

休闲与幸福：错综复杂的关系

[加拿大] 罗伯特·斯特宾斯

(卡尔加里大学 社会学系, 阿尔伯塔 卡尔加里 T2N 1N4)

□ 刘慧梅 译

[摘 要] 幸福感概念构建在人具有主动性这一假定上,即人们若欲获得幸福,必须积极行动,唯有借助个人努力才可实现。幸福感亦为目标,一旦达成便可证明一个人整体的幸福。因此,我们愿意朝着幸福和良好的生活品质而努力这一事实,也更深刻地诠释了幸福的本质。另外,心理和社会的双重积极是幸福感的源泉。幸福的人总能积极地对待生活,不论眼前还是今后。休闲能够带来幸福,但休闲并非幸福本身。事实上,休闲是一种活动,是人们在空闲时间为了让生活变得更精彩、更有意义而做的事情。总体而言,我们如果因某种休闲活动而感到幸福,表明我们至少在一定程度上得到了满足。虽然休闲并不等同于幸福,但毋庸置疑,它对创造幸福至关重要。我们在休闲研究中绝不能忽略休闲与幸福这个当今生活中最具活力领域之间的联系,否则,我们将会丧失提升休闲与科学及公众之间关联性的机会。

[关键词] 休闲; 幸福; 幸福感

Leisure and Happiness: An Intricate Relationship

Robert A. Stebbins

(Department of Sociology, University of Calgary, Calgary T2N 1N4, Canada)

Abstract: The concept of well-being rests on the presupposition that, to achieve it, people must be proactive, must exercise personal agency to arrive at this state. Well-being is therefore also a goal, which when reached will demonstrate a person's overall happiness. Happiness is therefore further explained by our willingness to work toward our well-being and an agreeable quality of life. Moreover, psychological and sociological positiveness are sources of happiness. Happy people are positive about their lives, whether at the moment or over a long period of time. Leisure can generate happiness, but is not itself happiness. By contrast, leisure is activity; it is what we do in free time to make life attractive and worthwhile. In general, to be happy with leisure activity is, at least in part, to be satisfied with it. Although leisure is not happiness, it clearly plays a pivotal role

[收稿日期] 2011-12-06

[本刊网址·在线杂志] <http://www.journals.zju.edu.cn/soc>

[在线优先出版日期] 2011-12-31

[作者简介] 罗伯特·斯特宾斯,男,加拿大卡尔加里大学社会学系教授,加拿大皇家学会院士,著作三十余本,论文二百二十多篇,著作包括《深度休闲理论和研究的新方向》、《社会科学探索研究》、《休闲参与的组织基础:动机探索》、《工作与休闲之间》、《作为一种休闲的志愿者活动》等。

[译者简介] 刘慧梅,女,浙江大学外国语言文化与国际交流学院副教授,浙江大学亚太休闲教育研究中心研究员,教育学博士,主要从事休闲学、翻译学研究。

in generating this state. We in leisure studies should never lose sight of this relationship with one of today's most vibrant spheres of life, for to do so would be to miss an opportunity to promote leisure's relevance to matters that count with science and the general public.

Key words: leisure; happiness; well-being

一、引言

生活中枯燥乏味之事总是接二连三,但其中依然交织着对幸福生活持久而美好的讨论。虽然在这些时髦讨论中,有些建议华而不实且太过简单,但整体而言,讨论幸福是一件好事,至少它强调的是积极因素,而且促使人们从幸福的角度来思索人生。

理查德·莱亚德以描述性的说法将幸福定义为一种心情愉快并享受生活的状态^{[1]12}。而另一些思想家则认为幸福是瞬间的(短暂的),“被认为是反映一个人当前时刻的瞬间情感”^{[2]208},支持这种说法的例子有:“我为自己的考试成绩感到开心”,“派对很成功,我很高兴”,“那一天能得那个奖,我很高兴”。我们可以将这些称为“短暂幸福”,因为所谓的“当前时刻”可能持续几分钟甚至几天。与此相反,另一些思想家们则把幸福视为对人生中更长一段时期的描述,如“我有一个幸福的童年”、“我在这个社区的几年时光很幸福”、“我退休后会很幸福”等话语中表达的“幸福”。在这一点上,迪尔纳认为幸福和主观幸福感是一致的^[3]。他所说的幸福感是由积极的情感和生活的满足结合而成的。同样地,凯斯把社会幸福感定义为:“一种没有负面境况和感受的状态,一种成功调整自己并适应这个不安定世界的结果”^{[4]121}。以乐观态度来看待此事,我们可以把幸福感看做是拥有健康的体魄、适量的财富以及日常的快乐和满足,这就是“长久幸福”。

无论是短暂或长久幸福,幸福都是大量不同的个人和社会条件引发的个人心理状态的结果。因此,去描述人们的幸福(通常是长久幸福),了解有多少人是幸福的,或是认为将来会很幸福,或是曾经很幸福等等,都是非常有趣的事。基于此,编制国民幸福指数在当今是一件寻常之事^①,英国首相戴维·卡梅隆就决定制定国民幸福指数。但从这些主要事件中也可以看出,短暂幸福和长久幸福的区别被忽视了。

然而,要解释这一趋势则像阐释“幸福”本身一样更具复杂性。对“幸福”的阐释在很大程度上是围绕“金钱是否能使人幸福”这一问题展开的。而且,从下文对“成就感”的探讨中可以很容易得出结论:大多数情况下,幸福与金钱并无直接关联。莱亚德在总结了他关于这一问题的一项对比研究后提出:“通过对比不同国家的情况,结论亦如历史所告诉我们的那样——对平均收入高于两万美元者而言,更高的收入并不能保证拥有更多的幸福。”^{[1]34}在衣食住行这些基本的需求得到保障的情况下,拥有更多的金钱并不一定会带来更多的幸福^{[5]5}。

