

KNOW THYSELF? ASSIMILATING THE CLASSICAL LEISURE IDEAL, SELF-ACTUALISATION, FLOW EXPERIENCE, AND EXISTENTIAL AUTHENTICITY

Scott A. Cohen

Department of Tourism, University of Otago, New Zealand

Introduction

Among the potential challenges that humans internally experience, some individuals choose to face the existential quandary of trying to 'know thyself' (Foucault, 1984; 1988). Academic inquiry into the self has naturally been associated with the idea of the individual's perceived 'search for self' (Golomb, 1995; Wang, 1999), and has spawned separate discourses within leisure, philosophy, and psychology literature, amongst others, that have drawn upon different constructions. This paper aims to draw these separate dialogues together in a holistic fashion so as to provide a clearer understanding of the search for self on a broader level, as well as to elicit a more nuanced understanding of the role that each of the following constructions play in the search for self.

In philosophy and leisure, Aristotle's "classical leisure ideal" has purported that, by striving for self-growth through excellence in leisure throughout life, individuals may follow the route to happiness (Barnes, 1984; de Grazia, 1962; Goodale and Godbey, 1988). Within psychology and leisure literature, the path to self-realisation has been termed 'self-actualisation' (Maslow, 1968; 1971); while according to Csikszentmihalyi (1975; 1988; 1990; 1997) an activity that leads to a more complex self is evidenced by 'flow experience'. Lastly, matters concerning the experience of the self have also recently been constructed as 'existential authenticity' (Steiner and Reisinger, 2005; Wang, 1999), as derived from a long history of philosophical inquiry into human authenticity (Golomb, 1995).

Set across this range of disciplines, each of these concepts of self seem to reflect an intrinsic state of being that may signify defining moments in the perceived search for self, yet the constructions continue to be researched independently, with minimal inter-disciplinary reference to each other. In

this manner, knowledge of the self has not been built upon over time employing a trans-disciplinary approach, but instead each construction continues to be critiqued in its own right without consideration as to previous cross-constructive dialectical advancements. In order to advance knowledge of the self in a more effective manner, it is helpful to integrate these concepts through comparing and contrasting their ascribed characteristics.

This chapter deconstructs four academic concepts that are implicitly linked to understanding the self — the classical leisure ideal, self-actualisation, flow experience, and existential authenticity — in order to build an integrated understanding of the constructions and their role in the search for self. Through the following discussion, a holistic approach to the search for self is presented that is valuable in breaching the disciplinary boundaries that have separated these concepts and thus more clearly elicits why individuals may perceive meaning in specific life experiences. A conceptual model of the search for self is offered that details the behavioural and mental processes underpinning defining moments in attempts to know the self. As these types of moments reportedly embody meaning for individuals (Golomb, 1995), the model allows for a deeper understanding of how individuals construct meaning from direct experience. It appears that within leisure studies, as well as within philosophy and psychology, there is no existing research that adopts an integrated approach to self of this nature.

Furthermore, the chapter questions recent conceptualisations of leisure that adhere to a work/leisure divide, wherein leisure is the result of free time from work or is based on activity type. Leisure is instead envisioned as a state of mind (Pieper, 1952) or as an ideal way of living (Goodale and Godbey, 1988). As such, understanding the search for self as presented in this paper requires a return to classic leisure theory (de Grazia, 1962), which has touted leisure as a vehicle for self-expression and fulfilment (Stebbins, 1982), during which one may perceive the freedom to engage in an action “because one wants to do it” (Neulinger, 1981: p. 15). With the search for self bound to an internal state of leisure that is not necessarily dictated by externalities, classic leisure theory can be applied to all facets of life. This notion is particularly important for leisure studies as it not only serves to account for individually derived meaning in the leisure experience, but also helps to explain the behavioural choices of those who are seeking the self within and beyond “leisure time”.

