Indoorising the outdoors:
Lifestyle sports revisited

L.R. Salome

Indoorising the outdoors: Lifestyle sports revisited
Dissertation, Utrecht University, The Netherlands

ISBN: 978-90-8891-410-2

Cover: Béla Zsigmond
Printed and published by: Uitgeverij BOXPress, 's-Hertogenbosch

Indoorising the outdoors: Lifestyle sports revisited

Van buiten naar binnen:
Lifestyle sporten opnieuw geïnterpreteerd
(met een samenvatting in het Nederlands)

Proefschrift

ter verkrijging van de graad van doctor aan de Universiteit Utrecht op gezag van de rector magnificus, prof.dr. G.J. van der Zwaan, ingevolge het besluit van het college voor promoties in het openbaar te verdedigen op vrijdag 8 juni 2012 des ochtends te 10.30 uur

door

Lotte Rosalien Salome
geboren op 18 januari 1984 te Leiderdorp

Promotor: Prof.dr. M. van Bottenburg

Dit proefschrift werd mogelijk gemaakt met financiële steun van Fontys Hogescholen.

Table of contents

Preface

> *"Climbing in a gym is like surfing in a pool"* [I]
>
> *"Beautiful wild rivers will always get my vote over artificial water parks any day of the week"* [II]
>
> *"FUCK indoor snowboarding, and FUCK 'training'. They are incredibly wasteful projects, and about as close to snowboarding as blow-up dolls are to real partners"* [III]

The above statements were found during a quick review of some online lifestyle sports forums. Although they seem to be rather harsh, they perfectly highlight one of the latest major developments in lifestyle sports. Lifestyle sports such as snowboarding, surfing and rock climbing are increasingly being transformed into easily accessible, safe and efficient activities for a broad audience in indoor, artificial sport environments. In snow domes, climbing halls, wind tunnels and whitewater courses, these exclusive adventurous activities have become collective consumption goods.

Lifestyle sports are often characterised in terms of risk, sensation, nature, living on the edge and adrenaline. These terms do not, however, correspond with the control and efficiency emphasised in the new artificial environments for these sports. The development of artificial environments is a striking paradoxical development, that raises questions such as 'Why are people attracted to these similar looking environments in which natural elements are carefully constructed through technology?', 'How are entrepreneurs able to capture the adventurous characteristics of lifestyle sports in the commercially offered versions?', and 'To what extent can these commercial versions of lifestyle sports be traced back to

[I] Citation from http://www.supertopo.com/climbing/thread.php?topic_id= 1062921)

[II] Citation from http://www.intraftfed.com/phpBB3/viewtopic.php?f= 1&t= 224&p= 970 &hilit= artificial#p970)

[III] Citation from http://www.snowboardingforum.com/tips-tricks-instructors/31075-indoor-training.html.
Although this citation seems to be a little bit rude, I think that the quote can be seen as representative for the somewhat rough, masculine culture of outdoor sports.

their outdoor predecessors?'. In this dissertation, I[IV] will try to provide the answers to these questions. It is assumed that sports such as skydiving, surfing, snowboarding and sport climbing are now accepted as serious, mature sporting activities. Although these sports were previously largely practised by young, male 'risk-takers' who had no regard for the conventions of the dominant sports world, since the late 1980s the activities have received increasing interest on the part of the 'mainstream' public. With the popularisation of lifestyle sports, new participant groups and new, more manageable and accessible versions of the sports have become part of lifestyle sport cultures. As Breivik (2010, p. 263) argued, "the family can experience wilderness trips with rafting, top-rope climbing and rappel" and "sixty-year-old people can go to the South Pole or North Pole or to Everest Base Camp. Commercialised trips are available almost anywhere if you can pay".

I examine a development whereby the lifestyle sport activities are brought even closer to the consumer. I explore how lifestyle sports are commercially presented in artificial environments such as snow domes, vertical wind tunnels and whitewater courses. These artificial environments emerged on a large scale in the late 1980s and early 1990s. This development can be interpreted as a consequence of the widespread transformation of lifestyle sports into commodified, mainstream activities. In the artificial settings, outdoor, nature-based lifestyle sports – or lifestyle sport derived activities – can be practised in an accessible, efficient and relatively inexpensive manner. This development is called *'the indoorisation of outdoor sports'*, a development in which the contrasts between outdoor versus indoor, uncontrolled and free versus controlled and regulated, are pivotal (Van Bottenburg & Salome, 2010).

In this preface, the relevance and aim of the research and the research questions are described, and a brief overview of the set-up of the dissertation is provided.

Aim and research questions

Relatively little is known about the transformation of lifestyle sports to commercially offered activities in artificial sport environments. Owing to the lack of scholarly studies on the indoorisation development, in the first stage of this

[IV] Although some chapters in this dissertation have been co-authored, this chapter has been written in the first person to be consistent with the personalised cultural position of the author and for reasons of readability. The same applies to chapter 8.

study more questions emerged than were answered. The deeper I dug into this development and the culture of lifestyle sports, the more excited and fascinated I became by the paradoxical transformation of these sports. My wonderment about various aspects of this development raised questions related to the way in which consumers experience the commercially offered activities, the reasons to experience a lifestyle sport in an artificial setting, and the meanings that producers attribute to the settings and activities. These questions are clustered in a study that explores how (outdoor) lifestyle sports are transformed into commodified activities in artificial sport environments, and the meanings that lifestyle sport participants and entrepreneurs in this recently emerged sport industry attribute to the activities and the settings. The main research question that guided the research was divided in three sub questions:

I How are typical outdoor lifestyle sports in (indoor) artificial settings commodified and presented *on the supply side*?

II How does *the consumer* interpret, consume and experience these activities?

III How are consumers and producers connected in this contemporary consumption market and what consequences does *the interaction* have for these recently developed sports and settings?

By answering these questions, this dissertation attempts to illuminate the contemporary consumption market of lifestyle sports from different perspectives: I) the production side (owners, managers and employees of artificial settings for lifestyle sports); II) the consumption side (consumers or visitors of artificial settings for lifestyle sports, e.g. lifestyle sport participants); and III) the interaction between both sides of the market.

In my exploration of *the indoorisation of outdoor sports*, I build on the vast amount of studies on lifestyle sports. However, in the current study, much attention is paid to the supply side, which is highly unusual in lifestyle sport studies. Although research on lifestyle sports is growing linearly with the rapid growth of the lifestyle sport industry worldwide, the supply side of this particular sport industry has received relatively little attention. As Kellett and Russell (2009, pp. 66-67) observed: "When compared to the complex knowledge that the sport management field has developed regarding the supply and delivery of

mainstream sports, it seems remiss for the field to have limited information about action sports – particularly as it is a sector experiencing growth when evidence suggests that mainstream sports are in decline". I analyse producers as well as consumers and their interaction in this specific sport business, and may therefore contribute theoretical and methodological innovation to this research field.

Furthermore, my objective was to study the development of the artificial settings for lifestyle sports in the light of the rise of consumer culture. By combining insights from (sociological) sport studies with economic approaches of consumption within consumer culture, I bring together different research disciplines to explore and explain the development of artificial environments for lifestyle sports. In the pursuit of theoretical innovation in a multidisciplinary approach, I attempt to provide insight into sociological, organisational and management as well as marketing, communication and economic aspects of sport consumption.

The multidisciplinarity of the study is underlined in the economic sociological perspective of the research project. Although sport consumption and sport participation are often approached from disciplines in which the consumer is investigated as a rational actor, as an actor highly influenced by the social context, or as an actor whose actions are the result of motivations, perceptions or attitudes, this study of sport consumption attempts to synthesise these approaches. In an economic sociological perspective, economic as well as sociological aspects of cultural phenomena such as sport consumption are studied. In such an approach, a sociological perspective is applied to "that complex of activities which is concerned with the production, distribution, exchange, and consumption of scarce goods and services" (Smelser & Swedberg, 2005, p. 3). The consumption of goods and services is interpreted by meaningful social and cultural connections, shared understandings and their representations. In Zelizer's words, "a much clearer understanding of consumption practices comes from recognizing how meaningful social relations pervade economic processes, including production, acquisition, and the use of goods and services" (2005, p. 348). Therefore, in the following chapter I outline two theories that show how social relations are related and intertwined in consumption and production. Ritzer's theory of the McDonaldization of society is used to enlighten the perspective of the production side in a cultural market; the

approach of the Consumer Culture Theory is used to clarify how consumers interpret and shape consumption patterns in a cultural market. In both theories an economic sociological perspective is embraced: the understanding of the meanings which actors relate to economic actions is central. This means that a rational economic analysis of supply and demand is not offered. While a rational assessment of the costs and benefits could enlighten consumer's tastes on the one hand and the prices and quantities of goods and services on the other, it does nothing for the understanding of meaning in economic action (Smelser & Swedberg, 2005). Rather, an examination of the meanings that producers and consumers convey to the consumption of indoor lifestyle sports, the environments in which the sports are practised and how lifestyle sport participation has changed owing to the interaction between the given meanings is provided. In doing so, I define how culture, social relations, and economic processes interact (Zelizer, 2005).

The marketing and management implications derived from the study especially underline the social relevance of this research. The study is designed to generate concrete recommendations for managers and marketers focused on (lifestyle) sport consumption. The project is intended to reveal how sport participation can be increasingly regarded as sport consumption. In the examination of various actors within a cultural market, and their interactions, I also take into account the forces in society that influence the way these actors react and interact. One of the major developments in society that effect the cultural market under study is the increasing consumer interest in green (sport) initiatives. Therefore, I examine the ecological consequences of the entrance of artificial lifestyle sports environments.

About this book

In the economic sociological approach of the dissertation, two distinctive theoretical bases were very useful in explaining *the indoorisation of outdoor sports*. These theoretical backgrounds are outlined in detail in chapter 1 of this dissertation. In this chapter, first the culture of outdoor lifestyle sports and the developments in these sports that formed the basis for the indoorisation process are described. The theoretical themes that are often applied to lifestyle sports cultures are explored in depth. In thematising these dominant concepts, I provide a base for the understanding of the indoorisation process. Furthermore, in this

theoretical chapter, consumer culture and the role of artificial settings for lifestyle sports as prime examples of the rise of a consumption culture are defined. Two main theories emerging from consumer culture studies are central to the discussion, Consumer Culture Theory and Ritzer's McDonaldization of society. These approaches are described and applied to the recent spatial transformations in lifestyle sports. In chapter 2 of the dissertation, I outline the methods that are applied.

From the empirical chapters that follow, four have been published in diverse peer-reviewed international journals. Before their publication, the chapters were originally written as congress papers for conferences on various topics, including sport management, sociology, and consumer culture. In this dissertation, the articles accepted for peer-reviewed journals are adopted without modifications other than small adjustments to enhance readability and consistency. Because of this article-based approach, there is an overlap between several chapters. While one chapter naturally leads into the following, each of them can be read separately.

Chapter 3, entitled 'An exploration of the rise of lifestyle sports in artificial settings', builds on a better understanding of the transformation from outdoor to indoor lifestyle sports. By introducing the concept of *the indoorisation of outdoor sports*, this chapter discusses the conditions under which commercial entrepreneurs in The Netherlands have created artificial environments and how they did so. The meanings that they have ascribed to these settings and the dilemmas with which they have been confronted are also outlined in this chapter. It is argued that these economic activities are embedded in and influenced by shared understandings and their representations in structured fields of outdoor sports, mainstream sports and leisure experience activities.

In chapter 4, questions about the authenticity of the new versions of lifestyle sports and the settings themselves are posed from the producer's perspective. This chapter is entitled 'Constructing authenticity in contemporary consumer culture: The case of lifestyle sports'. I examine the concept of authenticity – a central topic in lifestyle sport research – and explain the ways in which authenticity in the settings for the consumption of commodified lifestyle sport is highly elusive, dynamic and contested.

Chapter 5 is entitled 'Are they all daredevils? A participation typology for the consumption of lifestyle sports in different settings'. This chapter highlights the

consumer's view of artificial settings for lifestyle sports, and demonstrates the various motives of lifestyle sport participants who are attracted to the efficient commercial versions of lifestyle sports. With the introduction of a participation typology for lifestyle sports, specifically focused on the experience of lifestyle sports in artificial settings, this chapter challenges the view that lifestyle sport consumption can be reduced to a narrow set of homogeneous traits.

In chapter 6, 'The clash of cultures: A confrontation between CCT's active interpretative consumer and Ritzer's McDonaldization in artificial settings for lifestyle sports', the interactive processes between producers and consumers are disentangled and consequences of these interactions are explained. In this chapter, I draw on qualitative research to show how the freedom and independence of lifestyle sports and lifestyle sport participants are caught and interpreted in artificial, regulated and controlled sport environments.

Chapter 7 is named '"We are as green as possible": Environmental responsibility in commercial artificial settings for lifestyle sports'. The main focus of this chapter is on the ecological consequences of the rise of consumer culture, and specifically on the emergence of artificial settings for lifestyle sports. In this chapter, I argue that, apart from the supply and demand sides in consumption markets, there are forces in society that influence the way sports are consumed. One of these forces is society's increased attention to green, ecological initiatives. Therefore, in the chapter I outline the ecological consequences of the indoorisation development and contrast these with ecological perspectives on lifestyle sports in outdoor, natural settings against a background of corporate social and environmental responsibility.

The dissertation concludes with chapter 8, which draws together, and interrelates, the main findings, conclusions and directions that emerge from the foregoing discussions. I describe the findings of the research project to generate managerial and marketing implications for the development of artificial settings for lifestyle sports and for the development of lifestyle sports in general. Finally, suggestions and recommendations for further research are outlined.

Table 1 provides a schematic view of the set-up of the dissertation.

Title	Topic	Focus	Method	Publication
Preface				
Chapter 1: Theoretical lens				
Chapter 2: Methodology				
Chapter 3: An exploration of the rise of lifestyle sports in artificial settings	An introduction of the rise and development of artificial settings for lifestyle sports	Producers' conditions and meanings	In-depth interviews, textual analyses	Van Bottenburg, M.,& Salome, L. (2010). The indoorisation of outdoor sports. An exploration of the rise of lifestyle sports in artificial settings. Leisure Studies, 29(2), 143-160.
Chapter 4: Constructing authenticity in contemporary consumer culture	An overview of issues around authenticity as evolved from the indoorisation development	Producers' perspectives	In-depth interviews, observations	Salome, L. (2010). Constructing authenticity in contemporary consumer culture: The case of lifestyle sports. European Journal for Sport and Society,7(1), 69-87. Salome, L. (2009). Senses of authenticity in contemporary consumer culture: New versions of lifestyle sports and questions of genuineness. Paper presented at the 6th Conference of the European Association for Sociology of Sport, Rome, May 27-51, 2009.
Chapter 5: A participation typology for the consumption of lifestyle sports	An introduction of the motives and experiences of lifestyle sport participants in artificial as well as natural environments	Consumers' experiences and motives	Survey, in-depth interviews	Salome, L., & Van Bottenburg, M. (2012). Are they all daredevils? Introducing a participation typology for the consumption of lifestyle sports in different settings. European Sport Management Quarterly, 12(1),19-42. Salome, L. (2011). A participation typology for the consumption of lifestyle sports in varied settings. Paper presented at the 19th Conference of the European Association for Sport Management, Madrid, September 7-11, 2011.

