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YIN AND YANG

The relationship of leisure and work

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In common vernacular, work and leisure are framed as polar opposites: what is work cannot be leisure. Indeed, leisure is often construed as the 'left-over time' – time not spent at work, or on other obligations, time for doing anything … or nothing. By contrast, we will argue and offer various forms of evidence for a very different appreciation of work and leisure. In our view, leisure is the primary source of activity, inquiry, freedom, and love, while work is a secondary derivative, but one that can be chosen voluntarily and done in a leisurely fashion (e.g., to offer some obvious examples, piano playing, writing, video-game testing, experiential mathematics, etc.). Thus, in our view, work and leisure intertwine with one another and sometimes lose their boundaries altogether, more like the Yin-Yang symbol with mirror-opposite black and white embryos, each pregnant with its emergent other.

In this chapter we explore this sinuous, interdependent relationship, offering the Taoist *taijitu* symbol – more commonly known as the Yin and Yang – as an organizing metaphor. *Taijitu* is roughly translated as 'the diagram of ultimate power'. Yin and Yang are the polar energies represented by interlaced swirls enclosed in a circle (Figure 40.1). The dot in each swirl represents each energy, at its highest stage of realization, pregnant with the seed of its complement, into which it is about to transform (Fischer-Schreiber, 1996). The concepts are illustrated as a series of seemingly polar opposites, such as moon/sun, black/white, cold/hot, feminine/masculine, passive/active, and weak/strong (Robinet, 1997), although they are actually a whole octave of music or rainbow of colours.

The *taijitu* symbol provides an effective metaphor for the relationship of leisure and work because it illustrates the interdependence of opposites; neither can exist alone and each needs the other to show its contours. The conception of work and leisure as antonyms has created an artificial division that has impoverished our understanding of both terms. Our definition of leisure does not measure an amount of time or a kind of activity but, rather, focuses on an inner dialogue with the source of our own experiencing and being. We propose that, at their best, both work and leisure can be intrinsically motivated. Leisure allows us to discover the qualities of the good life and of our own particular calling, while work allows us to 'real-ize' the calling. Together, such complementary leisure and work can provide us with a lifetime sense of sustainable involvement, development, and satisfaction. We first discuss leisure and work separately, then offer some comparisons. Understanding the characteristics of leisure
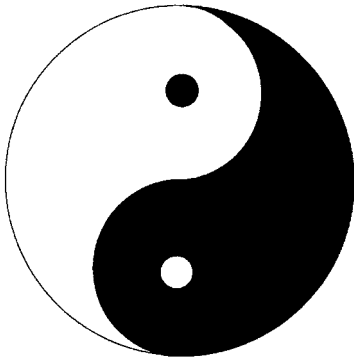
Figure 40.1 Yin/Yang symbol

and cultivating 'good' leisure is important, we argue, at both the individual and societal level. In our conclusion, we advocate that educating for leisure is critical.

Yin: leisure

Management scholars and lay persons may see leisure as trivial and inconsequential, as little more than free time to re-create energy for work. In contrast, leisure scholars see it as a product of more fundamental social structures and suggest that changes in the institutions of work, family, and education all fundamentally influence leisure (Coalter, 1989). Roberts (2011) distinguishes between 'little leisure' and 'big leisure', noting that individuals' leisure choices are relatively inconsequential (i.e., little leisure); but that 'big leisure', meaning the larger social and cultural implications of leisure, is highly consequential. For individuals, the main functions of participating in leisure are well-being and identity construction (Blackshaw, 2010). Socially, the benefits are economic, as leisure inevitably and increasingly involves consumption, which fuels major sectors of the economy. It doesn't matter which specific leisure activities people pursue, as these benefits apply on the aggregate.

Leisure may be framed as an economic choice regarding the investment of free time (Hunnicutt, 1988), a psychological attitude or state of mind (Csikszentmihalyi, 1975), or a location for identity development (Rojek, 2000). Topics of study range widely from quilting (Stalp, 2006), to volunteering (Lockstone-Binney et al., 2010) and fitness (Maguire, 2008); Scottish whiskey tourism (Spracklen, 2011) and illegal drug use (Shinew and Parry, 2005) have also been considered leisure topics. So what is leisure, that it can be all these things?

We find three major approaches to the definition of leisure, based upon either: (1) time (how much time are people not-working?); (2) activity (what do people do when they are not-working?); and (3) intent (what kind of an intention is the intent to act in a leisurely manner?). 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, nor under obligation to family or social constraints. One's leisure is calculated by subtracting the hours given to work and other obligations from the 24 hours of the day. Large-scale data come from statistical analysis of time-use diaries, and the criterion is the quantity of time.

