2015中国休闲与旅游研究峰会论文集

……第三辑……

休闲的行为、空间和管理

联席主编◎夏杰长 计金标 执行主编◎魏 翔 韩玉灵 中・国・闲・暇・经・济・论・丛

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第1编 休闲行为、动机与生活满意度



Free Time: the Pinnacle of Progress for Industrial Nations A History Benjamin Kline Hunnicutt

(The University of Iowa)

I am an historian.

For well over forty years, I have been trying to understand the history of work and leisure in the industrialized nations in the West.

My history begins, for it must, with the Industrial Revolution; with the coming of factories, technology, new machines, the opening of large scale, free markets (with the birth of modern capitalism), and the beginning of labor-markets in which ordinary people were, for the first time, able to sell their time, their "work" to others.

Industrial revolutions are still going on in many countries around the world today as peoples and nations leave behind traditional agricultural-based ways of living and adopt modern machines, factories, and market-place customs and institutions. This transition is characterized by the buying, for the first time, of most of the necessities of life from others who sell their work and time needed to produce those necessities.

In the West, the Industrial Revolution occurred primarily in the late 18th and early 19th centuries, setting a pattern that exits today for the industrializing nations. Before the coming of industrialization, modern "work" and "free time" (leisure) can hardly be said to have existed. Before, what we know today as "work" and "free time" were blended together for the majority of people for thousands of years. Certainly, a few, the rich and powerful, were free to do as they wished for most of their lives. For most people, however, "work" and "free time" was not separated in daily life as they are today. People did what needed to be done, most of the time together, obeying the traditional customs of agricultural life and artisanal workshops in small towns and villages. Productive effort ("work") most often combined with community and family living ("leisure"). Often the productive effort was hard and demanding. But just as often, aside from planting and harvesting, the pace of life was gentle. People talked, and even joked together as they worked in the fields and small workshops. They had amble opportunities to interact with their families and neighbors, and to enjoy the natural world as they were doing their chores.

Moreover, most people produced most of the things they needed, sharing them, or trading them in small scale, local markets. Little money changed hands. Salaries were rarely, if ever paid. Only the rich bought luxuries (those things not vital for life) or imported goods from world markets.

The Coming of Work Discipline

With the coming of factories and new machines, and with the arrival of capitalism, "work" (productive effort) was separated from traditional daily living ("leisure"). Workers begin to sell their productive efforts to others, to bosses and owners of factories. Of course, these bosses and owners wanted their money's worth. The older, more casual, agricultural way of producing things did not suit the new factory situation. Modern "work" then begins as the intensive, closely supervised effort we know today. A new work-discipline emerged to ensure optimal production per hour. Visiting together, taking breaks to do things for a friend, even talking were prohibited.

The modern "worker" was born. Having to sell his time and devote himself to the new job, the worker becomes acutely aware of the difference between having to go to work and being "off" from the job—the clear difference between "my time" (leisure) and "work time" that belongs to the boss and the company. Work and leisure are thus born together, historically speaking.

Having to adjust to the new, more intensive kinds of "work" and the new work discipline required by the factories, workers feel a keen sense of what they have to give up. The conviviality, the friendly interaction with family and neighbors, the ability to control their own labor, the close contact with the natural world—most of those things that characterized preindustrial forms of productive effort are lost at the new industrial jobs.

Thus, the time "off" from the job, the new "leisure" becomes more and more important to the worker as an opportunity to regain some of those things that were lost. Leisure becomes the modern free space to regain the beautiful contacts with nature and to regain parts of the lost, more convivial and traditional world of our ancestors.

Such motives account for worker's insistence on the gradual reduction of their working hours in the West. Beginning in the early part of the 19th century, workers struggled to reduce their working time, envisioning a time to come in which work in the capitalist, industrial world would be reduced to a "minimum" and the balance of the people's lives would shift to free time. Eventually as industry progressed, workers would have more and more time to be with their families, to spend with their friends, to enjoy the natural world, to read and learn, to know more about history, the world and other people, to investigate the mysteries of human spirit, to practice their faiths and keep their traditions alive.