				Salome, L. (2011). Van de Pyreneeën naar Zoetermeer. In J. Lucassen & E. Wisse (Eds.), Sporten op de grens. Studies over leefstijlsporten. Nieuwegein: Arko Sports Media.
Chapter 6: The clash of cultures	The McDonaldization theory and CCT's approach interwoven to understand the way consumers and producers interact in artificial settings for lifestyle sports	Consumers' and producers' opposed and shared meanings and interpretations	In-depth interviews, observations	Salome, L. (2010). The new frontiers for CCT: Considering consumer-producer interaction in consumer culture. Paper presented at the 5th Consumer Culture Theory Conference, Wisconsin School of Business, Madison, June 10-13, 2010. Salome, L. (2011). The clash of cultures: A confrontation between CCT's active interpretative consumer and Ritzer's McDonaldization in artificial settings for lifestyle sports. *Submitted*.
Chapter 7: Environmental responsibility in artificial settings for lifestyle sports	Ecological consequences of the emergence of artificial settings for lifestyle sports as a result of the consumption society	Producers' perspectives on Corporate Environmental Responsibility	In-depth interviews, textual analyses	Salome, L., Van Bottenburg, M., & Van den Heuvel, M. (2012). "We are as green as possible": Environmental responsibility in commercial artificial settings for lifestyle sports. Leisure Studies. Salome, L. (2011). "We are as green as possible": Corporate environmentalism in commercial artificial settings for lifestyle sports. Paper presented at the World Congress for the Sociology of Sport, Havana International Convention Centre, Cuba, July 10-17, 2011.
Chapter 8: General conclusion				

Table 1 Set up of the dissertation with title, topic, focus, method and publication for each of the chapters

References

Breivik, G. (2010). Trends in adventure sports in a post-modern society. *Sport in Society, 13*(2), 260-273.

Kellett, P., & Russell, R. (2009). A comparison between mainstream and action sport industries in Australia: A case study of the skateboarding cluster. *Sport Management Review, 12*(2), 66-78.

Smelser, N. J., & Swedberg, R. (2005). Introducing economic sociology. In N. J. Smelser & R. Swedberg (Eds.), *The handbook of economic sociology* (2nd ed.) (pp.3-25). Princeton: Princeton University Press.

Van Bottenburg, M., & Salome, L. (2010). The indoorisation of outdoor sports. An exploration of the rise of lifestyle sports in artificial settings. *Leisure Studies, 29*(2), 143-160.

Zelizer, V. (2005). Culture and consumption. In N. Smelsner & R. Swedberg (Eds.), *Handbook of economic sociology* (pp. 331-354). Princeton: Princeton University Press.

Chapter 1

Theoretical lens

In this chapter, I outline the theoretical perspectives that formed the base for the research on *the indoorisation of outdoor sports*. The chapter can be roughly divided into three parts. In the first part of the chapter, I focus on outdoor lifestyle sports. In this part, first I explain why the current study focuses on so-called lifestyle sports; this is followed by a short overview of the emergence of artificially created sport environments for lifestyle sports such as surfing, snowboarding and climbing. Furthermore, I elaborate on key theoretical themes that can be found in scholarly studies on the development and understanding of lifestyle sport cultures. These themes will run like a common thread through the following chapters in this dissertation.

In the second part of the chapter, I argue that an economic sociological approach is highly useful for the exploration of the indoorisation development in lifestyle sports. In such an approach, processes of consumption and production are interpreted through meaningful social and cultural connections, shared understandings and their representations (Smelser & Swedberg, 2005; Zelizer, 2005).

Therefore, in the third part of this chapter, I explore diverse theories in which (sport) consumption is analysed with a focus on the cultural meanings of consumers and producers. Ritzer's theory on the McDonaldization of society is used to interpret the producer's perspective in a cultural market; Consumer Culture Theory is used to construe the consumer's perspective. In relating these theories, I consequently make clear that the production and consumption of indoor lifestyles sports are social acts embedded in a cultural context, and that the understanding of this 'economic' behaviour can be enriched with a cultural approach included in the analysis.

The focus on lifestyle sports explained

The dissertation emphasises how *lifestyle sports* are shaped and interpreted as commodified activities in artificial settings. Although the transformation to indoor environments is not restricted to this specific sport branch, in lifestyle sports particularly the paradox between the adventurous, nature-based activities and the controlled, indoor versions is striking. Moreover, particularly in lifestyle sports the development to indoor settings has accelerated since the turn of the millennium. In the Dutch context, the number of centres offering snow domes and climbing walls has mushroomed in the past

ten years. In this country of only 42.000 square kilometres, the first indoor snow dome now has seven companions. In addition, there are now over 30 professional climbing centres, and an indoor skydiving facility and artificial raft and surfing accommodation both opened their doors in 2006.

Sports such as climbing, rafting, surfing and snowboarding are placed under various umbrella terms like adventure sports, extreme sports, experience sports, alternative sports and action sports. This collection of terms covers a relatively broad range of sports and physical activities. These range from established and more or less mainstream activities such as snowboarding, to youth sports such as skateboarding, to newly emergent activities like kite-surfing, and to high-risk sports such as BASE jumping. The main purpose of this part of the dissertation is not to contribute to the significant debates around the categorisation and labelling of the various activities (see for example Breivik, 2010; Brymer, 2005; Sky, 2001). For my purpose, a brief discussion will be useful to explain the history of the terms and the way in which lifestyle sports as opposed to more traditional sporting forms and cultures are presented. Rinehart (2002, p. 505) explained that "the terms used to identify these new sport forms are fundamentally important, because some terms have exclusive connotations, or emphasize only one facet of the attraction of the sports". Rinehart used the definition of 'alternative sports' as "activities that either ideologically or practically provide alternatives to mainstream sports and to mainstream sport values" (2002, p. 506). In describing the main characteristics of these sports, Wheaton (2004a) argued that the label 'lifestyle sports' is the most appropriate. Unlike Western 'achievement' sports (Eichberg, 1998), lifestyle sports may be characterised as follows (Wheaton, 2004a, p. 11):

I A historically recent phenomenon, that has emerged over the past few decades;
II Fundamentally about participation instead of spectating;
III Based around the consumption of new objects and often involving new technologies, change and innovation;
IV Including commitment in time and money, and a style of life and forms of collective expression, attitudes and social identity;
V Promoting a participatory ideology of fun, hedonism, involvement and living for the moment;
VI Mainly practised by male, Western, white and middle-class participants;
VII Predominantly individualistic in form and/or attitude;

VIII Known as non-aggressive;

IX Consumed in new or appropriated outdoor 'liminal' zones, often non-urban environments like mountains or the sea.

Contrary to Tomlinson (2001), who considered a wide range of air, land and water sports as 'extreme' sports, Sky (2001) suggested that there seems to be a consensus of opinion among lifestyle sport professionals that the term 'extreme' has been devalued by its representation in the mass media. The media have used the label 'extreme' "tactically as a blanket term to reach wider target market thus indicating a degree of support for this hypothesis" (Sky, 2001, no page number). Rinehart agreed that "forms of alternative sports could be variously categorized as alternative, whiz, lifestyle, or panic in their fundamental expression though it may not be appropriate to view them always as 'extreme'" (Rinehart, 2002, p. 507). In addition, Wheaton argued that "although many lifestyle sports are often called extreme sports, the latter tends to be the way the mainstream media and marketers, rather than the participants themselves see them" (2004a, p. 3).

Tomlinson, Ravenscroft, Wheaton and Gilchrist (2005) considered three central concepts for describing such activities that have challenged traditional ways of conceptualising and practising sport. They apply 'alternative sports' to underline the differences between lifestyle sports and conventional sports, 'lifestyle sports' to emphasise meanings related to personal factors beyond success in competition, and 'extreme sports' to take account of the risk-taking aspects of the activities (Tomlinson et al., 2005, p. 16). These scholars also underlined that the described sports are often known as postmodern, post-industrial or new sports. These terms refer to the historically recent emergence of the sports in the past few decades. Tomlinson et al. showed indeed, different terms have exclusive connotations and emphasise different facets of the attraction of the sports.

In this dissertation, I use the label 'lifestyle sports' to distinguish activities such as snowboarding and climbing from more mainstream activities like tennis and ice skating. Although the use of the term 'alternative sports' suggests that a wide range of activities is included – "in fact pretty much everything that doesn't fit under the Western achievement sport" (Wheaton, 2004a, p. 3) – the term 'lifestyle sports' is less all-embracing. This latter term is an expression adopted by members of the cultures themselves, who describe their activities as 'lifestyles' rather than as 'sports'. The use of the term 'lifestyle sports' includes cultures and individual and group identities, as well

as the socio-historical context in which the activities emerged, took shape and still exist (Wheaton, 2004a, p. 4).

Bearing in mind Wheaton's list of features for lifestyle sports, it may be doubtful whether the commercially offered activities practised in artificial sport environments such as climbing halls and snow domes can be labelled under the umbrella term of lifestyle sports. Wheaton's characteristics of the sports clearly differentiate the activities central to this study from the traditional sports world. However, the characteristics are not specifically applicable to *indoor* lifestyle sports. In the commercially offered activities, the exclusive and distinguished 'way of life', cultures, and individual and group identities that are involved with participation in lifestyle sports may be relegated to the background.

Consequently, in lifestyle sport studies the recently developed artificial environments are often not taken into account when trends and developments in the sports are outlined. For example, in both Wheaton's (2004a) *Understanding lifestyle sports* and *Sport in Society's* special issue on the consumption and representation of lifestyle sports (2010), artificial environments for the experience of the sports are not discussed at all. In Rinehart and Sydnor's (2003) *To the extreme*, artificial settings for lifestyle sports are mentioned, just as in Stranger's (2011) work on surfing. In these publications, however, there is a tendency to consider artificial environments as existing "outside the subculture" (Stranger, 2011, p. 239). Lifestyle sport participants who use the artificial environments for training and teaching are often considered as 'different' or 'less authentic' than those participants who go outdoors for the experience of the sport. For example, as Wassong (2007, p. 68) noted, indoor climbers are often ironically called 'princes of plastic'. Such comments suggest that the use of artificial environments may not be integrated and embraced in lifestyle sport cultures.

For reasons of clarity, in this dissertation the activities offered in indoor settings are described in terms such as 'indoorised' or indoor lifestyle sports. I use these terms to emphasise that the offered activities are clearly derived from outdoor lifestyle sports. It is questionable, however, whether the indoorised lifestyle sport activities have been changed in such a way that completely different characteristics are ascribed to the activities. In chapters 4 and 5, this transformation and the consequences of the indoorisation process for lifestyle sport cultures are further examined.

The rise and popularisation of lifestyle sports

New sport activities such as hang-gliding, snowboarding and windsurfing came from North America to Europe in the late 1960s. The activities were based on the counter-cultural social movement of the 1960s and 1970s (Bourdieu, 1984; Wheaton, 2004a). These 'New Games' represented a political attitude of "togetherness instead of winning, fantasy instead of standardization" (Eichberg, 1998, p. 154). Participation was not about competition, as "people were playing the game here and now without reference to earlier records" (Eichberg, 1998, p. 154).

These new sport activities were characterised by their ability to challenge the traditional competitive, rule-bound and male-dominated sport cultures. Also, the sports had things to offer that were difficult to find in other sports, such as the possibility of mastery and perfection in relation to challenging environments (Breivik, 2010; Wheaton, 2004a). The popularity of different kinds of these sports expanded in the 1970s, when more and more mostly young people were attracted to the many ways in which the sports represented counter-cultural values (Breivik, 2010). Since then, these activities have been known as 'new sports, 'whiz sports', 'lifestyle sports' or 'alternative sports'. Terms such as 'extreme sports', 'action sports' and 'Gen-Y sports' have also been added to the spectrum to describe the eclectic collection of risky, individualistic and sensational activities that emphasise freedom and hedonism (e.g. Bennett & Lachowetz, 2004; Breivik, 2010; Rinehart & Sydnor, 2003; Wheaton, 2004a; Wheaton & Tomlinson, 2006).

In the first stage of their existence – in the 1960s and early 1970s – lifestyle sports were predominantly practised by young, white, Western males, often low-income earners or students (Erickson, 2005; Kusz, 2007; Robinson, 2008; Thorpe, 2007c). These committed participants can be considered as real pioneers. With their self-manufactured equipment, they constantly innovated new gear and new activities to create fun and sensational experiences (Thorpe, 2007c). These 'hard-core' amateurs identified themselves "through recognizable styles, bodily dispositions, expressions and attitudes, which they design into a distinctive lifestyle, and a particular social identity" (Creyer, Ross, & Evers, 2003; Wheaton, 2010, p. 1059).

In the 1980s, several developments in lifestyle sports have drawn increasing attention from the 'mainstream' public. New technologies contributed to the increased consumption of high-risk activities in several ways. Through the development of stronger and lighter materials and warmer, lighter and waterproof clothing, activities became feasible and attractive to a broad audience. The improvements in materials and

constructions have increased safety and lowered costs (Beedie, 2003; Celsi, Rose, & Leigh, 1993). Furthermore, the media have played an important role in describing the allure and excitement of risky leisure pursuits to the general public. Through documentaries, films and magazines, the daring exploits of lifestyle sport participants were brought to the mainstream audience (e.g. Crawford, 2007; Creyer et al., 2003). In short, there was an increasing influence of commercial forces – evident in the ever-expanding array of commodities linked to lifestyle sports – in lifestyle sports development and sporting practices (Wheaton, 2004a).

Although the developments and trends inside the sports themselves were crucial for attracting people, the popularity of lifestyle sports needs to be seen against the backdrop of central aspects of modern societies as well (Breivik, 2010). The rise of lifestyle sports can be seen as an attempt by participants to escape the over-controlled modern society: these sports represent a quest for excitement in unexciting societies (e.g. Breivik, 2010; Elias & Dunning, 1986, 2006; Goodger & Goodger, 1989). Especially in lifestyle sports, elements of risk, danger, creativity and change are important, deep human needs that are difficult to satisfy in the postmodern, rationalised world. The sports "thus in many ways represent an opposition and alternative to traditional sports and the society that foster these sports" (Breivik, 2010, p. 261).