This view reflects an industrialized view of the world in which work is scheduled first and everything else is then 'free time' (Robinson and 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. Leisure and paid holidays were seen as compensatory for increasingly specialized and tedious work, and were used primarily to recuperate in preparation for more (tedious) work (Cross, 2005). In this view, more time spent away from work and/or obligations equals more leisure, regardless of the activity engaged in or the attitude one has at the time.

The relationship with work-time was emphasized in early notions of leisure, as presented by Veblen's (1899) 'leisure class' and Dumazedier's (1967) 'leisure society' thesis. Both wrote that as societies become more advanced, less time would be required for basic survival. With basic needs met, the assumption was that people would naturally opt for more free time. Indeed, Dumazedier warned of a potential 'leisure crisis' – of people not knowing how to spend their leisure time in developmentally beneficial ways.

Using the time-based definition of leisure, some sources report encouraging results: research shows that since the mid 1960s, overall time spent working has decreased, and therefore leisure time (interpreted as 'left-over' time) has increased for both men and women (Aguiar and Hurst, 2007; Gershuny, 2003). Other researchers using time-diary research offer a more complicated view of a gender gap in leisure, with women doing more unpaid work (Bittman and Wajcman, 2000; Jacobs and Gerson, 2001; Mattingly and Bianchi, 2003).

The main advantage of a time-based approach to defining leisure is that it provides an objective and easily quantified measure, freeing researchers from the task of assessing and categorizing specific leisure-time activities. But the time-based definition of leisure lacks an intrinsic character of its own (Allen, 1989; De Grazia, 1962; Neulinger, 1981); it is simply defined by what it is not. Further, the quality of the experience is overlooked, and leisure is nothing if not 'experienced quality'.

The second approach to defining and measuring leisure is behavioural or activity based. Here, leisure is associated with categories of activities often done while one is at leisure. This view reflects the development of modern leisure and the growth of cultural industries like radio, film, and television. Tourism, recreation and sport, hobbies, volunteering, etc. are all classified as leisure, and the person who engages in any of these activities is concomitantly 'doing' leisure.

It offers a convenient formula for aspiring 'leisurites' who can efficiently buy their leisure experiences from a set menu of leisure packages (e.g., 'Let's see … A Disney vacation or golf tour?'). An activity-based approach has been convenient because it is more objective, and it is easier to measure and compare observed behaviours.

Actually, the earliest definitions of leisure in the West also had an action focus. Both Plato and Aristotle emphasized the importance of activity in their discussions of leisure. But 'active' in Plato's and Aristotle's terms means something different from the 'activities' that are now categorized as leisure, such as watching TV or spectator sports. Aristotle explicitly distinguished leisure from idleness and *acedia*, which translates as 'sloth' and generally means apathy and disinterest in voluntary action (Ciulla, 2000). Watching TV (especially when someone else in the family is managing the remote) is about as passive, listless, and inactive as waking life gets (Torbert and Rogers, 1973). In the original Aristotelian definition of leisure, an inner attitude of voluntary engagement and inquiry is the core of leisure, not the particular outer activity (Aristotle lists but two true leisure activities: meditation and music).

With Aristotle, the third approach to defining leisure addresses the inner experience of leisure. Leisure is defined as a reflective attitude or state-of-being experienced when one is voluntarily and inquiringly engaged in an activity. Only amidst such activities are we

likely to experience a developmentally capacity-expanding outcome. Six hundred years and more after Aristotle, the early church fathers wrote of *otium sanctum*, or 'holy leisure', which referred to a sense of balance in life, the ability to be at peace through the activities of the day, and an ability to rest and pace oneself (Foster, 1978).

This approach to leisure includes a reflective and spiritual aspect. Leisure is an attitude emphasizing a capacity for active silence, intentional listening, and receptivity (Pieper, 1998). It is for the cultivation of the self, and the self in relation to friends under the sign of inquiry. Leisure is seen not as a time free from work (the empty, negative sense), but as time free to determine what the good life is, what is really worth doing, and how to do it with moment-to-moment integrity, mutuality, and sustainability (Torbert and Associates, 2004).

