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主持人语：跨文化研究和健康研究是休闲学领域的两个重要议题。尽管人类基本的心理过程相似，但其表现形式却可能因受各种文化的影响而不同，因此，不同文化背景下休闲的表现方式不同，休闲的选择方式也不同。休闲既是文化的基础，也受文化的影响。在不同文化的交流和碰撞中，对休闲文化的理解越来越重要。北美和中国休闲研究学者对跨文化研究也越来越重视，在应用和融合不同心理学理论的基础上，也在尝试构建新的理论。

尽管休闲的概念和意义在不同文化之间存在差异，但研究人员在休闲的重要性和严肃的科学研究方面则获得了巨大成功，因为全球范围内的研究人员正在积极地从学理层面论述休闲选择对个体以及社区健康和幸福的重要性。现代社会工作性质的改变以及科技的大量应用，导致了人们的时间越来越缺乏、压力越来越大和静坐生活方式的形成，这又进一步导致了不健康的生活方式，以及对医疗保健需求的不断增长。因此，研究人员更多地从公共健康角度来探索休闲对身体及心理健康的贡献，认为通过提倡选择健康的生活方式，可以促进健康和提升幸福感，并减少疾病。本栏目旨在通过对休闲的跨文化研究了解休闲对不同人群的意义，拓展国际休闲研究理论的视阈，展示国际休闲研究最前沿的学术信息，欢迎海内外学者惠赐大作。

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“综合休闲参与理论框架”及其对跨文化休闲研究的影响

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[摘　要]“综合休闲参与理论框架”阐述的是影响实际休闲参与的三个层级的假定因素(包含人格/个性特点、生理和心理需要等概念的普遍层级，包含内在动机、外在动机及无动机的环境/背景层级，以及包含态度、主观规范、感知行为控制、意图、休闲制约因素和应对制约因素的方法的情境层级)及其之间假定的相互关系。这些因素及其相互之间的关系尽管可以很大程度上被理解为具有文化共通性，但还是有许多不同点。对加拿大人及美国人与中国人及海外华人的对比研究表明：高度内在动机驱使下的休闲活动具有举世普遍性的特征；休闲参与总的来说是随不同文化对其重视程度的不同而不同的。

[关键词] 中国人；跨文化；休闲；综合休闲参与理论框架

An Overview of a Comprehensive Leisure Participation Framework and Its Application for Cross-Cultural Leisure Research

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Abstract: The comprehensive leisure participation framework, identifies the global (i. e., personality traits, physiological and psychological needs), contextual (i. e., intrinsic motivation, extrinsic motivation,

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and amotivation), and situational (i. e., attitudes, subjective norm, perceived behavioral control, intention, leisure constraints, leisure constraint negotiation) factors that are presumed to affect actual leisure participation, as well as the presumed relationships among them. It is important to note that all three levels are encompassed by culture, which suggests a universalistic approach such that these factors and relationships are construed to be largely similar across cultures but that important differences can and do exist. Some of the concepts that compose the comprehensive leisure participation framework vary cross-culturally—especially between Canadian and American, and Chinese and overseas Chinese, while most of the framework's concepts likely function in a similar manner across cultures.

Key words: Chinese; cross-cultural; leisure; comprehensive leisure participation framework

“好”理论的一个特点是其具有吸收与整合各方面不同理论并使之一体化的潜力[1]。然而,在主流社会心理学或社会休闲心理学这些领域里,这种理论一体化的尝试却相对比较少见。幸好,部分学者最近已经开始意识到这个状况。比如在主流社会心理学领域里,Hagger 等通过对 Ryan 和 Deci 的“自我决定理论”(self-determination theory)[2]与 Ajzen 的“计划行为理论”(theory of planned behavior)[3]的融合,发展出一个新的理论框架,并测试了该框架的可行性[4]。而在社会休闲心理学这个领域,Kleiber 等大胆地设想在 Hagger 等人发展出的上述理论框架里,也可以融合 Crawford 等人的“休闲制约理论”(leisure constraints theory)[5]以及加入人格/个性特点(personality traits)和生理需要(physiological needs)等概念[6]。因此,本文首先要对 Kleiber 等人的“综合休闲参与理论框架”(comprehensive leisure participation framework)进行概述。

然而,我们得切记,在跨文化心理学领域里(以及派生出的跨文化休闲心理学),Berry 等提到,普遍主义(universalism)是以“尽管人类基本的心理过程是大致相同的,但它们的表现形式却可能受到文化的影响”[7]326这个假设为基础的。因此,Kleiber 等人的“综合休闲参与理论框架”里的某些组成要素也可能会因文化不同而不同。因此,本文接下来要在意识到许多影响休闲参与的因素很大程度上有文化共通性的同时,通过对加拿大人及美国人与中国人及海外华人的对比(发现潜在的不同点),来阐述休闲参与是如何有可能因文化不同而不同的。

一、“综合休闲参与理论框架”概述

在社会心理学领域里,Ryan 和 Deci 的“自我决定理论”与 Ajzen 的“计划行为理论”是两个用于解释和预测行为的主流理论框架。“自我决定理论”是由不同的分支理论组成的,其中一个叫“基本需要理论”(basic needs theory)。而根据 Baumeister 和 Leary 的研究,某样东西能被称之为“需要”而不是“想要”或“欲望”,必须满足以下几条标准:(1)它必须在大范围的各种不同的情况下存在;(2)它对广泛的各种各样的行为都有影响;(3)它有直接的认知过程;(4)它由饱足或满足感驱使;(5)当满足感没有实现,它会有类似医学上的、心理上的以及/或者行为上的负面效应;(6)它有像“幸福增长”似的情感作用;(7)它必须是普遍性的[8]498。另外,生理需要和心理需要是普遍认可的两大需要类型。其中,生理需要是基于“身体组织缺失”或生物化学失衡(如渴、饿、困)产生的。在休闲领域里,“最佳唤醒”(optimal arousal)通常被认为是最重要的生理需要。如 Kleiber 等人所说的:“如果一个人在被低度唤醒,或者感到很无聊的情况下,他或她更有可能去寻找那种带给他们新鲜、刺激甚至冒险感觉的休闲活动。如:寻找新的道路徒步旅行、提高电脑游戏的难度,或者去赌场赌博。相反,如果一个人被过分唤醒了,他或她更有可能去寻找那种能带给他们熟悉、放松和可预知的休闲活动。比如说,到附近的公园玩、看一场最喜欢的电影。”[6]133

