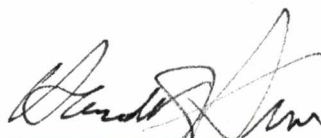


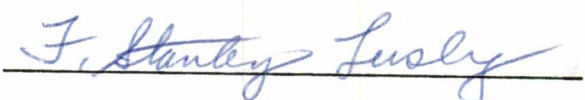
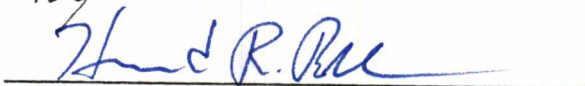
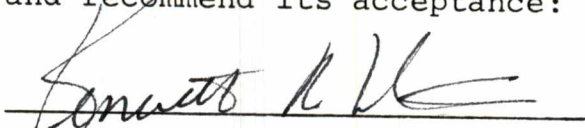
To the Graduate Council:

I am submitting herewith a dissertation written by Marc Isaac Tonkin entitled "The Integration of Work and Play in Healthy Adulthood." I have examined the final copy of this dissertation for form and content and recommend that it be accepted in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy, with a major in Psychology.



Harold J. Fine, Major Professor

We have read this dissertation
and recommend its acceptance:



Accepted for the Council:



Vice Chancellor
Graduate Studies and Research

THE INTEGRATION OF WORK AND PLAY
IN HEALTHY ADULTHOOD

A Dissertation
Presented for the
Doctor of Philosophy
Degree
The University of Tennessee, Knoxville

Marc Isaac Tonkin

June 1981

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ABSTRACT

The purpose of this study was to explore issues related to the integration of work and play in the lives of apparently healthy adults. Action patterns related to changes in emotional experience were emphasized, within both short-term diurnal patterns of experience and long-term longitudinal patterns of career change.

A modified phenomenological method was used to gather and analyze data for this research. Procedures included selection of a sample of 12 adults radically biased in the direction of high levels of emotional health, and stability, success, gratification, and fulfillment in work activities, as subjectively judged by the investigator. The sample consisted of six men and six women divided into two groups of three men and three women each. One group had pursued a single career, and the other group had made a major change of careers out of personal preference. Data was gathered through semi-structured interviews of one to two hours' duration with each subject. Key questions were asked, but each subject was permitted to freely create much of the interview structure. Audio tapes of the interviews were transcribed and summarized, then analyzed phenomenologically with an emphasis on the relations between action patterns and changes in feeling. Patterns of work and play activity

were examined as they relate to changes in feelings about work.

The major findings of the research were that positive feelings about work were associated with success in personally valued, often playful work tasks, and that negative feelings about work were moderated in association with personally valued, playful activities separate from work. This principle was demonstrated in short-term variations of experience, as well as long-term career changes in which increased positive feelings about work were associated with career changes characterized by a specific type of work transition. This type of work transition consisted of a shift in activity from adult work to personally valued, highly playful activity separate from work, such as that encountered in schooling.

The discretionary shift from one valued action to another can decrease negative feelings related to failure and increase positive feeling, self-esteem, and playful activity. However, such shifts conflict with intense commitment to a single most valued activity, in relation to which success brings extremes of positive feeling, play, and high self-esteem, and failure brings extremes of negative feeling and low self-esteem.

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INTRODUCTION

The psychotherapist is inevitably concerned with the goals towards which he aims in the treatment of his patients. Concern for therapeutic goals leads to the question of what constitutes emotional health and well-being, a perennial question which can never be fully answered, although some sort of answer is necessary in order to function as a psychotherapist. Many different concepts of the nature of man have been developed through the ages, and the notion of what constitutes a healthy person is so culture bound that we can expect it to continue evolving with time. The culture of psychotherapy has various implicit and explicit metaphors for emotional health, and the problem of defining health receives attention in the clinical literature, but because of the profession's preoccupation with pathology, and because the nature of healthy human life is inherently imponderable and indeterminate, clinical metaphors of health are underdeveloped.

In this paper, some basic clinical concepts of emotional well-being will be traced with a particular emphasis on healthy functioning in adulthood. A context for understanding healthy adult adaptation will be developed as a prelude to the interpretation of empirical data gathered on a nonclinical sample of apparently healthy adults. This conceptual context

focused on health and well-being will emphasize the issue of integrating adult life into a unified, whole fabric. In dealing with the integration and wholeness of individual adult experience, the integration of work and play will be selected as our central interest. First some traditional clinical and empirical notions of healthy adulthood will be reviewed, and then major aspects of the integrative process will be considered. After reviewing traditional concepts of work and play, the issue of integrating work and play in adulthood will be discussed. Current research related to this issue will be reviewed with emphasis on unresolved questions towards which the present research is oriented. Then the methodology of the present research will be described, followed by a presentation of the data and a discussion of these findings.

CHAPTER I

TRADITIONAL CONCEPTS OF HEALTHY ADULTHOOD

In sketching traditional concepts of healthy adulthood, a limited number of writers must be selected to represent typical clinical and empirical viewpoints. Various concepts of adult health will be considered in turn as they have been formulated by Thomas M. French, Erik Erikson, Leopold Bellak, Jean Piaget, J. H. van den Berg, Abraham Maslow, Frederick Herzberg, George Vaillant, and Daniel Levinson.

Thomas M. French was one of the pioneers in the psychoanalytic treatment and study of psychosomatic disease. His writing reflects a devotion to rational thinking, and was also heavily influenced by Kurt Lewin and the gestalt psychologists. According to French (1951), the healthy adult is a distinct organism capable of maintaining a successful adaptation in his environment. This adaptation is guided by a superordinate cognitive process called insight. Insight is not necessarily conscious, but it is always coherent. Insight is the process whereby patterns within the environment are detected and related to each other in such a way as to guide action coherently towards adaptive goals. In emphasizing coherence, French focuses on the importance of patterns and the ability to perceive patterns clearly and in their totality. A pattern is a

systematic structure which unifies a multiplicity of elements and gives them meaning in a superordinate context. The process of insight itself is ordered into patterns (French, 1951).

The capacity for insight is passively inert until some form of motivation presses the individual towards action. Motivating forces are either needs or hopes. A need is a pressure to get away from or eliminate something negative, such as hunger, and a hope is a possibility of getting to or producing something positive, such as the presence of food. Needs lead to the relatively unstructured discharge of diffuse motor activity, and hopes lead to the channelling of action toward a goal. As French sees it, when someone becomes hungry, they begin to experience a need. If opportunities exist to satisfy that need, and if the hungry person is aware of such opportunities, the person has insight into his situation. This insight transforms his need into hope of satisfying the need. The hope of satisfaction tends to activate a plan, a plan aimed at the goal of turning the hope of satisfaction into a reality. In the case of the hungry individual, if for example he knows that he has a few dollars and that there is an inexpensive restaurant down the street, this insight can transform his hunger, a need, into the hope of eating a meal at the restaurant. If he is hungry enough and if it

fits in with his other needs and desires, he may formulate a plan to go to the restaurant and buy a meal, using his insight into the steps which realistically must be taken in order to achieve that end (French, 1952).

A certain amount of diffuse motor discharge, such as fidgeting, accompanies any need which exceeds a fairly low threshold of motivational pressure. If the motivating pressure of the need exceeds another, much higher threshold, guiding insight cannot control the diffuse motor discharge, and goal-directed patterns of behavior disintegrate. For example, suppose the hungry person happens to be driving down a deserted mountain road, knows nothing about survival in the wilderness, and runs out of gas. As his hunger increases, he may panic and try absurd remedies such as running in the direction he came from. The use of the word disintegration to describe panic is quite accurate because panic implies the dissolution of integrated patterns of goal-directed behavior which were present before the panic disrupted them. Panic is a state of chaotic, fragmented experience and action, as opposed to the ordered patterning of goal-directed behavior which is integrated into a single, unified framework of coherent structure. This integration of the healthy individual into a unified system of functioning permits highly complex and effective adaptations which rely on conscious and unconscious insight (French, 1952).

The case of panic illustrates the principle that as the motivational pressure of an unsatisfied need increases, it becomes increasingly difficult to maintain integrated goal-directed behavior. French (1951) uses the term "integrative task" to designate the degree of motivational pressure from unmet needs. At a given moment the individual's integrative capacity must exceed the integrative task in order to prevent disintegration. If the integrative task is greater than the integrative capacity, then patterns of goal-directed behavior disintegrate. In cases of serious psychopathology, rational integrative mechanisms are fragmented and some of the fragments are reintegrated. This is pathological because the "integrative span" (French, 1951) is no longer wide enough to include all the relevant elements in one coherent framework. The result is irrational and unrealistic thought and action.

The mechanical quality of French's model distorts psychological realities into an oversimplified picture, but the model leads to useful implications. French (1952) assumes that human experience, no matter how confusing it may seem to be, is orderly and patterned. Behavior always has some kind of sense to it and is not random, so every detail of experience has some kind of meaning in the overall context of the individual's adaptive functioning. Health is based on a tendency to increase the orderliness and

meaningfulness of that adaptation. Underlying this concept is the assumption that everything within the organism and in the outside environment is interrelated within a single unified structure or universe. Healthy functioning tends toward increasing the interrelatedness among the elements within the organism and between the individual and his environment. The degree of healthy functioning and adaptive success is limited by the extent to which the person can clearly perceive that interrelatedness and the unity of that network of relationships. Through insight the healthy adult understands the meaningfulness and significance of each detail he perceives within a cognitive framework that is integrated into a single, comprehensive system. For Thomas French (1951), integration is embedded in cognitive functioning, and the hallmark of integration is logical thought and rational behavior. According to French (1951), the use of logic and insight to integrate experience and behavior into rational patterns, that is to say cognitive integration, is the central feature of healthy adult functioning. The epitome of cognitive integration is the process of planning, whereby a pattern is constructed to "resonate" and correspond simultaneously to two separate patterns, one in the internal realm of fantasy, and the other in the external realm of reality. A plan bridges the gap between fantasy and reality by weaving elements of both worlds into a single fabric.

Another neo-Freudian model of healthy adulthood is the ego-psychological approach developed by Erik Erikson. Erikson (1963) takes the concept of child development and extends it to include the entire span of the individual's life, from birth to death, in one continuous process of growth. He sees this growth process as a series of specific stages, each characterized by specific psychological conflicts. The sequence of stages is epigenetic, so that experience of a given stage incorporates experience from all of the preceding stages and prepares one for the growth of the next stage. As growth and the passage of time bring change, the person integrates an ego-identity by unifying the temporal variations of experience into one continuous whole. Even in the healthy individual, none of the prior psychological issues is perfectly resolved, so that tensions, conflicts, and uncertainties, as well as positive growth, are brought forward through the sequence of developmental stages. Each stage is designated by the central psychosocial conflict specific to it. The stages are basic trust versus mistrust, autonomy versus shame and doubt, initiative versus guilt, industry versus inferiority, identity versus role confusion, intimacy versus isolation, generativity versus stagnation, and ego integrity versus despair (Erikson, 1978).

Immediately after birth, the infant is faced with the problem of basic trust versus mistrust. He depends on others

for survival and experiences the world as either dependably nurturant or unreliable and hostile. The earliest integrative process unfolds as external substances and stimuli are taken in to form elements of the unified structure which is the organism itself. Then the baby begins to differentiate himself from that which is not himself, as he begins to get a sense of his body boundary. The body boundary has an integrative function in that it sets him apart as a separate, unified entity (Erikson, 1963).

The differentiation of self leads into the issue of the autonomy of self in the anal stage. Here the voluntary control of the body boundary develops in terms of what shall be kept as part of the self and what shall be rejected as alien to the self. The issue of physiological control translates into the interpersonal issue of autonomy of will in relation to social rules and parental demands, especially regarding toilet training. This modulation of one's own functioning into well-coordinated and self-directed action is a higher order of integration into a distinct and active being (Erikson, 1963).

In the context of successful autonomy, the ability to walk can grow, providing locomotor intrusiveness into space for the child who is becoming phallic intrusive. Now the developmental issue is whether the child can take initiative towards others, and deal with the interpersonal anxiety and

guilt aroused, especially as he takes initiative toward oedipal competition with the same sex parent. A wider structure encompassing the self in active relation to other selves is being integrated at this point (Erikson, 1963).

In the next stage, industry versus inferiority, the child integrates himself into his social world by learning to master the tasks demanded of him by his culture. Erikson sees each of the four early stages as producing particular qualities, hope, will, purpose, and competence, which are integrated in adolescence as the person faces the issue of identity versus role confusion. The adolescent's conflict is to commit himself freely to values and loyalties despite the contradictions and inconsistencies to which such commitments lead. Mastery of this problem leads to the development of fidelity and a secure identity in the individual.

The young adult with a secure identity is faced with the issue of relating to someone beyond himself and integrating himself into the interpersonal world of someone else, the issue of intimacy versus isolation. The capacity which grows in this stage is love, faithful commitment to another person in an enduring intimacy. The focal problem at this stage is loneliness. In terms of integration, loneliness is the problem which arises to the extent that

the individual's personal realm is not shared, peopled, and thus integrated with the personal realms of others (Erikson, 1978).

In the phase of maturity, or generativity versus stagnation and self-absorption, the adult is faced with the issue of care. It is now his place to contribute to the maintenance of the communal world. He must reach beyond himself into the growth process of the social structure around him, productively functioning to maintain it, build it further, and insure its future. This task demands that the person's capacity for integration be extended to the integration of his society and culture into a viable, functioning structure. At this stage love must be expressed in caring action such as childrearing, and the adult must deal with his own rejectivity. He must choose between joining the flow of communal life or stagnating, self-absorbed, on the periphery of his community. His ability to resolve this issue reaches back into such issues as will, purpose, and competence. Healthy willfulness requires the exercise of free choice and self-control despite early experiences of lacking self-control and being controlled against one's will. Healthy purposefulness requires the ability to imagine and pursue significant goals despite early experiences of defeat and guilt. Healthy competence requires the free exercise of one's ability to complete

tasks despite early experiences of inferiority. All these capacities can be brought to fruition in the stage of adult maturity, but difficulties with any of them interfere with full caring generativity (Erikson, 1978). These examples illustrate the tension between integration and the disintegrative pressures which tend to mitigate against it and constitute, in French's terms, the integrative task. Disintegrative pressures can stem from earlier experience, especially childhood difficulties.

As the mature adult's generative capacities begin to fail, and as old age and death approach, the individual is faced with the issue of integrity versus despair and disgust. At this point one is threatened by the prospect of death and unable to modify one's own past failings (Erikson, 1978). The capacity for integration meets head on with disintegrative forces. Just as unmet needs eventually lead to panic and disintegration of rational functioning, there comes a point where either unmet needs or other forces lead to the total disintegration of the organism. Facing one's own death with integrity requires coping with the experience of disintegration in a way which permits continued affirmation and concern for life. Erikson sees integrated identity as reaching beyond the individual into social realities which endure despite each person's death. But the process of individual integration is ultimately fragile despite its power.

At every stage, Erikson (1978) sees the individual faced with some variation of the task of actively pursuing life in the face of its fragility, of energetically doing and experiencing internal and external reality despite the pain that may be felt. The healthy adult is continuously expanding his capacity to feel fulfillment despite failure, frustration, and pain. According to Erikson (1978), the healthy adult first becomes a specific, significant self, then a solid self in intimate relationship to another, then a caring builder of the communal world and the future, and finally a concerned, affirmer of life. In all these roles he wrestles with confusion over who he is, loneliness, rejectivity, and despair. He is healthy to the extent that he experiences and deals with these conflicts fully at each step in his life. Effective integrative functioning requires that he have realistic awareness and insight into his own pain and failure. Though based on rational insight and logical thought, healthy integration requires and facilitates realistic self-knowledge and a realistic awareness of painful emotions within oneself, the same affects which also threaten integration. Healthy integrative functioning must go beyond unperturbed logic to the real experience of disruptive feelings while containing the disruption and maintaining the integrative process in the face of the disintegrative pressure of the affect. Thus part of healthy integration is

the modulation of affect into a richly flowing but nondisintegrative emotional life.

Leopold Bellak et al. (Bellak, Hurvich, and Gediman, 1973) developed a pragmatic approach to ego-psychology which places the process of integration in a rather clear light. Their work is centered on the idea that the ego is the psychic agency which mediates between all the conflicting forces affecting the adaptation, survival, and satisfaction of the individual. This amounts to saying that the ego is the agency of integration. Bellak et al. (1973) see the ego as having a job to do, a highly complex job with many subsidiary tasks subsumed within it. All these roles or tasks required of the ego are called the functions of the ego. For any ego function, one can inquire as to what kind of performance constitutes a good job and what defines failure. In conceiving of ego functions as a multiplicity of adaptive tasks, Bellak et al. (1973) specify all of the separate tasks which comprise total ego functioning. In so doing, they arbitrarily draw the boundaries which define each function, because all of the functions are integrated into a complex structure. Thus overall ego functioning is conceived as a complex network of many interrelated and intertwined ego functions. One constellation of that structure is the integrative function which keeps the

structure itself intact. The ego is that which directs and integrates all activity of the individual while directing and integrating the structure of itself. The synthetic or integrative function of the ego is its central and primary function as an agency of mediation, reconciliation, and establishment of coherent relationships between otherwise unrelated or conflicting elements.

Bellak et al. (1973) state that all the ego functions overlap and interlock with each other. Their attempt at a comprehensive catalog of ego functions includes the following: reality testing; judgment; sense of reality of the world and of the self; regulation and control of drives, affects, and impulses; object relations (interpersonal relations); thought processes; adaptive regression in the service of the ego; defensive functioning; stimulus barrier; autonomous functioning; synthetic-integrative functioning; and mastery-competence. The integrative function itself is not a simple monolithic entity, but rather a complex, multidimensional, active, everchanging dynamic structure. Part of the integrative function is the ego's job of creatively reconciling conflicting demands or impingements on the organism which threaten to entrap it and paralyze its self-determining decision making capability. When trapped between conflicting forces, the ego must use the

integrative function to find a compromise or otherwise extricate itself or resolve the conflict. When this solution violates or distorts any aspect of internal or external reality, or in any other way violates, counteracts, compromises, undermines, distorts, or disrupts the integrative process itself, a psychopathological symptom is created. This view of symptom formation leads to the Freudian tenet that symptom free adaptation is virtually impossible. An extension of this tenet is the idea that integration is never fully achieved and cognitive insight is never perfectly undistorted and free of irrational elements.

All the writers considered so far base their work on psychoanalysis. Jean Piaget (1969), however, studied child development in a context quite different from the Freudian framework. His focus is cognitive structure. In his extensive theoretical and empirical work, he has documented the childhood development of cognitive structures in a gradual, but distinctly stepwise, epigenetic pattern. Children's internal cognitive structure develops in a hierarchical sequence of small increments, but specific principles connect all the steps together. One of the most important of these underlying principles is constancy.

Piaget (1969) somewhat arbitrarily divided the gradual process of cognitive development into three periods:

sensorimotor, concrete operations, and propositional operations. The newborn infant exists in a homogeneous, adualistic state in which nothing is distinguished from anything else, and the world is a blurred extension of the self. An early cognitive development is the ability to distinguish one object from another. Perceptual object constancy is the ability which eventually develops to recognize that an object remains the same despite changes in the angle from which it is viewed. During the sensorimotor period there is a growth from reflex to insight, as the child's ability to regulate and coordinate his action gradually increases. Object constancy begins to grow into a physical understanding of the difference between a change in an object and a change in the perspective from which one perceives the object.

