Buddhism at Work: An Analysis of the Impact of Buddhist Concepts and Practices on Western Organisations

By

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Abstract

In recent years there has been a growing interest in the application of concepts and practices that derive from Buddhist thought within organisations in Western nations and this has resulted in an exchange of ideas between Buddhist and Western psychological and organisational scholars and practitioners. The “dialogue” that is now occurring between Buddhist and Western psychological and organisational thought is one means whereby Buddhist thought is being adapted to a new historical and cultural period. The main Buddhist concept and practice that has been applied in organisational settings is mindfulness but the way mindfulness has been understood in the psychological and organisational theory and practice literature diverges from traditional Buddhist accounts of mindfulness. Specifically, the way in which mindfulness has been characterized obscures its relationship to ethical functioning and its role in the development of wisdom and hence may not lead to the transformation that will result in liberation from suffering. Just as Buddhist concepts and practices have been adapted for use in secular and organisational settings, so too is there evidence that Buddhist thought is influencing mainstream psychological and organisational thought and practice. A review of the empirical evidence for the effects of various Buddhist practices and concepts on different aspects of organisational functioning indicates that short-term secularized mindfulness programs have beneficial effects on a wide range of mental health issues and well-being outcomes. However, in terms of overall and future contributions, it is concluded that as the account of mindfulness in the mainstream organisational literature is less than complete in comparison to traditional Buddhist accounts, the potential benefits of mindfulness as an intervention and as a theoretical account that can inform psychological and organisational theory and practice may be limited.
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Bibliography
Notes on translations and academic style

The present study follows academic referencing and style guide of the American Psychological Association (American Psychological Association, 2010, *Publication Manual of American Psychological Association, 6th ed.*, Washington, DC.). In keeping with academic conventions in this area, diacritical marks have been omitted. Buddhist technical terms have been rendered in Pali, unless otherwise indicated.
Chapter 1: Introduction

1.1. Overview

Over its 2500 year history Buddhism has shown an ability to adapt itself to changing times and different cultural contexts. In turn, Buddhism has influenced the societies within which it has taken root. All Buddhist traditions from many Asian countries are now represented in many Western countries such as North America, England and Australia. Evidence indicates that new forms of Buddhism are emerging in these Western countries and that Buddhist thought and practices are influencing many spheres of everyday life, including healthcare, education, and work.

One area in which this influence is being exhibited in recent years is in the growing interest in the application of concepts and practices that derived from Buddhist thought to organisations in Western nations. Due mainly to the success of these intervention programs in the healthcare area, a number of organisational scholars and practitioners have argued that Buddhist concepts and practices may have benefits for various aspects of organisational functioning such as leadership development, management, occupational health, and productivity. This has resulted in an exchange of ideas between Buddhist and Western psychological and organisational scholars and practitioners. The application of principles and practices derived from Buddhist thought and the accompanying “dialogue” that is now

5. In this study, the term “psychological” refers to the Western discipline of Psychology; when the term refers to Buddhist psychology or psychological systems, the term “Buddhist psychology” will be used.
occurring between Buddhist and Western psychological and organisational thought is one means whereby Buddhism is both being adapted by and adapting modern Western cultures.

1.2. Aims of the present study

The overall aim of the present study is to examine the interaction between Buddhism and Western culture through an examination of the scholarly literature at the interface of Buddhist and Western psychological and organisational thought and practices. It seeks to answer two main questions. The first question pertains to how Buddhist concepts and practices have been adapted or modified as they have been applied in organisational settings. The second question pertains to how organisational practices and theories have been influenced by Buddhist thought.

Accordingly, the first part of the present study examines the types and forms of Buddhist concepts and practices that are being applied within organisational settings. This takes the form of a review of the Buddhist practices and concepts that are the focus of discussion or evaluation in the scholarly organisational literature on the basis of an electronic search of major business, work and organisational databases (see below for details). As there have been concerns raised regarding the accuracy of Buddhist concepts and practices as they are represented in the psychological and organisational literature, the first part of the present study also examines the extent to which these practices and concepts have fidelity with traditional Buddhist accounts. Issues raised by Buddhist scholars regarding the potential for misapplication of Buddhist concepts and practices are also reviewed.

The second part of the present study examines the influence of Buddhist thought on Western organisational theory and practice. It takes the form of a review of the effects of various Buddhist practices and concepts on different aspects of organisational functioning and an examination of the empirical evidence for these effects. It then considers the overall contributions that Buddhist thought has made to psychological and organisational theory and practice in an effort to assess the extent to which these have been influenced by Buddhist thought.

1.3. Method

Western scholars have examined Buddhism through the lenses of particular academic disciplines, such as philosophy, linguistics, history, and religious studies. Each discipline
focuses on research questions relevant to their specific academic interests and brings to bear the particular research methods of their discipline. The scholarly literature that pertains to the application of Buddhist concepts and practices in Western organisations is largely occurring within the field of Western psychology and is couched in the terminology and research methods of this discipline.

Accordingly the present study has adopted the methods and conventions of academic psychology. It takes the form of a systematic review of the scholarly literature\(^7\) that is relevant to the application of Buddhist concepts and practices to organisations. The unit of analysis is the set of peer-reviewed published studies that have incorporated Buddhist concepts and practices into psychological/organisational theoretical frameworks and/or workplace interventions. Specifically, studies that assessed the effectiveness of a Buddhist intervention were collected from several sources. An electronic search of major business, work and organisational databases was conducted using the search terms “mindfulness,” “mindful,” “mindfulness-based”, “Buddhist”, “Buddhism”, and “Contemplative” in various combinations. The databases searched were Business Source Complete and Pro Quest ABI/Inform. In addition, reference lists of retrieved articles, meta-analyses and reviews were searched for additional publications. Papers identified by the electronic search were screened for inclusion through an examination of the abstract according to a number of criteria. Studies were included if they (i) evaluated the effects of a Buddhist concept or practice; (ii) included participants from working populations; (iii) were conducted in the workplace or with an occupational group; and (iv) used validated scales or measures of organisational outcomes. Studies were excluded if: they used student or trainee samples; addressed general meditation or failed to specify a specific form of Buddhist meditation or concept; or lacked a validated measure of organizational outcomes. The evidence for the effects of Buddhist concepts and practices on organisational functioning was then evaluated using criteria from Western science, relying on an assessment of methodological and theoretical quality.

Second, the present study has adopted a form of critical conceptual analysis that has recently emerged at the interface of Buddhist and Western psychological scholarship in which conceptualisations of Buddhist principles and practices in western psychological scholarly presentations are evaluated through recourse to Buddhist textual and authoritative

sources. As an example, Bodhi critically examined the characterisation of mindfulness appearing in the psychological and medical scholarly literature from a canonical perspective. The present study uses critical analysis to examine the extent to which Buddhist concepts and practices, as they are currently being applied in Western organisations, are consistent with an authentic Buddhist understanding.

1.4. Contributions of the Study

The present study is a contribution to the scholarly literature at the interface of Buddhist and Western psychological thought. In particular, it contributes to the “dialogue” that is emerging between Asian and European-American Buddhist scholars and practitioners and Western researchers, practitioners, and scholars at the interface of healthcare, psychology and organisation studies in several ways. First, despite considerable enthusiasm regarding the benefits of Buddhist concepts and practices to Western corporations expressed in popular forums, the evidence for these benefits remains unclear. The present study addresses the paucity of scholarly literature in this area through conducting a systematic and critical review of the scientific evidence for the benefits to organisations of Buddhist concepts and practices. Second, as Buddhist concepts and practices are becoming more mainstream in western organisational settings, a number of concerns have been raised regarding both the potential for their misunderstanding and misuse; the present study contributes to the literature through evaluating the benefits of Buddhist concepts and practices, not only according to their ability to improve efficiencies in the workplace and to reduce stress, but according to Buddhist-relevant criteria such as the development of virtues conducive to awakening and remedying the causes of suffering at societal and institutional levels. Finally, as the present study examines one means whereby Buddhism is being adapted in Western contexts, it also

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contributes to the scholarly literature in Western Buddhism, a relatively new field of academic study that has as its focus in the ways in which Buddhism is conceived and practiced in western countries. The present study also provides a resource for organisational decision-makers who may be considering applying Buddhist practices or Buddhist-derived practices in their organisations.

Chapter 2: Buddhism in the West

This chapter provides a brief historical and conceptual review of the development of Buddhism in the West, with a particular focus on the relationship between Buddhism and Western psychology. This provides a basis for examining how Buddhist concepts and practices have been understood, incorporated, and evaluated in Western organisational settings.

2.1. The transmission of Buddhism to the West: Modernity, adaptation, and continuity

Over the past two centuries, the interaction between Buddhism and the West has been shaped by a set of European and American values and assumptions that emerged in the eighteenth century Enlightenment. In essence, the European Enlightenment was an intellectual and cultural movement that rejected religious knowledge, particularly Christian knowledge, as culturally relative and adopted advanced rationalism and science as the basis for all true knowledge.

The combination of Buddhist thought and western discourses—termed “Buddhist modernism”—has resulted in the emergence of novel forms of Buddhism that contrast with pre-modern forms in a variety of ways, including an emphasis on rationality and a de-emphasis on ritual and traditional cosmologies. Buddhist modernism began in the nineteenth century as Europeans who came into contact with Buddhism saw it as a highly rational philosophy—one that resonated with humanistic and scientific values and thereby offering a means for reconciling the tensions between religion and science that had emerged in the Western psyche. At the same time, Asian intellectuals influenced by rationalism and scientific thinking adopted this discourse as a form of resistance to European colonisation and attempts by Christian missionaries to convert Buddhists. One of the critical events in the transmission of Buddhism to the West occurred in the 1893 World Parliament of Religions when Anagarika Dharmapala characterized Buddhism as a religion uniquely compatible with modern science.

15. Robinson, Buddhist religions.
This modernising element has continued to influence the interaction between Buddhism and the West. The current Dalai Lama has been instrumental in facilitating a dialogue between Buddhism and western scientific disciplines while at the same time challenging the idea that this must necessarily entail an uncritical adoption of materialistic philosophical assumptions.\(^\text{18}\)

### 2.2. Buddhism and Western psychology

One of the most significant factors in the transmission, interpretation, and adaptation of Buddhism in the West lies in its interaction with the Western discipline of psychology.\(^\text{19}\) The influence of Buddhism on psychotherapy and psychology is a subject that is both complex and extensive, but for current purposes can be summarised in terms of phases of development.\(^\text{20}\) In the early twentieth century the depth psychologists Sigmund Freud and Carl Jung both showed an interest in Buddhist thought and how it might relate to their respective systems of psychotherapy. During this phase, proponents of the (then) dominant school of psychotherapy, Freudian psycho-analysis, regarded the experiences Buddhists described with scepticism or as signs of psychopathology.\(^\text{21}\)

A second major phase involved the transpersonal and humanistic psychologists of the mid-twentieth century who saw in Buddhism and other contemplative traditions a more encompassing vision of human nature and potential.\(^\text{22}\) During this phase a number of concepts, such as “being here and now”, entered the parlance of psychologists and were to have an influence on later developments.\(^\text{23}\) Nonetheless, these schools of psychology remained relatively peripheral to mainstream psychology, and were rarely part of the curriculum in psychological education and training.

It is only in the most recent phase that Buddhism, through mindfulness, has influenced mainstream psychological theorising and practice. There are two streams of psychological/scientific research and practice that have contributed to the current growth of...

