

基于混合研究法的中国重要休闲 议题的识别研究

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[摘 要] 为了探索未来中国休闲研究的关键问题, 28 位从事休闲研究的中国学者参加了由北京第二外国语学院主办、美国伊利诺伊大学与加拿大阿尔伯塔大学联合承办的 2013 年中国休闲与社会进步学术年会及期间的研究项目, 这些学者还成为该项目的受访者。运用序列解释混合法对 28 位专家进行意见征询和反馈, 最终, 中国学者确定了如下 9 个休闲议题: 时间利用、休闲与幸福(生活满意度)、公共政策和规划、家庭休闲、需要和动机、技术变革、休闲空间和资源、休闲教育、休闲与传统文化。这些领域反映了中国文化与社会焦点的影响力, 对 21 世纪第二个十年的中国社会具有特殊的重要性, 对如何改善休闲服务供给问题具有重要启示, 同时也对建设和谐社会有重要的参考作用。

[关键词] 中国休闲研究; 主位; 客位; 重要议题; 混合研究法; 中国文化

Identifying Critical Leisure Issues in China: A Mixed Methods Study

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Abstract: In order to identify the most critical issues for future leisure researches in China, a total of 28 Chinese leisure scholars participated in a workshop organized in October 2013 by the Beijing International Studies University, in collaboration with the University of Illinois (the United States), and the University of Alberta (Canada) during Annual Meeting of China Leisure Studies. Data were obtained from 28 Chinese leisure scholars using a sequential explanatory mixed methods approach, specifically in our case a survey of experts followed by a group discussion of the survey responses. The nine issues/topics that were identified by the Chinese experts included: time use, leisure and happiness/life satisfaction, public policy and planning, family leisure, needs and motivations, technological change, leisure space and resources, leisure education, and leisure and traditional culture. This list reflects the influence of Chinese culture, issues that are of particular importance to Chinese society in the second decade of the twenty first century, and practical considerations affecting the provision of leisure services in this country.

Key words: Chinese leisure research; etc; emic; critical issues; mixed method study; Chinese culture

最新的系统性文献综述表明,当代 90% 的休闲研究成果集中在仅仅占世界人口 10% 多一点的经济发达国家和地区(如美国、澳大利亚、加拿大以及欧盟)^[1]。然而在过去的二十年间,中国等东亚国家的休闲研究已呈快速增长之势^{①[2-5]}。中国学者对休闲关注度的增加,一方面归因于北美休闲类教科书的简体中文版在中国的出版发行;另一方面在于中国留学生、研究生和访问学者在美国、加拿大等国的大学学习交流,以及中国少数大学和科研机构休闲研究中心的成立(如浙江大学、北京第二外国语学院、清华大学、中国人民大学、中国社会科学院、山东大学、中国艺术研究院等)。尽管休闲研究尚处于起步阶段,但迅速发展的中国经济、不断提升的居民生活水平以及全球化等因素已经对中国休闲研究起到了促进作用,同时也推动了中国人对休闲和外出旅行需求的增长。

在此背景下,2013 年 10 月,中、美、加三国学者在北京第二外国语学院共同组织了休闲研讨会,旨在探讨未来中国休闲研究的主要问题。研讨会的具体目标如下:(1)通过考察西方文献中已被广泛研究的 20 个休闲议题,从中辨识出与中国的休闲研究最相关的部分;(2)发掘其他对中国休闲研究非常重要但尚未在西方文献中被广泛提及的议题。本文的目的在于梳理汇报研讨会上中国学者提出的未来中国休闲研究的重要问题以及相关结论。

一、文献综述

文献综述由两部分构成:第一部分将对中国的休闲和休闲研究进行简要概述;第二部分将描述与跨国、跨文化的学术互动和交流有关的关键问题。

(一) 中国的休闲和休闲研究

中国著名学者于光远最早提出要进行休闲理论研究,并于 1995 年成立了中国第一个休闲研究

① B. Liu, "A Study on the Change of Consumer's Concept and the Development of Chinese Leisure Industry," 2010 2nd International Conference on Computer Engineering and Technology, Proceedings, 6 art. No. 5486059(2010), pp. V6568 - V6571, DOI:0. 1109/ICCET.

民间学术机构。尔后,在他和龚育之、成思危等学界泰斗以及中国知名休闲学研究学者马惠娣等人的推动下,相继成立了中国休闲研究会等学术机构^[6]。尽管西方的休闲研究已有悠久的历史,但目前中国的研究仍受到某些限制^[6-7]。

中国早期的休闲研究尝试主要集中于对英文书籍的翻译,如《人类思想史中的休闲》(Goodale & Godbey, *The Evolution of Leisure*, 1998)和《走向自由——休闲社会学新论》(Kelly, *Freedom to Be: A New Sociology of Leisure*, 1987)。20 世纪 90 年代初,中国学者开始涉足休闲研究。1996 年,马惠娣在第四届世界休闲大会上提交《文化精神领域中的休闲理论》(On Leisure Theory in the Field of Cultural Spirit)一文,成为第一位参与国际休闲学术研究的大陆学者。在此之后,中国休闲研究逐步发展完善,并有涉及社会学、经济学、管理学等领域的著作和文章相继发表。2000 年,以于光远等为主编翻译出版的“国外休闲研究译丛”介绍了当今世界休闲研究的最新成果,填补了中国休闲研究的空白。随着休闲研究在中国的萌芽和传播,越来越多的研究人员开始对休闲进行相关实证研究^{①[3,8-10]}。近年来,中国休闲研究已经发展到综述撰写阶段,这一阶段通常更多着力在对东亚国家休闲的研究纵览上。如 Dong、Li 和 Kim 对中国少数民族休闲的研究^[11],Liu 和 Li 即将着手进行的与中国休闲研究大纲相关的研究^②。

鉴于休闲是一个综合的社会现象,在理论研究上具有交叉性、复杂性等特点,中国诸多学者从多学科角度对休闲的价值、特点等进行了分析。同时,在休闲经济和休闲产业等研究热点方面,许多学者也对休闲在其中的地位、作用及其成因进行了探讨^[12]。有学者在介绍国外休闲产业发展的基础上,探讨了如何推动中国休闲产业发展等问题^[13-14];也有学者在休闲需求的研究方面做出了有益的尝试,分别对中国主要省会城市的居民休闲生活进行了调查和分析^[15-16];此外,部分学者在休闲与假日经济、组织管理、体育等方面的研究也更进一步地丰富了中国休闲研究的内容^[17-19]。令人欣慰的是,中国休闲研究的起步阶段已经取得了一定的成果。在研究方法上,除了传统的定性研究,运用量化方法进行研究的学术成果逐渐增加;在研究内容上,中国学者在对休闲基本层面的问题进行研究的同时,也逐渐尝试将研究深入到经济学、管理学、统计学等应用学科领域^[20-23]。但是一些基础性的问题还缺乏系统的、科学的、规范的论证;休闲研究仍需要在方法、内容、体系建构方面继续学习借鉴和探索,需对定性方法与定量研究方法相结合的混合研究法、数理模型分析、实验研究等方面深入挖掘,并努力形成具有体系的方法论,从而使研究成果之间具有连贯性、可比性、对接性^[6-7]。

休闲是使人“成为人”过程中的重要因素,是一种生活实践和生命体验,是具有重要意义的社会人文现象。中国的休闲活动历史悠久^[24],像太极拳和麻将等已有百年的历史。太极拳在中国广受欢迎并被官方认可为一种有益身心的运动,而麻将却一度作为赌博行为被禁止并一直未得到官方的认可^[25]。此外,公园游憩也是中国居民休闲活动中一种普遍和传统的形式。那些承载了众多文物古迹和历史记忆的皇家、私家园林,为不同休闲群体营造了安静舒适的休闲氛围。此外,Chang 和 Card 更关注饮食在中国休闲历史中扮演的重要角色。他们将饮食描述为一种“国民的消遣”,人们在这一活动中进行社会交往并强化人际关系^③。

尽管中国人的休闲深深根植于传统文化,但要充分理解当代中国人的休闲生活体验,就一定要以过去数十年间发生于中国的社会巨变作为参照。随着改革开放的推进,中国的经济政治格局已

① G. Chick, E. Dong & S. Iarmolenko, "Cultural Consonance in Leisure Activities and Self-rated Health in Six Cities in China," *World Leisure Journal*, 2014 (in press).

② H. Liu & Z. Li, "Leisure in China," in G. J. Walker, D. Scott & M. Stodolska (eds.), *Leisure Matters: The State and Future of Leisure Studies*, State College, PA: Venture Publishing, 2015 (in press).

