them are concerned, so that all trades shall be equally attractive to persons having natural tastes for them. This is done by making the hours of labor in various trades different according to their arduousness. The lighter trades, prosecuted under the most agreeable circumstances, have in this way the longest hours, while an arduous trade, such as mining, has very short hours. (1:51).

Generally, though, working hours are short and the vacations are regular. (1:102). The hours of labor for women however ". . . are considerably shorter than those of men's, more frequent vacations are granted, and the most careful provision is made for rest when needed." (1:210).

#### Work Choice

When West asks Leete "Who determines the trade or business that each individual shall pursue?" Leete replies:

Every man for himself in accordance with his natural aptitude, the utmost pains being taken to enable him to find out what his natural aptitude really is. The principle on which our industrial army is organized is that a man's natural endowments, mental and physical, determine what he can work at most satisfactorily to himself. While the obligation of service in some form is not to be evaded, voluntary election, subject only to necessary regulation, is depended on to determine the particular sort of service every man is to render. As an individual's satisfaction during his term of service depends on his having an occupation to his taste, parents and teachers watch from early years for indications of special aptitudes in children. (1:49).

The schools, therefore, play an important part in preparing an individual for his future career, and consequently, the educational process includes:

a thorough study of the National industrial system, with the history and rudiments of all the great trades. . . . While manual training is not allowed to encroach on the general intellectual culture to which our schools are devoted, it is carried far enough to give our youth, in addition to their theoretical knowledge of the national industries, mechanical and agricultural, a certain familiarity with their tools and methods. Our schools are constantly visiting our workshops, and often are taken on long excursions to inspect particular industrial enterprises. In your day a man was not ashamed to be grossly ignorant of all trades except his own, but such ignorance would not be consistent with our idea of placing everyone in a position to select intelligently the occupation for which he has most taste. (1:50).

When out of school, all new workers spend the first three years as "common laborers." "It is not till after this period, during which he is assignable to any work at the discretion of his superiors, that the young man is allowed to elect a special avocation." (1:53).

In determining who shall work in the professional occupations, Leete states:

. . . the most delicate possible test is needed here, and so we leave the question whether a man shall be a brain or hand worker entirely to him to settle. At the end of the term of three years as a common laborer, which every man must serve, it is for him to choose, in accordance to his natural tastes, whether he will fit himself for an art or profession, or be a farmer or mechanic. If he feels that he can do better work with his brains than his muscles, he finds every facility provided for testing the reality of his supposed bent, of cultivating it, and, if fit, or pursuing it as his avocation. The

schools of technology, of medicine, of art, of music, of histrionics, and of higher liberal learning are always open to aspirants without condition. (1:54).

Since it is the public policy to encourage all to develop suspected talents, the opportunity for professional training ". . . remains open to every man till the age of thirty is reached, after which students are not received, as there would remain too brief a period before the age of discharge in which to serve the nation in their professions." (1:55).

All workers income is the same in every occupation and ". . . equal education and opportunity must needs bring to light whatever aptitudes a man has, and neither social prejudices nor mercenary considerations hamper him in the choice of his life work." (1:109).

While there is in most occupations a general division of workers into grades, the preferences of those even of the first grade ". . . are considered in assigning them their line of work, because not only their happiness but their usefulness is thus enhanced." (1:99).

Once a particular occupation is chosen, it is possible to later change to another.

. . . while frequent and merely capricious changes of occupation are not encouraged or even permitted, every worker is allowed, of course, under certain regulations and in accordance with the exigencies of the service, to volunteer for another industry which he thinks would suit him better than his first choice. (1:53).

### Work Environment

The work environment in Looking Backward is such ". . . that dependence on the purely voluntary choice of avocations involves the abolition in all of anything like unhygienic conditions or special peril to life and limb. Health and safety are conditions common to all industries." (1:52). The work environment also includes "the principle that no man's work ought to be, on the whole, harder for him than any other man's for him, the workers themselves to be the judges." (1:51).

The general environment of Bellamy's community is such that

. . . all now enjoy the most favorable conditions of physical life; the young are carefully nurtured and studiously cared for; the labor which is required of all is limited to the period of greatest bodily vigor, and is never excessive; care for one's self and one's family, anxiety as to livelihood, the strain of a ceaseless battle for life--all these influences, which once did so much to wreck the minds and bodies of men and women, are known no more. (1:182).

### Work Values

The citizens of Bellamy's community recognize that in a cultivated society, true self-support is impossible.

As men grow more civilized, and the subdivision of occupations and services is carried out, a complex mutual dependence becomes the universal rule. Every man, however solitary may seem his occupation, is a member of a vast industrial partnership, as large as the nation, as large as humanity. The necessity of mutual dependence should imply the duty and guarantee of mutual support . . . . (1:104). Since

all are social equals and cooperate to serve each other, all service is regarded as honorable. (1:94).