As Karl Marx observed in Das Capital:

"The realm of freedom actually begins only where labour which is determined by necessity and mundane considerations ceases; thus in the very nature of things it lies beyond the sphere of actual material production.... Beyond begins that development of human energy which is an end in itself, the true realm of freedom...The shortening of the working-day is its basic prerequisite."

This was no utopian, unrealistic dream. Technology made the hope for "progressively shorter

hours of work" of work a real possibility. New machines were making it possible to produce more and more with less and less human effort—in the nineteenth century, writers regularly predicted what we are now witnessing as realities: robots, machines that make other machines, self-driving cars, helicopter drones, and computers that now threaten/promise to replace virtually all human jobs.

The Forgotten American Dream

Through the 19th and early 20th century, working hours were cut virtually in half across the industrial nations. Progress was widely understood as providing two good things: higher wages and shorter working hours. I have tried to tell the history of this vision of progress in my most recent book, *Free Time*: *The Forgotten American Dream*.

Beginning with Johnathan Edwards, the most important theologian-philosopher America has ever produced, leading figures in American History regularly commented on this phenomenon. Scores of important philosophers, writers, poets, and statesmen in the 19th and through much of the 20th centuries, including Benjamin Franklin, Thomas Jefferson, Abraham Lincoln, Walt Whitman, John Maynard Keynes, Frank Lloyd Wright, and Robert Hutchins believed that progress was defined by the efficient production of the basic necessities of life, and then by the freeing of humans for finer things— for beauty, conviviality, virtue, and nature. Such progress would overshadow mere material progress, outshining our magnificent cities, luxurious cars and houses, and the clutter of throw-away consumer goods.

The list of the beautiful things that would become possible in the new opening space of free time is lengthy—I have made only a small start cataloging them in my book and other writings. Some of the most import "voices" expressing the vision of humane and moral progress were those of ordinary working people, many of whom I have included in my writings, such as the workers in the Kellogg's cereal plant in Battle Creek, Michigan, who struggled to preserve their six hour work day for over fifty years.

However, recently (since the 1930s) this dream has been obscured by corporations and capitalists eager to keep people working for new consumer products in order to maximize profit. A new vision of the future emerged in the 20th century—a fantastic vision of the eternal creation of wealth for the sake of more wealth, and of "full time" work for the sake of more work. Work and wealth have emerged together as self-justifying ends in themselves.

As a consequence, leisure has been trivialized—made to look silly. Now leisure is too often taken over by consumerism. People have become helpless and passive in their free time, watching TV and idling away their lives. The old dreams and plans for increasing free time have been forgotten along with the old expectation for what Marx called the opening realm of freedom—a realm of freedom in which humans make progress in their abilities to live together joyfully and, to experience the world, nature, and that which is transcendent in the human experience.

However, the perpetual search for work and wealth without end is proving destructive to the natural world and to the relationships between peoples. The scramble for ever more has become a cancer in the West, eating at health culture, distorting human relationships—greed and selfishness are overgrowing the healthy mutuality and sharing human beings are capable of.

As Marx recognized, a return to "the progressive shortening of the hours of labor" offers an escape from the modern prison of more wealth and work forevermore. The revolution of the proletariat need not be violent. Workers, gaining the necessities of life through new technologies, may freely choose to leave the world of modern work, in part, to reclaim their lives and freely express their "human energy which is an end in itself, [in] the true realm of freedom."

The English word "leisure" is often translated into Chinese with the characters 休闲 and 休閑. Traditionally, and in the writings of such renowned figures as Chuang Tzu and Confucius, these two ideograms imply a free space, or an opening out (闲 and 閑) together with 休, implying beauty, fine qualities, preciousness and virtue in people as well as things. Once, the western nations shared this understanding—of free time as the opening and opportunity for beauty and virtue. I hope that as an historian, I might represent this old vision—help keep it alive for the future. I also imagine that the developing nations such as China, might recognized in their tradition the better path to industrial progress, held out by the possibilities of 休闲 and 休閑. ①

① Huimei Liu, Chih-Kuei Yeh, Garry E. Chick & Harry C. Zinn (2008), "An Exploration of Meanings of Leisure: A Chinese Perspective," *Leisure Sciences*, 30: 5, 482 - 488, To link to this article: go to http://dx.doi.org/10.1080/01490400802353257.