③ Y. S. Chang & J. A. Card, "The Impact of Ancient Chinese Philosophy on Contemporary Leisure in China," ERIC Document Reproduction Service, No. ED 350295, 1992.

经发生了巨大的转变。同时,随着改革成果的共享,中国居民逐渐享有比过去更多的闲暇时间,例如,1995年、1999年、2008年相继实行的一周五天工作日制度、“黄金周”以及之后的11天法定公共假期等政策保证了中国居民享有更多的闲暇时间^[26]。

诸多学者已对当代中国社会一系列大众化的休闲活动进行了识别和研究。在宏观层面,由于休假制度的正规化、就业结构的多元化以及休闲设施的完善,中国城市居民的休闲方式也随之发生改变。具体来看,一方面是传统休闲方式的沿袭,另一方面是现代休闲活动的涌现。例如,Yin发现看电视、阅读书籍报纸、听广播、打麻将、与家人闲谈等均为最普遍的休闲活动^[27]。Jim和Chen也通过研究发现,看电视、与家人朋友闲谈、阅读为最常被提及的家庭休闲活动,而散步和购物似乎是主要的户外消遣^[28]。另外两个常见的休闲活动则为唱卡拉OK和广场集体舞。集体舞的参与者以数十人到数百人不等,常常选择清晨或傍晚在公园和广场等城市公共空间进行。有许多学者针对部分城市的市民休闲活动进行了研究^[29-30],总结其活动特征的同时也对居民个人及其社会经济属性的制约因素进行了探讨。此外,也有学者对农民工^[31]、城市女性^[32]、老年人^[33]等特殊群体的休闲活动现状和差异进行调查研究,并阐明了对此类问题研究的必要性和紧迫性。

中国居民从中国经济社会发展的成果中受益,但同时也因社会的变化而感到焦虑。中国的研究者已经意识到这种在休闲研究中逐渐显露出的悖论:中国人在拥有更多物质财富的同时,精神上的满足感却逐渐下降。最近的两次全中国范围(不包含港澳台地区)的调查显示,在全球市场经济大环境下,由于渐增的工作量和压力,中国人的休闲时间和带薪休假时间实际上正在减少^[34-35]。Zhou等人认为中国人花费在休闲上的日平均时间比美国人少大约两个小时^[36]。最近一项由Wei和Stodolska进行的调查研究指出,中国居民日平均闲暇时间只有130分钟,远少于20世纪90年代的记录^①。

总之,正如Weber所观察到的那样,相比于前几代,当代中国人正面临着不同的机遇和挑战^[37],社会转型的诸多表现也可以在中国新兴的休闲文化中略窥一二^[38-39]。

(二) 跨国与跨文化的学术互动和交流

尽管Ito等人^[1]以及其他学者^[40]已经呼吁进行更多的跨国和跨文化的休闲研究,然而他们却没有明确说明此类研究在未来应如何更加合理地进行。相比之下,Iwasaki等人认为应采纳去殖民化的方法。这一方法“注重理解他人之理解,并将本土化的观点和世界观纳入研究过程中,而不是用非本土化理念的术语和观点进行入侵式的研究”^[41]¹¹⁶。他们认为只有这样做才能解决存在于东西方国家和东西方休闲研究者之间的力量失衡问题。

另一种可供选择的研究方法最初出现在对加拿大华裔群体休闲经历的实证研究中。具体来说,Walker和Deng采用了人类学的研究范式和跨文化的心理学模型来指导休闲活动中的“入迷”体验调查^[42]。在人类学的研究范式方面,他们首先注意到“客位研究是从一个特殊系统的外部来研究行为,并将其作为一种接近异域系统的最初方法和必要手段,而主位研究则是从系统内部出发来研究行为”^[43]³⁷。Walker和Deng对此又紧接着做出了补充,他们强调“目前学术界往往存在着一种错误的认识,即认为这两种立场是两分的”^[42]²⁵²。在跨文化的心理学模型方面,他们评述了Berry的强加的客位框架^[44]。此理论尽管早在1969年就已提出,但一直在跨文化心理学研究领域广受好评。根据Berry的观点,框架的应用遵循四个基本步骤:(1)在自己的文化中开始研究(也就是主位A);(2)将研究转移到另一种文化中(也就是强加于客位);(3)探索这一文化(也就是主位B);(4)对比两种文化(也就是主位A、B),进而确定它们之间存在的共通性。Walker和Deng指出,Berry的理论忽视了

① X. Wei & M. Stodolska, "Leisure in Urban China: General Trends Based on a Nation-wide Survey," *Journal of Leisure Research*, 2015(in press).

在此框架基础上组建一个跨文化研究团队的潜在优势。正如 Marin 所指出的那样,具有多元文化背景的学者参与研究的意义在于,通过分享他们独特的文化知识和研究成果,将会有效提高对他们文化圈研究的质量^[45]。这种专业知识可将相关的话题、构想和变量纳入研究中,而这往往容易被其他研究者所忽视。此外,如果研究者能够从系统内部的视角出发,并将局内人的理解融入研究主题,会使研究的结果更具有解释力^{[45]55}。基于上述观点,Walker 和 Deng 进一步指出,如果来自两种文化的研究者参与到整个研究中,一个百家争鸣而不是带有强加效应的客位框架才有建立的可能。之后,他们进一步描绘了这一框架如何基于西方个人休闲体验^[46]与中国“入迷”两种概念发挥作用。

本次研讨会采用了 Walker 和 Deng 进一步完善和修订的四步客位研究方法(图 1)。首先,两位西方研究者在北美针对相关问题进行研究(如文化 A),三位中国学者在中国针对相关问题开展研究(如文化 B)。接下来,进行交叉换位,即两位西方学者开始研究中国的休闲,而三位中国学者则开始研究西方的休闲,并在此基础上交流共享研究的成果。再次,西方学者关于休闲关键问题的想法被用来讨论,而中国学者在之前阶段(也即告知客位 B)中所获得的知识、信息和想法也被列入重要考虑内容。最后,在数据资料分析后,两方面对休闲关键问题理解的相似与不同之处即可被识别出来。

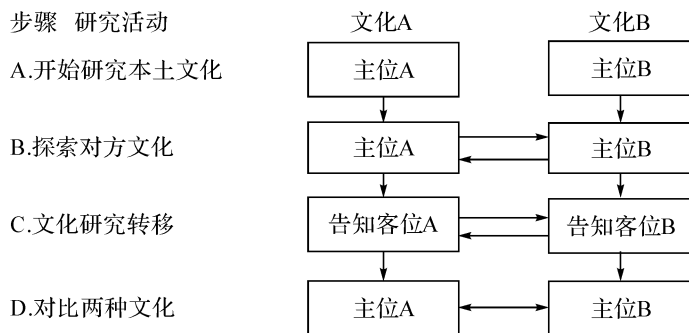


图 1 客位化框架①

上述客位研究方法在涵盖了西方学者对研究主题的见解的同时,也充分尊重了中国学者对休闲关键问题的认识和看法,避免了显性或隐性的西方偏见或力量失衡。再者,与传统的跨文化或跨国研究团队相比,将“文化 B”的研究在三位中国合作研究者的基础上,通过研讨会的形式拓展到二十位以上的中国休闲研究者,保证了对休闲关键问题的研究更具包容性与尊重,同时在知识的交流上也更加深刻。

二、方 法

本次研究的数据资料通过序列解释混合法^[47]先进行问卷收集,然后再进行小组专家集中讨论。Creswell 在 2003 年提出混合研究法,可以使研究者以实用的理由(结果为中心、问题为中心和多元性)为基础进行知识的应用,并且通过数字信息(定量)和文字信息(定性)的收集更好地理解研究的问题^[48]。最终的数据库包括定性和定量两种数据。

调查和集中讨论在由北京第二外国语学院与美国伊利诺伊大学和加拿大阿尔伯塔大学共同举办的为期一天的研讨会上组织进行。此次研讨会聚集了来自中国各高校及科研院所的休闲研究学

① 根据以下文献修订而得:J. Berry, "Emics and Etics: A Symbiotic Conception," *Culture & Psychology*, Vol. 5, No. 2 (1999), pp. 165 - 171; G. J. Walker & J. Deng, "Comparing Leisure as a Subjective Experience with the Chinese Experience of rùmi," *Leisure/Loisir*, Vol. 28, No. 3 - 4(2003), pp. 245 - 276。

