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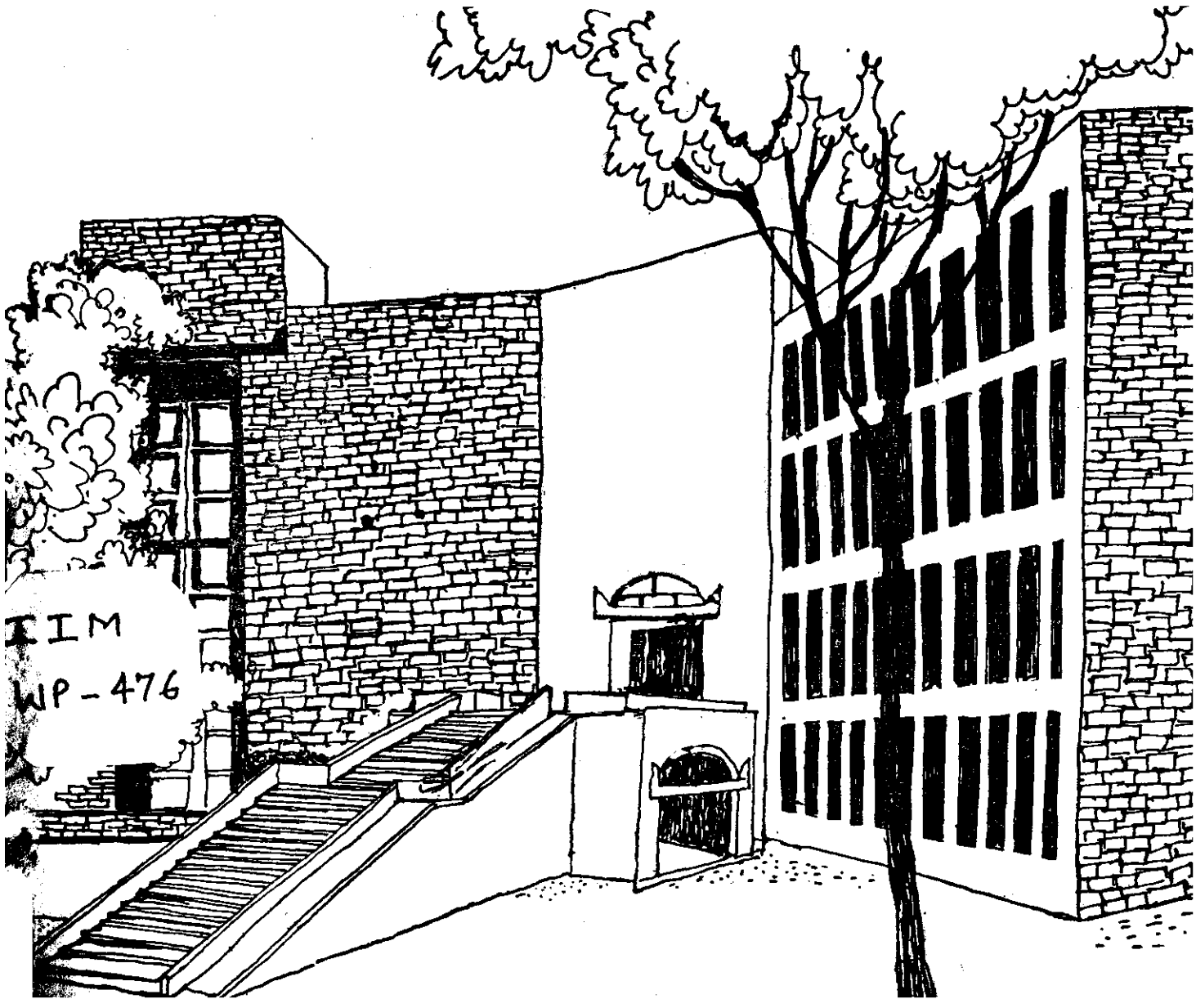
Working Paper



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W P No. 476

September 1983

INDIAN INSTITUTE OF MANAGEMENT
AHMEDABAD-380015
INDIA

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* To appear in Lee, M.D. & Kanungo, R.N. (Eds.) Management of Work and Personal Life : New York : Praeger, 1984

An Uneasy Look at Work, Nonwork, and Leisure[1]

by

Rabindra N. Kanungo and Sasi Misra

Better understanding of human problems associated with work, nonwork, and leisure has been a long standing concern of scholars of widely varied intellectual persuasion. Philosophers and theologians are interested in these problems because of their concern for the moral and spiritual values in life. They approach the problem of work and leisure from a normative and prescriptive point of view. For instance, both the eastern and western religions view 'leisure' as a spiritual and artistic state of mind or soul which is incompatible with the ideal of 'work' (Pieper, 1952). Thus meditation becomes an ideal form of leisure that improves the quality of spiritual life. In contrast, work usually refers to those activities that serve the mundane purpose of maintaining one's physical existence. As Time essayist Morrow (1981) puts it, work, until recently, "was simply the business of life, as matter-of-fact as sex and breathing" (p.55).

Historians and anthropologists are also interested in studying the nature of work, nonwork, and leisure because of many interesting

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[1] The authors thankfully acknowledge the support of SSHRC, Ottawa, McGill University, Montreal, and Indian Institute of Management, Ahmedabad, in the preparation of this article.

cultural variations observed in the meanings attached to these concepts in different societies and at different periods of time. They have traced the development of these concepts from the time of preliterate societies when work and nonwork spheres of life were inextricably woven together to modern times when one notices clear segmentation of work life from nonwork life (Parker, 1971, pp.33-42). Finally contemporary sociologists and psychologists are quite active in investigating the relationship of work, nonwork, and leisure because the issue raises significant behavioral problems in the lives of individuals, groups, and organizations.