旅游体验中的返璞归真与精神享受

崔广彬 宿伟玲 (大连大学旅游学院)

摘要:对于旅游者而言,旅游体验追求的是精神享受,返璞归真则是现代人精神追求、享受人生旅游体验中非常重要且又难以实现的原始愿望与期待。在现代社会中,科技发展起着核心的引领作用,人们不断地感受到"非人"的工作与生活的压力,因而需要通过旅游体验的返璞归真来达到放松身心的美好精神享受。本文从旅游者在旅游体验中初始愿望难以回归本心,难以达成美好的旅游体验入手,探讨了通过追求必需的重构童心、和合至道、"存其心、入其境"等方式在旅游体验中做到返璞归真,从而获得旅游体验的最高精神享受。

关键词: 旅游体验 返璞归真 精神享受

一、引言

每个人都有不同的人生经历,也就形成了不同的美好记忆与回忆。同时,人生又总是不断地追求美好与创造自己的美好,而现实又总是难以达成最初的原始愿望与期待。对于旅游者而言,旅游体验追求的是精神享受,返璞归真则是现代人精神追求、享受人生旅游体验中非常重要且又难以实现的。因而在旅游体验中追求返璞归真的精神享受似乎也难逃类似人生的不如意与期待失落。在现实中,旅游者的最初旅游体验之愿望形成即如初见般美好,体验却多似"秋扇见捐",正是"等闲变却故人心,却道故人心易变"。在现代社会中,科技发展起着核心的引领作用,人们在发展中不断地感受到"非人"的工作与生活的压力,因而需要寻找另一个能让其身得心到放松与回归人性本真的空间和活动,旅游则成为人们这一追求的首选。旅游必须谈及的话题是旅游体验,旅游体验的结果如何则涉及人们的旅游终极目标与愿望达成程度。虽然人们旅游的动机不同,但都不能回避的是旅游的最高境界——精神享受。只有实现了精神享受的初始的、本真的意义,才能真正实现旅游者旅游休闲的期许与追求。因此,本研究主要从旅游者的旅游体验入手,探讨人们在旅游体验中如何从返璞归真中去实现旅游的精神享受。

二、关于旅游体验

(一) 什么是旅游体验

二战后,随着旅游活动在全球的迅速展开,旅游者的旅游需求、活动方式与消费等的



发展变化引起了专家的注意,从而提出旅游体验的概念并加以研究,旅游体验开始受到关注。国外较早关注旅游体验研究的是布斯汀(1964)[1]、麦克奈尔(1973)[2] 和科恩(1979)[3]等,在他们看来,旅游体验是人们为了克服现实生活困窘而追寻某种真实的休闲活动,对于社会个体和整个社会都具有重要意义。随着对旅游体验性的强调,更多的学者关注旅游体验领域。在我国,最早提出并对旅游体验进行广泛研究的是谢彦君。谢彦君(2005)认为,旅游体验是旅游个体通过与外部取得联系,从而改变旅游者心理水平并调整其心理结构的过程,并进一步提出,旅游体验是旅游者的内在心理活动与旅游者所呈现的表面形态和深刻含义之间相互交流或相互作用后的结果,是借助于观赏、交往、模仿和消费等活动形式实现的一个时序过程。随着我国旅游业的发展,国内旅游学界对旅游体验的研究不断深入。[4]

沈鹏熠认为:"旅游体验是游客在接触一个旅游目的地之后,该旅游目的地为其所带来的整体印象和经历,它是游客在与旅游目的地接触过程中对一系列与旅游相关事件的积累。其中,旅游目的地的旅游产品或服务等旅游要素可以采用感官的、具有感染力的、创意性关联的方式为游客创造出不同类型的体验,不断传递旅游目的地的价值。"[5]

王栋梁和李万莲提出:"所谓旅游体验,是旅游主体(即游客)离开其经常居住地而到异国他乡进行的短暂停留,满足不同层次的需求,目的是获得生理上、心理上和精神上的满足,进而使旅游主体更积极乐观,热爱生活,使主体作为人成为人自身。"^[6]