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中文与英文两个版本的问卷主要针对两个问题进行调查。第一个问题为:“在下表中的 20 个议题中选择出您所认为的与中国休闲研究最相关的 5 个议题,并对其进行排序,1 为最相关。请在所列问题的侧栏对您的选择进行简要解释。”问卷中所选取的 20 个议题摘自将于 2015 年出版的 Walker 等编的《休闲那些事:休闲研究的现状和未来》(*Leisure Matters: The State and Future of Leisure Studies*)。这本书对早期同类文献^[49]进行了更新和扩充,包括 40 多个章节,其中有 20 个章节对编者认为重要的休闲研究概念、话题和领域进行了讨论。这些议题在休闲研究领域达成了共识,其中包括:时间利用,需求和动机,休闲制约和制约交涉,休闲参与强度和深度休闲,反常休闲,性别和休闲,性取向和休闲,青少年和休闲,家庭休闲,休闲和老龄化,残障人,种族、民族迁移者和休闲,社区和社会资本,技术变革,健康和闲暇时间的体育活动,休闲与幸福(生活满意度),场所依赖,公共政策与规划,营销和赞助,管理和领导者。第二个开放式的问题要求参与者写出没有包括在这 20 个议题中但对中国休闲研究较为重要的其他议题。对于每一个议题,参与者都被要求对其相关性及其重要性进行解释。议题和相关回应主要以英文和中文为主。研讨会过程中,由三位研究者和一位研究助理进行实时记录,并对会议录音进行后期转录。

20 个议题以打分的形式排序并计算总得分。在每个参与者选出的与中国休闲研究最相关的 5 个议题中,排序为 1 的为 5 分,排序为 2 的为 4 分,排序为 3 的为 3 分,排序为 4 的为 2 分,排序为 5 的为 1 分,没有被选到的为 0 分。表 1 列出了 20 个议题的总得分。同时,对每个参与者列举出的议题进行归类,找出和 20 个议题相同的议题和不同的议题。随后,我们把每个参与者列举出的议题加起来排序。表 2 是 20 个议题和新列出来的议题,一共有 37 个议题。此次调查的目的并非对每一个中国休闲研究问题的相对重要性进行定量测量,而是促成学者之间的进一步讨论,并获知学者们对未来十年主导中国休闲研究的关键问题的看法。

表 1 20 个重要休闲议题定量问卷调查结果

排序	议题	重要性得分	排序	议题	重要性得分
1	时间利用	50	11	休闲制约和制约交涉	11
2	休闲与幸福(生活满意度)	39	12	反常休闲	9
3	公共政策与规划	32	13	管理和领导者	8
4	家庭休闲	28	14	休闲和老龄化	7
5	需求和动机	27	15	性取向和休闲	7
6	技术变革	20	16	青少年和休闲	4
7	健康和闲暇时间的体育活动	19	17	残障人	2
8	休闲参与强度和深度休闲	19	18	种族、民族迁移者和休闲	1
9	社区和社会资本	13	19	性别和休闲	0
10	场所依赖	13	20	营销和赞助	0

表 2 集中讨论中所识别的重要休闲议题

排序	议题	提到的次数	排序	议题	提到的次数
1	公共政策与规划	15	20	休闲理论*	2
2	时间利用	13	21	休闲的负面影响*	2
3	技术变革	7	22	场所依赖	1
4	休闲和老龄化	6	23	残障人	1
5	休闲与幸福(生活满意度)	6	24	种族、民族迁移者和休闲	1
6	休闲和传统文化*	6	25	全球化*	1
7	城市中的休闲空间和对环境的关注*	5	26	社会变更*	1
8	休闲制约和制约交涉	5	27	休闲和收入*	1
9	休闲教育*	4	28	休闲产业*	1
10	健康和闲暇时间的体育活动	4	29	休闲历史*	1
11	家庭休闲	4	30	休闲行为在社会政治经济进步中的角色*	1
12	休闲参与强度和深度休闲	3	31	休闲时间和效率的关系*	1
13	需求和动机	3	32	每个人休闲的权利*	1
14	反常休闲	3	33	非政府组织对休闲的贡献*	1
15	管理和领导者	3	34	大众文化资源共享*	1
16	青少年和休闲	3	35	工作与休闲平衡*	1
17	社区和社会资本	3	36	性别和休闲	0
18	场所依赖	2	37	营销和赞助	0
19	休闲学的研究方法*	2			

注:加*表示在集中讨论中出现的新议题。

三、调查结果

调查结果的第一部分为中国学者选取的六个最重要的休闲议题,我们采用开放式回答的形式对学者们的回应进行解释。第二部分,将对专家们在问卷第二题附加的休闲研究的关键问题进行讨论。

(一) 最重要的休闲议题

调查问卷中得分最高的六个议题为:时间利用,休闲与幸福(生活满意度),公共政策与规划,家庭休闲,需求和动机,技术变革。

(1)时间利用。休闲对人类具有重要的意义。正如一位与会受访者所说的那样,“休闲时间的利用对人类的健康、家庭的幸福、邻里或社区的和谐、生态环境都有巨大的影响”。然而,快速发展的中国经济却导致了人们空闲时间减少、工作过度以及压力增大。另一位与会受访者评论道,“随着中国经济社会的快速发展,如何利用时间可能是中国人面临的最重要的问题”,“我们没有足够的时间”。还有与会者提到,“我们处在一个推动经济增长的繁忙的社会中”。一些与会者也提出休闲时间对于提高生产力的潜力和进一步促进经济增长的作用。“实现经济增长是目前中国面临的最重要的问题,合理地利用时间将有助于我们找到推动增长的有效路径。”^{[50]45}

(2)休闲与幸福(生活满意度)。休闲支出的增加和生活品质的改善提升了人们对幸福感与生活满意度重要性的感知。正如一位受访者所陈述的那样,“在不久的将来,中国人将会把越来越多的注意力聚焦到生活品质上,而休闲研究必须填补这块空白”。另一位与会受访者认为,“休闲意味着享受生活,而这正关系到人们的健康与幸福感”。

(3)公共政策与规划。由于中国中央政府对国家经济宏观调控的性质使然,闲暇时间以及与休闲相关的公共投资均由国家政策支配控制。例如,政府制定的一周五天工作日和两个七天长假(五一和十一)制度影响了中国大多数居民的休闲生活。有与会受访者认为,“政府的行为可以指明方向,并指导各级政府贯彻相关的制度以及规划实施”。因此,休闲危机的解决方法还需在政府级的规章中寻求,这也就使得与休闲相关的公共政策和规划成为休闲研究的重要问题。

(4)家庭休闲。家庭被认为是“幸福的基础”和“中国休闲的未来”。给予此议题高度关注的受访者认为,家庭在中国人的休闲生活中发挥着重要作用,同时也在“家庭和睦、家人健康、儿童成长以及老年人的健康长寿”方面扮演着重要角色。另有与会受访者指出,“中国人更倾向于与家人共度休闲时光,家庭在中国人的休闲生活中具有极高的重要性”。一些对家庭休闲造成威胁的技术变革因素也被提及,并指出这些因素会导致家庭成员间相互交流的减少。

(5)需求与动机。休闲需求与动机研究的重要性在快速变革的中国也日益显现,受访者主张对不同年龄段、不同人生周期以及农村和城镇居民的休闲需求和动机进行更多的研究。

(6)技术变革。一部分与会受访者指出,中国目前正在发生的技术变革对中国居民的休闲行为产生了重要影响,因此这一因素应该成为休闲研究的议题之一。正如受访者所说的那样,“与信息技术有关的社会问题是当代中国的焦点,应该进行更多的相关研究”。另一与会者补充道,“中国需要在技术和技能方面进行创新提升,而休闲是一个新的切入点”。此外,与会受访者也对近年来技术进步所带来的新问题进行了评论,一位与会受访者认为,“技术发展得如此之快,以至于我们很难把握住它的节奏,但与此同时技术也服务于我们每一个人”。另有与会受访者提出,一些技术产品(如电话、电子游戏、互联网)的过度使用导致了家庭成员之间有意义的交际沟通减少。同时,受访者也对花过多时间在一些“平行”的休闲活动(如看电视)这一问题的本质进行了探讨。

(二) 具有研究价值的附加议题

调查问卷中出现的具有研究价值的附加议题主要为:休闲和传统文化,城市中的休闲空间和对环境的关注,休闲教育。

(1)休闲和传统文化。由于当代中国的休闲深受全球化进程与西方文化的影响,如何将中国传统元素融入休闲被认为是保留传统和独特休闲品质的关键。正如一位与会受访者所说的那样,“中国过去的休闲是由富人主导的,现如今国民从西方社会汲取了休闲思想,但却不知道如何进行调整并适应我们自身的文化”。另有与会受访者补充道,“中国拥有悠久的历史文化,我们应该充分利用我们的文化资源”,同时,“文化、信仰、教育等传统文化对中国人的休闲具有深远的影响,这种多样性具有很高的价值”。

