

为了更好地工作：工作恢复的内涵及实现机制*

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摘要 工作恢复是保障员工持续有效应对工作要求, 支撑员工“更好地工作”的重要资源补充机制, 也是近年来职业健康心理学研究中的一个热点主题。本文在澄清工作恢复概念的界定和梳理工作恢复影响因素的基础上, 着重围绕工作恢复的实现机制进行了分析和探讨。最后, 围绕工作恢复相关研究的现状及未来方向进行了总结和展望。

关键词 工作恢复 被动恢复 主动恢复 实现机制

1 引言

工作恢复(recovery from work, 下文简称“恢复”)是指个体从工作要求和应激中脱离以对因工作消耗的资源进行修复和重建的过程(Meijman & Mulder, 1998)。它是确保个体有充沛精力持续应对工作挑战——“为了更好地工作”——并保持良好身心状态的重要资源补充机制(Demerouti, Bakker, Sonnentag, & Fullagar, 2012; Singh, Burke, & Boekhorst, 2016; Sonnentag, Unger, & Nägel, 2013)。当前, 长时间、快节奏、高强度工作成为许多行业(或岗位)的工作常态(Hächler, Pereira & Achim, 2017), 同时信息技术突飞猛进的发展使得工作和非工作领域(家庭、休闲等)间的边界模糊化(Barber & Santuzzi, 2015), 这使得员工在恢复时间保障、恢复环境创建及恢复活动参与等方面均面临严峻挑战。在此新的经济社会发展背景下, 如何有效和高效地进行工作恢复, 成为员工及其所在组织都必须面对的重要现实问题。同时, 近年来有关工作恢复实现过程及机制的研究文献不断涌现, 为深入理解和揭示工作恢复的实现机制准备了条件。因此, 本文致力于对工作恢复相关研究文献(尤其是新近文献)进行梳理, 围绕工作恢复的内涵、影响因素及实现机制

等进行分析 and 总结, 尝试回答工作恢复“是什么”、“为什么发生”、“怎样发生”及“在怎样的条件下发生”等问题, 并在此基础上对相关研究的未来方向进行展望。

2 工作恢复的定义

尽管研究者对恢复的本质——“个体在工作中被激活的身心系统重回并稳定在工作要求出现前的水平”(Geurts & Sonnentag, 2006)——已经广泛认可, 但是在实际研究中对恢复的操作性定义并不统一。基于Sonnentag和Geurts(2009)对恢复测量方式的梳理, 本文认为已有研究中对恢复的操作性定义主要有以下3种代表性观点: 一是将恢复视作和工作相对的一种生活场景(“场景观”); 二是将恢复视作一种活动或经验过程(“过程观”); 三是将恢复视作一种身心机能水平或状态的改变(“结果观”)。

工作恢复的“场景观”侧重于从恢复发生的特定时空背景来定义恢复。恢复大多发生在非工作时间(晚上、周末、假期等)和非工作场所(家庭、户外等)。因此, 晚间休息、周末生活、休假等常被视作典型的恢复场景(de Bloom, Kompier, Geurts, de Weerth, Taris, & Sonnentag, 2009)。近年来, 工

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作内的恢复场景（午休、下午茶时间等）因其在降低疲劳、促进工作投入等方面的积极作用也开始为研究者所关注（Kim, Park, & Niu, 2017; Trougakos, Hideg, Cheng, & Beal, 2014）。

工作恢复的“过程观”侧重于从恢复发生的过程或方式来定义恢复。基本的恢复方式包括被动恢复（passive recovery）和主动恢复（active recovery）。前者指通过休息（睡眠）、放松等方式让工作中消耗的资源自发地恢复；后者指通过从事休闲、运动、社交等能够带来新资源的活动对已消耗的资源进行重建。同时，已有研究也非常关注恢复过程中的心理体验（recovery experience，简称“恢复体验”）。Sonnentag 和 Fritz（2007）认为主要的恢复体验有 4 种，即：心理脱离（psychological detachment）、放松（relaxation）、掌握（mastery）和控制（control）。其中，心理脱离是指从工作要求中抽身出来不再思考工作事务；放松是指交感神经系统处于较低激活水平；掌握指在恢复过程中克服新挑战或学习新技能；控制则指自主决定工作外的时间分配和活动安排。此外，恢复过程中的愉悦感（van Hooff & de Pater, 2017）、意义感等也被一些研究者视作恢复体验的内容。

