The false duality of work and leisure

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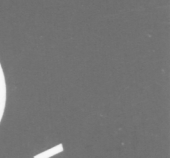

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ESSAYS

The False Duality of Work and Leisure

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Work and leisure are commonly viewed as dichotomous and antithetical. The authors argue that this conceptual duality is unreflective, confounding the meaning of each term. They suggest that work and leisure are complements that in their highest states share core elements and are best understood in dynamic relation to each other. Their purpose in this essay is to better understand work by learning about its complement. The authors characterize leisure as the experiential quality of one's time when one engages voluntarily and intentionally in awareness-expanding inquiry, which in turn generates ongoing, transforming development throughout adulthood. Leisure is intrinsically rewarding, facilitating personal and organizational transformations that increase extrinsic economic value. In response to an increasingly dominant work ethic, the authors advocate that leisure receive the same level of scrutiny and respect that we as management scholars naturally give to work. Cultivating true leisure, they conclude, is more demanding than work itself.

Keywords: *leisure; work ethic; time; adult development*

In common parlance, work and leisure are polar opposites, locked permanently in a duality: What is work cannot be leisure, and what is leisure cannot be work. As management scholars, our focus is most often on the world of work. Accordingly, in our research studies we overlook leisure, treating it mostly as a residual (and shrinking) by-product of work. Our definitions entangle and conjoin the terms by literally using work to define leisure.

In this essay, we reclaim leisure from the shadows of work. We expose and challenge the mutually exclusive relationship of work and leisure, urging instead a reconsideration of the two as potentially complementary concepts. Indeed, we suggest that at their best, work and leisure share key characteristics and can exist simultaneously: A task one voluntarily undertakes can be both leisurely and worklike. As we will explain, leisure is associated with continued personal

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development during adulthood—with "wising up" into continual inquiry, not just growing older and losing traction. We hope to illustrate, convincingly enough to get you, our readers, to personally investigate the matter further, that attending to leisure and encouraging its cultivation has developmental benefits for both our professional and personal lives.

If leisure and work are not polar opposites, then what are they? To weave our argument in this essay, we begin by exploring the historical and philosophical tradition of leisure studies to determine the core elements of leisure. We offer an independent definition of leisure that defines the essence of leisure, independent of work. We then compare this redefined notion of leisure with historical views of work, using leisure to illuminate aspects of work. In the final section, we discuss how to cultivate leisure.

WHAT IS LEISURE?

Leisure studies departments have blossomed in the United States, England, and France in the past 25 years, providing a rich body of research. Leisure can be considered a historical outcome of modern civilization and has been associated with education, recuperation, and most recently, entertainment (Pronovost, 1998). Academic disciplines have broached the topic of leisure from many perspectives, giving us a wide range of concepts that variously see leisure as an economic choice regarding the investment of free time (Hunnicutt, 1988), a psychological attitude or state of mind (Csikszentmihalyi, 1975), a cultural phenomenon (Riesman, 1950), and an arena of political action and social change (Coalter, 1989; Rojek, 1989). Topics of study range widely from adult education to tourism, from mass media to volunteering. Library usage (Snape, 1992) and gambling (Saunders & Turner, 1987) have also been considered leisure topics. What is leisure that it can be all these things?

Today, leisure is usually construed as the negative of its more clearly defined opposite, work, and is colloquially defined as all the time that is not work time. More narrowly, it may be defined as the time that is "left over" once all obligatory functions such as chores and child rearing are accounted for. It has been noted within leisure studies, however, that this definition of leisure as "free time" is problematic because it lacks an intrinsic character of its own (Allen, 1989; Barrett, 1989; De Grazia, 1962; Kelly & Godbey, 1992; Neulinger, 1981). Within leisure studies, leisure is seen as a broadly defined umbrella concept, as evidenced by the many different typologies of leisure that suggest multiple dimensions (examples of these can be seen in Neulinger, 1981). Reviewing the typologies, we find three common approaches for defining leisure: (a) the time-based approach (How much time are people not-working?), (b) the activity-based approach (What do people do when they are not-working?), and the intention-based approach (What kind of an intention is the intent to act in a leisurely manner?). We review these three approaches here to understand the critical dimensions of the concept of leisure.

As already suggested, the first and most common approach is time-based. Leisure is understood as free time, encompassing basically everything one does when one is not at work. Here leisure is defined as a quantity of time, no matter where we draw the line between free time and constrained time. Leisure and work are mutually exclusive by definition, reflecting an industrialized view of the world in which work is scheduled first and everything else is then free time (Robinson & Godbey, 1997). Indeed, the historical conditions of the industrial revolution provided the opportunity (and necessity) to divide time into clearly defined parcels dedicated to work and not-work.

A well-known example of this type of study using the free time perspective is Juliet Schor's (1991) research on work habits, which reports statistical results based on large samples of people's time distribution day by day. Schor found that Americans are overworked, working an average of 163 hours more per year in 1990 than they did in 1970. Consequently, they have less leisure time. Schor's data come from self-reported retrospective accounts of time usage. Other researchers, using actual-time diary data and employment and wage statistics, have found that overall time spent working has decreased (especially Pronovost, 1998; Robinson & Godbey, 1997); accordingly, these researchers report increases in leisure time. This discrepancy between perceived work hours and actual work hours can be explained by the shift from single-breadwinner to dual-earner families, as well as by the shift to more single-parent homes (Jacobs & Gerson, 2001). The result is less adult free time per family than before; hence more stress on each adult from juggling household duties and jobs. Regardless of actual hours worked, people are feeling rushed and overwhelmed by the pace they endure. This is noteworthy as we consider what leisure really is—and is not. Feeling rushed and overwhelmed, most readers will agree, cannot possibly be leisure. Furthermore, if we were to con-

sider this approach in its logical extreme, then we must consider the unemployed, the retired, and the inhabitants of prisons to be at leisure (Andrew, 1981). Yet enforced idleness is not typically enjoyed or experienced as leisure.