(2)城市中的休闲空间和对环境的关注。中国的快速城市化步伐带来了一系列环境问题,如城市开放空间和绿地的大量减少、空气的日益恶化等,这些也被与会受访者认为是对老年人和儿童生活质量极为不利的因素。有受访者评论说,“城市空间是有限的,如何全面利用可用空间满足休闲需求,是一个值得深入调查的重要问题”。对此,与会受访者就政府如何在城市和旅游目的地提供更多的公园和社区休闲场所进行了深入讨论,可用公共空间利用率总体规划的制定也被认为是一个需要优先考虑的问题。

(3)休闲教育。与会受访者相信,由于整个社会过多关注经济增长以及连带的工作和教育问

题,许多中国人不能充分领略到休闲的价值,也不知道如何安排他们的休闲时间。一名与会受访者指出:“人们需要关于如何享受休闲的相关教育,许多老年人并不知道休闲的价值所在,休闲往往被认为是一种浪费时间的行为。我们需要提高这方面的意识并转变自身的态度。”另有与会受访者补充道,“休闲教育需要提升人们对休闲重要性的认识,帮助人们区分休闲时间利用的轻重缓急”。此外,对那些能够根据不同个体的实际情况,进而对如何选择合适休闲活动提出建议的休闲咨询师进行良好的培训,也被认为是一个可行的办法。

四、结论与讨论

本研究辨识出九个休闲相关研究领域,这是与会的中国休闲学者所认为的在下一个十年间值得继续探索的领域。这些领域反映了中国文化与社会焦点的影响力,对21世纪第二个十年的中国社会具有特殊的重要性,同时也是对如何改善休闲服务供给问题具有重要启示。

(一) 中国人休闲的独特性

在调查和讨论过程中,中国人休闲已经显现出其独特性,这一特性与快速发展的经济紧密相关,也正是这种快节奏导致中国居民的闲暇压力,使得越来越多的人关注生活的幸福感和休闲满意度。而且,以家庭为中心,在休闲中对中国传统文化的保护和继承的需求,休闲教育的需求,政府政策,城市休闲空间的不足和环境危机等问题成了亟待解决的问题。

(1)经济发展和生活质量。作为世界第二大经济体同时也是发展最为迅速的国家之一,中国经济的发展已经取得了显著的成就。然而,快速的经济转型步伐也带来了显著的社会不安定因素和不确定性^[3]。为了解决目前所面临的诸多社会问题,近年来中国政府主张提出“和谐社会”的理念^[51],这一理念根源于儒家的思想与主张,提倡通过改善人们的举止、品味、人际沟通方式以及对自然环境的看法来构建一个和谐社会^[52]。此外,在过去的二十多年间,中国大部分居民的可支配收入有了大幅度提高,这也使得中国居民相比以往有更多财力参与到休闲当中^[53]。在这些有利的条件下,大部分中国居民开始将更多的注意力放到提高生活质量和提升幸福感的问题上,这种新的追求也反映在人们对参与更具多样化的休闲活动的强烈愿望上^[54]。因此,中国休闲研究者将休闲时间利用与休闲幸福感(满意度)作为未来休闲研究调查的关键问题也是意料之中的事。

(2)强烈的家庭取向性。中国人休闲的强烈的家庭取向性作为未来研究的重要议题也在调查和访谈中被提及。正如儒家思想所主张的那样,家庭是国家最基本的单元,中国人因此格外强调家庭在休闲参与中的重要作用。如在孔子主张的德行中,和谐的家庭会带来生活以外其他方面的成功。众所周知,中国人对家庭型休闲活动显示出很强的偏好,但目前中国的社会经济环境导致了国人压力的增加,及在家庭休闲的时间不足,这也加深了学者们将家庭休闲作为未来研究的重要主题的认知。

(3)对中国传统文化的重视。目前关于维护并充实休闲活动中中国传统文化元素的意愿,很大程度上归因于中国的社会和文化发生的改变。快速的全球化、休闲的西方化以及伴随着许多文化独特性和习俗的缺失,导致了国民在情感上的失落和不安,特别是对于那些中老年人,他们亲身经历了以西方为中心的价值体系、产品、行为模式对中国传统文化的蚕食和替代。正如 Dong 等人所认为的那样,当代中国的大众文化正沉浸在消费主义的氛围中。对于正处在社会、经济和文化转型期的中国社会,消费主义浪潮既带来了“令人兴奋的新机遇”,同时也带来了“可怕的压力”^{[11]281}。上述趋势也揭示了为何中国学者认为有必要找出一些方式将中国传统文化的元素保存并纳入这个国家的现代休闲模式中。

(4)休闲教育。制定能够帮助国民把握休闲价值的休闲教育计划和倡议的必要性也在调查和讨

论中显现出来。尽管在强调职业道德和知识追求等儒家思想的影响下,社会发展取得了进步,但是相比于西方国家,休闲价值在中国却很少被认可^[3,55-56]。Ap 引用 Schutte 和 Ciarlante^[57]的话,“亚洲人普遍对休闲持一种消极的态度……当休闲时间仅被用作个人需求的满足时,他们会普遍感到一种内疚感”^①。当强烈的职业道德意识作为经济社会取得进步的先决条件,以及物质被作为社会地位的外在标志时,上述趋势在快速发展的社会中将会被放大。高度竞争的工作环境使高学历和奉献精神成为一种必要条件,这也就导致了休闲在中国人的生活中退居次要地位。因此,许多人可能并没有把握住休闲的价值,也确实有人在艰难地寻找符合他们生活方式的利用闲暇时间的恰当办法。

(5)政策问题。当谈到休闲服务供给,本研究的结果也反映出中国政治经济制度的独特性,包括国家宏观调控经济的制度特点。在美国和加拿大,关于闲暇时间的利用和配置的决策是交给个体的,休闲相关的投资是市政府和民营企业所主导的领域。与美加不同,中国的休闲政策是由中央政府负责监管制定的。因此,研究者势必要去调查研究休闲相关政策制定的方式,其有效性以及政府机构通过何种方式有效推动休闲服务的供给。

(6)休闲空间和对环境的关注。与国民休闲密切相关的环境危机不仅表现在空气污染方面,公共开放空间的萎缩也被公认为是一个需要特别关注的问题。快速城市化引发的城市公共空间短缺已经被诸多学者作为重要的问题进行研究,这些研究者具有多元化的学科背景,包括地理学、景观生态学、城市绿地系统规划和生态环境科学^[58-61]。公共空间的短缺不仅导致中国城市居民户外休闲机会的减少,同时影响着居民生活质量、身体和心理健康、教育基础、社会资本及其他社会经济活动^{②[62-63]}。同时,由于近几年大规模的城乡迁移,公共空间的短缺会使社会紧张局势进一步恶化^[64-65]。大都市日益恶化的空气污染也引发了同样的担忧,这种情况使得公众参与户外休闲意愿降低,其引发的健康问题在老年人、儿童以及患有呼吸系统疾病和缺乏免疫力的人群中尤其显著。此外,城市自然环境的可进入性、环境质量和环境正义也是西方社会休闲研究的焦点^[66-67],显然,在未来中国的休闲研究中这些议题也非常重要。

(二) 中国和西方休闲研究的共同点

本次问卷调查和集中讨论也找出了西方文献研究中与中国相似的研究主题,这其中包括休闲领域技术变革带来的影响以及休闲的需求和动机。尽管需求和动机这一主题作为西方休闲研究的基石之一已有几十年的历史^[46,48,68-69],而休闲技术的变化在最近才引起西方研究者的注意^{③[70]}。这种在美国、加拿大和欧洲国家可明显观察到的趋势也出现在了中国社会中,视频游戏、手机、互联网等新的技术正重塑着人们交流、学习、互动以及闲暇时间利用的方式。参与研讨的中国学者认为,未来休闲研究应特别关注技术进步对中国居民休闲行为的影响。

同时,在客位研究方法上,尽管针对跨国和跨文化休闲研究的呼声已经很高,但是针对如何恰当进行此类研究的说明相对较少。虽然对去殖民化的研究方法仍存在一些争议^[41],但这一方法在所谓的“入侵性非本土观点”(intrusive non-indigenous perspectives)之上,赋予了对本土观点充分的权利和敬意。我们相信,指导此研究的这种合作、协同性的客位研究方法将会使研究成果更加富有见地。

① J. Ap, "Inter-cultural Behavior: Some Glimpse of Leisure from an Asian Perspective," Paper Presented at the Leisure Futures Conference, Innsbruck, Austria, 2002, p. 13.

② Y. Zhang, "Urban Open Space Design for the Chinese Floating Population Community: Planning and Site Design Guidelines," Master Thesis at Virginia Polytechnic Institute and State University, 2011.