From the perspective of behavioral scientists, the problems and issues related to work, nonwork, and leisure are not separate and compartmentalized. Often, experiences at work or within the work organization affect the employee's life away from work. For instance, the nature of one's job may determine the choice of recreational or leisure activities. The skills used on the job or the residual level of energy after work may force the employee to choose specific forms of leisure activities (Parker & Smith 1976). An employee who does not have much physical energy left after a strenuous day's work, may prefer to spend his/her leisure time in passive recreational activities such as watching television or listening to music. Conversely, experiences in nonwork spheres of life can also influence the employee's worklife within the organization. Kanter (1977) suggests a number of ways in which

family life affects worklife. For example, emotional experiences at home willy-nilly spill over to the job situation. Many attitudinal and behavioral reactions at work tend to be reflections of the employee's ethnicity, family background, and early socialization (Kanungo, 1980). Decisions regarding working overtime, taking up full or part-time work, promotions, relocation etc. are often influenced by factors operating in one's nonwork sphere of life. Many constraints in one's family and community environment also influence such decisions. As Parker (1971) pointed out, the problems of work and nonwork are, "really part of the same problem, and a careful consideration of all the issues involved shows that we are unlikely to go far in solving the one without tackling the other" (p.11). Likewise, Near, Rice, and Hunt (1980) have regretted that research efforts in this area have not taken cognizance of the fact that work pervades other aspects of social life. It is interrelated to and inseparable from other institutions of society. Indeed, Ronald Reagan in his presidential campaign had aptly enshrined work as "community of values", along with family, neighbourhood peace and freedom (see Morrow, 1981, p.55). These assertions clearly assume that a proper integration of work, nonwork, and leisure spheres of life foster a healthy life and a healthy society. It is therefore imperative to study their relationships conjointly.

Behavioral scientists have begun to evince keen interest in understanding the nature of work, nonwork, and leisure for a variety

of reasons. These pertain to the sea change that have taken place over the years in the world of work. In north America for instance, part-time workers have increased substantially. Women have come to constitute a significant percent of the work force. The influx of immigrant labor continues albeit more slowly. Young people have surged into the labor force. These changes in the labor force has resulted in perceptible shift in attitude toward both work and nonwork spheres of life. Furthermore, in the affluent world, misery and drudgery in the work place has diminished owing to technological breakthroughs. In short , now there is more to working than the sheer necessity of sustaining life. Writes Morrow (1981): "....our coworkers often form our new family, our tribe, our social world; we become almost citizens of our companies, living under the protection of salaries, pensions and health insurance. Sociologist Robert Schrank believes that people like jobs mainly because they need other people; they need to gossip with them, hand out with them, to schmooze" (p.56). Thus the distinction between the connotations of work as a chore and nonwork as play has blurred. Some behavioral scientists predict that for many people work will increasingly take the appearance of nonwork. It is therefore important to study their relationships.

Another reason for studying work-nonwork relationship is the increasing availability of leisure time in society. Kabanoff (1980) has summed up the views of many writers and

thinkers in this area who predict that in future for people in general, the time allotted for leisure will increase and the time allotted for work will decrease. Even so, work will continue to play a central role in our lives. To quote Albert Camus, "without work all life goes rotton; but when work is soulless life stifles and dies (quoted in Seeman, 1971, p.136)." Hence, the importance of studying work-nonwork-leisure relationships.

Finally, the study of work-nonwork-leisure relationship raises some theoretical questions as well. First, in view of the concept of differentiated roles suggested by sociologists, in what ways work roles affect or influence nonwork roles ? Second, if one buys the Marxian dictum that alienation from work "is the core of all alienation" (cited in Seeman, 1971, p.135), then in what ways increasing involvement in nonwork and leisure spheres of life affect work involvement or its obverse, alienation ? These issues have stimulated both theoretical and empirical inquiries into work nonwork relationship.

Conceptual Issues

Several recent writings in sociological (Champoux, 1981; Parker 1971; Wilensky, 1960), psychological (Kabanoff, 1980; Kabanoff and O'Brien, 1980; Neulinger, 1974) and management (Near, Rice, and Hunt, 1980; Staines, 1980) literature provide excellent reviews of both theoretical advancements and empirical

findings in the area of work, nonwork, and leisure. The state of our knowledge as reflected in these writings clearly suggest conceptual confusion with regard to two fundamental concerns of social scientists dealing with the issue. The first is the problem of construct definition. How does one define and operationalise the three constructs, work, nonwork, and leisure ? The second is the problem of identifying patterns of relationships among the three constructs. How are the three spheres of life related to each other ? How does work influence nonwork and leisure ? How do nonwork and leisure influence work ? What is the relationship between nonwork and leisure ? Conceptual confusions in these two areas of concern have posed methodological problems for empirical studies and problems of interpretation of research findings. In the following section, the nature of conceptual ambiguities and a fresh psychological perspective that overcomes such ambiguities are discussed.

Problems of Construct Definitions

Sound empirical research of behavioral phenomena such as work, nonwork and, leisure depends on clear definitions of the constructs used to describe the phenomena. Stanley Parker (1971) in his book on The Future of Work and Leisure devotes an entire chapter to the problems of definition. Likewise, Neulinger (1974) in his book on The Psychology of Leisure provides an extensive discussion on the definition of leisure. Most researchers in the field find the

initial task of defining the constructs to be an arduous but a necessary one. Most of them do develop some working definitions on the basis of which they go about measuring and explaining these phenomena. These attempts however, have not yet clearly established the dimensionality and the boundaries of the constructs. Without a clear idea. of the dimensions that distinguish the constructs of work, nonwork, and leisure, the constructs tend to be ambiguous. Without clear boundaries, the constructs tend to overlap. This in turn results in the development of dubious measurement devices and unwarranted inferences from empirical data. Parker (1971) in fact, has acknowledged that "there is much loose thinking and confusion in this field" (p.16).

One reason for the ambiguity in the meanings attached to work, nonwork, and leisure stems from the popular usage of these terms in the day-to-day vocabulary. The terms are used in so many contexts that each carries multiple meanings. For instance, English dictionaries provide a number of meanings of the terms 'work' and 'leisure'. Yet, the precise nature of these constructs. remains unclear to the researchers. In order to avoid the problem of multiplicity of meaning of these terms, many researchers assume that the constructs are generally understood by everybody to represent certain phenomena and, therefore, there is no need for explicitly defining them. This attitude dodges the issue and helps little in serious theory building and research in this area.

A second reason for the ambiguous meanings of the constructs stems from the historical fact that at different periods of development of human society, the terms work, nonwork, and leisure, assumed different meanings. In traditional societies, work, nonwork, and leisure spheres of life were totally integrated into one system of living and hence the distinctions among them as we understand now were meaningless. In contemporary industrial societies, however, there has been a segregation of work and nonwork roles. Work is distinguished both spatially and temporally from nonwork. Thus from the present day perspective, work in traditional societies meant physical activity or effort for survival and leisure perhaps meant physical rest. Following this line of thinking, work is contrasted sometimes with rest (lack of physical activity) and at other times with play (activities that are not directed for survival). In modern times, work has a meaning broader than physical activity for survival. It includes a temporal, a spatial, and an activity dimension. The activity dimension includes both mental and physical activity. In these times, a distinction is also made between economic work roles and noneconomic nonwork roles such as in family or community contexts. In contrast to nonwork roles, work becomes paid activity or a means to earn a living and leisure becomes pastime activities performed for their own sake. These notions have led some researchers to define work as paid labor or employment, and leisure as free nonworking time, the time which is free from the need to be concerned about bread

and butter issues (see Parker, 1971, p.21).