The advantage of the time-based definition of leisure is that it appears to provide an objective, value-free, neutral definition, amenable to quantitative testing. Yet, its loopholes lead to ambiguity. To see this, consider your own free time when you are doing the laundry, following a diet, changing the baby at 4 a.m., sleeping, or perhaps reading this management journal at home in the evening. Because you are not officially at work, shouldn't all these activities be classified as "leisure"? Somehow, this doesn't seem quite right. Defining leisure as residual time not spent at work misses the experiential quality of leisure. Furthermore, it limits leisure by needlessly squeezing it into the remnants of time not spent at work. Time diaries, we suggest, are not the proper measurement device for assessing leisure.

The second approach to defining and measuring leisure is behavioral or activity based (i.e., What do people do when they are not-working?). Here, leisure is categorized in terms of activities. This approach allows a more concrete definition of leisure, free from the ambiguities of the time-based approach described above. This view has fueled a branch of leisure studies that focuses on tourism, recreation, and sport (e.g., park usage, participation in team sports), equating them with leisure. It has also led to typologies of leisure activities that include categories such as watching TV, reading books, and engaging in hobbies or volunteering (e.g., Argyle, 1996). This reflects the development of modern leisure that, unlike earlier notions, now has objectives and content of its own. This development has gone hand in hand with the growth of cultural industries such as radio, film, and television. Thus, to assess your leisure we need only determine your consumption of recreational activities. This is good news for consumers of leisure because it gives us a way to have leisure in spite of being overworked and feeling rushed and overwhelmed by the pace of our lives: We simply need to do leisure more *efficiently*. According to Robinson and Godbey (1997) this is indeed happening, a phenomenon they call "time-deepening" leisure. Examples of time-deepening leisure include doing more than one leisure activity at a time (watching a cooking show with subtitles while talking on the phone), substituting less time-intensive leisure activities for more time-intensive ones (video games instead of bowling), and setting leisure activities within precise time goals ("Let's make love. Monday night football's not for another 20 minutes").

One way to achieve leisure efficiently is to purchase it ready-made, like a TV dinner. Commercialized leisure allows us to do just that with holiday and recreation packages that require no planning effort. Leisure is entertainment to be consumed, and can even be displayed as a symbol of success—creating access to Veblen's (1899) leisure class for all who own a credit card and know how to use it. Is such recreation leisurely? This question is difficult to answer, because we have yet to define what makes *leisure* leisure.

In their early discussions of leisure, Plato and Aristotle emphasized the importance of activity in their discussions of leisure. However, "active" in their terms was different from the "activities" that are now categorized as leisure, such as watching TV or spectator sports. Aristotle explicitly distinguished leisure from idleness, sloth, apathy, and disinterest in voluntary action (Ciulla, 2000). The activity of watching TV when someone else in the family is managing the remote is about as passive, listless, and inactive as waking life gets (Torbert & Rogers, 1973). Aristotle cites only music and meditation as leisurely activities. Activities are important for leisure because they can generate a sense of active engagement that *may* lead to the leisure experience. But activities themselves are not leisure, and doing them does not guarantee that leisure will occur. What defines an activity as leisurely?

Aristotle's (c. 300 BC/2000) philosophy provides the foundation for the third approach to leisure. This approach sees leisure as activity generated by an inner attitude of voluntary engagement and inquiry. For Aristotelians, proper leisure is conceptually distinct from mere relaxation and amusement—and has nothing at all to do with consumption, in essence (though every activity, including eating and breathing, can be voluntary). It is this version of leisure that early church fathers referred to in their writings about *otium sanctum* ("holy leisure"), defined as the ability to be at peace through the activities of the day, an ability to rest and pace oneself, and a quiet prayerfulness (Buddhists would say "mindfulness") about how the different activities and time horizons in one's life relate to one another and to the deeper mystery of intelligent life itself (R. Foster, 1978; Needleman, 1980). Several modern-day researchers have also adopted this view of leisure, defining leisure as an atti-

tude that creates a capacity for silence, intentional listening, and receiving (Allen, 1989; Pieper, 1952).

Researchers in this tradition have linked leisure with personal development (Dumazedier, 1975; Parker, 1983), consistent with the Greek belief that leisure is for the cultivation of the self. Leisure can educate us and develop new tastes and interests for us if we take initiative and invest time in them (Davies, 1989). In this classic perspective, leisureliness is exhibited not by ease and self-indulgence but rather by self-examination and spiritual inquiry (Rigby, 1989), through challenging aesthetic experiences engaged in the service of personal development. Because leisure supports "open space" for reflection, inquiry, and transformation (Kaplan, 1975), it leads to personal development. From the outside, this open space may at first look like residual time to do nothing. From the inside, it is an open time to listen and create, just as the unused floor space in one's home is the developmental space where one exercises, entertains, engages one's children, and so forth.