潘海颖认为:"旅游体验对于旅游个体来说,始终是一个审美过程,始终是对精神世界的追求,体现了对未知的探索,体现了对休闲境界的渴望,从而使生命变得更有意义。"[7]

综上所述,旅游体验是一种与旅游活动相关的休闲活动,它是改变旅游者心理水平并调整其心理结构的过程,旅游者通过旅游体验可以获得生理上、心理上和精神上的满足,始终是对精神世界的追求。旅游体验过程是旅游者"借助于观赏、交往、模仿和消费等活动形式实现的一个时序过程。"[4]因此,旅游体验应是贯穿于旅游者旅游活动过程始终的亲历过程,是旅游者为追求精神享受所选择的一种休闲行为。在这个行为过程中,旅游者应始终扮演现实生活的"逃离"者和"真实"旅游世界的追求者双重角色。旅游者在"逃离"与"追求"的过程中体验着远离尘世生活的轻松,享受着置身"世外"的自由与快乐。而旅游者的旅游最初愿望(这里暂时称之为"本心")在"逃离"与"追求"的过程中是否能够达成,与旅游者的体验本心与过程享受选择有着密切的关系,这就是本研究所涉及的返璞归真与精神享受。

(二) 旅游体验的价值

旅游者的旅游过程就是体验的过程。由于旅游者的旅游动机、偏好和行为的差异,旅游体验的对象与内容也会不同,即使是同一体验对象,由于旅游者的感受不同、认识水平不同、经验差异等原因,其所获得的体验结果也会不同。虽然由于旅游者个体差异,旅游体验结果会有所不同,但就旅游者旅游体验价值来说也应是相同或相近的——那就是对快乐与愉悦升华的精神享受。旅游体验的价值就是旅游者选择旅游休闲的意义所在。

余志远等认为,人们从日常生活世界到旅游世界,表面上看是一个身体移动和心境转变的过程,但它在深层次里所展现的是个体自我认同的建构过程。"从根本上来说,日常生活世界中的我是一个不快乐的我。"然而,进入旅游世界后,旅游者所感受到的是一个别样的社会空间,他们获得了更多与自我相处的机会、更多自我尝试与挑战、更多成就感。"整个过程,自我得到解放,获得完全的释放和展现的过程,也因此而得到了自我肯定和自我认同。""人们凭借这种体验经历成为真正的自己,演绎生命的意义。"[8]

为什么旅游的世界和日常生活的世界会有如此大的差别?人们为什么到了旅游的世界就会自我得到解放?自我解放的我是真实的自我,正是我们在"不快乐"的日常生活世界中想要找回的自我,是本真的自我,是自我需要的自我。所以,只有在旅游世界中的旅游体验才能真正实现自我或本我价值,那才是一个自由的空间和自由的自我。正如自驾旅行者琢磨先生在《66号公路,孤独的力量》中所说的:"经常有人问我旅行的意义。我觉得旅行最大的价值,不是看千帆览万物,而是在旅行过程中发现事事未必如你意,人人未必如你想。于是开始放下执着,学会接受挫折,学会尊重他人。心境于是豁然,心胸于是开阔,于是开始放下纠结和偏执,找到一个随遇而安的自己。然后带着一个崭新的自己回到那个熟悉的家。"[9]

旅游体验的意义与价值就在于旅游世界能让人们获得"逃离"日常生活的自由与快乐,人们可以在这自由的天空下追求着、享受着在路上的舒爽和愉悦。而这快乐与自由更深层次的价值在于人们可以通过旅游体验中放弃日常生活中"不快乐"的自我、找回真正的自我。这真正自我的回归,使我们可以"带着一个崭新的自己回到那个熟悉的家",去迎接生活世界的新曙光,去创造新的美好生活世界。