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\(^\text{19}\) Western psychology is defined as the scientific study of mind and behaviour (American Psychological Association). It emerged as a distinct discipline in the late nineteenth century by distancing itself from the discipline of philosophy and modelling itself on the methods of the physical sciences.
\(^\text{21}\) Bankart,45–69.
\(^\text{23}\) Dryden, 3–28.
interest in Buddhist concepts and practices among psychological and organisational scholars and practitioners. The first of these was the development in the 1970s of a secular treatment program that was based on a form of mindfulness meditation, and called mindfulness-based stress reduction (MBSR), for use in clinical and healthcare settings. Subsequently, a range of similar interventions were developed for the treatment of wide range of physical and mental health conditions. Collectively, those psychological treatment programs that have mindfulness as a key therapeutic ingredient are referred to as “mindfulness-based interventions” (MBIs). Numerous studies have provided scientific evidence that these programs resulted in beneficial effects for patients and others in the relief pain, stress and distress and in the enhancement of positive functioning.

A second major stream of influence was the emerging evidence from neuroscientific studies that meditation practices could alter brain structure and function. Two specific areas of neuroscientific research and theorising that have been especially important in promoting the importance of mindfulness are the fields of Interpersonal Neurobiology (IPNB), an interdisciplinary field of science which focuses on how the brain and relationships interact to shape our experience, and affective neuroscience, which is the study of neural mechanisms of emotion.

What has emerged are several fields of scientific inquiry concerned with the potential applications of mindfulness to societal secular domains, including healthcare, education,
and workplaces\textsuperscript{33} in what has been called the “mindfulness revolution”\textsuperscript{34} and a “flowering of mindfulness in the West in mainstream professional circles.”\textsuperscript{35} One consequence of this level of interest has been the emergence of a “dialogue” that centres around the concept of mindfulness between, on the one hand, Buddhist scholars and practitioners, and on the other hand, cognitive-behavioural psychology and the healthcare disciplines. This “dialogue” largely takes the form of an exploration of the ways in which Buddhist psychology and philosophy may inform Western psychological models of wellbeing, optimal and positive functioning.\textsuperscript{36} Pursuant to the growth of interest in mindfulness, psychological treatment programs that integrate other Buddhist principles and practices, including compassion, loving kindness, and “non-self” have been also been developed and evaluated.\textsuperscript{37}

\section*{2.3. Western Buddhism}

The growth of interest in Buddhism among psychological and organisational scholars has occurred in the context of a concurrent growth of interest at the societal level. The term “Western Buddhism” refers to those forms of Buddhism that began to emerge in the late twentieth century in Western nations such as North America, Western Europe and Australia.\textsuperscript{38} Much of the research and literature pertains to developments within North America; research in Western Buddhism in the Australian context is largely guided by developments in American scholarship.\textsuperscript{39}

In general Buddhism, as developed in North America, consists of two main types of communities—those born into the tradition of their immigrant parents and those who are

\textsuperscript{38} Prebish, looking West; Prebish, Westward dharma.
\textsuperscript{39} Halafoff, 9-25.
converts to Buddhism and are usually of European descent. Asian immigrant Buddhists tend to maintain the forms and practices, such as ritual and ceremonial practices, of the tradition of their community. For many Asian immigrant Buddhist communities, Buddhism serves an important social function and provides an important means of maintaining ethnic identity. Convert Buddhists, on the other hand, tend to minimize the use of traditional forms and are drawn to the Buddhist traditions that emphasise meditation such as Zen and Vipassana.

The character of Buddhism, as it has arisen in the West, differs from traditional forms in several ways that are more compatible with contemporary Western cultural values. Studies have identified a number of characteristics that differentiate forms of Buddhism developing in the North America and Europe from traditional forms of Asian Buddhism. North American Buddhism is: (i) democratic rather than authoritarian and hierarchical, (ii) plural in its traditions and lineages; (iii) meditation-focused; (iv) lay-oriented rather than monastically oriented, (v) gender-balanced; (vi) secularized, (vii) eclectic in its practices, and (viii) politically and socially engaged.

One of the key features of Western forms of Buddhism is the degree of exchange that occurs between different Buddhist traditions. In North America all the Buddhist traditions from all Asian countries are present at the same time. This has resulted in a degree of exchange of ideas between different Buddhist traditions and non-Buddhist traditions that may not have occurred previously in its history.

2.4. Buddhism at work

In recent years a range of practices and concepts that have their origins in Buddhist thought have made their way into Western organisational settings. In particular, mindfulness

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40. Prebish, looking West.
41. Prebish, looking West.
43. Waller, spectrum of Buddhist practice, 34-50.
as a concept and a practice has been a topic of growing interest to organisational scholars and a range of programs based on mindfulness practices have been incorporated into mainstream organisational training for leaders and managerial personnel. In addition, other Buddhist concepts and practices that have been discussed in relation to organisational functioning include lojong, zen koans, the Four Noble Truths, and impermanence.

The interest in applying mindfulness and other Buddhist concepts and practices in organisational settings is likely to have been influenced by a range of factors such as: (i) the growing scientific evidence for the effectiveness of these interventions in healthcare, (ii) the growing interest in neuroscientific research showing the effects of Buddhist meditation on brain structure and function; (iii) the rapid dissemination of scientific research findings through the internet; (iv) the growing interest in Buddhism as a religion or spiritual discipline in western countries; (v) the growing interest in workplace spirituality more broadly; (vi) complementarities between therapeutic psychology and Buddhist psychology and science more generally; (vii) the secularisation of Buddhist concepts and practices; (viii) particularly visible advocates of these approaches, including prominent organisational scholars and CEO’s; (ix) increased availability of secular and traditional training; and (x) increased availability of traditional textual resources and popular literature.

A wide range of claims have been made regarding the benefits of Buddhist concepts and practices for organisations. For example, it has been argued that Buddhist concepts and practices have a beneficial impact upon various aspects of organisational functioning such as leadership development, collaboration in the workplace, occupational wellbeing, business ethics, and organizational effectiveness. There is also a growing literature aimed


predominantly at practitioners promoting the benefits of mindfulness for aspects of organisational functioning, including leadership development, performance enhancement, learning, team-working, and coaching. The empirical evidence for many of these claims is, however, unclear.

Chapter 3: Buddhist concepts and practices in the workplace

In this chapter the Buddhist concepts and practices and their derivatives that have been addressed in scholarly organisational literature are reviewed in comparison to how they are understood in traditional Buddhist accounts. This chapter begins with a review of mindfulness, and then examines other Buddhist concepts and practices that have been addressed in the organisational literature.

3.1. Mindfulness

3.1.1. Traditional mindfulness

Mindfulness (sati) has been described as the “heart of Buddhist meditation”\textsuperscript{51} and the practice of mindfulness was purportedly called by the Buddha “the direct path to enlightenment.”\textsuperscript{52} Throughout Buddhist history, mindfulness has been viewed in different and even conflicting ways.\textsuperscript{53} For example, Wallace describes how the precise meaning of right mindfulness varies across the three main Buddhist traditions depending on how right view and right intention are understood.\textsuperscript{54} In Theravāda Buddhism, right view refers to the understanding of suffering, impermanence, and non-self; right intention is the motivation to seek full liberation from the afflictions that cause suffering, based on the recognition of suffering and its causes. In Mahāyāna Buddhism, it refers to emptiness, dependent origination, and Buddha-nature; right intention is the motivation to achieve enlightenment for the sake of all sentient beings. In the Vajrayāna tradition, right view refers to the perception of all phenomena as the expression of primordial consciousness; right intention is the motivation to seek enlightenment as quickly as possible for the sake of all sentient beings. For the purposes of the present study, classical Theravāda sources have mainly been used to provide an account of how mindfulness is understood in traditional Buddhist accounts.\textsuperscript{55}

Sati is generally understood to be a particular faculty\textsuperscript{56} that is capable of being strengthened or developed, through specific meditative practices, most notably expounded in

\textsuperscript{55} Wallace, mindful balance, 60–63, 109–11.
the Satipaṭṭhāna Sutta and the Ānāpānasati Sutta, in which breath awareness is held to constitute a complete system of liberation from affliction to liberation.\textsuperscript{57} There are two main meanings of the term “sati” in the early textual sources: “remembrance” and “awareness of the present moment.”\textsuperscript{58} These two meanings are reflected in the terms used in the Abhidhamma literature to illustrate the meaning of sati: “recollection” or “calling to mind” (anussati), “recall” (paṭissati), “remembrance” (saraṇatā), “keeping in mind” (dhāraṇatā), “absence of floating” (apilāpanatā), and “absence of forgetfulness” (asammussanatā).\textsuperscript{59}

However, on the basis of his translation of the AbhidhammathaSaṅgaha and other canonical texts, Bodhi (2000, 2011) argues that while the word sati primarily denotes “recollection”, it is in actuality a mental factor that is best described as “lucid awareness” and signifies the capacity for attending to the content of experience as it arises in the immediate present.\textsuperscript{60} The AbhidhammathaSaṅgaha describes mindfulness in terms of “presence of mind”, and “attentiveness to the present”; with the characteristic of “not wobbling” (i.e., not floating away from the object); the function of “absence of confusion” (or non-forgetfulness); the manifestation as “guardianship”, (i.e., a state of confronting an objective field); and the proximate cause as a strong perception of the four establishments of mindfulness (i.e., body, feeling, consciousness, mental objects).\textsuperscript{61}

Similarly, in the commentarial literature, Buddhaghosa writes that mindfulness’s characteristic is “…not wobbling … [whose] function is not to forget … [and] is manifested as guarding … like a pillar because it is firmly founded, or as like a doorkeeper because it guards the eye door and so on.”\textsuperscript{62}

Other scholars have identified a variety of meanings for the term sati as it is used in early textual sources. Kuan has identified four distinct but interrelated dimensions of mindfulness through an analysis of the Pali Nikāyas.\textsuperscript{63} The first of these is “simple attention”, which involves the application on a moment-by-moment basis of bare attention, free of verbal and conceptual elaboration of the observed facts of experience. The second dimension is

\textsuperscript{57} Analayo, Satipaṭṭhāna: the direct path.
\textsuperscript{58} Analayo, Satipaṭṭhāna: the direct path; Gethin, definitions of mindfulness, 263–279.
\textsuperscript{59} Gethin, definitions of mindfulness, 263–279.
\textsuperscript{60} Bodhi, Connected Discourses; Bodhi, What does mindfulness really mean, 19-39.
called “protective awareness”, which involves not only the registration of the bare facts of sensory experience, but also includes discernment regarding whether a mental state is conducive to dukkha or sukkha. The third dimension, “introspective awareness”, involves the dislodgement of harmful states and their replacement with beneficial wholesome states (i.e., wisely directed attention). The final dimension identified is termed “deliberately forming conceptions” and involves the function of directing attention towards beneficial wholesome thoughts and images.

A further understanding of the nature and meaning of mindfulness can be gained by considering its function and position among the Pali Abhidhamma’s categories. According to the Abhidhamma, mind or consciousness (citta) continuously arises and passes away in each moment, and consists of a series of changing momentary mind-states depending on which of a number of mental qualities or factors (cetasika) are present in that moment. These mental qualities are categorised in several ways in the Abhidhamma, but for current purposes some are wholesome/skilful (kusula) and others are unwholesome/unskilful (akusula). Sati is listed as a wholesome mental factor or quality that always co-arises with other wholesome mental factors; moreover, as wholesome and unwholesome mental factors cannot arise in the same mind moment, the presence of unwholesome qualities such as greed, hatred and delusion precludes the presence of mindfulness in that particular moment of mind.