无论是个人主观层面还是社会层面,幸福感概念构建在人具有主动性这一假定上,即人们若欲获得幸福,必须积极行动,唯有借助个人主观努力才可实现。幸福感亦为目标,一旦达成便可证明一个人整体的幸福。同样,要获得高品质生活也是如此。幸福感和生活品质这两个概念都代表了个体自我改善的过程,因为它们都是个体感受到的状态。幸福可进一步诠释为:我们为了自己的幸福感和高品质的生活而努力工作的积极意愿。

此外,心理和社会的双重积极是幸福感的源泉。幸福的人总能积极地对待生活,不论眼前还是今后。这种看法描述了积极生活的结果,同时也描述了认为生命有吸引力和价值从而追求积极

① 参见《卫报》的调查, <http://www.guardian.co.uk>, 2010年11月14日。

生活的结果。从本质上讲,积极既是状态,亦是目的。作为状态,可将积极视为长久幸福之一方面;然而作为目的,它更注重对生命价值之探求,强调在生命中找寻真正的意义和理想。个体的主观能动性是积极状态之先决因素^{[6]7}。积极努力寻求的生活当有所收获、令人满意且能实现自我价值。鉴于此,人们朝着具有真正生命价值的方向努力奋斗,尽管这些努力必然会被宏观的社会、文化和结构条件所限制,有时甚至被束缚。

二、幸福观的局限性

在解决幸福观的局限性这个问题之前,我们必须回顾一些与它直接相关的理论。为此,让我们来考察深度休闲观(serious leisure perspective)的核心概念,它可以用最简单的术语描述为:综合休闲的三种主要形式及其特征、相似性及相互关系的理论框架。这三种休闲形式为:深度休闲、随意休闲和项目式休闲。它们的简要定义如下:

深度休闲,指业余人士(amateur)、兴趣爱好者(hobbyist)或志愿者(volunteer)^①的系统追求。对参与者来说,是充实的、有趣的、能实现自我价值的活动,并且这些活动让其获得和表现其特殊知识、技能和经验。随意休闲,指即时的、有内在满足的、相对短期的愉快活动,要求极少,甚至不用特殊培训就能乐在其中。随意休闲本质上属于享乐性的。项目式休闲,指短期的、较复杂的、只有一次或偶尔举行的活动。虽然频度低,但具有创意,时间可以选择在闲暇或无令人不快的任务之时。

多年以来,对于人们闲暇时的各种活动选择,研究人员已经进行了广泛的调查研究和基于事实的理论分析,由此一张休闲领域的类型图得以呈现出来(见图1)。亦即依当前情势,休闲(至少西方的休闲)均可归于此三种形式及其所属类型与子类型中之一。确切来讲,深度休闲观为一切休闲活动和体验提供了分类与解释的途径,因为任何活动及随之而来的体验既然在某种环境中发生,就必然被其所处的社会心理、社会、文化和历史等诸多因素所制约。

此外,某些工作——“喜爱的工作”(devotee work)^{②[7]}可认为是一种愉快的义务,虽然工作者们仍需以此谋生,但却是一种高尚且发自内心的追求。此类工作本质上可归为休闲,近期有著作已有论及^[8]。这种理论修正与深度休闲观正好一致,因为后者尤其强调人的主动性,即意向性^{[9]6},或曰“人想干”什么,并且可将随意休闲所带来的满意与深度休闲所产生的满足区分开来。“深度追求”这一新理念在图1中有所展示,它涵盖了深度休闲和喜爱的工作。

三、关于幸福观的局限性

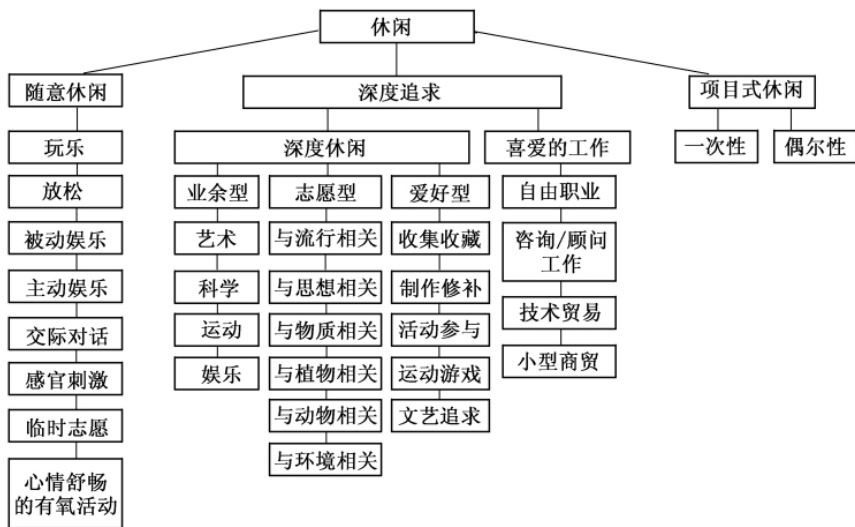
休闲能够带来幸福,但并非幸福本身。幸福是一种心理状态,一种积极情感,也是幸福感的一个组成部分^{[10]71}。相反,休闲是一种活动,是指我们在闲暇时间里为让生活更精彩、更有价值所做的事情。我们可能会说自己是“幸福的”,但我们不会说自己是“休闲的”(无论我们有多么幸福)。