As a consequence of the developments in the lifestyle sport subcultures and within society in general, in the 21st century "lifestyle sports are attracting an ever-increasing number of participants, who encompass a wide range of different experiences and levels of involvement, from increasingly varied global settings" (Wheaton, 2004a, p. 7). The 'professionals' and 'hard-core' amateurs, representing the first participants in lifestyle sports, have been joined by women, children, the elderly, 'weekend warriors', 'posers', and 'wannabes' (e.g. Creyer, et al., 2003; Donnelly, 2006; Thorpe, 2009). Consequently, studies on various lifestyle sports indeed show that we cannot speak of *the* lifestyle sport participant: participation ranges from the 'hard core' committed participants, who dedicate large amounts of time, money and effort to a certain lifestyle and social identity, to very occasional participants who try different lifestyle sports during their summer holiday (Donnelly, 2006; Wheaton, 2004a). As Rinehart and Sydnor (2003, p. 5) pointed out: "Participation ranges from the casual to the obsessed, from leisure/recreational enthusiast to hard-core professionals, and from samplers to experts". Thus, participants in lifestyle sports have diverse motivations for participation, and lifestyle sports take multiple and increasingly fragmented forms (Wheaton, 2010). Some participants seek escape and transfer from reality (e.g. Belogiannis, Kourtesopoulou, &

Nikitaras, 2007), some are triggered to feel at one with nature and to develop intimate relationships with the natural world (e.g. Brymer, Downey, & Gray, 2009; Brymer & Gray, 2010), and others are primarily looking for sensation, risk and adventure (e.g. Rinehart, 2002; West & Allin, 2010).

The emergence of artificial settings for lifestyle sports

In the 1960s, the Beach Boys sang "*If everybody had an ocean, then everybody'd be surfin*". But what if there is no ocean? Then just create one! It was not until the 1990s, however, that people worldwide were able to experience good surfing waves without the presence of a real ocean. Tom Lochtefeld's creation of the artificial perfect and eternal wave made it possible for everyone to enjoy surfing, body boarding and flow boarding everywhere (Liu & Lochtefeld, 1999).

Although this dissertation focuses on the spatial configurations and transformations in outdoor lifestyle sports during the past twenty years, spatial configurations in sports are not restricted to this specific sport branch. Early examples in mainstream sports can also be found. As Eichberg (1998) noted, sports are conquering urban environments with the penetration and occupation of the territory of cities. For instance, at the end of the nineteenth century, miniature versions of sports such as croquet, bowls, golf and lawn tennis were introduced. These activities were played by members of the social elite on their estates (Van Bottenburg, 1994). Other examples of early sports subject to processes of indoorisation are 'futsal' or indoor soccer, and swimming. Swimming seems to be one of the first sports which were originally practised in outdoor environments, and later more or less restricted to controlled indoor settings. The growing demand of all-year round swimming facilitated the emergence of outdoor swimming pools, followed by the first indoor swimming pool in the 1840s (Bale, 1989; Eichberg, 1986; Worpole, no date).

During the last quarter of the 20th century, the transformation of typical outdoor sports such as cycling and rowing to indoor settings accelerated, especially owing to the growth of the fitness branch. As a result of the quest for more variation in fitness, the traditional supply of weight-training apparatus was expanded with the introduction of cardiovascular equipment, which meant that people could now run indoors on the treadmill, cycle on the indoor exercise bike or home trainer and row on the indoor rowing machine (Van Bottenburg & Salome, 2010).

It seems logical to try to understand the spatial transformations of modern sports by means of natural and technological explanations (Eichberg, 1998). It is 'natural' to take

shelter from bad weather, and the technological revolution of industrialisation may have produced sufficient indoor gym facilities. Following Eichberg (1998, p. 60), I argue, however, that these spatial transformations in sports, and specifically lifestyle sports, cannot be understood solely on these grounds. Rather, understanding is needed on how people are interested to participate in lifestyle sports, what social meanings they attach to these sports if experienced outdoors or indoors, and in what respect these meanings and their differences are related to the social structure of the world of sports and leisure activities. Eichberg (1986, 1998) contended that spatial transformations in modern sports are necessarily related to the separation of social classes and ages, to the demarcation of different sports, to the division between working hours and leisure hours and to the separation between sport and non-sport. I argue that spatial transformations in lifestyle sports are also intertwined with social and cultural processes. Especially in lifestyle sports, radical changes in the interpretations and meanings of the sports have appeared as a result of spatial transformations. These shifts of meanings and interpretations are extensively outlined in the following chapters in this dissertation.

As I describe in detail in chapters 3 and 4, artificial settings for lifestyle sports have emerged on a large scale since the late 1980s and early 1990s. This development started in the 1960, with the emergence of artificial climbing walls. In the 1970s, artificial alternatives for sports like rafting, kayaking and canoeing were developed. Since these white water courses were developed worldwide for training purposes, they have become an inevitable part of the kayaking and rafting sport. Events and competitions are regularly scheduled on these artificial courses.

In the 1980s, the first snow domes were added to the worldwide spectrum of artificial settings for lifestyle sports. After the creation of outdoor dryslopes in the 1960s (Ameye & Schrooyen, 2006), twenty years later the first major indoor real snow ski slopes were opened. Currently, several countries around the world have indoor ski slopes, providing a climate controlled environment where snow can be manufactured using a snow cannon, enabling skiing and snowboarding to take place all year-round (Thorne, 2008). By the beginning of the 21th century, most indoor ski centres were to be found in The Netherlands, Great Britain, Belgium, Japan and Germany (Van Bottenburg & Salome, 2010), but also in China, Spain, New Zealand, South Korea, and the United Arab Emirates several areas for indoor snow sports were developed.

Whoever was surprised by the indoorisation of a sport such as snowboarding, must surely be even more amazed that today sports such as skydiving, wind surfing and scuba diving are offered in artificial sport environments. There are today more than

twenty commercial indoor skydiving centres in the United States and Europe (Van Bottenburg & Salome, 2010). Wind surfing competitions and demonstrations are regularly organised in massive indoor pools that have powerful fans that propel the boards along the pool. It is possible to scuba dive worldwide in giant tanks that include fish and shipwrecks.

It is clear that new advances in technology have broadened the field of outdoor lifestyle sports with indoor variations. Apart from the described examples, numerous other artificial and urban cases can be mentioned: wakeboard and skateboard parks, parkour parks, and indoor parachute simulators. In this dissertation, I limit my focus to the broad mixture of sports and activities which are generally included in the term 'lifestyle sports' and which can be practised in artificial settings for lifestyle sports in the Dutch context. These sports include freestyle skiing and snowboarding, rafting, kayaking and canoeing, sport climbing and bouldering, scuba diving, surfing (actually known as 'flow boarding', a surf-derived activity on an artificial wave), and skydiving.

Major themes in lifestyle sport studies

The increased media and market appropriation of lifestyle sports in the 1980s and 1990s gave the popularity of lifestyle sports an enormous boost, resulting in a vast body of academic literature examining the 'new' sport forms and the new communities based on them (Wheaton, 2004a). Research on these specific sport subcultures arose in the early and mid-1980s with Midol's analyses of 'whiz' sports as a starting point (Midol, 1993). Following Midol, numerous examples of academic interest in the changing representations and the understanding of the consumption of lifestyle sports were published. These include Wheaton's *Understanding lifestyle sports* from 2004, Rinehart and Sydnor's *To the extreme* from 2003, a special issue on the consumption and representation of lifestyle sports in *Sport in Society* in 2010 and Booth and Thorpe's encyclopaedia of extreme sports.

In The Netherlands, for a long time lifestyle sports were considered as recreational activities instead of sport activities. The newly emerged sports were not seen as serious additions to the dominant sport culture (Lucassen, Salome, & Wisse, 2011). Consequently, studies on the socio-cultural background of these sports and their development were scarce. In comparison with, for example Belgium, Germany and France, where these sports had been studied since the 1970s and 1980s (e.g. Vanreusel & Renson, 1982), interest in these new sport cultures in the Dutch context did not emerge until the 1990s. Van Bottenburg's dissertation (1994) on the differences

in popularity between sports, and Crum's study (1992) about the sportisation of society were in this context the basis for scholarly attention to lifestyle sports (Lucassen et al., 2011).

Even now, in-depth studies on lifestyle sport cultures and participants in the Dutch context are rare. Although it is impossible not to be confronted with the popularity of lifestyle sports in The Netherlands – snowboarding contests in Snow World, an increasing number of kite surfers and the realisation of urban skate parks and half pipes are just some examples – studies on lifestyle sports are still relatively uncommon compared with studies on the world of organised sports. Fortunately, an increasing number of Bachelor's and Master's theses focused on the changing representations of lifestyle sports (e.g. Smits, 2011; Van der Schaaf, 2011; Van Liere, 2010), and a book especially focus on the diverse ways lifestyle sports are consumed in the Dutch context has recently been published (Lucassen & Wisse, 2011).

Worldwide research on lifestyle sports predominantly has a qualitative nature. Analyses are predominantly focused on participants within the core of the subcultures in lifestyle sports, and *their* experiences and perspectives on sociocultural processes and developments in the sports (Donnelly, 2006). Ethnographic studies on lifestyle sports cultures frequently result in in-depth investigations. These include Wheaton's insightful studies on the windsurfing subculture (2000, 2003, 2004b, 2007), Thorpe's research on the difficulties and challenges of being a female within the snowboard culture (2005, 2007a, 2009, 2010) and Robinson's exploration of the UK climbing culture (2004, 2008). Quantitative data on lifestyle sports and lifestyle sport participants are generally lacking. Participation figures for these sports are hard to establish because of their informal and counter-cultural context. Most lifestyle sports are highly individualised, and the population is widely dispersed (Honea, 2009). Through the informal organisation and volatile structure of the subcultures, together with the physical distance from arenas, courts and stadiums (British Mountaineering Council, 2003; Vanreusel & Renson, 1982), the participants can be seen as a 'hidden' population (Browne, 2005). Unlike participants of mainstream sports, which are often associated with federations or societies and therefore relatively easy to study, participants of alternative or lifestyle sports are mostly informally organised and not at all, or less, regulated and are thus more difficult to reach. In chapter 5 of the dissertation, I further discuss the difficulties of quantitative research within the field of lifestyle sports.

In qualitative research on outdoor lifestyle sports a number of tensions and paradoxes are examined. These are concisely described by Wheaton (2004a, p. 21) as "between conspicuous consumerism and resistance to consumption; competitiveness and participation; personalised consumption and group conformity; body discipline and pleasure; freedom and control". The various studies on these tensions in different lifestyle sports and different aspects of the sports can generally be reduced to six main themes. These themes in which lifestyle sports are often seen as activities presenting "an alternative and potential challenge to traditional ways of 'seeing' 'doing' and understanding sport" (Wheaton, 2010, p. 1057) include:

I Gender, in which scholars pay attention to competing masculinities and complex gender relations (e.g. Kay & Laberge, 2004; Laurendeau & Sharara, 2008; Plate, 2007; Robinson, 2004, 2008; Thorpe, 2007a, 2007b; Waitt, 2008; Wheaton, 2004b; Young, 2004);

II Popularisation and commercialisation, in which scholars predominantly emphasise the continuous struggle of lifestyle sport participants with the conflicts between the financial benefits of commercialisation and commodification, and the commitment to the subcultures associated with involvement in these sports (e.g. Beal & Wilson, 2004; Honea, 2009). Furthermore, within this theme attention is paid to the 'selling of risk' (e.g. Mounet & Chifflet, 2003; Palmer, 2003) and to the increasing media attention to lifestyle sports (e.g. Creyer et al., 2003; Sky, 2001);

III Identity politics, with many scholars arguing that participants of lifestyle sports dedicate themselves to the sports as a means to belong to a group or to be recognised as a person (e.g. Beal & Weidman, 2003; Robinson, 2004; Wheaton & Beal, 2003);

IV Risk, in which scholars regard risks, sensation, adrenaline and 'living on the edge' as important motivations for participation in these sports. These are seen as oppositional to motivations such as competitiveness and health that are predominant in mainstream sports. With their focus on risk, these scholars tend to consider the participants as responsible athletes, who are aware of possible risks and injuries (e.g. Belogiannis, et al., 2007; Celsi, et al., 1993; Delle Fave, Bassi, & Massimini, 2003; Jack & Ronan, 1998; Laviolette, 2007; Malkin & Rabinowitz, 1998; Palmer, 2004; Robinson, 2004; Schneider, Butryn, Furst, & Masucci, 2007; Stranger, 1999; Watters, 2003; Willig, 2008);

V Individuality, in which scholars study topics such as commitment, the cultural capital needed for successful participating in these sports and how lifestyle sport

participants form cultural groups (e.g. Beal, 2006; Vanreusel & Renson, 1982; Vanreusel & Renson, 1984; Wheaton, 2000; Wheaton, 2003; Young, 2004); and

VI Intrinsic rewards, a theme in which authors focus on a participatory ideology of lifestyle sport participants highlighting its intrinsic rewards such as flow, peak experiences, living for the moment and feeling one with the environment (e.g. Carr, 2002; Csikszentmihalyi, 1990; Delle Fave, et al., 2003; Jackson & Eklund, 2002; Jones, Hollenhorst, Perna, & Selin, 2000; Midol, 1993; Whitmore & Borrie, 2005).

Through the recurrence of these six themes, lifestyle sports are presented as oppositional to mainstream sports and the dominant sport culture. The subculture of lifestyle sports clearly seems to be a distinguished area in socio-cultural sports research. When lifestyle sports became increasingly popular in the 1990s, the relative attention paid to these themes changed. In the early 1990s and sometimes even earlier, risks and intrinsic rewards were the subject of research: scholars were curious about the motives of that small group of hard core participants and their seemingly hazardous activities (e.g. Celsi et al., 1993; Kerr & Svebak, 1989; Midol, 1993). Gender issues and commercialisation and popularisation processes have become more important in the last ten years of lifestyle sports research. Sports such as snowboarding, surfing and skydiving have developed from exclusive sports into widely practised spectacular activities with broad audiences.

In order to build in this dissertation upon previous research on outdoor lifestyle sports, in the next sections I will discuss the themes that emerge from this literature as most relevant and intriguing for the study of indoor lifestyle sports: 'commercialisation', 'risk', and 'identity'.

Commercialisation processes

As Edwards and Corte (2010, p. 1135) have described, "recent research on lifestyle sport and commercialisation reveals a problematic and complex relationship". The popularisation of lifestyle sports during the 1980s and 1990s has resulted in a rapidly developing commercialisation process. This process began in North America, where many lifestyle sport activities have already experienced fundamental shifts in their meanings (Wheaton, 2010). In Europe also, lifestyle sports are nowadays multi-million dollar industries that attract significant market and media interest, and music, commodities and consumer goods have been incorporated into the iconography of the sports (Palmer, 2007). The adventurous and sensational characteristics of the sports

have enormous commercial power and make them attractive to commercial sponsors and advertisers.