Framing the self

Working within concepts of ‘personhood’, previous studies have sometimes utilised the terms ‘self’ and ‘identity’ interchangeably in building their papers (Cone, 1995; Desforges, 2000; Elsrud, 2001; Galani-Moutafi, 2000; Noy, 2004). However, Desforges (2000) clarified that self and identity differ in focus based on their respective scales of social interaction. While identity

looks at the relationship between individuals and the collective social context, self is more subjective and individualistic in nature. For example, in the context of identity, an individual might be referred to as 'middle class' or 'European', while when referring to self one may be "qualified with adjectives such as a moral person, an educated person or a fulfilled person" (Desforges, 2000: p. 930). While each of these adjectives certainly describe socially constructed identities, thereby demonstrating that self and identity cannot be entirely separated, the difference in their scales of social interaction do show that using the two terms interchangeably is erroneous. As this paper is focused on the question of meaning in individualised experience, its scope is strongly bound to the notion of self, rather than the wider power issues that underpin ethnic, regional, national and class-based identity discourse.

From the perspective of psychology, Csikszentmihalyi (1990: p. 35) has defined the self as "the dynamic mental representation we have of the entire system of our goals", or more simply — "the image each person develops about who he or she is" (1997: p. 133). Knowing one's goals and personal image may appear to be straightforward, but if this were so, literary discourse would not have grappled with the search for self for centuries (Golomb, 1995). Foucault (1984; 1988) has argued that the value in knowing one's self is largely a historical literary misinterpretation, wherein philosophical literature originally intended to convey that it is important to 'care for oneself', rather than to actually know the self. Consequently, knowing the self emerged as a popular cultural narrative, and as such, many individuals perceive the search for the self to be a valuable pursuit.

As the self is constructed through the externally provided possibilities that society offers (Giddens, 1991), self-image is inherently derived through a socially constructed lens. Thus, part of the challenge in knowing the self is that the individual must negotiate the tension between individual agency and societal structure. Nonetheless, it is mistaken to entirely deny agency and place the locus of control in the search for self in the hands of society. Nietzsche (1967) explained the importance of individual perceptions in asserting that even though the individual must work within an inherited societal formula, the individual still acts as a unique creative interpreter of this formula and ultimately derives value from it in an original fashion. Maslow (1971) maintained it would be impossible to achieve either society or the individual without the other as it is clear that the two develop simultaneously and in tandem.

Giddens (1991) has suggested that the search for self has become more important in modern life as individuals are increasingly losing a secure sense of self, or ontological security, as a result of the breakdown of the social practices associated with traditional ways of life. Consequently, individuals have become less rooted and experience a less-fixed sense of identity (Breathnach, 2006), resulting in an alienation that is driving the individual search for the authentic (MacCannell, 1976). However, while this explanation

may justify an increase in the number of individuals engaged in the search for self, it is likely that the dynamic nature of the self (Csikszentmihalyi, 1990; Erickson, 1995) has made keeping a secure sense of self an elusive goal that may even be an unattainable ideal. In support of the self as being changing and inconsistent due to the constant shifting of one's goals, Pieper (1952: p. 103) argued "we are essentially on the way, beings who are 'not yet'".

The concept of a dynamic self refutes the idea of an innate self that is waiting to be realised and denies the notion of an Absolute or Universal Self (Golomb, 1995). Naturally, rejecting the suggestion that all humans are designed to move in the same metaphorical direction based on wider society's concept of what is 'good' or 'right' also implies that the self does not follow a biological model set along evolutionary lines. Thus, the self should not be said to 'develop' or 'grow', as this connotes a common human direction and denies individual relativity. More accurately, the self can be said to simply 'change'. As an individual perceives self-change and attempts to steer change based on goals, the perceived search for self takes form. With the concept of a dynamic self that can change moment to moment, the boundaries between constructions contending with experiences of the self begin to dissolve, as can be first evidenced through the classical leisure ideal.