通常来说,休闲活动带来的幸福至少有部分来源于由此产生的满足感。继坎贝尔^[11]之后,曼

① 业余人士(amateur)和兴趣爱好者(hobbyist)从参与的活动中均不获得报酬,有也只是象征性的很少的报酬,对维持生计的作用微乎其微。业余人士是和专业人士(professional)对应的概念,专业人士就是以参加那种活动而谋生的人。兴趣爱好者则没有对应的概念。——译者注

② “喜爱的工作”(devotee work)与“深度休闲”(serious leisure)非常相似。“职业喜爱”(occupational devotion)是指对那些能自我提升的工作的一种强烈的、积极的情感。工作者具有非常强烈的成就感和满足感,对其核心活动有强烈的兴趣,以致工作与休闲的界限几乎消失了。“喜爱的工作”就是这种职业的核心活动,是工作者能全部或部分赖以谋生的深度休闲活动。——译者注

内尔和克莱伯认为满足感是一种判断,是当前休闲活动效果与参与者的期望之间比较的结果^{[2]208}。因此,只能带来低满足感的休闲活动是不能产生幸福的。



所以,并非所有的休闲活动都能带来幸福状态。现在笔者并非要来讨论“无聊感”(boredom),因为那不是休闲活动^[12]。然而尽管人们无不努力躲避无聊,但有些人发现,某些休闲活动几乎毫无吸引力,与无聊亦相距不远。布鲁诺·弗雷在苏黎世大学完成的关于幸福的研究结果显示:对于看电视是否能带给人们快乐,答案实在难以统一^[13]。但显然从他的小组研究和相关文献来看,若看电视真能带来幸福,通常也只是低满足感,进而导致低幸福感。

此外,他们发现可以支持这一假说的间接证据:若时间的机会成本较高,电视消遣将显著降低个人生活满意度;若较低,则不会造成太多影响。经济学上的“时间机会成本”是指放弃本可以带来更多满足感的活动,比如自主经营或高薪工作(如专业工作和政府高层工作),而去从事另一项活动而失去的时间。要避免过度的电视消遣而造成的高时间机会成本,则需要良好的自我控制能力。

笔者在其他地方曾经提到过的“自愿放弃”^[14],是指另外一种空闲时间的休闲不能产生幸福的情况。当一个人有意决定不再继续参加某项活动,就是自愿放弃。笔者曾在比较喜爱的工作和深度休闲时讨论过这种情况(先决条件)^{[7]88-89}。据观察,有些人最终意识到曾经十分吸引他们的工作或休闲方式不再如先前那般令人愉快和满足,变得如此乏味,或许无法再提供足够的挑战性、新颖性或者社会回报(如社会吸引力、团队成就以及对集体发展的贡献)。也许他们已对其中的一个或更多核心任务灰心丧气,以致他们再也不相信能够从中得到更深层次的满足。

然而当发现要从某项活动中抽身尚有困难时,有些人仍会不情愿地继续参与一段时间。此种现象常见于担任要职的志愿者身上,通常是因为很少有人愿意或能够达到他们已经确立的工作标准。在团队活动中,如乐团、运动队、桥牌俱乐部或男子四重合唱团等等,若是其中有队员抱怨说一旦有人离开,团队即便不是立即停止运作,也会开始衰落,那么业余人士和兴趣爱好者们迫于此说可能会勉强留下来。在这样的“半衰期”,这些参与者是否真正得到休闲值得怀疑,也许对于他们而言,那些活动已经变成了令人不快的义务。

① 分类说明参见 R. A. Stebbins, *Serious Leisure: A Perspective for Our Time*, New Brunswick: Transaction Publishers, 2007, pp. 6, 10, 38-39, 45, 47; R. A. Stebbins, "A Leisure-Based, Theoretic Typology of Volunteers and Volunteering," *Leisure Studies Association Newsletter*, Vol. 78(November, 2007), pp. 9-12.

随意休闲,由于它即时享乐的性质,即便不会完全蜕变为无聊,也很容易失去其吸引力而逐渐引向低满足感和短暂的不幸福。弗雷有关电视消遣的研究数据就符合此情况^[13]。此外,某些交际性谈话如果时间过长,极有可能使人失去兴趣。大多数人都喜欢吃和睡,但不论哪样,一旦超过限度就会使人厌烦。深度休闲和项目式休闲活动的参与者也可能对参与的结果感到不满意或不幸福。在家庭野餐上亲人间发生争吵;在社区管弦音乐会上独奏者因怯场而严重跑调;非营利组织的董事会成员在每次会议上总会和组织总执行官激烈争论。以上这些例子描绘的只是短暂的不幸福,对这些活动的长久幸福并无威胁。

四、休闲之幸福: 真实抑或深刻

马汀·塞利格曼为我们研究休闲与长期幸福之间的关系提供了新的切入点,他称“真实的幸福”是在我们实现持久的自我满足的潜力时产生的^[15]。这个发现揭示了休闲和幸福之间的关键联系。若将这个理论融入休闲研究框架内,我们可以说持久的自我满足(自我实现)主要来源于深度休闲和喜爱的工作,因为往往需要若干年才能获得实现这些个人表现的技能、知识和经验。休闲项目常能产生某种程度上的自我实现感,但并非是在“深度追求”^①的层面上。随意休闲,由于它仅仅需要极少量的技术和知识,难以产生自我满足,因而也无法获得长久的幸福。