A number of studies have employed various methods (e.g. analysis of mass and niche media; interviews with various agents in the lifestyle sports industries; historical analysis) to understand and explain the processes of commercialisation within and across lifestyle sports cultures, and the effects these processes have had on various groups of participants. In these studies, commercial forces are generally considered to have 'sold out' lifestyle sports (e.g. Palmer, 2003; Puchan, 2004; Sky, 2001). This stands for the commercial appropriation of lifestyle sports' ethos and ideologies for mass consumption (Wheaton, 2004a). On the other hand, however, the broader possibilities that these commercial forces offer for lifestyle sports have been examined. This perspective includes studies on, for example, sponsorships and professionalisation (e.g. Beal, 2006; Beal & Wilson, 2004; Hardy, 2002; Nelson, 2010; Smits, 2011).

The problematic and complex relationship between lifestyle sports and commercialisation, as revealed in various studies, has resulted in a struggle of participants to remain part of an exclusive and authentic subculture on the one hand, and to have access to the big money and to possibilities for professionalisation on the other hand. The widespread emergence of globally developed artificial settings seems to be in line with this continuous struggle of lifestyle sport participants. This particular commodification process – in which not only are clothing and products widely appropriated by the general public, but the activities themselves are consumed and appropriated – may affect the image and reputation of lifestyle sports. This raises the question whether the artificial sport environments, in which commercial stakeholders and consumers give meaning to the practice of lifestyle sports, provide new input to the same struggle: are these consumption settings valuable for the popularisation and professionalisation of lifestyle sports, or are they gradually eroding the exclusive, authentic and special subcultures that are associated with involvement in lifestyle sports? For the general public – or, 'the wannabes' who want to enjoy adventurous and 'on the edge' behaviour (Palmer, 2007) – the accessible, safe and relatively inexpensive possibility of experiencing a lifestyle sport in an artificial setting such as a wind tunnel or a white water course creates the opportunity to get to know and understand lifestyle sports in a certain way. In contrast, committed lifestyle sport participants who have dedicated years of their time, money and effort to becoming part of the scene, may despise these low-key versions of their beloved sport and lifestyle. These and other issues related to the commercialisation, popularisation and commodification of lifestyle

sports in recently emerged artificial settings are questioned in chapters 3, 4 and 5 of this dissertation.

Risk

Lifestyle sports are often considered as risky sports because their nature provides participants a substantial chance of injury or even death. The possibility of injury, disaster or death is an adventure element, and such elements have a powerful draw for many individuals. As Wheaton (2004a, p. 15) stated: "Danger and excitement are often fetishised in the 'go for it attitude' that characterises these activities". The risk and unpredictability are especially attractive to participants, but as well to sponsors and marketers (Palmer, 2007).

Risk-taking in lifestyle sports is often connected with "an escape from the over-rationalised and sanitised leisure experiences in modernity" (Wheaton, 2010, p. 1060). Breivik (2010) argued that "the development of adventure sports with real risks stands in contrast to the basic ideology of modernity" (p. 262). In research that examines the motives of lifestyle sport participants to voluntary act in sport activities with the probability of a negative outcome, these participants are not considered as 'lunatics' or 'show-offs', but as "meticulous performers, giving themselves to some lofty art form" (Rinehart & Sydnor, 2003, p. 12). Studies have revealed that lifestyle sport participants rationally calculate and manage risk: "Participants embrace risk and danger, but in most cases as a means to provide the thrill or 'stoke' that characterises the experience" (Wheaton, 2010, p. 1060).

As a consequence of the commercialisation processes in lifestyle sports, risk taking is appropriated for mass consumption. Once-marginalised sports such as mountaineering and canyonning now occupy key places in the public domain, which creates the impression "that *anyone* can take part in these activities" (Palmer, 2007, p. 77, italics in original). In the paradoxical notion of 'the adventure' sold as a predictable and carefully managed experience-commodity, risk taking goes mainstream (Varley, 2006). In other words, extreme activities are increasingly packaged as ready-made products.

In artificial settings for lifestyle sports, the possible risks and dangers included in the experience of lifestyle sports are minimised, even for occasional, inexperienced participants. Although there have been some serious accidents in these artificial settings – especially in climbing halls – the strict safety rules, the immediate vicinity of instructors or guards and the high-tech environment represent efforts to minimise danger and unpleasantness. One could wonder whether the absence of challenges and

the skills required to master those challenges in artificial sport environments has consequences for the intrinsic rewards of the sport experience. Although the practice of lifestyle sports in challenging environments is often accompanied by the intensity of feelings and perceptions found in peak experiences, those feelings of euphoria and ecstasy may be available to a lesser extent in artificial environments. The flow of the white water course will stop at one push of the button, the permanent wave can be stopped with one flip of the switch, and at a gesture the generators in the vertical wind tunnel are turned off and the 'skydiver' lands softly in the net. I examine the tensions between risks and control in artificial environments for lifestyle sports in depth in chapters 3 and 4.

Identity politics

Lifestyle sport studies have repeatedly focused on participant identities related to status and commitment issues. Generally, lifestyle sport participants have "a consciously resistive, outsider identity relative to the organized sports establishment" (Kusz, 2007, p. 359). These sports offer participants a seemingly authentic outsider identity that marks them as disconnected and different from mainstream sports and the dominant sport culture. These distinguishing and exclusive identities are subject, however, to commercialisation and popularisation processes. As, for example, Booth (2004) argued, the surfing lifestyle, which once stood in opposition to mainstream and institutionalised sport cultures, is now subject to commodification and professionalisation, which have resulted in the transformation of the culture and its anti-competition identity. Beal and Wilson (2004) have, like Booth, explored the ways in which the identity of skateboarders have been transformed through the rapid and widespread commercialisation of skateboarding. These studies suggest that the typical, original lifestyle sport participant who invest heavily in lifestyle and identity, who resist the traditional sport culture as well as the highly rationalised and safe postmodern society (Breivik, 2010) may disappear or, at least, fade into the background.

The authenticity and exclusiveness of lifestyle sport subcultures from which participants derive their own identity, as revealed in lifestyle sport studies, are eroding with the emergence of artificial settings and the facilitation of lifestyle sport activities. Being a freestyle snowboarder or kayaker is not sufficient anymore to be regarded as special, as exclusive, to make sense of oneself and others. Freestyle snowboarding is possible in the nearby snow dome, without years of practising, and freestyle kayaking is possible on one of the courses, without visiting inhospitable places. Thus, the individual and

collective identities that lifestyle sport participants derive from their sports should be interpreted in a subtle way with regard to the places and settings where the sports are practised. Participants of lifestyle sports are contextually situated in time and space, and this physical place has consequences for the thoughts, actions, experiences, and ascriptions of meaning of actors (Giddens, 1984). In chapters 4 and 5 of this dissertation, I further examine how participant identities should be reinterpreted with regard to the indoorisation development in lifestyle sports.

The foregoing sections define the context of outdoor lifestyle sports in which the indoorisation process is embedded. In reproducing some of the predominant themes in previous research on outdoor lifestyle sports, and interpreting these themes in the light of the indoorisation development in these sports, I question how the emergence of commodified, indoor alternatives could change the culture of lifestyle sports. What consequences does this specific commercialisation process have for the way lifestyle sport participants give meaning to and experience the activities? And, to what extent are commercial producers able to give the impression of risk and danger – to which participants are seemingly highly attracted?

Introducing an economic sociological perspective

In research on sport consumption, a rational economic perspective is often adopted. The analytic starting point frequently is the individual, the stable set of preferences of that individual, and the choice of action which maximises utility, resulting in hypotheses and models in mathematical form (Smelser & Swedberg, 2005). For example, in studying sport consumers, studies usually focus on refining marketing activities, monitoring price sensitivities, adjusting promotional campaigns or maximising sales (Stewart, Smith, & Nicholson, 2003). Furthermore, recommendations of economists guide sport policy decisions in many areas (e.g. Berrett, Slack, & Whiston, 1993), and sport events are often evaluated from an economic perspective (e.g. Gratton, Dobson, & Shibli, 2000). These accounting frameworks of sport consumption are highly insightful in terms of the production of goods and services, revenue distribution and the financial transactions related to sports consumption.

In these rational economic assessments, however, sociological perspectives of personal interaction, groups, social structures, and social controls are not included. Realising that sociological perspectives could be highly insightful for the study of economic phenomena such as consumption, the field of economic sociology expanded in the last

decennia. In this discipline, sociological perspectives are applied to economic phenomena (Smelser & Swedberg, 2005). This 'interdisciplinary adventure', as Smelser and Swedberg noted (2005, p. ix), recognises "how meaningful social relations pervade economic processes, including production, acquisition, and use of goods and services" (Zelizer, 2005, p. 348). Economic sociology provides a distinctive alternative to economics in refusing the maximising assumption that stands at the core of economic theory (Beckert, 1996). Instead of assuming that "economic actors *can*, even in highly contingent situations, deduce their actions from a clear preference ranking and thereby maximizing their utility" (Beckert, 1996, p. 804, italics in original), the alternative investigate how intentionally rational actors reach decisions under conditions when they "not know what is best to do" (Beckert, 1996, p. 804).

In the explorative study on lifestyle sport consumption in this dissertation, I was especially interested in the way meanings are created, changed and influenced through social interactions. These meanings of consumption and production merit relatively little attention in a rational economic approach. In the field of economic sociology, it is assumed that "actors do not live up to the behavioural prescriptions set by the theory but behave 'irrationally'" (Beckert, 1996, p. 804). I adopt Ritzer's theory of McDonaldization and Consumer Culture Theory (hereinafter: CCT) to examine this 'irrational' behaviour in the meanings that actors ascribe to commodified sport experiences and settings. Ritzer's theory is mainly used to study the producers' meanings and interpretations, CCT's approach is focused on the consumers' meanings and interpretations. Both theories are situated within an economic sociological perspective in their understanding of the cultural factors that are attached to consumption and production. I argue that the consumption of lifestyle sports in the artificial environments is appropriated into the domain of meanings which are built upon culture in the sense of shared understandings and their representations (Zelizer, 2005). Actors are indelibly linked with one another and influence each other (Smelser & Swedberg, 2005). Instead of the understanding of standard utilitarian and individualistic accounts of consumption as maximisation, the clear understanding of consumption and production practices in this study comes from recognising the cultural context in which both consumers and producers act and interact. The analysis of economic interests combined with an analysis of social relations in specific commercial settings makes it clear that economic actions are "embedded in concrete, on-going systems of social relations" (Granovetter, 1985, cited in Smelser & Swedberg, 2005, p. 15). The market in which lifestyle sports are commercially offered, and the individual preferences of

actors in that market are influenced by and built of socially, culturally and historically constructed meanings (Smelser & Swedberg, 2005). An analysis of these cultural factors adds to an in-depth understanding of the emergence and development of this particular type of sport consumption and production.

When assuming that social relations and shared understandings and representations strongly affect how lifestyle sports are commercially offered and enjoyed in artificial sport environments, I have to take into account the social relations between and within the various groups of actors in that cultural market. As was clear from the research questions, the experiences and meanings of producers as well as consumers are examined. Therefore, in the following part of this chapter, I outline the theoretical backgrounds against which these social interactions between consumers and producers take place. I start with a description of the central role and the power of the consumer in a consumerist way of life, followed by an explanation of the role of producers in consumption and consumer culture.

Consumer Culture and lifestyle sports

The first part of this theoretical chapter outlined how commercialisation and popularisation processes in contemporary lifestyle sport cultures were precursors of the process known as *the indoorisation of outdoor sports*. I argued that, in order to understand this indoorisation process, recent developments in outdoor lifestyle sports have to be taken into account. The indoorisation process, however, is not solely related to developments in *outdoor* lifestyle sports. Hence, the development of artificial settings for lifestyle sports should also be seen in the light of consumption and production processes. As lifestyle sports are offered for consumption in these recently developed artificial settings, the activities have become commodified: they are quick, easy and accessible.

The commodification process – which means that "more and more objects and services are exchanged on the market and are conceived as commodities" (Sassatelli, 2007, p. 10) – is one of the key elements in today's 'consumer society'. In this process, ever more social phenomena in the Western culture, which were not previously framed in that manner, become transformed into saleable objects (Horne, 2006; Moor, 2007). In order to understand and explain *the indoorisation of outdoor sports* with regard to the rise and development of the consumer culture, this theoretical part focuses on the link between consumption and production and its role in contemporary commodified versions of lifestyle sports. As Slater (1997) argued, studying consumer culture is not

only about the study of texts and textuality, of individual choice and consciousness, of wants and desires. Instead, especially the context of social relations, structures, institutions and systems in which these things happen are important in studying consumption and production processes.

Since the late modern variant of the capitalist system in the 1950s, the context, history and meanings of consumption have been recognised as increasingly important (Hargreaves, 1986; Sassatelli, 2007). As Smart (2010) demonstrated, the history of consumption and consumerism goes back into the 18th century with commodities obtained "through overseas voyages of discovery and colonial exploitation" (p. 6). From the late 19th and early 20th century, the subsequent growth of mass production and mass consumption came to be recognised as a distinctive way of life. This consumerism has continued to expand its influence and is now "truly global in scope and extent" (Smart, 2010, p. 7).

The rise of this so-called 'consumer society' – in other words 'consumer culture', 'consumer capitalism' or 'consumerism' – is characterised by the process of commoditisation or commodification. The consumption of commodified elaborated goods and services and the institutions and rituals that make this consumption possible, are becoming increasingly important in modern life (Zukin & Smith Maguire, 2004). The meaning of consumption, which is for most people pleasure, enjoyment and freedom, has become the primary purpose of modern life, "providing meaning to social existence" (Smart, 2010, p. 7).

In the rise of consumer culture, the individual values, attitudes, and behaviours of the consumers result in desires. Needs have increasingly been replaced by desires, wants and even wishes as the main motivators for consumption (Horne, 2006). In this consumerist way of life, major segments of social activities, for example eating and recreation, are controlled by a desire for new and non-essential goods (Hargreaves, 1986; Sassatelli, 2007). This consumption often takes place in a variety of institutions and settings which are coded as leisure spaces and times (Sassatelli, 2007). The consumption of commodities in this variety of institutions and settings is considered a social, cultural and economic process of the choice of goods. As Hargreaves argued, "consumption is a social act structured by frameworks of meaning with cognitive, emotional and aesthetic dimensions" (1986, p. 132). Segments of social life that are controlled by consumer culture are captured in numerous studies. To name just a few examples, Murray (2002) and Braham (1997) studied how fashion is consumed and

produced, and interpreted by consumers; Schau and Gilly (2003) focused on consumption in cyber space; and Kozinets (2001) conducted research on consumption patterns of *Star Trek* fans.