工作恢复的“结果观”侧重于从实际得到的恢复效果（身心状态或工作表现）来定义恢复。而恢复效果又可以从绝对和相对两个水平来理解。绝对水平指恢复后实际的身心状态（情绪状态、疲劳、活力等）或工作表现（Rivkin, Diestel, & Schmidt, 2018）；相对水平则指身心状态或工作表现在恢复前后的相对变化（Hülshager, 2016; van Hooff & Geurts, 2015）。相较而言，虽然相对水平的恢复效果不太容易准确获得，以至于在已有研究中的使用较少，但是它们能够更好地反映工作恢复的本质。

有关工作恢复定义的上述观点基于对恢复本质的一致理解，彼此侧重点不同，并不冲突。简言之，工作恢复是个体在工作外或工作间隙通过特定活动或方式获得恢复体验，进而对工作中消耗的资源进行修复和重建以确保有足够资源应对后续工作要求的过程，其效果既可以通过恢复后即时的身心机能水平也可以通过恢复前后身心机能水平的相对变化体现。

3 工作恢复的影响因素

3.1 促进因素

适时脱离工作事务并参加有助于资源修复和重

建的活动是实现恢复的主要途径。有助于恢复的活动一般具有无关工作和自主参加（非强制性）两个特征。放松、休闲、兴趣爱好、运动等均属于这类活动。通过这些活动，个体既可以和工作保持必要的脱离，也可以从中获得放松、掌握和控制等恢复体验（Feuerhahn, Sonnentag, & Woll, 2014; Oerlemans & Bakker, 2014）。

工作恢复的顺利进行也需要良好的恢复环境。研究表明，支持性的家庭环境（Hahn, Binnewies & Dormann, 2014; Park & Fritz, 2015）和工作环境（主管、同事的恢复支持）（Shimazu, De Kubota, & Kawakami, 2014）均有助于个体更好地从工作中脱离和从事恢复活动。此外，良好的物理环境（如，室内绿植、自然风光等）也有助于恢复的实现（Alvarsson, Wiens, & Nilsson, 2010; Bringslimark, Hartig, & Patil, 2009）。

除了自主的恢复活动和良好的恢复环境，一些个体因素对恢复实现也很重要。例如，正念（mindfulness）即有助于个体更好地恢复（Jamieson & Tuckey, 2017）。一方面，正念的接纳（accepting）和非评价（non-judgement）特征可以缓解个体面对工作要求时的应激反应（Yu & Zellmer-Bruhn, 2018）并助其采取积极的应对方式（Hulsheger, Lang, Depenbrock, Fehrmann, Zijlstra, & Alberts, 2014）。另一方面，强调“关注当下经验”的正念有助于提升个体非工作时间自我调节（self-regulation）的有效性，助其更好地投入恢复活动获得恢复体验（Hulsheger, Feinholdt, & Nübold, 2015）。

3.2 阻碍因素

持续、高水平的工作要求是阻碍恢复的主要因素。研究表明，从事高负荷（Potok & Littman-Ovadia, 2014）、高压（Bennett, Gabriel, Calderwood, Dahling, & Trougakos, 2016）及长时工作（Clinton, Conway, & Sturges, 2017）的员工难以从工作中脱离和恢复。同时，工作中人际压力源也是重要的恢复阻碍。例如，个体在工作中的不文明行为（workplace incivility）经历会导致心理脱离困难，干扰睡眠（Demsky, Fritz, Hammer, Black, & Anne, 2018），并损害次日早晨的恢复水平（Nicholson & Griffin, 2015）。

因信息技术发展出现的“非工作时间的的工作连通压力”是一种新的恢复阻碍因素。因为这种“延伸”的工作要求，个体即使在非工作时间也难

以从工作中脱离 (Barber & Jenkins, 2014; Derks, ten Brummelhuis, Zecic, & Bakker, 2014)。研究表明,主管的工作连通期望(非工作时间的工作连通压力的重要来源)会通过增加个体在非工作时间使用通信工具处理工作的频率干扰其正常的恢复进程 (Mellner, 2016; Piszczek, 2017)。