A third source of ambiguity in this area arises from a lack of conceptual distinction between nonwork and leisure. Most researchers (e.g., Kabanoff, 1980) use the two terms interchangeably as if they are synonymus. A few who seem to make a distinction (e.g. Parker 1971) do not provide clear boundaries for each of the constructs. Most of the early literature distinguish work and leisure using time and discretionary activity dimensions as the main basis. Leisure is conceived as discretionary activity in free time outside working hours and work is conceived as an essentially obligatory activity within working hours. More recent literature in the area (Near, Rice, and Hunt 1980; Staines 1980) tend to highlight the contrast between work and nonwork. Influenced by the role concept in sociology, this distinction appears to be based on the dimensions of time and domains of lifespace. Accordingly, nonwork includes personal, family, and community roles played by the individual in nonwork time. Work represents work roles played during prescribed working hours. These two forms of contrasts, between work and leisure and between work and nonwork, are assumed to be similar although they use different dimensions for drawing the distinctions.

Two recent formulations. Two major attempts have been made in recent years to clarify the confusions surrounding the meanings of the constructs (Kabanoff, 1980; Parker 1971). Neither of them however, provide satisfactory answers to the problem. The most

recent attempt was made by Kabanoff (1980) who provided a psychological or behavioral perspective to the definitions of the constructs. Reviewing the literature, Kabanoff (1980) pointed out that "in most of the studies there was a lack of consistency in the way that both work and leisure were defined. Work has been described in terms of occupation and by using various task attributes such as autonomy and interaction. In some cases, work has been described simply in terms of the personal needs it is seen as meeting. Definitions of leisure have been even more diverse" (p.47). Kabanoff identified four different ways of defining leisure: (a) leisure as free time; (b) leisure as a psychological state of pleasure, freedom, and relaxation; (c) leisure as the 'cafeteria concept residual' of work; and (d) leisure as activity performed for its own sake, to express one's talents, capacities and potentials.

Each of the above definitions fail to provide clear boundaries for the concept. For instance, leisure as free time implies freedom in choosing activities and yet may include obligatory family activities such as helping with household chores. Likewise, when leisure is considered as a pleasurable mental state or as an activity performed for its own sake, it becomes difficult to draw a line between work and leisure. Many work activities that satisfies individual's salient needs result in pleasurable or satisfying mental states. In order to avoid such confusion, Kabanoff (1980) offered his own definition of work and leisure and argued in favour of looking at

both work and leisure as activities that have certain common task attributes. He defines work as a "set of prescribed tasks that an individual performs while occupying a position in an organization. The organization is generally considered to be a work organization if an agreement is made to supply the individual with monetary rewards in return for his or her services to the organization. In general, work is a spatially, temporally, and, to an extent, socially discrete, well defined role that we have little trouble in identifying" (pp.67-68). As can be notices from the above quotation, the identification of an activity as work requires the use of three dimensions: (a) a temporal dimension or working time, (b) a spatial dimension or work organization, and (c) a reward dimension limited to contractual financial compensation.

Kabanoff's (1980) definition of leisure is somewhat vague and he uses the constructs nonwork and leisure interchangeably. According to him, leisure or nonwork is a "set of activities that individuals perform outside of their work context and excludes maintenance functions .... In contrast to the work setting, leisure activities are primarily carried out in pursuit of personally valued goals or in expectation of fulfilling individual needs rather than in return for monetary reward" (p.69). Defining leisure activities this way, Kabanoff identifies four specific features: (a) leisure activities occur in nonwork context, (b) they are non-maintenance activities, (c) they involve choice and (d) they stem from personal or individualistic source rather than monetary

source of motivation.

Kabanoff's definition of leisure and work represent a move in the right direction, but they raise some ambiguities that needs to be clarified. For instance, the distinction between leisure and nonwork has not been squarely dealt with in Kabanoff's formulation. Secondly, the distinction between work and leisure based on the motivational criterion of financial reward is a legacy of the past and is questionable on the basis of contemporary motivation theories. It is a common place observation that on many occasions work is performed for nonfinancial rewards. A case is point would be the activities or honorary tasks that are performed in professional jobs. These are also refereed to as job duties beyond the call of contractual or prescribed paid job requirements. Individuals often engage in such activities as a part of their work, but for non-financial rewards, Leisure activities at times may also get initiated by the possibility of getting financial rewards. A professor's desire to write poetry in his spare time may be triggered at least partly by monetary rewards it may bring in future. What is being suggested here is that the paid nature of activities may not be an essential condition for the distinction between work and leisure. Kabanoff (1980) recognizing such possibilities writes,"leisure activities may be work related if the actor perceives such activities to be personally meaningful, irrespective of any monetary gain directly contingent on these activities" (p.69). Finally Kabanoff's description of leisure activities as nonmaintainence activities based on

choice is somewhat ambiguous. For instance, the nonwork activity of cooking or preparing dinner (an essential maintenance function) may represent someone's hobby (choice based activity) and hence may resemble leisure activity. Such an act will be excluded from leisure or nonwork category in Kabanoff's definition. The more critical feature that identifies leisure activities should be the discretionary (as opposed to obligatory) nature of the activity rather than its non-maintenance nature. This point will be clarified further in a later section of the article when leisure will be distinguished from both work and nonwork.

Prior to Kabanoff, a systematic treatise on the meanings of work, nonwork, and leisure was advanced by Parker (1971). Parker presented a 'sociological perspective' and viewed these constructs as "components of one's lifespace". Although he considered 'lifespace' to represent the "total of activities or ways of spending time that people have" (p.75), he had trouble dividing it into three categories, work, nonwork, and leisure. He acknowledged the fact that "to allocate all the parts of lifespace to work or to leisure would be a gross over-simplification. It is possible to use the extensive categories of 'work' and 'nonwork' but this does not enable us to say where the line between the two is to be drawn" (p.25). After reviewing the various schemes of analysing lifespace, Parker suggested two variables, time and activity, as the two basic dimensions that define the three components of the lifespace. The time variable is crucial in distinguishing work from nonwork (working vs. nonwork-time) and the activity variable in

is crucial in distinguishing work from leisure (constrained activity vs freely chosen activity). Parker's two dimensional time and activity scheme (1971, p.28) for defining the constructs is reproduced in Figure 1.