". . . there is recognized no sort of difference between the dignity of the different sorts of work required by the nation." (1:126).

In this society where there is equal wealth and opportunities, it is required that each shall make the same effort and that everyone attempt to do his best. (1:73). The incentives of work are "not higher wages, but honor and the hope of men's gratitude, patriotism and the inspiration of duty . . . ." (1:75). "Now that industry of whatever sort is no longer self-service, but service of the nation, patriotism, passion for humanity, impel the worker as in your day they did the soldier." (1:76).

#### Leisure Time

As indicated in the previous discussion of work in Bellamy's community, the work day varies according to the individual's occupation, although, there generally are many hours available for recreation.

The educational system in Bellamy's Looking Backward has a direct influence upon the leisure pattern of the community. First, education is viewed as a means of encouraging the individual's cultural appreciation.

Leete speaking to West states:

. . . we should not consider life worth living if we had to be surrounded by a population of ignorant, boorish, coarse, wholly uncultivated

men and women, as was the plight of the few educated in your day. You see, perhaps, now, how we look at this question of universal high education. No single thing is so important to every man as to have for neighbors intelligent, companionable persons. There is nothing, therefore, which the nation can do for him that will enhance so much his own happiness as to educate his neighbors. When it fails to do so, the value of his own education to him is reduced by half, and many of the tastes he has cultivated are made positive sources of pain. . . . To put the matter in a nutshell, there are three main grounds on which our educational system rests: first, the right of every man to the completest education the nation can give him on his own account, as necessary to his enjoyment of himself; second, the right of his fellow citizens to have him educated, as necessary to their enjoyment of his society; third, the right of the unborn to be guaranteed an intelligent and refined parentage. (1:179).

Thus a large part of a school day throughout the span of education involves education which contributes to the enjoyment of leisure pursuits.

Second, according to West:

. . . I was most struck with the prominence given to physical culture, and the fact that proficiency in athletic feats and games as well as in scholarship had a place in the rating of the youth. (1:181).

Therefore, states Leete:

The highest possible physical, as well as mental, development of everyone is the double object of a curriculum which lasts from the age of six to that of twenty-one. (1:181).

After twenty-four years, in the industrial army, at the age of forty-five, the citizens have completed their service to the nation ". . . and have the residue



of life for the pursuit of . . . improvement or recreation." (1:153). On the subject of the worker's retirement, Leete notes:

But whatever the differences between our individual tastes as to the use we shall put our leisure to, we all agree in looking forward to the date of our discharge as the time when we shall first enter upon the full enjoyment of our birthright, the period we shall first really attain our majority and become enfranchised from discipline and control, with the fee of our lives vested in ourselves. As eager boys in your day anticipated twenty-one, so men nowadays look forward to forty-five. At twenty-one we become men, but at forty-five we renew youth. (1:159).

### Leisure Choice

The advances that had taken place in the hundred years since West's time enable the population of Bellamy's community to choose from a wide range of leisure pursuits.

According to Leete:

It has been an era of unexampled intellectual splendor. Probably humanity never before passed through a moral and material evolution, as once so vast in its scope and brief in its time to accomplishment, as that from the old order to the new in the early part of this century. When men came to realize the greatness of the felicity which had befallen them, and that the change through which they had passed was not merely an improvement in details of their condition, but the rise of the race to a new plane of existence with an illimitable vista of progress, their minds were affected in all their faculties with a stimulus, of which the outburst of the medieval renaissance offers a suggestion but faint indeed. There ensued an era of mechanical invention, scientific discovery, art, musical and literary productiveness to which no previous age of the world offers anything comparable. (1:130).

While a number of individuals in Bellamy's society pursue scientific, artistic, literary or scholarly interests, for leisure,

Many look upon the last half of life chiefly as a period of enjoyment of other sorts; for travel, for social relaxation in the company of their life-time friends; a time for the cultivation of all manner of personal idiosyncracies and special tastes, and the pursuit of every imaginable form of recreation; in a word, a time for the leisurely and unperturbed appreciation of the good things of the world which they have helped to create. (1:159).

### Leisure Environment

Rather than acquiring great personal wealth, the community members

. . . prefer to expend it upon public works and pleasures in which all share, upon public halls and buildings, art galleries, bridges, statuary, means of transit, and the conveniences of our cities, great musical and theatrical exhibitions, and in providing a vast scale for the recreations of the people. (1:198).