Consumerism has become widespread from the 20th century onwards, and sports cannot be excluded from this tendency. The era of hedonism has extended its tentacles to grasp the media, shopping, fashion, the political arena, and the sports world. The growing sports industry, its increasing importance in the world economy, and the processes of globalisation in sports have speeded up the process of commodification in sports. In a general sport context, consumer culture and its consequences for sport culture are conceptualised for example by Horne (2006) and Hargreaves (1986). In more specific cultural fields in sports, studies of elements of consumer culture in fitness (Smith Maguire, 2008), big wave surfing (Beal & Smith, 2010) and skydiving (Celsi et al., 1993) were conducted. In particular, Smith Maguire's study on the current fitness culture offers insights into the exploration of the place of the body in contemporary consumer culture. Her sociological study of consumption concludes that participation in fitness is "bound up with producing subjectivities that are fit to consume, in that they locate the production of meaning, identity and relationships with others in the process of consumption; and producing bodies that are fit to be consumed by others as visual representations of an individual's identity, social position and subjectivity" (2008, p. 192).

Harvey and St-Germain (1998) argued that commodification progressively reduces sport to an object of consumption in the form of entertainment, a service, or a standardised sporting good. In this sense, consumption is not only expressed in the demand and passion for goods, but in their use as well. It is about the symbolic associations of products, how objects or services are distributed within groups and the practices and discourses through which the purchases are managed (Sassatelli, 2007). Sport and leisure are, like other commodities, promoted as 'experiential commodities' (Horne, 2006). As Horne (2006) illustrated, declining working hours since the 19th century have provided more time for 'experiential commodities' such as holidays, sport and leisure. Together with higher amounts of money spent on consumer goods and these experiential commodities, leisure and sport are key sites for personal identity formation.

The process of commercialisation in sports – e.g. increasing expenditures on equipment, clothing and fashion items, and subscription and admissions, and the increasing offer of different sports – links the sports culture with consumer culture. According to Hargreaves (1986), what is common to both cultures is their concern with the body as a

means of expression: "sportive expressionism thematizes the personal in an extraordinary and powerful way" (p. 134). With health, fashion and fun as important features in consumer culture, food and sports are key elements in the pursuit of this healthy lifestyle. The vivid, dramatic and personal expressions provided by play, contest and energy in the sports culture are an outstanding way to express individuality. Hargreaves noted the link with the youthful, sexually attractive, healthy and fit person as the dominant icon of consumer culture, which is highly visible in the culture of sports. As Horne (2006) noted, there are numerous discussions and interpretations of sports in consumer culture and vice versa. These include the active practice of sport activities and commercial spectacles, resulting in studies about fandom, advertising, media, mega sport events, individual athletes and teams. It is clear that "sport may be both a commercial spectacle and used as a means of resisting commercial values" (Horne, 2006, p. 5). Thus, it may be stated that the concepts of consumer culture have infiltrated all facets of the sports world.

In order to understand consumption and consumer behaviour, a variety of social and cultural theories dealing with consumer agency and politics have been developed in the last decades. These theories or approaches tend to view consumption and consumer agency as social practices, and they concentrate on the contexts in which consumption practices take place (Sassatelli, 2007). Two specific theories that focuses on these consumption contexts and the meanings that are ascribed to consumption and production are central in this dissertation.

First, Consumer Culture Theory is used to focus on "the heterogeneous distribution of meanings and the multiplicity of cultural groupings that exist within the broader sociohistoric frame of globalization and market capitalism" (Arnould & Thompson, 2005, p. 869). Specific groups of consumers and their creative choices and interpretations from a wide range of products and services are the focus of this approach (Arnould & Thompson, 2005).

Second, George Ritzer's McDonaldization lens is used to show how consumption happens in space and takes time. Ritzer's theory emphasises the way contexts of consumption are organised through efficiency, predictability, control and calculability (Ritzer, 2008; Ritzer & Jurgenson, 2010; Sassatelli, 2007). This theory focuses on the producer's side of the consumer culture, and how producers are able to manage consumption and consumers.

Besides Ritzer's and CCT's approaches, several other theories and perspectives from a range of disciplines can be applied to the understanding and explanation of *the indoorisation of outdoor sports*. For example, Bourdieu's theory of field effects (1984; 1988) is helpful to analyse the position of this new development in the broader world of sport; Elias and Dunning's quest for excitement (1986; 2006) helps to understand the attraction of sensational, adventurous leisure activities; Pine and Gilmore's experience economy approach (1999) explains the emergence of the centres which offer lifestyle sport experiences in a commercial, commodified way; and Du Gay and colleagues' (1997) 'cultural circuit' offers a highly usable explanation of how meanings are formed in and through the defining activities of consumers and producers as they interact. All these theories are touched upon in this dissertation. The combination of Consumer Culture Theory's approach and Ritzer's McDonaldization, however, is given most attention to as this worked out to be most productive in understanding consumers, producers, and their interaction, in the context of indoor lifestyle sport environments. Whereas CCT researchers are focused on consumers, and their meanings and interpretations of consumption, in Ritzer's perspective the focus is on the producer, and the way consumption patterns are managed.

In the following sections, these two perspectives are outlined with regard to the subject of this dissertation. In chapter 6, I interweave these theories to explain 'the clash of cultures' in artificial settings.

CCT as orienting device

Although the desire for goods and services is constructed through the interaction between consumption and production, in consumer culture studies priority is given to the individual autonomy and responsibility of the consumer. "Consumers are *sovereigns of the market* in so far that they are *sovereigns of themselves*" (Sassatelli, 2007, p. 155, italics in original). In this perspective, the consumer is considered a 'cultural genius' instead of a 'cultural dupe' (Cook, 2006). As an alternative to considering consumers as passive or as imposed from the production side, modern consumers are recognised as active, reflexive and rational individuals (Arnould & Thompson, 2005; Hargreaves, 1986; Horne, 2006; Sassatelli, 2007). Thus, people participating in consumer culture can pursue their own preferences in a self-conscious and self-reflective way (Horne, 2006). This perspective on how consumers critically and actively make their creative choices out of the wide range of offered products and services, and interpret it in the way it fits to their own lifestyle, is one of CCT's predominant focuses

(Arnould & Thompson, 2005). CCT researchers intentionally want to give more voice to the consumer, and therefore consider consumers as interpretative agents instead of as passive dupes subject to 'commercially-entrenched brain washing' (Bradshaw & Holbrook, 2008).

In order to study and explain the way lifestyle sports in artificial settings are meaningful to consumers or participants, I use the CCT approach as an orienting device. Whereas other approaches or unified theories of consumer culture place emphasis on methodological distinctions or research traditions, CCT is a compelling 'brand' which focuses on core theoretical interests and questions (Arnould & Thompson, 2005). Because of the multidisciplinary character of the current research, which covers questions from historical, sociological, economic, psychological, organisational and marketing domains, the approach of CCT seems an appropriate guide.

One of the precursors of CCT was Cultural Studies, holistically concerned with the meaning and practices of everyday life. This approach grew as a counterpoint to those who assumed that producers were the creators of all meaning and that consumers were relatively powerless and uncritical readers of produced (media) texts. Although most attention was reserved for those who produced and thus appropriated the power, the use of the Cultural Studies approach showed the many ways in which this was *not* the case. It was demonstrated how consumers are in fact critical readers of texts.

First made known in 2004 at the North American Association for Consumer Research Conference, CCT refers to a family of theoretical perspectives which illuminates the dynamic relations between consumption, marketplace behaviours, and cultural meanings (Arnould & Thompson, 2005). In relating the economic factors of consumption to the cultural meanings that consumers attribute to consumption, the CCT approach embraces an economic sociological perspective in which the "co-constitutive nature of consumers, culture and marketplaces" is central (Bengtsson & Eckhardt, 2010, p. 347). CCT explores the mediating role of markets in the relations between lived culture and social resources and meanings, and it conceptualises an interconnected system of commercially produced images, texts and objects that groups use to make collective sense of their environments and the experiences and lives of the members (Arnould & Thompson, 2005, p. 869). In this exploration, culture is seen as the fabric of experience, meaning and action as opposed to a psychological or purely economic phenomenon.

The CCT approach is very helpful as a framework in the struggle with "the contextual and topical diversity" presented in consumer culture theories, and as a map in "the

proverbial forest for the manifold particularities of context rich research" (Arnould & Thompson, 2007, p. 3). However, the CCT approach serves as a guide, and nothing more. It has helped me as a researcher to discern important questions and to identify relevant theoretical contributions in consumer culture research. Furthermore, the theoretical and methodological heterogeneity as found in various CCT studies has certainly inspired me. The reasons to use the holistic CCT approach as a guide throughout the research on *the indoorisation of outdoor sports* were fivefold.

First, in current research there is specific interest in niche consumer behaviour. The consumerist perspective on this phenomenon is essential for exploring the emergence of a new phenomenon in the world of lifestyle sports. As will be examined in chapter 6 of the dissertation, in artificial settings for lifestyle sports the participants can increasingly be seen as consumers in a consumption site. Like other CCT research contexts in the field of lifestyle or extreme sports (cf. Celsi et al., 1993) or in completely different fields (cf. Peñaloza, 2001), in the present study consumer behaviour is explored in a very specific setting and in a specific group. Studying a niche group of consumers, their behaviour, their motivations and the interaction with the marketplace and other actors in that market fits perfectly with the CCT research tradition.

Second, CCT offers a suitable framework for the contextual and topical diversity presented in research on consumer behaviour and consumer theory (Arnould & Thompson, 2007). As Arnould and Thompson (2005, p. 870) stated, "CCT research draws from an interdisciplinary body of theory to develop novel analytic theoretical frameworks that can illuminate the sociocultural dynamics that drive the consumption cycle and to advance a theoretical conversation that has arisen around the research domains". In the current study, different theoretical approaches from a range of disciplines are used to interpret and capture the complexity of the recent developments in lifestyle sports. These perspectives are synthesised in an economic sociological approach, as I outlined in this chapter.

Third, the thread of CCT research is the assumption of an active and critical consumer: consumers are considered as producers of experiences (e.g. Cutcher, 2010; Hesmondhalgh, 2008). The CCT approach explores "how consumers actively rework and transform symbolic meanings encoded in advertisements, brands, retail settings, or material goods to manifest their particular personal and social circumstances and further their identity and lifestyle goals" (Arnould & Thompson, 2005, p. 871). The marketplace provides consumers with "an expansive and heterogeneous palette of resources from which to construct individual and collective identities" (Arnould & Thompson, 2005, p.

871). In the search for expressing the individuality, consumers embrace the escape from the rational, routine everyday life. They embrace disorder, ambiguity, artificiality, the strange, exotic and spectacular – in short, the 'carnivalesque' (Horne, 2006). Chapter 6 asks how consumers use the 'cultural material' provided by producers in constructing individual and collective identities, meanings and interpretations.

Fourth, in the CCT perspective experiential and sociological dimensions of consumptions are derived from multi-method investigations of consumption, including both quantitative and qualitative research methods. Although experiments, surveys and database modelling are commonly used in consumer behaviour research, CCT researchers embrace methodological pluralism. Because different theoretical approaches and methods from several research domains are combined in the current study on sport consumption, the phenomenon is approached from various angles to gain insight into the development of lifestyle sports. Thus, I follow the methodological pluralism as emphasised by CCT researchers.

Fifth, the centrality of the meanings of experiences and cultures in CCT is incorporated into an emphasis on the motivations of participants in lifestyle sports, their experiences, identities and the social (sub) cultures they are in. Via a survey, interviews and observations these concepts are studied and combined to give compelling insights into the world of lifestyle sports and the shift of that world in a safer, predictable and controllable direction. In the research, consumers' activities and interactions are examined as a form of cultural production, as Penaloza (2001) does in her study on animating cultural meaning at a stock show and rodeo and Belk, Sherry and Wallendorf (1988) do in their research on a swap meet. This is in line with CCT, which conceptualises culture as the fabric of experience, meaning and action (Arnould & Thompson, 2005).

Although the CCT perspective serves as an umbrella for the different perspectives and meanings created in the world of lifestyle sports, a limitation of the approach with regard to this specific cultural market is its focus on the active consumer. Although since 2005 some work in the CCT tradition began to take the producer into greater account, the focus of CCT oriented studies continue to assume that the consumer is primarily in charge of the process of giving meaning and interpretation. Therefore, I combined CCT's focus on consumers with Ritzer's focus on producers and rationalised production. In doing so, this dissertation advocates a broader, more encompassing critical understanding of consumption, markets, and culture from the CCT perspective, in which the focus is not exclusively on consumers, but where also the reciprocal action

and influence of consumers *and* producers have to be taken into account. In the 'processes of interpretation', meanings are creations that are formed in and through the defining activities of people as they interact (Blumer, 1986). I argue that CCT's focus on the active consumer in cultural markets is not conclusive for the exploration and understanding of a cultural market. The routine predominant concentration on the consumer perspectives runs the risk of overlooking relevant information from the producers' side of this market that is crucial for understanding consumers' interpretations. Meanings are constructed in the dialogue between production and consumption, and this dialogue seems to be underexposed in CCT studies. I agree with Du Gay (2004, p. 100) who argued that "we do not need to focus only on producers or consumers but on the "relational work" that occurs between them".

Artificial settings as cathedrals of consumption

Whoever walks in a snow dome, a climbing centre, a skydiving centre or a white water sports centre, cannot avoid being fascinated and intrigued by the scale, the artificiality, the organised nature and the efficiency of these settings. The way in which lifestyle sports are commercially offered in these centres – with their in-house shops, restaurants and meeting rooms – represents a 'hyperreal simulation' of the lifestyle sport culture (Stranger, 2011, p. 238). In the centres, lifestyle sports can be experienced safely, governed by strict regulations and rules. Without the risks of a natural environment, the unpredictability of the weather and the difficulties of gaining cultural capital, lifestyle sports are experienced in a very efficient and organised way. As will be further explored in chapter 5, the commercially offered lifestyle sports are consumed by a range of different participants, "from the 'outsiders who [...] experience participation via an array of 'taster' activities being marketed through the adventure sport and travel industries, to the 'hard-core' committed practitioners who are fully familiarized in the lifestyle, argot, fashion and technical skills of their activities, and spend considerable time, energy and often money doing it" (Wheaton, 2010, p. 1058). With their broad mixture of consumers, together with their organised, efficient character and large scale, the centres can be labelled in the same way as fast food restaurants, shopping malls, and cruise ships.