但塞利格曼使用“真实”这个形容词仍值得商榷。难道通过深度休闲追求得到的幸福比通过随意休闲获得的幸福更为真实吗?随意休闲中的幸福必然也是足够真实的,正如坐过山车带来的刺激感,在一家喜剧俱乐部度过愉快的一晚,进行有趣的社交性谈话或乘坐观光巴士欣赏美不胜收的风景,这些难道不真实么?然而关键问题是这样的幸福能持续多久,以及能在多深的层次上与我们的个人阅历、掌握的技能、知识和特殊的天赋才能相互联系。大多数的休闲活动所产生的幸福都是真实的、本真的,但其中只有少数幸福是深刻的,而其中那些浅层的幸福便居于幸福与不幸福之间。

值得一提的是,塞利格曼并未在他的研究中提及休闲,是笔者将他的研究扩展到所有闲暇时间,并提出在活动产生的幸福“真实性”的适用问题。这使此项研究的考察范围更为广阔,即除去与休闲有关的幸福的各种描述性指标,在之前以此为研究对象的文献中,休闲并非一个突出主题。可以说此番情况也在意料之中,毕竟大部分相关文献是出自经济学家和心理学家之手^②。诺贝尔奖得主加里·贝克由此总结道:“当社会哲学家必须精细地定义休闲的概念时,经济学家根本不用介绍它就能得出所有的传统研究结果,甚至更多!”^{[16]504}然而,经济学家莱亚德值得赞赏的一点是他意识到了某些深度休闲(虽然他并未使用这个术语)问题,他引用了奇克森特米哈伊的“畅”(flow)的说法^{③[1]74-75}。

心理学家塞缪尔·富兰克林从心理学角度探求了幸福与自我实现之间的关系。他从亚里士多德给出的幸福的概念出发,综合了心理学、哲学和生理学角度的理论和研究,用以支持基于人类心理状

① 关于深度休闲和喜爱工作的定义,可参见 R. A. Stebbins, *The Idea of Leisure: First Principles*, New Brunswick: Transaction Publishers, 2012, chap. 1。

② 布鲁诺·弗雷提供了一部分文献综述,参见 B. S. Frey, *Happiness: A Revolution in Economics*, Cambridge: MIT Press, 2008, pp. 13-14。

③ “畅”(flow)是美国心理学家奇克森特米哈伊(Csikszentmihalyi)提出的一个概念,是指一种可在工作或休闲时产生的最佳体验,类似于马斯洛提出的“高峰体验”(peak experience),是人在进入自我实现和超越自我状态时所感到的一种极度兴奋的喜悦心情。这种感受不是常出现的,但又是多数人曾有过的。它不仅出现在科学和文艺的创作过程中,而且也能在日常活动和平凡劳动中出现。它在休闲学研究中是一个与“娱乐”、“游戏”并列的很重要的概念;有时又指一种情境,与中文的“陶醉”相似,但又不同;陶醉强调客体的影响,而“畅”强调主体的自我作用。参见马惠娣《休闲:人类美丽的精神家园》, (北京)中国经济出版社 2004 年版,第 88 页。——译者注

态的第二种观点,即长久幸福的观点。富兰克林的主要假设是,幸福是个人潜力的实现,而并非一连串短暂的欢乐、累积的财富或者宗教信仰的结果。他认为快乐须以长期而论,且是以个人实现为目的的生活方式^[5]。虽然如此,他在书中提及休闲的地方寥寥无几,但对经济学家们而言,这实属正常。从心理学的立场得出的有关休闲的认识被描述成为“休闲社会心理学”和“休闲学的分支”^{[17]119}。这些学者认为,“在过去一百年里,休闲在心理学领域中一直被社会心理学家们所忽视”^{[17]112-113}。

虽然休闲并不等同于幸福,但毋庸置疑,它对创造幸福至关重要。我们在休闲研究中绝不能忽略休闲与幸福这个当今生活中最具活力领域之间的联系,否则,我们将会丧失提升休闲与科学及公众之间关联性的机会。尽管有些(大多为随意的)休闲方式仅能带来短暂的、浅层的幸福,但仍有无数人喜欢这种幸福。在休闲研究中,我们应向人们展示为了获得幸福可以有多种多样的自由时间使用方式,以及依靠这些方式所能够获得的益处的本质。同时,我们也应该向人们推广深度休闲和项目式休闲,把它们作为获得幸福的额外途径,虽然这比随意休闲获得的幸福会更深刻和更持久。实际上,我们的真正意图是通过这种方式证明,在获得幸福这一点上,金钱往往无济于事,休闲才是正途。深度休闲和项目式休闲更有可能带来长久的幸福,尤其当这两者与随意休闲结合时,将促成最为理想的休闲生活方式。

[参 考 文 献]