As a path factor, right mindfulness (samma sati) is the seventh element of the noble eightfold path leading to nibbana. As a path factor, right mindfulness is the same as the four foundations of mindfulness, and in this context, implies right or correct mindfulness (Bodhi, 1998). Right mindfulness can be differentiated from general mindfulness in that it “requires the support of being diligent (ātāpi) and of clearly knowing (sampajāna) … [and it is] … this combination of mental qualities, supported by a state of mind free from desires and

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66. The Abhidhamma divides the fifty-two cetasikas into four classes: universals, which are necessary for any kind of mental state (i.e., accompany every type of citta); particulars, which are occasionally present; unwholesome or unskilful factors (akusala), and beautiful, wholesome, or skilful factors (kusala) (Harvey, 2012).
67. Olendzki, unlimiting mind.
68. The Abhidhamma lists eight path factors: (i) right view, (ii) right thought or intention, (iii) right speech, (iv) right action, (v) right livelihood, (vi) right effort (vii) right mindfulness, and (viii) right concentration (Bodhi, 1999; Tin Mon, 2002).
discontent … which becomes the path factor of right mindfulness”.

The eightfold path begins with training in morality (right speech, right action and right livelihood), followed by mental training (right effort, right mindfulness and right concentration). Sammā sati operates in concert with the other path factors; for example, with respect to right effort, mindfulness functions to prevent the arising of unwholesome states of mind and the cultivation of wholesome states of mind.

The key text on the cultivation of sati is the Satipaṭṭhāna Sutta, the Discourse on the Foundations of Mindfulness, in which the practitioner is instructed to direct mindfulness to one of four phenomenal fields: (i) the foundation of mindfulness in contemplation of (or with regard to) the body (kāyānupassanā); (ii) the foundation of mindfulness in contemplation of feelings (vedanānupassanā); (iii) the foundation of mindfulness in contemplation of consciousness/mind (cittānupassanā); and (iv) the foundation of mindfulness in contemplation of mental objects (dhammānupassanā). The aim of practice is the extinction of suffering and the attainment of nibbana or, expressed in another way, the realization of the three universal characteristics of impermanence, suffering, and non-self. Initially, sati is the means by which the mind is prevented from being distracted by sense-objects, enabling it to be settled firmly on the chosen object of meditation; it then functions to present objects vividly—a type of “watchfulness” of each event that presents itself in each successive moment. As sati becomes strengthened through practice, sampajañña translated as “clear comprehension” or “introspection”, assumes a more active role. Sampajañña can be seen to have evaluative or discerning function, enabling the comprehension of phenomena that have arisen, and it eventually develops into direct insight (vipassana) and wisdom (panñā).

Mindfulness is also a key aspect of the two main types of Buddhist meditation—samatha and vipassanā. The first of these, samatha, involves the cultivation of mental stillness/calmness and has the goal of developing samādhi, a highly focused and refined

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71 Analayo, *Satipaṭṭhāna: the direct path*.
73 Bodhi, *manual of Abhidhamma*.
74 Tin Mon, Buddha *Abhidhamma*.
75 Bodhi, *what does mindfulness really mean?*
76 Bodhi, *what does mindfulness really mean?*
77 Wallace, *a mindful balance*.
78 Bodhi, *what does mindfulness really mean?*
concentration. The second type of meditation is *vipassanā*. The etymology of the term suggests “seeing in depth” and can be translated as “insight” or “penetrative seeing”. The aim of *vipassanā* meditation is the development of wisdom (*paññā*), whereby the practitioner gains direct understanding of the nature of things, namely, that all things are impermanent (*anicca*), unsatisfactory (*dukkha*), and that they are nonself (*anatta*). According to Wallace, *samātha* develops the faculty of mindfulness, which is then applied through the practice of *vipassanā* to an experiential investigation of reality.

3.1.2. Mindfulness and the Insight Meditation movement

The form of *vipassanā* that has become popular in the West and that most strongly influenced its subsequent development within psychology and organisational practices has its origins in Burmese reform movements in the earlier twentieth century. A key figure in the development of this form *vipassanā* was Mahasi Sayadaw (1904–1982). This version of meditation differed from traditional Theravada versions in that it: (i) was designed for laypersons, (ii) de-emphasized *samātha* practice, (iii) did not require familiarity with *abhidhamma* literature, and (iv) characterised *sati* in terms of a “moment-to-moment non-judgemental awareness”. This version of *vipassanā* has subsequently become influential in South-East Asia, Japan, and in the West.

Within this approach, the *Sattipatṭhāna Sutta* was identified strictly with *vipassanā*. Buddhist scholars have pointed out that it is problematic to identify mindfulness solely with the practice of *vipassanā*. As we have seen, Kuan’s analysis of canonical sources demonstrated that mindfulness is essential to *samātha* meditation, rather than being related

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82. Wallace, minding closely.
84. Other modern versions of *vipassana* are those developed by S. N. Goenka (1924), which focuses on observation of feelings, and Pa Auk Sayadaw (1934), which focuses on mindfulness of the four elements (Analyayo, 2012).
85. Analyayo (2012). The dynamics of Theravāda insight meditation. In Kuo-pin Chuang (Ed.), *Buddhist meditation traditions: An international symposium* (pp. 23–56). Taiwan: Dharma Drum Publishing Corporation; Sharf, is mindfulness Buddhist?
86. See Gethin (2011) for a brief description.
solely to vipassanā meditation. Kuan further argues that early textual sources indicate that it is the combined use of samātha and vipassanā, monitored by mindfulness that is conducive to attainment of nibbana.

It was this form of modernized meditation that was encountered by Americans, including Jack Kornfield and Joseph Goldstein, who studied it in South-East Asia and brought it home to teach others. Within North America and Europe, a number of practitioners further developed this version of vipassanā along secular lines, and others, influenced by exposure to a range of non-Theravāda meditation traditions, began to combine meditative methods from different lineages and traditions. In addition, after the 1970s, the term “mindfulness” began to be applied to a wide variety of meditative practices from different Buddhist traditions, including Japanese and Korean “sitting meditation” and meditative forms that have their origins in Tibetan Buddhism.

3.1.3. Mindfulness-based interventions (MBIs) and related interventions

Mindfulness-based interventions (MBIs) are a family of psychological intervention programs that include mindfulness meditation as a key therapeutic ingredient. The first of these to be developed was mindfulness-based stress reduction (MBSR), and many variants of MBSR have subsequently been developed for a wide range of clinical and medical presentations and settings including the workplace. While these programs share focus on mindfulness, they also vary in a number of ways, including how mindfulness is conceptualised, length of treatment, types of meditation practices incorporated, and relative amounts of Buddhist-derived and psychological content.

(i) Mindfulness-based stress reduction interventions (MBSR).

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88 Kuan, mindfulness in early Buddhism.
89 Kuan, cognitive operations.
MBSR is a group-based psychological treatment program originally developed in a medical setting for patients with stress-related and chronic pain conditions. The standard form of MBSR consists of an eight-week group program for up to thirty-five participants, with weekly sessions of three hours, a six-hour silent retreat later in the program, and daily at-home meditation practice. The program includes formal mindfulness meditation practices such as mindfulness of the breath and of physical sensations of the body, mindful walking, hatha yoga and meditation on loving-kindness or compassion; it also includes sessions on specific topics such as stress reactivity, communication skills, and self-acceptance.94

The developer of MBSR, Jon Kabat-Zinn,95 defined mindfulness as “the awareness that emerges through paying attention on purpose, in the present moment, and nonjudgmentally to the unfolding of experience moment by moment”. Kabat-Zinn drew mainly on Theravada teachings in the development of MBSR, but also drew upon other Buddhist and even non-Buddhist traditions; MBSR is thus considered by its developers a “universal expression” of the Dharma.96

MBSR was originally introduced into workplace settings as a stress management program; more recently several variants have been developed specifically for organisational and occupational settings. Intervention studies have been conducted with a range of occupational groups, including nurses, human service professionals, employees of a biotechnology firm, university employees, and service centred employees.97

(ii) New-generation mindfulness programs

94 Kabat-Zinn, full catastrophe living.
More recently, in response to criticisms of MBIs (see next chapter) a number of psychological intervention programs have been developed which, although secular, aim to redress perceived limitations of existing mindfulness programs by incorporating ethical components or that teach mindfulness meditation in a more traditional format. For example, Monteiro and colleagues developed an ethics-based MBI based on the “five mindfulness trainings” formulated by Thich Nhat Hanh: respect for mortality, generosity, respecting limits, skilful/compassionate speech, and skilful consumption.

Meditation Awareness Training (MAT) is an 8-week group-based secular intervention, developed to include a stronger grounding in Buddhist principles than the standard program. This program incorporates mindfulness along with traditional practices including techniques aimed at cultivating ethical and compassionate awareness, generosity, patience, and meditative insight into emptiness and impermanence. Within this approach mindfulness is defined as “the process of engaging a full, direct, and active awareness of experienced phenomena that is spiritual in aspect and that is maintained from one moment to the next”.

Paul Ekman and B. A. Wallace developed a secular version of Buddhist practice that integrated secular meditation practices with techniques derived from the scientific study of emotion. The 8-week program consisted of meditation (concentration, mindfulness, and compassion) and emotion-regulation skills. The program was initially trialled with 82 female North American school teachers.

(iii) **Acceptance and commitment therapy**

Mindfulness is a feature of several other psychological therapeutic approaches that although they are not explicitly based in Buddhist thought are a significant part of the discourse around the use of mindfulness in workplace settings. While MBIs are based on formal mindfulness practices, other approaches that incorporate mindfulness-related concepts

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101. Shonin, meditation awareness training, 15.
and processes but do not teach formal mindfulness meditation have also been developed: the foremost of these is acceptance and commitment therapy (ACT). ACT was originally developed as an individual-level therapeutic approach for psychological difficulties but subsequently a number of group-format programs have also been developed for organisational settings.