相比之下,Ryan 和 Deci 认为有三类需要对人类的心理发展和幸福起至关重要的作用:一是

对自主性的需要（need for autonomy，通过个人选择和控制来自由行动）；二是对能力的需要（need for competence，有效机能相应地转化成寻找并征服更大挑战的渴望）；三是对人际关系的需要（need for interpersonal relatedness，这其中包含渴望被他人所爱和联系的感觉，渴望被他人所理解的感觉，以及渴望有意义地生活在更广泛的社会世界里的感觉）。而在这三类需要中，对自主性的需要往往被认为是最重要的，这部分是因为它与对能力的需要通常是相关的，而与对人际关系的需要则不相关（比如你可以选择打电脑游戏）[2]。

"有机整合理论"（organismic integration theory）是"自我决定理论"的另一个分支，主要研究的是人的行为动机而非心理需要。Ryan 和 Deci 认为，人的动机由自我感知的"自我决定"的程度由高至低分为内在动机（intrinsic）、整合动机（integrated）、确认动机（identified）、内摄动机（introjected）、外在动机（external）和无动机（amotivation）。具体来说，内在动机是人们对某些活动的兴趣，享受和参与纯粹是为了他们自己的利益。整合动机是人们对自身的评价与同化，而确认动机则是人们评价一个目标对他们自己是否重要。相反，内摄动机可以理解为人们做某些事情是为了维护自尊或者避免自责，而外在动机则是为了获取奖赏或者避免惩罚。最后，无动机则体现在要么一个人完全没有行动，要么行动了却不知为何这样做，或者行动了本质上却不过是装装样子[2]。

与以上"自我决定理论"相比，Ajzen 的"计划行为理论"认为一个人的行为主要是由他或她的意图决定的，而这种意图是由三种因素决定的：（1）他或她对该行为的态度（attitudes），进一步细分为情感（affective）（如快乐或不快乐）以及工具性（instrumental）态度（如明智或不明智）；（2）主观规范（subjective norms），可理解为他或她对于是否采取某种特定行为所感到的来自于对他们很重要的人的社会压力，可进一步细分为指令性的（injunctive）（如批准或不批准）以及描述性的（descriptive）（如实际做或不做）；（3）感知行为控制（perceived behavioral control），可理解为某人从自我效能（self-efficacy）的角度（如容易或困难）和控制能力（controllability）的角度（如高或低）来预期在他或她采取某一特定行为时自己所感受到可以控制（或掌握）的程度。除了这三个因素外，有时还有其他的可变因素也被测试过。对此，Ajzen 认为，只要能增强"计划行为理论"的解释力，他支持加入其他可变因素，以达到理论扩展的目的[3]。

尽管"自我决定理论"和"计划行为理论"已经被用于解释与预测各种各样的行为①，但这两个理论间的关系却没有被认真研究过。最近，Hagger 等人提议可以根据 Vallerand 的"包含对象层级关系"（hierarchy）[9]概念来创造一个一体化的理论框架。在此框架里，"计划行为理论"位于最接近的或情境（situational）的层级；而"自我决定理论"里的"动机"则位于环境/背景（contextual）的层级；最后，"自我决定理论"里的"需要"位于最低的或者说普遍的（global）层级。Hagger 等人通过具体研究节食和锻炼行为测试了这个新的理论框架，并证明了该框架的可行性[4]。

Hagger 及其同事对以上理论框架的研究是对行为理论的重大贡献。但 Kleiber 等人推测，如果不在"自我决定理论"和"计划行为理论"的基础上加入"休闲制约理论"，该理论框架并不能如其所预期的那样更好地解释或者预测人类的行为[6]。根据 Jackson 的定义，休闲制约因素可以理解为"那些研究人员假设的以及/或者个人感到或遇到过的限制因素，这些因素限制休闲喜好的形成以及/或者抑制、禁止休闲参与及享受"[10]62。而 Crawford 等的"休闲制约理论"则提出了两个主要观点：第一，有三类主要的制约因素：个人内在因素（intrapersonal，比如个人觉得能力不够）、人际关系因素（interpersonal，比如没有朋友一起参与）以及结构性因素（structural，比如没有时间和金钱）；第二，（在有制约因素的情况下）人们会为了以各种程度或形式参与他们喜欢的休闲活动而主动地寻找应对（negotiate）制约因素的方法（比如为了参与某项活动而更好地安排时间）[5]。而根据

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① 这其中包含休闲参与，参见 G. J. Walker & X. Wang, "The Meaning of Leisure for Chinese/Canadians," *Leisure Sciences*, Vol. 31, No. 1(2009), pp. 1-18; G. J. Walker, K. S. Courneya & J. Deng, "Ethnicity, Ender, and the Theory of Planned Behavior: The Case of Playing the Lottery," *Journal of Leisure Research*, Vol. 38, No. 3(2006), pp. 224-248。

第一点，Walker 等认为个人内在因素与“计划行为理论”三个决定行为意图的因素有重叠[11]，因此，休闲制约因素以及应对制约因素的方法也应该位于 Vallerand 的“包含对象层级关系”里的情境层级。

Kleiber 等人同时认为，如果还能加上人格/个性特点这个概念，Hagger 等人的理论框架就可以更好地解释和预测人类的行为[6]。而在众多的人格/个性特点调查表里，McCrae 和 Costa 的“五因素模型”(five-factor model)是最被广泛测试和支持的。他俩提出，人类有五个基本人格/个性：友善性(agreeableness)、自觉性(conscientiousness)、外向性(extroversion)、神经质(neuroticism)和开放性(openness to experience)，而每一个都可以进一步延伸到不同的层面[12]。这里有必要指出的是，Ajzen 认可了人格/个性特点对“计划行为理论”中三个主要因素即态度、主观规范以及感知行为控制的作用[3]，因此，这个因素应该位于 Vallerand 的“包含对象层级关系”里的普遍层级。

综合以上 Kleiber 等人 2011 年的研究，“综合休闲参与理论框架”(见图 1)阐述的是影响实际休闲参与的三个层级的假定因素(包含人格/个性特点、生理和心理需要等概念的普遍层级，包含内在动机、外在动机和无动机的环境/背景层级，及包含态度、主观规范、感知行为控制、意图、休闲制约因素和应对制约因素的方法的情境层级)及其之间假定的相互关系。需要重点强调的是，文化包含了以上三个层级，这说明在 Berry 等人普遍主义观点(universalistic approach)[7]的指引下，这些因素及其相互之间的关系尽管可以很大程度上被理解为是文化共通的，但它们还是会也应该会(因文化不同而)有许多不同点。下文将更详尽地讨论在这个“综合休闲参与理论框架”里有什么潜在的跨文化的相同点与不同点。