A concrete operation is a physical action which modifies an object or a relationship between objects. In the period of concrete operations, an understanding of the impact of an action upon an object gradually grows, and mental images, representations, and symbols appear. The child learns that objects remain constant despite changes in perspective and despite changes in one's images or representations of objects. As the rules of causation which govern the physical world are gradually understood, the difference between what is changed and what remains constant

as a result of a given action (concrete operation) can be differentiated. As the child has more and more experience of action with objects based on concrete operations, he accumulates a variety of perspectives which gradually grow into a unitary abstract "map" of physical reality and the rules which govern it. Towards puberty, this unified abstract structure based on multiple concrete perspectives becomes unified enough to permit the ideational playing out of any action possibility without any concrete physical action. Within this logical structure of propositional operations, any operation is possible with any element, and all operations are reversible. The young adult can move throughout the abstract universe, establishing connections between any of its elements and transforming them symbolically. Logical thinking is consolidated into a structured system which permits propositions with abstract hypotheses, proportion, probability, causal laws, and complex mathematical relationships (Piaget, 1969).

Adult action based on propositional operations is set in a unitary, coherent world, which corresponds to a unitary, coherent, abstract image of the world. In this context action is based on the internal playing out and transformation of alternative action possibilities through abstract thinking. Since these ideational "experiments" are accurate simulations of concrete reality, the abstract conclusion as to what is

possible and what consequences can be expected becomes a reliable predictor of reality. Adults act within an orderly world, based on orderly ideational action. Ideational action within a unitary conceptual framework grows gradually out of experience with physical action. The growing child gradually shifts from the physical interface of external objects with his body, to the differentiation of the internal ideational world based on the differentiation of separate parts and their integration into a unified structure. The principle of constancy is elaborated by the processes of separation/differentiation and reintegration throughout the course of development (Piaget, 1969).

The phenomenologist J. H. van den Berg (1972) would attach the label "reflective thinking" to the abstract ideational action which Piaget describes in the context of the unitary structure of propositional operations. But unlike Piaget, van den Berg would not necessarily see the progression from concrete to abstract thinking as movement towards a higher order of truth. According to van den Berg, ". . . the phenomenologist is obsessed by the concrete" (van den Berg, 1972, p. 76). Although he shares Piaget's belief that integration and unity are crucial aspects of healthy mental life, he considers any theory of mental structure, such as those propounded by Piaget, Bellak,

Erikson, or French, to be a distortion of human experience as it is really lived. The reality of human experience is always in meaningful relation to a total context, the experience of living in relation to one's world and its inhabitants as they are actively and subjectively perceived. This connectedness and total involvement of the person in his world is integrated into the unitary phenomenon of prereflective experience. In prereflective experience, the relationship between the person and his context is such an immediate connectedness that the differentiation between self and object is implicit in the person's action without any self-conscious awareness, without any reflective consciousness of the experience from a distantiated perspective. An example would be driving a car, when the driver guides the vehicle with no awareness of his specific, skillful movements of the steering wheel. Any theory of mental structure immediately partakes of distantiated, reflective thinking and self-conscious awareness of an overarching conceptual framework (van den Berg, 1972).

Van den Berg (1972) does not devalue reflective thinking, nor does he consider self-consciousness immature. On the contrary, self-awareness is the hallmark of healthy existence for him. However, he presents the paradox that it is impossible to be logically, reflectively conscious of ourselves in the context of an abstract unitary

conceptual framework without distorting that which we are. To the extent that human experience is prereflectively engaged and integrated into the world in which one lives, abstract reflection changes the perspective, disrupts the engagement, and ruptures the tie of immediacy which binds such experience into an integrated whole. And yet in terms of Piaget and others, mature integration is based on abstract propositional thought, so it would seem that the integration of experience is a paradoxical impossibility. Perfect veridical integration is impossible, but van den Berg (1972) sees a specific path which approaches the ideal. Relatedness is the basis of human living for him, and relatedness is a multifaceted, everchanging, dynamic process. In any relationship, one's distance from the animate or inanimate other can change. Distance, or involvement, or degree of relatedness is one of the changing aspects of any relationship, and each of the different degrees of distance within an experience are all part of the experience. The range of distance includes prereflective immediate action and reflective, distant, abstract thought. The integrative task of living is to enhance and increase the relatedness of the person to all of his world, including himself, despite the mutual exclusivity and tension between various aspects of his living. The healthy person experiences the unity of his living, in all its multifaceted aspects.

Health is connectedness and living in active relation with oneself and one's world. Pathology is isolation and loneliness, stifling the relatedness between oneself and a living world, destroying the possibilities for action and experience. Though abstract reflection is part of healthy living, in and of itself such reflective self-consciousness is dry and dead. Only when integrated into a fabric that includes prereflective, immediate consciousness and experiencing of the self in active relation to the world does the person come alive (van den Berg, 1972).

Van den Berg insists that a theory distorts experience, and that in order to understand living we must live it as much as possible. As a psychotherapist and student of healthy and pathological living, van den Berg (1972) relies on phenomenological description rather than theory to understand experience. Phenomenological description is a method which attempts to portray the concrete details of experience in the immediate, encompassing, and meaningful context in which the experience is lived. This requires either actively engaging in the experience to the point of mastery, familiarity, and knowledge of the experience, or talking and communicating with others, who have such immediate knowledge, to the point that they have fully communicated the reality of what is "there," the phenomenon in its living context. The phenomenologist tries to

observe what is "there" from a perspective which is both reflectively distantiated, and yet aware of the immediate, engaged prereflective experience. A multiple perspective is necessary to perceive the full multifaceted context, meaning, and significance of the phenomena of human experience. The product of such a perspective is concrete description of meaningful experience as it is lived. Thus artists are natural phenomenologists (van den Berg, 1972).

Reflective abstract analysis by itself tends to artificially separate elements of experience that are more connected in the context of immediate experiencing. This distortion is caused by the primacy of differentiation and the ideational distantiation which characterize reflective logical abstract thinking. The distantiation inherent in reflective analysis cannot possibly include the immediate experiencing of connectedness which requires loss of distance. Distance as well as loss of distance, the abstract as well as the concrete, reflection as well as prereflective immediacy must be integrated into a veridical image of experience. By becoming conscious of the integrated wholeness of experience, the phenomenologist tries to describe experience just as it is lived. The concrete is allowed to speak for itself in phenomenological description. Rather than fragmenting the wholeness of experience through analysis into the artificially separated elements of a

conceptual system, phenomenological description presents the concrete reality to its audience as an undisturbed totality with which the audience can establish an immediately meaningful relationship. When living phenomena are presented this way in their undisturbed totality, the audience can experience the description from multiple perspectives, with varying degrees of distance, including distantiated reflection as well as prereflective loss of distance (van den Berg, 1972).

Abraham Maslow (1970) developed a theory of healthy adult functioning based on research in which he attempted to describe adults who seemed healthy to him. He found that people who met this criterion of healthiness were quite rare, but since he felt that their health required development in a childhood environment providing adequate love, permissiveness, and caring control, he concluded that their rareness was a function of the rareness of such childrearing environments. Maslow (1970) found that the healthy adult is one who lives in such a way as to actualize himself. He feels that all people have a nature which can either be stifled and twisted, or which can be fully realized. The realization of this potential would be more common were it not for the pathological impact of typical childrearing, so Maslow (1970) sees the rareness of self-actualizing individuals as a historical variable.

Maslow (1970) found that self-actualizing adults are distinguished by a number of characteristics, the most important of which is what he describes as their tendency to have rather efficient and clear perceptions of reality and a rather comfortable relationship with reality. He states that they are free of neurotic guilt and anxiety and accept the realities which they perceive in the world, themselves, and others. According to Maslow they are very aware of their internal life but can effectively negotiate the conventionalities of social life. Their behavior tends to be simple, spontaneous, and natural. They are usually focused on problems outside of themselves, large tasks or missions which absorb their energy in the context of a very wide ethical and historical framework. They are rather detached from the more immediate, everyday worries and concerns. Self-actualizers also seek and enjoy a great deal of privacy and solitude. As described by Maslow, they are autonomous, self-determining, and self-regulating, and their behavior is largely willful action, independent of external forces. They function in harmony with, but separate from their culture and their environment. Self-actualizing people have unusually rich and intense subjective experience of everyday reality. They reportedly have a lasting appreciation of good things in life, and a deep affection for people in general. Maslow states that

they have deep, intense, and devoted intimate relationships with a few other people, and their more casual contacts with others tend to be friendly and rewarding. He reports that self-actualizing adults distinguish between good and evil easily, based on their style of accepting reality and clearly perceiving distortions of reality. He feels that they tend to be creative and to possess an active non-neurotic sense of humor, but they tend to resist fitting into cultural molds and feel detached from their culture. Self-actualizing people reportedly have the particular quality of not experiencing neurotic conflicts. Maslow feels that the various aspects of their experience and action tend to be integrated into nonconflicting wholes. He states that they are capable of synthesizing opposite elements into larger unities (Maslow, 1970).

Two of the essential features of conflict free self-actualization as described by Maslow are veridical, truthful perception, and integration of conflict into a harmonious whole. In the course of integrating their behavior and experience to adapt to reality, neurotic people distort their perceptions of reality to a greater or lesser degree. According to traditional psychoanalytic theory, it is virtually impossible to do otherwise. However, Maslow reports that self-actualizing people are able to achieve a viable, integrated relationship to the realities

they experience with a minimum of neurotic distortion. Rather than distorting reality, he feels that they are capable of using their powerful integrative resources to create a resolution of conflicts which encompasses conflicting, dysharmonious elements in an encompassing, adaptive whole which does not violate reality (Maslow, 1970).

The industrial psychologist Frederick Herzberg (1966) developed a body of research and theory which draws to a large extent on Maslow's concepts of healthy adulthood. Maslow (1970) contends that there is a hierarchy of human needs ranging from the basic physiological requirements of the body to remain alive, to the higher needs for psychological growth and individual fulfillment which approach self-actualization. Within that hierarchy, all the lower needs must be gratified before one can begin to fulfill the higher needs, but there is a tendency in healthy people to move up the hierarchy and be most involved and gratified by the highest levels of striving which they experience. Herzberg (1966) elaborated this concept to understand the nature of adult work experience. He sees work as fulfilling two very different types of needs, called hygiene needs and motivation needs. Hygiene needs are the requirements for survival and physical comfort such as food, shelter, and clothing. Motivation needs are the conditions required to fulfill the human tendency towards psychological growth,

mastery, meaningful self-expression, and fruition of one's potential and talents. Hygiene needs are met when certain environmental conditions, such as the presence of food, prevail. Motivation needs are met when certain conditions prevail in the nature of the task in which the individual is engaged and in his relationship to that task. When the nature of the task and his relation to it permit the individual to continuously exercise his talents and to creatively develop and increase his own capacities, then motivational needs are met. Motivation and hygiene needs are quite separate and the experience of each type of need and its gratification is quite different. Job experiences vary in the needs they meet. Some meet no needs, some meet one or the other type of needs, and some meet both types of needs. For most healthy people, Herzberg (1966) has found that when hygiene needs are unmet, dissatisfaction is experienced, but the gratification of hygiene needs simply eliminates dissatisfaction and produces a neutral state in which no particular satisfaction is felt. However when motivation needs are unmet, no dissatisfaction is experienced, but there is a neutral state in which no satisfaction is felt either. Only when motivation needs are met is there an experience of satisfaction. Only when hygiene needs are unmet is there any experience of dissatisfaction. The exceptions will be considered in the discussion below of pathology.

For Herzberg (1966), the experiences of satisfaction and dissatisfaction are two different kinds of experience which are not on one continuum and which are based on completely different issues. The opposite of satisfaction is the absence of satisfaction, a neutral state. The opposite of dissatisfaction is the absence of dissatisfaction, a similarly neutral state. Healthy people strive to get beyond that meaningless neutrality to some realization of their inner potential. But before one can grow beyond a bland state of successful but unfulfilling physiological adaptation, one must achieve that physiological adaptive success. The healthy person is faced with two challenges: to provide for his animal needs and to fulfill his uniquely human needs. In order to actualize his inner potential, the individual must integrate both of these strivings into the tasks at which he works. In healthy adults, when major energy is invested in growth oriented, self-fulfilling tasks, the mastery of physiological needs usually becomes easier and more efficient. In the process of self-actualizing growth, there tends to be an enhancement of the individual's overall integration and mastery of the whole hierarchy of his needs. Healthy psychological growth tends to subsume lower level needs into a more coherent and meaningful integration of the total individual.

George Vaillant (1977) completed one of the largest modern studies of healthy adulthood, the Grant Study, which

followed a healthy group of Harvard students longitudinally through decades of their lives. His approach is ego-psychological, with an emphasis on the defensive functions through which a person adapts to life. He studied the courses of individual lives of subjects who came from socially privileged environments which tended to enhance their growth. Many factors entered his definition of health, including subjective happiness, richness of affect, interpersonal relatedness and deep enduring intimacy, and work success. The operational criteria for these qualities included effectiveness as a spouse and parent, and productivity, creativity, and status in work. The research was framed on traditional concepts of underlying conflict and anxiety derived from childhood, to which the individual adapts through the use of character defenses, lifestyle, and action. Vaillant (1971) sees varying degrees of maturity in different defensive patterns, and formulated a developmental hierarchy of defenses consisting of four groups: psychotic defenses, immature defenses, neurotic defenses, and mature defenses. This list is arranged in order of increasing maturity. The predominance of more mature defenses correlates with health as he defines it.

According to Vaillant (1971), psychotic defenses are common in psychosis, dreams, and early childhood, and include denial, distortion and delusional projection. He

sees immature defenses as common in adolescence, severe depression, and severe character disorders, and they include fantasy, projection, hypochondriasis, passive-aggression, and acting out. He states that neurotic defenses are common in everyone, and include intellectualization, repression, reaction formation, displacement, and dissociation. In healthy adults he commonly finds the mature defenses of sublimation, altruism, suppression, anticipation, and humor. He sees sublimation as the healthiest defense, which occurs largely as the creative expression and mastery of central conflicts through one's work. He also found that the concrete ability to play also correlates with greater health and maturity. Vaillant's key finding (Vaillant, 1977) is that rather than being rigidly fixed from childhood, character defenses can develop and change throughout the life course. Though all his subjects began in a similarly healthy state, they wound up at a variety of endpoints which spanned a wide range of adaptations, from relative decline and failure, to relative improvement and success. He found that on the average, the subject's defenses tended to become more mature with age. The reasons for this continued character development throughout life are unclear, but his data suggest that it is enhanced by biological factors, the experience of stable, loving, long-term relationships, the degree of external

stress, the presence of social supports, and psychotherapy (Vaillant, 1977). Vaillant (1974) found that work success and maturity of defenses did not correlate with qualities of the childhood environment, but chronic stress throughout childhood did correlate with overall poor mental health. However he also found that warm childhoods correlated with good interpersonal relations, the capacity to play, and little dependence or psychopathology (Vaillant, 1974).

Daniel Levinson (1978) recently studied adult development cross-sectionally, by conducting extensive interviews with a relatively small sample of middle-aged men. His analysis of their recollections and current experience led to his concept of adult development as a sequence of eras, each era a 20 year cycle, with transition periods of approximately 5 years duration overlapping between eras. He states that time is the most important determinant of these eras, so they are largely a function of chronological age, and within a few years, age mates tend to share the same developmental status. The stages are preadulthood, age 0 to 22; early adult transition, age 17 to 22; early adulthood, age 17 to 45; middle adult transition, age 40 to 45; middle adulthood, age 40 to 65; late adult transition, age 60 to 65; and late adulthood, age 60 to 85. Levinson (1978) takes the Eriksonian view that all people share a universal underlying sequence of developmental tasks, which leads to the orderly

patterning of development. He focuses on overall life structure based on two or three central components, usually work and family life, and a variety of more peripheral components. He sees life structure as a patterning of each person's self, world, and participation. Participation is the interaction between self and world, in which the person makes choices which affect the relative balance between himself and his world as the focus of his awareness and action. This balance can shift in different phases of development, as the life structure evolves through an orderly alternating sequence of stable, structure building periods always followed by transitional, structure changing periods. In stable periods one builds a structure which is maximally satisfactory in terms of both viability in the world and suitability for oneself. In transitional periods one evaluates the satisfactoriness of the preceding structure and a commitment to new choices is made as one deals with the loss of the old in order to start something new. Later transitions provide another chance to choose modes which were rejected in earlier transitions. Each era contains two cycles of alternating transition and stability, so there is a minor transition in the middle of each major adult era, the age 30 transition in early adulthood, and the age 50 transition in middle adulthood. Levinson (1978) writes especially thoughtfully on the middle adult transition,

age 40 to 45, also sometimes referred to as the mid-life crisis. He also contends that unfolding developmental tasks and periods are more important than any key events in shaping a person's life.

The Vital Role of Integration

In all of the concepts of healthy adulthood reviewed above, central importance is ascribed to integration, the interconnectedness of different elements to form a unified whole individual actively interrelated with his world. There are many variations on the basic theme of integration, but the weaving together of diverse components to form a healthy living person is common to them all. After a brief review and summary of the various concepts of integration contained in the ideas covered so far, the culmination of the concept of integration in the study of the self will be considered.

French (1952) presents integration as a cognitive structuring of action and experience into a coherent whole. This fundamental process in human living hinges on insight into relationships among different elements to form patterns. Insight can be used to see hope for the fulfillment of needs and to transform hopes into reality through planning and coherent action. Insight defines goals and directs action to achieve them. The healthy individual is integrated

into a coherent unity capable of interacting meaningfully and insightfully with the world so that he can realize his fantasies as much as possible through the mediation of insight. Such a person is capable of dreaming and making some of his dreams come true within the constraints of reality.

Erikson (1963) sees integration as an organic growth process. For him the healthy individual is a distinct being actively growing in a meaningful place within a larger organically structured and unified sociocultural entity. The individual is structured by his own continuity in time, as the meaning of who he is is defined by the past he has come from and the future towards which he is heading. Each stage of healthy growth reinforces and expands the entire architecture of the organism, integrating the person within himself and in relation to other people.

For Bellak (1973), integration is primarily the mediation of internal and external conflict to achieve effective adaptation. Integration is the central function of the ego as a mediator of all the conflicting internal and external forces which interfere with the individual's adaptation or which threaten the realistic, veridical, effective functioning of the ego itself. To the extent that the ego resorts to distortions of reality in order to resolve conflicts, psychopathological symptoms are created.

Piaget (1969) understands human development in terms of the cognitive differentiation of the world's features and their integration into a comprehensive abstract universe. He sees cognitive growth as a gradual differentiation and integration of cognitive structure from an adualistic monolithic mass to a stable abstract ideational universe which can be freely traveled. In the progression away from the adualistic, blurred unity of the self and world, growth proceeds first to the motoric interface of constant objects with the body. Then mental images, representations, and symbols develop in the context of concrete action and systematic manipulation of physical objects. Finally there develops an encompassing integrated system of logical abstractions which take account of the contingencies determining stability and change in the detailed relationships among real objects.

According to van den Berg (1972), health is based on a logically indefinable, affectively immediate experiencing of the unity and interrelatedness of oneself and the world. Healthy living actively interrelates the self with itself, with other people, and with inanimate objects. This concept of health revolves around the irreducible unity of the person living in relationship to his world through a multifacted integration of experience and action ranging from immediate, concrete, prereflective consciousness to abstract, distantiated, self-conscious, reflective thinking.

The person's health is his connectedness to himself and his world; his pathology is his loneliness and isolation.

Van den Berg uses phenomenology to counteract the distortion of experience caused by intellectualized theories and to include affective, prelogical experience in his description of human living.

Maslow (1970) sees health as the actualization of the self in a manner that creatively integrates conflicting elements into larger nonconflicting wholes without distorting reality. Herzberg (1966) elaborates on the idea of actualizing all of one's potential in terms of the individual integrating uniquely human as well as distinctly animal aspects of his nature. For him, health is based on the fulfillment of both physical and psychological needs in a way that enhances growth of the whole person.