In the ACT therapeutic model mindfulness is equated with four interrelated therapeutic change processes—acceptance, diffusion, the present moment, and a transcendent sense of self. ACT does not use formal mindfulness meditation practices, but rather utilizes metaphors, experiential exercises, and other techniques in order to promote mindfulness. The originators of this approach deny a direct influence of Buddhist teachings on the development of the treatment approach, but acknowledge the similarity between its own therapeutic processes and Buddhist ideas. In particular, according to the authors, ACT shares with Buddhism an emphasis on the ubiquity of human suffering (the First Noble Truth) and on the role of values-based action—actions that lead the practitioner to freedom (the Fourth Noble Truth)—although how this is understood also differs from a Buddhist understanding of liberation. In addition, Fung notes that “suffering” referred to in the ACT approach most often refers to psychological therapeutic outcomes and a meaningful life, whereas in Buddhism it refers to samsaric existence; moreover, ACT focuses on personal

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105 ACT consists of six core therapeutic processes: (i) present moment, (ii) self-as-context, (iii) acceptance, (iv) diffusion, (v) values, and (vi) committed action (Hayes et al., 2012). Present moment refers to a stance of openness and non-judgmental awareness of psychological events in the present moment. Self-as-context refers to releasing attachment to a conceptualized self and seeing the sense of self in terms of the context in which psychological events occur. Acceptance is the willingness to have and experience unwanted internal content. Diffusion is the process of changing the function of internal events as opposed to changing their content; in practice, it involves seeing thoughts for what they are—merely thoughts—rather than taking them literally. Values refer to the experiential contact with personal values that matter to the individual in various life domains, such as health, family, work, friendship, community, and spirituality; values are directions that an individual chooses to guide their behaviour rather than an endpoint in itself.
108 Fletcher, Relational Frame Theory, 315-336.
values which are assumed to be “good”, whereas in Buddhism values are universals such as compassion. Others have noted the similarity between ACT and Morita Therapy—and hence Japanese Zen Buddhism.\textsuperscript{110}

In organisational settings, the standard ACT intervention takes the form of a group-based structured intervention, frequently called Acceptance and Commitment Training in this context, and consisting of three training sessions each lasting three hours, in a “two-plus-one” format, with two sessions on consecutive weeks and a third session three months later. As with the MBIs, ACT was introduced originally into organisational settings as an occupational well-being intervention. Intervention studies have been conducted with a range of occupational groups, including local government employees, addiction counsellors, employees of a media organisation, social workers, and public health sector employees.\textsuperscript{111}

(iv) \textbf{Other meanings of mindfulness in the organisational literature.}

In the organisational literature, the term “mindfulness” can also refer to the construct introduced by Weick and colleagues\textsuperscript{112} in relation to organisational systems and safety practices. This construct, called “organisational mindfulness” was in turn based on the work of educational psychologist Ellen Langer who defines mindfulness as a “flexible state of mind that results from drawing novel distinctions about the situation and the environment”.\textsuperscript{113}

This flexible state is considered both a result of and a cause of noticing new aspects of our experience and is contrasted with \textit{mindlessness}, a “state of rigidity in which we adhere to a single perspective and act like automatons”.\textsuperscript{114}

\begin{thebibliography}{99}
\bibitem{114} Carson, 174.
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itself with cognitive operations, openness to novelty, sensitivity to perspective, and the creation of categories.

More recently, Weick and colleagues have sought to extend organizational mindfulness theory through recourse to Buddhist mindfulness theory, which in this literature is referred to as “Eastern mindfulness” or “mindfulness-as-process”. However, Bjurström suggests that theoretical developments in this area require a better understanding of the epistemological and ontological differences between Eastern and Western concepts of mindfulness, through examining such concepts as impermanence, and non-conceptual knowledge.

3.2. Compassion and loving kindness

In Theravada Buddhism, meditation on loving kindness (mettā), compassion (karuṇā), sympathetic joy (muditā), and equanimity (upekkhā) have an important role in the development of right concentration in the eightfold path. When these states are cultivated they become the four immeasurable attitudes (cattāribrahmavihāras), which support progress on the eightfold path. Loving kindness is the heart-felt wish for all beings to have happiness; compassion is the wish for all beings to be free of suffering. According to the scheme detailed by Buddhaghosa, the cultivation of loving kindness begins with directing the wish of love to oneself which is then eventually extended to all sentient beings; subsequently, compassion is cultivated which supports the cultivation of sympathetic joy and equanimity in turn.

In the Mahāyāna traditions, compassion has attained a greater centrality, joining wisdom as one of the two main virtues to be cultivated; ultimately, with full awakening, compassion and wisdom are considered to be inseparable. In early Mahayana texts, such as the Perfection of Wisdom texts, the four immeasurables are expressed in terms of the teachings on emptiness (Sanskrit: śūnyatā) and in terms of the six perfections or

119. Harvey, introduction to Buddhist ethics.
120. Harvey, introduction to Buddhist ethics.
“transcendent actions” (Sanskrit: pāramitās). In Tibetan Buddhism, the six pāramitās are the principle practices used to facilitate the emergence of compassion. These are described as actions that are directed towards others and that act as antidotes to the ignorance of the ego. In the Tibetan Buddhist tradition, two important practices are those of the four immeasurables and that of tonglen (“sending and taking”). The development of love and compassion are used to help conventional bodhichitta (the “mind of awakening”) to arise; once arisen, it is stabilised through the practice of tonglen—a meditation technique that involves “taking in” the suffering of others and “sending” others one’s own happiness. It can be regarded as the “meditative actualisation” of loving kindness and taking it as compassion.

There has been growing interest in compassion and loving kindness among psychological and organisational scholars and practitioners. Loving kindness and compassion meditation is included in the standard version of MBSR; in addition, several psychological intervention programs that incorporate loving kindness and/or compassion have been developed. With respect to workplace applications, Marques has suggested that loving kindness and compassion may be an antidote to feelings of discontent in the workplace. In addition, several studies have examined the impact of loving kindness meditation on working adults. Fredrickson and colleagues reported improvements in mental

123. Ray, indestructible truth.
and physical health and in life, satisfaction as a result of a 7-week loving kindness intervention and these gains were maintained at a 15-month follow-up survey.\textsuperscript{129}

One topic that has been of interest to organisational scholars is that of compassion in organisational life. Atkins and Parker\textsuperscript{130} have proposed that mindfulness, as part of the ACT model, may be one means whereby compassion may be enhanced in individual employees. Gabruch\textsuperscript{131} explores the potential of compassionate leadership in creating organisational well-being through the creation of more inclusive workplace and suggests that such leadership can contribute to long-term sustainability in organisations.

3.3. Foundational Buddhist concepts

All Buddhist traditions consider the four noble truths as a foundational teaching.\textsuperscript{132} The first talk given by the historical Buddha upon his awakening, which consisted of a profound insight into the nature of reality, was articulated in terms of the Four Noble Truths. These are the truth of suffering, the cause of suffering, the cessation of suffering, and the path to the cessation of suffering. The fourth noble truth describes the path leading to the cessation of suffering, the middle way, or the eightfold path.\textsuperscript{133} It consists of the following eight factors: (i) right understanding, (ii) right thought, (iii), right speech, (iv) right action, (v) right livelihood, (vi) right effort, (vii) right mindfulness, and (vii) right concentration.\textsuperscript{134} The Buddhist teaching regarding the nature of reality or existence is that all phenomena are suffering (dukkha), impermanent (anicca), and non-self (anatta).\textsuperscript{135} Suffering is of three types or levels: obvious suffering (dukkha-dukkhatā); suffering due to impermanence or change (vipariṇāma-dukkha); and the suffering of conditioned existence (samkhāra-dukkha).

The principle of conditionality (paticca-samuppāda) is widely considered the Buddha’s fundamental teaching and is a key thread that runs through many other Buddhist

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teachings. The principle of conditionality, expressed as the law of dependent origination, declares that all things arise and exist due to the presence of certain conditions, and cease again once their conditions cease. All phenomena are said to be impermanent because they arise at some point, endure for a period of time, and eventually pass away depending on causes and conditions. It is because all conditioned phenomena are impermanent that they are dukkha—everything that is impermanent is subject to change and there is no permanent satisfaction or happiness to be obtained from such things. In addition, because conditioned phenomena are impermanent and dukkha, they cannot be a permanent and enduring self and are, therefore, non-self. Rather, what we take to be the self, in accordance with the teaching of conditioned arising, is nothing other than an ever-changing flow of physical and mental phenomena—the khandhas.

The organisational literature that has addressed various Buddhist concepts in relation to different aspects of organisational functioning is small and largely of a theoretical nature. Nonetheless, the Buddhist concepts addressed in this literature include the Four Noble Truths, the Noble Eightfold Path, dependent origination, impermanence and interconnectedness.

The concept of bodhisattva (Pali: bodhisatta) is central to the Mahayana teachings. The term bodhisattva refers to a person on the path of awakening through the practice of the six pāramitās (perfections); it is someone who seeks perfect awakening through the development of wisdom (Sanskrit: prajñā) and by benefitting all beings through compassion. Schuyler interviewed members of an entrepreneurial organization and found

137. Harvey, introduction to Buddhism.
138. Harvey, introduction to Buddhism.
140. Atkinson, eight Buddhist methods.
in that interview participants reported a good fit between the concept of the *bodhisattva* and their daily work experiences.¹⁴⁵

### 3.4. Zen Buddhist practices

Zen Buddhism is a Mahayana tradition that originated in China and emerged as a distinctive school in Japan during the Kamakura period (1185-1336) as a further development of the Caodong (Soto) and Lin-chi (Rinzai) lines of Chinese Chan Buddhism.¹⁴⁶ Soto Zen emphasizes the practice of *shikantaza*, or “just sitting” whereas Rinzai Zen emphasises *kaon* study and *dokusan*.¹⁴⁷ The *koan* is a paradoxical story—to the unenlightened mind—assigned to a student in order to assist their awakening and to assess the deepness of their realization.¹⁴⁸

Despite a plethora of popular books on zen and management, leadership, and work,¹⁴⁹ there is little published scholarly literature on the application of Zen Buddhist concepts or practices within organisational settings. Low and Purser¹⁵⁰ have suggested that Zen *koans* may enhance managers’ ability to solve organizational problems and dilemmas. Fitz Patrick¹⁵¹ has suggested that the skills developed by *koan* use may assist public administrators to better conduct their duties from an enhanced focus on the interconnectedness of social systems.

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¹⁴⁹ For example, Lesser (2005).
¹⁵⁰ Low, creative management of dilemmas.
Chapter 4: What is lost in translation?

The development of psychological programs based on mindfulness and other Buddhist practices have progressed rapidly over recent years. The utilisation of Buddhist concepts and practices for secular purposes has not been free of difficulties. A number of concerns have been raised regarding the way in which Buddhist concepts and practices have been understood in the psychological and organisational literature and the uses to which they have been put within organisational settings. The central concern, from a Buddhist perspective, is the extent to which these concepts and practices deviate from and distort traditional Buddhist teachings.

4.1. The accuracy of Buddhist terms in the psychological and organisational literature

Concerns have been raised that Buddhist terms as they are used in the psychological and organisational literature do not accord with their meanings in authoritative traditional Buddhist sources. Much of the discussion centres on the precise meaning of mindfulness and the criticism that mindfulness as it is understood in mainstream psychological literature is only a selective and partial understanding of traditional Buddhist meanings, as for example, those derived from classical Buddhist canonical sources. In particular, commentators have taken issue with the characterisation of sati as “bare attention”, “non-judgemental awareness”, and “present-moment awareness” as being inconsistent with classical Buddhist accounts.

Drawing on the Abhidhamma and associated commentarial literature, Buddhist scholars have clearly delineated sati from the concept of bare attention. The term “bare attention” appears to conflate what the Abhidhamma lists as two distinct mental factors—sati and manasikāra. Manasikāra is described as a mental factor common to all states of consciousness and refers to the momentary bare cognizing of an object, prior to its recognition, identification, and conceptualisation. Whereas manasikāra occurs at the inception of the cognitive process and functions to orient the mind to an object, sati occurs at a later stage of the cognitive process and functions to sustain attention on the object rendering

152. For example, see Bodhi(2011), Gethin(2011), and Sharf(2014).
154. Bodhi, what does mindfulness really mean?
155. Analayo, Satipaṭṭhāna: the direct path.
it “vivid to lucid cognition”. Moreover, in the *Abhidhamma*, *manasikāra* is categorised among mental factors common to all states of consciousness, and is ethically-indeterminate. By contrast, as discussed previously, mindfulness is categorised in the *Abhidhamma* as a wholesome mental factor and hence has a positive ethical valence.