The attitude of leisure goes beyond a sense of high-performance flow. "Flow" is a state of consciousness so focused that it amounts to absolute absorption in an activity (Csikszentmihalyi, 1990; Mainemelis, 2001). In flow, we become totally focused on an activity and lose our sense of both time and self. Indeed, flow activities are often designed to make optimal experience easier to achieve by establishing clear bounded goals, rules, and feedback systems that facilitate concentration and involvement for a bounded period of time (whether in a "skunk works," during a "charette," or in meditation at 4 a.m.). Leisure is distinct from flow and absorption because it provides a real-time reflective practice (Schon, 1983), a sense of being in the moment while simultaneously being *aware* of one's surroundings and of the cognitive and temporal frames in which one is participating. You don't "lose yourself" in leisure the way you do in flow. Leisure as we use it here refers to an overarching mindfulness or inquiring attentiveness (Torbert, 1972; Torbert & Rogers, 1973) that may be experienced and cultivated over a lifetime, penetrating more and more of one's activities, rather than experienced in bursts like flow or absorption.

Leisure may be linked to mental activities with little behavioral manifestation. Consider, for example, musing, meditating, wondering, loving, and wishing, all of which Andrew (1981) cited as potential examples of leisure. How would you measure these? In an attempt to illustrate, we include a concrete example of a person's self-examination about the leisure commitments she now wishes to make, offered in the conclusion of an autobiographical writing exercise in a course she has voluntarily chosen. This passage demonstrates how leisure is related to personal developmental goals (and is used with the author's permission). Toward the end of these reflections, we see the young woman contemplating turning one of her leisure activities (soccer) into her work:

- I recently phoned a therapist. I have realized that I never really processed the events that occurred in Michigan, and by seeking counseling, I hope to gain peace.
- I will continually seek to broaden my perspective by seeking friendships with people from diverse backgrounds, reading a wider variety of literature, traveling, and meditating.
- Perhaps most immediate is my goal to overcome my own insecurities, which is of course really a lifetime project. If I am to advance developmentally, I must be able to spend more time contemplating life beyond myself. To a certain degree, we are what we think about, and I do not spend enough time thinking about others. In order to cultivate patience, wisdom, empathy, compassion, honesty, and a giving and forgiving heart, both in my professional and personal life, I believe the best method of attainment is through my spiritual life. After writing my autobiography, I realize that most of what I am proud of in life was obtained because of my character, which, for me, has grown through my relationship with God. Also, however, I believe that meditation and an exploration of Buddhism will expand my awareness.
- Finally, I want to start coaching soccer again. When I felt a surge of emotions brought on by writing the autobiography, I spoke with one of the girls whom I coached. We had not spoken in four years, and yet she told me that she and several of the other girls were talking about me just a few days prior, agreeing that they enjoyed their soccer experience with me and that their enjoyment diminished after I left. I truly believe that I have a gift for coaching and I must be sure not to neglect it. Therefore, I will obtain my national "B" license this summer.

The three approaches to leisure we have mentioned here—time, activity, and attitude—all focus on a different aspect of leisure. All are relevant for leisure, but the third approach best distinguishes leisure from other related concepts. Leisure is distinguished by its

voluntary purposiveness, by its inquiring, awareness-enhancing process, and by the developmental outcomes it engenders—not by any particular outward form (Kelly & Godbey, 1992). Leisure becomes leisurely from the inside out, not the outside in. Therefore, we support the third approach as primary and advocate a definition of leisure as *the experiential quality of our time when we engage voluntarily and intentionally in awareness-expanding inquiry, which in turn generates ongoing, transforming development throughout adulthood.*

Interpreting leisure as an attitude allows us to specify the core qualities of experience implicit in the other two themes. Nevertheless, we should acknowledge that the idea of personal development is controversial in leisure studies because some consider it elitist. Who is to judge music or meditation as serious leisure and drunken TV watching as not leisurely at all? Critics argue that looking at leisure this way is prescriptive and normative. In our defense, we respond that it is at least as prescriptive and elitist for a third-party social scientist embracing a modernist research approach to impose a supposedly neutral definition of what activities constitute leisure from the outside without reference to the internal state of the acting person. To fully understand leisure, the empirical objective approach must be combined with the subjective approach of determining the meaning of the activity for the person engaging in it. One person's leisure is another's torture, as the following example illustrates: Frederick W. Taylor, the Father of Scientific Management, was ordered by his doctor to play golf, and he hated it. He apparently compared his time at the sport with visits to the dentist (Andrew, 1981, p. 31).

But if leisure is an attitude toward activity, can one be leisurely about work? When an amateur piano player becomes a professional piano teacher—when leisure becomes imbued with quantifiable material and practical gain—is piano playing still leisurely or does it start to feel like work instead? Or can it be both at once? The definition we offer here is significant and useful because it frees leisure from being diametrically opposed to work. Once the constraints of this duality are removed, new relationships between leisure and work can be considered. It allows the possibility that a leisurely activity can be worklike, and that work can be leisurely. We ask you to keep this possibility in the back of your mind as we turn to a consideration of work.

WHAT IS WORK?