Classical leisure ideal

Chronologically, Aristotle's classical leisure ideal was developed before self-actualisation, flow experience, and existential authenticity, and has provided the original theoretical groundwork for leisure studies (Pieper, 1952). The literature review undertaken for this research suggests that the classical leisure ideal has heavily informed the later constructions of self-actualisation and flow experience. The classical leisure ideal finds its roots 2,300 years ago in Greek civilisation during which Aristotle philosophised that happiness, defined by him as the ultimate goal in life, depends on leisure (Barnes, 1984), and that the capacity to use leisure well is the basis for a free man's whole life (de Grazia, 1962). The classical leisure ideal advocates leisure as an ideal way of living over the course of one's entire life, as opposed to only during intermittent breaks from work and other occupations (Goodale and Godbey, 1988).

Leisure, as a way of living, was characterised by a sense of freedom, learning for its own sake and as being undertaken for self-development (de Grazia, 1962). Thus, the classical leisure ideal is intimately concerned with self and more specifically, the constructed idea of self-growth as a mode of living. Aristotle purported that happiness can only appear in leisure, and as such, the classical leisure ideal is also characterised by the notion of intrinsic happiness (Barnes, 1984), signifying that an activity fitting

appropriately within leisure is one that is perceived as performed for its own sake and as its own end (de Grazia, 1962).

Although the classical leisure ideal was overwhelmed by the rise of the Roman Empire and Calvin's Protestant work ethic (Goodale and Godbey, 1988), what has carried on from ancient Greece into modern leisure discourse is the idea of intrinsic motivation. Intrinsic motivation assumes that an activity may be performed for its own sake, independent of external influences (Neulinger, 1981). However, intrinsic motivation has been a contested term within leisure discourse as many maintain that it is not possible for an individual to act independently of societal pressures (Godbey, 2003) and, consequently, the idea of intrinsic motivation itself is argued to be socially constructed.

Certainly, the border between intrinsic motivation and extrinsic motivation is blurred, as Kelly (1996: p. 414) suggested: "leisure is not just personal experience or social control or creative action or anything else. It is not either/or: either individual or social, either free or controlled." From a social constructionist perspective, intrinsic motivation may well be an unattainable ideal, well befitting as it was derived from the classical leisure ideal. Nonetheless, subjectively, an individual *perceives* an activity as being performed with a degree of choice (Neulinger, 1981), and as such, can perceive an activity as being intrinsically motivated or not. Intrinsic motivation provides the platform for the next two constructions of self to be discussed — Maslow's (1968) self-actualisation and Csikszentmihalyi's (1975) flow experience.

While the classical leisure ideal posits that each individual's self has the potential to grow towards a higher universal goal over the course of a lifetime, a dynamic self concept refutes this upward motion and fundamentally reduces the ideal to the notions of intrinsic motivation and self-change. Hence, when stripped of the imperative to change in a certain manner over time, the classical leisure ideal essentially espouses nourishing self-change through regular engagement in intrinsically motivated activity.

Self-actualisation

From within psychology literature, and later utilised within leisure research as well, Maslow's (1968) conception of self-actualisation is also centrally concerned with the development of the self to its highest potential. Thus Maslow (1971: p. 175) positioned self-actualisation as the final goal in the search for self:

[T]he goal, the goal of education — the human goal, the humanistic goal, the goal so far as human beings are concerned — is ultimately the 'self-actualization' of a person, the becoming fully human, the development of the fullest height that the human species can stand up to or that the particular individual can come to.

Once again, as in the classical leisure ideal, it is clear that self-actualisation is heavily concerned with the idea of growth or development based on what society says is “right”. Interestingly, in a temporal context, Maslow stressed that self-actualisation can be reduced to daily choices, wherein decisions leading to growth are those characterised as “good” by society — such as honesty and not stealing. In this light, self-actualisation is viewed as not just a final outcome or goal, but also as a process where moment to moment choices hold weight as any moment can potentially be a self-actualising one. Maslow (1971: p. 47) further substantiated the notion of the self-actualising moment, having argued that:

[S]elf-actualization means experiencing fully, vividly, selflessly, with full concentration and total absorption. It means experiencing without the self-consciousness of the adolescent. At this moment of experiencing, the person is wholly and fully human. This is a self-actualizing moment. This is a moment when the self is actualizing itself. As individuals we all experience such moments occasionally.