Psychological and organisational scholars frequently cite Nyanaponika Thera and, Bhante Henepola Gunaratana in support of the rendering of mindfulness as “bare attention”. Gethin’s reading of Nyanaponika, however, indicates that Nyanaponika clearly distinguishes “bare attention,” as an initial and elementary aspect of mindfulness, and mindfulness proper (i.e., right mindfulness) as an element of the eightfold path. Moreover, Bhikkhu Bodhi, a student of Nyanaponika, states that he did not intend for mindfulness-sati to be translated as “bare attention” but rather used the term to convey to new meditators the experience of mindfulness. Thus these scholars suggest that “bare attention” may be useful as a pedagogical strategy to describe the experience of mindfulness practice to new students, or as an initial stage of mindfulness practice that serves to counteract the tendency to view things from the perspective of self-interest, but assert that in no way can *sati* in the Buddhist canonical sense be identified solely with it.

Buddhist scholars have criticised the characterization of mindfulness as “non-judgemental awareness” when this is equated with a passive acceptance of what arises in present experience. The key issue from a traditional Buddhist perspective is that this definition fails to recognise the evaluative function of mindfulness in discerning wholesome/skilful mental states and actions from unwholesome/unskilful ones and therefore its relationship to ethical development. In other words, the term “non-judgemental” can be taken to imply, erroneously from a Buddhist perspective, that mindfulness can be understood independently of efforts to cultivate cognitive, emotional and behavioural responses are conducive to ethically-wholesome conduct. Indeed, as will be discussed below, the entire

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157. Wallace, a mindful balance.
158. Olendzki, unlimited mind.
159. Nyanaponika, heart of Buddhist meditation.
165. Shonin, emerging role of Buddhism, 123–137.
ethical framework in which mindfulness is developed to its full capacity in the traditional Buddhist accounts is largely ignored in mainstream psychological and organisational literature and practice.

Buddhist scholars have also examined the limitations of the concept of “present-moment awareness”. First, Buddhist scholars caution that the directive to be “in the moment” or to “be present” can unwittingly lead to “grasping at” a reified notion of “the present moment”. These authors explain that, from a Buddhist perspective, the “present moment” is simply a concept that does not exist in the manner we are accustomed to think it does and that “the whole point of remembering to be aware of the present moment is so that we can remember to let go of it”. In addition, it has also been argued that the type of attention to the present moment that is cultivated in secular mindfulness training, while helpful for interrupting ruminations about the present and future, and thereby reducing suffering in the most obvious sense, fails to address the more subtle levels of suffering recognised in the Buddhist teachings.

Given this state of affairs, it is unsurprising that there is considerable confusion in the psychological literature regarding the precise meaning and nature of mindfulness. For example, despite considerable scholarly debate and exposition, there remains no clear consensus in the psychological literature regarding how mindfulness is to be defined or operationalised. While some see this as a difficulty that is to be solved through the design of better psychological instruments for measuring mindfulness and explaining it according to existing psychological/scientific models, others have noted that this confusion may stem from attempts to define mindfulness in isolation from other Buddhist concepts and its interrelationships with other cognitive functions and mental factors that render its meaning and functions. Grossman has described the difficulties that have arisen as psychological researchers have proceeded to develop questionnaires for the measurement of mindfulness based on only a rudimentary familiarity of the relevant Buddhist literature or only a brief

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167. Shonin, the present moment, 105–107.
168. Purser, myth of the present moment.
171. Dreyfus, present-centred and non-judgmental, 41-54; Van Gordon, meditation awareness training, 381–391.
experience with the techniques. This situation has led Theravādin scholar Bikkhu Bodhi to remark that the concept of mindfulness has become “so vague and elastic that it serves almost as a cipher into which one can read virtually anything we want”. 173

The situation is made worse as mainstream psychological and organisational scholars and practitioners, relying on incomplete or partial understandings of the Buddhist mindfulness concept, seek to develop theoretical models of how mindfulness works and its relationship to other psychological and organisational variables. 174 Within the organisational literature specifically, these definitional difficulties are compounded as mindfulness-sati is conflated with Langer’s concept of mindfulness 175 and equated with any number of psychological constructs, such as flow and engagement, with which it has a superficial resemblance. These trends in the scholarly literature serve to further obscure the Buddhist meaning of the concept.

4.2. The absence of ethics in mindfulness training

Traditionally, right mindfulness is one of several activities that constitute the eightfold path to the cessation of suffering as outlined in the fourth of the Four Noble Truths. From the perspective of the Buddhist traditions, these activities are regarded as interdependent such that it is not possible to develop one (i.e. mindfulness) in the absence of the cultivation of other limbs of the path. In practice, the eight limbs of the eightfold path are described in terms of the “three trainings” (sīkthā): morality/virtue (sīla), concentration (samādhi) and wisdom (paññā). 176 In this scheme, the development of sīla, which involves various ethical codes or rules of conduct, is understood to be not only a precondition for the training in concentration, and hence wisdom, but also as providing the appropriate conditions for its full development. 177

When mindfulness is considered in the context of its meaning within the Abhidhammic and associated commentarial literature, its role is one of discerning, moment by moment, whether any particular action or mental state is wholesome (kusala) or unwholesome (akusala). 178 The Theravāda commentaries explain the meaning of “kusala” in

176. Nyanatiloka, Buddhist dictionary.
177. Ray, indestructible truth.
a variety of interrelated ways, including: free of the illnesses of greed, hatred, and delusion (ārogya); blameless or faultless (anavajja); produced by skilfulness that is wisdom (kosala-sambhūta); and with a kammic result that is happy (sukha-vipāka). As such, mindfulness is a mental factor that is associated with desirable results which, in the overall scheme of the Abhidhamma, means it is an antidote for unwholesome states of mind that perpetuate suffering.179

The interrelationship between mindfulness and ethical development is also borne out in the meanings of the term satī as they occur in early textual sources.180 In these texts mindfulness refers to the discernment of a given mental states as conducive to dukkha or sukkha. Another dimension of mindfulness described in these texts is one in which it is involved in the dislodgement of harmful states and their replacement with beneficial wholesome states (i.e., wisely directed attention). Still another aspect of mindfulness is its role in directing attention towards beneficial wholesome thoughts and images.

Thus traditional Buddhist accounts clearly link mindfulness with ethical development. In the Abhidhamma, mindfulness considered a wholesome mental factor that clearly distinguishes wholesome from unwholesome mental states and actions and functions to cultivate wholesome mental states and counteract unwholesome mental states.181 It operates in concert with other path factors, such as right view and right effort, in discerning wholesome from unwholesome, and in cultivating the former and abandoning the latter.182 From the perspective of most Buddhist traditions, mindfulness and ethical development cannot be separated—ethical development supports the development of mindfulness and mindfulness has an important role in cultivating ethical mind states and action.

Yet in the mainstream psychological and organisational literature, as has been noted above, mindfulness is frequently described as “non-judgemental awareness” or “bare attention”—a characterisation that leads to the misconception, from a Buddhist perspective, that mindfulness can be considered in isolation of ethical development or the abandonment of unwholesome states of mind and the cultivation of wholesome states of mind.183 Mindfulness becomes right mindfulness (sammā sati) in the context of the other factors of the eightfold path in which it must always be “guided by right view, steered by right intention, grounded in

179. Harvey, mindful exploration, 123-130.
180. For example, see Kuan (2008).
181. Harvey, mindful exploration, 123-130.
the three ethical factors, and cultivated in conjunction with sāmmāvāyāmā, right effort.”\textsuperscript{184} Moreover, its relationship with right effort “necessarily presupposes the distinction of mental states into the wholesome and the unwholesome”.\textsuperscript{185}

When the original MBSR program was developed, the ethical component was not included because of a concern by its developers that the ethical aspects of mindfulness practice was not appropriate in secular contexts and might otherwise reduce the accessibility of the program to many potential clients who could benefit from the program.\textsuperscript{186} Moreover, the developers held that mindfulness practice itself implicitly facilitates ethical development—an argument which has been challenged by Buddhist scholars.\textsuperscript{187}

It is not surprising, therefore, that the presentation of mindfulness as functioning independently of ethical development in mainstream psychological and organisational literature has attracted a considerable level of criticism from psychologists and Western and Asian Buddhist scholars and practitioners.\textsuperscript{188} The central thrust of the criticism is that definitions of mindfulness as “nonjudgmental” and “bare attention”, to the extent that they obscure the relationship of mindfulness to ethical development, are at best a partial understanding and, at worst, a fundamental distortion of the mindfulness concept as it is understood within Buddhist traditions. Moreover, when mindfulness is characterised in this way, not only is it erroneously separated from the broader body of Buddhist teachings, but it allows these teachings to be dismissed as irrelevant to further psychological and other secular developments of mindfulness.\textsuperscript{189}

This issue becomes more pronounced as mindfulness training becomes a standard approach within organisational settings, particularly as these training programs become briefer and delivered by individuals unfamiliar with the Buddhist origins of mindfulness meditation. As an example, in such contexts mindfulness is promoted as a technique for

\textsuperscript{184} Bodhi, noble eightfold path, 7.
\textsuperscript{185} Bodhi, noble eightfold path, 7.
\textsuperscript{186} This stems from the training of Western psychologists and other professionals who typically regard ethics as an imposition of personal values on clients; moreover, while many professionals have a code of conduct, ethics and morality are not seen as having a direct influence on therapeutic outcomes (but see Tiberius & Plakais, 2010).
\textsuperscript{187} For example, Wallace (2008).
\textsuperscript{188} Stanley, S. (2013). ‘Things said or done long ago are remembered’: The ethics of mindfulness in early Buddhism, psychotherapy and clinical psychology. European Journal of Psychotherapy and Counselling. doi: 10.1080/13642537.2013.793338
\textsuperscript{189} Wallace, a mindful balance, 60–63, 109–11.
assisting employees ‘sustain concentration on organizational goals’, 190 rather than a means for discerning kusala or akusala nature of those goals.

4.3. The obscuration of Buddhism as psycho-spiritual system of development

The ultimate aim of Buddhism is awakening or enlightenment, whether this refers to the full nirvanic extinction of all desires, an awakening in this world motivated by great compassion to bring all others to salvation, or the realization of one’s fundamental nature (i.e., tathāgata-garbha). All of the vast array of teachings and practices developed by the various Buddhist traditions over its long history are thus ultimately oriented towards a soteriological, religious, or spiritual end. 191

From this vast array of teachings, only a restricted set of concepts and practices have figured prominently in mainstream psychological and organisational theory and practice. In particular, the accounts of mindfulness, both as a concept and a practice, fall short of the descriptions found in classical Buddhist accounts of mindfulness 192 and how it has been understood throughout later periods of Buddhist thought. 193 The mainstream scientific and psychological literature on mindfulness has largely ignored the theoretical descriptions contained in Buddhist canonical literature 194 and, from the perspective of many Buddhist traditions, have narrowly focused on a particular restricted form of mindfulness practice. Within the mainstream psychological and organisational literature, and reflected in organisational practice, mindfulness is seen primarily as a technique for the enhancement of focused attention and the reduction of stress. 195

This is problematic, critics argue, because a mindfulness practice that is divested of its relationship to the development of ethical conduct and wisdom can no longer claim to be efficacious in attaining liberation from suffering, as this is understood in the Buddhist teachings. From a Buddhist perspective, the development of wisdom—a direct realization of

190 See, for example, Weick & Putnam (2006).
191 For the majority of Buddhists in Asia practice (e.g., accumulation of merit) is oriented towards worldly benefits, either in the present life or the next (Tilakaratne, 2012).
193 Kang, a dialogue, 161–173.
195 Purser, mindfulness revisited, 3–24.
the nature of things—is the curative factor in its broadest sense in that it alone can permanently eradicate greed, hatred, and the fundamental ignorance. When mindfulness is divorced from its fundamental role in the ultimate Buddhist goal of awakening, something that is integral to Buddhism as a psycho-spiritual system is lost.\textsuperscript{196}

Buddhist scholars and practitioners have expressed a variety of opinions on the way that mindfulness is understood and applied in organisational settings. Some see the current level of understanding as an example of “skilful means” (upāyakausalya) whereby recipients of training are afforded an initial step along a path that leads ultimately to the cessation of suffering. Others see it as inevitable phase of an ongoing adaptation of Buddhism to a new set of historical and cultural contexts in which it is rendered relevant through the selection and modification of those elements and aspects which are most relevant to these contexts. Still others, expressing a modernist sentiment, see it as a necessity in which mindfulness must be secularised from its pre-modern religious and culturally-contingent elements.