Although Parker (1971) tries to accommodate the three constructs of work, nonwork, and leisure in his two dimensional scheme, the scheme itself contains some ambiguities. First, his description of work (main employment) and work obligations (a second job) is not quite clear. Both have obligatory components. Besides, it is not clear what work-time means. Are work obligations or second job activities performed in work-time or nonwork-time ? If time is defined in terms of work and nonwork activities, then why consider it as a separate dimension ? Furthermore, in his scheme, leisure is defined as an activity involving choice and the criteria for distinguishing it from both work and nonwork are hard to follow. This confusion is apparent when Parker (1971, pp.28-29) maintains that "leisure time and employment time cannot overlap, but there is no reason why some of the time that is sold as work should not be utilised ..... for leisure type activities". In similar vein he states, "Leisure means choice, and so time chosen to be spent as work activity .... can be leisure just as much as more usual leisure activities". Finally, his distinction between work or employment and nonwork physiological

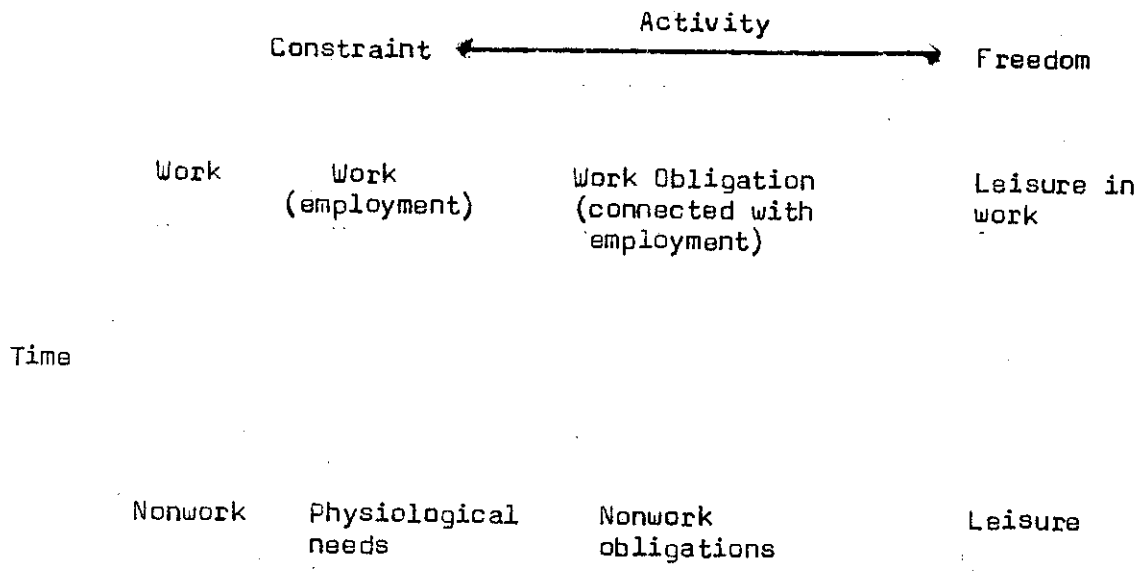


Figure 1. Parker's (1971) two dimensional scheme

needs at the constraint end of the activity dimension is also confusing . Satisfaction of physiological needs do result from paid employment as much as they result from nonwork activities. The confusion here stems from Parker's use of a 'need' construct instead of an 'activity' construct to describe nonwork activity.

The ambiguities inherent in the approaches advanced by Kabanoff (1980) and Parker (1971) as discussed above, call for a reformulation of the constructs. Such a reformulation is presented in the next section. The objective of the reformulation is to redefine the three constructs, work, nonwork, and leisure, by identifying the critical dimensions that can be used by future researchers to distinguish one construct from another and to establish clear boundaries for each of them.

Redefining the constructs

The formulation proposed here draws upon works of both Kabanoff and Parker and attempts to explicate several ideas ingrained in their formulations. According to the present formulation, three major dimensions have to be taken into consideration in defining work, nonwork, and leisure. These dimensions are: (a) activity, (b) time, and (c) space. Let us consider each of them separately.

Like the earlier formulations of Kabanoff (1980) and Parker (1971), work, nonwork, and leisure should be viewed as over-

observable behavior or activities of individuals. Thus activity becomes the first dimension to consider. The dimension of activity has three components. First, one has to consider whether an activity is intended to accomplish organizational, work or job objectives. This is referred to as work - nonwork objective component. Second, one has to consider whether the activity is chosen freely by the individual or the individual is forced to act because of some external constraints. This component is known as discretionary - obligatory component. Third, one has to decide whether the activity leads to satisfaction of one's salient extrinsic (existence and social needs) or intrinsic (self-actualizing) needs. This refers to the need satisfaction component. Both Kabanoff and Parker have emphasized the discretionary and the intrinsic need satisfaction components of the activity dimension in defining and distinguishing leisure activities from work activities. The present formulation, however, considers the work-nonwork objective and the discretionary-obligatory components of the dimension to be the critical ones in defining the constructs. It considers the need satisfaction component to be inconsequential and assumes that work, nonwork, and leisure activities are all directed toward satisfaction of salient needs of individuals, be they intrinsic or extrinsic. As pointed out earlier, defining leisure in terms of the intrinsic need satisfaction component of an activity is a legacy of the past humanistic orientation of social and political philosophers. From a behavioral point of view, both intrinsic and extrinsic needs can be the basis for

work, nonwork, and leisure activities. This view point is a significant departure from earlier formulations.

On the basis of the two components of the activity dimension suggested by the present formulation, one can more clearly distinguish between work, nonwork, and leisure. Figure 2 presents the two components in a 2 x 2 matrix. Any given activity can be categorized under any one of the four quadrants of the matrix. As can be seen in Figure 2, work and nonwork activities differ from each other on the basis of the intended objectives of the activities. Any activity that is intended to serve organizational or job objectives can be categorized as work activities. Other activities that are intended to serve non-organizational or non-job objectives should be categorized as nonwork activities. Leisure activities therefore form a part of the nonwork category. However, leisure activities are distinguished from other nonwork activities on the basis of free choice or the discretion criterion. It must be emphasised that work activities of discretionary nature may fulfil similar needs of an individual as the leisure activities, but the former cannot be considered as leisure because of the differences in the intended objectives of the activities. For example, when a professor is writing a textbook, he/she is engaged in discretionary work activities that are intended to achieve work objectives. Writing a textbook, however, is neither an obligatory task of a professor's job, nor strictly speaking his/her leisure activity.