Transient moments of self-actualisation have been described by Maslow (1971: p. 50) as “peak experiences”. As discussed in detail in the following section, the idea of peak experience is strikingly similar to Csikszentmihalyi’s (1975) flow experience as both describe a state in which the individual loses self-consciousness and is entirely concentrated within the moment. Maslow (1971) further depicted the self-actualising moment as being one’s own person or actualising the “real self”, which strongly resembles the rhetoric surrounding existential authenticity. Thus, it appears that the self-actualising moment purports to potentially satisfy the search for self on a moment to moment basis, whereas in contrast self-actualisation in its final sense suggests a cessation to the search.

But a dynamic self debunks the idea of a final state of self-actualisation. This is because an actualised self denotes a complete end to self-change, which is theoretically unattainable (Csikszentmihalyi, 1990; Erickson, 1995; Pieper, 1952). Furthermore, a dynamic self cannot be limited to the upward path dictated by self-actualisation. However, as in the classical leisure ideal, the dynamic self functions within the bounds of a non-directional self-actualising *moment*, as self-change can be derived from transitory peak experiences (Csikszentmihalyi, 1990).

Flow experience

Utilising groundwork in intrinsic motivation and peak experience, Csikszentmihalyi (1975; 1988; 1990; 1997) termed the internal state of being characterised by behaviour aimed at reaching neither genetic or cultural goals, but purely of an intrinsic nature, as “flow experience”. While external

goals such as satisfying thirst or becoming powerful can be categorised as genetic and cultural goals respectively, Csikszentmihalyi (1990) argued that to truly enjoy one's self, or to experience flow, is to satisfy intrinsic goals. Csikszentmihalyi (1975) chose the term 'flow' after many interviewees used the word to describe how the internal state of being characterised by flow experience feels.

Ranging from rock climbers and sculptors to dancers and surgeons, Csikszentmihalyi's (1975) interviewees reported that a common state of mind develops when engaging in their activity, supporting the concept of flow experience and leading to the conclusion that flow can occur in nearly any activity that allows for increasing difficulty. Thus, the experience of flow transcends notions of a work/leisure divide. This is based on flow experience's most fundamental requirement, which is that the conditions required for one to achieve a state of flow are continually evolving and become more challenging as one's level of expertise increases (Csikszentmihalyi, 1990). If the activity is below one's skill level, the person will become bored. Inversely, if the activity is too difficult then the partaker will be anxious and stressed, to also be followed potentially by boredom. Consequently, the conditions of the activity must fall within a certain range of complexity in order for the individual to be in the flow. Based on this, it is evident that while flow may be found in any activity, the complexity of the activity that lends itself to flow experience is entirely individualised (Csikszentmihalyi, 1990).

However, in order to result in flow experience, an activity must do more than just provide appropriate challenges to the individual. An activity lending itself to flow is also characterised by a number of essential elements that describe the experience. In Csikszentmihalyi's (1990) study of flow activities, he acknowledged seven characteristics that participants commonly described when their activities were going particularly well: a challenging activity that requires skills, the merging of action and awareness, clear goals and feedback, concentration on the task at hand, the paradox of control, the loss of self-consciousness, and the transformation of time. A "merging of action and awareness" and a "loss of self-consciousness" is basically the same experience. Thus, flow experience is essentially characterised by varying degrees of challenge, loss of the perceived divide between subject and object, focused concentration, clear trackable goals, perceived control, and time that tends not to hold fast to the measurements of the conventional clock.

As it is often not easy to find the right balance between the elements of flow experience, flow is not only variable, but also of a temporal nature (Csikszentmihalyi, 1990). As such, finding this state of mind is often associated only with intense individual moments occurring during involving activities (Jones, Hollenhorst and Perna, 2003; Ryan, 2003). However, Mitchell (1988: p. 59) explained "flow is not reserved for leisure in the limited sense of sport or recreation, but is possible whenever commitment, energy, and will find meaningful and effective application in the world of social experience."