We advocate that the third approach has the most definitional power, because it specifies the core concepts implicit in the other two: people often experience an *attitude* of leisure in their *time* spent away from work, doing particular types of *activities* commonly associated with leisure. Yet this attitude can also be experienced during portions of time spent at work, doing activities not commonly recognized as leisure activities. What distinguishes this attitude of leisure, and how is it distinct from other concepts?

The attitude of leisure

The attitude of leisure – leisureliness – is distinguished by its intrinsic motivation, its inquiring, awareness-enhancing quality, and its transforming, developmental outcome. Leisure becomes leisurely from the inside out, not the outside in. In this chapter, we define leisure as an attitude or state of being that is intrinsically motivated, actively inquiring, and developing toward more inclusive awareness. An example of a leisurely activity would be a regular meeting for friendly conversation among diverse peers who exercise mutual influence within a community dedicated to ongoing inquiry. Discovering a calling through spiritual, political, musical, and scientific modes of inquiry and turning it into one's life work (all performed voluntarily as a 'living inquiry') is another example (Torbert, 1991).

Doing what one *wants* to do is a condition of leisure, and leisurely activities must be intrinsically motivated. As Plato said, leisure is the 'eternally optional task' that one chooses for its own sake, not for any instrumental purpose. Neulinger (1981) offers a spectrum of leisure experiences ranging from 'pure leisure' to 'pure job'. In pure leisure, the motivation is only intrinsic, with satisfaction ideally coming from the activity itself; 'pure job' is only extrinsically motivated, done for the money and the boss. However, extrinsic rewards, such as receiving compensation for a behaviour, do not automatically eliminate the potential for a leisure attitude. In practice, we often settle for less 'pure' versions of leisure. To illustrate, consider tasks which you perform in your own life that are not exactly work, but sometimes do not feel like leisure either: walking the dog, working out, cooking a meal for one's family, or reading a very dry academic journal. While there may be aspects of these tasks that are intrinsically enjoyable, they are also done for instrumental purposes. This ambiguity of leisure makes it especially mysterious. Leisure can only be self-defined, and is therefore idiosyncratic. Walking the dog on a sunny day can be leisure; on a raw, rainy day, the same person may experience walking the dog as work. But 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.

Leisure is associated with personal development because it supports 'open space' for reflection and inquiry. This open space may at first look like residual time to do nothing, but it is actually much more than that. Although this space is not being 'used' in a physical way, it offers balance and perspective similar to Yin and Yang. Two twenty-minute periods of Transcendental Meditation each day, at the beginning of one's lunch break and just before one's evening begins, can have this effect; so can five Islamic prostrations per day; etc.

The experience of leisure can lead to personal development via active intellectual, emotional, and/or physical engagement. Leisure can educate us and develop new tastes and interests for us if we take initiative and invest time in them (Dumazedier, 1967). An example of developmental leisure is the notion of 'serious leisure' (Stebbins, 1992), the systematic pursuit of an amateur, hobbyist, or volunteer activity – dancing, butterfly photography, sculpting, yoga – that we may find so substantial and interesting that we launch ourselves into a career centred on acquiring and expressing those special skills, knowledge, and experience. Serious leisure requires significant personal effort; the rewards are personal enrichment, self-actualization, self-expression, enjoyment, recreation, and sometimes even financial return (Stebbins, 1997). Here, we see Yang and Yin, leisure and work, complementing one another, with work completing the leisurely aim. This personal development aspect incorporates the three dimensions of leisure definitions: it requires an investment of time, and typically has as its focus some type of activity that creates the conditions for us to experience the attitude of leisure. However, the distinguishing concept of serious leisure is the attitude one experiences while doing it.

Here is one concrete example of a person's self-examination, upon completion of an autobiographical writing exercise (in a course she has voluntarily chosen), about the leisure commitments she now wishes to make. We use this passage with the author's permission to illustrate how leisure is related to personal developmental goals.

- I recently phoned a therapist. I have realized that I never really processed the events that occurred in Michigan, and by seeking counselling, 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, travelling, 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 also 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 who I coached. We had not spoken in four years, and yet she told me that she and several of the other girls who I had coached 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.