二、返璞归真中的旅游体验

(一) 返璞归真更能达成精神享受的体验

在旅游体验中,人们总是希望在旅游的世界里实现其"逃离"生活世界的体验期望, 达成精神享受的愿望。如何才能真正达成旅游的愿望,实现人们的旅游期待?人们是否能 在旅游体验中实现体验的最高境界——精神享受,关键在于人们是否带着本真的心在路 上,这个本真之心就是返璞归真。

返璞归真是中国文化中所提倡的修为途径和境界。在传统的道家看来,人原初的本性是淳朴和纯真的,就是儿童般的天真无邪。随着年龄的增长,人们的思想在不断发生着变化,随之便不断地萌生各种欲念,再加上社会环境的各种影响和情色财富的诱惑,就会不断地消耗掉人们原有的生命元真,也迷失了原有的纯朴天性。这种嗜欲无止的发展结果将会严重损害自己心性和生命健康,从而使人们的生命本性背道而驰。因此,人们只有返璞归真,才能使心性和生命返到纯朴元真的状态。人们的旅游自然不能等同于哲学探索或宗教信仰,但人们在旅游世界中的精神享受则源于一种追求。John Urry 认为,旅游者如同朝圣者一般,也是从一个熟悉的地方移动到一个遥远的地方,然后又回到熟悉的地方。在遥远的地方,朝圣者和旅游者都要对神圣不可侵犯的圣地进行朝拜,只是方式不同而已,结



果他们会有某种精神升华的体验。[10]

为什么旅游被学者称为朝圣?为什么旅游朝圣的结果会达到某种精神升华?因为朝圣是带着信仰而来,是为实现心中的愿望而崇敬地来到朝圣地。可以说,旅游者选择的旅游地就是心中的向往地,就是其获得愉悦体验地,这和宗教朝圣者的心中圣地有异曲同工之处。所以,这个旅游地正应是旅游者在旅游世界中可以找回心中自我的圣地,可以获得心中的依托与慰藉。

在现实的旅游过程中为什么旅游者多难以实现旅游体验目的,达成精神享受的结果? 其实,作为现实中的旅游者,虽然欣欣然规往于旅游世界,而当其走入旅游世界时,往往仍是在追求着"厚味、美服、好色、音声",只是处在其日常生活的移动,并没有真正走进旅游的世界。正确的旅游态度应是回归本心,返璞归真。正如余志远和沈晓婉认为的那样:"通常而言,现代人自我的丧失发生于日常生活的世界。一部分人在现代社会里彻底迷失了自己,已经认不清我到底是谁;还有一部分人在社会习俗的压迫下把真实的自我伪装起来,并刻意展示自己非本质的部分。"[11]人们要想通过旅游世界从迷失自我的日常生活世界中找回自我,就应是从返璞归真开始。

我们必须强调返璞归真是一种手段和途径,是一种境界和方法。并不是像人们经常谈及的回归山林野趣,回归大自然之中就是求得了返璞归真。回到大自然中只是对一种纯朴环境的追求,还达不到心灵与精神的共趣,只是对身陷自然的满足,还不能达到真正意义的返璞归真。这就是我们必须去掉的物质化的返璞归真,求取精神至享的返璞归真。要做到真正意义的旅游世界的返璞归真体验,就要去掉虚华物质之心,回归纯朴自然的本心。至于到达何种旅游地,是美丽的自然山水,还是荒原僻野,或是小桥流水人家,只要心在旅游世界中,旅游体验就可达到精神的升华。

正如《66号公路,孤独的力量》一文的题记中吴淡如所说的: "只有一个人旅行时,才听得到自己的声音。它会告诉你,这世界比自己想象中更宽阔。你的人生不会没有出口,你会发现自己有一双翅膀,不必经过任何人同意就可以飞翔。"因为如果你真的走入旅游世界,就会在旅游的世界中真正找回自我,找回可以自由飞翔的自我。

有研究者认为,旅行者犹如拾荒者,可以将一些丢失了很久的东西(如人应有的品质)寻找回来。因此,"相对于生活世界而言,旅游世界在某种意义上是被作为一个让人重获自由的生活空间而存在的"。[11] 正如一个旅行者所说的:"游一处风景,寻一处特色;见一处特色,悟一片心得。江南的绮丽,塞北的广漠,能唤起我们对大自然的尊重和敬畏,如果你能和此地人沟通结识,赋美景以人文,还自然以生命,你会觉得,还有比自然景观更深刻的领悟。"旅游体验的真正享受不在风景,而是在精神的升华。