This is clearly reminiscent of the Aristotelian conception of leisure centred on intrinsic motivation and freedom. As a result of flow's typical association with temporary enjoyment and activity, leisure literature has adopted flow experience as a tool to help explain leisure participation. For example, studies have been undertaken to investigate flow in adventure recreation activities such as white water canoeing (Priest and Bunting, 1993) and recreational sports such as tennis and basketball (Stein *et al.*, 1995). Leisure research of this nature reinforces a socially constructed work/leisure divide that attempts to limit leisure to certain areas of life.

Symptomatic of flow's temporal interpretation is that the bulk of leisure studies has tended to overlook Csikszentmihalyi's (1975) original depiction of flow as a vehicle for self-growth. Often, flow has seemed to be only equated with sensation seeking, as partly evidenced once again by its common incorporation into adventure activity research (Hall, 1992; Hill, 1995; Jones, Hollenhorst and Perna, 2003; Priest and Bunting, 1993; Ryan, 2003). In contrast, akin to self-actualisation and also the classical leisure ideal, flow experience is clearly characterised by movement that adds to the development of the self (Csikszentmihalyi, 1990). Csikszentmihalyi (1990: p. 41) contended that "following a flow experience, the organization of the self is more complex than it had been before. It is by becoming increasingly complex that the self might be said to grow". Hence, the repetition of flow activity affords the individual a heightened state of being and helps her/him to construct an ever-changing but more complex self (Csikszentmihalyi, 1990).

Not only does flow share the idea of self-change with the other conceptualisations, but also three of its elements — the merger of action and awareness, concentration on the task at hand, and the loss of self-consciousness — are also descriptors shared with Maslow's (1971) self-actualising moment or peak experience, adding further credence to the notion that self-actualisation and flow experience represent the same internal state of being, effectively perceived intrinsic motivation, which also underpinned the classical leisure ideal. As such, while the classical leisure ideal, self-actualisation, and flow experience are typically discussed independently within leisure discourse, they can be integrated under the single heading of intrinsically motivated behaviour. Nonetheless, the clearly recognised elements of flow experience are unique in offering a useful framework with which to consider important moments in the search for self. They provide an indicator so that an individual may recognise the internal state of being during which flow has taken place, effectively opening the door to identifying defining moments of self-change that are reflected in the experience.

The classical leisure ideal, self-actualisation, and flow experience can each accommodate a dynamic self, within which changes may be driven by intrinsic motivation, equating to the experience of an identifiable, heightened state of being. However, as the direction in which the self changes is not universally "upward", but unique to each individual, the ability to

steer one's self towards one's goals or self-image is subject to walking the boundary between individual authenticity and societal control. Thus, the discourse surrounding the concept of existential authenticity is also strongly bound to the search for self.

Existential authenticity

Inquiry into the idea of an "authentic self" has a history that has sustained rich philosophical debate for over two centuries (Golomb, 1995) and can be traced back from the existentialists all the way back to Socrates (Dougherty, 2007). Ranging through famous existentialists such as Kierkegaard, Nietzsche, Heidegger, Camus, and Sartre, each of these authors has been concerned with the search for the authentic self (Golomb 1995). Termed 'existential authenticity' in much modern discourse (Kelner, 2001; Kim and Jamal, 2007; Miars, 2002; Thompson, 2005), the concept has recently been an area of intense debate as the utility of authenticity continues to be questioned (Steiner and Reisinger, 2006; Wang, 1999; 2000), especially for its "lack of clarity in its presentation" and its positioning as an unattainable ideal (Dougherty, 2007: p. 97). Interestingly, the existential authenticity dialectic seems to have largely escaped leisure research, despite existential authenticity's role as a construction of self.