此外,一些较为稳定的个体倾向也可能成为恢复的阻碍。例如,高工作中心性(work centrality)和喜欢反刍(rumination)(尤其是对工作中不愉快经历的反刍)的员工更可能在非工作时间思考和处理工作,因此而削弱其非工作时间自我调节的有效性,使其难以从工作要求中有效地脱离和恢复(Hahn & Dormann 2013; Vandevala, Pavey, Chelidoni, Chang, Creagh-Brown, & Cox, 2017)。

4 工作恢复实现机制的理论解释

4.1 资源视角

资源视角是探讨恢复实现机制时被引用最多的观点,以努力-恢复模型(effort-recovery model, E-R; Meijman & Mulder, 1998)和资源保存理论(conservation of resources theory, COR; Hobfoll, 1989; Hobfoll, Halbesleben, Neveu, & Westman, 2018)为代表。E-R模型认为,个体在应对工作要求时需要消耗大量自我调节资源,因此需要及时修复和补充资源以缓解和消除可能出现的疲劳、紧张等应激反应。COR理论则认为,个体具有努力获取、保持和保护资源的倾向,因为资源对其适应环境和追求目标至关重要。当意识到因工作导致现有资源被消耗(或将要被消耗)时,出于资源保存的需要个体会努力减少(或停止)工作投入以阻止资源继续消耗。资源视角很好地揭示了工作恢复的动力机制,也为恢复的具体实现指明了方向。首先,E-R模型和COR理论均认为适时中断和远离工作要求以阻止现有资源继续消耗非常重要(Demsky, Ellis, & Fritz, 2014)。其次,COR理论更进一步指出,所有于新资源获得有益的活动(休闲、社交、运动等)均有益于恢复的实现(高峰强,丁琦峰,王芳,王鹏, 2016)。相较而言,E-R模型关注如何让资源重回工作要求出现前的水平;而COR理论则认为个体通过获取新资源不仅可以修复已消耗的资源,甚至让资源储备超过工作要求出现前的水平(Binnewies, Sonnentag, & Mojza, 2009)。

4.2 过程视角

在资源视角的基础上,ten Brummelhuis和Troughakos(2014)对工作恢复的实现过程进行了区分,认为理想的恢复过程包括3个阶段:预恢复(pre-recovery)、被动恢复(passive recovery)和主动恢复(active recovery)。“预恢复”是指工作要求中断或消失,意味着现有资源的消耗停止,但是资源的修复和重建尚未进行。其后,个体通过休息、放松等方式对已消耗的资源进行修复,使其重回工作要求出现前的水平,称为“被动恢复”。同时,个体也可以通过“主动恢复”获得新资源,实现资源重建,使其回到甚至超过工作要求出现前的水平。和资源视角一样,过程视角也重视从工作要求中适时脱离的作用,并视其为顺利进入后续恢复阶段的重要条件。所不同的是,过程视角还进一步指出了个体在恢复过程中实现资源修复和重建的具体过程或方式,为理解恢复“怎样实现”提供了有益参考。其中,被动恢复侧重已消耗资源的修复,以休息(包括睡眠)、放松为主,更多依靠的是人体机能系统的自然修复机制;而主动恢复更侧重资源的重建,以从事休闲、兴趣爱好类活动为主,更多依靠的是这些活动过程中的新资源(积极情绪、成就感等)获得机制。由于二者在时间上并无必然的先后,因此也可以将其视作两种并行的恢复机制。

4.3 动机视角

虽然资源视角和过程视角均重视新资源获得对恢复实现的重要性,后者还指出了新资源获得的具体方式(即主动恢复),但是对于这些方式“为什么”能够获得新资源缺乏深入阐述。例如,同样的休闲活动(如,旅行)为什么对有些人的恢复有效,而对另一些人无效?一些研究者尝试引入以自我决定理论(the self-determination theory, S-D; Ryan & Deci, 2000a)为核心的动机视角来回答这些问题。S-D理论认为,驱动行为的动机不同,个体在行为过程中的心理体验也会不同(Ryan & Deci, 2000b)。具体来讲,驱动个体行为的动机主要有两类:自主动机和受控动机。前者强调的是个体的内在兴趣和自由意志,后者强调的是外部环境的奖赏或压力。在自主动机驱动的行为过程中,个体有更多的自主、胜任等积极心理体验(Deci & Ryan, 2008),行为有效性也更高。而在受控动机驱动的行为过程中,个体需要付出更多的认知努力(ten Brummelhuis, Ter Hoeven, Bakker, & Peper, 2011),常常伴随紧张、焦虑等负性心理体验(Valleranct, 2007)。由此可