The preceding authors conceive of adult health and integration in varied terms. Among their basic concepts are the ideas of integration as a coherent cognitive structuring of experience, as an organic growth process, as the mediation of conflict, as the foundation of a differentiated abstract universe, as living in active relation to oneself and one's world, as the basis of veridical self-actualization, and as the fulfillment of both human and animal aspects of one's nature. Clearly the integrative process is a vital factor in healthy

adulthood from many different theoretical viewpoints. However the concept of integration has been especially elaborated through the study of the self and its cohesion. All of the writers considered above deal to a large extent with this area of study, but the self and its cohesion are brought into sharp and concentrated focus by the object relations school of thought.

The literature of object relations and of its conceptual offspring is usually complex and often turgid. Rather than attempt to encapsulate large tracts for the purpose of this paper, one writer has been chosen to represent the totality. In keeping with the theme of integration, the elegantly simple work of D. W. Winnicott seems best to exemplify integration in both form and content, so it has been selected as the paragon. The theoretical details of his approach, which revolve around his specific conception of play, will be discussed below when the particulars of play are considered. For the time being we will simply distinguish the similarities and differences between object relations and phenomenology.

Like phenomenology, the focus of object relations is the relatedness of the self with its world, but unlike phenomenology, object relations does not see theory as an inappropriate basis for understanding the self. Object relations theory is legitimized by the data of

psychotherapeutic encounters, data which pose consistencies and commonalities appearing in coherent patterns. The perception of consistent patterns of psychotherapeutic experience has led to a growing understanding of those patterns in theoretical terms. According to Guntrip (1973), however, object relations theory tends to take a specific form. This form is an outgrowth of the basic work of Freud, but it represents a rejection of Freud's mechanistic, psychobiological metaphors and terms which base human experience on instincts and drives. Guntrip (1973) sees another, deeply personal understanding of himself and other people's experience woven into Freud's work, but this personal insight is often obscured and distorted by Freud's mechanically reductionistic, pseudo-physiological theories. Object relations distills out and elaborates this personal understanding, but in so doing does not completely destroy the theory. When recast in more phenomenological, nonmechanical terms, there remain the data of internal psychic structure as well as a theory to explain those data.

Object relations theory describes the internal structure of the self in terms of primordial images and representations which are experienced at some level in intense emotional terms. These images, or internal objects, live within the self in structured, understandable, but not

hydraulic or mechanically determined relationships. Their genesis and development can be traced in terms of specific concrete experiences in the individual's life, often very early in infancy. Internal objects and their structure of interrelationships bear a coherent and understandable relation to the person's experience of real external living and inanimate objects especially parents and other people who play a major and intimate role in one's childhood experience. Winnicott (1971) developed the idea of good enough mothering to describe the objective interpersonal precondition for the genesis of good internal objects. Good internal objects are those which subjectively partake of primordial qualities of realness, benevolence, goodness, and ultimately strength and permanence. As these kinds of internal objects coalesce into a unified structure of relationships to form the basis of a stable and coherent self, the person's experience of himself is imbued with these positive primordial qualities. If the precondition of good enough mothering is not met, destructive, malevolent, unstable, and impermanent primordial internal objects form the basis for a self which is fragmented, and experienced as unreal, incoherent, self-threatening, self-destructive, weak, and unrelated to external objects. The early formation of internal objects is a preoedipal process which normally occurs in the oral period of basic trust

versus mistrust. Thus much of the data on which the theory of internal objects is built comes primarily from the study of early infancy and the treatment and study of primitive and severe schizophrenic, schizoid, and borderline pathology. However despite their early pre-oedipal origin, the issues of internal structure of the self play a significant role in the lives of people at all levels of psychological development.

The internal structure and cohesiveness of the self is closely related to integration. The network of primordial internal objects within the self can be seen as the foundation of the integrative process. This may be a useful approach, but there are also simpler concepts of integration which seek to specify the basic ingredients which must be synthesized in the integrative process. Especially in the context of healthy adult life, a number of writers have suggested basic components which ideally should be integrated, or which pose integrative problems. Such suggestions tend to be heavily value laden and reflect what the particular writer considers most important in life. They are useful in that they provide substantive categories to understand some of the specific content which is involved in integrative functioning.

Freud reportedly saw two major tasks of healthy adulthood: love and work (Erikson, 1963, p. 265). Love and

work manifest the dichotomy between pleasure principle and reality principle which the ego must mediate and integrate. Guntrip (1973) focuses on the tension of self versus non-self and the struggle to relate oneself to that which is alien to oneself. A subset of this issue is the problem of distinguishing between one's existence as a physiological organism and one's experience of personal selfhood in all its relatedness and animation. This is an integrative problem because one's internally experienced self is different from, and yet intimately interconnected with one's body and its physiological parameters. Herzberg (1966), in his conceptualization of hygiene needs and motivation needs implies that the tasks of work ideally should be integrated with both physical survival and the process of personal psychological growth. Piaget (1969) examines the integration of internal cognitive processes with external reality, in terms of a resonance or correspondence in healthy maturity between the internal abstract universe and the real external world.

All of these examples pose dualities which can be traced back to the dualism of Rene Descartes. The split between mind and body articulated in the Seventeenth Century by Descartes poses the problem of integration in its clearest form. Descartes was one of the first theoreticians to clarify the fact that consciousness is a

distinct phenomenon leading to a subjective experiencing of the self as a unique entity. He formulated a systematic metaphysical theory which integrated his understanding of himself in relation to his world in terms which were designed to prove the existence of God and the immortality of the soul. The basis of this theory was the dualistic assumption that there are two worlds: res extensa, the world of physical matter, and res cogitans, the world of spirit, mind, thought, and the soul. These worlds are separate but synchronously matched so that they are coordinated with each other. The immortal soul is a separate spiritual being temporarily inhabiting the mortal body, but essentially mind and body exist in separate worlds. Although in its time it was a daring exploration of internal experience, the issue of integration, especially between mind and body, is underdeveloped in Descartes' theory, which ties the two worlds together in an arbitrary and obscure fashion.

Phenomenology, especially as represented by Merleau-Ponty (1962) and other French writers, was a reaction against Cartesian dualism which correctly noted an integrational failure in the Cartesian approach. Though it solves a number of philosophical problems and psychological anxieties, the mind-body split ruptures the whole person into two different, and potentially alienated, parts.

Phenomenology corrects this distortion and reintegrates the human being into the whole, albeit paradoxically self-alienated creature that he is. But even with our post-phenomenological eyes we can see the important message in Cartesian dualism: the self is in some ways alien and very different from the body, and there is a distinct, unique interior within the human being. This is a message of differentiation, of the real distinction between our minds and our bodies. The phenomenological correction to the effect that there are not two worlds and that these two entities of mind and body are integrated into a unified self living in a unified world is valid. In the development of Western thought, the integrative correction grew out of the Cartesian differentiation preceding it. The European phenomenological approach was an outgrowth of dualism. The fact that Descartes is paradoxically the founder of phenomenology illustrates the dialectical principle that integration requires differentiation and differentiation requires integration. Rather than split off alienation of separate worlds, or blurry fusion into a monolithic mass, healthy integration is based on the strong interconnectedness of sharply delineated and distinctly differentiated elements to form a stable unitary structure. Such integration is a complex and difficult achievement, but the experience of

differentiation poses the problem of integration, which the healthy person experiences as a challenge to be met with mastery.

CHAPTER II

THE INTEGRATION OF WORK AND PLAY

After drawing basic concepts of work from the writings of Erikson and Herzberg, play will be discussed first as a phenomenon of childhood and then as a phenomenon of adulthood. The active differentiation and integration of work and play as a task of healthy adulthood will then be considered.

In spite of its obvious concrete meaning, the abstract idea of work is surprisingly difficult to define and partakes of extensive cultural shadings. A basic cross-cultural concept of healthy work is implied in Erikson's scheme of psychosocial development and receives particular emphasis in two stages: industry versus inferiority, and generativity versus stagnation. These two periods tend to occupy the largest amounts of time in healthy people's lives, and are unusually stable periods of smooth productive activity with relatively little emotional turmoil or disintegration of functioning. In fact these two periods are high points of integrative functioning, where integrative capacities are applied to the tasks of mastery. In the latency or grammar school age of industry versus inferiority, the child learns to master with competence and skill the tasks which his culture demands of him. The peak of maturity and productive activity comes in the period of generativity versus

stagnation, when the individual joins the primary caretakers of the social group, those who insure the group's survival and adaptation. Every individual's survival and growth depends upon the success of this collective generative enterprise. Seen from Erikson's viewpoint, work revolves around two basic capacities. The first is the skillful mastery of external tasks with competence. The second is the affective involvement and interpersonal participation in communal life in a caring, nonrejecting, giving manner.

Herzberg sees work as the synthesis of two factors based on the animal and spiritual aspects of human nature. Work is first the curse of Adam, that which must be done regardless of one's desires as a necessary action to insure biological survival in the face of external, physiologically compelling demands of the environment. Work is also the arena of psychological growth and creative self-expression. Herzberg sees the creative facet of work in another biblical image which contrasts with Adam's curse and exile from paradise: Abraham's covenant with God to become a partner in God's creative enterprise and to assume the task of a moral and spiritual mission in life. Herzberg also sees work as a basic normative role set in a cultural and historical context. He traces several important changes in the cultural context, definition, and mythology of work in the course of Western history.

In the Middle Ages, work was a duty within a rigid but very personal, enduring, comprehensive, face-to-face feudal relationship, set within a structure of obligations which permeated the whole feudal society. In the Renaissance, the concept of freedom from narrow feudal duty as well as the appreciation of the value of human enterprise and creativity led to a gradual change in the notion of work. At the same time the Reformation led to a gradual crystallization of this change in the form of the Protestant work ethic. Calvinism developed the work ethic into the concepts of work as a moral imperative and economic success as a correlate of spiritual success and salvation. With the coming of the Industrial Revolution, work was divested of its spiritual significance and recast as an economic function based on narrowly limited contracts concerning only the exchange of labor for money. Within this framework it is assumed, albeit inaccurately, that all parties enter such contracts in the voluntary exercise of complete freedom (Herzberg, 1966).

The assumption that workers are free to choose whether or not to enter into work agreements raises the issue of the laborer's motivation to work. He must be motivated to freely choose work over idleness. Over the years this issue of motivation has been addressed by industry in a number of ways. First the worker's physical comfort and the physical

quality of working conditions received management attention as factors which enhance motivation and productivity. Then the concept of efficiency was developed in terms of structuring the worker's task according to the least common denominator of individual ability to maximize the simplicity, effortlessness, passivity, and interchangeability of the job. This approach tends to backfire by removing all engagement of the worker's mental faculties in the task, leading to increased boredom and alienation. More recently industry has attempted to accommodate the social and emotional needs of the worker through various efforts at understanding and facilitating interpersonal relationships within the work setting and other personal issues in the worker's relationship to his job (Herzberg, 1966).

Work is embedded in vital, motivationally pressing, social and adaptive structures. Therefore the perception and definition of work is both culture bound and subject to distortion. However it seems fairly clear that work is based on the healthy capacities for both competent mastery of external tasks, and caring, nonrejecting, giving involvement in the interpersonal arena. Work addresses a wide range of both physiological and psychological needs, from bare survival to creative self-actualization. Through Western history, the nature of work has gradually changed

from a strict duty within a rigid but highly coherent feudal social structure, to a narrowly limited, individually structured contract within a fluidly variegated, complex, and mobile industrial society.

Although quite different from it, the concept of play bears many parallels to the concept of work, including its elusiveness. However psychologists have accorded play rather extensive attention. Childhood play will now be considered in terms of the work of Erikson, Piaget, Mahler, and Winnicott. The work of Johan Huizinga (1949) as well as Mihaly Csikszentmihalyi (1975) will then be used as the basis for a discussion of play in adulthood.

Play is first and foremost a phenomenon of childhood. In order to unify his broad theory of development, Erikson (1963) elaborates the idea of play as a process which knits diverse elements into a coherent whole. Play is the child's basic tool in performing the synthetic function of the ego. Through play the child can master a conflict in his experience by symbolically re-enacting the conflict so that he can control elements of the re-enactment which were beyond his control in reality. In his powerlessness the child must passively accept whatever painful and frustrating things are done to him, but this passive acceptance is turned into active mastery in symbolic play. The child uses play to step beyond the limits of his self as well as the limits

of reality. He creates an image of ego mastery which he can then practice in playful intermediate reality. This mastery is based on experimentation and planning with models, and is the precursor of ideational mastery through cognitive functions. In using play this way, the child takes an overwhelming experience of failure and projects it into a new sphere of manageable proportions. When failures and inadequacies of the child's ego functioning threaten to shatter the fragile coherence of the developing ego, play is a curative synthetic process whereby the child reintegrates himself into a meaningful whole (Erikson, 1963).

As the child develops, his ego identity is steadily moving through many changes. The growth process involves many diverse elements, from the everchanging physiological and psychomotor processes of the body to the multifaceted processes of interpersonal interaction. All these elements must be continuously resynchronized through the integrating synthetic function of play. This form of mastery progresses through three levels in the development of play. Play begins in the autosphere of the body, progresses to the microsphere of solitary play with a private world of toys, and then reaches the macrosphere of social play with other people and shared objects. If a problem is encountered in one level of play functioning the child can regress to a prior sphere (Erikson, 1963).

Piaget (1969) acknowledges the existence of symbolic play, but places it in a context that is different from Erikson's. He believes that symbolic play is a phenomenon specific to the period of concrete operations. Piaget (1969) restricts the arena of symbolic play because this type of play is based on the transformation of mental images, and, unlike most psychoanalytically oriented psychologists, he believes that stable images do not exist for the child until the period of concrete operations. In symbolic play, a context of action which arouses emotional conflict is re-enacted and transformed. However Piaget (1969) emphasizes the fact that the capacity to transform images through symbolic action is a precursor of action based on the internal playing out and transformation of alternative action possibilities through abstract thinking. In its more general context unrelated to conflict resolution, Piaget (1969) sees play as an early form of action. The action of playing propels development forward by solidifying and practicing old experiences while generating totally new experiences. Play is an interaction in which the child grows by assimilating elements of the environment into his own organismic structure while at the same time accommodating that structure to the realities imposed by the environment.

Margaret Mahler (Mahler, et al., 1975) uses a psychoanalytic frame of reference which is enriched to

include a consciousness of the work of Erikson, Piaget, and Winnicott. She bases her research on extensive long-term empirical observation of normal children and their relationships with their mothers. Since her work is based on direct observation of child behavior in development, the process of play pervades much of her thinking, permeating as it does the child behavior which she observed. Mahler (Mahler et al., 1975) uses an implicit concept of play which is very broad because the child plays in many different ways and uses play for many different purposes. In play activities the child practices and develops executive ego functions, he uses play to communicate with others before he has learned the formal language of his culture, and he uses play as a synthetic, integrative means of expressing and managing his internal conflicts. Mahler seems to use calm play activity as the index of healthy toddler adaptation. If the toddler is absorbed in his playing without seeming driven or compelled to play, Mahler takes this as an indication that all is well with the child. A disturbance in the child's playing is a sign of disturbance in the child's psychic equilibrium and a difficulty in his adaptation. Mahler's focus (Mahler et al., 1975) is the separation/individuation phase of development, a period which usually occupies the first three years of life and which is experienced to a large extent through the medium

of play. In this period the healthy child separates from the mother, individuates a distinct and separate self, and then reintegrates himself into an ambivalent, nonsymbiotic relationship with the mother through the communicative process of rapprochement. This cycle of separation, individuation, and rapprochement, like the process of differentiation and integration to which it is closely related, is never perfectly completed. Even when the issue of rapprochement is adequately resolved in a healthy individual, it must be repeatedly dealt with throughout life, because it is at the core of every cohesive self living in active relation to other selves and the world.

The theme of the self and its cohesion brings us back to Winnicott (1971). In the process of good enough mothering, the mother experiences a maternal preoccupation immediately after the birth of the child. At this point the mother takes care of all the child's needs, so the child's adaptation occurs without the child doing anything. In this symbiotic state, the child experiences an illusion of omnipotence, because everything he wants is magically provided. But as the child grows and the mother's preoccupation diminishes, the symbiosis gives way to the sometimes frustrating process of separation and individuation. Healthy children gradually replace the symbiotic illusion of omnipotence with the objective perception of stable,

constant objects in relation to a cohesive self. As the parent continues to care for the child and give him nurturance appropriate to his developmental level, the child can develop the capacity to be subjectively alone while in the safe presence of the reliable other, thus living out the paradox of being separate from, and yet together with the world and other people. This paradox is the basis of Mahler's concept of rapprochement. According to Winnicott (1971), the paradox of separate togetherness can be provisionally resolved in the "precarious preoccupation" of play, in which the illusion of omnipotent union is recreated despite the experience of separate aloneness.

The vehicle of the precarious state of play is the transitional phenomenon, the bridge between the internal world and the external world. When the mother relates successfully to the child as a good enough mother, the child experiences her as a good external object. When experiencing the good external object, the child is able to internalize it and create a good internal object. According to Winnicott (1971), when the good internal object comes to life within the child, the child becomes able to use a transitional object, for example a "security blanket" or teddy bear. The inanimate but soothing transitional object is used to establish a relationship, a bridge,

between the good internal object and the good external object. By possessing, holding, and relating to the transitional object, the child is able to tie together the "good me" with the "good not me." This way the child is able to cope with the pain and stress of the paradox which grew out of his disillusionment from omnipotent unity, the paradox that he has a world inside himself, but there is another world outside of him. The child is able to use the transitional object to establish a tie between the self and the nonself. Through creative play and experiencing with transitional objects, the child achieves integration of the self in relation both to itself and to the other. This play action is done in a transitional space between the internal and external worlds, a space that is neither inside nor outside the self, and yet partakes of both. The teddy bear is more than a stuffed cloth object, and more than an internal object. It is created by the child and yet it exists before the child creates it. This precarious, playful doing is the prototype of all creative action. It builds the cohesive self and is the expression of the cohesive self in action in relation to real others. Such creative action is also the substance of psychotherapy, which occurs in the transitional play sphere between the patient and the therapist. Winnicott (1971) used the data of his psychotherapeutic experience to discover the outcropping

of childhood transitional phenomena in adult life. In one sense the present research attempts to corroborate that discovery beyond the realm of psychotherapy, in the larger context of nontherapeutic interaction and everyday experience. The present research is aimed at using a new data source to discover whether transitional play phenomena are central to adult integrative functioning, and if so, how they manifest themselves in routine aspects of everyday life.

Before turning our attention fully upon the issue of play in adulthood, it is appropriate to summarize a few basic points about childhood play. Erikson sees play as the synthetic/integrative process which regulates and propels the growth of a unified self through the symbolic mastery of conflict. Piaget conceptualizes play as the prototype of action, which solidifies and practices prior development while generating new forms of experience. Mahler presents play as a multifaceted medium of skill development, communication, and conflict resolution through symbolic action. For Winnicott play is the transitional phenomenon, the bridge between the internal self and the outside reality of other people and things. Play broadens into the transitional realm of all cultural activity, the process of actively living as a separate self in a peopled world, alone and yet together. All these ideas of play converge on its

primary nature as a phenomenon of childhood. Clearly play is central to childhood. Play is a central feature of childhood because it is the medium of integration in childhood. As the medium of the integrative process, play is very serious business in the growth of the child. The question now arises, what is the role of play in the life of the adult?

The Dutch historian and philosopher Johan Huizinga (1949) refined the concept of play to understand much of adult human life. His approach is essentially phenomenological, and his writing is mostly a description of play. He notes the obvious fact that play is fun, and couples this observation with a less obvious but equally accurate perception: "All play means something (Huizinga, 1949, p. 1)." The meaningfulness and significance of play remove it from the realm of physical and biological reality. In fact play is not precisely definable in any other terms than to simply call it play. It has no moral function, and is a primary unity in itself, outside of all antitheses, irreducible to other terms. Although play is an indissoluble unity, it is characterized by a number of qualities which can be described.