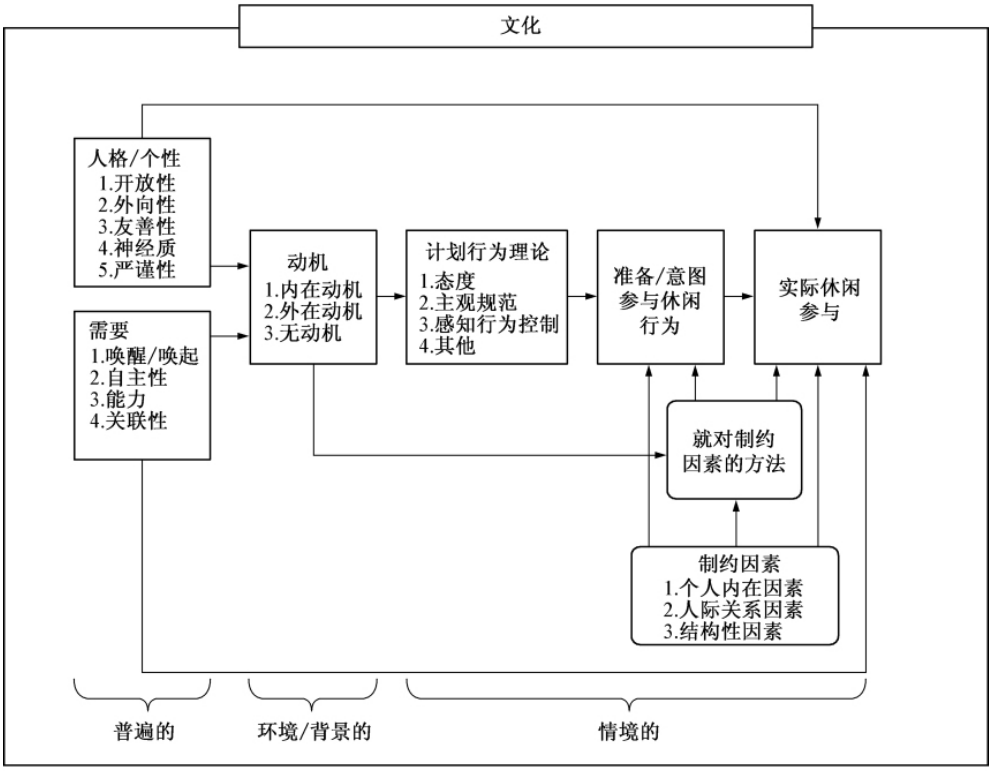
文化
人格/个性
1.开放性
2.外向性
3.友善性
4.神经质
5.严谨性
需要
1.唤醒/唤起
2.自主性
3.能力
4.关联性
动机
1.内在动机
2.外在动机
3.无动机
计划行为理论
1.态度
2.主观规范
3.感知行为控制
4.其他
准备/意图参与休闲行为
实际休闲参与
就对制约因素的方法
制约因素
1.个人内在因素
2.人际关系因素
3.结构性因素
普遍的
环境/背景的
情境的

图 1　综合休闲参与理论框架①

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① 改编自 M. S. Hagger, N. L. D. Chatzisarantis & J. Harris,"From Psychological Need Satisfaction to Intentional Behavior: Testing a Motivational Sequence in Two Behavioral Contexts,"*Personality and Social Psychology Bulletin*, Vol. 32, No. 12 (2006), pp. 131-148; D. A. Kleiber, G. J. Walker & R. C. Mannell, *A Social Psychology of Leisure*, Philadelphia: Venture Publishing, Inc., 2011。

二、“综合休闲参与理论框架”中潜在的跨文化的相同点与不同点

这一部分,我们将从三个方面展开讨论:(1)重新介绍构成“综合休闲参与理论框架”的普遍层级、环境/背景层级和情境层级里的主要概念;(2)讨论这些主要概念在加拿大人及美国人与中国人及海外华人中有什么相同点和不同点;(3)推断这些相同点和不同点在休闲参与的情境下意味着什么。

如上所述,普遍层级在“综合休闲参与理论框架”里主要包含了人格/个性特点、生理和心理需要等概念。就人格/个性特点来说,Cheung等人通过两项研究测试了McCrae和Costa的“五因素模型”的跨文化适应性并发现开放性是唯一例外的基本人格/个性因素。在这两项研究里,Cheung等人将开放性的六个不同方面(新奇感、多样性、分散思维、审美、社会敏感性以及人际关系容忍度)和中国人个性测量表(Chinese Personality Assessment Inventory)中的28项量表(如面子、和谐、人情)进行了比较和对比。他们发现:尽管开放性本身并没有很明确地符合中国学生对人格/个性(这个概念)的理解,但当把“开放性”与“外向”(extraversion)放在一起理解时(他们称之为“社交能力”或“豪爽外向”),中国学生就清楚多了。而在研究中则具体体现在加入这个“混合”的概念可以有效地帮助人们利用这四个相关联的概念来预测一些行为,像学生听什么类型的音乐或看什么种类的杂志之类[13]。因此,Cheung等人的研究表明,这些人格/性格特点对休闲参与的影响具有普遍性的趋势。而这恰恰符合了Berry等人的看法:“本质上,在世界的任何地方,尽管人类基本的心理过程是大致相同的,但它们的表现形式却可能受到文化的影响。”[7]326

至于普遍层级里的其他概念,研究表明,生理和心理需要会随文化而变化,因此,也会对休闲参与有所影响。如前所述,在休闲领域,“最佳唤醒”是被检验最频繁的生理需要。但“唤醒”与“心理效价”(valence,即舒适或不舒适)实际上构成了另一个显著的休闲特性——情感。在过去的休闲研究里,研究者通常会集中考察人们在休闲参与中的“实际情感”(actual affect)。但Tsai等人认为更有用的是去测量人们的“理想情感”(ideal affect),以及人们是通过什么行为减少“实际情感”与“理想情感”之间的落差的。对本文尤其重要的是,Tsai等人发现欧裔美国人比香港人更喜欢“高度唤醒的正向情感”(high-arousal positive affect,包括像兴高采烈的、兴奋的和热情的情感),而香港人则比欧裔美国人更倾向“低度唤醒的正向情感”(low-arousal positive affect,包括像平和的、放松的、安静的情感)。而根据这些倾向性,Tsai等人提出:西方人会更倾向于高度唤醒的休闲活动,而亚洲人则更倾向于低度唤醒的休闲活动[14]。巧合的是,这个命题刚好与Jackson和Walker的研究结果相一致。Jackson和Walker发现,加拿大学生更热衷主动的、类似锻炼或者团队运动的活动,而中国学生更喜欢参加被动的、像阅读或打电脑游戏之类的活动①。