- [1] R. Layard, *Happiness: Lessons from a New Science*, New York: Penguin, 2005.
- [2] R. C. Mannell & D. A. Kleiber, *A Social Psychology of Leisure*, Philadelphia: Venture, 1997.
- [3] E. Diener, "Subjective Well-being: The Science of Happiness and a Proposal for a National Index," *American Psychologist*, Vol. 55, No. 1 (2000), pp. 34-43.
- [4] C. L. M. Keyes, "Social Well-being," *Social Psychology Quarterly*, Vol. 61, No. 2 (1998), pp. 121-140.
- [5] S. S. Franklin, *The Psychology of Happiness: A Good Human Life*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010.
- [6] R. A. Stebbins, *Personal Decisions in the Public Square: Beyond Problem Solving into a Positive Sociology*, New Brunswick: Transaction Publishers, 2009.
- [7] R. A. Stebbins, *Between Work and Leisure: The Common Ground of Two Separate Worlds*, New Brunswick: Transaction Publishers, 2004.
- [8] R. A. Stebbins, *The Idea of Leisure: First Principles*, New Brunswick: Transaction Publishers, 2012.
- [9] C. Rojek, *The Labour of Leisure: The Culture of Free Time*, London: Sage, 2010.
- [10] C. R. Snyder & J. Lopez, *Positive Psychology: The Scientific and Practical Explorations of Human Strengths*, Thousand Oaks: Sage, 2007.
- [11] A. Campbell, *The Sense of Well-being in America: Recent Patterns and Trends*, New York: McGraw-Hill, 1981.
- [12] R. A. Stebbins, "Boredom in Free Time," *Leisure Studies Association Newsletter*, Vol. 64 (March, 2003), pp. 29-31.
- [13] B. S. Frey, *Happiness: A Revolution in Economics*, Cambridge: MIT Press, 2008.
- [14] R. A. Stebbins, "Leisure Abandonment: Quitting Free Time Activity That We Love," *Leisure Studies Association Newsletter*, Vol. 81 (November, 2008), pp. 14-19.
- [15] M. E. P. Seligman, *Authentic Happiness*, New York: Free Press, 2003.
- [16] G. S. Becker, "A Theory of the Allocation of Time," *The Economic Journal*, Vol. 75, No. 299 (1965), pp. 493-517.
- [17] R. C. Mannell, D. A. Kleiber & M. Staempfli, "Psychology and Social Psychology and the Study of Leisure," in C. Rojek, S. M. Shaw & A. J. Veal (eds.), *A Handbook of Leisure Studies*, New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2006, pp. 109-124.

Leisure and Happiness: An Intricate Relationship

Robert A. Stebbins

(Department of Sociology, University of Calgary, Calgary T2N 1N4, Canada)

Interlaced among all the dreary news of the day are the persistent and mellifluous observations about happiness in our lives. Even though there is in this trendy interest a certain amount of phony and simplistic advice and thought, it is on the whole a good thing. At least it accents the positive and gets people thinking about their lives in such terms.

Richard Layard defines happiness as the state of feeling good and enjoying life^{[1]12}. It is a descriptive term. Moreover some thinkers see happiness as momentary: "(it) is considered to reflect a person's more temporary affective feelings of the present moment"^{[2]208}. Examples include: "I was happy with my performance on the test", "I am happy that my party turned out so well", "I was very happy to receive that award the other day". Let us label this short-term happiness, so-called because the "present moment" might last for a few minutes or even a few days.

By contrast, others see happiness as a description of a broad swath of life, as expressed in such observations as "I was happy as a child", "My years in this community have been happy ones", "I will be happy in retirement". In this vein Diener holds that happiness and subjective well-being are the same^[3]. For him well-being is a combination of positive affect and general life satisfaction. In a similar vein Keyes defines social well-being as "the absence of negative conditions and feelings, the result of adjustment and adaptation to a hazardous world"^{[4]121}. To put the matter positively, let us say that well-being comes with having good health, reasonable prosperity, and in general, being routinely happy and content. This is long-term happiness.

Short or long term, happiness is the result of a huge variety of personal and social conditions leading to this state in individuals. Thus, it is interesting to describe people's (usually long-term) happiness, and to know how many of them are happy, think they will be happy, once were happy,

Received date: 2011-12-06

Website: <http://www.journals.zju.edu.cn/soc>

Online first date: 2011-12-31

Author profile: Robert A. Stebbins, Fellow of the Royal Society of Canada, is Faculty Professor in the Department of Sociology at the University of Calgary. Author of 39 books and monographs as well as over 225 articles and chapters in several areas of social science, his most recent works include: *New Directions in the Theory and Research of Serious Leisure* (2001), *Exploratory Research in the Social Sciences* (2001), *The Organizational Basis of Leisure Participation: A Motivational Exploration* (2002), *Between Work and Leisure: The Common Ground of Two Separate Worlds* (2004), *Challenging Mountain Nature: Risk, Motive, and Lifestyle in Three Hobbyist Sports* (2005).

and so on. In this regard it is now common to compile national happiness ratings^①, while Britain's Prime Minister, David Cameron, has decided to create a national happiness index. These are major undertakings, which by the way appear to ignore the short/long-term distinction just set out.

Yet even more complicated is the project of explaining such tendencies as well as explaining the condition of happiness itself. A substantial part of the explanation of happiness has been driven by the question of whether money makes people happy. And, from what I will be saying about fulfillment in this article, it should be easy to conclude that, much of the time, no direct link exists between happiness and money. Layard determined from his review of comparative research on this issue that "comparing countries confirms what history also shows—that above MYM 20 000(USD) per head, higher average income is no guarantee of greater happiness"^{[1]34}. Once food, clothing, shelter, and the like are secure, having more money is not necessarily a source of increased well-being^{[5]5}.

Subjective or social, the concept of well-being rests on the presupposition that, to achieve it, people must be proactive, must exercise personal agency to arrive at this state. Well-being is therefore also a goal, which when reached will demonstrate a person's overall happiness. The same may be said for obtaining a decent quality of life. Both concepts speak to a process of personal betterment, as the individual defines this state. Happiness is therefore further explained by our willingness to work toward our well-being and agreeable quality of life.

Moreover psychological and sociological positiveness are sources of happiness. Happy people are positive about their lives, whether at the moment or over a long period of time. This observation describes the result of positive living, of the pursuit of positiveness in a life seen as attractive and worth living. Be that as it may, positiveness is both a condition and a goal. As a condition it may be seen as an aspect of long-term happiness. As a goal, however, it stresses finding worthwhileness; it emphasizes getting something desirable out of life. Personal agency is also a prerequisite of positiveness^{[6]7}. It stresses actively finding a life that is, in combination, rewarding, satisfying, and fulfilling. Here people direct their own efforts to find worthwhile activities, even while those efforts are inevitably framed and sometimes constrained by broader social, cultural and structural conditions.