Leisure is associated with personal development in another way, too: developmental theorists have found that, as people transform to later developmental stages, they incorporate more leisurely, inquiring perspectives across their life domains (Kegan, 1994; Torbert, 1996; Wilber, 2000). Each stage is marked by a different action logic, which is an internally coherent system of beliefs that we may not be fully aware of ourselves, but that directly shapes our actions and is difficult to transform (Argyris and Schon, 1974; Bacharach, Bamberger, and McKinney, 2000). In early developmental action-logics the focus is on external standards and conventional social norms, and people with these action-logics have dichotomous worldviews (win/lose; work/leisure; action/inquiry, etc.). In later stages, people move toward more mutual, more playful, more paradoxical perspectives that integrate economic, political, and spiritual elements of life through a creative reshaping of roles, tasks, and relationships. Leisurely inquiry among friends becomes a priority in shaping their time and vocation (Torbert, 1996): work and leisure cease to be dichotomous. They recognize that they themselves play a key role in framing and reframing the meaning of each activity and in determining the role it plays in their life as a whole.

Some leisure scholars find this idea of personal development elitist, prescriptive, and normative. Who is to judge one form of leisure as serious and another as not serious? We rebut 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).

The important methodological question is whether a leisurely internal state can be validly and reliably measured, and the empirical question is whether the resulting measure correlates with other significant social variables. A number of empirical studies (Fisher, Rooke, and Torbert, 2001; Rooke and Torbert, 1998; Torbert and Fisher, 1992) using different measures of persons' inner-state leisureliness have shown strong relationships with the degree of decision-making responsibility of a person's job, the degree of success with which a person leads organizational transformation, and in the extent to which regular, long-term, voluntary collaborative inquiry leads to developmental progression.

When leisure is understood as an aggregate experience that combines time, activity, and intent, it is a quality of being that one can cultivate. It is not merely something one does (like going to a movie) or acquires (like purchasing a holiday cruise package), although either of these *may* be done in a leisurely manner. Because leisure is intrinsically motivated, the objective is not to meet others' norms but to develop one's own taste for inquiry, beauty, and ethical action; this requires action and vigilance about our leisure pursuits.

Yang: work

In different historical periods, work has been imbued with religious and political themes, seen variously as a curse, a duty to God, and as a symbol of alienation and subjugation. For the Greeks, work was a curse and was best done by slaves (Parker, 1983), and Virgil referred to work as *labor improbus*, which translates to 'wicked toil' (De Grazia, 1962). Hebrew and

early Christian traditions also viewed work as a curse that was the product of original sin; through work one could atone for one's sins.

Later, Protestantism 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 declared that all men must work because it is the will of God, but they must not lust after the fruits of their labour. This paradox is at the core of the Protestant work ethic. The tenets of the work ethic evolved, including diligence, deferment of pleasure, and scrupulous use of time. Time and pleasure were carefully metered: for example New England Puritan settlers increased their number of work days by avidly striking long-standing religious holidays (including Christmas) from their calendars (Alesina, Glaeser, and Sacerdote, 2005). In contrast to earlier periods, when one's social status was fixed at birth, working people gradually realized that by working more they could improve their material condition (Rose, 1985). They now had a motivation to sacrifice leisure time so as to get ahead. Gradually, work evolved from a religious and moral undertaking – a means to redemption – to a secular and materialist one, as a way to fuel consumption.

The propensity to conceptualize leisure as 'not work' is premised upon a specific framing of work. Questioning this view of work may help to free us from the false dichotomy of work and leisure. Work is seen as necessary and required drudgery, and it requires effort. In some languages, the word for 'labour' is closely associated with pain – as in the Greek *ponos*, the French *travail*, and the German *Arbeit* (Meilaender, 2000), not to mention an English-speaking woman's labour as she delivers nature's greatest miracle, a new child. Often represented as a unitary concept of 'wage labour' (Karlsson, 1995), it is seen as debasing, and as a sign of subjugation to a master (Veblen, 1899). According to Marx (2010/1844), industrialized work has commodified labour and caused alienation when the workers were unable to determine their own actions or reap the rewards of their labour. Work and leisure become contested elements of the capitalist social structure (Rojek, 2009), with contested power and class structures. For example, some have predicted that, as technology increases, the workforce will polarize into a core of overworked elites and a larger group of precariously employed or unemployed workers (Granter, 2008).

This framing of work paints an unduly negative view and denies us the possibility of any intrinsic motivation at work. While it is true that some jobs fit these negative descriptions, there is variation in the motivating potential of jobs. Work can satisfy personal needs for competence and esteem and social needs for discipline, connectedness, regularity, and self-efficiency (Wilson, 1996).