In modern times we see leisure as the negative of work. Yet in earlier times this relationship was reversed; work was seen the negative of leisure, and leisure was given primacy. We need only look at the words they used to see that this is so. In Greek the negative of *schole* (leisure) was *ascholia* (work). In Latin the word for business (*negotium*) is the negative of leisure (*otium*). This is consistent with negative views of work espoused in various historical times (De Grazia, 1962; Parker, 1983). For example, the Greeks considered work to be a curse, best to be done by slaves and women (Berger, 1963). In Rome, Virgil referred to work as *labor improbus*, which translates to "wicked toil". Hebrew and early Christian traditions viewed work as a curse that was the product of original sin: Work was justified as a way to atone for one's sins. This negative view of work has been lexicographically enshrined in European languages, where we see the word for labor closely associated with pain and travail, as in the Greek *ponos* and the French *travail* (Meilaender, 2000).

Work's image improved dramatically with the advent of Protestantism, which established work as the key of life. The best way to serve God, according to Luther, was to do most perfectly the work of one's calling (Parker, 1983). Calvin further developed this view in the doctrine of "maximum effort," which said that if a person produced more than they needed, this surplus should not be wasted on personal appetites. Rather, it should serve the glory of God by tithing and investing to improve one's work and provide even greater surpluses for the glory of God (Pascarella, 1984). This paradox of the Protestant work ethic—to work hard to accumulate wealth but simultaneously not to indulge in its benefits—is the foundation of our modern-day belief in working for the sake of work while rejecting idleness and leisure as sloth. The Protestant work ethic espouses diligence, deferment of pleasure, and scrupulous use of time. People began to realize that by working more they could improve their material condition (Rose, 1985). This was a significant departure from earlier times, when one's social status was considered permanent. People now had a motivation to sacrifice leisure to get ahead. For the new and rapidly growing middle class in capitalist parts of the world, work became a form of liberation.

Gradually over several centuries, work evolved from a religious and moral undertaking—a means to

redemption—to a secular, economic, and materialist one—as a way to fuel consumption. It was during this time that leisure became associated with free time and was relegated to its subordinate position to work. Leisure was increasingly viewed with suspicion as a vestige of aristocracy and as a threat to Protestant virtues, and workers were cautioned to use their leisure "wholesomely" (meaning frugally and soberly) to restore themselves for work (Berger, 1963). In modern times work is seen as the primary means of expanding human powers—developing character and exercising capabilities—benefits formerly assigned to leisure (Andrew, 1981).

Despite Protestantism's promotion of the virtues of work, work was not loved and admired by all. The advent of industrialization changed the nature of work and created conditions of alienation for blue-collar and working-class laborers. Marx defined alienation as the workers' perceptions of their work as meaningless and unimportant and their general sense of not determining their own actions and not belonging to the working community. This perspective of work underlies critical research in leisure and treats leisure as a function of power relations linked to the capitalist social structure (e.g., Rojek, 1985). For the common person, leisure comes to be seen as compensatory, as a respite from the alienating, dehumanizing work world.

So what is work? The contemporary criteria for work, according to Ransome (1996, p. 23), are that it is a purposeful expedient activity requiring mental and/or physical exertion, carried out in the public domain in exchange for wages. Ransome also notes that these characteristics allow some room for ambiguity.

We highlight this ambiguity here as we compare the criteria for work with the definitions of leisure offered above. Distinguishing work from leisure is not so easy. There are many examples of activities that conjoin both freedom and necessity, muddying the distinction between pure work and leisure. Dumazedier (1962/1967), a seminal leisure scholar, refers to these activities as *demi-loisirs*, citing as examples gardening, fishing, and the do-it-yourself activities we do when we putter around the house. These activities are utilitarian, yet often are freely chosen. Friedson (1990) coined the term "labors of love" to denote the unpaid work that people do without any financial gain. His primary examples are artists who continue in long careers despite their inability to make living wages from doing this work. Stebbins's (1992, 1997) research on "serious leisure" provides another example of conjoined work and leisure. Serious leisure is the systematic pursuit of an amateur, hobbyist, or volunteer activity that participants find so substantial and interesting that they launch themselves into a career centered on acquiring and expressing its special skills, knowledge, and experience. Some people actually receive pay for their serious leisure.

Even routine, monotonous work can be voluntarily reframed by workers to include aspects of leisure. Roy's (1959) classic example of the "banana time" of laborers in a manufacturing facility illustrates this. He recounts the diversions and games that his coworkers engaged in during their repetitive and monotonous work; this allowed them to retain a sense of personal power in the face of the alienating work conditions. Work can also include joking around, making friends, exchanging stories, playing cards, or having romance—all a far cry from the drudgery view of work offered above, and quite similar to concepts of leisure.

In addition to being difficult to distinguish, work and leisure are interdependent in another way: In our society, at least, the ability to experience leisure actually seems to be dependent on the presence of work. Research finds that people who have no work at all do not experience leisure (Ciulla, 2000; Wilson, 1996). Classic research by Jahoda, Lazarfeld, and Zeisel (1933/1971) showed that unemployed people lose track of time, are late to appointments, and accomplish little in spheres outside of the workplace. Research has also found that the less discretion and creativity people can exercise at work, the less discretion and creativity they exercise during their free time (Miller & Kohn, 1983; Torbert & Rogers, 1973).