One example of this concern for the leisure environment is the general dining house where most residents of the city go for their evening meal. The building, as described by Mr. West, is of magnificent architecture and rich of embellishment. "It seemed that it was not merely a dining-hall, but likewise a great pleasure-house and social rendezvous of the quarter, and no appliance of entertainment or recreation seemed lacking." (1:126). According to Dr. Leete, "All the industrial and professional guilds have clubhouses as extensive as this, as well as

country, mountain and seaside houses for sport and rest in vacations." (1:127).

### Leisure Value

While the motives that inspire workers in Bellamy's community are of a high nature, work is not the most important pursuit. ". . . the labor we have to render as our part in securing for the nation the means of a comfortable physical existence is by no means regarded as the most important, the most interesting, or the most dignified employment of our powers." (1:158). ". . . it is not our labor, but the higher and larger activities which the performance of our task will leave us free to enter upon, that are considered the main business of existence." (1:159). "We look upon it as a necessary duty to be discharged before we can fully devote ourselves to the higher exercise of our faculties, the intellectual and spiritual enjoyments and pursuits which alone mean life." (1:158). Retirement, therefore, is welcomed as the first enjoyable period of life and middle age on is considered ". . . the enviable time of life." (1:159).

Recreation and leisure, according to Dr. Leete, are highly valued in his society.

If bread is the first necessity of life, recreation is a close second, and the nation caters for both. Americans of the nineteenth century were as unfortunate in lacking an adequate provision for the one sort of need as for the other. Even if the people of that period had enjoyed larger leisure, they would, I fancy,

have often been at a loss how to pass it agreeably. We are never in that predicament. (1:161).

Thus, while work is rarely regarded as a burden in Looking Backward and, in fact, is often inspiring and fulfilling, it is leisure that is held in highest regard.

## CHAPTER VII

### B. F. Skinner's Walden Two

This chapter contains information concerning the background of B. F. Skinner, the writing of his book Walden Two, a brief summary of the plot and a description of the work-leisure pattern of the community in Walden Two in terms of time, choice, environment and value.

#### Causes

B. F. Skinner's Walden Two has received much attention from philosophers, educators and literary critics in relation to its contents but, in contrast to the treatment of Bellamy, little has been written concerning the author's motives for writing the book. The lack of attention to motives is understandable, however, since Skinner is a well-known psychologist who has written extensively in technical journals in order to promote his beliefs and to support them with experimental data. According to Daniel B. Stevick in B. F. Skinner's Walden Two Introduction and Commentary,

Professor Skinner is an eminent psychologist who has taught at Harvard since 1948 and has been Edgar Pierce Professor since 1958. He is noted for his experimental work and for his rigorous theoretical ideas -- all of which he has reported in professional journals and technical writings. (26:5).

Stevick believes that Skinner wrote Walden Two for the same reasons which govern the writing of his technical work:

Even though Walden Two stands apart from the rest of Dr. Skinner's work in form and manner, it is closely bound up with a consistent point of view that he has supported for many years. Indeed, the ideas of Dr. Skinner so control his work that it might almost be considered less a novel than a 'tract' setting forth a defined viewpoint and program. . . . When set alongside his other work, it might be equally accurate to say that Skinner's rather dry, scholarly output provides the theoretical argument for Walden Two or that Walden Two is a fictionalization of the human meaning implicit in Skinner's psychological doctrines. (26:5).

#### Characteristics

Skinner's novel, when contrasted to that of Bellamy, is ". . . not very well written" since Skinner is ". . . not a professional novelist." (26:8). Skinner is not as skillful as Bellamy in creating plot and characterization and consequently at times the reader may feel that he is reading a psychological or philosophical tract rather than a novel. The main setting of the novel takes place in a utopian community located in a rural area and the action which occurs consists mainly of semi-lectures in which the views expressed

. . . are essentially those of behaviorist psychology. It is basic to Skinner's kind of psychology that behavior provides the only firm data we have for a study of man. Consciousness is ruled out -- along with the mind, soul and all other 'superstitious ghosts.' Psychology is in effect, the science of behavior. Inward matters of thought and emotion reached by introspection are dismissed as unfit for scientific investigation.

The effort of psychologists should not be to invent myths about a metaphysical something called personality, but to bring about patterns of behavior which are not destructive. (26:6).

### Social Value

The main value of Skinner's Walden Two seems to lie in the fact that the publication of this novel has reached a reading public formerly untouched by Skinner's articles in the technical journals. Lay people, philosophers, literary critics and educators have been stimulated by the psychological beliefs contained in the novel. Although many readers do not agree with Skinner's basic belief that human beings are totally the product of their environment, they do seem to agree that his ideas are valuable:

Even though it was written in 1948, its ideas seem to retain their importance with the years. Many college classes, discussion groups and individual readers continue to find this book fascinating and provocative. Some readers are rather intrigued by the book; some are enraged; few are indifferent or uninterested. (26:5).