Others are more critical, seeing in the recent organisational application of mindfulness training an appropriation and distortion of traditional Buddhist teachings.\textsuperscript{197} One of the key issues appears to be that mindfulness, when viewed as a technique for attention enhancement and stress reduction, obscures not only its ethical aspects, but also its function in facilitating transformative change as it is understood in the Buddhist teachings. For example, the improvements in stress and distress observed in participants who partake on workplace mindfulness training constitute only the most obvious level of suffering (dukkha-dukkhatā) that have been elucidated in the Buddhist teachings. In this way, it is argued, the way in which mindfulness training is used in organisations fails to be used in a way that facilitates awakening, but rather as a sort of ‘palliative’ to the stress of modern organisational life that obscures deeper dimensions of suffering and hence the motivation to seek enlightenment.\textsuperscript{198}

It is not only that mindfulness used in this way has so denatured the Buddhist teachings as to nullify its full import for awakening, but that mindfulness training divorced from its ethical and wisdom aspects risks being in ways that are counter to its intent in Buddhist soteriology.\textsuperscript{199} For example, to the extent that mindfulness training is used to enhance a focus on goals and goal-related activity, in absence of the functioning of ethical

\textsuperscript{196} Bodhi, what does mindfulness really mean?19–39; Gethin, some definitions of mindfulness, 263–279.
\textsuperscript{197} Purser, mindfulness revisited, 3–24; Wilson, mindful America.
\textsuperscript{198} Purser, mindfulness revisited, 3–24.
discernment and wisdom, such goals may lead to activity that is harmful to the individual and to others. Perhaps the most emotive issue pertains to the use of mindfulness training in the military—it is argued that framing mindfulness as an ethically neutral technique for purposes that potentially involve harming others raises significant issues for Buddhist ethics.  

In addition, when mindfulness training does not admit of the Buddhist teachings on impermanence (anicca), and the non-self (anatta), there is a risk that the enhanced goal-directed activity may simply serve to unwittingly reinforce self-centred values and behaviours. This is, according to Buddhist teachings, because suffering of self-centred conditioning (samkhāra-dukkhatā) is inherent in the mind’s (subconscious) attempt to create from the flow of experience the sense of a substantial and enduring ‘self’ existing independently in a stable world; such a reified ‘self’ generates patterns of clinging and aversion in order to affirm and protect that sense of self. Therefore, enhanced goal-directed activity may serve only to “solidify” the “sense of self”, and hence reinforce fundamental ignorance, rather than to reduce its influence.

In the final analysis, contemporary uses of mindfulness and other Buddhist concepts and practices in secular and organisational settings may lack fidelity with Buddhist teachings because of fundamental incompatibilities between Buddhist and western scientific philosophies and epistemologies. In their efforts to render Buddhist concepts and practices palatable for scientific psychology and for application in organisations and other secular settings, the essential character of Buddhist teachings may have become obscured.

200. Forbes, occupy mindfulness.
201. Forbes, occupy mindfulness.
203. Purser, myth of the present moment.
Chapter 5: The influence of Buddhist thought on organisational theory and practice

As indicated previously, the history of Buddhism shows that Buddhist thought has both adapted itself to new cultures and times and, in turn, influenced those same cultures in significant ways. In this chapter, the influence of Buddhist thought on Western organisational theory and practice is examined through a review of the evidence for its effects on various areas of organisational functioning. The chapter concludes with a critical review of the methodological quality of studies that have demonstrated these effects.

5.1. Occupational well-being

The most frequently discussed organisational application of mindfulness meditation in the scholarly literature is for the reduction of stress and burnout and the management of negative emotions. Evidence from MBSR intervention studies support the effectiveness of MBSR in reducing psychological distress in the workplace. Studies have also reported improvements in relaxation, perceived stress, and coping strategies. The evidence for the reduction of burnout is mixed with some studies reporting a reduction in burnout and others failing to find this effect. Intervention studies that evaluated the impact of ACT in the workplace also report reductions in psychological distress and symptoms of burnout.


207 See Cohen-Katz et al. (2005), Mackenzie et al. (2006), Poulin et al. (2008), and Shapiro et al. (2005).

MBIs have also been shown to positively impact a range of other well-being outcomes, including life satisfaction, quality of life, general well-being, sleep quality, and brain and immune system functioning.

5.2. Job performance, productivity, and organisational effectiveness

There is a large body of popular and professional literature that addresses the potential of mindfulness to improve individual and organizational effectiveness. The scholarly literature that addresses the relationships between mindfulness training and individual and organisational effectiveness is not as voluminous and tends to be more reserved in its claims. In general, it has been suggested that mindfulness training may contribute to improvements in individual employee performance and effectiveness through: (i) mitigating the effects of stress and mental health issues on cognitive and interpersonal functioning; (ii) reducing distractibility and enhancing focus; or (iii) through enhancing skills, learning, and competencies that are related to effectiveness at work. Moreover, it has also been suggested that mindfulness training may impact on organisational effectiveness through reducing the productivity losses that occur due to health costs, absenteeism, and stress-related illnesses.

Despite considerable interest in the effects of mindfulness on job performance, however, to date very few studies have empirically examined these associations. There has only been one intervention study that has examined the effect of mindfulness meditation on work performance outcomes. Shonin and colleagues reported that Meditation Awareness Training (described previously) not only reduced work-related stress but improved job satisfaction and employer-rated job performance in a sample of office-based middle managers. In addition, Bond and Bunce reported that ACT increased propensity to innovate, a job performance indicator, in a sample of UK media organisation employees. In addition, while mindfulness training has been shown to enhance aspects of attentive

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209. Poulin, mindfulness training, 35-43; Jacobs, brief mindfulness-based stress reduction, 155-168; Geary, impact of MBSR, 939-944; Klatt, low-dose mindfulness-based stress, 601-614; Davidson, alterations in brain and immune function, 564-570.

210. Examples of non-scholarly literature are: Carroll (2007), Chaskalson (2011), and Marturano (2014).


213. Shonin, meditation awareness training.

214. Bond, mediators of change, 156-163.
functioning in non-workplace studies,\textsuperscript{215} no studies have yet examined the relationship between improved attentive functioning and objective measures of workplace performance. Indeed, Dane\textsuperscript{216} cautioned against the assumption that the effects of mindfulness training on attentive functioning necessarily equate to improved task performance in the workplace and suggested mindfulness may inhibit rather than enhance task performance under certain conditions.

5.3. Leadership development and effectiveness

There is considerable interest in the popular, professional and scholarly literature in the potential of mindfulness training for enhancing leadership skills, effectiveness, and development.\textsuperscript{217} Much of the literature posits theoretically-based accounts of how mindfulness may enhance leader effectiveness through the development of qualities or skills that are considered important to the role of leadership. For example, Boyatzis and McKee\textsuperscript{218} view mindfulness, along with hope and compassion, as a means of developing what they call “resonant leadership”. Sethi\textsuperscript{219} asserts that mindfulness is a key leadership competency that contributes to leadership effectiveness through enhancing focus, awareness, and being more “in-the-moment”. Goleman\textsuperscript{220} suggests that mindfulness can contribute to leadership development through enhancing emotional intelligence competencies.

As with the areas of performance improvement, there is very little direct empirical evidence from intervention studies to support the relationship between mindfulness training and leadership. The review of the literature conducted for the present study failed to identify any intervention studies that had examined the impact of mindfulness training on leadership performance or leadership-specific outcomes. This is not surprising given that the absence of adequate evaluation is a feature of organisational leadership development programs in

\textsuperscript{216}Dane, effects on task performance, 997-1018.
\textsuperscript{218}Boyatzis, resonant leadership, 15-18.
\textsuperscript{219}Sethi, 7-11.
\textsuperscript{220}Goleman, brain and emotional intelligence.
general is a widespread concern among organisational scholars.\textsuperscript{221} The current review identified only one study that had specifically examined the impact of a mindfulness intervention on leaders. Pipe and colleagues\textsuperscript{222} reported that an MBI conducted with nurse leaders reduced psychological distress and improved caring efficacy in participants; no leadership specific outcomes were assessed.

5.4. Individual and organisational change

One of the acknowledged contributions of Buddhist thought to therapeutic psychology is to the development of new models of therapeutic change; a mindfulness-based philosophy of psychological therapy has been described as a paradigm shift in the treatment of psychological disorders\textsuperscript{223} and the “third wave”,\textsuperscript{224} in the development of cognitive and behavioural therapies.\textsuperscript{225} In addition, the study of Buddhist meditation and other contemplative practices has contributed to significant advances in understanding brain function and development and its capacity for learning and change, most notably, the neuroplasticity of the brain.\textsuperscript{226}

Nonetheless, the developments in the understanding of human change processes have the potential for influencing a broad range of organisational processes that are predicated on an understanding of human behaviour and change. The most obvious are those activities that are directly concerned with human change, such as workplace counselling, coaching, team-building, performance management reviews and supervisory activities. For example, workplace and executive coaching are mainstream developmental activities in


\textsuperscript{224} The “first wave” refers to behaviour therapy, which emerged in the 1950s; the “second wave” refers to cognitive therapy, which arose in the 1960s and 1970s and emphasized the centrality of cognition in understanding mental health conditions and as a target for interventions; the “third wave” involves a shift in clinical focus from unproductive attempts to modify or control internal experiences to skills that change one’s relationship to that experience (Hayes, 2004).


organisations and a number of authors have suggested that coaching based on mindfulness may confer individual and organisational benefits. In particular, the ACT model, with its emphasis on behavioural change, appears well-suited for workplace coaching, and Moran described how it may be particularly helpful in enabling leaders to develop a range of crisis-resiliency and values-directed behavioural change management skills.

Several interventions using the ACT approach support the idea that mindfulness may contribute to behavioural change in the workplace. For example, in ACT intervention studies with substance abuse counsellors have found that ACT facilitated the adoption of an empirically validated treatment approach, enhanced addiction counsellors’ willingness to use evidence-based pharmacotherapy, and was effective in promoting change in stigmatising attitudes.

Another potential application of mindfulness is in the area of organisational-level change and its management. As an example, Hunt argued that mindfulness may help restore a ‘sense of life’ to health care delivery services that have been eroded by a modern industrial style of health care delivery. Similarly, De Valve and Adkinson called for a greater use of the principles of mindfulness and compassion to transform the culture of policing in North America. The review of the literature conducted for the present study found no intervention studies that have evaluated the impact of mindfulness organisation-level change-related outcomes. The potential of mindfulness and other Buddhist practices and


concepts to be applied to organisation-level change initiatives remains at the theoretical stage of development at this time.