Further, people are not entirely powerless and can proactively shape their work, as the job-crafting literature tells us (Wrzesniewski and Dutton, 2001). In job crafting, employees shape the task boundaries of the job, the relational boundaries of the job, or both. These proactive steps change the social environment of their work, generating greater meaning and building work identity. Even routine, monotonous work can be reframed by workers to include aspects of leisure and play (for example, Roy, 1959). When work is meaningful, it allows one to be creative, use and develop skills, and take responsibility and initiative (Gamst, 1995; Parker, 1983). It can also provide a venue to experience sustainable involvement and development that is intrinsically motivating – similar to leisure.

Indeed, as mentioned earlier in this chapter, developmental theory offers a 'ladder' of action-logics from the most externally defined, coercive, and alienating to the most internally defined, mutual, and fulfilling. This developmental ladder can distinguish not only alienating labour from fulfilling leisure, but also broadly different types of work. There is a world of difference in each rung up the ladder from:

1   chain-gang or assembly-line work, to
2   clerical work, to
3   craft work (manual, service-oriented, or intellectual), to
4   managerial work, to
5   strategic, more widely empowering, leaderly work, to
6   power-and-paradigm-transforming work, 'called' by voluntary, leisurely contemplation.

Given the centrality of work in our culture, and given this developmental ladder towards increasingly leisurely work, we should not be surprised to learn that Juster (1986) has found that the intrinsic satisfaction that people receive from work in our culture 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.

For some of the richest people in the world who work by choice, there is no distinction between work and leisure. Rojek (2000) explores the leisure choices of billionaires Bill Gates, Warren Buffet, and Richard Branson. These men could stop working any time they like, but they continue to work and report great pleasure from working long, 16-hour days. Paradoxically, they work longer hours than average people. This work ethic does not have the characteristics of routine and monotony that social critics ascribe. But, let us pause and inquire critically into this conflation of work and leisure. Just how leisurely is a life in which the pleasures of work altogether eclipse one's desire for free time?

The blurring of work and leisure, Yin and Yang

Despite modern developments of reduced working hours, increased leisure time, and increasing productivity, we as a society are more harried than ever (Glorieux et al., 2010; Linder, 1970). Instead of experiencing the portended 'leisure crisis', we have invested our productivity dividend into more work. We live in a culture in which 'busy-ness' is a virtue that socially displays our importance and success (Gershuny, 2005). People who work the hardest to earn the most money, ironically, lack the time to enjoy it.

We are migrating toward a fusion of work and leisure, with people bringing work attitudes to their leisure tasks. For example, some people adopt 'time-deepening' behaviour (Robinson and Godbey, 1997) to make their leisure more efficient. Examples of this are doing more than one thing at a time, substituting less time-intensive leisure activities for more time-intensive ones, and setting leisure activities within precise time goals. Given our limited time, we face competing leisure demands, and may even have 'inconspicuous consumption' (Sullivan and Gershuny, 2004) – a situation in which people purchase expensive leisure goods with the intent of using them, but never actually get the time to do so; the hope and promise of leisure is tucked away in storage with their ski and scuba equipment. We know that, in the USA at least, workers are not taking all the vacation days to which they are entitled (Expedia.com, 2011) (although this seems to be less of a problem in European countries). All this contributes to feelings of time pressure.

Contemporary developments such as increasing professionalization, service sector jobs, and technologies that invade the home have all blurred the boundaries of work and leisure. Many of us have willingly sacrificed a firm boundary between work and leisure in exchange for the flexibility of accessing texts and e-mails 24/7. Technology has decreased our daily labour requirements and spurred the growth of inactive leisure (i.e., surfing the internet, spending time on video games or social media) (Albrechtsen, 2001). The ubiquity of

electronic devices offers the affordance of multi-tasking in both work and leisure contexts, accompanied by ever-diminishing contacts with live human beings and nature.

Increasing mechanization and bureaucratization of work has also shaped the character of leisure, away from active leisure to more passive consumption of mass commercial entertainment. Time spent in the most enjoyable and engaging leisure activities such as socializing with friends, pet care, worshipping, reading, and listening to music has gone down since the mid-1960s – findings which come from Krueger's (2007) study using affective data measuring respondents' feelings while engaged in activities.

So what activities are people doing instead? Data shows that TV watching has gone up significantly (Aguiar and Hurst, 2007; Jacobs and Gerson, 2001; Krueger, 2007). Robinson and Godbey (1997) estimate that the average American spends 40 per cent of his or her free time watching television, and more recent time-diary data from Glorieux *et al.* (2010) using a Flemish sample show that 43 per cent of total weekly leisure time is spent watching TV. Ironically, these studies also report that people do not enjoy watching TV, as compared to other leisure alternatives; however, people do it because it's cheap and easy.