与此同时,文化也对心理需要的两方面有一定的影响,不管是从心理需要本身相对的重要性而言,或者是从它们是怎样被构想的角度出发。比如,Sheldon等人在他们的研究中让美国和韩国的学生分别按优先顺序排列10种潜在的心理需要(见表1)[15]。如表1所示,自尊心(self-esteem)对美国学生是最重要的,而归属感(belonging,即“自我决定理论”中的人际关系)于韩国学生是最重要的。这个结果和之前Triandis的研究相一致。Triandis认为,来自像中国、日本、韩国这样重视集体主义(collectivistic)的国家的人通常更注重集体的和谐,而来自像加拿大、美国和欧洲这样重视个人主义(individualistic)的国家的人则通常更在乎他们自己。更重要的是,这种基本的态度倾向也会影响对其他一些“核心需要”(core needs)的理解[16]。比如,相关研究表明:(1)相对于个人主义文化影响下的

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① E. L. Jackson & G. J. Walker,"A Cross-Cultural Comparison of Leisure Styles and Constraints Experienced by Chinese and Canadian University Students," in *Ninth World Leisure Congress Abstracts: Oral and Poster Presentations*, Hangzhou: Ninth World Leisure Congress, 2006.

人更强调自尊来说,集体主义文化影响下的人更强调自我批评[17];(2) 与受个人主义文化影响的人相比,受集体主义文化影响的人重视努力甚于能力[17];(3) 受集体主义文化影响的人通常会注重集体选择(特别是由对他们很重要或更高社会地位的人做决定时),而受个人主义文化影响的人则会更注重个人选择[18]。

表1　美国和韩国学生的需求满足差异

“需要”分级	美国学生	韩国学生
首要的	自尊心	归属感
次要的	归属感、自主性和能力(此三项得分相同)	自尊心
第三级的	满足—刺激,物质繁荣,自我实现—意义,安全感和知名度—影响力(此四项得分相同)	自主性、能力和满足—刺激(此三项得分相同)
其他	金钱—奢侈(享受)	知名度—影响力,安全感,自我实现—意义(此三项得分相同),物质繁荣和金钱—奢侈(享受)(此两项得分相同)

资料来源:改编自 K. M. Sheldon, A. J. Elliot & Y. Kim, et al, "What is Satisfying abut Satisfying Events? Testing 10 Candidate Psychological Needs," *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, Vol. 80, No. 2(2001), pp. 325-339。

总而言之,以上研究结果表明对中国人来说,休闲参与对于满足他们对归属感的需要是很重要的。然而,反过来说,正是因为维持社会关系与社会和谐在情感和认知上都是很费力的,人们有时反倒渴望脱离这种(对归属感的)需要。这个论点恰好符合两个不同研究的发现。在 Freysinger 和 Chen 的研究里,中国人更倾向于单独参加休闲活动[19];而在 Tafarodi 等人的研究里,中国学生相比加拿大学生更常参加那些可以给他们更多自我表现(self-expression)机会的独自一人完成的业余爱好活动[20]。此外,考虑到之前讨论的不同文化所体现出的不同的心理需要(比如自尊心与自我批评,能力与努力,以及个人选择与集体选择),需要本身(也许更准确地说,是它们的相反需要)或许也会对休闲参与有所影响。

环境/背景层级在“综合休闲参与理论框架”里只包含了来自“自我决定理论”的动机概念[2]。在一项针对加拿大和中国大学生的休闲行为的研究中,Walker 和 Wang 发现,两国学生的休闲行为主要都是来自于内在动机(比如会带来有趣和享受的感觉);然而相对加拿大学生来说,中国学生明显缺乏确认动机(目标对个体的重要性)和内摄动机(维护自尊或避免自责)。这个结果同时表明,在不同文化下休闲的普遍定义特征是它的内在(动机)本质[21]。相反,休闲的“感知的个人价值”(perceived personal value)与“个人自我的不同方面”(aspects of the self)的感知关系很有可能会因为文化的不同而不同。

综上所述,本文提出以下三个论点:(1) 高度内在动机驱使下的休闲活动具有举世普遍性的特征;(2) 休闲参与总的来说是随不同文化对其重视程度的不同而变化的;(3) 特定休闲活动的参与(情况)是由其所处的文化是个人主义为主(更重视自我为主的情感)还是集体主义为主(不重视自我为主的情感)决定的。以上第一点和第二点都得到了实证研究的验证。比如,看电视的普遍性证明了第一点,而各种国家级的价值观调查研究(需考虑群组差异)则证明了第二点①。至于第三点,目前还缺乏相关的实证研究。

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① 如需具体案例,可以参看 J. Sun & X. Wang, "Value Differences between Generations in China: A Study of Shanghai," *Journal of Youth Studies*, Vol. 13, No. 1(2010), pp. 65-81。

至于情境层级,在“综合休闲参与理论框架”里则包含了来自 Ajzen“计划行为理论” 的态度、主观规范、感知行为控制、意图,以及来自 Crawford 等人“休闲制约理论”的制约因素及应对制约因素的方法等主要概念。如同“自我决定理论”,在意识到“计划行为理论”框架里某些概念会受到不同文化影响的同时,那些在该理论指导下的研究已经广泛地证明其有跨文化适应性(与 Berry 等人提出的普遍主义观点相同)。比如,某些研究者像 Chan 和 Lau[22] 及 Park 和 Levine[23] 发现,个人主义为主的国家的人比较注重态度,而集体主义为主的国家的人比较重视主观规范。但这样的发现也会随着定义域(domain)的不同而不同,如 Walker 等人的研究就表明,态度是预测华裔加拿大人与英裔加拿大人是否“意图”玩彩票的最好因素。Walker 等人还注意到了一定程度的性别交互作用(gender interaction):尽管两个子类别的主观规范对女性不起任何作用,但描述性的规范(重要的人做了什么)可以用来预测英裔加拿大男性的意图,指令性的规范(重要的人说了什么)可以用来预测华裔加拿大男性的意图[24]。