Following Ritzer, I describe these new settings in which goods and services can be obtained as 'cathedrals of consumption' (Ritzer, 2005; Ritzer & Stillman, 2001a). These cathedrals, or 'new means of consumption', are designed to attract and service large numbers of consumers by rationalising their operations. One of the examples of such a

cathedral is a casino, in which a spectacular environment is created and that "implode boundaries between gambling, shopping, travel and entertainment thereby making it possible for gamblers to bring their families, to reduce the regrets associated with excessive gambling by normalizing it, and to increase expenditures on things that are peripheral to gambling. The casino-hotels also manipulate time and space to create settings in which time seems not to matter and spatial boundaries to consumption are eliminated" (Ritzer & Stillman, 2001b, p. 83). These cathedrals are "oriented to, and effective at, serving as means for the consumption" of certain services and goods (Ritzer, 2005, p. 20).

In the transformation of lifestyle sports to commodified leisure activities, producers play an important role. Since the CCT perspective does not take into account the side of supply in studying consumption patterns, I adopt Ritzer's McDonaldization theory to explore the ways commercial producers have shaped lifestyle sport activities in artificial sport environments and the meanings they give to the sports and settings.

Ritzer's McDonaldization theory

Following Weber, George Ritzer (2008) posited in the late 1990s his 'McDonaldization of Society'. Weber described how the modern Western world managed to become dominated by efficiency, predictability, calculability, and non-human technologies that control people. McDonaldization, or "the process by which the principles of the fast-food restaurant are coming to dominate more and more sectors of American society as well as of the rest of the world" (Ritzer, 2008, p. 1), is an amplification and extension of Weber's theory of rationalisation. According to Ritzer, McDonaldization is noticeable in very different aspects of everyday life, such as education, religion, politics and even mountain climbing and drug addiction. Ritzer used the widespread increase of fast-food restaurants to illustrate how the process of McDonaldization is shaped globally.

The basic model of McDonaldization comprises four dimensions: efficiency, calculability, predictability, and control. In the world of the fast-food restaurants, efficiency is maintained by preparing the menu items on a kind of assembly line involving a number of people in specialised operations. The limited menu, the tight parking spaces, the ever-present litter bin and the concept of 'drive-through' are examples of the efficiency in fast-food restaurants. Calculability – calculating, counting and quantifying – in fast-food restaurants is noticeable in the size and the amount of the meat in the burgers, the number of minutes for which the French fries are fried, and the precise quantity of cheese on every sandwich. Predictability is achieved in rationalised societies in which

concepts such as discipline, order, systematisation, formalisation, routine, consistency, and methodical operation are strongly emphasised. In a rationalised society, people want to know what to expect in most settings and at most times. In the case of McDonalds, or other fast-food restaurants, predictability is showed in the same taste of the Big Mac, the same menu options and the same interior. Every McDonalds, whether in France or in New York or in Lima, is the same. People who visit this restaurant, know what to expect. Control, the fourth concept of the McDonaldization theory, refers to the increased control of humans through the utilisation of nonhuman technology. Rules, regulations, procedures, materials, techniques, products and even consumers are subject to considerable control (Ritzer, 2008).

Ritzer's perspective seems to be opposed to the culture of lifestyle sports, which is characterised by principles of flexibility, unpredictability, risk and self-control (e.g. Breivik, 2010; Lucassen, et al., 2011; Wheaton, 2004a). However, the McDonaldization thesis has been applied to different aspects of lifestyle sports. Beal and Smith (2010), for example, showed that big-wave surf events are increasingly subject to rationalisation processes, and Hardy (2002) illustrated that concepts of rationalisation such as guiding, equipment, training and professionalisation are becoming more and more common in climbing.

In this dissertation, I assume that artificial settings for lifestyle sports – especially when compared with outdoor lifestyle sports, which are in turn also progressively subject to rationalisation processes – can be viewed through the lens of Ritzer's principles of McDonaldization. Even a quick look at the artificial environments where lifestyle sports are offered in a commodified way, shows the ubiquitous presence of the four McDonaldization principles. Efficiency is palpable in the way artificial settings bring together different types of sports, restaurants, shops and meeting centres to serve large groups of consumers; the concept of calculability is reflected in the strict time schedules that are created to process large amounts of costumers every day; principles of predictability are obvious in the way all climbing centres or snow domes resemble each other, and the certainty that weather, snow or water conditions are always perfect for the activities; and controlling aspects of artificial settings for lifestyle sports are especially noticeable in the regulation of the declivity of the slope, the speed of the water, the amount of snow or the temperature, controlled by a few simple clicks. In short, the activities and the settings are characterised by principles of discipline, order, systematisation, formalisation, routine, consistency, methodical operation, definability, objectivity and precision (Ritzer, 2008; Sassatelli, 2007).

A common criticism of Ritzer's perspective is that highly original and distinctive products or services might be turned into pale, McDonaldized imitations of what they once were (Sassatelli, 2007). In this perspective, Ritzer's theory of McDonaldization is seen as a one-sided and totalitarian picture of the rationalisation process, with an excessive emphasis on homogeneity. Ritzer seems to underestimate consumers' subjective experiences of postmodern societies. However, as will be discussed later in this dissertation, the rationalisation process of lifestyle sports is strongly affected by social structures and social control. The supposed pale, McDonaldized imitations of outdoor lifestyle sports are subject to framing and shaping forces of consumers and producers.

Therefore, Ritzer's theory is intertwined with CCT's perspective, that focuses on especially these framing and shaping forces of consumers. The wide diversity and multidisciplinarity of CCT's approach is accomplished with the systematic analysis of McDonaldized phenomena. The artificial sport environments where lifestyle sports are offered lend themselves perfectly for intertwining the theories. Both perspectives complement each other, as will be further explored in chapter 6. That chapter points out how consumers and producers are connected in this contemporary consumption market and what consequences this interaction has for the activities and settings.

Consumer Culture and environmentalism

The foregoing makes clear that the development of a market can be seen as the result of the meanings constructed in the dialogue between production and consumption. However, both sides of a market not only react on each other, but they have to deal with socio-cultural, economic, politic and environmental trends and issues as well. Consumers and producers do not interact in isolation, they are part of a broader social system. They are influenced by forces from society. In this section, I outline the societal demand for corporate responsibility as one of the societal influences that affect the development of artificial sport environments. In doing so, I relate the development of these settings to corporate responsibility for environments, as emerged from society.

Although the sovereignty and freedom of modern consumers, the benefits and pleasures of participating in a consumer society, and the endless choice from wide arrays of products and services are celebrated in consumer culture, there are a number of cultural contradictions in this consumer society. These include social exclusion, frustration and health consequences (Smart, 2010). In addition, the ecological consequences of Western consumerism are being given more and more attention. The environmental

aspects of the actions of consumers and producers in consumption settings are undeniably important, especially in terms of the realisation and development of the artificial settings for lifestyle sports,

Chapter 7 of the dissertation looks at this specific downside of the consumer culture. During the study on indoorised lifestyle sports, the ecological consequences of this development were increasingly brought up for discussion – not only with interviewees, but with colleagues and friends as well. The main question that guided these discussions was 'How on earth is it possible to build an energy-slurping leisure setting such as a snow dome or a vertical wind tunnel for skydiving in an era in which more and more attention is given to environmentalism and sustainable development?'. As a researcher in this field, I was also triggered by this fascination, which resulted in chapter 7 in this dissertation.

That chapter is related to the emphasis on consumers and consumption in the last 20 years in many human sciences, and the increasing attention to the role and the power of consumers in terms of saving the environment and protecting the future of the planet (Gabriel & Lang, 2008). The consumer way of life "has led to a number of serious consequences, including a significant squandering of resources, the production of increasing quantities of waste, various forms of pollution, and, perhaps most significantly of all, increasing evidence of global warming" (Smart, 2010, p. 160). Increasingly, consumers themselves are becoming aware of their consumption-driven lifestyle: "The environmental challenge to consumerism is now clear to almost all thinking people" (Gabriel & Lang, 2008, p. 335). This has engendered growing critical public responses, anti-consumerist alternative groups have emerged, and campaigns are organised on a variety of green concerns.

In chapter 7, it is outlined how sustainability awareness and environmental responsibility among entrepreneurs running artificial settings for lifestyle sports are apparent. Identifying the entrepreneurs' motives for greening their company, it examines in which way these entrepreneurs combine altruistic and strategic drives and the tensions that exist between and within these drivers.

References

Ameye, T., & Schrooyen, M. (2006). Le ski au plat pays. 45 jaar kunstskipistes in Belgie (1962-2007). *Sportimonium* (3-4), 110-115.

Arnould, E., & Thompson, C. (2005). Consumer Culture Theory (CCT): Twenty years of research. *Journal of Consumer Research, 31*(4), 868-882.

Arnould, E., & Thompson, C. (2007). Consumer Culture Theory (and we really mean *theoretics*): Dilemmas and opportunities posed by an academic branding strategy. In R. W. Belk & J. F. Sherry (Eds.), *Research in Consumer Behavior* (Vol. 11, pp. 3-22). Oxford: Elsevier Ltd.

Bale, J. (1989). *Sports geography*. London: E. & F.N. Spon.

Beal, B. (2006). Disqualifying the official: An exploration of social resistence through the subculture of skating. In A. Tomlinson (Ed.), *The Sport Studies Reader* (pp. 406-411). London: Routledge.

Beal, B., & Smith, M. M. (2010). Maverick's: Big wave surfing and the dynamic of 'nothing' and 'something'. *Sport in Society, 13*(7), 1102-1116.

Beal, B., & Weidman, L. (2003). Authenticity in the skateboarding world. In R. E. Rinehart & S. Sydnor (Eds.), *To the extreme. Alternative sports, inside and out* (pp. 337-352). Albany: State University of New York Press.

Beal, B., & Wilson, C. (2004). 'Chicks dig scars'. Commercialisation and the transformations of skateboarders' identity. In B. Wheaton (Ed.), *Understanding lifestyle sports* (pp. 31-53). London/New York: Routledge.

Beckert, J. (1996). What is sociological about economic sociology? Uncertainty and the embeddedness of economic action. *Theory and Society, 25*(6), 803-840.

Beedie, P. (2003). Mountain guiding and adventure tourism: Reflections on the choreography of the experience. *Leisure Studies, 22*(2), 147-167.

Belk, R. W., Sherry, J. F., & Wallendorf, M. (1988). A naturalistic inquiry into buyer and seller behavior at a swap meet. *Journal of Consumer Research 14*(4), 449-470.

Belogiannis, C., Kourtesopoulou, A., & Nikitaras, N. (2007). Risk in Sports: Definitions, theories, psychological profile of the participants. *Inquiries in Sport & Physical Education, 5*(3), 414-423.

Bengtsson, A., & Eckhardt, G. M. (2010). Consumer Culture Theory Conference 2008. *Consumption Markets & Culture, 13*(4), 347-349.

Bennett, G., & Lachowetz, T. (2004). Marketing to lifestyles: Action sports and generation Y. *Sport Marketing Quarterly, 13*(4), 239-243.

Berrett, T., Slack, T., & Whiston, D. (1993). Economics and the pricing of sport and leisure. *Journal of Sport Management, 7*(3), 199-215.

Blumer, H. (1986). *Symbolic Interactionism; Perspective and method*. Berkeley: University of California Press.

Booth, D. (2004). Surfing. In B. Wheaton (Ed.), *Understanding lifestyle sports. Consumption, identity and difference* (pp. 94-109). London/New York: Routledge.

Bourdieu, P. (1984). *Distinction. A social critique of the judgement of taste*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press.

Bourdieu, P. (1988). Program for a sociology of sport. *Sociology of Sport Journal 5*(2), 153-161.

Bradshaw, A., & Holbrook, M. B. (2008). Must we have Muzak wherever we go? A critical consideration of the consumer culture. *Consumption Markets & Culture, 11*(1), 25-43.

Braham, P. (1997). Fashion: unpacking a cultural production. In P. Du Gay (Ed.), *Production of culture/cultures of production* (pp. 119-177). London: SAGE Publications Ltd.

Breivik, G. (2010). Trends in adventure sports in a post-modern society. *Sport in Society, 13*(2), 260-273.

British Mountaineering Council (2003). *Participation Statistics*. Manchester: British Mountaineering Council.

Browne, K. (2005). Snowball sampling: Using social networks to research non-heterosexual women. *International Journal for Social Research Methodology, 8*(1), 47-60.

Brymer, E., Downey, G., & Gray, T. (2009). Extreme sports as a precursor to environmental sustainability. *Journal of Sport & Tourism, 14*(2-3), 193-204.

Brymer, E., & Gray, T. (2010). Developing an intimate "relationship" with nature through extreme sports participation. *Leisure/Loisir, 34*(4), 361-374.

Brymer, G. E. (2005). *Extreme dude! A phenomenological perspective on the extreme sport experience.* Dissertation. University of Wollongong, New South Wales, Australia.

Campbell, C. (2005). The craft consumer. Culture, craft and consumption in a postmodern society. *Journal of Consumer Culture, 5*(1), 23-42.

Carr, A. (2002). *Mountain Madness: guided mountaineering in New Zealand's Southern Alps.* University of Otago, Dunedin, New Zealand.

Celsi, R. L., Rose, R. L., & Leigh, T. W. (1993). An exploration of high-risk leisure consumption through skydiving. *Journal of Consumer Research, 20*(1), 1-23.

Cook, D. T. (2006). Problemitizing consumption, community, and leisure: Some thoughts on moving beyond essentialist thinking. *Leisure, 30*(2), 455-466.

Crawford, R. (2007). Media and extreme sport. In D. Booth & H. Thorpe (Eds.), *Berkshire encyclopedia of extreme sports* (pp. 197-200). Great Barrington, Massachusetts: Berkshire Publishing Group.

Creyer, E. H., Ross, W. T., & Evers, D. (2003). Risky recreation: An exploration of factors influencing the likelihood of participation and the effects of experience. *Leisure Studies, 22*(3), 239-253.

Crum, B. J. (1992). *Over de versporting van de samenleving. Reflecties over bewegingsculturele ontwikkelingen met het oog op sportbeleid (Sportisation of our culture and its impact on sport).* Haarlem: De Vrieseborch.

Csikszentmihalyi, M. (1990). *Flow: The psychology of optimal experience*. New York: Harper Perennial.

Cutcher, L. (2010). Local heroes: Co-producing history, "community" and the self. *Consumption Markets & Culture, 13*(1), 79-90.

Delle Fave, A., Bassi, M., & Massimini, F. (2003). Quality of experience and risk perception in high-altitude rock climbing. *Journal of Applied Sport Psychology, 15*(1), 82-98.