Even though some readers are "enraged" by Skinner's ideas and some are disturbed by the lack of action and vivid characterization, few, if any, dispute the fact that Skinner's ideas are sincere and are worthy of discussion. Even Joseph Wood Krutch, who consigns Walden Two to a chapter titled "Ignoble Utopias" in his book, The Measure of Man, does not question the sincerity or the depth of thought in Skinner's novel. Even while attacking Skinner's assumptions concerning the basic nature of man, Krutch

writes, "An analysis of Professor Skinner's thought will reveal very clearly in what direction some believe that the Science of Man is moving." (0:57).

### Plot

The novel opens in the office of Professor Burris, the narrator of the story. A former student named Rogers and his buddy from World War II, Steve, have come to speak with Burris about their idea of living in a utopian community.

It seems that Rogers and Steve came across an article, written some years ago, by T. E. Frazier describing his plan for such a community. His argument was that,

Political action was of no use in building a better world, and men of good will had better turn to other measures as soon as possible. Any group of people could secure economic self-sufficiency with the help of modern technology, and the psychological problems of group living could be solved with available principles of 'behavioral engineering." (24:14).

Burris was familiar with Frazier since they had known each other in graduate school and therefore when Rogers asks, "You don't know what he has done since?" . . . Burris replies, "No, but I'd like to." The student further increases Burris' interest by saying:

Oh, we don't know either, sir. You see, this article was more like a program. It was written a long time ago. It gave you the impression he was ready to get under way, but we don't know whether he ever did. We thought it would be worth while to find out what happened. It might give us some ideas. (24:10).



Burriss then writes to Frazier and finds out that indeed he had taken part in establishing such a community, called Walden Two. Frazier invites Burriss and any others who would be interested to visit Walden Two. The group going to Walden Two consists of two professors, Burriss and Castle, and two young couples, Rogers, Barbara Macklin, Steve and Mary Grove.

In the remainder of the book, the visiting group is introduced by Frazier to the various aspects of community life in Walden Two, including the work-leisure pattern.

By means of an often intense exchange of dialogue between Castle, the intellectual antagonist and Frazier, the protagonist, the reader is provided with an in-depth explanation of Skinner's view of the Good Life and how it might be obtained.

The novel ends with Burriss, Steve and Mary deciding to remain at Walden Two, while Castle and the others return. Castle leaves Walden Two unconvinced about certain aspects of life there and Rogers and Barbara each differ on their experiences at Walden Two.

#### Work Time

On the average both male and female members of Walden Two work four hours a day. (24:52). Frazier explains:

Each of us pays for what he uses with twelve hundred labor-credits each year--say, four credits for each workday. We change the value according to the needs of the community. At two hours of work per credit--an eight-hour day--we could operate at a handsome profit. We're satisfied to keep just a shade beyond breaking even. The profit system is bad even when the worker gets the profits, because the strain of overwork isn't relieved by even a large reward. All we ask is to make expenses, with a slight margin of safety; we adjust the value of the labor-credit accordingly. At present it's about one hour of work per credit. (24:51).

Thus, rather than utilizing money, workers earn labor credits for their jobs and the credit value of each type of job varies, much like in Looking Backward.

(24:51-52). Again Frazier explains:

A credit system also makes it possible to evaluate a job in terms of the willingness of the members to undertake it. After all, a man isn't doing more or less than his share because of the time he puts in; it's what he's doing that counts. So we simply assign different credit values to different kinds of work and adjust them from time to time on the basis of demand. (24:52).

Frazier continues the discussion by saying that therefore, an unpleasant job such as cleaning sewers has a high value:

Somewhere around one and a half credits per hour. The sewer man works a little over two hours a day. Pleasanter jobs have lower values--say point seven or point eight. That means five hours a day, or even more. Working in the flower gardens has a very low value--point one. No one makes a living at it, but many people like to spend a little time that way, and we given them credit. (24:52).

Children also work at an early age though more moderately than the adults. (24:60). "Our children begin to work at a very early age. It's no hardship; it's accepted as readily as sport or play." (24:120).

#### Work Choice

Community members of Walden Two are able to choose their own work, and according to Frazier, ". . . we provide a broad experience and many attractive alternatives." (S:54). "Our members aren't overworked and they haven't been forced into a job for which they have no talent or inclination." (24:144). Workers are also able to change jobs freely. (24:173).

An additional aspect of the equality in the nature of work in Walden Two is in the availability of jobs without distinction of sex. "You may have noticed the complete equality of men and women among us. There are scarcely any types of work which are not shared equally." (24:133).