③ G. Nimrod, "The Roles Technology Plays in Twenty-first Century Leisure," in G. J. Walker, D. Scott & M. Stodolska (eds.), *Leisure Matters: The State and Future of Leisure Research*, State College, PA: Venture Publishing Ltd., 2015 (in press).

(三) 本研究的不足点和将来研究的侧重点

总而言之,尽管此次研究取得了富有成效的结果,但仍存在一些局限性。首先,本次研讨会仅包括28位休闲研究的专家参与,还有很多优秀的中国学者的观点并没有在此项研究中呈现。其次,研讨会仅进行了一天的时间,倘若有充足的研讨时间,学者将会就研究的问题进行更加深入详尽的思考与探讨。最后,此次调查的形式是匿名进行的,随之的讨论是在自由开放的情境下进行观点的交流,由于研讨会的参加者是具有不同资历的学者,资历较低的研究者的观点表达可能会受到资历较高的学者或者行政领导等外部因素的影响。但是,我们相信与会受访者自由地进行讨论和观点交换的机会胜过了上述问题的干扰。我们希望这次研究的成果有益于促进中国休闲研究学者的进一步对话,同时在休闲如何能够提高生活水平、社会诚信水平、社会稳定性以及社会和谐发展等未来研究方向上提供更广泛、更丰富的信息。

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Identifying Critical Leisure Issues in China: A Mixed Methods Study

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A recent systematic review concluded that over 90% of contemporary leisure research focused on slightly more than 10% of the world's population (e. g. , America, Australia, Canada, Europe)^[1]. Having noted this, however, research on leisure in East Asia, including China, has expanded rapidly in the last two decades^{①[2-5]}. This increase in interest in leisure among Chinese scholars is due in part to major North American leisure textbooks being translated into simplified Chinese, Chinese graduate students' entering U. S. and Canadian universities, visiting Chinese scholars in North American universities and leisure research centers being established in several Chinese universities and research institutes (e. g. , Zhejiang University, Beijing International Studies University, Tsinghua University, Renmin University of China, Chinese Academy of Social Sciences, Shandong University, and Chinese National Academy of Arts). While still in its early stages, scholarship on leisure in China has also been fostered by the rapidly expanding Chinese economy, increased standard of living among the local population, and the influence of globalization and Westernization, which in turn led to an increased demand for leisure and travel among the Chinese people.

In this context, in October 2013 a group of Chinese, American, and Canadian scholars organized a workshop at the Beijing International Studies University to identify critical research issues to help guide the future study of leisure in China. The specific objectives were to: (1) examine which of the 20 issues identified in the Western literature are most relevant to the study of leisure in China; and (2) identify additional topics that were not provided on the original list but are important to the study of leisure in China. The objective of this paper is to report on the results of this workshop with respect to the most important issues for the future leisure research that were identified by the group of Chinese experts.

I . Literature Review

Our literature review consists of two sections. The first provides a brief overview of leisure and leisure studies

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in China, whereas the second describes key issues associated with cross-national and cross-cultural scholarly interaction and exchange.

1. Leisure and Leisure Studies in China

Chinese economist Guangyuan Yu first advocated research on leisure theory and established the first non-governmental Chinese leisure research institute in 1995. Since then, with the support of Chinese scholars such as Yuzhi Gong, Siwei Cheng, and Huidi Ma, Chinese Leisure Studies Association and other leisure research-related institutes were established^[6]. Although there is a long tradition of leisure research in the West, until relatively recently, comparable research in China has been somewhat limited^[6-7].

Early attempts focused primarily on translating English-language books, such as *The Evolution of Leisure* (Goodale & Godbey, 1998) and *Freedom to Be: A New Sociology of Leisure* (Kelly, 1987), into Chinese. Research on leisure in China began in the 1990s. In particular, Huidi Ma presented a paper titled "On Leisure Theory in the Field of Cultural Spirit" at the 4th World Leisure Congress in 1996. She became the first Chinese scholar to attend and deliver an oral presentation at an international leisure conference. After 1996, more and more Chinese researchers became interested in conducting leisure research, which resulted in many books and research papers related to leisure and sociology, leisure and economics, and leisure and management being published. In 2000, as editor-in-chief, Guangyuan Yu edited a series of books titled *Western Leisure Studies*, which introduces the latest Western leisure research to help improve Chinese study of leisure. Shortly thereafter, with the growth of leisure research in China, an increasing number of researchers began conducting empirical investigations focused on leisure^①^[3,8-10]. In recent years, Chinese leisure studies have developed to the stage where overviews—typically part of broader chapters on leisure in East Asia—have been written. They include Dong, Li, and Kim's work^[11] on Chinese minority people's leisure and Liu and Li's forthcoming work^②. The latter, in fact, is the basis for much of the following synopsis of Chinese leisure research to date. Leisure behavior is a complex social phenomenon, on which the understanding requires interdisciplinary and multidisciplinary research approaches. Issues that have been examined by Chinese leisure scholars included leisure economy and leisure industry development^[12-14], leisure needs and lifestyles in major Chinese cities^[15-16], and organizational management and sports^[17-19]. Although Western leisure research has a long history, the study of leisure in China is still developing. As a result, Chinese scholars representing a variety of disciplines, including philosophy, history, geography, economy, management, and statistics have been involved in the study of leisure^[20-23]. Thus, Chinese leisure research has much to learn from its Western counterpart in terms of qualitative, quantitative, and mixed research approaches, model analysis, and experimental studies so that research results can be consistent, comparable, and connected^[6-7].

Leisure is an indispensable component of people's life. It fosters personal growth and has an array of important benefits such as stress reduction, improved mood, enhanced physical well-being, improved family cohesion, and increased social capital. Many popular Chinese leisure activities have a long history^[24]. Both taichi (a form of martial art) and mahjong, for example, date back hundreds of years. However, while taichi is endorsed by the Chinese government as an exercise beneficial for one's health, despite its wide popularity, mahjong was once banned as a gambling activity and it is still not officially sanctioned by the government^[25]. Visiting parks is another popular and traditional form of Chinese leisure. The royal and private gardens, as sites full of cultural relics and historical memories, provide families, friends, and relatives peaceful and relaxing leisure experiences. Chang and Card also noted that food has played "an important role in the history of Chinese leisure" and described eating as "a national pastime for Chinese people" that allows them to socialize and strengthen interpersonal bonds^③.

Although Chinese leisure is deeply rooted in its cultural traditions, the life experiences of contemporary Chinese people cannot be fully understood without reference to the major changes that have taken place in recent decades. With the introduction of economic reforms and the "open door" policy, the economic and political situation in the

① G. Chick, E. Dong & S. Iarmolenko, "Cultural Consonance in Leisure Activities and Self-rated Health in Six Cities in China," *World Leisure Journal*, 2014 (in press).

② H. Liu & Z. Li, "Leisure in China," in G. J. Walker, D. Scott & M. Stodolska (eds.), *Leisure Matters: The State and Future of Leisure Studies*, State College, PA: Venture Publishing, 2015 (in press).

③ Y. S. Chang & J. A. Card, "The Impact of Ancient Chinese Philosophy on Contemporary Leisure in China," ERIC Document Reproduction Service, No. ED 350295, 1992.

country has changed dramatically. Along with the implementation of the reforms, Chinese people increasingly experienced more government-prescribed free time than ever before. New government policies, such as the five-day work week, the "golden week" public holidays, and the subsequent eleven-day public holiday, launched in 1994, 1999, and 2008, respectively, allowed Chinese to have more free time than ever before^[26].

A variety of popular leisure pursuits in contemporary Chinese society have been identified and studied. From the macro perspective, because of standardization of paid vacations, diversification of employment structure and improvement of leisure facilities, leisure lifestyles among Chinese urban residents have changed significantly. While traditional leisure is still popular, modern, Western pastimes have been widely adopted. Yin found watching television, reading books or newspapers, listening to the radio, playing mahjong, and chatting with family members to be the most popular leisure activities^[27]. Jim and Chen also discovered that watching television, chatting with families or friends, and reading were frequently-mentioned home leisure activities, while walking for leisure and shopping appeared to be the main outdoor pastimes^[28]. Another two common leisure activities are singing songs in karaoke rooms and group dancing. In terms of the latter, dozens to hundreds of people gather together, usually in the early morning or evening, to dance in urban open spaces such as parks and public squares. Many researchers have also studied urban residents' leisure constraints^[29-30] and leisure pursuits among special populations including migrant workers^[31], urban women^[32], and older people^[33].