Donnelly, M. (2006). Studying extreme sports: Beyond the core participants. *Journal of Sport & Social Issues, 30*(2), 219-224.

Du Gay, P. (2004). Devices and dispositions: Promoting consumption. *Consumption Markets & Culture, 7*(2), 99-105.

Du Gay, P., Hall, S., Janes, L., Mackay, H., & Negus, K. (1997). *Doing cultural studies. The story of the Sony Walkman*. London: Sage Publications.

Edwards, B., & Corte, U. (2010). Commercialization and lifestyle sport: Lessons from 20 years of freestyle BMX in Pro-Town, USA. *Sport in Society, 13*(7), 1135-1151.

Eichberg, H. (1986). The enclosure of the body: On the historical relativity of 'health', 'nature' and the environment of sport. *Journal of Contemporary History, 21*(1), 99-121.

Eichberg, H. (1998). *Body Cultures. Essays on sport, space and identity*. London: Routledge.

Elias, N., & Dunning, E. (1986). *Quest for excitement. Sport and leisure in the civilizing process*. Oxford: Basil Blackwell.

Elias, N., & Dunning, E. (2006). The quest for excitement in leisure. In A. Tomlinson (Ed.), *The Sport Studies Reader* (pp. 30-35). London: Routledge.

Erickson, B. (2005). Style matters: Explorations of bodies, whiteness, and identity in rock climbing. *Sociology of Sport Journal, 22*(3), 373-396.

Gabriel, Y., & Lang, T. (2008). New faces and new masks of today's consumer. *Journal of Consumer Culture, 8*(3), 321-340.

Giddens, A. (1984). *The Constitution of Society. Outline of the Theory of Structuration*. Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press.

Goodger, J. M., & Goodger, B. C. (1989). Excitement and representation: Toward a sociological explanation of the significance of sport in modern society. *Quest, 41*, 257-272.

Gratton, C., Dobson, N., & Shibli, S. (2000). The economic importance of major sports events: A case-study of six events. *Managing Leisure, 5*(1), 17-28.

Hardy, D. (2002). *The McDonaldization of rock climbing: Conflict and counter conflict between climbing culture and dominant value systems in society.* Paper presented at the 16th Annual International Conference on Outdoor Recreation & Education, Charleston, October 24-31, 2002.

Hargreaves, J. (1986). *Sport, power and culture. A social and historical analysis of popular sports in Britain*. Oxford: Blackwell Publishers.

Harvey, J., & St-Germain, M. (1998). Commodification, globalization and the Canadian sports industry. *Avante, 4*(1), 90-112.

Hesmondhalgh, D. (2008). Towards a critical understanding of music, emotion and self-identity. *Consumption Markets & Culture, 11*(4), 329-343.

Honea, J. C. (2009). *Sell-outs or outsiders? Co-optation and resistance in action sports subcultures*. Saarbrucken: VDM Verlag Dr. Muller.

Horne, J. (2006). *Sport in consumer culture*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan.

Jack, S. J., & Ronan, K. R. (1998). Sensation seeking among high- and low-risk sports participants. *Personality and Individual Differences, 25*(6), 1063-1083.

Jackson, S. A., & Eklund, R. C. (2002). Assessing flow in physical activity: The flow State Scale-2 and Dispositional Flow State Scale-2. *Journal of Sport & Exercise Psychology, 24*(2), 133-150.

Jones, C. D., Hollenhorst, S. J., Perna, F., & Selin, S. (2000). Validation of the flow theory in an on-site whitewater kayaking setting. *Journal of Leisure Research, 32*(2), 247-261.

Kay, J., & Laberge, S. (2004). 'Mandatory equipment'. Women in adventure racing. In B. Wheaton (Ed.), *Understanding lifestyle sports. Consumption, identity and difference* (pp. 154-174). London/New York: Routledge.

Kerr, J. H., & Svebak, S. (1989). Motivational aspects of preference for, and participation in, 'risk' and 'safe' sports. *Personality & Individual Differences, 10*(7), 797-800.

Kozinets, R. V. (2001). Utopian enterprise: Articulating the meanings of Star Trek's culture of consumption. *Journal of Consumer Research, 28*(1), 67-88.

Kusz, K. (2007). Whiteness and extreme sports. In D. Booth & H. Thorpe (Eds.), *Berkshire encyclopedia of extreme sports* (pp. 357-361). Great Barrington, Massachusetts: Berkshire Publishing Group.

Laurendeau, J., & Sharara, N. (2008). "Women could be every bit as good as guys": Reproductive and resistant agency in two "action" sports. *Journal of Sport & Social Issues, 32*(24), 24-47.

Laviolette, P. (2007). Hazardous sport? *Anthropology Today, 23*(6), 1-2.

Liu, A., & Lochtefeld, T. (1999). The Wave Loch Story. Downloaded from http://www.standingwave.com/frhistory.asp

Lucassen, J., Salome, L., & Wisse, E. (2011). Leefstijlsport, een conceptuele verkenning [A conceptual exploration of lifestyle sports]. In J. Lucassen & E. Wisse (Eds.), *Sporten op de grens. Studies over leefstijlsporten [Sports on the border. Studies on lifestyle sports] (*pp. 12-37). Nieuwegein: Arko Sports Media.

Lucassen, J., & Wisse, E. (Eds.). (2011). *Sporten op de grens. Studies over leefstijlsporten [Sports on the border. Studies on lifestyle sports]*. Nieuwegein: Arko Sports Media.

Malkin, M. J., & Rabinowitz, E. (1998). Sensation seeking and high-risk recreation. *Parks & Recreation, 33*(7), 34-39.

Midol, N. (1993). Cultural dissidents and technical innovations in the 'whiz' sports. *International Review for the Sociology of Sport, 28*(1), 23-32.

Moor, L. (2007). Sport and commodification. A reflection on key concepts. *Journal of Sport & Social Issues 31*(2), 128-142.

Mounet, J. P., & Chifflet, P. (2003). Whitewater sports; from extreme to standardization. In R. E. Rinehart & S. Sydnor (Eds.), *To the extreme. Alternative*

sports, inside and out (pp. 267-277). Albany: State University of New York Press.

Murray, J. B. (2002). The politics of consumption: A re-inquiry on Thompson and Haytko's (1997) "Speaking of fashion". *Journal of Consumer Research, 29*(3), 427-440.

Nelson, W. (2010). The historical mediatization of BMX-freestyle cycling. *Sport in Society, 13*(7), 1152-1169.

Palmer, C. (2003). Shit happens: The selling of risk in extreme sport. *Australian Journal of Anthropology, 13*(3), 323-336.

Palmer, C. (2004). Death, danger and the selling of risk in adventure sports. In B. Wheaton (Ed.), *Understanding lifestyle sports. Consumption, identity and difference.* (pp. 55-69). London/New York: Routledge.

Palmer, C. (2007). Commercialization. In D. Booth & H. Thorpe (Eds.), *Berkshire encyclopedia of extreme sports* (pp. 72-78). Great Barrington, Massachusetts: Berksire Publishing Group.

Peñaloza, L. (2001). Consuming the American west: Animating cultural meaning and memory at a stock show and rodeo. *Journal of Consumer Research, 28*(3), 369-398.

Pine, B. J., & Gilmore, J. H. (1999). *The experience economy. Work is theatre and every business a stage*. Cambridge: Harvard Business School Press.

Plate, K. R. (2007). *Rock climbing is a masculine sport? Understanding the complex gendered subculture of rock climbing.* The University of Sheffield, Sheffield.

Puchan, H. (2004). Living 'extreme': Adventure sports, media and commercialisation. *Journal of Communication Management, 9*(2), 171-178.

Rinehart, R. (2002). Arriving sport: Alternatives to formal sports. In J. J. Coakley & E. Dunning (Eds.), *Handbook of sports studies* (pp. 504-519). London: Sage.

Rinehart, R. E., & Sydnor, S. (2003). *To the extreme. Alternative sports, inside and out*. Albany.

Ritzer, G. (2005). *Enchanting a disenchanted world. Revolutionizing the means of consumption*. Thousand Oakes: Pine Forge Press.

Ritzer, G. (2008). *The McDonaldization of society*. Thousand Oaks: Pine Forge Press.

Ritzer, G., & Jurgenson, N. (2010). Production, consumption, prosumption: The nature of capitalism in the age of the digital 'prosumer'. *Journal of Consumer Culture, 10*(1), 13-36.

Ritzer, G., & Stillman, T. (2001a). The postmodern ballpark as a leisure setting: Enchantment and simulated de-McDonaldization. *Leisure Sciences, 23*(2), 99-113.

Ritzer, G. & Stillman, T. (2001b). The modern Las Vegas casino-hotel: The paradigmatic new means of consumption. *M@n@gement, 3*(4), 83-99.

Robinson, V. (2004). Taking risks; Identity, masculinities and rock climbing. In B. Wheaton (Ed.), *Understanding lifestyle sports. Consumption, identity and difference* (pp. 113-130). London/New York: Routledge.

Robinson, V. (2008). *Everyday masculinities and extreme sport: Male identity and rock climbing*. Oxford: Berg Publishers.

Sassatelli, R. (2007). *Consumer culture. History, theory and politics*. London: SAGE Publications.

Schau, H. J., & Gilly, M. C. (2003). We are what we post? Self-presentation in personal web space. *Journal of Consumer Research, 30*(3), 385-404.

Schneider, T. A., Butryn, T. M., Furst, D. M., & Masucci, M. A. (2007). A qualitative examination of risk among elite adventure racers. *Journal of Sport Behavior, 30*(3), 330-357.

Self, D., & Findley, C. (2007). Psychology of Risk. In D. Booth & H. Thorpe (Eds.), *Berkshire encyclopedia of extreme sports* (pp. 246-254). Great Barrington, Massachusetts: Berkshire Publishing Group LLC.

Sisjord, M. K. (2009). Fast-girls, babes and the invisible girls. Gender relations in snowboarding. *Sport in Society, 12*(19), 1299-1316.

Sky, M. (2001). *The influence of media marketing on the intrinsic culture of 'extreme' sports.* Master's Thesis. University of Surrey Roehampton, London.

Slater, D. (1997). *Consumer culture and modernity*. Malden: Blackwell Publishing Inc.

Smart, B. (2010). *Consumer Society: Critical issues and environmental consequences*. London: SAGE Publications.

Smelser, N. J., & Swedberg, R. (2005). Introducing economic sociology. In N. J. Smelser & R. Swedberg (Eds.), *The handbook of economic sociology* (2nd ed.) (pp.3-25). Princeton: Princeton University Press.

Smith Maguire, J. (2008). *Fit for consumption. Sociology and the business of fitness*. New York: Routledge.

Smits, F. (2011). "Zo vrij als een vogel?" [Free as a bird?]. In J. Lucassen & E. Wisse (Eds.), *Sporten op de grens. Studies over leefstijlsporten [Sports on the border. Studies on lifestyle sports]* (pp. 59-75). Nieuwegein: Arko Sports Media.

Stewart, B., Smith, A. C. T., & Nicholson, M. (2003). Sport consumer typologies: A critical review. *Sport Marketing Quarterly 12*(4), 206-216.

Stranger, M. (1999). The aesthetics of risk. A study of surfing. *International Review of Sociology of Sport, 34*(3), 265-276.

Stranger, M. (2011). *Surfing life. Surface, substructure and the commodification of the sublime*. Farnham: Ashgate Publishing Limited.

Thorne, P. (2008). *World Indoor Snow Centres*.

Thorpe, H. (2005). Jibbing the gender order: Females in the snowboarding culture. *Sport in Society, 8*(1), 76-100.

Thorpe, H. (2007a). *Boarders, babes and bad-asses: Theories of female physical youth culture.* Dissertation. University of Waikato, Waikato.

Thorpe, H. (2007b). Gender. In D. Booth & H. Thorpe (Eds.), *Berkshire encyclopedia of extreme sports* (pp. 103-111). Great Barrington, Massachusetts: Berkshire Publishing Group.

Thorpe, H. (2007c). Snowboarding. In D. Booth & H. Thorpe (Eds.), *Berkshire encyclopedia of extreme sports* (pp. 286-294). Great Barrington, Massachusetts: Berkshire Publishing Group.

Thorpe, H. (2009). Bourdieu, feminism and female physical culture: Gender reflexivity and the habitus-field complex. *Sociology of Sport Journal, 26*(4), 491-516.

Thorpe, H. (2010). Bourdieu, gender reflexivity, and physical culture: A case of masculinities in the snowboarding field. *Journal of Sport & Social Issues, 34*(2), 176-214.

Tomlinson, A., Ravenscroft, N., Wheaton, B., & Gilchrist, P. (2005). *Lifestyle sports and national sport policy: An agenda for research*. London: Sport England.

Tomlinson, J. (2001). *Extreme sports; The illustrated guide to maximum adrenaline thrills*. London: Carlton Books.

Van Bottenburg, M. (1994). *Verborgen competitie; over de uiteenlopende populariteit van sporten* (Vol. 2). Nieuwegein: Arko Sports Media.

Van Bottenburg, M., & Salome, L. (2010). The indoorisation of outdoor sports. An exploration of the rise of lifestyle sports in artificial settings. *Leisure Studies, 29*(2), 143-160.

Van der Schaaf, M. (2011). Dare to be different. In J. Lucassen & E. Wisse (Eds.), *Sporten op de grens. Studies over leefstijlsporten [Sports on the border. Studies on lifestyle sports]* (pp. 136-155). Nieuwegein: Arko Sports Media.

Van Liere, M. (2010). *Bedevaart. De beleving van klimmen en religie [Pilgrimage. The experience of climbing and religion].* Master's thesis. Universiteit van Amsterdam, Amsterdam.

Vanreusel, B., & Renson, R. (1982). The social stigma of high-risk sport subcultures. In A. O. Dunleavy, Miracle, A.W., Rees, C.R. (Ed.), *Studies in the Sociology of Sport: Refereed proceedings of the 2nd annual conference of the North American Society for the Sociology of Sport* (pp. 183-202). Fort Worth: TCU Press.

Vanreusel, B., & Renson, R. (1984). Sport als subcultuur. Een andere kijk op sport als vrijetijdsgedrag [Sport subcultures. A different perspective on sport as leisure]. *Vrije tijd en Samenleving, 2*(3), 243-272.

Varley, P. (2006). Confecting adventure and playing with meaning: The Adventure Commodification Continuum. *Journal of Sport & Tourism, 11*(2), 173-194.

Waitt, G. (2008). 'Killing waves': Surfing, space and gender. *Social & Cultural Geography 9*(1), 75-94.

Wassong, S. (2007). Climbing. In D. Booth & H. Thorpe (Eds.), *Berkshire encyclopedia of extreme sports* (pp. 67-71). Great Barrington, Massachusetts: Berkshire Publishing Group.