(二) 旅游体验返璞归真的当代特征

如果把人们对回归大自然的祈望,对回到从前的渴望看成是返璞归真那就错了,因为现实中经常被人们提到的所谓返璞归真只是人们对生活世界的"逃离"选择,并没有真正找到回归自我、回归本真自然的途径。对于大多数旅游者来说,只是误读了返璞归真的内涵而已。因为,"我现在再也看不到一个始终依照确定不移的本性而行动的人;再也看不

到他的创造者赋予他的那种崇高而庄严的淳朴"。^[12] 所以,并不是旅游世界所要达成精神享受体验路径的返璞归真。

对于处于生活世界中移动的旅游者的返璞归真诉求呈现出以下的特征。这些特征有助于我们更好地剖析对于旅游世界向往而又囿于难以返璞归真的休闲制约。

1. 繁中求简. 闹中求静

人类社会的进步是伴随着人类社会生活的不断纷繁复杂而来,科技的进步、社会的文明发达并没有给人们带来更多的自由和幸福,相反使人们越来越觉得现在的生活世界中喧闹、无聊,反而使人们越来越产生烦躁、压抑、厌恶的心情。人们之所以不断追求旅游,寻找属于自己的旅游世界,并不是人们只是出于对大自然的热爱,对异地的向往,而是人们总是觉得在大自然中能找回自我,在异地的求新求异中能解放自我。在经济越发达的国度,人们越是在不断地选择旅游休闲,通过旅游休闲来暂时"逃离"复杂、喧闹、扰人的生活世界。于是,"繁中求简,闹中求静"成为人们普遍的"逃离"生活世界的动机。在这一动机下求得的是简与静。人们也知道这简与静是暂时的,经过旅游世界的简与静的体验后还会回到真真切切的现实的生活世界中来。人们在这短暂的旅游经历中,对简与静的追求与理解也是千差万别的,只有很少一部分人能真正在他的旅游世界中自由飞翔,在精神享受中获得自我的快乐,理解真正的简与静在心中,在路上。他们知道,简与静不是求来的,心静得简,极简必静。

2. 危中求安, 病中求养

在现代社会,似乎旅游已成为人们生活的重要组成部分,而人们对于旅游的意义理解也是各异的,并不是所有的人都把旅游的意义认识得那么清楚准确。我们经常会看到某某病中人弃业舍家,大有以环游世界告别人世之意;亦有若干美文,以感人至深的语言告诫人们不要再爱累于生活世界,趁你还年轻,趁你身体还健康去旅游吧;更有经历人生之挫折与打击,在旅游的世界中找回了自己……不一而足。我们不禁要问,在你未病之前怎么不去环游世界?在你未老之前为何不旅游?在你事业一帆风顺时为什么不去探寻旅游世界?旅游世界是医生活世界杂症的良方吗?要知道,原始本真的我就是朴素无华的,这人类的自然属性随风而去了吗?没有,人们的本真并没有随风飘去,只是生活在生活世界的人们陷于物欲困于喧繁,当在生活世界中受挫后努力通过一定的途径找回自我,于是旅游体验成为受挫者最佳的找回自我的途径,便走入旅游世界。实践证明,在生活世界受挫的旅游者,往往容易进入旅游世界,在旅游世界找回自我,获得人生的重塑与再造。

3. 紧中求松, 快中求慢

生活世界的人们经常会问:时间哪儿去了?生活的节奏为什么如此快,快得让人难以承受?怎么老是这样的紧张,紧张得让人喘不过气来?于是,放松身心,慢生活成为当代人生活世界的理想。旅游活动则是人们放松身心,获得慢生活的最佳途径和方式。研究表明,长期在紧张、快节奏的生活状态下会引起人们的焦虑情绪和浮躁不安。一项调查显示,焦虑和不安已成为人们的生活常态,有达34%的人经常出现焦虑情绪,甚至有相当多