知，只有自主动机驱动的恢复活动才能有效发挥修复和重建已消耗资源的作用，而受控动机驱动的活动则无益于恢复目标的实现（ten Brummelhuis & Trougakos, 2014; Trougakos et al., 2014）。这也就不难理解为什么对一个人真正有效的恢复方式（活动）无一例外都有一项共同特征，即：他/她自身真正喜欢且自愿参加。

4.4 边界视角

工作-家庭边界理论（work-family boundary/border theory，简称“边界理论”；Ashforth, Kreiner, & Fugate, 2000; Clark, 2000）认为，工作、家庭领域的边界创建和维持对于个体组织协调工作和家庭职责非常重要。边界使得工作和家庭事务被限制在各自领域内，有益于减少领域间的干扰和冲突（Allen, Cho, & Meier, 2014）。边界理论对理解恢复实现机

制的启示在于：恢复的顺利进行需要良好的恢复环境提供保障，而良好恢复环境的营造又有赖于非工作领域（如家庭）边界的创建和维持。个体为非工作领域创建并维持必要的边界，既可以阻止工作要求继续消耗资源，也可以助其更好地投入有益于资源修复和重建的恢复活动（Kinnunen, Rantanen, de Bloom, Mauno, Feldt, & Korpela, 2016; Wepfer, Allen, Brauchli, Jenny, & Bauer, 2017）。边界视角对于理解当前工作-非工作边界模糊化时代下恢复的实现机制尤其重要。研究表明，个体在非工作时间仍然使用通信工具处理工作使其非工作领域的边界受到破坏，因此难以从工作要求中脱离和恢复（Braukmann, Schmitt, Duranova, & Ohly, 2018; Derks, van Mierlo & Schmitz, 2014; Wendsche & Lohmann-Haislah, 2017）。