THE RELATIONSHIP OF WORK AND LEISURE

These ambiguities about work and leisure suggest that instead of a harsh dichotomy, the two terms are related on a spectrum that ranges from purely externally motivated and determined actions, as in the case of assembly-line labor done for the money and as the boss requires, to purely internally motivated actions, such as meditating by oneself or producing works of art for which there is no preexisting market, for the pure suffering and pleasure of doing so. Between these poles of pure work and pure leisure are many hybrid states, which can be both intrinsically and

extrinsically motivated. Extrinsic rewards such as receiving compensation for a behavior do not automatically eliminate the potential for a leisurely intent, an inquiring practice, and a developmentally transforming outcome. On the other hand, neither the lack of extrinsic rewards nor the fact that one has chosen to have a dog and a family in one's free time means that we always want to walk the dog or cook a meal for the family when the time comes. There may be aspects of these tasks that are intrinsically enjoyable, but they are also done, and sometimes only done, for instrumental purposes. Walking the dog on a sunny day can be pure leisure; on a raw, rainy day, the same person may experience walking the dog as required labor. Yet again, another person may view the very changes of weather as a pleasure because they break the taken-for-grantedness of her daily experience, reminding her that she can engage now in broad meditative inquiry—whether about the aesthetics of the puddles, the sensations of walking, or the essay on leisure to which she will return in a few minutes.

This last illustration suggests that the action-logic through which a person frames an activity, not the activity itself, determines whether it is leisurely or not. Action-logics are internally coherent systems of beliefs that we may not be fully aware of ourselves, making them especially difficult to transform (Argyris & Schon, 1974; Bacharach, Bamberger, & McKinney, 2000; Wilber, 2000). According to developmental theory, people and organizations evolve (not always evenly in all the different aspects of one's life) through a series of action-logics that influence our perceptions of the world in characteristic ways (Alexander & Langer, 1990; P. Foster & Torbert, 2002; Kegan, 1994; Torbert, 1987; Wilber, 2000). As children develop, their early action-logics focus on gaining some control within the already constituted outside world of toys, tools, and products, as well as within already constituted hierarchies of power, status, and legitimacy. Because the earlier developmental action-logics involve adapting to existing norms and hierarchies, boundaries seem relatively clear, dichotomous, polar, and necessary: win/lose, good/bad, right/wrong, work/leisure. Although these early action-logics are in fact themselves powerful frames, people who hold them are not aware of them as frames but rather believe the world really is as they see it (and that people who argue otherwise just don't get it).

In modern times, relatively few people continue their development in adulthood through further transformations of action-logic until they become increasingly aware that they and everyone else are co-constituting the world together in the present by the action-logics they exercise (Kegan, 1994; Torbert, 1991). Those who do continue their development become increasingly aware of, and imaginative in each encounter, in exercising their ability to frame and reframe and create common frames (shared visions) of what can occur. Such persons transcend the dichotomous, adapting-to-past-regularities, early action-logic views and replace them with an integrative, intentionally transforming-toward-the-future view (although they also recognize that many do not share their perspective). They become aware that different persons, organizations, types of work, and types of science operate according to different action-logics, and that action-logics can transform through an exercise of inquiry and mutual influence. Instead of seeking to defend their current action-logic, such people voluntarily engage in a creative, collaborative inquiry that reshapes their own and others' roles, tasks, and relationships—even whole organizations (Fisher, Rooke, & Torbert, 2001). In short, they become more leisurely both in their free time and at work.

An example of the bottom-line, economic benefits of leisurely work comes from a 4-year research study of 10 CEOs in six different industries who wished to transform their organizations (Rooke & Torbert, 1998). Five of the 10 CEOs were measured at conventional action-logics and 5 were measured at the later "collaborative inquiry" action-logic. Only those operating from the collaborative inquiry action-logic reliably generated even one organizational transformation, and only they ever generated more than one organizational transformation during the course of the study. The organizations that constructively transformed to later action-logics became increasingly profitable and rose toward the forefront of their industries according to quality and reputational measures. The ones that did not floundered and lost ground by several different measures.

At later action-logics, people also tend toward integrating the economic, political, and spiritual spheres of life rather than treating them as separate categories. Leisurely inquiry between friends becomes a priority in shaping their time and sense of calling or vocation (Torbert, 1996). More and more, such persons internalize the possibility, the desirability, and the usefulness of approaching all dilemmas, all relationships, all moments in a leisurely manner. Discovering one's calling through voluntary, leisurely activities—such

as spiritual, political, musical, or scientific modes of inquiry—and turning this calling into a life's work that pays exemplifies transforming one's whole life (including the work) into leisure (Torbert, 1991).

Different strata within organizations and whole organizations also operate at different developmental levels, influencing the nature of the work done by those who work there. The developmental ladder of work moves from (1) assembly-line work, with virtually no time span of discretion (Jaques, 1982), to (2) clerical work, with daily-to-weekly time span of discretion, to (3) craft work, (manual, service oriented, or intellectual), with a weekly-to-yearly time span of discretion, to (4) managerial work, with a 1- to 3-year time span of discretion, to (5) strategic, empowering, leaderly work, with a 3- to 7-year time span of discretion, to (6) power- and paradigm-transforming work, "called" by voluntary leisurely contemplation, with a 7-year to lifetime time span of discretion.