5.5. Learning, development, and training

There has been discussion in the scholarly literature regarding the potential of mindfulness to improve learning within an organisational context. For example, Yeganeh and Kolb\textsuperscript{234} theorised that both meditative mindfulness and socio-cognitive mindfulness may increase learning from experience and describe a number of experiential learning practices for use in organisational settings. The success of workplace training relies on the transfer of the training to novel situations and tasks.\textsuperscript{235} Neuroscience research suggests that mindfulness training may induce process-specific learning (i.e., learning that is not specific to the learning task).\textsuperscript{236} This raises the possibility that even brief mindfulness training, included as a component of any other training, may assist in the transfer of training to new situations and tasks. Such an approach has been proposed by Borker,\textsuperscript{237} who suggested that mindfulness practices can be viewed as a precondition for learning that can enhance other teaching methods and describes how this has been implemented in the teaching of accounting and business at the undergraduate and graduate level. Initial empirical support for this proposition comes from a longitudinal study that examined the relationship between psychological flexibility (i.e., a measure of mindfulness and behavioural activation) and new learning in UK customer service centre employees.\textsuperscript{238} These researchers found that psychological flexibility predicted an objective indicator of learning, four weeks after participants had received training on new computer software.

5.6. Organisational and business ethics

A number of organisational scholars have explored ways in which Buddhist thought may contribute to ethical behaviour within contemporary organisations. For example, White examined the implications of the Buddhist concept of compassion for influencing the level of ethical behaviour within an organisation. Other scholars have explored how Buddhist ethics may be incorporated into the training of organisational and business leaders. For example, Lampe proposed that mindfulness-based business ethics education may overcome limitations in the standard curriculum and may inculcate a higher level of ethical conduct in business professionals. In addition, several scholars have suggested that one way in which Buddhist principles may be introduced into organisations is in terms of ethics training.

5.7. Organisational culture: collaboration, civility and pro-social behaviour

Organisational scholars have begun to examine the potential of mindfulness meditation and other Buddhist concepts and practices to influence behaviours and attitudes in the workplace, at individual, team, and group levels. For example, Marques suggested employees who practice Buddhist meditation will be better team members because they are less likely to have selfish agendas. There is some evidence from controlled intervention studies to suggest that mindfulness training may enhance team processes and functioning. Fredrickson and colleagues demonstrated that employees of an IT firm who attended a 7-week loving kindness meditation course reported increases in social support and positive close relationship with others. Stanley and colleagues developed an MBI designed to enhance interpersonal communication skills and improve unit cohesion and social support in military personnel and reported qualitative data to indicate that the program improved team processes (such as communication, unit cohesion, and awareness of individual strengths and

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244. Marques, greater consciousness, 211–225.
245. Fredrickson, open hearts, 1045-1062.
One of the pressing needs identified in the organisational literature is for effecting changes in a range of workplace attitudes and behaviours that are associated with bias and discrimination on the basis of age, gender, and racial background and that is associated with incivility in the workplace.\textsuperscript{247} There is emerging evidence that mindfulness may assist in the reduction of a range of negative workplace behaviours such as ostracism, which is defined as "ignoring and excluding individuals or groups by individuals or groups".\textsuperscript{248} For example, studies with non-work samples suggest that loving kindness mediation can decrease bias toward stigmatized social groups.\textsuperscript{249} In a study conducted with at-work adults Ramsey and Jones\textsuperscript{250} reported that a brief MBI produced partial support for notion that mindfulness could decrease the propensity to ostracize others in a sample of North American school teachers.

In addition, a series of studies with the ACT approach provides further evidence that brief mindfulness interventions can reduce racial prejudice and bias in college students\textsuperscript{251} and in workplace settings.\textsuperscript{252} For example, Hayes and colleagues\textsuperscript{253} showed that an ACT workshop reduced stigmatizing attitudes towards mental health clients among a group of drug abuse counsellors.

5.8. Professional skills development

A focus of discussion in the scholarly literature has been on the potential of mindfulness practice to enhance general and profession-specific occupational skills as, for example, negotiation skills in lawyers,\textsuperscript{254} cognitive, technical and interpersonal skills in

\begin{thebibliography}{99}
\bibitem{252} Hayes, multicultural training, 821–835.
\bibitem{253} Hayes, multicultural training, 821–835.
\end{thebibliography}
physicians, empathy in therapists, and better communication and decision-making in business professionals. While there is empirical evidence to indicate that mindfulness training has a beneficial impact on empathy in health-care professionals, other potential effects have yet to be demonstrated in at-work populations.

5.9. A critical summary: quality of evidence

Despite the growing body of empirical evidence to support the use of mindfulness and Buddhist-derived interventions in organisational settings, there are a number of methodological factors that limit the overall validity of the findings from intervention studies. Methodological issues that pertain to studies conducted in organisational settings or with working adults include: (i) an over-reliance on self-report rather than objective measures of outcome; (ii) an emphasis on measures of individual psychological or physiological functioning rather than organisationally-relevant outcomes; (iii) an over-reliance on inactive control conditions that fail to take control for the non-specific factors and group influences on outcomes; (iv) differences in the way in which studies define and operationalize mindfulness; (v) small sample sizes; (vi) lack of follow-up studies; (vii) self-selection of participants; and (viii) variability in what constitutes a mindfulness intervention.

While the methodological quality of studies may reflect the early stage of development of mindfulness research in organisational settings, several of these methodological factors will require attention in future research. First, most studies have used self-report measures of well-being. When interventions studies have included both self-report and physiological measures of stress, these interventions fail to impact physiological measures even though they show changes on self-report measures. For example, Klatt and

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256. Germer, mindfulness and psychotherapy.


colleagues\textsuperscript{261} failed to find significant changes in stress when a physiological indicator of stress (salivary cortisol) was used as the outcome measure. Another methodological issue that will require attention is the failure of all but a few studies to measure the effects of interventions on specific work-related outcomes.

A second major area of concern pertains to the characterisation of Buddhist concepts and practices within the psychological and organisational literature. As discussed previously, there are inconsistencies between psychological definitions of mindfulness and traditional and contemporary Buddhist accounts of mindfulness.\textsuperscript{262} Within the psychological and organisational practice literature, mindfulness meditation (or training) can also refer to any of a wide range of activities, including long-term traditional meditation practices, brief mindfulness inductions, or a number of multi-component intervention packages that include a combination of psychological skills training and techniques derived from traditional mindfulness meditation practices. While all these approaches ostensibly teach mindfulness, there are important differences between them in the way mindfulness is conceptualised and practiced and their effectiveness.\textsuperscript{263}

\textsuperscript{261} Klatt, mindfulness-based stress reduction, 601-614.
\textsuperscript{262} As discussed previously: for example, Bodhi (2011), Gethin (2011), and Mikulas (2011).
Chapter 6: Further contributions of Buddhist thought

Having reviewed the evidence for the effects of Buddhist practices and concepts on various aspects of organisational functioning, this chapter critically examines the contributions Buddhist thought has made to psychological and organisational theory and practice. It examines the limitations to potential developments for psychological and organisational theory and practice that may result from a less than complete understanding of mindfulness. It then considers potential contributions and influences that emerge from a consideration of mindfulness that is inclusive of its ethical and wisdom aspects and explores how Buddhist teachings may contribute to psychological and organisational theory and practice.

6.1. Limitations of the understanding of Buddhist thought in mainstream scholarly literature

The studies reviewed in this study provide evidence that Buddhist thought has begun to influence mainstream psychological and organisational theory and practice. It has also been argued that despite this growth in interest, Buddhist concepts and practices have been incorporated into secular healthcare and organisational interventions in a selective and partial manner when considered in the light of traditional Buddhist accounts. Mindfulness has been most often characterised as a means for reducing occupational stress or for enhancing concentration and focus in the workplace in the mainstream organisational literature.264 A number of Buddhist and psychological scholars have argued that such understanding of mindfulness falls short of the richness of the concept in traditional Buddhist accounts and thereby limits its potential for contribution to psychological and organisational theory and practice.265 Two examples will be used to illustrate this.

As studies reviewed previously demonstrate, empirical evidence indicates that secular mindfulness training is effective in reducing stress and distress; such findings are frequently invoked to suggest that such mindfulness training achieves the shared aim of Buddhism and psychotherapy (i.e., the elimination of suffering).266 Yet this form of mindfulness training only addresses the most obvious level of suffering (dukkha-dukkhatā) and does little to address the more subtle levels of suffering—those due to impermanence or change.

266. Monteiro, 91–103.
(vipariṇāma-dukkha) and the suffering of conditioned existence (samkhāra-dukkha). What is required to effect a change at this level of suffering, which the MBIs were not designed to do, is mindfulness training that is able to penetrate the delusion of inherent existence—in other words, mindfulness training that is fully contextualised within its ethical and wisdom aspects.

Organisational scholars argue that the practice of mindfulness will lead to greater wisdom on the part of those who practice it and describe the benefits of such wisdom for the organisation. Yet when mindfulness training lacks an explicit focus on ethical development and is restricted to nonjudgmental awareness, the “mechanism” whereby everyday decisions are informed by wisdom is absent. This is because wisdom emerges when an individual, guided by right view and right effort, has gone some way to establishing the conditions for its emergence through abandoning unwholesome states and cultivating wholesome ones. The standard forms of mindfulness training used in organisations do not teach this as part of mindfulness training. As a result the sort of wisdom referred to is, at best, a mundane wisdom and not the wisdom that sees the true nature of reality as understood by the Buddhist teachings. What is needed is to move beyond what Rosch has called “the usual candidates of rules, skills, or life experience” and to take seriously the idea that there is a more fundamental form of knowing that can lead to greater levels of well-being for the individual and those with whom that individual interacts.

6.2. The potential impact of a more inclusive Buddhist perspective

A number of Buddhist and psychological scholars have argued that Buddhist thought in general can contribute to individual, organisational, and societal well-being. For example, Rosch suggests Buddhist thought can make a fundamental contribution to scientific psychology particularly in terms of providing a new understanding of the nature of the mind and its capacity. Wallace and Shapiro argue that on the basis of its 2,500 year history of cultivating exceptional states of mental well-being, Buddhism has much to offer therapeutic

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psychology. Similarly, Kristeller\textsuperscript{273} argues that Buddhist spirituality may have an important role in therapy in that it enables access to internal resources outside conditioned responses.

With respect to societal benefits, Loy\textsuperscript{274} argues that Buddhist teachings that pertain to personal transformation are essential for effective changes to be made to structural inequalities, as attempts to make such changes from a mode of thinking that emerges from the functioning of the “three poisons” have not been successful. Similarly, McMahan\textsuperscript{275} states that Buddhist thought has the potential to “offer new perspectives on some of modernity’s personal, social, political, and environmental ills”.