上述四种理论视角均基于获得理想恢复效果这

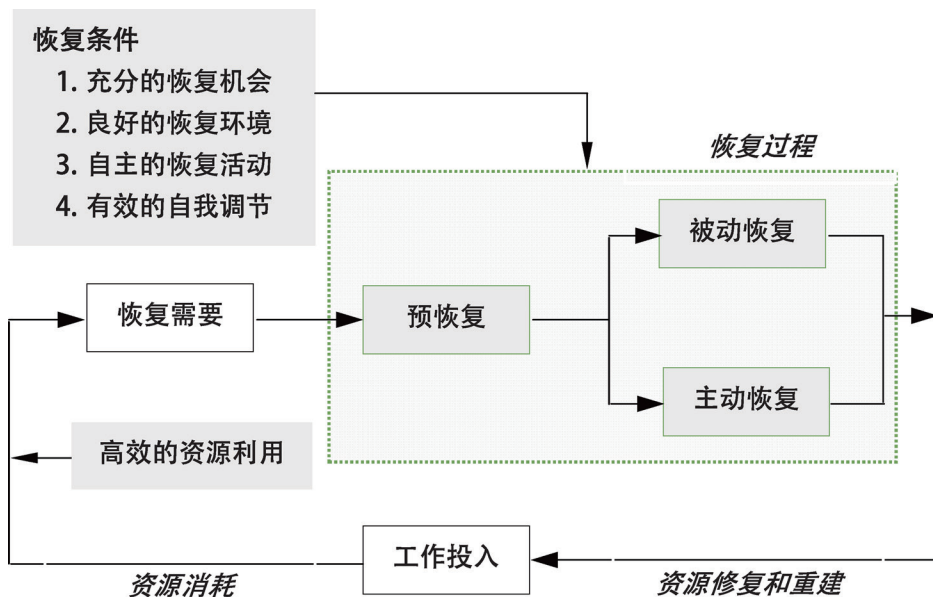


图1 工作恢复的实现过程和机制

一共同目标，亦即资源视角强调的“修复和重建因工作消耗的个体资源”。也因此，资源视角始终是理解恢复实现机制的基础。而其他三种视角则分别从过程和场景两个方面对“怎样”实现恢复进行了阐述。过程视角和动机视角认为个体在脱离工作的前提下自主参加有益于获得恢复体验的活动（包括被动恢复和主动恢复两种方式）是恢复实现的关键机制，而边界视角则认为免受干扰（包括来自工作和非工作两个领域的干扰）的恢复环境（或恢复场景）是关键。显然，强调恢复过程和重视恢复场景并不冲突，二者一起对恢复的实现机制进行了更加

全面的揭示。综上所述，工作恢复的发生源自缓解和消除工作中应激反应的需要，目标是为个体持续、有效地应对工作要求准备资源（即“为了更好地工作”）。恢复进程开始于恢复需要出现后，分两阶段进行：先是阻止现有资源的继续消耗（预恢复），然后对已消耗的资源进行修复和重建（被动恢复和主动恢复）。并且，恢复进程的顺利进行和恢复目标的实现需要特定的恢复条件（包括：充分的恢复机会、良好的恢复环境、自主的恢复活动和有效的自我调节）提供保障（图1）。

5 总结和未来研究展望

其一，尽管近些年有关工作恢复过程和机制的研究不断涌现，研究者对恢复实现机制的揭示仍然有限（Sonnentag, Venz, & Casper, 2017）。以恢复体验为例，其对恢复实现的重要性已得到广泛证实，但是现有研究极少关注恢复过程中不同恢复体验之间的相互联系和作用。事实上不同恢复体验之间有着非常密切的联系（高峰强等，2016），并且它们之间的相互作用很可能对恢复的实现产生重要影响，未来研究可以对此进行更深入探讨。同时，近些年在资源视角基础上新引入的一些理论观点为理解恢复的实现机制提供了新视角，但是它们在恢复机制研究中的应用仍有很多问题亟待进一步探讨。例如，过程视角区分的被动恢复和主动恢复在效果、适用条件等方面有何差异？二者怎样结合可以实现最好的恢复效果？边界视角强调良好的恢复环境的重要性，但是在新的“7天/24小时”工作方式下，个体如何创建和维护良好的恢复环境？

其二，已有研究主要关注的是工作外的恢复（简称“外部恢复”）（Bennett & Gabriel, 2016; Ragsdale & Beehr, 2016），对工作内恢复（简称“内部恢复”）效果及作用机制了解有限。恢复需要在工作前就已经出现，而外部恢复的效果需要在一段时间后（如次日早晨）才能显现，难以满足个体在工作中“即时”补充资源的需要。新近已有一些研究开始重视内部恢复（如工作中的微休息）的作用（Kim et al., 2017; Sianoja, Syrek, De, Korpela, & Kinnunen, 2018）。作为外部恢复的重要补充，内部恢复可以对工作中消耗的资源进行即时修复和重建，具有独特的恢复价值。但是，内部恢复和外部恢复在恢复效果、修复和重建资源的机制及条件等方面有何异同？目前仍然少有研究对这些问题进行探讨。因此，未来研究可以更深入地探讨内部恢复的效果和机制，揭示内、外部恢复间的联系和区别，从而更好地指导组织（包括管理者）在员工恢复的干预和促进实践中发挥更重要的作用。

其三，现有研究大都着眼于恢复需要出现后个体的应对过程，可称之为反应式的恢复观（reactive recovery）。可否将恢复的起点前延至恢复需要出现前？若个体在工作中合理分配和使用资源，减少资源的不合理消耗，显然有助于降低恢复需要（图1）。这里面蕴含的是一种更加积极的预防式恢复

观（precautionary recovery）。已有研究者指出工作需求和工作资源对恢复需要的产生均十分重要（高峰强等，2016），我们呼吁未来研究对这一预防式恢复给予关注。例如，工作重塑（job crafting）作为个体为优化和实现工作目标而主动改变工作要求和资源的行为（Tims & Bakker, 2010），有助于个体在工作中减少资源消耗和获得新资源（Petrou, Demerouti, & Schaufeli, 2015; van den Heuvel, Demerouti, & Peeters, 2015），因此在同等水平的工作要求下应可以有效降低个体的恢复需要，进而有利于恢复目标的实现。