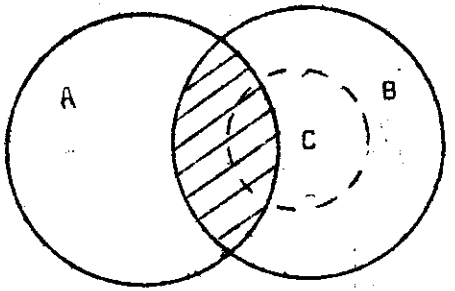
	Work objective of activity	Nonwork objective of activity
Discretionary activity	Discretionary work (e.g. Writing a textbook)	Discretionary nonwork or leisure activity (e.g. pursuing a hobby)
Obligatory activity	Obligatory work (e.g. Prescribed teaching role)	Obligatory nonwork (e.g. household chores

Figure 2 : Conceptual distinction based on the two components of activity dimension.

On the other hand, when the professor is executing some prescribed teaching assignments, he/she is fulfilling a job obligation. A professor doing household chores is an example of his/her obligatory nonwork activity, but engaging in a hobby like philately is truely speaking his/her leisure pursuit.

All these forms of work, nonwork and leisure activities take place either in prescribed working time or in non-working time. Likewise, these activities also take place either in some prescribed work locations or outside such locations. Such space and time dimensions provide appropriate boundaries for work, nonwork, and leisure activities. Whenever these space and time boundaries are transgressed, one notices what is referred to as the activity spillover phenomena. When a professor writes the textbook or teaches after school hours or at home, he/she demonstrates work spillover into nonwork territories. Likewise, collecting postage stamps in the office during working hours is an ex-ample of leisure spillover into work territories. This boundary transgression concept to explain the spillover of activities is diagramatically presented in Figure 3.

In Figure 3, circles A and B represent work and nonwork spheres of activities. Leisure activities as a part of nonwork are represented by circle C. The solid line boundaries of A and B reflect the time and space dimensions of work and nonwork. The dotted boundary of C represent the discretionary component of nonwork. The overlapping area of the circles represent the spillover of one kind of



A : Work
B : Nonwork
C : Leisure

Figure 3 : Spillover of activities as boundary trangression

activity into another's temporal and spatial spheres. Such activity spillover phenomena is generally studied by researchers who use time-budget or space allocation methods (e.g., Robinson, 1977).

This phenomena of spillover of activities from one sphere of life to another should be distinguished from the 'spillover hypothesis' advanced by researchers (Kabanoff, 1980; Wilinsky 1960) to explain work and nonwork relationship. When work and nonwork activities are compared and found to be similar on some psychological dimensions such astask attributes (i.e., variety, antonomy etc.) or task motivation (i.e. meeting intrinsic or extrinsic needs), the researchers attribute the relationship to the spillover or generalization hypothesis. For instance, experiencing a great deal of antonomy at work may influence an individual's choice for autonomous leisure or recreational pursuits. The spillover hypothesis that describes the relationship between work and nonwork therefore does not assume spillover of specific activities, but rather of the attributes or psychological characteristics of the activities. The nature of work and nonwork relationship in terms of three different hypotheses will be discussed later in the paper.

In view of the above discussion, work may be defined as any physical and/or mental activity performed with the intention of meeting some job, work or organizational objectives of providing goods and services . Ordinarily work is performed during the prescribed work-time and in prescribed work-locations. Work

spillover is noticed when it is performed outside work-time and location. Work gets exchanged for financial and/or non-financial rewards that satisfy extrinsic and/or intrinsic needs of individuals. Nonwork may be defined as any physical and/or mental activity performed with the intention of achieving non-job and nonorganizational objectives. Here again, nonwork activities are performed outside work context and work-time. However, spillover of such activities can take place when time and space boundaries are transgressed. Nonwork activities can lead to financial and/or nonfinancial rewards that satisfy extrinsic and/or intrinsic needs. Leisure is defined as that part of non-work activities that are discretionary in nature.

The 'lifespace' of an individual can be defined as the totality of various work and nonwork activities one performs in time and space. Using the three dimensions, space, time and activity, one can group all the work or the nonwork activities of lifespace into sight categories. Figure 4 presents a categorization scheme for work activities. A very similar categorization scheme can also be worked out for nonwork activities. As will be seen in Figure 4, categories 1 and 2 truly represent work activity. The other six categories (3 to 8) represent work activity spillover is nonwork domains. Instead of work, if nonwork activity of lifespace is substituted in Figure 4, then categories 7 and 8 would truly represent nonwork, and category 7 would truly represent leisure. The remaining six categories (1 to 6) would constitute