此外,如 Kleiber 等人之前提议的,如果“休闲制约理论”也能够融入 Hagger 等人发展的理论框架中,那该框架就能更好地解释或者预测人类的行为[6]。Walker 对赌场赌博行为的初步研究恰好符合这个论点。他发现休闲制约因素远比态度、主观规范、感知行为控制更容易预测人们去赌场赌博的意图①。而 Walker 和其同事更早的研究则提出,休闲制约因素方面的研究也应该把文化的影响考虑进去。他们在 2007 年发现,当需要开始一项新的休闲活动时,中国学生更容易受到个人内在因素与人际关系因素的制约,而加拿大学生则更多地受到结构性因素的影响。尤其是中国学生还提到履行职责(role fulfillment,比如做一个好学生、好朋友或者好儿子/女儿)很多情况下是一个符合中国传统文化价值观的很重要的个人内在制约因素[11]。类似的,Liang 和 Walker 发现,当需要参加一项新的休闲活动时,面子问题于中国人,尤其是教育水平不高的中国人来说是一个很重要的个人内在制约因素[25]。最后,文化还对一个人在参加休闲活动时会如何应对制约因素有影响。根据 Weisz 等人的研究,主要控制(primary control)与辅助控制(secondary control)是两个主要的控制类型。主要控制会在人们决定通过影响现实状况来增加他们的回报的时侯出现,而辅助控制则恰恰相反,它会在人们决定通过改变以适应现实状况来增加他们的回报的时侯出现[26]。如 Morling 对美、日两国有氧运动爱好者的研究就表明,文化差异可以体现在控制和休闲参与方面——前者比较重视主要控制,而后者则更重视辅助控制[27]。鉴于上面的研究结果,中国人相比加拿大人或美国人来说,也许会比较倾向于通过辅助控制来应对他们所遇到的休闲制约因素。

三、结　论

本文第一个目的是对根据 Hagger 等人与 Kleiber 等人的研究和建议发展出的“综合休闲参与理论框架”进行概述。在过去的十几年里,在主流社会心理学或者社会休闲心理学这些领域中,一直有声音呼吁少一些“理论羞怯”(theory shyness)[28],多一些理论一体化的尝试[1]。尤其是 Crawford 和 Jackson 曾对此有过很精彩的陈述:“也许到了最后我们才意识到,我们的研究领域里所面临的一个主要问题不是我们的(理论一体化)尝试过于无礼傲慢,而是我们的尝试从来就不够大胆。所以,为什么我们不在目前(休闲理论研究)还算比较初级的阶段更勇敢、更有想象力地去推测呢?’[1]165 也正因此,我们相信本文讨论的这个全新的“综合休闲参与理论框架”不仅是非常“大胆”的,而且还会对整个休闲研究的发展起到重要作用。

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① G. J. Walker,″Incorporating Anticipated Constraint and Anticipated Constraint Negotiation into Hagger’s et al(2006) Multi-Theory Framework,″ Manuscript Submitted for Publication,2011.

本文第二个目的是在意识到许多影响休闲参与的因素很大程度上有文化共通性的同时，通过重点对加拿大人及美国人与中国人及海外华人的对比(发现潜在的不同点)，来阐述休闲参与是如何有可能因文化的不同而不同的。如同文中众多研究结果提到的那样，在 Berry 等人普遍主义观点的指引下，我们相信基本的心理概念对人类来说是共通的，然而，它们是怎么样被定义的、怎么样被理解的，以及有什么样的表现形式、有什么相对突出的地方，都会受到文化的影响。因为本文讨论的这个全新的“综合休闲参与理论框架”充分体现了这一普遍主义观点，我们进而相信它不仅是非常“大胆”的，而且还会对整个跨文化休闲研究尤其是对中国休闲研究的发展起到重要作用。

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内容简介：狐狸在中国历史中的形象是暧昧不明的，在文人笔记、传奇故事与地方志记载中，它有时化作年轻貌美的女子，以色诱人；有时是白发老翁，看似饱学之士；有时为祸害；有时却能施行法术行医助人，让人无法捉摸。老百姓对其又爱又怕，或敬而远之，或小心翼翼地祭拜它……

在本书中，作者细致地梳理了各种文字史料，追溯狐狸形象在中国最早的起源、发展和影响，进而谈及其背后的文化意义。全书文笔细腻，浅显易懂，以优美的笔调形塑了狐狸在历史中的样貌以及这个"多才多艺"的狐仙在传统中国社会中的影响力。文中所提及引用的资料多为文人笔记或传奇小说，读来轻松有趣、引人入胜，是一本结合了历史研究与乡野传说的人文佳作。

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An Overview of a Comprehensive Leisure Participation Framework and Its Application for Cross-cultural Leisure Research

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One of the characteristics of a "good" theory is its potential to be "integrative"[1]153-167. Unfortunately, there has been very little theory integration in either mainstream social psychology or the social psychology of leisure, although this has recently begun to change. In terms of the former, for example, Hagger, Chatzisarantis, and Harris[2] developed and tested a framework that combined self-determination theory[3] and the theory of planned behavior[4]. In terms of the latter, Kleiber, Walker, and Mannell[5] envisioned how leisure constraints theory[6] could be integrated into Hagger and associates' work, as well as how it could be further extended by also incorporating personality traits and physiological needs. Thus, the first objective of this paper is to provide an overview of this comprehensive leisure participation framework.

It is important to remember, however, that in cross-cultural psychology (and, by extension, the cross-cultural psychology of leisure), universalism "adopts the working assumptions that basic psychological processes are likely to be common features of human life everywhere, but that their manifestations are likely to be influenced by culture"[7]326. In the case of Kleiber's et al.[5] comprehensive leisure participation framework, therefore, it would be expected that some of its components and relationships might vary across cultures. Thus, the second objective of this paper is to describe how leisure participation may potentially differ across cultures—with particular emphasis being placed on differences between Canadian and American, and Chinese and overseas Chinese—while still recognizing that the factors that affect leisure participation may still be largely similar cross-culturally.

Ⅰ. Overview of the Comprehensive Leisure Participation Framework

Self-determination theory (SDT)[3] and the theory of planned behavior (TPB)[4] are the two

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predominant social psychological frameworks for explaining and predicting behavior. SDT is composed of various sub-theories, one of which is basic needs theory. Baumeister & Leary[8]498 identified a number of criteria that had to be met for something to be deemed a need (rather than a want or desire), including that it must: (1) operate across a wide variety of settings; (2) impact a broad variety of behaviors; (3) direct cognitive processing; (4) motivate toward satiation or satisfaction; (5) have negative effects (e. g., medically, psychologically, and/or behaviorally) when satisfaction does not occur; (6) have affective consequences (e. g., increase happiness); and (7) be universal. Two need categories are generally recognized: physiological and psychological. Physiological needs are founded upon "tissue deficits" or biochemical imbalances (e. g., thirst, hunger, sleep). In terms of leisure, optimal arousal is often proposed to be the most important physiological need. According to Kleiber et al.[5]133:

> …if a person is under-aroused, or bored, she or he is more likely to seek out leisure activities or settings that are new, challenging, or maybe even risky (e. g., hiking a new trail, playing at a higher level of difficulty in a computer game, going to a casino). If a person is over-aroused, she is more likely to seek out leisure activities or settings that are familiar, relaxing, and predictable (e. g., visiting a nearby park, watching a favorite movie).