The organization of jobs in Walden Two is flexible enough in many cases to enable certain workers to engage in indoor tasks when the weather is poor, and to work out of doors at other times. (24:81).

#### Work Environment

Though the community produces its own food and clothing, they haven't gone "back to the farm" in terms of technical progress.

We all go back to the <sup>form</sup> for food and clothing, or someone goes back for us. We haven't gone back in the course of technical progress. No one is more interested in saving labor than we. No industrialist ever strove harder to get rid of an unnecessary worker. The difference is, we get rid of the work, not the worker. (24:76).

As indicated, the environment in Walden Two encourages the development of labor saving techniques. The trays that are used in the dining room, for example, are transparent, thus relieving the operating of turning the tray over to see if it is clean. (24:48). In remarking about the task of having to turn over a large number of these trays if they were not transparent, Frazier states:

Either you work quickly and finish with painfully cramped muscles, or else slowly and be bored. Either would be objectionable. Yet some one of us would be compelled to do just that three times a day if our trays were opaque. And it would be some one of us, remember, not an 'inferior' person, hired at low wages. Our consciences are clearer than that! . . . The main advantage of the tray, . . . is the enormous saving in labor. You will see what I mean when we visit the dishwashery. Commercial restaurants would give anything to follow our lead, but it requires a bit of cultural engineering that's out of their reach. (24:48).

While hard work is not necessarily avoided, uncreative and uninteresting work is avoided.

There's nothing wrong with hard work and we aren't concerned to avoid it. We simply avoid uncreative and uninteresting work. If we could satisfy our needs without working that way at all, we'd do so, but it's never been possible except through some form of slavery, and I can't see how it can be done if we're all to work and share alike. What we ask is that a man's work shall not tax his strength or threaten his happiness. (24:76).

With the techniques developed to improve the nature of work in the community, along with the principle of adjusting the labor credit value, all types of work become equally desirable.

In the long run, when the values have been adjusted, all kinds of work are equally desirable. If they weren't, there would be a demand for the more desirable, and the credit value would be changed. Once in a while we manipulate a preference, if some job seems to be avoided without cause. (24:52).

#### Work Value

In Walden Two, a minimum of unpleasant labor is regarded as a vital component of the Good Life. (24:159).

Frazier states:

I mean the minimum which is possible without imposing on anyone. We must always think of the whole group. I don't mean that we want to be inactive--we have proved that idleness doesn't follow. But painful or uninteresting work is a threat to both physical and psychological health. Our plan was to reduce unwanted work to a minimum, but we wiped it out. Even hard work is fun if it's not beyond our strength and we don't have too much of it. A strong man rejoices to run a race or split wood or build a wall. When we're not being imposed on, when we choose our work freely, then we want to work. We may even search for work when a scarcity threatens. (24:159).

While unpleasant labor is avoided for health reasons, the community recognizes the physical and psychological benefits of the one or two hours of physical labor required each day. The reason for this is:

Simply because brains and brawn are never exclusive. No one of us is all brains or all brawn, and our lives must be adjusted accordingly. It's fatal to forget the minority element--fatal to treat brawn as if there were no brains, and perhaps more speedily fatal to treat brains as if there were no brawn. One or two hours of physical work each day is a health measure. (24:58).

Workers in Walden Two are motivated, in part, by the incentive that comes when a person works for himself. According to Frazier ". . . we have the extra motivation that comes when a man is working for himself instead of for a profit-taking boss." (24:60).

#### Leisure Time

Members of Walden Two generally have eight to ten hours of leisure every day. (24:218). In speaking of the community's wide interest in artistic and cultural affairs Frazier remarks, "We have time for everything." (24:92).

On the subject of the great amount of leisure time, Burris relates:

A large number of people, without homes in the usual sense, with few responsibilities and a good deal of leisure, were brought into contact with each other during a great part of each day. But I remembered the dreary routine of vacation hotel life, the straining after excitement, the desperate struggles with which professional hostesses warded off an ever threatening monotony. None of this was evident in Walden Two. But why not? (24:211).

He wonders:

I was not ready to subscribe to the Walden Two program, but what was wrong with it? I had to find something. The economics were sound enough, I conceded that. But there was a possibility that the weak point in the whole venture might be too much leisure. The arts and crafts and sports which Frazier had reviewed would supply avocations for many members, particularly those of talent. But what about a typical middle-class housewife? What would she do with eight or ten hours of leisure every day? Would she not be bored? or restless and ill at ease? (24:218).

Burris further speculates:

Might there not be some side of Walden Two that we had not been allowed to see? I decided to mingle among the members . . . and make an impartial sampling of their behavior. (24:211).