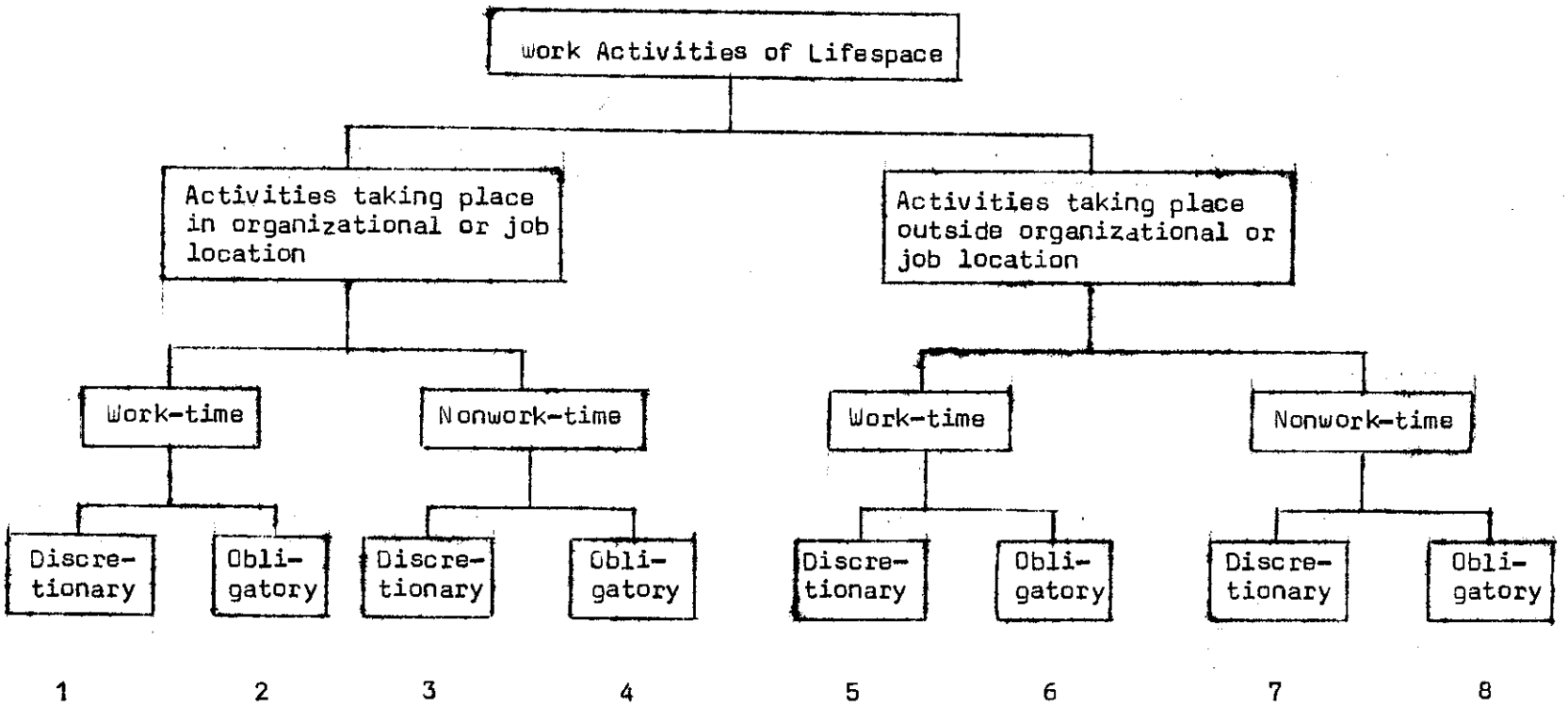


Figure 4 : Categories of work activities in Lifespace.

spillover of nonwork activities into work domains. Categories 1, 3 and 5 would represent spillover of leisure activities into work domain. Such a classification scheme will be useful in future research aimed at the identification of both the boundaries of the three constructs and the spillover phenomena.

Problems of Theoretical Explanation.

Conceptual confusions are not limited to the descriptive level of construct definitions. They also exist at the explanatory level of theorizing about the interaction between work, nonwork, and leisure. It was Engels (1892) who first observed that the nonwork spheres of life of English workingmen were significantly influenced by the monotonous nature of their work life. Engels noticed that after work, English workingmen were excessively indulging themselves in liquor drinking and sexual license "in order to get something out of life" (p.128). Such observations of Engels led Wilensky (1960) to propose two classic hypotheses about work-nonwork interaction. The first is the compensatory nonwork hypothesis and the second is the spillover or generalization hypothesis. The compensation hypothesis suggests that individuals would engage in nonwork activities in order to compensate for the deprivations experienced at work. The spillover hypothesis, on the other hand, suggests that individuals' nonwork activities may reflect a carryover or generalization of work habits and attitudes. The spillover hypothesis echoes the

sentiment expressed in the Marxian dictum that alienation at work pervades all spheres of life; an alienated worker is also alienated from family, community, religion, politics etc. (Marx & Engels, 1939). A third and more recent hypothesis about the relationship between work and nonwork has been proposed by Dubin (1956). Dubin suggests that in industrial society an individual's life roles are segmented; each role is played within a particular context and is independent of the others. Thus, work and nonwork roles are not related to each other. This hypothesis is commonly known as the segmentalist hypothesis. In accordance with these three hypotheses, Parker (1971) has also proposed that work - nonwork relationship can be of three types : opposition, extension, and neutrality. These three types of relationships roughly correspond to the compensatory, spillover, and segmentalist hypotheses, respectively.

Much of empirical work in this area are devoted to supporting or refuting these three hypotheses. All the three hypotheses have received some empirical support. For instance, Kornhauser (1965) concluded that routine factory work was associated with routine type leisure activities and, hence, his study provided support for generalization hypothesis. Likewise, Meissner (1971) supported the spillover hypothesis when he found that a lack of discretion and social interaction at work was carried over into reduced participation in nonwork spheres. Rousseau (1976) also supported the generalization hypothesis when she found that

employees described their work and nonwork to be very similar in terms of task attributes. Mansfield and Evans (1975) however, supported the compensation hypothesis. They observed that bank management and clerical personnel sought rewards for compensatory need satisfaction in nonwork spheres when they were deprived of such rewards at work. Finally, Dubin (1956) and several other researchers (e.g. Bacon, 1975; Champeaux, 1981; London, Crandall, & Seals, 1977) have supported the segmentalist hypothesis by observing that work expectations and satisfactions were not related to expectations derived from nonwork.

Empirical support for each of the three hypotheses suggests three things. First, it is quite possible that each hypothesis may have some empirical validity under some specific conditions. Second, the theoretical rationale or the underlying psychological mechanisms of each of the three hypotheses are not clearly formulated by empirical researchers in the area. While observing the interaction of work and nonwork, one is not sure why generalisation or compensation takes place. Only Seeman (1971) has made a passing reference to three psychological principles or underlying mechanisms that can explain the generalization or the compensation type of effects of work on nonwork. The three principles suggested by Seeman are: (a) frustration - aggression, (b) substitution and (c) social learning. The first two principles can explain the compensation phenomena. Unreleased blocked-up emotion or agression caused

by frustration at work can get released in nonwork spheres of life. Likewise, needs that are not satisfied at work can find satisfaction in one's nonwork spheres of life. The last principle of social learning can explain the generalization phenomena. Acquisition of certain attitudes, expectations, and habits at work can persist and manifest in nonwork. A better understanding of when and where these principles may operate is essential for any sound theory of work and nonwork interaction. Finally, there is a need to develop a conceptual approach which can accommodate all three hypotheses without necessarily considering them as mutually exclusive, Such an approach should specify the mechanism and the conditions for each of the three hypotheses.

In addition to the need for a fresh approach, it might be useful to identify some major problems that researchers must overcome in the area of work and nonwork interaction. A major problem in the area stems from the correlational nature of the studies. One is not sure of the direction of causality in work-nonwork relationship. Does the nature of work behavior explain the nature of nonwork behavior or vice versa ? Does work influences nonwork or nonwork influences work ? Some researchers, (e.g. Wilensky, 1960) influenced by the writings of Marx and Engles (1939) and Durkheim (1947) think that it is the work sphere of life that determines the nature of nonwork life. Work alienation is the basis of all other forms of alienation. Other researchers (e.g., Goldthorpe, 1968) influenced by the writings

of Weber (1947) think that the nonwork spheres of life, such as early Protestant Ethic socialization, determines future work behavior. This is a chicken and egg issue and perhaps should be treated as such. Work and nonwork spheres of life tend to constantly influence each other in one's life. However, at any given moment, one might attempt to determine the relative strength of the influence that one context has over the other. One could also study the role of cultural socialization in work and nonwork interaction in order to determine the relative influence of work and nonwork on each other. Thus in less industrialized societies, because of family centrality in life, the influence of nonwork on work may be stronger than the reverse. The opposite may be true for highly industrialized societies. In any case, the determination of causal relationship between work and nonwork should await more advanced and comprehensive conceptual models, sophisticated research designs and better methodological strategies. As Near, Rice and Hunt (1980, p.424) pointed out, "time-phased data collection procedures, quasi-experimental designs, and multivariate data analysis could all be applied" in future.