In contrast, Ryan and Deci[3] held that there were three needs essential for people's psychological growth and well-being: (1) the need for autonomy (which involves freedom to initiate one's behavior, typically through personal choice and control); (2) the need for competence (which involves effective functioning and, in turn, the desire to seek out and conquer ever bigger challenges); and (3) the need for interpersonal relatedness (which involves people feeling that: (a) they are loved by and connected to others, (b) those others understand them, and (c) they are meaningfully involved with the broader social world in which they live). Of these three core psychological needs, autonomy is generally considered to be the most important, in part because autonomy and competence are always presumed pertinent whereas relatedness is not (e. g., if you choose to play a computer game by yourself).

Another SDT sub-theory—organismic integration theory—focuses on behavioral motives rather than psychological needs. Ryan and Deci[3] held that motivations range from intrinsic to integrated to identified to introjected to external to amotivation, with the first having the greatest degree of perceived "self-determination" and the last the least. Intrinsic motivation involves interest, enjoyment, and participation in activities for their own sake[3]. Integrated motivation involves evaluation and assimilation into the self, whereas identified motivation involves valuing a goal as being personally important[3]. In contrast, introjected motivations are performed to enhance pride or avoid guilt, whereas external motivations are performed to obtain rewards or avoid punishments[3]. Lastly, amotivation entails a person not acting at all, acting but being unaware of why he or she is doing so, or acting but essentially just "going through the motions"[3].

In contrast with the above, according to the theory of planned behavior (TPB)[4], a person's behavior is largely dependent on his or her intention to perform a behavior which, in turn, is determined by: (1) his or her attitudes toward the behavior, both affective ("Is it enjoyable or unenjoyable?") and instrumental ("Is it wise or unwise?"); (2) the subjective norms he or she believes significant others have concerning the behavior, both injunctive (″Do they approve or disapprove?″) and descriptive (″Do they actually do it or not?″); and (3) his or her perception of whether the behavior can be performed (i. e., perceived behavioral control), both in terms of self-efficacy (″Is it easy or difficult?″) and controllability (″Do I have a little control or a lot?″). On occasion, other variables have been tested in conjunction with attitude, subjective norm, and perceived behavioral control, with Ajzen being supportive of such theoretical extension as long these new factors are proven to improve TPB's explanatory ability.

Although SDT and TPB have been used to explain and predict numerous behaviors (including leisure participation; e. g., Walker & Wang, 2009; Walker, Courneya & Deng, 2006, respectively)[9-10] the relationship between these two theories has been largely unexamined. Recently, however, Hagger et al. (2006)[2] proposed that an integrative framework could be created based on Vallerand's hierarchy[11], where: (1) TPB is located at the most proximal or situational level; (2) SDT, in terms of motivations, is located at the contextual level; and (3) SDT, in terms of needs, is located at the most distal or global level. Hagger et al. tested their framework in regard to dieting and exercising and support was found in both instances.

Hagger and associates' work[2] makes an important contribution to behavioral theorizing. But Kleiber et al.[5] have speculated that, by not including leisure constraints theory along with SDT and TPB, their framework did not explain or predict human behavior as well as it potentially could. Leisure constraints are ″factors that are assumed by researchers and/or perceived or experienced by individuals to limit the formation of leisure preferences and/or inhibit or prohibit participation and enjoyment in leisure″[12]62. Leisure constraints theory (LCT)[6] proposes that: (1) there are three types of constraints, intrapersonal (e. g., perceived lack of skill), interpersonal (e. g., lack of friends to participate with), and structural (e. g., lack of time and money); and (2) people actively ″negotiate″ the constraints they face in order to participate to some degree and/or in some form in their preferred leisure activities (e. g., by budgeting their time so they can engage in an activity). In terms of the former, Walker, Jackson, and Deng[13] posited that intrapersonal constraints overlap with TPB's three predictors of intention, which suggests that leisure constraints (and, it follows, leisure constraint negotiation) are also located at the situational level of Vallerand's hierarchy[11].

Kleiber et al.[5] also speculated that, by incorporating personality traits, Hagger and associates' framework[2] could better explain and predict human behavior. Numerous personality trait inventories have been developed, with McCrae and Costa's five-factor model[14] currently being the most widely tested and supported. These researchers held that there are five fundamental traits—agreeableness, conscientiousness, extroversion, neuroticism, and openness to experience—each of which can be further divided into various facets. It is worth also noting here that the role of personality traits on attitude, subjective norm, and perceived behavioral control has been acknowledged in TPB[4], which suggests that this variable is located at the global level of Vallerand's hierarchy[11].

Figure 1, adapted from Kleiber et al.[5], identifies the global (i. e., personality traits, physiological and psychological needs), contextual (i. e., intrinsic motivation, extrinsic motivation, and amotivation), and situational (i. e., attitudes, subjective norm, perceived behavioral control, intention, leisure constraints, leisure constraint negotiation) factors that are presumed to affect actual leisure participation, as well as the presumed relationships among them. It is important to note that all three levels are encompassed by culture, which suggests a universalistic approach[7] such that these factors and relationships are construed to be largely similar across cultures but that important differences can and do exist. Potential cross-cultural similarities and differences in our comprehensive leisure participation framework are discussed more fully in the following section.