In response to the increasing time demands of the work-place, we see some people creating their own solutions by downshifting their career aspirations and reclaiming intrinsic motivation for their work. For example, Ravenscroft and Gilchrist (2009) write of the working society of leisure. Here leisure is composed of self-determined work, and instead of the compartmentalization of work and leisure, the two are intentionally merged into a 'single labour project' (Ravenscroft and Gilchrist, 2009: 24). Adherents to this practice receive limited extrinsic reward in their work, but enjoy the intrinsic rewards once reserved for leisure activities. However, this path is not available to all, as it requires cultural and economic capital, coming generally from higher levels of specialized training and the ability to be mobile.

As Robinson and Godbey explain (1997), 'voluntary' implies that you have a choice among alternatives *and* that you give some up in order to enact or consume the one you want. They further note that the time-deepening described above lures us into thinking that we can multi-task, and thereby avoid sacrificing anything. But what we thereby in fact sacrifice is everything: voluntary control over the pace and quality of our moment-to-moment experiencing. We increasingly define ourselves by our accomplishments and our acquisitions. This means that we have to be 'on the go', achieving and doing all the time – because to do nothing is to be nothing.

Both work and leisure constructs are suffering from a narrowing (Allen, 1989) or 'flattening out' (Quarrick, 1989) of their meanings. The risk is that we, as a culture, have virtually forgotten what it means to cultivate leisure, through which we develop the freedom and integrity to question assumptions.

Leisure education

Leisure must be acknowledged as legitimate: to consume or enjoy leisure does not make one lazy. Workers have been encouraged to develop life skills to give them maximum flexibility in the labour market, and education has shifted towards training for vocational and social roles. It should also educate for leisure skills, to help people reach their true potential through active leisure and self-improvement.

Educating for leisure is the process of helping people to develop appreciation and skills to use their leisure in personally rewarding ways (Brightbill, 1960). A distinction is made between educating for serious or active leisure, which may be unfamiliar to people, versus

casual (passive) leisure, for which no special skills are needed. Leisure education can increase awareness of both serious and casual leisure, their benefits, and the importance of having a balanced set of both kinds (Cohen-Gewerc and Stebbins, 2007). People can be exposed to different kinds of leisure and ways to embark on serious leisure careers. Students of leisure need to learn how to observe fresh opportunities, and to be present in the moment. Part of the leisure experience is to allow time for reflection and contemplation, with time bounded from outside distractions. People can develop a more leisurely attitude by learning mindful-ness practices, to recover ethical and spiritual ground (Levy, 2007).

Our recommendations suggest that developing a leisure attitude is an individual's responsibility, but we admit that some features of leisure are shaped by cultural norms. Research by Alesina, Glaeser, and Sacerdote (2005) studies the differences in leisure consumption between Europeans and Americans. From an economic perspective, they note that the marginal tax rate in Europe is much higher, which makes it less attractive for people to work more hours. They found that legally mandated holidays can explain 80 per cent of the difference in weeks worked between the USA and Europe, and they note the significance of labour regulation and unionization in bringing this about. They find a social multiplier effect, meaning that the utility of time off goes up as more people are also taking time off – resulting in Europeans' summer vacation en masse. This mass culture of leisure likely leads to better leisure infrastructures in Europe. Therefore organizational and government policies do set some limitations on the leisure opportunities, and these policies matter.

Drawing from this, the suggestion for the US market could be that in order to get more and better leisure experiences we need higher taxes and more unions. But remember that the notion of vacations as leisure is rooted in the time perspective of leisure. We have advo-cated in this article that leisure is about an attitude, not just the amount of time one has off. Similarly, we might suggest that organizations create Chief Leisure Officers to support their employees' leisure pursuits – a radical thought that is unlikely to sit well with capitalist philosophy, but interesting to consider, given that organizations are major social actors with the resources and efficiency to launch such an effort. More supportive cultural and organi-zational infrastructures could help as individuals take steps to build their diversity skills; but exercising one's leisure skills requires individual initiative. Responsibility for and control of leisure is best left to the individual and not yoked for organizational gain.

Our crisis of leisure is not that we have too much. We've managed to fill all the available time doing *something*, so the question instead is about the quality of the leisure we have. Our crisis of leisure is that we generate virtually none and can't quite imagine what we are missing. Can we rediscover the active, erotic intertwining of the Yin and Yang of work and leisure in our lives?

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