Although Chinese people may enjoy the changes brought about by China's economic and social development, they simultaneously suffer from the anxieties that accompany such radical changes. Chinese scholars have recognized the emerging paradox in which Chinese people became richer in material possessions while simultaneously becoming less psychologically satisfied. For instance, two recent nationwide surveys found that, because of growing workloads and the pressures from the global market economy, leisure time and days of paid leave in China have actually decreased^[34-35]. Zhou, Li, Xue, and Lei suggested that Chinese people spend on leisure almost two hours per day less than the Americans^[36]. A recent study by Wei and Stodolska also pointed out that Chinese people have on average only 130 minutes of free-time per day, much less than in the 1990s^①.

In conclusion, as Weber observed, contemporary Chinese are facing different challenges and pursuing different opportunities than those of earlier generations^[37]. The manifestation of social transformations can be seen in the newly developing leisure culture in China, which entails mixed and complex social realities^[38-39].

2. Cross-National and Cross-Cultural Scholarly Interaction and Exchange

Although Ito et al.^[1] and others^[40] have called for more cross-national and cross-cultural leisure research, neither described how such future studies should, ideally, be undertaken. In contrast, Iwasaki, Nishino, Onda, and Bowling argued that the proper approach was to adopt a decolonizing methodology in which the focus "is on respecting, honoring, and bringing forward indigenous perspectives and world views in the research process without being intruded on by any nonindigenous grounded terminologies and ideas"^[41]¹¹⁶. Doing so, they held, would address the power imbalance they perceived existed between Western and Eastern worlds and Western and Eastern leisure scholars.

An alternative approach—and one that more closely aligns with this study—was originally described in an empirical study of Chinese-Canadians' rùmí(入迷) experiences. Specifically, Walker and Deng employed anthropological constructs and a cross-cultural psychological model to guide their investigation^[42]. In terms of the former, they first noted that "The etic viewpoint studies behavior as from the outside of a particular system, and as an essential initial approach to an alien system. The emic viewpoint results from studying behavior as from inside the system"^[43]³⁷. Walker and Deng quickly added, however, that "There is often a misconception that the two tactics are dichotomous"^[42]²⁵². In terms of the latter, they then described Berry's imposed etic framework^[44] that, though originally developed in 1969, is still well-regarded in cross-cultural psychology. According to Berry, there are four basic steps involved in using this framework, including: (1) begin with research in one's own culture (i. e. , Emic A); (2) transport the research to another culture (i. e. , Imposed Etic); (3) discover the other culture (i. e. , Emic B); and (4) compare the two cultures (i. e. , Emic A and Emic B) to determine if some degree of commonality (or "derived etic") exists.

As Walker and Deng recognized, Berry unfortunately overlooked the potential advantages employing a cross-cultural research team could have for his imposed etic framework. Marin and Marin^[45] held, for example, that "The participation of

① X. Wei & M. Stodolska, "Leisure in Urban China: General Trends Based on a Nation-wide Survey," *Journal of Leisure Research*, 2015 (in press).

minority researchers can enhance the quality of a study by contributing their culture-specific knowledge of the behavior or issue to be studied. Such knowledge can lead to the inclusion of topics, constructs and variables that would otherwise be ignored by nonminority researchers. In addition, minority researchers can bring an insider's understanding of the research topic from the community's own particular perspective, contributing in this fashion to the better interpretation of the results of the study."^[45]⁵⁵

Based on the above, Walker and Deng subsequently suggested that if researchers from two cultures were involved throughout a study, an "informed," rather than imposed, etic model might be possible. They then went on to describe how such a framework would work in terms of the Western concept of subjective leisure experiences^[46] and the Chinese concept of *rùmí* (入迷). For the purposes of our study, however, we reframe this discussion in terms of identifying critical leisure issues in China as follows (see Figure 1). First, (i. e., Step A), the two non-Chinese researchers initially studied leisure in North America (i. e., Culture A), whereas the three Chinese researchers initially studied leisure in their ancestral country (i. e., Culture B). Second, (Step B), the two non-Chinese researchers began studying leisure in China, often after interaction with Chinese graduate students, whereas the three Chinese researchers began studying leisure in the West, in two instances as graduate students in the U. S. Thus, a process of shared discovery took place. Third, (Step C), a North American perspective on what constituted critical leisure issues was used to initially guide what potentially constituted critical leisure issues in China while, importantly, still taking into account the knowledge acquired by the study's Chinese researchers in the previous step (i. e., Informed Etic B). Fourth, (Step D), after the data were analyzed, similarities and differences in critical leisure issues were identified.

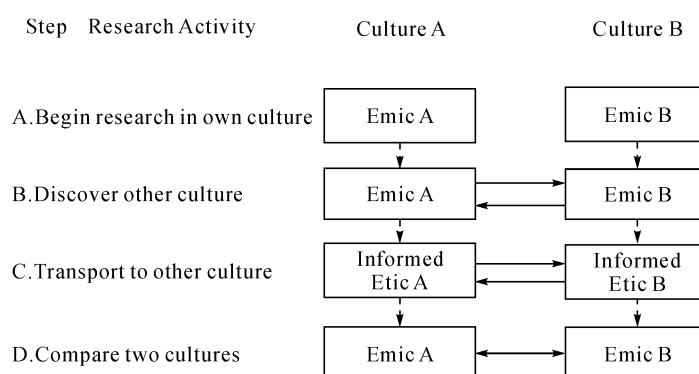


Figure 1 Informed Etic Framework^①

In summary, we believe that Walker and Deng's (2003/2004) informed etic approach as it is applied in our study does honor and respect (as per Iwasaki et al., 2007) Chinese perspectives on critical leisure topics. Moreover, it does so while simultaneously including (rather than excluding, as per Iwasaki et al.) Western insights on this topic—insights that are, however, neither implicitly nor explicitly Western-biased or power imbalanced. Furthermore, by extending our study's "Culture B" to include not only three Chinese co-investigators but over two dozen Chinese leisure scholars (as described more fully in the next section), the interpersonal interaction may in fact have been even more honorable and respectful, and the intellectual exchange even more insightful, than with a regular cross-cultural or cross-national research team.

II. Methods

Data were collected using a sequential explanatory mixed methods approach^[47], specifically in our case a survey of experts followed by a group discussion of the survey responses. According to Creswell^[48], a mixed methods

① Modified from J. Berry, "Emics and Etics: A Symbiotic Conception," *Culture & Psychology*, Vol. 5, No. 2 (1999), pp. 165–171. G. J. Walker & J. Deng, "Comparing Leisure as a Subjective Experience with the Chinese Experience of *rùmí*," *Leisure/Loisir*, Vol. 28, No. 3–4 (2003), pp. 245–276.

approach allows researchers "to base knowledge claims on pragmatic grounds (e. g. , consequence-oriented, problem-centered, and pluralistic)" and, further, to best understand research problems "by gathering both numeric information (e. g. , on instruments) as well as text information (e. g. , on interviews) so that the final database represents both quantitative and qualitative information."

The survey was distributed and collected during a one-day workshop organized in October, 2013, by the Beijing International Studies University (BISU) in collaboration with the University of Illinois, the U. S. , and the University of Alberta, Canada. The workshop was attended by leisure researchers from across China, representing BISU, Zhejiang University, Peking University, Tsinghua University, Renmin University of China, Chongqing University, Chinese Academy of Social Sciences, Beijing Normal University, Shanghai University of Sports, Shandong University, Beijing Union University, Shanxi Social Science Academy, Henan University, Capital University of Physical Education and Sports, and Changzhou Institute of Technology. Overall, 28 experts attended the workshop and discussion, with 24 completing the survey. Three of the surveys were excluded as they were completed by students. The remaining 21 surveys were completed by faculty members, ranging in rank from teachers/lecturers to professors, whose research focused on various aspects of leisure behavior. The 4-hour discussion that followed was led by four of the American, Canadian, and Chinese authors of the study. The discussion was held in both English and Mandarin Chinese, and participants' responses were simultaneously translated by two bilingual faculty members.