Recent researchers (Berger, 1973; Wang, 1999) have argued that existential authenticity can be defined as a state of being in which one experiences her/his "true self", a description which also characterised Maslow's (1971) self-actualising moment. However, the existentialists argued that, in principle, any definition of authenticity would be self-nullifying as it is an ideal with a different formula for each individual; what is authentic for one person may not be authentic for another (Golomb, 1995). Nonetheless, existential philosophers agreed that each individual is capable of judging the relative authenticity of an act for one's self. Unable to provide a universal definition of authenticity, the existentialists mostly conceptualised the ideal in reverse by describing what is inauthentic (Golomb, 1995). However, the review of existential interpretations of authenticity undertaken for this research do provide enough direct information to allow for a reasonable grasp on the concept of seeking an authentic self.

In keeping with Pieper (1952) and Erickson (1995), who contested that the self is changing and inconsistent, the existential movement did not view the self as an innate fixed essence or static subject that is waiting to be realised. Thus, the existentialists rejected the idea of a Universal Self based on biological models, and having embraced the idea of a dynamic self, suggested that authenticity "requires an incessant movement of becoming, self-transcendence and self-creation" (Golomb, 1995: p. 9). Kierkegaard contended that the self is not waiting to be realised, but is something to be created and formed over life (Golomb, 1995).

The idea that the dictates of society become secondary to the authentic actions of the individual is a central tenet of authenticity (Golomb, 1995). In this sense, authenticity relates to the ability of the individual to continually *steer* the self toward one's shifting goals while concurrently filtering through societal influences. In contrast to self-change driven by intrinsically motivated behaviour, which may be characterised by a loss of self-consciousness, existential authenticity implies active self-steering, in which the individual perceives one's self as an agent who may act authentically or not.

Heidegger (1962) argued that humans, rather than behaving according to the authentic self, tend to behave inauthentically. While being human entails having the freedom to choose from a range of possibilities, many people tend to ignore their self and choose from common possibilities that are shared with others (Steiner and Reisinger, 2006). Inauthentic behaviour that is not based on free choice allows for escape from the anxiety and responsibility of freedom (Golomb, 1995).

Contrary to inauthentic behaviour, authentic behaviour is such that it is perceived as being true to the self, rather than to the dictates of society. Nietzsche (1967) believed that if an individual is not able to express one's self within society then a deepening sense of alienation will occur, and that this disintegration of social identity (Giddens, 1991) can intensify the process of the search for the authentic (MacCannell, 1976). Appropriately, Nietzsche, Kierkegaard, and Heidegger all agreed that by rejecting what one is not, one becomes who one truly is (Golomb, 1995). This is in line with Galani-Moutafi's (2000: p. 205) claim that "one reaches a self-realization in view of that from whom he/she differs." Consequently, there is no theoretical incompatibility between individual authenticity and societal roles. It is within the social context that individuals must experiment in order to discern their own authentic acts (Golomb, 1995).

Addressing the temporality of existential authenticity, Erickson (1995: p. 124) stated that the individual determines moment by moment whether to exist "wholly by the laws of their own being." Steiner and Reisinger, (2006: p. 303) elaborated on the importance of the moment in existential authenticity: Because existential authenticity is experience-oriented, the existential self is transient, not enduring, and not conforming to a type. It changes from moment to moment. As a result, a person is not authentic or inauthentic all the time. There is no authentic self. One can only momentarily be authentic in different situations.

Miars (2002) also argued, from a counselling perspective, that being entirely existentially authentic is a difficult task that no one will ever fully complete. Thus, authenticity functions as an ideal to be striven towards by seeking it constantly on a moment to moment basis. Golomb (1995: p. 54) summarised this process-oriented conceptualisation of authenticity through Kierkegaard's position that existing is to be in the process of becoming one's self and that "becoming authentic requires perpetual movement without

definite results.” Moreover, while admitting that we will mostly fail in being authentic, Golomb (1995) pleaded that we should still try; in that trying we are already succeeding.