A second major problem, stems from the researchers' failure to distinguish different components of nonwork. While work attitudes and behavior have been clearly identified as taking place in the work context the context, for nonwork attitudes and behaviors have been left, for the most part, unclear. In relating

work to nonwork for supporting or refuting a hypothesis, it is important that one should distinguish various specific aspects of nonwork, such as family, community, leisure etc. If one study deals with leisure and supports spillover hypothesis, and another study deals with family and supports compensatory hypothesis, then their results cannot be meaningfully compared. Two different studies can be compared meaningfully only when they deal with the same nonwork sphere of life. Considering nonwork as an undifferentiated whole and then trying to relate it to work life for test of a given hypothesis can only bring in greater confusion and ambiguity. Future studies should try to avoid such confusion by investigating the relationship of work to specific nonwork contexts.

The third problem which is a major source of confusion stems from the fact that different researchers have used different types of psychological variables to relate work to nonwork. For instance, some studies deal with relating activities in work context to activities in nonwork context (Meissner, 1971). Other studies deal with relating need satisfactions in one context to need satisfaction in another context (Mansfield and Evans, 1975). Still other studies deal with expectations and attitudinal variables while testing work and non-work relationships (Dubin, 1956). Comparison of one study that supportscompensatory hypothesis with another that supports spillover hypothesis when the studies use different psychological variables is quite meaningless. It is quite possible that for certain types of

psychological variables such as need satisfaction, individuals may behave in compensatory manner. Rewards that are not obtainable at work for satisfaction of certain needs may be sought and obtained in nonwork contexts. On the other hand, for other types of psychological variables, such as overt activities or habit patterns one may notice the generalization effect. Researchers must realize that there are different types of psychological variables that need to be studied separately to identify work and nonwork interactions.

An attempt to identify different psychological variables in work and nonwork interaction was made by Staines (1980). Staines identified three types of psychological variables on the basis of which work and non-work relationships can be explored. The variables are involvement, activities and subjective reactions. According to Staines (1980), "Degree of involvement in work refers to subjective feelings of involvement, as well as to objective factors such as time and energy invested in the job and range of work activities undertaken. Degree of involvement in nonwork activities involves the same criteria as applied to leisure pursuits, family and home activities, and so on. The types of activities that various jobs entail may be measured along dimensions such as degree of complexity, autonomy, and social interaction. The same dimensions may be used to classify types of nonwork activities. Subjective reactions to work experiences may be scored in a positive or negative

direction along common dimensions such as satisfaction and enjoyment. Again the criteria applied to work may be applied equally effectively to experiences outside the work environment." (p.112).

On the basis of the three psychological variables, Staines suggested a 3 x 3 matrix or nine possible relationships between work and nonwork that can be investigated. For instance, involvement in work can be related to involvement in nonwork, activities in nonwork and subjective reactions in nonwork. Likewise, activities or subjective reactions in work context can be related separately to the three variables in nonwork context.

By identifying the three psychological variables, Staines has shown that the work and nonwork relationships can be studied both at overt behavioral or activity level (Kabanoff 1980) and at covert cognitive and affective or subjective reaction level. The problem with the approach advocated by Staines however, lies in his proposal for studying nine types of relationships between work and nonwork. Three of the nine types of relationships require the researchers to study association between work and nonwork using the same psychological variable, i.e. involvement in work and nonwork, activity attributes of work and nonwork, and subjective reactions in work and nonwork. The remaining six types of relationships, however, require the use of one psychological variable in work (i.e. activity) and relating it to another variable in nonwork (i.e. satisfaction). Studies of associations on the basis of a single variable is more meaningful than studies of associations

of one variable in one context and another variable in the other context. For example, it is easier to understand why work satisfaction generalizes to nonwork satisfaction, but it makes little sense to suggest that work satisfaction generalizes to nonwork activities. In reviewing the various empirical studies, Staines (1980) himself found that studies that provide data for unambiguous hypotheses testing are generally the ones that relate work and nonwork on the basis of a single psychological variable. Thus for the sake of clarity, it is more appropriate to relate work and nonwork using the same variable in both contexts than using different variables in the two contexts.

To sum up, future studies of relationships between work and nonwork need to use three research strategies for unambiguous and interpretable data. First they should specify the nonwork context, such as family, community, leisure etc. The definitions proposed in earlier section of the paper would help researchers in this regard. Second, they should study the relationships between work and nonwork by measuring two different phenomena, each requiring different research strategies. The study of the phenomena of activity spillover from work to nonwork contexts and vice versa would require time and/or space budgeting type research (Robinson, 1977). This type of study is conceptually different from the study trying to support or refute the three hypotheses of compensation, spillover, and segmentation. The latter type of study should use both

objective activity attributes such as task variety, autonomy etc., and subjective reactions such as, subjective perceptions of activity attributes, involvement satisfaction etc. Finally in trying to test the hypotheses, the researchers should look for the association between work and nonwork on the basis of a single psychological variable at a time.

Work and Nonwork Relationship : Directions for Future Research

In the previous sections of the paper, a number of problems relating to both the description and explanation of work and nonwork interaction were outlined. A number of suggestions were also offered to overcome many of these problems. In this final section of the paper, a conceptual framework for the study of work and nonwork that could provide a new direction for future research is outlined. The framework is an extension of the motivational formulation of alienation and involvement concepts advanced by Kanungo (1979, 1982). According to the motivational formulation, a person can show involvement or alienation in specific work and nonwork contexts, and the relationship between alienation at work and nonwork can be studied by using different levels of psychological variables. For example, if alienation in either work or nonwork contexts is defined as a cognitive belief state of psychological separation from the specific context (Kanungo, 1979, 1982), then one can study the relationship between such specific beliefs. For instance, one can study the association

between the cognitive beliefs of alienation from one's job and family. Furthermore, the motivational formulation postulates that the cognitive state of alienation in a person depends on two factors: (a) the saliency of the person's intrinsic and extrinsic needs in a specific context, and (b) the perceptions the person has about the need-satisfying potential of the context. This would imply that one can study the relationship between patterns of salient needs in the job and family contexts as well as need satisfactions in both the contexts. Since an individual's need saliencies in a given context and the perceived need satisfying potential of the context lead to instrumental activities directed at satisfying the salient needs, one can also relate attributes of the activity exhibited in the job and family contexts. A hypothetical examples of job and family relationship using various levels of psychological variables is presented in Figure 5.