I . The Limits of the Idea of Happiness

Before tackling this matter of the limits of the idea of happiness, we must review some of the theory directly related to it. To this end, let us consider the central concepts of the serious leisure perspective (SLP), which may be described, in simplest terms, as the theoretic framework that synthesizes three main forms of leisure showing, at once, their distinctive features, similarities, and interrelationships. The three forms—serious, casual, and project-based leisure—are briefly defined as follows:

Serious leisure: systematic pursuit of an amateur, hobbyist, or volunteer activity sufficiently substantial, interesting, and fulfilling for the participant to find a (leisure) career there acquiring and expressing a combination of its special skills, knowledge, and experience

① See data blog in <http://www.guardian.co.uk>, 14 November 2010.

Casual leisure: immediately, intrinsically rewarding, relatively short-lived pleasurable activity, requiring little or no special training to enjoy it. Casual leisure is essentially hedonic.

Project-based leisure: short-term, reasonably complicated, one-shot or occasional, though infrequent, creative undertaking carried out in free time, or time free of disagreeable obligation.

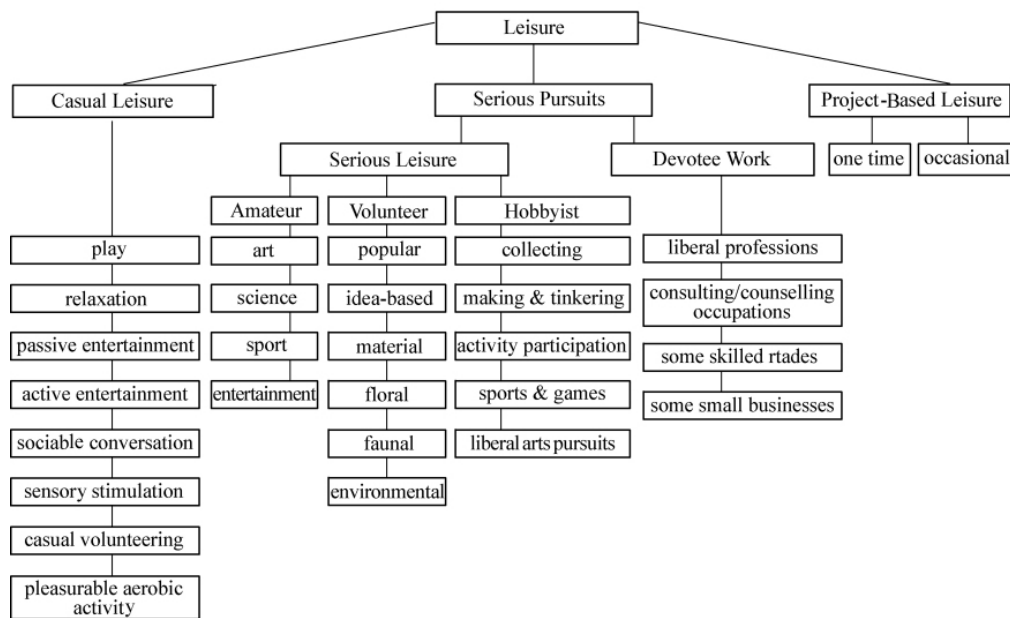


Figure 1 The Serious Leisure Perspective^①

Over the years extensive exploratory research and grounded theoretic analysis of data on a wide variety of free-time activities have made it possible to create a typological map of the world of leisure (see figure 1). That is, so far as can be determined at present, all leisure (at least all leisure in the West) may be classified according to one of these three forms and their several types and subtypes. More precisely the serious leisure perspective offers a classification and explanation of all leisure activity and experience, as these two are framed in the social-psychological, social, cultural, and historical contexts in which each activity and its experience take place.

Additionally, some kinds of work—referred to as "devotee work"^[7]—can be conceived of as pleasant obligation, in that such workers though they must make a living performing this work, do so in a highly, intrinsically appealing pursuit. Work of this nature is therefore essentially leisure and has been conceptualized as such in a recent book^[8]. This theoretic adjustment is compatible with the serious leisure perspective, particularly since the latter stresses human agency, "intentionality"^[9], or what "people want to do" and distinguishes the satisfaction gained from casual leisure vis-à-vis the fulfillment flowing from the serious form. The new concept of "serious pursuits" presented in figure 1 encompasses both serious leisure and devotee work.

① Types explained in R. A. Stebbins, *Serious Leisure: A Perspective for Our Time*, New Brunswick: Transaction Publishers, 2007, pp. 6, 10, 38-39, 45, 47; R. A. Stebbins, "A Leisure-based, Theoretic Typology of Volunteers and Volunteering," *Leisure Studies Association Newsletter*, Vol. 78(November, 2007), pp. 9-12.

II . On the Limits of the Idea of Happiness

Leisure can generate happiness, but is not itself happiness. Happiness is a state of mind; it is positive affect and a component of emotional well-being^{[10]71}. By contrast leisure is activity; it is what we do in free time to make life attractive and worthwhile. We may describe ourselves as "happy", but we may not say we are "leisure" (however happy we may be).

In general to be happy with a leisure activity is, at least in part, to be satisfied with it. Mannell and Kleiber observe following Campbell^[11] that satisfaction implies a judgment, a comparison of the outcome of, for example, a leisure activity in the present with what the participant expected^{[2]208}. Thus low satisfaction with that activity would fail to generate happiness at that moment.