An argument against the validity of authenticity, recognised by existential philosophers themselves, is the difficulty of recognising instances of authenticity. Criteria have not been given by the existentialists as to what is authentic and what is not. Furthermore, any act may be authentic depending on the individual — even acts that appear to be directly in line with societal norms. This complexity is demonstrated in Erickson’s (1995) likening of the self to a weaving that, when examined closely, is comprised of many different threads whose colours appear to clash. However, once having stepped back, the overall pattern becomes clear and cohesive and the importance and role of each thread can be observed. Such is true of the aspects of the self as a range of experiences may be authentic for the same individual. Despite the inability of researchers to objectively recognise instances of authenticity, the existentialists maintained that an individual may perceive an experience as authentic or not, and as such, the individual can identify experiences of perceived existential authenticity.

Erickson (1995) has suggested that individuals are not aware of their authenticity on a moment to moment basis. Awareness depends on an occurrence that calls into question one’s self-conceptualisation. We are then made aware of this aspect of our self and reflect as to whether we have been true to our self or not (Erickson 1995). It is logical that an occurrence that brings into question one’s self-conceptualisation is one that can drive self-change. As the internal state of being described by flow experience and the self-actualising moment is a vehicle by which self-change may take place, it is proposed based on the existing literature that this state of being is a reflection of engagement in an authentic act by an individual. Thus, it is hypothesised that intrinsically motivated behaviour corresponds with existential authenticity.

An integrated model of the search for self

In focusing on their roles in the individual’s perceived search for self, this paper has examined the key tenets of the classical leisure ideal, self-actualisation, flow experience, and existential authenticity. The analysis is aimed towards individualised experiences of the dynamic self, as opposed to the wider scales of social interaction and power relationships that concern identity discourse. The review has identified similarities between the concepts that provide a clearer picture of how the perceived search for self is theoretically constructed. The relationships between the classical leisure ideal, self-actualisation, flow experience, and existential authenticity in the search for self are presented as a conceptual model in **Figure 1**. The model is a first step in leisure research, as well as in the wider academic context,

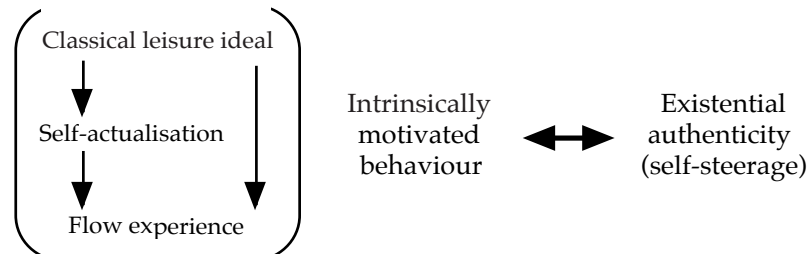


Figure 1 Conceptual model of the search for self

of both integrating the concepts in a trans-disciplinary manner, and hypothesising that authentic behaviour can be identified as that which is intrinsically motivated.

As the historical core of modern leisure, the classical leisure ideal called for a way of living characterised by engagement in intrinsically motivated activity. Also strongly linked to the idea of development of the individual to the highest potential, self-actualisation is comprised of peak moments in which the search for self may reportedly be satisfied. These self-actualising moments are characterised by a loss of self-consciousness and complete concentration on the activity; traits shared with a flow experience. As shown in Figure 1, the classical leisure ideal provided the platform for the construction of self-actualisation. Next, with its grounding both in the classical leisure ideal's concept of intrinsic motivation and self-actualisation's transitory peak experiences, the flow experience dialectic provides a clear set of indicators for identifying intrinsically motivated behaviour. While these three constructs have largely fallen under separate discourses within leisure research, they each fundamentally represent a heightened internal state of being characterised by intrinsically motivated behaviour. Therefore, the classical leisure ideal, self-actualisation, and flow experience are each categorised under intrinsically motivated behaviour, as indicated in Figure 1.

Intrinsically motivated behaviour has been connected consistently in the literature with notions of self-growth, or in the context of a dynamic self, with self-change. By engaging in intrinsically motivated activity, individuals may experience moments that drive self-change. Furthermore, self-change as perceived by the individual must be directional as change demands movement. Within directional changes of the self, it is logical that an individual searching for self will steer towards a self perceived as being truer to how one would like to be.