If one studies the relationships as suggested by the motivational approach to alienation (Kanungo, 1979), one may notice that in any given person, using one kind of psychological variable , evidence for compensation hypothesis may be obtained, whereas, using another kind of psychological variable , evidence for generalization hypothesis may be obtained. Take the case of an individual (see Figure 5) whose intrinsic achievement needs are most salient in

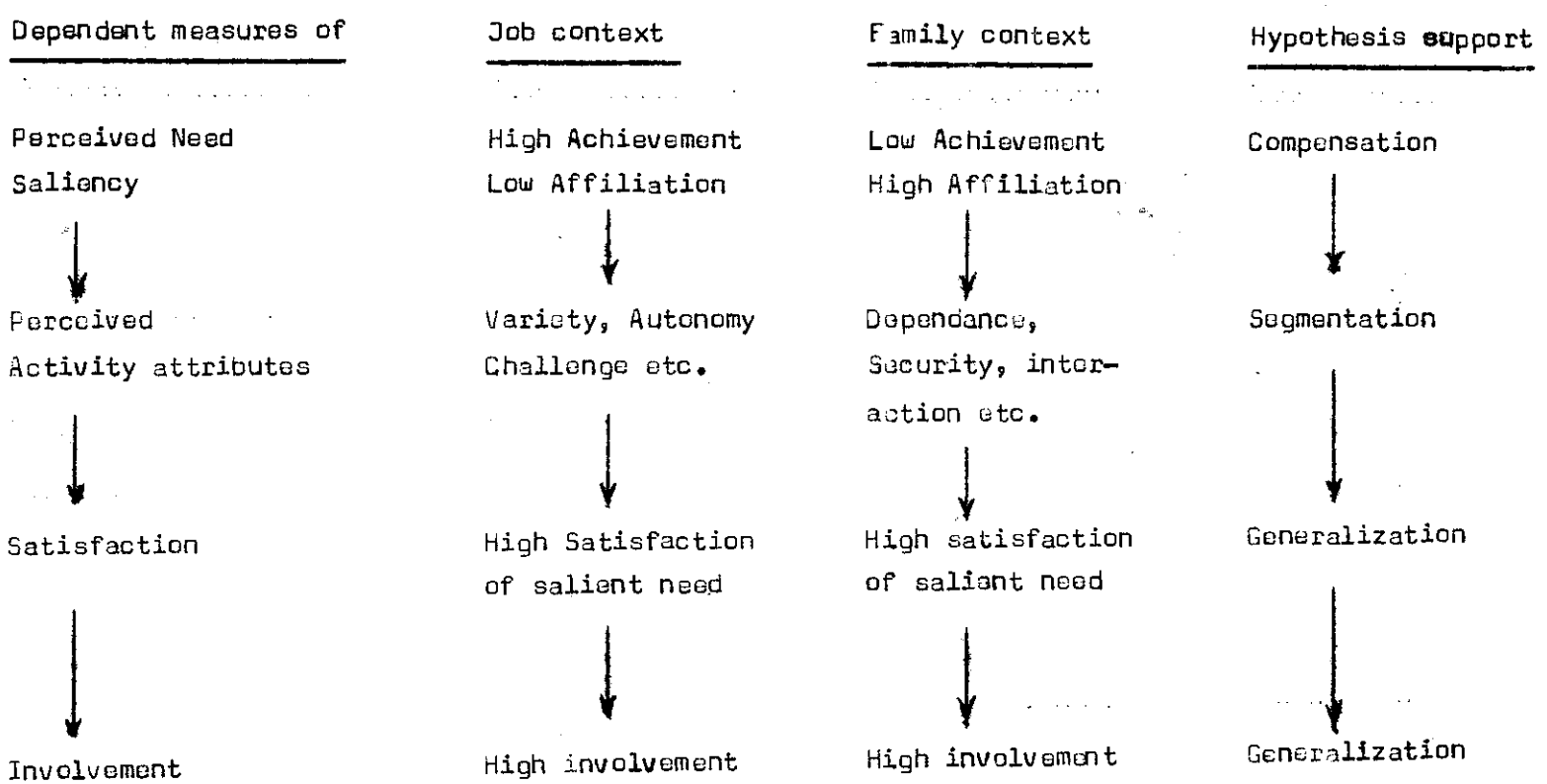


Figure 5: An example of work and nonwork relationship using motivational approach

Note : Arrows indicate the direction of causality within each context.

the job but not in the family context and extrinsic affiliative needs are most salient in the family but not in the job context. If one relates the need saliancies of this individual in job and family contexts, the evidence will support compensation hypothesis. The individual looks for achievement need satisfaction primarily at work knowing that family is not the place for such satisfaction. Likewise, he/she looks for affiliative need satisfaction in the family context findings that work does not provide opportunity for satisfaction of this need. Since need saliencies are different in the two contexts, the person's instrumental activities in the job and family contexts are also very different. For satisfying the salient achievement needs at work, the person may be engaged in tasks that have variety, autonomy etc. In the family however, the individual may be engaged in affiliative activities that have attributes very different from those observed in the job. Such evidence would indicate support for segmentation hypothesis. Different needs and different contexts may trigger different types of activities. The individual may have been socialized to seek different need satisfactions and show different behavior in different life contexts. If one further assumes that the individual is able to satisfy his/her salient needs in the respective contexts, the individual's levels of satisfaction and involvement will be very high in both contexts. This would provide evidence for generalization hypothesis when satisfaction and involvement

variables are measured in job and family contexts. Thus, the use of different levels of psychological variables while observing an individual's behavior in two different life contexts can yield data to support all the three hypotheses. Figure 5 presents just one example of an individual and using the same framework, the themes could vary in many ways. The point to be emphasized here however is that the motivational approach to the study of work and nonwork relationships does not consider the three hypotheses as mutually exclusive. As shown in the above example, future research along this line can demonstrate appropriate conditions under which one or the other hypothesis will be supported. Instead of debating endlessly whether one or the other hypothesis explains all forms of work and nonwork relationships, future research must concentrate on finding at what level of the causal or motivational chain which hypothesis holds true and why. Since the motivational framework for the study of work and nonwork relationship is proposed here for the first time, the immediate future studies stemming from it would largely be of exploratory nature. Such explorations will provide a wealth of data that could form the basis of a more comprehensive and integrated theory of work-nonwork relation.

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