These scholars all hold that if such benefits are to be realised there is a need to understand Buddhism from its own philosophical epistemological perspective; a critical reflection on our own cultural and historical assumptions and values. This requires a better understanding of Buddhist thought than currently exists among psychological and organisational scholars and practitioners.\textsuperscript{276} For example, Mikulas\textsuperscript{277} argues that the “powerful psychology that lies at the heart Buddhism” has significant contributions to many areas of psychology, but in order for this potential to be realised there need to be a greater familiarity with the Buddhist literature. There is a need to better understand Buddhism within its own philosophical and epistemological framework, rather than merely subsume it under the epistemic authority of one form of scientific endeavour; this, in turn, requires a level of openness on the part of psychological and organisational scholars in questioning their own culturally-contingent values and assumptions regarding the nature of knowledge.\textsuperscript{278}

To this end, several have called for an ongoing dialogue between Buddhism and the modern scientific disciplines.\textsuperscript{279} It is anticipated that such a dialogue may contribute to an “an emerging contemplative science grounded on solid empirical research and reflective inquiry”.\textsuperscript{280} Such an endeavour will require attention to a broader array of Buddhist concepts and practices beyond that of mindfulness such as conditioned arising (\textit{paṭicca-samuppāda}),

\begin{thebibliography}{9}
\bibitem{McMahan} McMahan, Buddhist modernism, 5.
\bibitem{Mikulas} Mikulas, significant common confusions, 5.
\bibitem{Cho1} Cho, Buddhism and science, 20–28.
\bibitem{Kang} Kang, a dialogue, 171.
\end{thebibliography}
impermanence (*anicca*), and non-self (*anatta*) that are integral to its transformative potential. To date, there is only a small scholarly literature that has addressed such Buddhist concepts in relation to organisational theory and practice and this is likely to reflect a lack of familiarity among mainstream organisational scholars with Buddhist thought.

Perhaps one of the most challenging of these concepts for mainstream psychological and organisational studies is that of *anatta*. With respect to Western psychological thought in general, the dominant idea is that optimal health and functioning results from a strengthening of the individual self, whereas Buddhist thought sees optimal well-being and action resulting from a “deconstruction” of this same sense of self. Western psychological scholars have also tended to view human nature in a negative light, whereas much Buddhist thought tends to view human nature as benevolent—for example, as fundamentally compassionate. Within the organisational and business literature, the dominant view of the person is one of rational self-interest. This contrasts with a view of the person that is informed by a Buddhist perspective; one that sees individuals operating out of an intent to generate positive and healthy outcomes for themselves and for all those who may be impacted by their decisions and actions. The *anatta* concept therefore challenges the assumptions and values that inform much psychological and organisational thinking. In this way it can also be used to bring a fresh perspective to the understanding of organisational functioning. For example, Neal describes how the *anatta* concept can be used for understanding organisational difficulties that stem from cultural differences among its members.

A number of organisational scholars have drawn on Buddhist concepts to describe different models on how organisations might operate. For example, Duerr discusses the value of introducing into workplaces contemplative practices, not only as stress management intervention, but as a core part of the business structure. On the basis of a program of qualitative research, a “contemplative organization” was defined as one that “uses contemplative awareness as organizing principle for the workplace”. Such an organization

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has a number of characteristics, including a valuing of the process by which employees move towards their goals and a level of non-attachment to outcomes.

Others have drawn on Buddhist concepts to illustrate how an organisation’s philosophy may be re-directed from one solely focussed on profit maximisation, to one that recognises and takes a responsibility for their impact on the societies they service. For example, Borden and Shekhawat\(^{287}\) suggest that Buddhist principles, when applied within organizations, can result in a realigning of company philosophy from individual and collective self-interest toward functioning inter-dependently with other organisational members and groups. Similarly, van den Muyzenberg\(^{288}\), reporting on the conclusions he reached in association with the Dalai Lama, suggests two Buddhist principles in particular—conditioned arising and right view—are useful for leaders of business organisations. He cautions against decisions that are motivated by fear, seeking prestige, or lack of confidence, as these will only lead to wrong actions. In addition, van den Muyzenberg suggests that from the perspective of Buddhist thought, the primary function of an organisation is as a mechanism of the society in which it subsists rather than solely making financial profits.

Other scholars have drawn on several foundational Buddhist concepts to address various aspects of organisational functioning. Johansen & Gopalkrishna\(^{289}\) describe how Buddhist concepts such as the Four Noble Truths and the Noble Eightfold Path are relevant to human resource development professionals, particularly in multinational companies. Atkinson and Duncan\(^{290}\) describe how each of the limbs of the Noble Eightfold Path may enhance organizational leader effectiveness and Bamford\(^{291}\) has drawn upon Buddhist principles to devise training designed to help business managers negotiate more ethically and effectively. Kovács\(^{292}\) proposes a new model of management based on the foundations of Buddhist economic principles. Marshall and Simpson\(^{293}\) apply a Buddhist perspective, based on the concepts of interdependent origination and impermanence, to suggest improvements to the learning networks used by business managers to learn from each other’s experience. Rees

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\(^{289}\) Johansen, 337–345.

\(^{290}\) Atkinson, 8–18.


\(^{293}\) Marshall, 421–432.
and colleagues proposes that the Buddhist concept of inter-connectedness may provide a new perspective on organisational dynamics that may be particularly relevant in a more globalized world. Vallabh and Singhal explore ways in which the concept of Buddhist concept of dependent origination can improve the decision-making process at individual, group and organizational levels in contemporary business organizations.

With respect to mindfulness specifically, it has been argued that the full potential mindfulness is only likely to be realised when it is applied in a manner consonant with its fuller Buddhist context—that is in the context of the development of wisdom, compassion, and ethics. In Buddhism, the ultimate function of mindfulness is to facilitate awakening, but this aspect tends to be downplayed or ignored in the mainstream psychological and organisational literature or in specialised applications of mindfulness such as stress reduction. As discussed previously, mindfulness is practiced in association with a range of other practices—called a “matrix of skilful means” by Wallace. Moreover, it is just one aspect of the Noble Eightfold Path, and the establishment of right mindfulness (samma sati) entails the successful establishment of other aspects of the path. For mindfulness to be genuinely transformative, in the Buddhist sense, it must operate in conjunction with other path factors such as right view and right effort and be informed by the broader Buddhist teachings.

Purser and Milillo have sought to provide a corrective to the partial conceptualisations of mindfulness in the organisational theory and practice literature by describing its functions and purpose as these are understood within Buddhist teachings more broadly. From this perspective, they argue, mindfulness practice offers a “counterbalance to conventional management values” when these are focused exclusively on competitiveness, self-interest, and profit. In addition, these authors suggest that a more ethically-contextualised form of mindfulness practice can re-orient organisational attention to the causes and conditions within organisations that may be harmful to members of that organisation and the social and physical environments in which they operate. Finally, they suggest mindfulness practice can lead to organisational activities that act to minimise harm and that are focussed on the creation of genuine well-being for its members, clients, and societies.

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294. Rees, 8–10.
297. Wallace, minding closely.
299. Purser, mindfulness revisited, 16.
Chapter 7: Summary and conclusions

The recent growth of interest in the application of Buddhist concepts and practices within contemporary Western organisations is one of the most recent examples in which Buddhism is being adapted to a new historical and cultural period. In doing so, Buddhism is not only influencing the new culture, but is being itself transformed in the process, with new forms of Buddhist expression emerging. A significant factor influencing the nature of these new forms of expressions is the influence of modernity, in which Buddhism in the West has come to be seen as “a rational, empirical, and therapeutically-oriented tradition compatible with modern science”.

The main Buddhist concept and practice that has been applied in organisational settings is mindfulness. There is a burgeoning literature, both popular and scientific, and a number of psychological programs that have mindfulness meditation as its central component, or that include mindfulness practices, have been developed and evaluated. The recent application of mindfulness programs to organisational settings followed from their success in the mental health care area. In addition to mindfulness, there is also scholarly interest in other Buddhist concepts and practices, such as compassion and loving kindness, but the scholarly literature on these is still small. Furthermore, the term “mindfulness”, as it is represented in the work and organisational literature is not a unitary construct, and can refer not only to the Buddhist concept but to constructs that have their origin in unrelated streams of thought.

The way mindfulness has been understood in the psychological and organisational theory and practice literature diverges from traditional Buddhist accounts of mindfulness and its functions. Buddhist scholars have taken issue with the characterization of mindfulness as “bare attention, and “non-judgemental awareness” and have demonstrated how these characterizations fail to capture the meaning and import of mindfulness as it is understood in classical textual sources. Importantly, these scholars have argued that defining mindfulness in such a partial way has obscured its relationship to ethical functioning and its role in the development of wisdom. Such a partial understanding, the critics argue, will not lead to the transformation that will result in liberation from suffering. In addition, several commentators have expressed a concern that the mischaracterization of mindfulness as a stress reduction

\[300.\] Sharf, 3.
and attention enhancement technique, separated from ethics and wisdom, can allow mindfulness training to be used in ways that are harmful to themselves and others.

These issues notwithstanding, there is a rapidly growing body of empirical evidence to indicate that short-term secularized mindfulness programs have beneficial effects on a wide range of mental health issues and well-being outcomes. The emerging evidence from intervention studies conducted within organisational settings demonstrates that such short-term interventions, even lacking an emphasis on the ethical aspects, consistently result in reductions in stress and psychological distress. There is less evidence at this time for the benefits of mindfulness and other Buddhist-derived interventions on leadership and performance enhancement; many of the claims regarding the beneficial effects of Buddhist practices on organisational outcomes appear to be premature or unwarranted on the basis of currently available scientific evidence. Moreover, the majority of studies have methodological limitations that serve to limit the validity of their findings.

Just as Buddhist concepts and practices have been adapted for use in secular and organisational settings, so too is there evidence that Buddhist thought is influencing mainstream psychological and organisational thought and practice. The main contribution of Buddhist thought to organisational functioning is evidenced by the fact that one of its main meditative practices (i.e., mindfulness) is being used as key component of treatment programs for a wide range of mental health difficulties and is becoming a standard practice in many organisations for the reduction of stress and other occupational mental health issues as well as the enhancement of various skills such as attention and concentration.

At the same time, the account of mindfulness in the mainstream organisational literature, because it is less than complete in comparison to traditional Buddhist accounts, may limit the potential benefits of mindfulness as an intervention and as a theoretical account that can inform psychological and organisational theory and practice. When the relationship of mindfulness to ethics and wisdom is ignored occurs, the critics argue, mindfulness is reduced to a technique for the management of stress and enhancement of concentration and focus. What is required is a fuller account of mindfulness—one that includes the development of ethics and wisdom—and a greater familiarity with the broader Buddhist teachings. A more fully contextualised mindfulness can make significant contributions to the well-being of individuals, organisations, and societies. There is evidence that organisational scholars have

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301. See Brown et al. (2007).
sought to incorporate such a fuller account of mindfulness, and to apply other Buddhist concepts and practices in a way that is consonant with Buddhist teachings, yet the literature base is currently small.

It is clear that Buddhist thought, whether in a restricted or expansive sense, will continue to exercise influence on psychological and organisational thought and practice. One of the most recent interactions between Buddhist and Western thought is currently being played out in psychological and organisational scholarly literatures. This interaction can be characterised as the interplay between continuity and innovation, or “tradition” and “modernity”. Buddhist thought has influenced many spheres of western secular life, but has itself been changed by this process, giving rise to a diversity of new expressions. The literature reviewed in the present study indicates that Buddhist thought has many potential contributions to make for individuals, organisations, and societies; yet these likely to come from neither a wholesale rejection of the traditional aspects of Buddhist thought and practice or an uncritical acceptance of modernistic values and assumptions. A better understanding of Buddhist thought than currently exists among psychological and organisational scholars and practitioners can result from increased dialogue between Buddhist and Western scholars.
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