After additional investigation of life in Walden

Two, Burris remarks:

My heart had gone out of my longitudinal study. True enough, one case proved nothing. But, damn it all, it was obvious that people could be happy with 'nothing to do.' (24:221).

In Walden Two there is not a rigid time table to follow. Frazier notes: We can do this because we aren't bound by the timetables of stores, businesses and schools. 'From nine till five' means nothing to us." (24:44). The staggered schedule of the dining hours, for example, along with the members having plenty of time to themselves, enables the style of life in Walden Two to be less rushed than in the society at large. (24:36).

### Leisure Choice

In Walden Two, community members are encouraged to pursue whatever interests them. Frazier comments:

The Good Life also means a chance to exercise talents and abilities. And we have let it be so. We have time for sports, hobbies, arts and crafts, and most important of all, the expression of that interest in the world which is science in the deepest sense. It may be a casual interest in current affairs or in literature or the controlled and creative efforts of the laboratory--in any case it represents the unnecessary and pleasurable selective exploration of nature. (24:160).

Professor Burris indicates in the following some of the activities that members of Walden Two can choose from:

In the walk near the serving room was a bulletin board, arranged like the radio schedules in newspapers. Along the left edge were printed the hours of the day and along the top the names of parts of Walden Two, such as "Theater," "Studio Three," "Lawn," "Radio Lounge," "West Entrance," "English Room," and "Yellow Game Room." Announcements of meetings, parties, concerts, matches and so on, were caught under clips in their appropriate places. A few which I recall, not all of them intelligible to me, read: "Hedda Gabler," "Curran's Group," "Boston Symphony," "Truck Ride to Canton," "Youngsters' Dance," "AGL," "News Group," "Tap," and "Walden Code." (24:85).

### Leisure Environment

The great interest in the arts in Walden Two can be attributed to the environmental conditions of leisure, opportunity and appreciation. (24:92). The additional environmental conditions of ". . . exercise, fresh air, sunshine and rest . . ." as automatic aspects of members'



lives in Walden Two promotes the health and well-being of the residents. (24:189).

The flexible, staggered schedule of the community is also valuable to members in a psychological way. According to Frazier, "We're utterly free of that institutional atmosphere which is inevitable when everyone is doing the same thing at the same time. Our days have a roundness, a flexibility, a diversity, a flow. It's all quite pleasing and healthful." (24:45).

Among the many rooms or buildings used for recreation in the community are: a theater, library, art gallery, reading rooms, lounges and variously decorated dining rooms. Frazier remarks:

In a community unit of this size . . . it was feasible to connect all the personal rooms with the common rooms, dining rooms, theater and library. You can see how we did it from the arrangement of the buildings. All our entertainments, social functions, dinners and other personal engagements take place as planned. We never have to go out of doors at all." (24:25).

### Leisure Value

A final aspect of the community's conception of the Good Life is their regard for rest and relaxation. Frazier states:

Last of all, the Good Life means relaxation and rest. We get that in Walden Two almost as a matter of course, but not merely because we have reduced our hours of work. In the world at large the leisure class is perhaps the least relaxed. The important thing is to satisfy our needs. Then we can give up the blind struggle to 'have a good time' or 'get what we want.' We have achieved a true leisure. (24:161).

With the community's positive attitude toward a restful pace of life, "Our energies can then be turned toward art, science, play, the exercise of skills, the satisfaction of curiosities, . . . ." (24:76).

The attitude in Walden Two is such that individual members rarely receive special recognition for their achievements. According to Frazier, "When one man gets a place in the sun, others are put in a denser shade."

(24:169). Frazier further states:

We are opposed to personal competition. We don't encourage competitive games, for example, with the exception of tennis or chess, where the exercise of skill is as important as the outcome of the game; and we never have tournaments, even so. We never mark any member for special approbation. There must be some other source of satisfaction in one's work or play, or we regard an achievement as quite trivial. A triumph over another man is never a laudable act. Our decision to eliminate personal aggrandizement arose quite naturally from the fact that we were thinking about the whole group. We could not see how the group could gain from individual glory. (24:169).

In conclusion, according to Frazier, "Happiness is our first goal . . ." as a way of life in Walden Two.

(24:209). As stated by Frazier, "Leisure's our levitation."

(24:84). "Our wealth is our happiness." (24:271).

## CHAPTER VIII

### The Holistic Characteristics of Bellamy's Looking Backward and Skinner's Walden Two

Based upon the data presented in Chapters VI and VII, this chapter, in order to verify the proposition that 'the work-leisure patterns of the communities described in Bellamy's Looking Backward and Skinner's Walden Two contain holistic characteristics,' will use the process of identification and comparison to pinpoint the holistic characteristics of the work-leisure pattern of the communities.