Play is a voluntary activity characterized by freedom. It can be deferred or suspended at any time. It is in no sense necessary, nor a task, nor a requirement imposed by

duty or physical necessity. It is done at leisure. It is only involved with duty when it is recognized as a rite, ritual, or cultural function. Play is not ordinary or real, but rather a stepping out into a temporary sphere of its own. Although it is "pretend," it can be absorbing and intense to the point of seriousness. Play serves no aim but itself, and in this sense it is disinterested. Although it can serve nonphysical, "sacred" cultural functions, it has no biological function in Huizinga's view. Play is distinct and secluded. It is limited and bounded in time and space, containing its own course and meaning, and playing itself out to an end. It is characterized by movement and change. Alternation, succession, association, separation, repetition, and refrain are features of play. Play is rhythmic. It takes place within a playground of some type, an isolated, hallowed, consecrated, forbidden, hedged off space within which special rules apply. The playing area is a ". . . temporary world within the ordinary world dedicated to the performance of an act apart (Huizinga, 1949, p. 10)." This temporary world is governed by a temporary and limited, but absolute and perfect order, an order expressed in rhythm and harmony. All play involves tension and striving to achieve an end or goal. But absolute rules govern the competition or mastery of an obstacle, end, or task. If the rules are broken the play

is ended. There is a difference between a cheater and a spoilsport, because only a spoilsport stops the play from continuing. Cheating introduces a different level of action within the play itself. Play often involves secrets, disguises, and even deception. This points to the social nature of play, and the fact that play is often the core around which groups of people form (Huizinga, 1949).

Huizinga succinctly described the qualities which distinguish play in the following passage:

Summing up the formal characteristics of play we might call it a free activity standing quite consciously outside "ordinary" life as being "not serious," but at the same time absorbing the player intensely and utterly. It is an activity connected with no material interest, and no profit can be gained by it. It proceeds within its own proper boundaries of time and space according to fixed rules and in an orderly manner. It promotes the formation of social groupings which tend to surround themselves with secrecy and to stress their difference from the common world by disguise or other means (Huizinga, 1949, p. 13).

Huizinga (1949) sees the higher forms of play as being either contests for something or representations of something. This category includes the representation of a contest, or the contest for the best representation. He sees all ritual activity as a form of play, including religion, law, and all the interpersonally meaningful actions which fall under the rubric of culture. This broad conception of play does not denigrate religion and culture, but rather elevates play to the highest spiritual

plane. Religion and culture share the quality common to all forms of play, the quality of having no concrete purpose, and yet being significant.

Huizinga's concept of play poses a number of paradoxical issues. He broadens the idea of play to include cultural living in such a wide sense that every corner of the cultural arena is permeated by play. It almost seems like play is a global term for life as it is lived in modern civilization. And yet Huizinga (1949) insists that play is an experience apart from the ordinary. This nonordinary, unusual specialness is the significance of play, its meaningfulness. To complicate the paradoxical commonness and specialness of play, the whole question of fun has an ambiguous presence in Huizinga's discussion of play. Fun is obviously the most salient characteristic of play, and yet no one seems to be having fun at a funeral, which is definitely one of the rituals which Huizinga considers to be a form of play. In order to make sense of Huizinga's ideas, the concept of play must be seen as a polyfaceted entity which is manifested in various forms on a variety of levels. The immediacy of playing and having fun in the concrete sense is different from solemn cultural ritual, and yet the two phenomena are connected in their being different forms of the same essential thing. The two are not identical, but they lie at a certain distance from

each other on a unified continuum. Fun accompanies the most immediate experiencing of play, and various other emotions such as awe accompany different forms of play which exist at varying distances from the immediate experience. The solemn religious ritual is perhaps the form most distant from the immediate play experience. Other forms, for example a formal concert of classical music, are at intermediate levels of distance from the immediate form.

The connections of varying distance among different forms of play on a continuum from immediate fun to solemn ritual recall the range of distance from prereflective experience to reflective distantiated thought discussed by van den Berg (1972). The many forms of play present an integrative issue. Many would agree that the capacity to play and experience the immediacy of fun is a concrete feature of every healthy adult. It is equally clear that the experience of meaning and significance, at times in very solemn and awe-inspiring terms, is another basic feature of healthy adult living. At first these two features seem unrelated, but a closer look shows them to be differentiated aspects of a larger unity. Meaning and significance are of a piece and yet distinct from fun. One aspect of the integrative issue is to participate in both their distinctness and their unity through one's experience and action.

Mihaly Csikszentmihalyi (1975) refined such concepts as Funktionlust, developed by Groos (1901), to understand the intrinsic rewards of activities which serve no extrinsic purpose beyond sheer enjoyment. In his empirical study of "autotelic" play activities enjoyed for their own sake, he discovered a pattern of "flow experience" common to these activities. Flow experience is characterized by immediate, prereflective absorption in a self-enclosed task separate from the demands of everyday reality. This task is structured by the challenge of an inherent goal to be mastered in a context of immediate feedback as to whether the effort at mastery is succeeding or failing. Flow occurs when the challenge is within the range of the individual's creative mastery and when the effort at mastery is succeeding. Under these conditions there is an exhilarating feeling of control and undistracted unity with the task, leaving the everyday concerns and worries of the self behind. This feeling is intrinsically rewarding and is motive enough in itself for participation in autotelic activities without any other reward.

In our complex society built of specialized roles, the integrative task surrounding fun and meaning is often distorted by the ambiguous place of work. Work partakes of both physical necessity and play, but different work roles combine these two elements in different proportions. The

farmer's work is a physical necessity, despite any cultural overlay attending it. The industrial laborer's work is a physical necessity to the extent that our society is biologically adapted through the use of industrial products. But the economic complexities of our culture introduce varying degrees of play and cultural fiction into the industrial production process. For example the production of Cadillacs is not dictated by physical necessity and is largely a phenomenon of cultural status, but one can still use a Cadillac to bring home food to eat. The work of the professional athlete is at the opposite extreme from that of the farmer. The professional athlete usually does nothing but play in his work, but in a sense his work is not play, because he does it for gain and he is under particular pressure to excel. Actually it is the spectators who are playing at a professional sports event. The spectators are the ones who are taking time off to watch a game. The pro ball player is faced with a particularly difficult integrative task because the work and play aspects of his job are camouflaged. Only in certain cases is the ball player free enough from the economic and related pressures of his job to pursue his play freely. This is one reason why star athletes are paid such high salaries. When a boxer is a multimillionaire, the issue is no longer money, and he and his audience can play

the game for its own sake. The money takes on secondary meaning not as a medium of exchange to purchase commodities, but as a symbol of the boxer's excellence, specialness, and extraordinariness, and of the meaning and significance, potlatch style, of the spectacle.

It is clear that in our society each individual is faced to a greater or lesser extent with the problem of differentiating his work from his play. This differentiation is important, because only after they have been differentiated can play and work be integrated, and experienced in coherent relation to each other. Though often reflectively conscious, the differentiation does not necessarily have to be abstract, as long as it is implicit in the person's prereflective experience and action. There is a basic difference between work and play. Reality has primacy in work, and the self has primacy in play. No matter what its form, work must ultimately provide for the physical needs of the worker and his or her dependents. According to Erikson (1963), adult play is a relief from work wherein a lighthearted atmosphere prevails without concern for pressures from the id or the superego, so that the real limits of internal conflict can be left behind and one can feel at one with the ego. That is to say, adult play promotes the integration of the self, including the body, into one unified being. More concretely, the adult self is unified in the simple, immediate experience

of fun. In the forms of play more distant from immediate fun, the adult can experience meaning in a form which permits him to experience himself as a meaningful, significant unified being.

The integration of work and play is a challenge faced by the healthy adult to the same extent that the relation of the self to reality and to itself poses an integrative challenge. Adult psychological health is based on the integration of the self and reality, on the structuring of differentiated elements within and outside oneself into a coherent and cohesive whole. Integration within the self is mutually interdependent with integration between the self and the external world. According to Winnicott (1971), transitional phenomena build an integrated self embedded in a world peopled by other whole selves. The transitional phenomena are the creative actions and experiences which are played out in the intermediate sphere of illusion where external objects are imbued with meaning, and where the internal self is expressed in external reality. This transitional area includes all cultural phenomena, the meaningful activities of human life in groups.

Just as the integration of work and play is part of healthy adulthood, the disintegration of work and play is pathological. Disintegrative pathology can vary greatly in degree. A common disintegrative pathology of many otherwise healthy adults is the compartmentalization of

work and play into separate aspects of experience. Compartmentalization reflects incomplete integration and a distorting overemphasis on the preintegrative phase of differentiation. A more serious pathology is manifested in the failure to differentiate work from play, leading to a pseudointegrative fusion of the two. This fusion takes two forms, the insistence on constantly working while refusing to play, or the insistence on constantly playing while refusing to work. Both of these versions of work/play fusion are often accompanied by addictive features, such as alcoholism. The vernacular captures this addictive feature in the slang expression "workoholic." Such individuals fail to truly work or play, and have difficulty allowing themselves to lose distance and participate in immediate prereflective experiences such as concrete fun. The most severe disintegrative pathology is manifested in the fragmentation of work and play and the disintegration of the executive capacities required to perform the tasks of both work and play. Such pathology reflects a gross disorganization of ego functioning, such as that encountered in schizophrenia.

The integration of work and play tends to be healthy and their disintegration tends to be painful and sick. Maslow's concept of self-actualization is highlighted by

Herzberg's emphasis on work as the integration of human and animal aspects of man, as man can use his work in the quest for self-actualization. In addition to working for physical sustenance and playing to enjoy and express the self, man can go beyond this differentiation. Work can be a source of pride, identity, and meaning in life. Thus work can be a major part of the broad play sphere, from lighthearted fun to awesome meaningfulness. By the same token, the rejuvenation of the healthy self through play can strengthen the ego and enhance one's capacity to work effectively. Thus play can directly affect the capacity to provide sustenance and the individual's physiological adaptation to reality. Man integrates his work and play within a whole self.

The work of Piaget and Erikson raises the issue of the relation of work and play to time. The child works to build Piaget's differentiated abstract universe by playing. Erikson's idea of integration through organic growth underscores the fact that the relationship of work to play changes in time, and it is very different in childhood from what it is in adulthood. Work and play are fused into a single entity in childhood. The child's existence is totally permeated by play, which is at one and the same time fun in the immediate sense, meaningful in the extreme, and fused with the important work of growing into an adult.

In healthy adulthood, work and play are differentiated and integrated into a distinctly detailed structure. Adult work must deal in no uncertain terms with the demands of reality in order for the individual to remain physiologically intact. Rather than a diffuse experience permeating all of life, healthy adulthood play is focused into concrete fun and other nonordinary experiences of meaning and significance. Further growth toward greater differentiation and integration of work and play is possible and occurs throughout the life of the healthy adult.

An image of integration to summarize the relationship between work and play is Winnicott's idea of the transitional phenomenon as the integrative bridge between the internal world and the external world. The transitional object is always both a tool and a toy. It is the vehicle through which the inner and outer worlds are brought to life. The transitional phenomenon is the taking hold of objects outside of us and caring for them, imbuing them with significance and using them to soothe ourselves in times of anguish. Although we play with transitional objects in an illusory sphere, we use them at the same time to do the real work of filling our inner and outer worlds with animated objects. Dealing with the human paradox of being alone together with others, being a separate self acting in relation to the living world, people bridge the gap between

their inside and the outside, they transcend the limits and boundaries of their selves, through transitional phenomena. In all their work and play elements, transitional objects are created and used to play in the broad play sphere where people work creatively to deal with the problem of being human.

Review of the Empirical Data of Work and
Play Experiences in Adulthood

In his major study of job satisfaction among two hundred urban accountants and engineers, Herzberg (1966) tabulated reports of instances of extremely positive and extremely negative feelings about work. Each report referred to a concrete incident in which the immediate circumstances were also reported. In tabulating these data, Herzberg grouped the reported incidents in various categories depending on the type of circumstances which figured dominantly in each incident. In each category of circumstances, he separated the reports into two classes of feelings about work, extremely positive and extremely negative, and counted the number of reports in each class. Thus he separated the incidents into categories of dominant circumstances, and calculated a percentage of positive emotional response and a reciprocal percentage of negative feelings in each type of circumstance. He found that each category of circumstances was heavily dominated by one

emotional valence or the other. The categories did not split fifty-fifty, but tended to be associated with a preponderance of either positive or negative feelings. Herzberg concluded from these data that positive and negative feelings about work are responses to two different types of circumstances. That is to say that negative feelings are responses to circumstances which bear no relation to positive feelings, and positive feelings concern issues which are irrelevant to negative feelings.

Herzberg (1966) divided all the categories of circumstances into two groups, those which related to positive feelings and those which related to negative feelings. He found that all those circumstances which related to positive feelings were concerned with the work task itself and the subject's relation directly to the task, such as his proficiency, his responsibilities in performing the task, advancement to higher level tasks and responsibilities, and the recognition by others of his performance. All the circumstances which related to negative feelings were concerned with the features of the environment in which the work was done, such as physical working conditions, salary and fringe benefit arrangements, general interpersonal interactions and atmosphere, administrative policies, and supervision. These results led him to conclude that the work task itself is the focus of job satisfaction toward which people strive, and the work environment contains

potentially dissatisfying features which people try to avoid. From this conclusion he developed the motivation-hygiene theory, which states that people have two types of needs, motivation needs and hygiene needs. Motivation needs impel people toward psychological growth and satisfaction in relation to tasks and action, whereas hygiene needs impel people to avoid painful environmental conditions. Herzberg (1966) calls healthy people "motivation seekers" and "hygiene avoiders," which is to say that they seek inherently gratifying tasks and avoid environmental interference and discomfort. Herzberg (1966) cites nine studies by various investigators involving seventeen widely varying occupations and hundreds of subjects which corroborate his data and confirm his conclusions.

One of the most fascinating empirical documents of work experience is the book Working by Louis "Studs" Terkel (1974). Terkel is not a social scientist in any formal sense. He is a radio talk show host with a gift for interviewing and a creative vision of working class experience which has come to fruition in several published collections of interviews with ordinary people on a number of subjects. Working consists of the abridged transcripts of interviews with approximately 130 working people in a wide variety of occupations. By not being a social scientist, Terkel is free not to worry about his biases,

and the free flow of his biased investigation unlocks a rich mine of phenomenological data. The essential bias of Terkel's work is his vision of the violent victimization of the working class by industrialized American society, leading to a painful, humiliating, unfulfilled, pathological life for most American workers. There is an astonishing consistency running throughout his interviews, in which people portray their alienation from work tasks which are largely meaningless and worthless to them, devoid of satisfaction. Terkel's data starkly contradict the notion of play being integrated with work in healthy adulthood, and the only resolution of this contradiction is to label this nonintegration as pathology. In that case, most American workers must be seen as sick, and Terkel seems to accept this vision of modern working life as riddled with disintegrative pathology. The most profound and disturbing theme in Terkel's interviews is the barren emptiness pervading the lives of his subjects. Underlying this emptiness is stifled rage and a failed striving to find significance in work and to be someone with substance. Tragically the rageful struggle against emptiness leads to little gain for most working people, except perhaps a heightening of pain.

Terkel (1974) points out that there are exceptions to the disintegrative pattern. He suggests that he might be

an exception himself, and also counts 4 more exceptions out of his sample of 130 people: a stonemason, a fireman, a piano tuner, and a bookbinder. Though none of them totally embodied the vision of healthy integration of work and play presented above, they seemed to be successfully striving in that direction. This observation highlights the ideal nature of integrated work and play. No one fully achieves this integration, but theoretically people can be expected to strive and grow toward it. The discrepancies between the theoretical ideal and the empirical reality as presented by Terkel can be reconciled to some extent by reconsidering Terkel's biases. Though his data point to an undeniable pathological reality, it is possible that his ratio of 4 healthy people to 130 sick distorts the true proportion in the general population. A review of Terkel's interviews shows that his subjects varied widely in the extent of pathology and negative feelings which they presented in relation to their work life. Frequently subjects expressed subtly mixed feelings. This fact renders the whole counting procedure somewhat arbitrary and inaccurate. Also, in the course of choosing his subjects, he may have overlooked a large healthy group. In fact he acknowledges systematically omitting doctors, politicians, clergymen, writers and professionals in general. The present research was partly inspired by curiosity as to

whether that omission is the source of the consistency of Terkel's tragic findings. However if the inclusion of that group is to present a healthier image of our society, there must be a reason for this which accounts for the disintegrative pathology as well as the relationship between the sick and healthy groups within one social structure. The present research was designed bearing in mind that our society is not fully industrialized. Terkel studied people whose work is directly involved with industry and its products, and his four exceptions are also exceptions to that rule. The four exceptions and the excluded group all work as craftsmen or professionals within a guild structure which is more a feature of medieval society than of industrialization. The place of such guild systems within industrial society is a matter of opinion, and the future of guilds in the face of steadily advancing industrialization is an open question. Whether guilded or not, the leaders and professionals enjoy a higher socioeconomic status than Terkel's working class subjects. Csikszentmihalyi (1975) found that increasing interest, sensitivity, and enjoyment in relation to creative autotelic tasks was correlated with increasing income and socioeconomic status. However Terkel also included top level industrial executives and entrepreneurs in his sample and they too exhibited painful and pathological work lives despite their high socioeconomic

status. These data bring us back to the suggestion that features of the impersonal, routinized industrial system, rather than pure socioeconomic status, are primary external causes of psychopathology in modern working life.

Terkel's findings of pathology in work life lead to the question of what other data reflect disintegrative pathology in work and play. A vast and far flung body of data unequivocally confirms Terkel's basic finding of emptiness and alienation among many, if not most American workers. Two specific studies, one by Herzberg (1966) and one by Csikszentmihalyi (1975), raise interesting possibilities. Herzberg (1966) found a deviant minority which reverse the healthy pattern of the "motivation seeker"/"hygiene avoider." People in this group are called "hygiene seekers." They focus on seeking the satisfaction of their physiologically based needs in the environment rather than simply avoiding pain in that area and focusing on growthful engagement in tasks. Hygiene seekers experience the state of physiological absence of pain, which most people experience neutrally, as a state of satisfaction rather than neutrality. From the typical motivation seeker's point of view, they have no concept of "true" satisfaction and are internally neutral, in a sense empty. Although this finding addresses the issue of emptiness, it does not answer the challenge of Terkel's data because Terkel's empty

and alienated group is the overwhelming majority of his sample, and Herzberg's hygiene seekers are a deviant minority. The difference in sampling techniques between the two investigators may explain the discrepancy, but that remains as yet an unanswered question.

The notion of experiencing relief from pain as satisfaction rather than as a neutral homeostasis which merely frees one to seek true satisfaction in growthful tasks recalls the notion of addiction mentioned above. The addicting substance is always analgesic, it always relieves pain. The addict's life centers on the relief of pain on many levels as the ultimate goal of life. This is ironic because addictive drugs and alcohol, with the exception of hallucinogens and stimulants which are not used in typical addictive patterns, literally kill internal life and deanimate the addict in many ways, so that the idea of having a goal in life becomes somewhat meaningless. It is difficult to think of a deanimated person as having a goal in life, but to the extent that the addict has a life, its goal is relief from pain.