So, by no means all leisure activity results in a happy state. I am not speaking here of boredom, which I have argued elsewhere is not leisure^[12]. Whereas people try to avoid becoming bored, some of them find that certain leisure activities have minimal appeal such that they are only marginally better than boredom. Bruno Frey found in his studies of happiness conducted at the University of Zurich that results were mixed on whether watching television makes people happy^[13]. But it is clear from his group's research and the relevant literature that such activity, if it leads to happiness at all, generally leads to low satisfaction and hence a low order of this mood. Moreover they found indirect evidence to support the hypothesis that "television consumption significantly lowers the life satisfaction of individuals with high opportunity costs of time, whereas as it has no discernible effect on the life satisfaction of individuals with low opportunity costs of time". In economics the concept of "opportunity cost of time" refers to time lost in an activity that could have been used to pursue a more satisfying one such as self-employment or high-level salaried work (e. g. , professional jobs, top bureaucratic positions). It takes good self-control to avoid the high opportunity costs of time attendant on the excessive consumption of television.

What has been referred to elsewhere as "volitional abandonment"^[14] constitutes another free-time situation where leisure fails to engender happiness. Volitional abandonment takes place when a person consciously decides to participate no further in an activity. I dealt with this antecedent in my comparison of devotee work and serious leisure^{[7]88-89}. There it was observed that some people eventually come to realize that their formerly highly appealing work or leisure is no longer nearly as enjoyable and fulfilling as it once was. It has become too humdrum, possibly no longer offering sufficient challenge, novelty, or social reward (e. g. , social attraction, group accomplishment, contribution to development of a larger collectivity). Perhaps they have become discouraged with one or more of its core tasks, so discouraged that they believe they will never again find deep satisfaction in it.

Nevertheless some people hang on for a period of time, unhappily participating in the activity while finding it difficult to extricate themselves from it. This is a common fate among volunteers who have served well in responsible positions, often because they have established a standard of performance few others are willing or able to meet. Amateurs and hobbyists in team-based activities may reluctantly stay with them, when others in the group complain that, if the first

leave, the orchestra, sports team, bridge club or barbershop quartet, for example, will deteriorate, if not cease to function. In this half-life it is questionable whether such participants are truly at their leisure; perhaps for them the activity has slid into disagreeable obligation.

Casual leisure, because it is evanescent hedonism, is subject to losing its appeal and drifting toward low levels of satisfaction and short-term unhappiness, if not completely out of the zone into boredom. Frey's data from his study of television fit here. In addition, it is certainly possible that some kinds of sociable conversation lose their appeal after a protracted period of it. And most of us like to eat and sleep, but can become satiated with either after too much. In serious and project-based leisure participants may be dissatisfied, or unhappy, with how their activities or projects have turned out. The relatives get into a vicious quarrel at a family picnic; the soloist in the community orchestra concert, gripped with stage fright, plays badly off key; the board member of a non-profit has at every meeting acrimonious exchanges with the organization's executive director. Some of these examples depict only short-term unhappiness, allowing thus for the possibility that long-term happiness in the activity remains unthreatened.

III. Happiness in Leisure: Authentic or Profound

Martin Seligman brings us to the jumping off point for relating leisure and long-term happiness, when he states that "authentic happiness" comes from realizing our potential for enduring self-fulfillment^[15]. This observation opens the door to the central relationship that leisure has with happiness. Putting his thoughts into a leisure studies framework, we may say that enduring self-fulfillment springs primarily from serious leisure and devotee work activities, where it commonly takes several years to acquire the skills, knowledge and experience necessary to realize this personal expression. Leisure projects are often capable of producing some sense of self-fulfillment, but not at the level of the "serious pursuits"^①. Casual leisure, because it is based, at the most, on minimal skill and knowledge, is incapable of producing self-fulfillment and therefore long-term happiness by means of it.

But there is reason to question Seligman's use of the adjective "authentic". Is the happiness achieved through serious pursuits any more real or genuine than that achieved through casual leisure? Surely casual leisure happiness is real enough, as in the thrill of a roller coaster ride, an entertaining night at a comedy club, an enjoyable sociable conversation or a bus tour offering breath-taking natural scenery. Rather, the central issue is how long does such happiness endure and how profoundly related is it to our personal history, acquired skills and knowledge, and special gifts and talents? Most leisure leads to real, authentic happiness but only some of that happiness is profound, whereas some of it is superficial, falling thus at an intermediate point on the happiness-unhappiness dimension.

Seligman, by the way, does not mention leisure in his discussion. Instead it is I who extended his observation into free time and called into question the appropriateness of "authentic" as applied

① Summary term for serious leisure and devotee work, see R. A. Stebbins, *The Idea of Leisure: First Principles*, New Brunswick: Transaction, 2012, chap. 1.

to happiness in the activities there. This brings up a more general observation central to this discussion, namely, that outside the various descriptive indicators of happiness associated with leisure, leisure is far from being a prominent theme in the literature on the subject. Perhaps this is to be expected, for a growing proportion of that literature is written by economists and psychologists^①. On this account Nobel laureate Gary Becker concluded that "although the social philosopher might have to define precisely the concept of leisure, the economist can reach all his traditional results, as well as many more, without introducing it at all"^{[16]504} ! Nonetheless, economist Layard, to his credit, does recognize leisure of the serious kind (he does not use the term) at which point he cites Csikszentmihalyi and flow^{[1]74-75}.