Analogically, organizations operating at developmentally early action-logics create environments characterized by externally imposed standards, the use of unilateral power, dichotomous categories, and a drive to reproduce the status quo (Argyris & Schon, 1974; Barley & Tolbert, 1997; DiMaggio, 1988; Torbert, 1987). Such organizations tend to generate pure work, complete with its alienating qualities. Institutions operating at later action-logics encourage internally developed visions and mutual relations and create conditions for both personal and institutional transformation. An example of a later action-logic industry is the social investing movement. Over the past 20 years, socially responsible investing advisory firms and mutual funds have gradually established respectable top and bottom lines. Indeed, they are currently growing faster than conventional investment houses. Moreover, they have simultaneously reframed the bottom line into a triple bottom linefinancial, social, and environmental (P. Foster & Torbert, 2002).

As we have emphasized above, leisure and work are interdependent. Recent large-scale changes in the structure of work have influenced the amount and type of leisure we consume, but not in the way leisure scholars in the 1950s and 1960s predicted. Then, experts touted an impending "crisis of leisure." They believed that technological advances and the ensuing productivity would lead to shorter work weeks and earlier retirement. Leisure, which used to be the reserve of the aristocratic leisure class, would become increasingly available to all. What would we do with all that leisure time? There was fear that free time would be dissipated in careless ways. Such a crisis was also predicted much earlier by Aristotle, who advocated that people receive liberal arts education to better (and properly) enjoy their leisure (Ciulla, 2000). He might be surprised to see that today, liberal arts degrees are tools to get a job.

Instead, technology has privileged work over leisure and contributed to the phenomenon of overwork outlined by Schor (1991). Americans have invested their productivity dividend into more work, which generates more income, which fuels more consumption (for a compelling description of this trend, see Schor, 1998). To generate income, professionals work in "white-collar sweatshops" (Fraser, 2001) that deny them any significant evening, weekend, or vacation time for themselves, let alone longer term security (Hochschild, 1997; Schor, 1991). The Protestant work ethic is alive and well, and it is a mark of status to be busy with important work tasks. Some of our leisure has been co-opted by corporations seeking to simplify employees' lives by bringing fitness facilities and worship services in-house. Under the guise of work/life initiatives, organizations are extending their reach into more of the leisure domain now, asking us to have fun in our daily tasks because it serves the bottom line. Executives may be treated to tablecloth dinners at the penthouse dining room, which makes staying longer at work instead of racing home to make dinner for their family an enjoyable alternative (Hochschild, 1997). "Leisure activities" can also be used as a means to reach one's goals at work (Karlsson, 1995): The yacht and the season tickets help us close deals.

Given the centrality of work in our culture, and given the developmental ladder toward increasingly leisurely work, we should not be surprised to learn that Juster (1986) has found that the intrinsic satisfaction people receive from work is greater than the intrinsic satisfaction they get from their free time. Nor should we be surprised that Csikszentmihalyi and LeFevre (1989) have found that flow occurs more than three times as often in work as in free time.

Nevertheless, for some of the richest people in the world who work by choice there is apparently no distinction between work and leisure. A recent paper by Rojek (2000) explored the leisure choices of billionaires Bill Gates, Warren Buffet, and Richard Branson. Although these men could stop working any time they like, they continue to work and report great pleasure from working long, 16-hour days. Paradoxically, they work longer hours than average people. But this work ethic does not have the characteristics of routine

and monotony that social critics typically ascribe to work. So: Have these wealthy men voluntarily given up their leisure, or is their work their leisure?

The perspective offered in a recent book titled *Good Work* (Gardner, Csikszentmihalyi, & Damon, 2001) prompts us to ask what is lost when "good work" altogether swallows the open space/time of leisure. Gardner and his coauthors chronicle the lives of exemplary genetic scientists and journalists, whom they call "Creator-Leaders." These are high-level, senior professionals who typically choose their work as a vocation and experience flow characteristics at work. What is their experience of leisure? The word *leisure* is mentioned only once in the book, in the following description of what is missing in the prototypical Creator-Leader's life:

> There is not much time for family, exercise, leisure, or contemplative moments—he regrets this but accepts it as part of life's bargain. Indeed, EG (Exemplary Geneticist) seems to thrive on this hectic life, rather than being frustrated or exhausted. His daily routine is imbued with considerable flow and is only rarely scarred by self-doubts. He still feels that he is a frontline participant in one of the singular scientific events of all time. . . . Yet the rapid changes in his domain present a significant challenge. . . . The financial, ethical, and even scientific questions are of a scale unprecedented in the annals of research. (pp. 65-66)

The successful scientist is engaged and energized by his busy work life. Yet his one-sided focus gives short shrift to significant "unprecedented questions" about issues that he, being at the pinnacle of success and visibility in his field, could address. Consider Gardner et al.'s data: Of these Creator-Leaders, only 25% believe that withholding data from publicly funded studies until a gene is patented is a matter for concern; and only 8% express "great concern" about licensing a gene patent for profit. Why this ethical myopia? The authors of the study, who are themselves well funded by foundations, are very cautious about criticizing their subjects. But after suggesting reasons that may support the scientists' low concern (e.g., there have been "no biological Chernobyls" in the past two decades), the authors offer this muted comment: "They may hesitate to critique practices that fuel much of the current popular interest in, and financial support for, research on genetics" (p. 110).