Bellamy's community, Skinner's community and Johnston's holistic turquoise scenario are similar in that they all enable not only a reduced amount of work time, but work for a greater number of people as well. According to Johnston, in the turquoise setting there ". . . would be a continued expansion of the labor force as conventionally defined. This expansion would be accompanied by a gradual reduction in average hours worked per year. . . ." (5:6).

The most evident holistic character of work in Bellamy's community and in Skinner's is the freedom of choice that an individual has in choosing a satisfying occupation. This principle of work choice corresponds to the definition in Chapter II of holistic as 'a condition

whereby any of a wide range of possible emotional satisfactions can be realistically sought by an individual in self-determined work or nonwork action or behavior.'

Just as education plays a major part in preparing and providing an individual with a satisfying occupation in Walden Two and in Looking Backward, it is also an important force in Johnston's holistic scenario.

The proliferation of on-the-job training courses, for example, reflects an increasing concern with the need to elicit from workers a greater sense of commitment by increasing their opportunities for growth and fulfillment within the work setting.

The basic pressure for continued modifications in these directions stem from the increasing educational attainment of workers . . . The more highly educated individuals are now entering the labor force in rapidly increasing numbers have acquired high aspiration levels and expectations concerning their work roles and careers. (5:6).

Walden Two's objectives to save labor and avoid uninteresting work and Bellamy's industrial system, like Johnston's turquoise scenario, ". . . assumes continued improvement and application of automated machinery and related technological advances in meeting the growing needs of the society." (5:5).

The amenities of Bellamy's and Skinner's work settings similar to the developments in the trend toward the holistic scenario, ". . . represent an attempt to humanize the work setting." (5:6). The concern for workers as "people" in both the communities and the

communities' policies and programs designed to remove the idea of "labor" from one's work, are characteristic of the holistic concept. These aspects are similar to those of "the guise of coffee breaks," "informal on-the-job socializing," and "on-the-job training courses" that Johnston indicates promote the opportunities for growth and fulfillment within the work setting. (5:6).

Johnston believes that these concerns exemplify the ". . . gradual reunification of work and leisure into a holistic pattern. . . ." (5:6).

Bellamy's and Skinner's visions of societies based upon the acknowledged interrelationship of its members resembles a particular characteristic of James Murphy's holistic concept where ". . . in a cybernated era of coordinative relationships, man is no longer viewed as an aggregate of various social functions but rather as an integrated, whole organism." (16:26).

A further similarity between Bellamy's and Skinner's communities and Murphy's views on a holistic society are in the calling for the opportunity of the individual to be identified by more than just their occupational role. (16:57).

As indicated in the discussion of Bellamy's and Skinner's communities, their societies have reached a high level of economic and non-economic wealth, while having many hours available for recreation and encouraging the

educational development of their members. These characteristics are similar to Johnston's envisioned turquoise setting which is comprised ". . . of an increasingly affluent and educated population enjoying greater amounts of leisure time." (5:6).

The wide range of leisure pursuits described in Looking Backward and in Walden Two, with the satisfaction that it brings to the individual, are aspects of the holistic concept of work and leisure since, as stated by Murphy, in

. . . the turquoise concept of work, people will increasingly seek a more socially and psychologically satisfying work experience and equally fulfilling nonwork enjoyment . . . people have begun to turn to other forms of expression to realize achievement, mastery, self-worth and pleasure. (16:56).

As indicated in the discussions of Looking Backward and Walden Two under Leisure Environment, the communities reflect the citizens' concern for leisure and recreation. In his article, "The Dynamics of Leisure Service Delivery and the Elderly," James Murphy, in making a case for the holistic perspective, states:

The organization and delivery of leisure service must be viewed within the total spectrum of social, education, health, environmental and transportation services. (17:8).

As previously noted, members of Bellamy's community look forward to their retirement as a time for further self-expression and fulfillment. This attitude is similar

to Murphy's description of the holistic perspective when he indicates that

Psychic fulfillment has traditionally been derived from one's work. Particularly for the elderly, the recognition of an integrated work-leisure sphere allows one morally and emotionally to realize achievement, mastery, self-worth and pleasure . . . a movement toward an integration of the work-leisure sphere will make the transition from full-time work to retirement an easier--and possibly even an anticipated--process. (17:8).

As indicated by the data in the preceding chapters, work in Bellamy's and Skinner's communities as in Johnston's turquoise scenario

. . . retains much of its conventional significance, both in economic terms and in sociopsychological terms. However, . . . it envisions a major transformation in the relative importance of economic and non-economic work needs. As a shrinking proportion of workers are engaged in the basic tasks of production and distribution, more and more workers are involved in occupations whose productivity grows slowly, or in modes of work for which conventional measures of production are inappropriate. This shift links the economic sector more closely to noneconomic forces, such as changes in life styles, so that nonmaterial cultural values tend to become the primary determinants of what we produce and consume. (5:6).