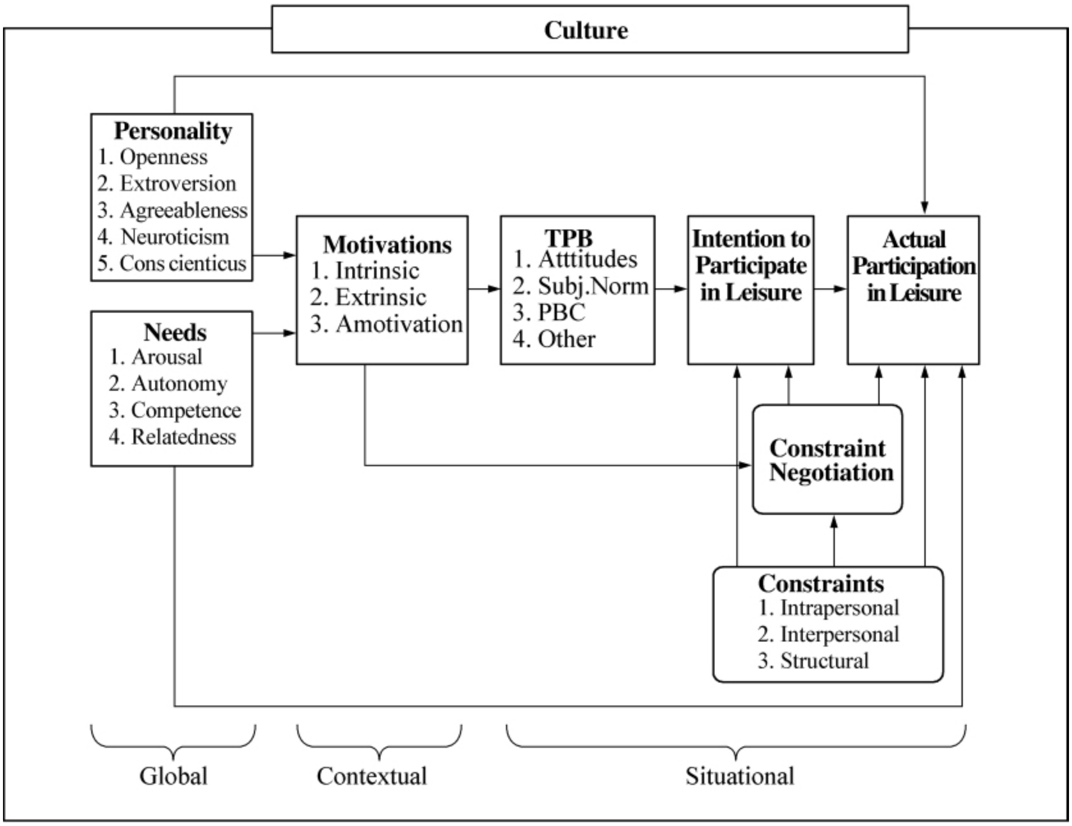
Culture
Personality
1. Openness
2. Extroversion
3. Agreeableness
4. Neuroticism
5. Cons cienticus
Needs
1. Arousal
2. Autonomy
3. Competence
4. Relatedness
Motivations
1. Intrinsic
2. Extrinsic
3. Amotivation
TPB
1. Atttitudes
2. Subj.Norm
3. PBC
4. Other
Intention to Participate in Leisure
Actual Participation in Leisure
Constraint Negotiation
Constraints
1. Intrapersonal
2. Interpersonal
3. Structural
Global
Contextual
Situational

Figure 1　Comprehensive Leisure Participation Framework①

Ⅱ. Potential Cross-cultural Similarities and Differences in the Comprehensive Leisure Participation Framework

In this section we: (1) reintroduce the key concepts that compose the global, contextual, and situational levels of our comprehensive leisure participation framework; (2) discuss how each of these concepts has been found to be similar and different between Canadian and American, and Chinese and overseas Chinese; and (3) speculate on what these similarities and differences might mean in regard to leisure participation.

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① Adapted from M. S. Hagger, N. L. D. Chatzisarantis & J. Harris, "From Psychological Need Satisfaction to Intentional Behavior: Testing a Motivational Sequence in Two Behavioral Contexts," *Personality and Social Psychology Bulletin*, Vol. 32, No. 12 (2006), pp. 131-148; D. A. Kleiber, G. J. Walker & R. C. Mannell, *A Social Psychology of Leisure*, Philadelphia: Venture Publishing, Inc., 2011.

The global level of our comprehensive leisure participation framework is composed of personality factors and physiological and psychological needs. In terms of personality traits, a review[15] of the five-factor model's (FFM)[14] cross-cultural applicability generally supported all but openness to experience. Cheung and colleagues conducted two studies that compared and contrasted Openness' six facets (i. e., novelty, diversity, divergent thinking, aesthetics, social sensitivity, interpersonal tolerance) with 28 Chinese Personality Assessment Inventory (CPAI) scales (e. g., face, harmony, renqing). Although openness did not clearly correspond with how Chinese students construed personality, a combination of openness and extraversion—which they called Social Potency/Expansiveness—did. Moreover, inclusion of this "hybrid" factor improved the predictability of four behavioral correlates including the variety of music students listened to and the variety of magazines they read. This finding suggests that this trait's effect on leisure participation exhibits universalistic tendencies (i. e., "basic psychological processes are likely to be common features of human life everywhere, but that their manifestations are likely to be influenced by culture"; Berry et al., 2002)[7]326.

In terms of the other global level concept, research suggests that both physiological and psychological needs vary across cultures and, therefore, so too could leisure participation. As mentioned earlier, optimal arousal is the most often examined physiological need in regard to leisure. But arousal, along with valence (i. e., pleasant/unpleasant), actually compose another often identified leisure property: affect. In the past, leisure researchers have usually focused on how people really feel (or "actual affect") during leisure participation. But Tsai, Knutson, and Fung[16] argued that measuring how people want to feel (or "ideal affect"), and what they do to reduce the discrepancy between actual and ideal affect, could prove beneficial. Of particular import for this paper, Tsai et al.[16] found that European Americans preferred high-arousal positive affect (or HAP, including elated, excited, and enthusiastic) more than Hong Kong Chinese, while Hong Kong Chinese preferred low-arousal positive affect (or LAP, including calm, relaxed, and peaceful) more than European Americans. Based on these preferences, Tsai and associates[16] proposed that Westerners would be more inclined to engage in HAP-producing leisure activities while Asians would be more inclined to engage in LAP-producing leisure activities. This proposition is consistent with, among other researches, Jackson and Walker's finding① that Canadian students participated in more "active" activities (e. g., exercise, team sports) while Chinese students participated in more "passive" activities (e. g., reading, computer games).

Culture has also been found to impact psychological needs, both in regard to their relative importance as well as how they are conceived. For example, Sheldon et al.[17] had American and Korean students rank 10 potential psychological needs (Table 1). As is evident in this table, self-esteem was of primary importance for U. S. students while belonging (i. e., SDT's interpersonal relatedness) was of primary importance for Korean students. This finding is congruent with research[18] that indicates members of "collectivistic" cultures (e. g., Chinese,

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① E. L. Jackson & G. J. Walker, "A Cross-cultural Comparison of Leisure Styles and constraints Experienced by Chinese and Canadian University Students," in *Ninth World Leisure Congress Abstracts: Oral and Poster Presentations*, Hangzhou: Ninth World Leisure Congress, 2006.

Japanese, and Koreans) are generally more focused on the group (and group harmony) whereas members of "individualistic" cultures (e. g., mainstream Canadians, Americans, and Europeans) are more focused on the self. Importantly, this orientation also affects how other key core needs are construed with, for instance, related research suggesting that: (1) members of collectivistic cultures often emphasize self-criticism more than self-esteem, whereas the opposite is true for members of individualistic cultures[19]; (2) members of collectivistic cultures often emphasize effort more than competence, whereas the opposite is true for members of individualistic cultures (Heine, Kitayama, Lehman et al., as cited in Heine et al., 1999)[19]; and (3) members of collectivistic cultures often emphasize group choice (i. e., by significant others, especially those of higher status), whereas members of individualistic cultures are more likely to emphasize personal choice[20].