The survey, which was available in both English and simplified Chinese, consisted of two questions. The first question asked participants: "Out of the 20 issues provided in the table, choose five that you believe are the most relevant in the context of Chinese leisure. Rank order them from 1 to 5, with 1 being the most relevant/pressing. In the column next to the topic, please provide a brief explanation of the relevance of this topic in the context of China." The 20 listed issues were adopted from *Leisure Matters: The State and Future of Leisure Studies*—an edited book currently in preparation for publication in 2015. This book updates and expands on similar earlier books^[49], and consists of over 40 chapters, 20 of which discuss concepts, topics, and areas that the editors hold are critical in leisure studies. These topics have been identified in consultation with a number of experts in the leisure field and include: time use; needs and motivations; constraints and constraints negotiation; leisure and intensity of participation/serious leisure; deviant leisure; gender and leisure; sexual orientation and leisure; youth and leisure; family leisure; leisure and aging; people with disabilities; race, ethnicity, migrations, and indigenous people; community and social capital; technological change; health and leisure-time physical activity; leisure and happiness/life satisfaction; place attachment; public policy and planning; marketing and sponsorship; and management and leadership. The second open-ended question asked participants to add any other topics or issues that were not included but they felt were important to the study of leisure in the context of China. For each topic, they were asked to provide a brief explanation of why they believed it was particularly relevant in the context of China. Both the questions and the response categories were provided in English and simplified Chinese. Contemporaneous notes were taken during the workshop by three researchers involved in the project and a research assistant. In addition, the discussion was recorded and subsequently transcribed.

The results of the survey were analyzed by reversing the importance scores (e. g. , 1 or the "most relevant/pressing" was recoded into 5, 2 into 3, etc.) and adding up the score for each theme identified in Question 1. The results of the survey are presented in Table 1. In order to analyze the results of the discussion, each topic raised by a respondent was noted and classified into whether it represented one of the 20 themes originally identified by the researchers or a new category. Subsequently, we summed up the number of times each topic was mentioned by the respondents during the discussion. The results of the discussion are presented in Table 2. Despite the fact that the results were presented as a numerical score, the goal of the survey was not to obtain a quantitative measure of relative importance of each issue in the context of China, but rather to stimulate discussion among experts and obtain their opinions on what the critical topics that should guide leisure research in this country in the next decade are.

Table 1 Survey Results: Quantitative Assessment of the Importance of 20 Themes

Ranking	Theme	Importance Score	Ranking	Theme	Importance Score
1	Time use	50	11	Constraints and constraints negotiation	11
2	Leisure happiness/life satisfaction	39	12	Deviant leisure	9
3	Public policy and planning	32	13	Management and leadership	8
4	Family leisure	28	14	Leisure and aging	7
5	Needs/motivations	27	15	Sexual orientation and leisure	7
6	Technological change	20	16	Youth and leisure	4
7	Health and physical activity	19	17	People with disabilities	2
8	Intensity of participation/serious leisure	19	18	Race, ethnicity, migrations and leisure	1
9	Community and social capital	13	19	Gender and leisure	0
10	Place attachment	13	20	Marketing and sponsorship	0

Table 2 Themes Identified in the Discussion

Ranking	Theme	The Number of Times the Theme was Mentioned in the Discussion	Ranking	Theme	The Number of Times the Theme was Mentioned in the Discussion
1	Public policy and planning	15	20	Leisure theory	2
2	Time use	13	21	Negative effects of leisure	2
3	Technological change	7	22	Gender and leisure	1
4	Leisure and aging	6	23	People with disabilities	1
5	Leisure happiness/life satisfaction	6	24	Race, ethnicity, migrations and leisure	1
6	Leisure and traditional culture	6	25	Globalization	1
7	Leisure space in urban areas and environmental concerns	5	26	Social transitions	1
8	Constraints and constraints negotiation	5	27	Leisure and income	1
9	Leisure education	4	28	Leisure industry	1
10	Health and physical activity	4	29	Leisure history	1
11	Family leisure	4	30	The role of leisure behavior in social, political and economic improvement	1
12	Intensity of participation/serious leisure	3	31	The relationship between efficiency and leisure time	1
13	Needs and motivations	3	32	Leisure poor/right to leisure	1
14	Deviant leisure	3	33	NGO's contribution to leisure	1
15	Management and leadership	3	34	Sharing of mass cultural resources	1
16	Youth and leisure	3	35	Balance of life and work	1
17	Community and social capital	3	36	Sexual orientation and leisure	0
18	Place attachment	2	37	Marketing and sponsorship	0
19	Leisure methodology	2			

* indicates new themes that were identified in response to Q. 2 and during the discussion.

III. Findings

In the first section of the findings we present the results of the survey on the six most important leisure issues selected by the Chinese experts. We used open-ended responses to the survey question and discussion comments to explain the experts' responses. In the following section, we shall discuss additional critical research topics that the experts identified in their answers to the second question and in the subsequent discussion.

1. Most Critical Leisure Issues

The six issues/topics that received the highest scores on the survey were time use, leisure and happiness/life satisfaction, public policy and planning, family leisure, needs and motivations, and technological change. They will be described in this section of Findings.

(1) Time use. Leisure was considered to have important benefits for people. As one participant stated, "Leisure time use has great influence on people's health, families' happiness, neighborhood or community harmony and ecological environments." However, the rapid economic development of China contributed to lack of time, overwork, and stress among the population. One of the experts commented, "With the rapid development of economic society, how to use time may be the most important problem that Chinese people face." "[We don't have] enough time." Another person said, "We are a busy society pushing for economic growth." Some of the interviewees also discussed the potential of leisure time to increase people's productivity and, thus, further contribute to economic growth. "Economic growth is the most important issue for China now. [Appropriate use of time] will help us figure out how to push growth."^[50]

(2) Leisure and happiness/life satisfaction. Growing expenditure on leisure and improved quality of life increased the perceived importance of happiness and life satisfaction. As one respondent stated, "In the recent future China will put increased attention on life quality. Leisure study must fill the blank." Another said, "Leisure means enjoying life which concerns health and happiness."

(3) Public policy and planning. Due to the nature of China's centrally planned economy, free time and leisure-related public investments in China are governed by national policy. For instance, the five-day work week and two week-long holidays have been instituted by the government and affect much of the leisure life in China. As one person said, "the government tells us what to do and everybody has to listen to the government." Thus, the solution to leisure crisis has also been sought in government-level regulations, making leisure-related public policy and planning one of the most important topics of research.

(4) Family leisure. Family was considered "the basis of happiness" and the "future of leisure in China." The respondents who rated this item highly said that family played a very important role in Chinese people's leisure and was "relevant to family harmony, member's health, children's growing up, the elder's health and long life." Another person said, "Chinese people would like to spend leisure time with family members. Family plays a very important role in Chinese people's leisure." Some threats to family leisure were identified, such as technological change, which can lead to fewer interactions among family members.

(5) Needs/motivations. Research on leisure needs and motivations in the rapidly changing Chinese society was also emphasized. The respondents advocated for more research on needs and motivations among people of different ages and in different life stages and rural and urban residents.

(6) Technological change. A number of participants indicated that rapid technological changes taking place in China have important influence on the leisure behavior of Chinese citizens and thus should be a topic of inquiry among leisure researchers. As one participant expressed, "The information society is a very important issue in contemporary China. More studies should be conducted." Another person added, "China needs creative improvement in technology and skills. Leisure is a new approach to study it." Participants also commented on the problems brought by recent technological advancements. One person said, "Technology developed so fast, people couldn't follow it. But [at the same time] technology serves each of us." Another participant raised an issue of lack of meaningful communication among family members caused by overuse of technological devices such as cell phones, computer games and the Internet and the problematic nature of spending too much time in "parallel" leisure activities (e. g. , television watching).

2. Additional Issues that Need to Be Investigated in the Context of Chinese Leisure

(1) Leisure space in urban areas and environmental concerns. Rapid urbanization in China led to a decreased amount of public open space and greenery available in cities as well as to worsening air pollution and other environmental problems. These were seen as particularly detrimental to health and quality of life among older adults and children. As one person said, "Space is limited in the city. How to comprehensively utilize the available space for serving leisure needs is an important topic of inquiry." The respondents discussed how government can provide more public parks and community leisure spaces in cities and tourist destinations. Development of comprehensive plans for utilization of the available public space was seen as a priority.

(2) Leisure education. Experts believed that, because of the focus on economic growth combined with the priority placed on work and education, many Chinese are unable to fully appreciate the value of leisure and they do not know how to spend their leisure time. As one person noted, "There is a need for people to be taught how to enjoy leisure; older people don't know the value of leisure. Leisure is seen by them as a waste of time. We need to raise awareness and change attitudes." Another added, "Leisure education needs to bring up awareness of the importance of leisure, and help people prioritize leisure time use." Training of "leisure consultants" who could advise people on "how to choose the most appropriate leisure activities according to their situation (e. g., occupation, health, gender, preferences)" was suggested as a possible solution.

(3) Leisure and traditional culture. Because leisure in contemporary China has been heavily influenced by the processes of globalization and by Western culture, learning how to incorporate traditional Chinese elements and forms into leisure was seen as critical to maintaining traditions and unique qualities of leisure. As one person described it, "In the past leisure [in China] was organized by rich people. Now people take ideas from Western society but don't know how to apply them or adjust to our culture." Other respondents added, "Because China has a large culture and history, we should make good use of our cultural resources" and "Chinese nations' traditions, such as culture, beliefs, and education, have great influence on people's leisure. Its diversity has high value."