If Ph.D. biologists (and the Ph.D. social scientists studying them?) are "muted" by financial forces, how much more likely is it that business managers, whose whole experience, training, and assessment is focused on bottom-line market success, will be muted by market forces (Bird & Water, 1989)? How many of the various lawyers and auditors implicated in the current Enron et al. scandals raised questions about the blatant violations of fiduciary responsibility before the companies crashed? Two different series of developmental studies (Kegan 1994; Torbert, 1991), using two different, carefully validated measures (the Subject-Object Interview and the Leadership Development Profile), with hundreds of highly educated professionals and managers, both found only 7% of each sample operating on the basis of the postconventional "Collaborative Inquiry" action-logic that prioritizes principled relationships over prudential career-and-income-furthering calculation.

Of course the same question applies to us, the once-leisurely management professoriat who read and write for this journal. Our profession has been subject to a rapid rise over the past 15 years or so in scholarly status, consulting status, teaching status, and, most recently, "e-guru" status, not to mention the pressures of rankings based on conventional measures of success. The time demands of our work have accelerated inexorably. Just how much of each weekend do we spend at work on our computers? And just how critical and constructively transformational of business, of science, and of our own busy-ness are we management scholars today?

Why can so many of us—whether managers or scholars—be molded and muted by market and institutional forces? Because, this essay suggests, not only Creator-Leader Ph.D. geneticists but also we, as a culture, have virtually forgotten what it means to cultivate leisure. Leisure, defined here as voluntary, reflective, developmental inquiry, is missing. Our increasing focus on work may have atrophied our capacity to engage in leisure—our leisure skills. Because our skills are poor, critics complain that increases in free time will only lead to more time watching television or shopping at the mall. Robinson and Godbey (1997) offer an interesting and shocking illustration of this: They estimate that the average American spends 40% of his or her free time watching television. Ironically, they also report that people do not enjoy watching TV compared to other leisure alternatives; they do it, however, because it's cheap and easy. Thus, both work and leisure constructs are suffering from a narrowing (Allen, 1989) or "flattening out" (Quarrick, 1989) of their meanings. Work is too

much mere work, whereas leisure is too much mere relaxation.

CULTIVATING LEISURE

We advocate that cultivating leisure is an important goal and that management scholars need to reconsider our field's relationship to leisure. As a busy professor, you may be tempted to say there is no time for such leisurely things: We must, after all, work to achieve the necessary and enjoyable trappings of our profession (publications, tenure, etc.). But this argument is rooted in the mutually exclusive definitions of leisure and work. If, instead, we consider that activities can be both work and leisure at the same time, our inquiry shifts from how to reduce work in order to increase leisure to how to alter both our work and our free-time practices to allow the integration of leisure and work.

The first step to increasing personal leisure is to become mindful of our own beliefs about leisure and our personal ability to experience the attitude of leisure. What is your personal stance toward work and leisure, and where did these beliefs come from? If you believe that work is more virtuous than leisure, or if experiencing leisure results in immediate feelings of guilt, then your own attitudes may be the primary barrier to creating and experiencing leisure. To simultaneously learn more about and transform these attitudes, one of a million things you can do is pay a masseur or masseuse for a 2-hour full-body session, bring yourself to speak about your two most bedeviling questions during the session, and observe the transformations in your body, feelings, and thoughts as you do so.

Creating leisure for ourselves can give us a greater aesthetic appreciation for each of our hours and days, as well as help us to more actively sculpt them. We suggest two avenues to increase your everyday experience of leisure. The first is to engage in reflective practice such as the aforementioned massage. Through reflective practice we can intentionally create a kind of empty temporal background in a myriad of ways, shaped by our personal preferences and temperament. Two 20-minute periods of transcendental meditation each day can have this effect; so can five Islamic prostrations per day or a short bike ride through the park that allows the mind to wander. Writing a personal journal can also create a space for reflection and dialogue with the self.

Nor is reflective practice by any means necessarily a solitary activity. A regular meeting for friendly conversation among diverse peers who exercise mutual influence within a community dedicated to ongoing inquiry (e.g., a men's group, a women's group, an interracial inquiry group, a religious study group) can also cultivate leisure.

The second way to develop a leisure attitude is to play. Play is often associated with childlike behaviors, and its meaning as an adult kind of activity is suspect. Play is developmental: It allows both children and adults to try on new roles, exploring and altering boundaries to combine elements in creative new ways. When adults play, they reframe activities in ways that are flexible and adaptive (Glynn, 1994; Glynn & Barr, 2001). Like leisure, play is freely chosen, intrinsically motivated, inquiring, and leads to personal development (Caillois, 1958/1961; Huizinga, 1950; Sutton-Smith, 1997). But what is adult play? We move from playing with toys as little children to playing games as youth to playing roles in families and organizations as late teenagers. As adults, we can also take creative leadership roles where we play *with the very boundaries of* roles, organizations, technologies, disciplines, families, and friendships. And we can graduate, once again, to playing *with our own and others' attention in real time*, encouraging one another's development. What if we adults allow ourselves the opportunity to play in our daily work? What if we treat our work as an ongoing opportunity for "action inquiry" (Fisher et al., 2001)? What if we treat our daily personal processes as opportunities for play as well (e.g., how can routine activities like dressing or driving become more playful?).