其四，和国外的工作恢复研究相比，国内的恢复研究受到的关注和重视仍然很少。我国现今仍然处于经济社会快速发展期，长时间、高强度、频繁加班（包括非工作时间使用通信工具处理工作）的工作常态及快节奏的生活给人们实现恢复目标带来了严峻挑战。面对严重不足的恢复时间和极易受干扰的恢复环境，人们需要更加有效和高效的恢复。而由于文化和现实背景的不同，已有研究中证明有效的西方员工常用的恢复方式对于我国员工是否同样有效？我国员工在恢复方式或活动的选择方面是否有自己的特点？例如，西方员工在进行工作恢复时是否更喜欢选择偏个体性的活动，而国内员工则更倾向于选择偏社交性的活动？这些问题的科学探讨对了解我国员工的恢复实现方式和机制均有重要意义。因此，基于我国当前的工作和生活实践，研究探索有助于我国员工有效和高效恢复的实现方式和内在机制，是一个兼具学术和实践两方面紧迫性的重要研究课题。

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To Work Better: The Definition and Mechanism of Recovery from Work

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Abstract Recovery from work is not only an important guarantee for employees to cope with various work demands continuously and effectively, but also a key mechanism of resource replenishment to support employees to work better. Researchers have been seeking to shed light on the factors and mechanism that facilitate recovery. This paper focuses on the definition, influencing factors, and mechanism of recover from work. In addition, the future direction for recovery-related research is prospected.

Recovery refers to unwinding and restoration processes during which a person's strain level that has increased as a reaction to a stressor or any other demand returns to its pre-stressor level. There are three representative views on the definition of recovery from work. One is to regard recovery as a life setting opposed to work, such as evening breaks, weekend life, vacations, etc. The second is to regard recovery as a process that refers to the activities and experiences beyond work. The basic recovery methods include passive recovery and active recovery. The former refers to the spontaneous recovery of resources through means of rest (sleeping) and relaxation; the latter refers to the reconstruction of resources by engaging in leisure, sports, social and other activities that can bring new resources. The third is to regard recovery as an outcome. It refers to a person's psychological or physiological state that is reached after a recovery period (e.g., at the end of a work break or in the morning before going to work). These three views on the definition of recovery are not conflicting, but with different focuses.

Conditions that contribute to recovery from work include sufficient recovery opportunities, good recovery environments, autonomous recovery activities and effective self-regulation. Specifically, sufficient recovery opportunities mean that individuals have sufficient time to participate in recovery activities. Good recovery environments include both home environment and work environment that support individuals for recovery. Autonomous recovery activities refer to recovery activities driven by autonomous motivation rather than controlled motivation. Effective self-regulation means that individuals can focus on recovery activities during non-working hours. Conversely, work stressors, work related tele-pressure during non-work time, work centrality and work-related rumination after work are obstacles to recovery from work.

The mechanism of recovery from work can be explained from different theoretical perspectives. The resource perspective (including the Effort-Recovery model and the Conservation of Resources theory) is cited most when discussing the mechanism of recovery. According to the resource perspective, the motivation for recovery comes from the need for individuals to alleviate and eliminate the stress response caused by the consumption of resources. And, any activities that can help prevent resources from being consumed and gain new resources are beneficial to recovery. The process perspective of recovery suggests that the ideal recovery process includes three phases: pre-recovery, passive recovery and active recovery. The motivation perspective with the core of Self-determination theory assumes that only the autonomous motivation-driven recovery activities (such as hobby activities) can play the role of repairing and reconstructing the consumed resources, while the controlled motivation-driven activities are not beneficial to recovery. Work-family boundary/border theory believes that successful recovery from work requires good recovery environments to provide protection, and the establishment of good recovery environments depends on the creation and maintenance of non-working areas (such as family) boundaries. Last, this paper also prospects the future research direction for recovery from work.

Key words recovery from work, passive recovery, active recovery, mechanism