The concept of addiction is reworked in a fascinating and at times disturbing study by Csikszentmihalyi (1975). Twenty-one surgeons were interviewed and it was found that they seemed to integrate work and play in their occupational tasks to a large extent. They seemed to have achieved the

ideal implicit in the above conceptual presentation of work/play integration. Their intrinsically rewarding work tasks gave them varied opportunities for action and enjoyment within a strictly limited and defined setting where goals and the degree of success or failure were immediately clear, where competence and control were exercised and developed, and where one could lose oneself in the meaningful task to the point of transcending one's ego boundaries. However Csikszentmihalyi found that the, ". . . experience can be so enjoyable that one becomes overdependent on it (1975, p. 138)." Everyday reality becomes boring by comparison. Some of the surgeons reported severe subjective tension, anxiety, and pain when on vacations with their families, even to the point of taking breaks during their vacations to do surgery and re-establish their affective equilibrium. Surgeons compared their work to taking narcotics. Alcoholism, severe problems in family life and other intimate relationships, and suicide were cited as the common psychopathological results following the experience of being deprived of doing surgery due to the interruption of a surgeon's career. Although these addiction related pathologies are not universal among surgeons, their notable presence leads one to wonder whether the ideal integration of work and play is sick or healthy. It seems that as this ideal is approached, the resulting

intensification of experience can exacerbate areas of disintegrative pathology within the individual. The integration of work and play must reflect total integration of the self in relation to itself and the world in order for it to be truly healthy. Otherwise the extreme apparent integration of work and play reflects the construction of a monolithic pseudointegrative edifice which, despite its size and weight, is extremely fragile. If extraordinary but focalized work/play integration occurs in the context of a self with major weak points in its integrative structure, the impact of this focalized event can eventually disrupt the totality of the self and lead to severe pathology. The more intense the integration of work and play, the more successful must be the total integration of the whole self in order for the work/play integration to reflect health.

In summary, many data relevant to the integration of work and play have been gathered. Herzberg (1966) found that work satisfaction is usually based on meaningful engagement in a task through which one can grow psychologically, usually in the context of avoiding deficits, discomforts, and pain contingent on the environment. He also found that a deviant minority experience as satisfaction the presumably neutral absence of pain and discomfort. These "hygiene seekers" strive to eliminate environmental sources of pain rather than meaningfully engaging in productive

tasks. Terkel (1974) found that the integration of work and play is strikingly absent in the lives of many workers. This disintegrative pathology is characterized by the experience of emptiness, meaninglessness, worthlessness, alienation, underlying rage, and a failed striving to achieve meaningful integration, pride, and a sense of self-worth. At the other extreme, Csikszentmihalyi (1975) found that some people achieve extensive integration of work and play in the skillful pursuit of tasks which are very meaningful, important, and gratifying to them. However under such apparently healthy circumstances, people become vulnerable to intense disintegrative pathology with dependent, addictive, and self-destructive features.

These data lead one to wonder whether the theoretical framework of healthy work/play integration presented above is valid. It has required that we label most of Terkel's workers as sick, and that we conceive of Csikszentmihalyi's alcoholic surgeons as "pseudointegrated." These labels may be forced concessions to our theory which distort the reality, or they may be accurate characterizations of the subjects in question. The data which exist in the literature are suggestive in a number of directions, but they still leave one wondering whether or not healthy adults in our society really integrate work and play. The question remains open whether the theoretical framework presented

in this paper is consonant with the experience of real people. If healthy adults do in fact integrate work and play, questions of how they achieve this integration and the manner and extent of the integration also remain unanswered.

CHAPTER III

METHODOLOGY

The present research is an attempt to gather empirical data which might point to answers for questions suggested by our theoretical framework and data in the literature. The present study uses a modified phenomenological method to study the manner in which apparently healthy adults integrate work and play, as well as the form, extent, and any problematic aspects of such integration.

The present methodology is based on brief individual interviews of one to two hours' duration with a small sample of twelve subjects. The short duration of the interviews is the main modification of phenomenological method, which would not normally impose such a time limit. Rather than a random selection of subjects, the sampling technique was radically biased. The investigator chose the subjects from among his acquaintances in an attempt to find individuals who seemed maximally healthy, and successfully settled in occupations which they seemed to enjoy and which afforded them opportunity for the creative mastery of challenging tasks. The subjects were also chosen to represent as wide a variety of occupations as possible, especially those which have maximal autonomy, such as professions. The sample was evenly divided into two groups with three men and three

women in each group. The first group was made up of subjects whose work life is characterized by stable involvement in one occupation. The second group consisted of subjects who at some time in the past had made a major transition from one occupation to another on the basis of personal choice rather than external pressures such as financial need. Subjects ranged in age from 24 to 47 years old (See Tables I and II).

The subjects were contacted by the investigator, the research was briefly explained to them, and they were offered an opportunity to participate voluntarily in the research without compensation. Further explanation of the study, opportunity for the subject to ask any questions of the investigator, and the signing of informed consent forms preceded the actual interviews. The interviews were conducted by the investigator and recorded on audio tape in order to later transcribe relevant content.

The interview technique was designed to be light, straightforward, nonthreatening, and nonintrusive. The interview was semi-structured with specified content areas and sample questions in each area, and with opportunity allowed for the subject to provide some of the structure of the interview. The interview was designed to allow the subject to freely describe his experience of the integration of work and play without introducing the distorting influence of a narrowly predefined structure such as a

TABLE I
DEMOGRAPHIC FEATURES OF THE SUBJECT SAMPLE:
STABLE CAREER GROUP

Subject	Sex	Age	Marital Status	Family Composition	Occupation
1	M	45	Married	Wife Son—12 Daughter—10	Clinical Social Worker
2	M	44	Married	Wife Son—4	Psychiatric Social Worker
3	M	24	Married	Wife	Radio News Reporter
4	F	24	Married	Husband	Psychiatric Social Worker
5	F	26	Married	Husband Son—2	Wife and Mother
6	F	28	Married	Husband	Concert Pianist and Piano Teacher

TABLE II

DEMOGRAPHIC FEATURES OF THE SUBJECT SAMPLE: CAREER CHANGE GROUP

Subject	Sex	Age	Marital Status	Family Composition	Initial Occupation	New Occupation
7	M	47	Married	Wife Son--15 (Sons-19 and 21, out of home)	Corporate Executive	Clinical Psychologist
8	M	33	Married	Wife Son--7 Daughter--5	Protestant Minister	Marriage and Family Therapist
9	M	38	Married	Wife	Catholic Priest	Attorney
10	F	42	Married	Husband Son--17 Twin Sons--14	Wife and Mother	Nursing Staff Development Coordinator
11	F	38	Married	Husband Son--18 Son--15	Wife and Mother; Artist	Yoga Teacher
12	F	45	Married	Husband Daughter--18 Son--15	Wife and Mother	Director of State Aging and Mental Health Continuing Education Program

formal questionnaire. The interview topic areas and sample questions are presented in the Appendix.

The Data

The original transcripts of the complete interviews are long and filled with details, making it difficult to grasp basic patterns within the data. Therefore the analysis of the data will be preceded by summaries of each transcript which sacrifice detail in order to reduce the data into a more digestible form. The summaries do not attempt to directly imitate each subject's language, but they do attempt to render a brief version of the subject's thoughts and feelings, staying as close as possible to the terminology used by the subject, and to the sequencing of material as it developed in the interview.

Data Summaries

Subject 1: This 45 year old man works as a psychotherapist, and he sees his job as interacting with people. His experience of it varies from boredom to exhilaration, depending on the situation he has to deal with. When working on a futile case he feels bored, and he is exhilarated by mastering a case in which the patient is helped. The tasks which exhilarate him have changed over the years as the issues in his own personal growth have

developed and changed, so that personal issues which he has most recently mastered are the most enjoyable issues for him to work with. He feels exhilarated when he is successfully helping people with high potential to sort out their lives, especially when it "all comes together" as they gain insight into something new which he has helped them discover about themselves. When working on a futile, hopeless case, he sometimes feels emotionally damaged, but this feeling is relieved by spending time with healthier people, especially seeing his own children at home after work. His primary commitment is to his family, which tends to take priority over other things in his life. He finds that the futile tasks within his job are best dealt with by isolating and distancing them from himself, keeping himself emotionally disengaged so he doesn't get frustrated and entangled in a hopeless situation. This disentanglement allows him to master his work by finding cognitive solutions which make tasks more easy and enjoyable. The thing he enjoys with his patients, even those who are children, is not play per se, but rather the sense of a relationship and connectedness with the patient, and the extent of that connection varies with different patients. For recreation he enjoys playing bridge, watching movies and television, gardening, and "piddling" around his house. He especially enjoys bridge because of its interpersonal aspects, the

competition, comparison of relationships, and the varied patterns of trust and communication. He has fond memories of the small intimate community of his childhood, and his parents' sense of insight into people, especially each individual's underlying coherence and continuity in time within a personal history.

Subject 2: This 44 year old man is a psychotherapist, and he sees his job as the diagnosis and treatment of mental disorders. In the course of his work he enjoys variety and seeing people take control of their lives, which happens often enough to make his job enjoyable. He finds it frustrating when he fails to get the desired result in his work, and he feels bored when a work task is static or when he is distracted by paperwork. At times thinking about his leisure interests also distracts him from his work. For recreation he likes to fish, hunt, go camping, play softball, work on his small farm, read, attend spectator sports, do carpentry and mechanical work, and race automobiles. He enjoys the physical exertion of farm work, and carpentry and mechanics give him a sense of self-sufficiency which is pleasurable, morally valuable to him, and financially advantageous. He now watches auto races and used to race himself when it was logistically feasible. He would continue to build and race cars now if it were

practical, and he enjoys racing for the excitement, competition, and satisfaction of putting something together to win. He has fun at his work place after hours playing ping-pong, volleyball, pool, and during his lunch break, cards. He occasionally has minor fun in the course of performing his work tasks, but his job is predominantly serious, not fun. He has always wanted to work with people and help them, and the manner in which he has done so throughout his career has been a function of practical arrangements to avoid unpleasant administrative tasks and maximize the freedom in his job. He enjoys the stimulation and challenge of figuring out people's problems and finding solutions to them. He sees this as similar in a way to car racing and mechanics, since in both the challenge is to figure out how to do something, and then to do it. He grew up doing agricultural and physical labor. He enjoys autonomy and self-sufficiency. The most important values in his life are his family, his community, fairness, and the quality and quantity of his work. He sees a need for balance between work and play. He works because he values responsibility and productivity, but too much would be unreasonable. He plays because it gives him freedom and enjoyment, but too much would be boring and contrary to his values. In his work he likes autonomy and dislikes paperwork, bureaucracy, and administrative hassle. He

has reluctantly accepted some limited administrative responsibilities due to external pressure from his employer.

Subject 3: This 24 year old man is a radio news reporter whose job consists of gathering, organizing, and broadcasting the news. His work involves many complex tasks which he does mostly on his own, though within the framework of a larger organization. He sees his work as a challenge to creatively learn about events in his community. He tends to be annoyed by interruptions and distractions which interfere with his work rhythm. He is personally curious about local events and enjoys his relationships with public figures. In his job he masters complex tasks in a smooth rhythm within tight time constraints. His job is fun. He first learned skills by watching others, by trial and error, and by working to improve his performance. Acquiring new skills is satisfying to him, and he finds it fun to learn many subtle tasks while working. Though interesting, he found his work frustrating before he developed adequate skill. Now he feels confident and skilled, and he feels challenged to refine his skills and take on new responsibilities. His work is like an athletic competition, with rhythm, smooth mastery of sequential action, and worry-free excitement and momentum.

He feels power in knowing what's going on, how it all works, and how to find out about it. He is ambitious to excel, and feels some boredom once he has mastered a task, but there is a great deal of variety in his job. He is always working fast, "running" and compensating for his fear that he might be lazy or be seen as lazy. Sometimes he needs a meditative, spiritual kind of tranquility which can help "center" his work day, but which can also be intruded upon by his work. Sometimes he gets "started thinking" personally and "caught up" emotionally in a poignant or moving story, and the rush of his job forces him to take himself away from it. He finds it sad and somewhat difficult to deal with interviewing people in grief after a tragedy.

His ambition is to make an all out effort in order to see how well he can really do this job, to know that he could do it as well as anyone. He likes to know what others think of his work and he can use their feedback to improve his performance.

His concept of fun is to unite with God, to realize the part of God in himself. With this perspective he can detach himself from details so that problems in work no longer upset him or stop him. He feels he can accept difficulties, and has no need to relax because he tries to use tension productively as soon as it occurs, and therefore

he rarely feels tense. His only real tension is about spiritual issues of guilt and frustration with himself for not being equal to his ideals, and this tension leads to an immediate effort at improvement rather than feeling upset or passively grieving. He feels that it is important to acknowledge and deploy all of one's capacity to actively master things, and to reverse errors immediately, in keeping with a goal desired in the future rather than guilt about the past. He strives to keep moving forward, and his intense desire counteracts any tendency to procrastinate.

For fun he enjoys listening to music, making tapes of music, cataloging his extensive tape collection, playing volleyball, meditating, reading, occasionally watching television, but very little socializing. He feels that he is introspective, self-contained, and able to do well alone, and he feels that he will change the way he socializes. He feels closely involved with other people. He plays ping-pong with his wife, bowls, and enjoys going out to movies. His wife is oriented more to social life, and his closest friends are in another city he lived in before. He feels very close to his father, a man who disliked his own work and found it frustrating. This subject has followed his father's advice to do something he likes, but he would like to try many jobs, perhaps less frantic and more controlled than his current one. Whatever he does, he wants to feel like he is going somewhere.

Subject 4: This 24 year old woman is a community services social worker for a large state psychiatric hospital. Her job is a complex blend of many different tasks, including aftercare for former patients, liason work with community agencies, and predischARGE work with patients in the hospital. She works with many people in the community, and feels burdened with many loose ends, at times overwhelmed with many problems. Her feelings about work vary, and recently she had a long slump in which she felt frustrated and tired of her caseload. There is some freedom and mobility in her job, but the paperwork is such that it can never be finished. Despite her job's frustrations, she enjoys engaging in effective personal relationships which allow her to use herself in a helpful way. She is comfortable with her own personal style, which is at the fringe of the normative image for her profession, but she is capable at her job.

She tends to be more aware of problems than of positive successes in her work. She tends to feel too much responsibility for things not working out and not enough appreciation of the positive impact of her capacity to relate well to others. She is pessimistic about finding the ideal work setting, but she has enjoyable, supportive relationships with a varied group of co-workers. Sometimes they play by weighing each other and dieting together. It

is understood that they all work hard so they feel free to break from tasks in order to joke. They make jokes at each other's and their patients' expense, and about sex. This counteracts the frustration and disgust encountered in their work.

She has arranged her career to permit access to certain leisure activities in which she finds relief from her intense interpersonal life, despite her enjoyment of people. She enjoys contemplative leisure such as camping, running, meditating, and yoga, so that she can tune in to the essentials of life. She has an extensive intimate social life which leaves her stretched thin. Friends tend to rely on her in a draining way, and she needs that, but it can feel overwhelming and interfere with her privacy and her relationship with her husband. She also enjoys movies, reading, and listening to music. She feels torn between wanting to save the world and wanting to be a hermit. Rather than separating work and leisure, she strives for constant realization, expression, and improvement of herself. She sees no need to release tension through play, but tries to prevent anxiety by responding in a calm, self-controlled, sensitive, aware and focused manner.

Spirituality and finding a common ground with others are at the center of her life, and she wants her work to fit in with that center. But her work experience varies

with her mood, and is worst when she feels she has failed, her task is impossible to accomplish, and she is frustrated. She deals with such problems by trying to return to the organizing perspective of her spiritual life. Rather than sharply discriminating work and play, she most enjoys things from which she grows and learns.

Subject 5: This 26 year old woman is a wife and mother. Her work involves many tasks, such as taking care of housework, cooking, childcare, and organizing family activities. Though she has a college degree, she misses the graduate education which many of her friends pursued. She feels strong family ties, and giving emotional support to her husband and two-year-old son is a big part of her job. She does a lot for her son. Work is woven constantly through her routine. Her job is very important, and she worries about the quality of her performance, reading books about childrearing.

She also cares for other children in her home during the day to earn money, but she has arranged this to mesh with her own son's needs. She has little time off for herself, which she needs, so it takes its toll. Her environment is often crowded, stressful, and not neat enough for her. She has to entertain the children in her care, which is sometimes fun, but often difficult, depending

on her mood, because she feels the pressure and worry of all her other duties. Her son enjoys the company of the other children.

This woman looks forward to a long vacation, when she will be able to visit old friends and family in her distant birthplace. For fun she enjoys sewing and working with her hands, because she likes to have a visible product that shows she did something. She likes to read in between work tasks. She loves tennis as her own personal pursuit, but rather than work at it or be dedicated to it, she prefers to just enjoy it. When playing tennis she often has to compromise between concentrating on her son versus concentrating on the game.

She didn't choose motherhood now, but when it happened unplanned, her concept of proper mothering required that she pursue her current course of action, which she has enjoyed more than she expected to. She would only want more time off if she had the money. She wants sole responsibility for her child, who is the most important thing in her life, and a reflection on her. She is torn between her son's needs and her own needs, but the quality of her mothering comes first. Being a mother is a good job because it is rewarding, the product is immediate and always there, and she is her own boss. She especially wants to be her own boss because her father was frustrated at not being

his own boss. Except for a boring welfare office job, all her past jobs have put her in a maternal role toward youngsters. She had an interesting job with delinquents where she had to stand up to her boss. She learned more about such matters from her son. She followed her husband to her new home, where she was unemployed and depressed, so she settled for work as a short order cook, where she learned to assert herself and become a manager. In that role she played a maternal figure to younger workers, until she became pregnant. The maternal role is the most interesting and comfortable one for her.

The most important thing for her is her immediate and extended family, to whom she is very attached. Separation from her extended family pains her, and she misses them. She is concerned about political issues which affect her family. She is not sure how it fits together, but she has fun playing with her son because his enjoyment is enjoyable and rewarding to her. She feels conflict about separation and fusion with others, especially her mother, who lives through her children, which is a great source of gratification, but it may be unhealthy.

Subject 6: This 28 year old woman is a concert pianist and piano teacher. Her career is shifting toward more concert performance. She needs discipline during the long preparation for performances in the distant future,

but she tries to enjoy the preparation for its own sake. She maintains her concentration by breaking up her practice into two-hour periods with nonmusical activities in between. The preparation requires listening realistically as she practices, in order to play the piece in a way that works, that makes the music hold together and make sense, so that the music "clicks," is convincing, and holds the audience's attention. She feels anxious before a concert, worrying about imperfections in her preparation, and wondering if her performance will be liked and accepted. Her interpretation of the music is a personal expression of herself, in which she is so involved that liking the performance amounts to liking her, and she feels hurt when people don't like it. She has to keep the audience's reaction in perspective and not over-react. The larger the audience, the more energy she feels from them, and the more satisfaction she feels at holding them spellbound, but then the more lonely she feels for a while after the concert, when they are suddenly gone. After expending all the energy that culminates in a glorious ovation, she is exhausted through the next day. After all that preparation, the performance is gone, and there is no second chance, but the anxiety must be forgotten and replaced with total concentration during the performance. Although the piece can "play itself" due to overlearning, like driving a car without thinking, the

piece is missing something unless it is played with total concentration.

She is challenged as a teacher if a student has difficulty, as she tries to figure out a way to solve it. Helping students perceive more clearly what they play often leads to progress. She is frustrated by teaching students who do not want to learn and by dealing with intrusive, demanding parents. Even with talented students, she feels that music should not be forced and students' interest in something else should be accepted, while supporting and encouraging the interest they do have in music. She also learns things from teaching which help her own playing.

She enjoys her work and it is becoming lucrative. She is good at it, likes being appreciated, and enjoys her enormous freedom. She has to sacrifice certain activities which might injure her hands or deprive her of too much practice time. She resists a tendency to work on music during vacations, but she avoids long vacations because she cannot tolerate not playing for long periods. Since age three she has never been away from a piano for more than three weeks. Without a piano she "climbs the walls" and becomes physically listless. Piano has always been a central part of her life, and she would feel a void without it. She has had to resist an urge to exclude other important areas from her life and be overinvolved with piano.