Interpreted holistically, the above results suggest that satisfying the need for belongingness through leisure participation may be especially important for Chinese people. Conversely, however, because maintenance of social relations and social harmony can be affectively and cognitively demanding, escaping this need may also be desirable at times. Freysinger and Chen's finding[21] that Chinese people preferred participating in leisure activities by themselves supports this proposition, as does Tafarodi et al.'s discovery[22] that Chinese students engaged in solitary hobbies more than Canadian students, potentially because it allowed them greater opportunity for self-expression. Additionally, given the reported cultural variation in self-esteem/self-criticism, competence/effort, and personal/significant other choice, each of these psychological needs (or, perhaps more accurately, need "counterparts") could also affect leisure participation.

Table 1　American and Korean Students' Need Satisfaction①

Need Ranking	U. S. Students	Korean Students
Primary	Self-esteem	Belonging
Secondary	Belonging, Autonomy, and Competence (tied)	Self-esteem
Tertiary	Pleasure-stimulation, Physical thriving, Self-actualization-meaning, Security, and Popularity-influence (tied)	Autonomy, Competence, and Pleasure-stimulation (tied)
Other	Money-luxury	Popularity-influence, Security, Self-actualization-meaning (tied), Physical-thriving and Money-luxury (tied)

The contextual level of our comprehensive leisure participation framework is composed solely of SDT's motivations[3]. A study[9] of Chinese and Canadian students' leisure indicated that, while both groups were primarily intrinsically motivated (i. e., interesting and enjoyable), the former group was significantly less motivated in terms of identification (i. e., personally important) and introjection (i. e., pride, guilt). These results suggest that leisure's defining attribute, across cultures, is its intrinsic essence[9]. Conversely, leisure's perceived personal value, and its perceived relationship with aspects of the self, likely differs cross-culturally. Based on the above, we would expect to find that: (1) highly intrinsic leisure activities are common around the world, (2) leisure participation overall varies

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① Table adapted from K. M. Sheldon, A. J. Elliot & Y. Kim, et al, "What is Satisfying abut Satisfying Events? Testing 10 Candidate Psychological Needs," *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, Vol. 80, No. 2(2001), pp. 325-339.

depending upon the importance a culture places upon it; and (3) participation in certain leisure activities varies depending upon whether a culture was more individualistic (and emphasized self-focusedemotions such as pride and guilt) or more collectivistic (and did not). There is empirical support for the first (as evidenced by the ubiquity of watching television) and second① propositions, whereas empirical testing of the third is currently lacking.

The situational level of our comprehensive leisure participation framework is composed of attitudes, subjective norm, and perceived behavioral control, as well as intention to participate (all from TPB)[4]; and intrapersonal, interpersonal, and structural constraints, as well as constraint negotiation (all from LCT)[6]. As with SDT, studies that have employed TPB have largely supported its cross-cultural applicability though, at the same time, many have also acknowledged that some of its constructs are influenced by culture (i. e., universalism)[7]. For example, some researchers[23-24] have found that attitude was more important for those in individualistic cultures whereas subjective norm was more important for those in collectivistic cultures. This finding, however, may vary depending upon the domain, as Walker, Courneya, and Deng's results[10] indicated that attitude was the best predictor of intention to play the lottery for both Chinese-Canadians and British-Canadians. Walker et al.[10] also found a gender interaction such that, although neither of the two sub-types of subjective norm were predictive for females, descriptive norm (i. e., what significant other people do) predicted intention to play for British-Canadian males and injunctive norm (i. e., what significant other people say) predicted intention to play for Chinese-Canadian males.

As noted earlier, Kleiber et al.[5] proposed that Hagger and associates' framework[2] would benefit if leisure constraints theory[6] was incorporated. Preliminary research② supports this proposition in terms of predicting intention to casino gamble above and beyond attitude, subjective, norm, and perceived behavioral control. Other leisure constraints research supports taking culture into account, with Walker, Jackson, and Deng[13] discovering that, when it came to starting a new leisure activity, Chinese students were more intrapersonally and interpersonally, but less structurally, constrained than Canadian students. Chinese students also reported that role fulfillment (i. e., being a good student, friend, or son/daughter) was a much more important intrapersonal constraint, which is consistent with Chinese values. Similarly, Liang and Walker[25] found that face was an intrapersonal constraint to starting a new leisure activity for some Chinese people, particularly those who were less-educated. Finally, culture could also affect how a person negotiates the factors that constrain his or her leisure. According to Weisz, Rothbaum, and Blackburn[26] there are two types of control: primary and secondary. Primary control occurs when individuals enhance their rewards by influencing existing realities. In contrast, secondary control occurs when individuals enhance their rewards by accommodating to existing realities. Cultural differences have been found in regard to control and leisure participation, with American aerobics

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① As evidenced by various national value surveys, although cohort differences must also be taken into account; see, for example, J. Sun & X. Wang, "Value Differences between Generations in China: A Study of Shanghai," *Journal of Youth Studies*, Vol. 13, No. 1(2010), pp. 65-81.

② G. J. Walker, "Incorporating Anticipated Constraint and Anticipated Constraint Negotiation into Hagger's et al (2006) Multi-Theory Framework," Manuscript Submitted for Publication, 2011.

participants emphasizing primary control and Japanese aerobics participants emphasizing secondary control[27]. Building on this finding, Chinese people may be more apt to use secondary control as a way to deal with their leisure constraints compared with Canadian or Americans.

Ⅲ. Conclusion

Our first objective in this paper was to provide an overview of a comprehensive leisure participation framework based on the work of Hagger et al.[2] and Kleiber et al.[5]. Over the past decade or so, there have been increasing calls in both social psychology and the social psychology of leisure for less "theory shyness"[28] and more theoretical integration[1]. The latter researchers stated this best when they wrote:

> We may ultimately come to the realization that one of the major issues this line of work faces is not that it has been too brazen, but that it may not have been adventurous enough. Why not be daring and speculate imaginatively now, at this relatively early stage?[1]165

The framework outlined herein, we hold, is both daring and adventurous, and it could make an important contribution to the advancement of leisure studies generally.

Our second objective was to describe how leisure participation may potentially differ across cultures—with particular emphasis being placed on differences between Canadian and American, and Chinese and overseas Chinese—while still acknowledging that the factors that affect leisure participation are largely similar cross-culturally. As is evident from what we have written, we are universalistic in perspective[7] in that we believe that basic psychological concepts are common to all humans but how they are construed and manifested, and their relative saliency, can be influenced by culture. Moreover, because the comprehensive leisure participation framework[2,5] described herein reflects this perspective, we hold that it is not only daring and adventurous, but that it could also make an important contribution to the advancement of cross-cultural leisure studies generally, and Chinese leisure studies specifically.

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