Leisure, then, as a "nonmaterial cultural value" becomes blended with work in a perspective, central to the communities in Looking Backward and Walden Two, that

. . . eliminates the dichotomy drawn between work and leisure. . . . According to the holistic concept. . . the meaning of work and leisure are inextricably related to each other. (5:26).

Thus, as in both communities and in the holistic concept of work and leisure, there is a ". . . more subtle blending of work and leisure activities." (5:6).

As indicated in Chapter I, the problem for this investigation was that models of the holistic concept were not generally known. It was believed, however, that such models, if found, could provide an operational picture of the many components of the life style in a holistic community. The descriptions of specific aspects of the work-leisure patterns of Bellamy's and Skinner's communities, when compared to established definitions of the holistic concept, show that these two literary sources are indeed holistic in character and could be used as models for operationalizing various components.

These two literary sources, for example, could be studied by policy makers who wish to improve the environment of workers. The work environment in Walden Two and Looking Backward could, in some respects be copied and in other respects could be adapted to modern conditions. To be more specific, such policy makers could, in imitation of Looking Backward, encourage educators to increase field trips to various production centers, government facilities, medical centers in order that the students could become more aware of the variety of job choices available.

Having done this, the policy makers could also encourage the educators to teach their students that all



jobs have equal prestige and value to society, just as is done in both Looking Backward and Walden Two. Every aspect of these two communities' life style, then, could be studied and adapted in a similar manner, thus providing a work-leisure pattern for contemporary Americans which would result in more self-fulfillment.

## CHAPTER IX

### Conclusions

Rapid changes in technology, increased automation and a resultant increase in the number of hours available for leisure have created problems in living which have aroused the interest of laymen and professionals. Central to these problems is the prevalent desire for more self-fulfillment in both work and leisure.

Various traditional concepts of work and leisure do not take these changes into consideration and are therefore not as useful as they once were. However, the holistic concept which is now emerging and is beginning to receive favorable attention by professionals concerned with work and leisure trends, does take today's changed life style into consideration. This concept, a fusion of the traditional and contemporary views, depicts man as a whole, who is not seen as a divided character totally engaged in working or totally engaged in playing.

Because this concept is recent in formulation, many of the discussions concerning its characteristics have been theoretical and abstract. The problem, therefore, in this investigation was to find material which was concrete and which would clearly illustrate this abstract concept.

In general, such material was found in the field of utopian literature. As previously discussed, this literature does contain fruitful, significant, and concrete images pertaining to possible solutions of man's search for satisfaction in both work and play. In particular, Edward Bellamy's Looking Backward and B. F. Skinner's Walden Two were found to contain vivid descriptions of communities in which the work-leisure patterns have holistic qualities.

The procedure utilized in obtaining the results included: a description of the work-leisure patterns of the communities in Looking Backward and Walden Two and the identification of the holistic character of these work-leisure patterns by comparing them to various writers' definitions of the holistic concept.

The nature of these communities were found to be holistic in that specific details of the work-leisure patterns were similar to, and corresponded with, the formulated descriptions and definitions of the holistic concept. For example, it was found that in both communities working time was reduced and leisure time was increased. In Looking Backward, this change is achieved by the elimination of wasteful competition, with the government being the sole employer and distributor. In Walden Two, unnecessary work is eliminated by an emphasis on functional designs which reduce production time and also save time

when used. The reduction in work hours and the increase in leisure was found to be a component of the holistic concept as defined by Johnson.

In addition to the changes in relation to the hours devoted to work and leisure, these two utopian communities were found to provide a freedom in work choice, a humanized work setting, and increase in affluence, a wide range of leisure pursuits and a blending of work and leisure which provide self-expression and fulfillment for the citizens. The life styles in these two communities do then contain the main components of the holistic perspectives as defined by Johnson and Murphy.

The value of discovering that these two communities are holistic in character is found in the idea that now the holistic concept of work and leisure can be taken from theoretical abstraction to operational status. For example, social planners can use Walden Two as a source of ideas in relation to functional designs which can eliminate useless labor, or such planners can use Looking Backward as a source of ideas for fostering less competition and more cooperation in the contemporary work-leisure pattern. These two books have been found to be valuable, not only as a source for ideas in relation to work-leisure choice and work-leisure environment.

Literature, in general, remains a rich source for the understanding of man and his environment. Certainly, the utopian literature explored here offers a fairly

complete and illuminating description of possible solutions to work-leisure problems.

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