This woman had an isolated rural upbringing and her mother taught her to play the piano. She was a child prodigy with absolute pitch, and special training was arranged, so by age nine she played at a college level. She resents not having been encouraged to start a competitive career early, when her youth would have been an advantage. She left home abruptly at age 19 and discovered the larger community of her peers at major musical centers. After several ups and downs, her career is now on a firm footing.

For fun she enjoys going to concerts, cooking, painting, reading, and gardening. She used to enjoy tennis, sewing, and yoga when younger. She has what she considers irrational conflicts about her fun interests, such as painting, taking her away from piano. She also enjoys doing things with her husband.

The most important things to her now are exploring sources of pleasure, especially relationships with people. She values honesty, truth, and direct self-expression. Her life fits together in that performance is an intense, active expression of herself, as she tries to be her real self without worrying about what people think of her. She has only recently committed herself to actively playing music as her key identity and project in life. Her conformity to parental expectations delayed her thinking through that commitment, but as her long dreamed of career

has become a reality, she enjoys it for its own sake in the present. Now, rather than simply seducing people to like her playing, she has more energy, she is giving more, she is more free, and the music she plays works better. She feels good about what she is doing.

Subject 7: This 47 year old man is a clinical psychologist. He provides a wide range of services as director of counselling in a small college, and in private practice. He is just beginning to sort out the activities he prefers after successfully testing his ability to master many different tasks, including a variety of treatment methods with many different kinds of patients. Rather than having his work be what he does for pay and his play be what he does without pay, he strives to make his work his play as much as possible, without distinguishing the two. He wants to do work which he would do even if he did not need the money. In his old job as a key executive for one of the largest corporations in the nation, he would not have done the job if he had a million dollars, and he worked only for money, not fulfillment. To him, fulfillment includes play. He would continue working in his new career even if he were a millionaire.

He felt he was in a mid-life crisis as he was aging and receiving large economic incentives to stay in his old job. But his frustration and desire for fulfilling work

led him to make the difficult break from a secure but dependent, emasculated, infantilized relationship with the corporation, instead of passively waiting for retirement and meeting financial goals no longer worthwhile to him. He was dissatisfied with success that brought money but not happiness. He still feels a conflict between the ambition to climb in an organization for glamour, glory, and money, versus doing what satisfies and fulfills him, but he strives now for the latter.

He feels turned on, having fun, and playing in his work as he teaches and catalyzes change and growth in others. He also plays outside his work, especially doing things with his family and traveling. He tries to fill his work with what he enjoys. Feeling threatened, frightened, and challenged, then struggling with a task, and finally mastering it are all part of the fun. This lifestyle is an economic luxury in a context of feeling socially and physically secure. As Maslow describes, he attempts to potentiate his resources and do what turns him on once his basic needs are met. For years he did not realize and appreciate that his basic needs were in fact met. Then he realized his needs, dependence, fear of physical insecurity, and impotence were all relative, and worrying about them only emasculated him and undermined his potential. He had to force himself to change through a difficult struggle,

made worse by his regrets about giving up wealth. But the wealth was illusory. He still feels discomfort when he sees the wealth of old peers, but he feels greater enjoyment in his life and work. He does not see himself pursuing any great or famous contribution, but just enjoying his daily routine, using his personal resources, and feeling fulfilled.

He worked his way up from the bottom in the corporation, with little education. Then in middle age he left it to go to college, with no particular long term goal, but some religious interest and an intense feeling of freedom, even liberation, which was so rewarding that school was enjoyable for its own sake. Although he discovered his new profession in college, the freedom, play, and growth of school was its own reward.

For fun he enjoys travel and physical activity such as jogging, tennis, hiking, and camping. Now he has more time for travel, but less money to spend on it. He also feels a spiritual need to understand his being and see meaning in life in terms of traditional religion. He feels his life fits together in that he has many needs, from the physical to the spiritual, and rather than apologizing for them, he tries to know them and get beyond them without letting them interfere with the realization of himself and his potential. He strives to balance and combine these different aspects of himself with as little discomfort and envy as possible,

so as to share his joy more rather than withholding it from others.

Subject 8: This 33 year old man is a marriage and family therapist. He sees his job as complicating people's lives so they have the opportunity to change. He does puzzle solving family work in which he is active and involved with his clients. The work is fascinating and fun. He has to concentrate to avoid entanglement in the problem while still seeing and understanding it, but disentanglement leads to both fun and mastery of the problem. The hardest part is keeping a perspective on problems which resemble his own personal issues, but even that is fun. He uses a paradoxical, humorous approach and enjoys solving puzzles and learning and using methods which lead to effective mastery of his work. His work is interesting and rewarding in itself, even without the money. Rather than draining him, when his work goes well it energizes him and he gets more than he gives. When he feels discomfort in his work, that indicates a problem in his technique, which he can then try to solve. He gets energy from a sense of healthy adult competence and power, and he is able to identify with clear mastery of his work.

This man wonders at how to grow people. From his own family background he has a personal weakness of taking a passive, vigilante stance, which he has transformed into

the masterful strength of skillful observation in enjoyable, productive work. He has successfully followed his father's advice to find a job he enjoys. He feels paid to play. Fluctuations in the pace of private practice and slack periods lead to boredom and discomfort as well as economic drawbacks.

He is highly educated and made a gradual transition to his present job from a career as a minister in an isolated rural community. The ministry was not fun, but often ambiguous, as he had a comprehensive role in his parishioner's lives. Now his work is highly focused on professional therapy, but he still has some ties to the church and he feels intense ambivalence as he tries to integrate ministry and religion with being a therapist. He values being rooted in a social network of family and community ties as the most important thing in his life, and the traveling required in the ministry uprooted him. He also feels intense curiosity and involvement in the connectedness between people and what makes it succeed or fail. He is curious about what makes relationships satisfying, fulfilling, valuable, and meaningful. He wonders what people are looking for but not finding when relationships fail.

He enjoys being a parent. He also enjoys building a log cabin in the wilderness with his wife, which will be a

second home. This difficult project has been an exciting adventure, with hard work and study undertaken in the naively optimistic belief that intellect will conquer all. He has a strong desire to have pleasure that is feasible now rather than waiting for it, and he has great satisfaction in seeing the house come up as he learns about it and does it. He also has fun jogging extensively with his son, and gardening. He rarely plays alone, and his wife discourages it, but he is trying to do more playing by himself and balance the two. He also enjoys reading, and his vacations when he and his wife go to the beach with another couple and just do nothing.

He tries to integrate his life within the idea of leisure ministry. He does physical work during his leisure play and he gets great pleasure in mastering his professional work. His leisure activities are like a filler, a counterpoint and balance to his intense involvement in his job, through physical labor. There is less labor in his work, but it is fun. He strives for congruent expression of his mind, body, and feelings, as well as work and play, within a comfortable whole. When his work goes well he can control his time and also do the leisure things he likes, which enhance his capacity to work well. He feels that many working class people suffer in unfulfilling jobs and then invest heavily in commercial forms of recreation, but he is too busy for that.

Subject 9: This 38 year old man is an attorney. He specializes in municipal corporations and also does some general law practice, after having been a city law director. Much of the time he is going to meetings, negotiating, and drawing up documents, and there is some drudgery in his work. As part of his work he socializes with clients both during the business day and after hours. He knows the details of each client organization's activity as an intimate counselor and objective outsider, providing advice and mediating in-house problems. He has the freedom to control his own time flexibly. Though initially anxious about succeeding on his own, he is doing quite well now.

He enjoys his work, which involves resolving controversies in trials and negotiations by playing a game which is pressured, often prolonged, and often fun. It is a nice contest, like an athletic competition, with the thrill of winning by anticipating the opponent's moves and out-foxing him. He has fun learning by watching highly skilled competitors in action. He dislikes wearing delay tactics, preferring a direct, informal method.

The contest is exciting, tense, and exhausting. Before it begins he gets little sleep and feels restless and anxious, wishing for more time to prepare. When the contest begins, the pressure remains but the anxiety and worry disappear immediately, as he gets down to it, like

playing basketball. He gets intensely anxious again if there is any break in the action, even eating lunch. After the contest he is exhausted, recuperating in a few days. The game can go flat especially if the opponent uses a strategy he does not like, or if he is beaten. Losing is especially distasteful when it is not a result of the opponent's skill, but of the helplessness of the situation, as when a surprise comes up which assures his loss. When the end is already known it is hard to keep playing, and it is frustrating to trudge through the rest of the game powerlessly.

He is free to choose the jobs he prefers, and the work includes travel, investigation, pretrial interviews, establishing rapport with witnesses, and gathering information. Each job is long and often complex, and he enjoys the varied general learning of becoming familiar with the details of a situation, often by active physical participation in it. He is concerned about becoming enmired in a specialty.

He is also worried about becoming a workoholic because he likes his work so much, and he wants to maintain his block of recreation time apart from work. He stays busy with recreation, which helps him keep his head on. He has a flexible regimen of different athletics which provide a physical outlet that makes him feel better. He and his

wife socialize regularly with friends on weekends, having dinner, traveling, and going out to mountains and a lake where they have a boat.

This man has had a longstanding interest in politics and legal work, but it is an ambivalent second choice after being a Catholic priest. As a sixties activist he saw the power of the law to get things done, and he was frustrated as a priest within the church structure, where he felt powerless. Now he has the tools to fight for changes he wants. He also disliked celibacy, and found law school much more satisfying. He learned that he can always change and need not be locked into work he dislikes by commitments and inertia. His values have changed from religion and social change to ethical principles of honesty and fairness, improving existing structures so they work better. He tries with the utmost effort to uphold principles of integrity against compromise. He feels frustrated and impotent when things are wasteful and do not work, or work too slowly, so that people are treated unfairly. He is also uncomfortable with the abstract and ambiguous nature of his work. The elements of his life are woven into a fabric of flexible and unstructured interrelationships. He comes from a large, competitive family with many brothers, and when they gather for family celebrations, they play competitive games so much that their spouses feel excluded and angry. He feels his life is largely organized around competition.

Subject 10: This 42 year old woman is a nursing staff development coordinator at a general hospital. She weaves her vocational activities into various work and leisure pursuits throughout her time schedule, with a great deal of freedom and control over what she does and little differentiation of work and play. She is a nurse doing education of other nurses, of young couples preparing for childbirth and parenthood, and of volunteers in a hospice program. She helps the hospice volunteers help families who are caring for a dying relative at home. She tries to maximize everyone's ability to give what they have to offer to support each other and improve the quality rather than the quantity of time before death. This work is intense and exciting, as people feel comfort and relief in it, and it integrates her own life, her work and play, issues of intimacy and death, and her reasons for being and working. As an educator she helps people get to know each other, each one's different personal story, in an effort to be what they can for each other, as they acknowledge an imminent death and deal with the choice of being together through it. As people talk with her about this in her leisure time, she is excited by their relief, curiosity, and moving closer, because something new is being done. Though new, this approach is tied to the traditional idea of a good death, with togetherness, reconciliation, and leave-taking. She

helps people make the transition to loss through closeness instead of through separation.

She has struggled to accept the frightening challenge of leadership in an initiative that seriously affects others. Her tasks are important and varied, which she enjoys. She feels the fear of the unknown holds people back, and learning what they can do to contribute permits greater mastery. The formality of mystified, idealized medical approaches makes people feel inferior and inadequate.

She had twins towards the end of a decade of full-time motherhood, and raising them was physically and emotionally overwhelming. She felt guilty that it was selfish for a mother to have a career, but she ambivalently decided to pursue nursing, and her family adapted to the change and supported her decision. She felt she could wait no longer to begin a career, and chose a faster but less prestigious nursing school program. However she had an intense drive to do well at it.

This woman has extensive conversations with her husband, and they both have a sense of mutual self-awareness and making decisions together. They are conscious of a need to celebrate, with which they have difficulty and are too formal. They overworked for 12 years without a vacation, and then their first vacation was a great joy.

Now they try to set aside more time to do things for themselves. They enjoy big, complicated family projects, like spending a year in Italy, which was a difficult but joyous family adventure to learn a new place other than home. Before going to Italy they did white-water canoeing, with varying degrees of enjoyment among family members. Her husband organizes the fun family activities, like sailing, camping, and traveling. They stretch their resources in order to travel because it is very beneficial to all of them and they treasure it. They had a particular tablecloth in their cramped quarters in Italy, and recently as they sat around a table set with that tablecloth, her son said it brings them together. His awareness of that is worth a lot to her. In Italy they all became better able to move towards and away from the group within a structure of family communication and rules, and there was more autonomous play. Only now, free of their children, she and her husband have more leisure alone, and the resources to enjoy movies and dinners out as a couple, even long trips, albeit with the justification of her husband's professional activities.

The most important thing to her is integration within herself, and in relation to people, to her heritage, and to her progeny. She wants to be consistent and united within herself despite life's complexities and lack of absolutes. She gets a better feeling about who she is and

what is happening in her life when everything begins to mesh in her thinking and flow one into the other, back and forth. There was a time when she would be upset and full of self-condemnation if her house was a mess. Now she tolerates it as a part of life that can be mastered with a time-limited effort to clean up and contained conflict with others in the family, and then they can go on to something else. Now she strives to know that she likes who she is, which makes imperfections in her role performance O.K. She used to feel inadequate, but growth, schooling, and a career have developed her mastery as well as a healthier awareness of her own mind and capacity to make a unique contribution to her family and to a wider group. Though she now has a guilt-free positive self-image, it varies from a clear sense of herself to a jumbled soup of doubts, but she is more able to figure things out and get beyond the chaos. Her profession frees her to fight the battles she wants, through meaningful work about nurturance and interpersonal caring. Integration and understanding come through extensive discussion and struggle with other people, especially her husband.

Subject 11: This 38 year old woman is a yoga teacher. She sees her work as transpersonal education, in which she provides people with an environment which frees them to go beyond themselves to richer relationships with the people

and world around them. She tries to get people to shift their focus and perceive reality in broader, more creative, balanced perspective. She does this by playfully interacting in a way that imitates the other person while also including aspects of herself that tend to shift the other person. This goes beyond formally teaching yoga, to an unstructured presence of this work throughout her daily life. This is especially helpful for people who work hard and take themselves very seriously, because it gives them a liberating change of pace. She is not attached to a role or an identity. But this disidentification is hard work for her because it means she gets nothing out of her work, she is not recognized for it, and this is an inherent frustration. Her frustration and pain can become intense, and her feelings shift, she feels herself dying and being reborn into more honest, realistic awareness of and modest control over herself and the world. She feels authentic play is hard work because it requires honestly confronting oneself. But coming alive this way and really playing the game and taking it seriously paradoxically requires dying in the sense that one's whole identity cannot lay in one's role as a player. This giving up the need for self-importance is part of her own work, as she tries to be playful with her role instead of defending it, so she can be herself more fully and completely.

More than anything, she values myth, which orients her, and justice. She does her work to bring greater justice and freedom to people's lives through myth. She rejected her earlier conventional lifestyle as a suburban housewife in the sixties. This discontent and change came when she nearly lost her eyesight due to detached retinas, and her work as an artist was threatened. Her old life was destroyed and she was left with intense unstructured energy. She became more serious, but more playful about her activities as a wife and mother. She looked for a new myth by trying many religions unsuccessfully, and then she became a yogi, but she is not truly Eastern and remains disoriented, without a structure or home. In this disorientation she suffers, but her pain opens her to a feeling of belonging to the family of mankind, and she strives to create a universal myth. She pieced together fragments of myths that transported her, gave her relief from trauma, freedom to be honest with herself, and perspective, so that she could cope with her life.

But rather than defend the static role of myth maker, she is deconstructing it, she doesn't know where she is, and she feels uncomfortable, frustrated, frightened, excited, and full of energy, to the point of needing little sleep. She anticipates a cycle of structuring, then deconstructing and using the resulting energy to make a new structure,

always moving. She is playful with modes of being in the world, and only a few people can tolerate her inconsistency.

Fun for her is deconstructing. She doesn't like conventional recreation, and only does it for the sake of being part of her family. Fun for her is deconstructing her mode of moving, and being with someone who moves in a different mode, learning to move with that person, physically and mentally. This can get touchy, and being married, it is often more a mental imitation and learning, or physical dance, athletics, or yoga. She experiments with movement, abandoning the imitation unless it gives her full enough expression of herself, trying different myths like different clothes, to see how they fit her.

She is tempted to join social activist movements, but she sees her role more as facilitating the work of other activists by being playful with them. She is in graduate school doing serious research and writing on social issues, trying to pull together what she has learned and do something real with it. By knowing them well, she strives to help people and the world move more the way they want to. Things fit together when she does not try to make them fit around a center, but just lets it happen, like a kaleidoscope. Though research is dull and tedious, as long as she does not do it to please herself or someone else, she can dig out details, and instead of trying to do

something with them, look at them in awe and wonder. Then the pieces come together if she cares enough and is sensitive enough to what she is trying to fix, to society and people. Her frustration and suffering open her so that insights jump out of the data. This process is exciting, scary and depressing in changing patterns of feelings.

This woman feels that having let go of her old career has made her more playful, more modest and able to take herself out of the center and accept her own limits, more flexible and able to change. In yoga she teaches flexibility. She feels play is erotic, moving intimately with other than oneself, bringing difference together and breaking out of an isolated mode. She feels a sexual element in the excitement of being actively involved and losing herself in her work. This kind of good eroticism is full engagement rather than manipulation or control.

Subject 12: This 45 year old woman is the director of a continuing education program for professionals in aging and mental health. Her program provides statewide workshops and conferences. As the geriatric coordinator of a psychiatric hospital, she saw the great need for professional training in this area. She had an opportunity to write a federal training grant which the government funded, leading to her current job. She is trained as an administrative social worker. She has developed a broad base of community

support by working with local planning committees to tailor her program to the educational needs of its audience. Much of her work is planning, contacting resource people, determining content, and arranging logistics for large conferences. She is limited by time and money, but the program is expanding and has great potential. She works long hours and finds it exciting, gratifying, and exhausting. Dealing with the slow state bureaucracy is unpleasant for her, and she wants to restructure her job with a different funding source after her present grant expires. She finds it frustrating when things are disorganized or do not work well, but she feels these problems should be expected and simply kept to a minimum.

Her work is a challenge. She got her Master's 18 years after leaving college, and she discovered her specialty in graduate school. More than college, this training was tremendously intriguing and stimulating for her. It was fun and enjoyable, as well as important, as it opened up a whole new world for her. She enjoys working with old people, and they respond very positively. She also likes developing new things. Coordinating her work with her family life is also a challenge, as she has to work around three other people's schedules, especially for job related travel. This can be worked out because her family is committed to supporting each other's activities. She takes paperwork

home, but family activities come first, and she chooses times when they are not happening to work. Her father, a minister, worked with people, as did she before and after raising her children. She also enjoyed full-time motherhood, but when she discovered social work after her children were grown, she wanted to work. She enjoys social work even in frustrating settings, because she enjoys contact with people.

This woman enjoys doing many things for fun. She goes fishing and camping in the mountains with her family. She and her husband have a number of close friends from church, and they like to socialize, dine out, and explore new exciting things together. She and her husband attend theatre, art, music and sports events, especially those in which their children participate. She gardens, and putters away at many things. She loves to plant flowers in Spring and watch them grow.

The most important thing in her life is the church and a related commitment to social issues. She has strong feelings about the church and is active in it. She finds it stimulating and accepting of herself and others. Her family is very important to her, and her work is also important because it allows her to develop as a person apart from her family and other things. But it is not really separate because one grows out of the other.

Encouraging each other's individual growth is important to her family in today's changing times.