It is theorised that the self-change derived from defining moments of self experienced during intrinsically motivated behaviour allows the individual to steer towards a more authentic sense of self that satisfies the search for self on a momentary basis. It is hypothesised that these moments of the authentic self, or existentially authentic moments, correspond with individually perceived meaning in the leisure experience. As such, the search for self is characterised by the correlation of intrinsically motivated behaviour with existential authenticity.

While the experience of existential authenticity as the result of intrinsically motivated behaviour allows the individual to perceive that an active role may be taken in steering the self through the channels of society, the relationship between intrinsically motivated behaviour and existential authenticity is by no means unidirectional. As exhibited in Figure 1, the pairing is bidirectional as one may also decide to steer towards intrinsically motivated behaviour that is perceived will provide an authentic sense of self.

Previously, researchers have been unable to identify instances of existential authenticity, as what may be authentic for one person may not be for another. The idea that intrinsically motivated moments equate with authentic moments may provide a solution to this conundrum. The well-established indicators of intrinsic behaviour — complete concentration on the task at hand and the loss of self-consciousness during a challenging experience — might be used to signpost moments of existential authenticity, or defining moments in the perceived search for self. By providing a means through which researchers can identify others' experiences of existential authenticity, valuable insight into the process of the search for self is gained. Researchers can use the perceived experience of intrinsically motivated behaviour as a pointer towards gaining a deeper understanding of the meanings that underpin defining moments in the search for self.

Conclusion

While academics from different disciplines continue to investigate the discourses surrounding the classical leisure ideal, self-actualisation, flow experience, and existential authenticity separately, this paper has considered the constructions in an integrated fashion, focusing on each construction's role in the search for self. Although none of the constructions can stand alone to render a coherent framework for understanding the search for self, when considered holistically, the concepts do illuminate critical cross-constructional keys to a clearer understanding of the search for self in and through leisure.

This integrated approach to the search for self theorises that intrinsically motivated behaviour may be used to signpost moments of existential authenticity. Regardless of whether intrinsically motivated experience is

described under the rubric of the classical leisure ideal, self-actualisation, or flow experience, its occurrence can signify defining moments in the search for self and thus embody meaning for the individual. By using this holistic approach to self, a clearer and deeper understanding of the perceived search for self is achieved by locating the search within these critical, identifiable moments of intrinsically motivated behaviour. Resultantly, defining moments of self not only represent a temporary fulfilment of the search for self, but also a fulcrum from which the individual search for an authentic self can be steered.

In order to better understand human behaviour as embodied in the leisure experience, it is essential to come to grips with the embedded meaning(s) underpinning these internal experiences. An integrated approach to the search for self provides leisure researchers with a more effective theoretical tool for teasing out the meaning individuals may attach to attempts to know the self. Thus, the paper's significance to leisure studies lies not only in breaching the boundaries that have separated trans-disciplinary constructions in the search for self, but also in more clearly eliciting why leisure may play an important and meaningful role in some people's lives. Additionally, as defining moments in the search for self go beyond a leisure domain defined by a work/leisure dichotomy, it is argued that the need exists to transcend limited conceptualisations of leisure based on time and activity and return to classic leisure theory based on leisure as a state of self.

The above theoretical framework for understanding the roles that the classical leisure ideal, self-actualisation, flow experience, and existential authenticity play in the search for self provides the basis for future primary research that engages directly with individuals and questions the meaning they may derive from their experiences. Specifically, research should be undertaken as to whether the indicators of intrinsically motivated behaviour correspond in practice with individuals' reported experiences of existential authenticity. Through recognition that experiences that are perceived as intrinsically motivated can momentarily satisfy the search for self, a clearer picture of the overall search for self is revealed. Moments comprise lifetimes and a lifetime spent with more engagement in intrinsically motivated behaviour equates to a stronger sense of self, as an ongoing process of becoming. After all, each of the constructions reviewed in this paper have highlighted that it is the journey that is important, not the destination.

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