As we management scholars seek to reclaim and incorporate leisure as a legitimate part of work life, we can include it in our research agendas and class curricula. Our research would benefit from the inclusion of more self-reflective approaches. This could include methods that integrate first-, second-, and third-person approaches, as has recently been called for by researchers across a wide range of disciplines (Reason & Bradbury, 2001; Sherman & Torbert, 2000; Varela & Shear, 1999; Velmans, 2000; Wilber, 1998). As Posner (2002) noted, many academics are squeamish about writing in the first person for a variety of reasons, stemming from the belief that it violates core postulates of modernist science. Incorporating a leisurely perspective in our research means getting over this squeamishness to include self-reflection and first- and

second-person methods as legitimate ways to gain knowledge (Hartwell & Torbert, 1999; Heron, 1996; Marshall, 2001).

With regard to teaching, our teaching has the potential to play a transformational role in influencing students' action-logics, which in turn shape their managerial practices. In the first issue of the *Academy of Management Learning & Education* (September 2002) it was argued strongly that our teaching does *not* by and large influence managerial practice or add significant value. This suggests that something is missing, that there has been some slippage between our intent as educators and the eventual outcomes seen in our students' behaviors in the marketplace. The experience of leisure, which we define here as self-reflective and developmental inquiry, can encourage our students to take a broader and more inclusive view of the workplace, expanding their focus beyond the bottom line to the interplay among visioning, strategizing, performing, and assessing profitability and other outcomes. How can we design our management courses and how can executives design their workplaces as collaborative inquiries that encourage an increasingly voluntary commitment to accomplishing a shared mission, along with the increasing alertness to signs of incongruity among vision, strategy, performance, and assessment that generates true integrity (Runkel, Harrison, & Runkel, 1969; Torbert, 1991)? Contributing to our students' capacity to engage in leisure and to exercise power in ways that enhance collaborative inquiry can help reverse professional and corporate ethical myopia and can help improve organizational stewardship. Alternatively, many of us have begun to emphasize the teaching of skills in the classroom. Assuming the logic we offer here justifies its inclusion, how would you teach a module on leisure skills and what topics or themes would you include?

CONCLUSION

In this article we have reflected on our culture's, our profession's, and our own attitudes about leisure and have encouraged the reader to join us in this inquiry. We have challenged the harsh dichotomy of work and leisure, arguing that leisure and work have similarities that make distinguishing the two complex. Leisure cannot be solely determined by time or activity: It depends on the attitude one experiences while doing an activity during a particular time. Leisure and work are related, and indeed can be experienced at the same time. The ability to experience both at the same time is an indicator of personal development and is therefore a skill that we suggest can be cultivated. As it turns out, our crisis of leisure is not that we have too much of it. Our crisis of leisure is that we generate virtually none and cannot quite imagine what we are missing.

We conclude with a journal entry written by an elderly man, illustrating the playful tension of leisure and work, intent and necessity, as raking leaves becomes simultaneously a physical chore and a metaphysical liberation:

> Raking the leaves each Fall evokes such a flurry of images and feelings.
>
> On one hand, I love raking leaves. The yellows, oranges, reds, and browns are magnificent. Raking is a luxuriously slow and circular activity that really is the best exercise for my arthritic need to stretch gently, continually. The feeling of attending to my property, glorying in its upkeep, stirs feelings of comfort, well-being, pride. I even make something spiritual of it in a small way, entering for minutes at a time into that blessed consciousness where one is fulfilled and enthralled in the Eternal Now, like Tolstoy's character scything in the wheatfield, or the sinuous writhing of my torso as I sit at my computer and write this—right now.
>
> On the other hand, I have to admit that each Fall I've gotten slower and slower on the uptake of the rake. I see more reasons why the leaves look beautiful as they lie, marking new patterns of grass each day.
>
> This morning I was walking the dog around the house to do her morning functions prior to our run together in the park. A brief wrassle on the front lawn, or some other accident before that, dislodged my car keys, and the light of my eye and mind did not meet their reflected light when I first searched. I was irritated of course, and of course I searched too quickly—superficially scanning the terrain in the hope of a quick, opportunistic pick up. No luck. Tension mounted.
>
> Then I realized that leaf raking would properly slow my search toward more likely efficacy, and perhaps be better exercise than running besides. So, I tied up the dog and began. It *was* fun. Indeed for moments at a time, I altogether forgot that I was supposed to be looking for the keys. There was enough of a dialectic in the leaf-raking itself. I winded myself and tired some muscles before I changed hands and tried the unaccustomed way, or simply slowed down, or turned in slow circles. Was I limbering up, or clamping down? Was I looking for keys, or raking the lawn? Was I in a hurry, or did I have all morning? I was having wonderful writing and action ideas, so wasn't that justification enough for continuing?

Still, no keys.

Now I decided to take the other car and get the dog and me to the park for a run, so I wouldn't obsess about the keys. But now a new variable confounded the already much-confounded equation. When I entered the kitchen for the other keys, my wife was there mumbling something to me about taking home our helper who had not yet arrived to clean the house. That I had lost the keys and wanted to take a run with the dog didn't help. Feeling more inspired by the outside than argumentative with the inside, I proposed that I go out and rake some more while she decided what to do.

Three minutes later the raking revealed the keys, my wife had decided to have the house cleaned after all, and the dog and I were on our way to the park. Circling the park and my own center of gravity many a time each morning are other rites which reintroduce me to the Eternal Now repeatedly.

For a little while some days, even the interruptions, the changes of pace, the reframings, and the pauses join in the circular swirl and the whole dance feels spontaneous. What prevents me from repeatedly reframing so that *all* the interruptions of *each* day subsume themselves so?

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