Everything she does is an extension of herself, and she enjoys what she is doing and feels whole, so her life fits together. She can imagine enjoying a life of rearing her family and doing church work without having a professional job, but she would not enjoy working a job without having her role in her family and church. Her family is important as a basic nurturing thing. She really enjoyed her time with her children when they were young and did not want to work then. When the children grew older she wanted to work. In a sense her work is play, but it could not be the only play for her. She needs the other forms of play to get away from work and have a total break and separation. She does not have enough time to do everything she enjoys, and she looks forward to more play activities when she retires. But in retirement she will also miss her work and will probably substitute some volunteer work for it. At that stage she also looks forward to having more time with her husband to travel and to do more together. However she does do a lot of playing along with her working, such as creating an educational simulation game, and she enjoys it.

Data Analysis

The goal of this data analysis is to extract prominent, meaningful patterns within the unstructured data. The

analysis is basically a reorganized summary of the data. The richness of the data easily lends itself to interpretations and inferences which can become confusing and of questionable empirical validity. To avoid this problem, this analysis will stay as close as possible to the data, taking it at face value, and resisting the temptation to read between the lines. Such an approach does not lend itself to understanding the deeper layers of the subjects' hidden internal experience. Instead the focus will be on the subjects' perceptions of themselves and their experience, especially their perceptions of the situations within which they live and the actions which they initiate in relation to different situations. The emphasis will be on actions and their emotional meaning to subjects.

In approaching the data to find basic patterns within it, it is useful to bear in mind Maslow's hierarchy of needs which underlie the individual's adaptation to his world. Physiological needs precede, and are adaptationally more important than the need for personal growth. In the relationship between work and play, the priority of physiological needs is reflected in the priority of work, which provides sustenance, over play, which is more related to personal growth and fulfillment. Therefore it seems appropriate to begin analyzing the data by focusing on the experience of work. After summarizing commonalities and

contrasts in the subjects' work experiences, especially their feelings connected with working, patterns of action by which subjects change the nature of their work experience will be examined. Actions which change work experience will first be looked at in terms of the basic division within the original sample selection, namely the contrast between the subjects who made radical career changes and those who did not. After looking at the process of radical career change, more pervasive, microscopic vicissitudes of work experience will be examined with emphasis on the relationship between work and play activities.

Taking an overview of the feelings which all of the subjects expressed in connection with their present day work, the subjects can be divided into four broad categories or subgroups. Each subgroup will be designated by a letter as follows: Subjects 7 and 8 (Subgroup A), Subjects 1, 2 and 12 (Subgroup B), Subjects 3, 6, 9, 10 and 11 (Subgroup C), and Subjects 4 and 5 (Subgroup D).

Subjects 7 and 8 (Subgroup A) expressed predominantly positive feelings about their work, which they described in very gratifying terms. Moderately negative feelings played a secondary part in financial areas such as Subject 7's occasional pangs of envy at the wealth of others due to financial sacrifices he made for his career, and Subject 8's occasional concern about fluctuations in his income.

Subjects 1, 2 and 12 (Subgroup B) also expressed significant positive feelings, however, they also expressed awareness of drawbacks, limitations and moderate frustrations in their work. Their feelings seemed mixed but not severely so, ranging from quite strong gratification, to feeling somewhat hampered by the constraints of their work situations. However this group of subjects did not seem especially upset by frustrations in their work, which they seemed to accept rather calmly. The most intensely negative image from this group was Subject 1's report that sometimes he feels emotionally damaged by certain aspects of his work, however, he saw this as a temporary, reversible experience which did not appear to upset or alarm him. Subjects 2 and 12 reported annoying bureaucratic aspects of their jobs, but they both described strategies they used to reduce bureaucratic tasks, and accepted such annoyances as a given of their work situations, without feeling any major negative emotional impact from those areas.

Subjects 3, 6, 9, 10 and 11 (Subgroup C) also expressed a mixture of feelings about their work, but within a much wider range. They all expressed intense gratification from aspects of their work, but they also expressed negative feelings which could not be written off as minor. These negative features of their work lives seemed at times to be moderately, but significantly upsetting, troubling, or

painful to this group. Though he spoke only briefly of it, in addition to Subject 3's account of his job in exciting and gratifying terms, he also reported being driven by a persistent fear that he might be seen as lazy. Subject 3 also described rather troubling work experiences involving his exposure to human tragedies which he could deal with pragmatically, but which were rather upsetting to him.

Subject 6 derived great joy from the artistic expression inherent in her work as a musician, but she also described rather intense anxieties and other negative feelings which appeared periodically in the routines of her work life.

Subject 9 also expressed intense gratification from certain aspects of his work, but the most exciting events in his job were preceded by brief episodes of severe preparatory anxiety, to the point of decreasing his sleep. Subject 10 expressed intense, interwoven, rather subtle feelings which are difficult to categorize, however, her very positive feelings about her job emerged clearly. More ambiguous is the theme of pain and loss which is woven into her work with the dying, but which she seemed largely to reframe into positive terms of intimacy and closeness. She was not included in the preceding subgroup because she did not seem to write off the painful side of her work as a secondary or minor feature within the background context of her job.

Rather, she seemed intensely involved with painful issues,

including her own painful feelings, as a central part of her work. Subject 11 is also a slightly atypical member of this group, towards the opposite boundary of the inclusionary criteria. She described intense joy as well as intense pain within her work life. Although painful emotions were prominent in her work, she was not included in the next group, in which strong negative feelings form a major part of work life, because she seemed to integrate painful feelings within a pattern of work activity which brought the pain under her control and contained it within a predictable cycle in which the pain was present only temporarily, and then reliably followed by more positive feelings.

Subjects 4 and 5 (Subgroup D) reported significant positive feelings about their work, however, they also reported major negative feelings in connection with their work, negative feelings which seemed seriously distressing to them. Subject 4 enjoyed her work when she was successful and effective, but at times she felt overwhelmed by the seemingly never-ending stressful demands of her job. She also reported a recent "slump" in which she felt significantly depressed, doubted the value of her work, and seriously questioned her own effectiveness. Subject 5 felt intense overall gratification from her work as a mother, but her capacity to fully enjoy this gratification seemed partially

undercut both by her feeling overstressed and overwhelmed by the exhausting demands of her job, and by her prominent anxiety about the quality of her work and fear that she might not be doing a good enough job.

In summary, the subjects' feelings about work seemed to span a definable range. All subjects had major positive feelings about work, which reflects the selection criteria for the whole sample. All subjects also expressed some negative feelings connected with work, ranging from rather minor negative feelings related to circumscribed monetary issues, to major negative feelings manifested in significant distress within the work experience. Although the subjects' different admixtures of feelings presumably vary along one or more continua, it is possible to roughly divide the sample into four subgroups. Subgroup A (Subjects 7 and 8) expressed intense gratification and predominantly positive feelings about their work, with minor, circumscribed negative feelings connected with level of income. Subgroup B (Subjects 1, 2 and 12) had somewhat more mixed feelings, expressing significant positive feelings, as well as an awareness of moderately negative aspects of their work situations. However they seemed to accept the drawbacks of their jobs without feeling upset or distressed about it. Subgroup C (Subjects 3, 6, 9, 10 and 11) had a particularly wide range of emotions connected with work, expressing

intense gratification, as well as significant, but contained and controlled negative feelings within their work life.

Subgroup D (Subjects 4 and 5) reported significant positive feelings, but they also expressed major distressing negative feelings about their work. This distress seemed especially related to both feeling overwhelmed by numerous stressful and seemingly endless tasks demanded by the job, and feeling doubt about one's own competence (see Table III).

Beyond the presence of some combination of positive and negative feelings in each subject, in every case feelings varied from positive to negative at different times and in different situations. These changes in feeling were related to patterns of action and experience. Before looking at these day to day patterns, it is helpful to look at larger scale actions which impacted on work related feelings, namely radical career changes.

Half of the total sample, Subjects 7 through 12, made radical changes in their careers of their own volition. In all six of these subjects this change had similar effects on their feelings about work. All but one of these subjects (Subject 12 is the exception) reported major emotional distress related to their work immediately preceding the career change. In every case where it was present, this distress was the basis of the decision that a change of career was desirable, and once the career change

TABLE III

FEELINGS ABOUT WORK

	Subgroup A (Subjects 7 and 8)	Subgroup B (Subjects 1, 2, and 12)	Subgroup C (Subjects 3, 6, 9, 10, and 11)	Subgroup D (Subjects 4 and 5)
Degree of Positive Feelings	Predominant	Significant	Intense	Significant
Degree of Work Gratification	Very gratifying	Quite gratifying, with some draw- backs and limitations	Very gratifying	Very gratifying
Degree of Negative Feelings	Secondary negative feelings about income level	Moderate frustration taken in stride	Controlled but significant nega- tive feelings, in- cluding preparatory anxiety	Major distressing feelings, including feelings of inadequacy
Variability of Feelings	Positive feelings main- tained at a stable plateau	Mixed feelings maintained within a narrow range of variation	Highly variable feelings, fluctuating within a wide range	Variable feelings, with high proportion of negative feelings

was implemented, the distress was radically diminished. In its place was a major increase in positive feelings about work. Thus in five of the six subjects who changed careers, the career change was a successful attempt to modify the work experience in the direction of less negative and more positive feelings. The one exception, Subject 12, reported no major change in her feelings as a result of the career change, and she reported strong positive feelings before and after changing jobs. Thus the data indicate that the process of changing careers had a neutral or positive impact on feelings about work, and in no case did it result in increased negative feelings. None of these subjects regretted the change.

Major career changes are one kind of action which for many subjects significantly increased positive feelings about work. This kind of action consistently has a number of specific features as it appears in the data. For the five subjects who reaped marked emotional benefits from the change, the act of changing jobs seemed in part to consist of leaving a bad situation, moving away from a work experience connected with strong negative feelings. The data for all six subjects indicate that this act of leaving goes beyond the inevitable process in any change where one leaves one thing for another. None of the subjects who changed careers simply switched from one job into another.

In the process of changing, they all went back to school. Five of the six subjects (the exception being Subject 8) left the adult work world entirely in order to attend school full-time during this process. The five who were full-time students also consistently report a striking emotional change which accompanied the schooling period. They all report feelings of intense excitement, freedom, and joy as they pursued studies in which they were all highly invested. Having left work for pay, they worked zealously as students without pay, but with major play elements. They explored new areas and acquired new skills with great delight, while engaging in extensive self-expression and self-discovery. This excitement seemed largely to abate when they returned to the adult work world, but they entered new jobs with greatly enhanced confidence and ability. The fact of their having gone to school may seem trite in and of itself, but the excited, as Subject 7 put it, "liberated" emotional state in which they all pursued their studies is quite particular to them and their job transitions. In changing careers they all went through a transitional process very different from the situations before and after it, in which they worked intensely but playfully to acquire new knowledge and skill, while feeling excited, free, and happy.

Subjects 8 and 10 are exceptions who prove the rule. Though Subject 8 went to school in the process of changing

careers, he went part-time and continued to work for pay full-time. He only mentioned this schooling in passing, and did not express any particular excitement or other intense positive emotion in connection with it. He did, however, engage in another activity at the same time which he described with all of the features of the transitional process found in the other five career changing subjects. He built a house in the woods with his wife. He referred to it as a "dream house" whose construction was an exciting adventure which required a great deal of work, including extensive reading and study to acquire the skills and knowledge necessary for the task. In addition to expressing himself, this project was also one of self-discovery and playful freedom, as he ventured into an area totally unknown to him, "with a certain amount of naivete, but a belief that intellect will conquer all, so why . . . worry"? Though he continued to work at a normal job during this period, the house was built in an isolated area far from the urban environment in which he worked. Cutting down trees was radically separate from the profession by which he earned his living, and in building the house he clearly moved away from and left his adult work life, albeit only on an intermittent basis. Subject 10 had a similarly neutral second schooling, but she left her world radically by going on a year long family adventure to Italy, in which she

joyfully and busily explored new aspects of herself and ways of being with her family.

In summary, changing careers tended to increase these subjects' positive feelings about work. The action they took to change their work experience for the better followed a consistent pattern in which subjects left their initial careers to enter a transitional process. This transitional process, usually schooling, was separate from the usual work world and characterized by playfulness, excitement, freedom, and joy but also intense investment in exploration and the acquisition of new knowledge and skills. After the transition period, their excitement subsided somewhat and they re-entered the normal adult work world, with new and generally more gratifying jobs. These changes were major developmental events spanning years of the subjects' lives (see Table IV).

There are also much smaller shifts of feeling among all the subjects on a day to day basis, and the data indicate that differences in the nature of these emotional vicissitudes are associated with differences in patterns of experience and action, including patterns of work and play activity. Having already divided the entire sample into Subgroups A, B, C and D based on differences in current feelings about work, it is possible to discriminate differences in day to day action patterns and work-play relationships which also characterize

TABLE IV
ACTION PATTERNS AND MAJOR LIFE TRANSITION IN THE CAREER CHANGE GROUP

Subject	Initial Career Experience	Transitional Experience	New Career Experience
7	Decreasing fulfillment as corporate executive and increasing feelings of dependence, powerlessness, and self-imposed limitation.	Unclear sense of direction, but feeling liberated and excited, as college student discovering new career.	Diverse clinical psychology career gradually narrowing to tasks which feel the most enjoyable.
8	Uncomfortably ambiguous and socially complex role as rural minister.	School de-emphasized, but intense involvement in building log cabin with wife, learning new skills.	Structured and focused work as family therapist, with great freedom, challenge, and enjoyment.
9	Feeling constricted by and in conflict with church authorities as a Catholic priest.	Move to law school felt much more satisfying, with greater social and intellectual freedom.	Freedom and excitement as lawyer, with power to accomplish more in the service of modest moral and personal aims.
10	Feeling overwhelmed, unfulfilled, and inadequate as a wife and mother.	School de-emphasized, but spent year of excitement and new learning with family in Italy.	Greater confidence, freedom, fulfillment, and joy as nurse educator.
11	Housewife and artist disrupted by eye injury and social change of sixties.	Formal yoga training after abortive attempts to join different religions, with exciting outbursts of energy, painful changes, and new learning.	Personally defined teaching of yoga, with intense relatedness to self and others, and extremes of feeling.
12	Wife and mother with major church involvement, not dissatisfied, but wishing to engage in career as children grew older.	Discovered career through intriguing, stimulating, enjoyable graduate studies which opened up a whole new world.	Administrative social work career providing challenge and enjoyable contact with people.

each of the subgroups. Differences in patterns of emotion are associated with differences in patterns of action.

Subgroup A described major play elements within their work and both members of this subgroup at some point described their work as "playing." They had a strong personal investment in their work, which was very important to them. However they were also highly invested in other areas of importance to them, such as family life and religion, which were separate from their work and largely unrelated to it. These areas separate from work also included a wide variety of major enjoyable play elements, such as Subject 7's travel with his wife and Subject 8's jogging with his son. There was no clear prioritizing of one area over another, and it seemed as though their personal investments in work and nonwork areas were of roughly equivalent importance to them. They spoke of their work with confidence and sought challenge in their work. They tended to perceive the final quality of their work as a function of both the nature of the task and the nature of their own actions in relation to it. They tended to modify and adjust both the task and their technique of performing it to maximize their success. Subject 7 spoke of trying many different work tasks, including teaching, counseling, and treating different kinds of patients, and he also tried different techniques of working on each task. He used his experimentation to find both the tasks and the techniques

which felt best to him. Subject 8 described a constant search for new and better technique in the course of doing his job, but he also clearly modified and shifted the nature of the tasks he undertook, in order to match problems to solutions in successful work. For example he redefined his job at the beginning of his interview as "complicating people's lives" rather than "doing psychotherapy," and he mentioned shifting goals and redefining task situations, such as striving for lightheartedness and humor in situations which would ordinarily call for seriousness (see Table V).

One might speculate that this kind of pattern of work and play activity has important emotional implications. Because of their high investment in their work, the subjects in Subgroup A seemed able to derive significant self-esteem from their work. Successful work meant to them that they were good workers, because they saw their own performance as one component of the success. Their seeking of ever more challenge seemed able to increase the self-esteem value of success. Yet the risk of failure which goes with greater challenge did not necessarily threaten their self-esteem, because they had personal investments in alternative activities of equivalent value to them completely separate from their work, thus providing support for their self-esteem in the event of failure in work activities. Thus they could feel good about themselves when they did well

TABLE V
ACTION PATTERNS AND DAY TO DAY CHANGES IN SUBGROUP A

	Subject 7	Subject 8
Play Activity	Play within work of helping people grow. Play outside work including travel with wife and athletics.	Play within work with families. Play outside work including jogging with son, building cabin, parenting, gardening, vacationing with wife.
Personal Investment of Importance and Value	Equally valued religious commitments, family ties, enjoying self, and realizing own potential.	Equally valued religious commitments, family ties, congruently expressing self in work and play.
Mode of Task Mastery	Shifts tasks and modified technique to find the most enjoyable work activities.	Relies heavily on perceptual and intellectual skills to refine technique, but also reframes and redefines tasks to render problems more solvable.
Degree of Confidence and Challenge Seeking	High confidence, moderate to high challenge seeking.	High confidence, moderate to high challenge seeking.

at work without feeling bad about themselves should they fail to do well in work. They could freely play in their work, and they could also play freely outside of their work, deriving enjoyment and positive feelings from both, without exposing themselves to serious emotional risks. The resulting high self-esteem is reflected in their high degree of confidence in themselves as workers, which permitted them to apply themselves fully to their work tasks. They mastered these tasks with a high degree of success. Given this pattern of interacting work, play, and emotion, it is not surprising that the subjects in this subgroup were noted earlier to express intense gratification and predominantly positive feelings about their work, with minor, circumscribed negative feelings about the amount of money they earned. This peculiar appearance of money in the data may be related to a dissonance they experienced between the societal value accorded to them in the form of money, and the higher value they set on themselves as workers given their high self-esteem.

Subgroup B described only minor play elements in their work activity. Though their work was important to them, their most significant personal investment tended to be in other areas separate from and more important to them than work, such as family life. They also described many and varied play activities which they enjoyed, separate from their work activities. Although Subject 2 played cards on

his lunch break and various sports with his colleagues after work, this play activity was sharply separated from working by boundaries of time. This subgroup spoke of work with such confidence that it was almost implicit without being stated. Rather than self-doubt, they expressed frustration with tasks. They tended to see the final quality of their work as a function of the feasibility of the task, with their own competence and adequacy taken for granted. They tended to improve their work by modifying the task rather than modifying their technique of performing it. Subject 1 did this by defining those tasks which were not mastered by his efforts as futile and impossible. He would then do his best to avoid getting entangled in an attempt to master such a task, so even if he was working on it, he would cognitively distance and isolate himself from it. Subject 2 found administrative work unpleasant, so he negotiated his job requirements to minimize such tasks and put a limit on administrative responsibilities which were demanded of him. Subject 12 was annoyed by bureaucratic tasks required by the state, which funds her job, so she planned to arrange a nongovernmental funding source to replace the state funding (see Table VI).