IV. Discussion and Conclusion

This study identified nine research areas that Chinese leisure scholars believed to be critical to pursue in the next decade. This list reflects the influence of Chinese culture, issues that are of particular importance to Chinese society in the second decade of the twenty first century, and practical considerations affecting the provision of leisure services in this country.

1. Unique Nature of Leisure in China

The unique nature of Chinese leisure that has surfaced in the study was related to the rapidly developing economy that leads to pressures on free time among Chinese residents, but at the same time, to the increased focus on life happiness and leisure satisfaction. Moreover, strong family orientation, the need to preserve and amplify elements of Chinese culture in leisure, the need for leisure education, policy issues, lack of open space in urban areas, and environmental crisis surfaced as critical areas of future inquiry. We will elaborate on these new themes below.

(1) Economic development and quality of life. As the second largest and one of the most rapidly growing economies in the world, China's economic development has been a remarkable success. However, the rapid pace of economic transformations has brought with it significant social anxiety and uncertainty^[3]. In order to address some of the social problems experienced by the country, the government of China has championed in recent years the concept of "social harmony"^[51] that is rooted in Confucianism and has advocated building a harmonious society by improving people's manners, tastes, interpersonal communication styles, and appreciation for the natural environment^[52]. Moreover, over the past two decades, the disposable income of a large portion of the Chinese population has grown significantly, resulting in Mainland Chinese having more resources than ever to participate in leisure^[53]. Under such favorable conditions, a large portion of Mainland Chinese population has begun to pay more attention to the issues of quality of life and happiness, which is reflected in their desire to pursue a wider variety of leisure activities^[54]. Not surprisingly then, leisure time use and leisure happiness/satisfaction were identified by the Chinese scholars as critical topics of future research inquiry in China.

(2) Strong family orientation. Strong family orientation of Chinese leisure has also clearly surfaced in the surveys and interviews as an important topic of future inquiry. It is natural that Chinese emphasize the role of family in leisure participation, as Confucianism considered household to be the basic unit of a country. Confucius likened managing a country

to managing a family and argued that the King is the father and people are the sons. In his virtue, "harmonious family can lead to the success in other areas of life." It is well known that Chinese people show a strong preference for family-oriented leisure activities, including family gatherings and festival celebrations during holiday periods. However, the current social and economic climate in China that caused increased stress and decreased people's ability to spend adequate time on family leisure, heightened the perception that family recreation should be an important topic of inquiry in future studies.

(3) Focus on Chinese culture. The desire to preserve and amplify elements of Chinese culture in leisure can be directly attributed to the social and cultural changes currently taking place in China. Rapid globalization and Westernization of leisure and simultaneous loss of many unique traits and customs can lead to feelings of loss and apprehension, particularly among middle age and older Chinese who are witnessing valuable traditions of their country disappear and be replaced with Western-centric attitudes, products, and behavior patterns. As Dong, Li, and Kim argued, contemporary popular culture in China is steeped in consumerism which creates a climate of "exciting new opportunities" and "terrifying new pressures"^{[11]281} for the Chinese urban society at the time of social, cultural, and economic transition. These trends help to explain why Chinese scholars see the need to identify ways in which elements of traditional Chinese culture can be preserved and incorporated into modern leisure patterns in this country.

(4) Leisure education. The necessity to develop leisure education programs and initiatives that would help Chinese people appreciate the value of leisure has also surfaced in the surveys and discussions. Despite recent developments, due to the influence of Confucianism that stresses work ethic and intellectual pursuits, the value of leisure in China has been generally less recognized than in Western countries^[3,55-56]. Ap quoted Schutte and Ciarlante's^[57] saying that "Asians have a generally negative attitude towards leisure(···) [and they feel] a sense of guilt in using leisure time to satisfy only their personal needs."^① These trends may be amplified in the rapidly developing society where strong work ethic is a prerequisite for socio-economic success and where material goods are considered outward signs of social standing. The highly competitive work environment necessitates strong educational credentials and devotion to the workplace, which leads to leisure taking a secondary role in the lives of many Chinese citizens. As a result, many people may not appreciate the value of leisure and those who do struggle to find appropriate ways of spending free time that would fit their lifestyles.

(5) Policy issues. When it comes to the provision of leisure services, the findings of the study reflect the unique nature of Chinese political and economic system, including its centrally planned economy. Unlike in the U. S. and Canada where most decisions regarding the availability and allocation of free time are left to individuals and where leisure-related investments are the domain of municipal governments and private enterprises, leisure policy in China is overseen by the central government. Not surprisingly, then, there is a need to investigate the ways in which leisure-related decisions are made, what their effectiveness is, and what are the ways in which government institutions can best facilitate provision of leisure services in China.

(6) Lack of open space and environmental concerns. The effects of environmental crisis including air pollution and shrinking availability of public open spaces were also identified as an issue of particular concern when it comes to leisure of Chinese citizens. Lack of open spaces in cities triggered by rapid urbanization has been raised as an important topic of inquiry by researchers from a variety of disciplines, including geography forestry, landscape ecology, urban green space planning, and eco-environmental sciences^[58-61]. Lack of open spaces not only contributes to declining opportunities for outdoor recreation among Chinese urban residents but also has negative effects on their quality of life, physical and mental health, educational functions, social capital, and economic activity in cities^{②[62-63]}. Moreover, it can aggravate social tensions related to mass rural-urban migrations that have occurred in China in recent years^[64-65]. The environmental crisis, the worsening air pollution in major urban centers in particular, raises similar concerns. It decreases people's ability to participate in leisure outdoors and poses serious health risks. These can be especially pronounced among older citizens, children, and people with respiratory diseases and compromised immune systems. While the issues of access to urban natural environments, environmental quality, and environmental justice are important topics of leisure research in Western countries as well^[66-67], they are clearly of particular importance in the context of future leisure research in China.

① J. Ap, "Inter-cultural Behavior Some Glimpse of Leisure from an Asian Perspective," Paper Presented at the Leisure Futures Conference, Innsbruck, Austria, 2002, p. 13.

② Y. Zhang, "Urban Open Space Design for the Chinese Floating Population Community, Planning and Site Design Guidelines," Master Thesis at Virginia Polytechnic Institute and State University, 2011.

2. Common Themes in Chinese and Western Leisure Scholarship

The survey and discussion also revealed a number of themes that parallel some of the research priorities identified in the Western literature. In particular, they include the effects of technological change on leisure as well as leisure needs and motivations.

While the topic of needs and motivations has been one of the cornerstones of leisure research in the West for the last several decades^[46,48,68-69], the changing technological landscape of leisure has only recently attracted attention of Western researchers^{①[70]}. It is clear that the trends observable in the United States, Canada and Europe are present in the Chinese society where new technologies such as video games, cell phones, and the Internet are reshaping the way people communicate, learn, interact, and spend leisure time. Chinese scholars who participated in the study argued that it is imperative that future leisure research pay close attention to the ways in which these technological advancements affect leisure behaviors among Chinese citizens.

The aforementioned comparisons are, of course, important in and of themselves; however, it is also worth remembering that they represent the fourth and final step in Walker and Deng's (2003/2004) informed etic model. Too often, as noted in the literature review, calls are made for more cross-national or cross-cultural leisure research without the authors identifying how such research should, ideally, be undertaken. Although some leisure scholars^[41] have argued for a decolonizing methodology that privileges indigenous perspectives over so-called "intrusive" non-indigenous perspectives, we believe that a collaborative approach such as the one that guided our study can be highly respectful, honorable, and insightful.

3. Limitations of the Study and Suggestions for Future Research

Although this study yielded some interesting results, it also has several limitations that need to be acknowledged. First, only 28 leisure experts were able to participate in the workshop and there are a number of preeminent Chinese scholars whose views were not represented in the study. Second, the workshop was held during one day only and it is possible that longer discussion time would have allowed the scholars to reflect more in-depth on some of the issues examined in the study. Last, although the surveys were anonymous, the discussion that followed involved a free exchange of opinions in an open setting. Since the workshop was attended by scholars of various levels of seniority, it is possible that verbal responses of some of the more junior researchers might have been influenced by the presence of their more senior colleagues and university administrators. We believe, however, that these concerns were outweighed by the opportunity of researchers to engage in a free discussion and exchange of opinions. We hope that the results of this study will be helpful in sparking a further dialogue among Chinese leisure scholars and in informing future research on how leisure can enhance quality of life, social integrity, social stability, and social harmony in China.

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