Samuel S. Franklin, a psychologist, approaches the relationship of happiness and fulfillment from the angle of his discipline. Starting with Aristotle's concept of happiness, he brings together theory and research from psychology, philosophy, and physiology in support of the second's views on this psychological state. Franklin's main premise is that happiness is the fulfillment of human potential and not a series of transient pleasures, accumulated wealth, or an outcome of religious belief. For him happiness is long-term, a way of living that characterizes such fulfillment^[5]. This said, there are few words in his book about leisure. As with economics this should come as no surprise. For what is known about leisure from the standpoint of psychology has been described as a "social psychology of leisure" and "a child of leisure studies"^{[17]119}. These authors hold that "leisure has all but been ignored by social psychologists in the field of psychology during the past 100 years"^{[17]112-113}.

IV. Conclusion

Although leisure is not happiness it clearly plays a pivotal role in generating this state. We should never lose sight of this relationship with one of today's most vibrant spheres of life, for to do so would be to miss an opportunity to promote leisure's relevance to matters that count with science and the general public. Even if some (mostly casual) leisure leads only to short-term, superficial happiness, it is nonetheless a kind of happiness many people like. We in leisure studies should be showing them the many free-time avenues that may be taken to reach this goal and the nature of the benefits that may be found along the way. We should also plug serious and project-based leisure as additional routes to happiness, albeit of a more profound and enduring sort. In effect we are arguing, in doing this, that, whereas money is generally a poor currency for buying happiness, leisure offers a much more profitable route to this goal. Serious and project-based leisure are far more likely to lead to long-term happiness, especially when, with the casual form, all three are integrated in an optimal leisure lifestyle.

Bibliography

- [1] R. Layard, *Happiness: Lessons from a New Science*, New York: Penguin, 2005.

① For a partial review see B. S. Frey, *Happiness: A Revolution in Economics*, Cambridge: MIT Press, 2008, pp. 13-14.

- [2] R. C. Mannell & D. A. Kleiber, *A Social Psychology of Leisure*, Philadelphia: Venture, 1997.
- [3] E. Diener, "Subjective Well-being: The Science of Happiness and a Proposal for a National Index," *American Psychologist*, Vol. 55, No. 1 (2000), pp. 34-43.
- [4] C. L. M. Keyes, "Social Well-being," *Social Psychology Quarterly*, Vol. 61, No. 2 (1998), pp. 121-140.
- [5] S. S. Franklin, *The Psychology of Happiness: A Good Human Life*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010.
- [6] R. A. Stebbins, *Personal Decisions in the Public Square: Beyond Problem Solving into a Positive Sociology*, New Brunswick: Transaction Publishers, 2009.
- [7] R. A. Stebbins, *Between Work and Leisure: The Common Ground of Two Separate Worlds*, New Brunswick: Transaction Publishers, 2004.
- [8] R. A. Stebbins, *The Idea of Leisure: First Principles*, New Brunswick: Transaction Publishers, 2012.
- [9] C. Rojek, *The Labour of Leisure: The Culture of Free Time*, London: Sage, 2010.
- [10] C. R. Snyder & J. Lopez, *Positive Psychology: The Scientific and Practical Explorations of Human Strengths*, Thousand Oaks: Sage, 2007.
- [11] A. Campbell, *The Sense of Well-being in America: Recent Patterns and Trends*, New York: McGraw-Hill, 1981.
- [12] R. A. Stebbins, "Boredom in Free Time," *Leisure Studies Association Newsletter*, Vol. 64 (March, 2003), pp. 29-31.
- [13] B. S. Frey, *Happiness: A Revolution in Economics*, Cambridge: MIT Press, 2008.
- [14] R. A. Stebbins, "Leisure Abandonment: Quitting Free Time Activity That We Love," *Leisure Studies Association Newsletter*, Vol. 81 (November, 2008), pp. 14-19.
- [15] M. E. P. Seligman, *Authentic Happiness*, New York: Free Press, 2003.
- [16] G. S. Becker, "A Theory of the Allocation of Time," *The Economic Journal*, Vol. 75, No. 299 (1965), pp. 493-517.
- [17] R. C. Mannell, D. A. Kleiber & M. Staempfli, "Psychology and Social Psychology and the Study of Leisure," in C. Rojek, S. M. Shaw & A. J. Veal (eds.), *A Handbook of Leisure Studies*, New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2006, pp. 109-124.

《中国学术期刊影响因子年报(2011 版)》最新发布

《浙江大学学报(人文社会科学版)》位居全国高校同类期刊第一

由中国科学文献计量评价研究中心、《中国学术期刊(光盘版)》电子杂志社研制的《中国学术期刊影响因子年报(2011 版)》已于近日通过专家组的数据测定与评审,发布会于 2011 年 12 月 22 日在北京召开。年报分人文与社会科学卷、自然科学与工程技术卷,《浙江大学学报(人文社会科学版)》的复合影响因子、综合影响因子均位居全国高校人文社科期刊第一,全国高校、社科院、社科联人文社科类期刊第二(《中国社会科学》第一)。

中国科学技术信息研究所(万方)2011 年《中国期刊引证报告(扩刊版)》影响因子数据也于近日公布,《浙江大学学报(人文社会科学版)》的影响因子位居全国综合性高校人文社科期刊第一,全国高校、社科院、社科联系统综合性期刊第二(《中国社会科学》第一,未合理工农医类院校相关期刊)。

据悉,《浙江大学学报(人文社会科学版)》在南京大学 CSSCI 的年度影响因子继续稳居全国高校同类期刊第三。

《浙江大学学报(人文社会科学版)》编辑部