One can speculate that the pattern of work and play activities characteristic of Subgroup B has specific emotional implications. Since these subjects were less

TABLE VI

ACTION PATTERNS AND DAY TO DAY CHANGES IN SUBGROUP B

	Subject 1	Subject 2	Subject 12
Play Activity	Exhilaration sometimes at work when very successful, otherwise play separate from work, including bridge, movies, and gardening.	Play separate from work, including sports, games, manual labor, and car racing.	Enjoyment and limited play within work, primary play separate from work, including sports, socializing, and cultural events with family.
Personal Investment of Importance and Value	Primary value placed on family.	Primary value placed on family and community, which include commitments to fairness and work ethic.	Primary value placed on commitments to church and family.
Mode of Task Mastery	Implicit awareness and use of technique, but failure seen as residing in futility of task, not inadequacy of technique.	Uses intellect to figure out and execute solutions to problems, but organizes jobs around avoiding onerous tasks.	Uses planning and interpersonal contact to organize work tasks, with flexible redefinition of task to avoid problems, such as bureaucracy.
Degree of Confidence and Challenge Seeking	Confidence so high as to be implicit, but limited challenge seeking.	Confidence so high as to be implicit, but limited challenge seeking at work, with high challenge seeking in some play areas.	Confidence so high as to be implicit, with moderate challenge seeking.

invested in work than in areas more important to them outside of work, their self-esteem was not strongly affected by successes or failures in their work tasks. Their self-esteem was maintained by activities, including play, which they valued outside of work. These activities were gratifying, their self-esteem was high, and they seemed confident of their value as workers. This less invested approach to work permitted them to weather work frustrations without feeling distressed and they were able to perform effectively in this calm work atmosphere. Although their modification of work tasks to some extent improved their work and made it more gratifying to them, they were not able to modify their work to the extent of removing all of its negative qualities. However they seemed to accept the remaining frustrations and annoying aspects of their work without feeling upset. The best example of this is the most extreme, Subject 1's feeling emotionally damaged by his most futile work tasks. However he did not seem alarmed by this emotional damage, probably because he saw it as temporary and reversible. He was able to reverse it by spending a short time with his own healthy children after he left work for the day and returned home. This example illustrates a pattern which seems generally true in this subgroup. Negative aspects of work can be counteracted through activity, often rich in play, which is quite

separate from work and associated with very positive feelings. These subjects are able to work effectively without being upset by negative aspects of their work because they have other separate areas of action which are their main source of self-esteem and good feelings, providing an "escape route" from problems at work, and protecting them from the emotional risk of failing to master work tasks. They do not much seem to experience problems at work or failure at work tasks as a reflection on themselves. This pattern fits coherently into the subgroup's overall work related emotions, summarized earlier as mixed feelings, with significantly positive feelings, as well as an awareness of moderately negative aspects of their work situations which were taken in stride.

Subgroup C described major play elements in their work. They were highly invested in their work, which was interconnected with the most important things in their lives. Subject 3 likened the rapid coordination of his many work tasks to playing in athletic competition, and linked his work life to spiritual beliefs of central importance to him. Subject 6 literally played throughout her work as a musician, and this artistic expression was an essential part of her identity. Subject 9 likened his trial work to a good athletic competition, and in addition to competition being a pervasive part of his life, his legal work provided

expression of his basic moral aims. Subject 10's most gratifying play took the form of intimate personal relationships, and intense intimacy was woven through her work with the dying, which manifested the closeness and nurturance toward others which she valued highly in almost every aspect of her life. Subject 11 saw her work as play per se, which was a basic organizing principle in every aspect of her life. These subjects also reported play activities in addition to those within their work. They were all successful in their jobs, and sought a high degree of challenge. Though confident and self-assured overall, they were most securely confident when their work went well, and tended to feel some self-doubt and anxiety whenever their success was in question. Subject 3 worried about not seeming lazy, Subjects 6 and 9 experienced major preparatory anxiety, Subject 10 at times questioned the sense and value in what she was doing, and Subject 11 experienced intense pain in the process of creating new work. These subjects seemed to see the final quality of their work as a function of their own competence and ability, despite the fact that they all engaged in extremely difficult and challenging work tasks. They tended to improve their work by modifying and refining their technique, in an effort to improve their performance, rather than modifying or lessening the task (see Table VII).

TABLE VII

ACTION PATTERNS AND DAY TO DAY CHANGES IN SUBGROUP C

	Subject 3	Subject 6	Subject 9	Subject 10	Subject 11
Play Activity	Play within news work at times, and separate from work, including music, film, and meditation.	Play permeates work as pianist, with additional play outside work including sports, cooking, art, and yoga.	Play within legal work, shading into play separate from work including athletics and social life with wife.	Play within work as nurse and woven into social and family life separate from work.	Play merged with work, with only trivial play in family context separate from self-defined work as yogi.
Personal Investment of Importance and Value	Primary religious commitment which includes work and ambition to excel.	Primary value placed on finding pleasure with people, including self-expression through work as performer.	Primary value placed on ethics of fairness and integrity which are manifested in work ambitions.	Primary commitment to integration with in herself and in relation to others, traditions, and family, including work.	Primary value placed on freedom, justice, and interpersonal involvement through myth, which is part of work
Mode of Task Mastery	Perfection of technique through scrupulous correction of errors.	Perfection of technique through imitation, coaching, and careful perception of work.	Some choosing of preferred tasks, but mostly perfection of skill through practice, careful preparation, and imitation.	Some choosing of preferred tasks, but largely development of ability by forcing self to face and master challenges.	Flexible choosing of tasks, but primary focus on development of capacities within self and learning new modes of being.
Degree of Confidence and Challenge Seeking	High confidence, high challenge seeking.	High confidence, but preparatory anxiety, with high challenge seeking.	High confidence, but preparatory anxiety, with high challenge seeking.	Highly variable confidence, with high challenge seeking.	Highly variable confidence, with high challenge seeking.

The emotional implications which one might infer from Subgroup C's basic pattern of work and play activities revolve around these subjects' tendency to see the results of their work as an important reflection on themselves. Since they were highly invested in work connected with the most important things in their lives, the results of their work were not a matter of indifference. Major aspects of their self-esteem were based on their work, so they experienced intense joy when their work went well, and they felt strong negative feelings when their work came up short. They tended to experience something wrong with their work as something wrong with themselves. If they failed in their work, they could feel like failures. At times they felt distress, but their basic mode of dealing with their work life was to avoid failure by performing well, being extremely productive, and succeeding to the point of public recognition. Their high level of achievement still did not preclude negative feelings, and they all spoke of techniques they employed to reduce anxiety and control negative feelings. These methods of managing distress tended to draw on resources outside of their work, such as talking to a spouse, physical exercise, and disentanglement through meditation. Consistent with this pattern of work and play activity, the work related feelings of this subgroup were summarized earlier as a wide range of emotions, with

intense gratification as well as significant, but contained and controlled negative feelings.

Subgroup D described less overall play than the other subgroups. The subjects in this subgroup reported some play elements in their work, play elements which were significant to them but relatively rare. They also valued and enjoyed play outside of work. They were centrally invested in their work which was closely intertwined with the most important things to them in their lives. Subject 4 saw her work as an expression of both her spiritual beliefs and her pervasive tendency to try to "save the world." She sometimes enjoyed joking and horseplay with her colleagues, but her enjoyment of "contemplative leisure" such as camping and meditating was more important to her, and she did not see herself doing or enjoying much play in the usual sense. As a mother, Subject 5 saw her son as the most important aspect of her life. Although she often played with him, she only occasionally had the time and energy to enjoy this as true play, beyond its pragmatic use within her work. She reported a major curtailment of her play activity outside work. These subjects described their jobs as aggregates of a vast number of component tasks which could never be all completed. Though at times highly gratifying, they often found their work stressful, overwhelming, and draining. Though confident at times, their confidence was relatively insecure and vulnerable to major

doubts and anxieties about their adequacy. They seemed to see the final quality of their work as a function of their own competence, and they tended to accept their work tasks as legitimate demands necessitated by the extreme dependence of others. They tended to improve their work by modifying their technique to improve their skill and ability, and they seem at first glance to modify the task to make it more manageable. However they only modified component tasks by prioritizing them in a form of triage. They did not modify the overall task, and seemed to perceive themselves as having little control over the nature of the task, with limited legitimate rights to redefine what basically had to be done (see Table VIII).

One might speculate that Subgroup D's pattern of work and play activity had emotional implications based on these subjects' apparent perception of their work results as a key reflection on themselves, to the point of figuring significantly in their definition of themselves. Their self-esteem to a large extent seemed to revolve around their work, so that work success was deeply meaningful and gratifying, and failure was highly distressing. They tended to internalize the problems inherent in their difficult jobs as failure and inadequacy within themselves. It sometimes tended to be impossible for them to live up to their own standards of work performance, and in order to deal with the negative emotional fallout of this configuration

TABLE VIII

ACTION PATTERNS AND DAY TO DAY CHANGES IN SUBGROUP D

	Subject 4	Subject 5
Play Activity	Constricted, with some horseplay at work, and contemplative leisure separate from work, including camping and meditation.	Constricted, but some play with son in work as mother, and tentatively separate from work, including crafts which serve domestic functions, and tennis which is shared with maternal duties.
Personal Investment of Importance and Value	Primary value placed on spirituality, finding common ground with others, and self-expression, with fantasy of saving the world expressed in work.	Primary commitment to son and family, which are focus of work.
Mode of Task Mastery	Development of interpersonal skills through practice, with no major discretionary shifts of tasks, which are owned as responsibilities.	Development of skills through practice and reading, with no modification of task, for which sole responsibility is assumed.
Degree of Confidence and Challenge Seeking	Often confident, but with major feelings of failure at times, and challenge seeking to the point of overwhelming self with work.	Fragile confidence with major self-doubt, and challenge seeking to the point of seeing overwhelming tasks as legitimate demands on self.

they tended to try to disengage and separate themselves from their work. Subject 4 used her spiritual beliefs and contemplative leisure to try to put emotional distance between herself and her work. Subject 5 struggled to find time for herself, separate from her job. As summarized earlier, despite their significant positive feelings about their work, the subjects in this subgroup also reported major distressing negative feelings.

Conclusions

The subjects in this study cannot be said to epitomize any theoretical ideal of health. A clinical analysis of their protocols could easily demonstrate various forms of conflict and psychopathology, albeit mostly of a mild degree, manifested in the interviews. However the focus of this study is health and adaptational strength. All of these subjects met criteria to be labelled as healthy. Since current definitions of emotional health are controversial and unsophisticated, it is arguable that no means exists to operationally define and select a sample more representative of healthy adults. It is equally arguable that any sample of human beings would show pathological features similar to those manifested in the subjects of this study. To the extent that this study contributes toward a clearer definition of adult psychological health, these considerations lead to the basic conclusion that total and comprehensive

health is not manifested in the lives of real adults. The degree of an individual's mental health is relative to the health of a reference group of other people, and never perfect. In reality, the romantic ideal of health developed in some of the theoretical literature, such as Maslow's work, does not seem to be reached in the lives of real people. However these ideals do tend to define some of the directions in which healthy people often strive.

The kinds of feelings associated with work are a function of the relationship between work and other areas of life, in terms of the relative degree of personal investment and importance associated with work versus other areas of life, the extent to which self-esteem is derived from work versus other areas, the degree of linkage versus separation between work and other areas, and the nature of shifts in activity from work to other areas. The degree of investment and importance is directly related to the maintenance of self-esteem. Self-esteem tends to be derived from activities associated with the highest degree of relative importance and personal investment. The degree of linkage versus separation between work and other areas is related to the shifts in activity between work and other areas. The more separation, the more impact is produced by a shift in activity from work to another area.

The greater a subject's relative degree of personal investment, sense of importance, and derivation of self-esteem associated with work, the more intense are that subject's feelings about work, and the greater is that subject's tendency to see the results of his work as a reflection of himself and to modify his technique to improve task mastery. The more separation a subject establishes between work and other areas, the more is he able to shift activity to another area which provides an alternate source of self-esteem when work results are ungratifying, and the greater is that subject's tendency to see the results of his work as a reflection on the difficulty of the task, and to modify the task to improve task mastery. Subjects tend to play more and feel happier in situations associated simultaneously with more personal investment, sense of importance and derivation of self-esteem, in which positive self-esteem is being generated and the attempt to master tasks is succeeding. Subjects tend to play least and feel worst in situations likewise associated with more personal investment, sense of importance, and derivation of self-esteem, but in which negative self-esteem is being generated and the attempt to master tasks is failing.

Putting these findings together, the relationship between work and play can be understood in terms of a

hierarchy of action patterns. Play is associated with contexts of positive feeling, high self-esteem, and a strong sense of personal investment and importance. If a subject has a relatively strong sense of personal investment and importance associated with work, he will tend to work playfully, in an atmosphere of positive feelings and high self-esteem when work tasks are mastered successfully. However under these circumstances the subject will also experience anxiety and other negative feelings, low self-esteem, and an unplayful work modality whenever work tasks are not being successfully mastered. Subjects deal with this situation through a number of action patterns. Work can be sharply separated from other areas of life, and instead of being associated with work, the primary sense of personal investment and importance can be associated with another area separate from work, as in Subgroup B. In this case, the subject is able to shift from work to the other separate area in which he can play and experience positive feelings and high self-esteem regardless of failure to master work tasks. The subject can improve the work situation somewhat by modifying the task, and he can work confidently and accept problematic aspects of work with emotional neutrality, but the degree of play and positive feelings associated with work will tend to be limited. Another pattern of action, characteristic of Subgroup C, is

based on less separation and more linkage between work and other areas, with a strong sense of personal investment and importance associated with work. When tasks are mastered successfully, work is playful and gratifying, with high self-esteem and positive feelings. Anxiety, negative feelings, and low self-esteem ensue when tasks are not successfully mastered, but this problem can be dealt with by perfecting technique to improve the task mastery which is so important in this action pattern. The inevitable negative feelings which arise periodically are contained by shifting to limited relieving activities separate from work, such as athletics and meditation, which often have play elements. If the primary sense of personal investment and importance is even more tightly associated with work, with little separation between work and other areas, another pattern is possible. In this case, characteristic of Subgroup D, there are only limited action alternatives to avoid the negative emotional consequences of failure. When the task is difficult or impossible to master, the subject experiences major dysphoria and loss of self-esteem. Yet another pattern, exemplified in Subgroup A, combines several of the action alternatives listed so far. There is a strong sense of personal investment and importance associated rather equivalently with both work and other areas of life sharply separated from work. The play, high self-esteem,

and positive feeling associated with successful mastery of personally valued work tasks can continue essentially uninterrupted because action can also be shifted to an alternate source of play and self-esteem when tasks are not being mastered. Also mastery can be maximized by modifying both the task and technique to achieve the most successful combination (see Table IX).

The key action pattern which permits play, positive feeling, and high self-esteem within work is the discretionary shift of action from one highly invested area to another, within a constellation of separate, optionally available action arenas which function as alternate sources of gratification and self-esteem. The primary component of playful, gratifying, productive action is the investment of personal importance in an activity. The differentiation of multiple separate activities invested with equivalent personal importance is the basis for establishing a network of action alternatives which can be used to maintain playfulness, positive feelings, and high self-esteem. This steady positive state is achieved by shifting action to an alternately gratifying area when one area fails to permit gratifying action. This kind of action shift is exemplified in career changes when subjects shift into a playful transitional action arena, such as school, to develop a more gratifying work life.

TABLE IX

INFERRED RELATIONSHIPS BETWEEN ACTION PATTERNS AND CHANGES IN FEELINGS

Subgroup	Action Area of Highest Value	Mode of Maintaining Self-Esteem and Positive Feelings	Mode of Dealing with Failure and Negative Feelings
A	Religion, family, and self-expression, including job, all equally valued.	Refinement of technique, and modification of tasks to maximize success within playful work context; recreational play separate from work.	Minimization of likelihood of failure and discretionary shift to alternate valued action area as source of self-esteem.
B	Family and related communal ties.	Gratifying, playful involvement in intimate family life, with self-assured, relatively unambitious work life.	Minimization of emotional investment in work, attribution of failure to futility of task, and discretionary shift to playful family interaction to replenish self-esteem.
C	Ethics, interpersonal ties, and self-expression, including major work elements.	Refinement of technique in pursuit of high ambitions within playful, highly valued work activity.	Minimization of likelihood of failure through technical skill, shift to minor tension relieving play activities separate from work, such as meditation and running, and direct experiencing of some anxiety and depression.
D	Major moral commitments, such as family and religion, in which work is central.	Singleminded pursuit of highly valued work task in which success reflects great credit on self.	Attempt to escape work stress in tension relieving play, but major direct experience of anxiety, depression, and low self-esteem.

Thus it seems that freedom of choice tends to enhance the playfulness and positive feeling associated with action. Although the demands of survival imposed by the outside world control one's freedom of choice to a large extent, this freedom is also a function of the way a person organizes his action and experience. The intensity of his investment in an activity creates the possibility of deriving gratification from it, and a person's differentiation of distinct arenas which he invests with value can create action alternatives from which he can freely choose. There is a contrast and tension between this mode of shifting among equally valued actions with a multiple perspective, and the single-minded commitment to a project which is intensely pursued with greater passion and joy as well as greater anxiety and pain. Wherever it appears, play embodies at one and the same time the freedom to shift and choose among equally valuable action alternatives as well as the single-minded commitment to one passionately fulfilling, albeit fleeting pursuit.

Just as joy and play go hand in hand, there is an antithesis between play and depression, an antithesis which appears to be related to Winnicott's idea of transitional phenomena. The child creates a present play substitute for the absent mother and thus feels as though she were present while letting go of her, letting go of the sadness at losing

her, and letting go of himself in imaginative play. This letting go often appears in the data, as when subjects report enjoying doing something for its own sake. In doing something for its own sake, a person accepts gratification in the present without mourning losses from the past or worrying about needs for the future. This letting go of depression and anxiety reflects a letting go of the self, especially the self-conscious self cognitively integrated in space and time, concerned with defending the self and promoting the self's best interests in relation to reality. While this cognitive, defensive, self-conscious self is let go of, playing enhances the self's expression of itself and its emotional integration. Playing is a way of being oneself by letting go of oneself and letting oneself go.

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APPENDIX

APPENDIX

Interview Topic Areas and Sample Questions

- I. Demographic data. Samples: Age, sex, marital status, occupation, household composition.
- II. Concrete description of subject's work and its immediate context. Samples: What do you do when you are working? With whom, with what, when, and where do you do it?
- III. Subject's affective reactions to work, especially on the continuum of pleasant to unpleasant. Samples: What is it like to do your work? How do you feel about it? In what ways is your work fun? pleasant? boring? unpleasant?
- IV. Motives for working and for doing so in the manner and occupation which the subject has chosen. Samples: Why do you do the work you do? What makes you do the work you do? What gets in the way of your doing it?
- V. Brief work history, including subject's image of his/her work history and affective reaction to it, such as past regrets and gratifications. Samples: How did you come to do the work you do now? What other kinds of work have you done? What has it been like?
- VI. Concrete patterns and experiences of fun and pleasure, including relaxation and recreation, interests and

their development, as well as use of leisure time and vacations. Samples: What do you do to relax? When do you do those things? What do you do to have fun? When, with whom, and with what do you do those things? What are your most enjoyable activities and experiences? What about them do you enjoy? What interests you the most? How have your interests developed and changed over the years? What do you do in your spare time? What do you do on vacations?

VII. Subject's experience of significance. Samples:

What are the most important things to you? What do you value the most? What are the most important things you do?

VIII. Integration of work and play with each other and into a meaningful whole fabric of life. Samples: How does your work fit into the rest of your life? How do play and recreation fit into your life as a whole? How does play fit into your work life? How does it all fit together?

VITA

Marc Isaac Tonkin was born in Leominster, Massachusetts, on April 24, 1954. He attended elementary schools in that city and graduated from Leominster High School in June 1971. The following September he entered Wesleyan University, and in June 1975, he received a Bachelor of Arts degree in the College of Letters. In the Fall of 1975, he entered the Graduate School of The University of Tennessee.

He undertook an internship in Clinical Psychology in July 1979, at the New York Hospital-Cornell Medical Center, Westchester Division, followed by a predoctoral fellowship in Clinical Psychology in July 1980, at the same institution. He received the Doctor of Philosophy degree with a major in Psychology in June 1981.

Mr. Tonkin will be employed with the Sound Area Clinic of the Westchester Jewish Community Services in New Rochelle, New York, after graduation.