Watters, R. (2003). The wrong side of the thin edge. In R. E. Rinehart & S. Sydnor (Eds.), *To the extreme. Alternative sports, inside and out* (pp. 257-266). Albany: State of New York University Press.

West, A., & Allin, L. (2010). Chancing your arm: The meaning of risk in rock climbing. *Sport in Society, 13*(7), 1234-1248.

Wheaton, B. (2000). Just Do It: Consumption, commitment, and identity in the windsurfing subculture. *Sociology of Sport Journal, 17*(3), 254-274.

Wheaton, B. (2003). Windsurfing; a subculture of commitment. In R. E. Rinehart & S. Sydnor (Eds.), *To the extreme. Alternative sports, inside and out* (pp. 75-101). Albany: State University of New York Press.

Wheaton, B. (2004a). Introduction; Mapping the lifestyle sport-scape. In B. Wheaton (Ed.), *Understanding lifestyle sports. Consumption, identity and difference* (pp. 1-28). London/New York: Routledge.

Wheaton, B. (2004b). 'New lads'? Competing masculinities in the windsurfing culture. In B. Wheaton (Ed.), *Understanding lifestyle sports; Consumption, identity and difference* (pp. 131-153). London: Routledge.

Wheaton, B. (2007). After sport culture: Rethinking sport and post-subcultural theory. *Journal of Sport & Social Issues, 31*(3), 283-307.

Wheaton, B. (2010). Introducing the consumption and representation of lifestyle sports. *Sport in Society, 13*(7), 1057-1081.

Wheaton, B., & Beal, B. (2003). 'Keeping it real': Subcultural media and the discourses of authenticity in alternative sport. *International Review for the Sociology of Sport, 38*(2), 155-167.

Wheaton, B., & Tomlinson, A. (2006). The changing gender order in sport? The case of windsurfing subcultures. In A. Tomlinson (Ed.), *The Sport Studies Reader* (pp. 392-399). London: Routledge.

Whitmore, J. G., & Borrie, W. T. (2005). *Exploring the usefulness of the dispositional flow scale for outdoor recreation activities.* Paper presented at the 2005 Northeastern Recreation Research Symposium, April 10-12, 2005, New York.

Willig, C. (2008). A phenomenological investigation of the experience of taking part in 'extreme sports'. *Journal of Health Psychology 13*(5), 690-702.

Worpole, K. (no date). The pleasure beaches of East London; Swimming in the city. *Rising East: The Journal of East London Studies, 4*(3), 172-181.

Young, A. (2004). Being the 'alternative' in an alternative subculture: Gender differences in the experiences of young women and men in skateboarding and snowboarding. *Avante, 10*(3), 69-81.

Zelizer, V. (2005). Culture and consumption. In N. Smelsner & R. Swedberg (Eds.), *Handbook of economic sociology* (pp. 331-354). Princeton: Princeton University Press.

Zukin, S., & Smith Maguire, J. (2004). Consumers and consumption. *Annual Review of Sociology, 30*, 173-197.

Chapter 2

Methodology

In order to study both sides of the cultural market of commercial lifestyle sports, and the interaction between the two sides, I adopted various methods in this research project. In this chapter, the procedures that were used to generate knowledge about the process known as *the indoorisation of outdoor sports* are introduced. First, however, it will be useful to discuss my role as a researcher in this study.

My role as cultural outsider

Not having the personal involvement and commitment of most lifestyle sport researchers in the sport they study, I am not an insider in the subcultures of lifestyle sports. I did not grow up in a snow sport area. My parents did not take me on beach holidays. During my college years, I did not try alternative sports such as hang gliding, canoeing or sport climbing. Instead, I was busy with organised, traditional sports such as rowing, cycling and volleyball. Yet lifestyle sports cultures are not entirely foreign to me; on holidays I have tried rafting, sport climbing, hiking, kayaking, mountain biking, and other lifestyle sports. Many friends are involved in the surf- and snowboard subcultures, and during years of research in the world of lifestyle sports, I have become more familiar with this enigmatic world.

While I was doing research on lifestyle sports, it was impossible not to get involved in these cultures. Interviews, occasional participation and observations made me enthusiastic and hungry: I wanted to reach a deep understanding, get to know these people, and get to know the variety of activities. After four years of studying *the indoorisation of outdoor sports*, questions have arisen. How do I fit into these cultures? Do I know these cultures from within? How do involved participants view me? I now know: as a researcher. I am not a participant; I am an outsider, a visitor to these sport subcultures.

During my research, I became aware of the fact that a substantial number of scholars from an array of disciplines within the social sciences and humanities (e.g. cultural geography, sociology, philosophy, cultural studies, critical studies of sport and physical culture) are personally involved in lifestyle sports. For example, Belinda Wheaton is a surfer herself, as are Douglas Booth and Greg Bennett, Holly Thorpe is active in snowboarding, Richard Celsi is a skydiver, Victoria Robinson is a climber and Terri

Schneider is a member of the adventure racing subculture. This involvement in and commitment to lifestyle sports has resulted in interesting narratives from the inside of exclusive and impassable cultures.

Researchers with an insider status in the subject under study have the advantage of data gathering in their own social network. For example, Robinson (2004) explored her own social network in studying male rock climbers, and Kay and Laberge (2004) used their network for approaching participants in adventure racing. Robinson (2004, p. 117) said: "As a climber myself and living in Sheffield, I had access to a wide variety of climbers for my study [...] As I climb and I knew some of the climbers personally, I had insider access both to finding my sample and to some prior knowledge of some of the interviewees in personal and social situations". Wheaton noted: "Had I been a female non-participant observer, it is doubtful that I would have been able to get such useful data" (1997, p. 165). Furthermore, whereas some sources and settings might be known or available to insider investigators, they are not to outsider investigators (Dandelion, 1997; LaSala, 2003). For instance, Wheaton (2004, p. 134) mentioned her status in the windsurfing subculture which enables her to participate in sporting and social activities, including "the time that female partners [of the male surfers] weren't 'welcome' in the group. I even had entry to the [men's] changing room". Beedie (2003, p. 151) was able to gain access to paying clientele from two adventure tourism companies because, as a mountain guide, he could offer his services to these companies. Laurendeau and Sharara (2008, p. 31) also drew on personal connections to generate the interview and observational data in their study on women in snowboarding and skydiving, and Young (2004, p. 71) relied "on personal contacts to gain referrals and access potential participants". As Dandelion (1997) argued, when researching your own world, you know *what* to ask and *whom* to ask.

Although the insider position of researchers has several advantages, it is also subject of a long-term academic debate. Insider research is typically seen as problematic because insiders are too close to the field of study (Brannick & Coghlan, 2007). The debate has raised issues about the methodological advantages and liabilities of the so-called insider/outsider positionality (Chavez, 2008). Without going into detail about researchers' assumptions about the nature of social reality, knowledge production and the claims that can be made on the basis of research, I agree with Chavez that "qualitative researchers, outsiders or insiders, cannot be assured that their observations, interpretations, and representations are not affected by their various identities or

positionalities" (p. 475). Every researcher, insider *or* outsider, has to take into account the complexity of the researcher's role.

As a non-participant, and thus an outsider researcher myself, I was intrigued by the personal commitment of many of the lifestyle sport researchers. I was often somewhat jealous of these researchers who were at ease with their research topics, their apparently uncomplicated way of data gathering and the fact that they were researching their own world in which they felt comfortable and valuable. In my research, I found that some information was not easily available for me. For example, since I am not a surfer, I am not familiar with the best surf spots in The Netherlands, from which to approach the Dutch surfing subculture. And, not being a climber resulted, sometimes, in feeling a little lost during open climbing nights at climbing walls. However, during the data collection stages in my study, I became more and more familiar with the lifestyle sport cultures and, being increasingly better informed about the cultures, I also felt much more confident in my role as a researcher.

On the other hand, I often experienced a fairly narrow perspective on the part of insider researchers with regard to the developments in lifestyle sports. In many scholarly studies of lifestyle sports, the analysis is limited to the young, white, male core participants, and *their* perspectives on sociocultural processes and developments in the sports (Donnelly, 2006). For example, processes of commercialisation are often examined from the perspective of the core participants. This focus on core participants seems to be related to the scholar's position in these sports. As cultural insiders, most of them are or have been engaged in the subcultures under study, and resided among the 'core groups' of these sports. Deep analysis and recurrence of the same themes and subjects enabled a partial picture of lifestyle sports and lifestyle sport participants to be created and reproduced. Although a number of research articles, books and chapters in the field of lifestyle sports have revealed lifestyle sport cultures to be highly fragmented and increasingly culturally heterogeneous (e.g. Donnelly, 2006; Robinson, 2008; Spowart, Burrows, & Shaw, 2010; Thorpe, 2009), there is a chance that the continued use of qualitative methods to study a small group of core participants has facilitated a way of 'stereotyping' lifestyle sports. The same participants have been emphasised constantly, the same difficulties have been highlighted time after time, and the same insider's view on these subcultures has been constructed and stressed again and again. This may have generated a partial picture of lifestyle sports with possibly a blind spot as regards the increasingly differentiated and heterogeneous groups of lifestyle sports participants and the various interpretations and practices they have introduced. Thus,

although the insider status of lifestyle sport researchers may offer significant potential benefits, personal objectives can cause biases which, albeit unwittingly, taint the research findings.

Important developments and debates in lifestyle sports – such as the emergence of artificial environments – may be ignored or neglected by insider researchers. Building on Donnelly (2006), I can state that the position of core participants has been privileged in lifestyle sports research. Although it is logical to study core members of the subcultures of lifestyle sports (after all these sports are characterised by a typical *lifestyle*, and the core members in particular adopt these lifestyles), I support Donnelly in that studying new participant groups is crucial for understanding the development of lifestyle sports from the early 1990s until today. I argue that an outsider vision on developments in the world of lifestyle sports and a mixed-method approach focused on the different actors in this market might reflect today's situation in the world of lifestyle sports differently from what insider researchers have shown hitherto. It is possible that my outsider status in lifestyle sports has given me a different perspective and understanding of these sports compared with insider researchers. There may be more than one truth: different researchers have different perspectives and they create their own truth, instead of 'the' truth. Instead of gathering factual knowledge and approximating the truth as much as possible, all research is 'infected' because it is conducted from the perspective of the researcher (Gouldner, 1970). Together, the different perspectives and various angles of research result in a complete understanding of a cultural market. My outsider viewpoint thus contributes to the various insider research perspectives on recent developments in lifestyle sports.

In the current study, qualitative and quantitative methods are combined. The triangulation of quantitative (a web-based survey) and qualitative (in-depth interviews, observations and content analyses) methods informed me about the various dimensions of the phenomenon and stimulated me to approach the subject of the research from different angles (Jick, 1979). These different approaches have resulted in a rich explanation of the research problem, as well as serving as a critical test for checking the findings. Although I am not claiming that the methodological techniques used in this study have enabled me to obtain a *complete* understanding of the topic under investigation, I argue that the triangulation of data has enabled me to make a contribution towards a greater understanding of the motivations, experiences and behaviours of different groups of actors in this cultural field. In addition, the multi-

method investigation of consumption in this study fits the scientific approach of the CCT researchers, who embrace methodological pluralism.

Literature review

The starting point for studying the developments in which outdoor lifestyle sports are shaped into commodified activities, was getting to know the world of lifestyle sports. The developments that these sports have seen in the last decades and the meanings that are ascribed to these activities formed the basis for the study. An extensive review of literature related to lifestyle sports, including analyses of mass and niche media, ethnographic studies and historical analyses – counting around 100 journal articles plus several books, individual book chapters and a number of dissertations and policy documents – has informed me about the fascinating culture of lifestyle sports.

However, my study of the indoorisation process is not restricted to the cultures of lifestyle sports alone. Therefore, the literature review was expanded with literature about leisure and the commodification of leisure, consumer cultures, the experience economy, the concept of authenticity, consumer and producer interaction and (sport)subcultures.

Content analyses

I analysed textual and visual documents including websites, leaflets and brochures, policy documents, positioning papers, future plans, videos and photos. The textual and visual materials were analysed as cultural texts. They were not taken as the only 'real' portrayals of the marketplace phenomenon, but as sources that provide access to particular accounts of those phenomena, in and through which social reality is constructed (Moisander & Valtonen, 2006). These texts were mainly used to interpret the meanings, presentation, goals and identity of the producers and the settings.

In-depth interviews

In order to obtain information about the meanings that producers and consumers attach to artificial lifestyle sport settings, I conducted a total of 42 in-depth interviews with respondents from both groups. Of these interviews, 26 were directed at the supply side of the consumption market of lifestyle sports, and 16 interviews were directed at lifestyle sport participants. Several respondents were interviewed a number of times. The procedure for the in-depth interviews with the producers is outlined below, followed by the procedure for the interviews with the consumers.

In-depth interviews with the producers of commercialised lifestyle sports were used for three main reasons. First, since the number of artificial lifestyle sport settings in the Dutch context is limited, the number of owners and managers is relatively small. To obtain rich data from this small group, in-depth interviews were conducted with the supply side of this market. Second, the use of this qualitative method can enhance the effectiveness and the flexibility of exploratory research. Interviews allowed unexpected data to emerge, data which might not emerge from a more structured format (Gratton & Jones, 2004). Through in-depth interviews, issues that were not derived from literature or from earlier initiative interviews came to the surface and created new opportunities and leads for the study. Furthermore, the interviews were appropriate for establishing trust and rapport. During the research, the interviewees from the supply side became increasingly informal, friendly and supportive, resulting in possibilities to talk about difficult or complicated issues such as bankruptcy and sustainability.

In the first stage of the research, I contacted all indoor lifestyle sport centres in The Netherlands via email about the current research project and invited them to cooperate. Depending on their willingness to contribute to the project, I selected a range of centres, reflecting various sport activities, various locations throughout The Netherlands, and various years of opening.

In the first phase of the data collection process, the interviews mainly had an exploratory purpose: my first aim was to get to know the market and to become familiar with current issues and trends in this market as a cultural outsider. In the next phase of the data collection, specific topics came up for discussion during the interviews, such as Corporate Environmental Responsibility (this term is explained in detail in chapter 7) and the interaction with the consumer. Table 1 describes the interviews with the producers in terms of the sport branch in which the producers operate, their role in the settings, and the purpose of the interview.

Table 1 Interviewee information production side

	Sport branch	Role in culture/occupation	Purpose of interview
1.	Climbing	Owner climbing centre, climber	Exploratory
2.	Climbing	Employee climbing centre, climber	Exploratory

3.	Climbing	Owner climbing centre, climber	Exploratory
4.	Scuba diving	Owner scuba diving centre, scuba diver	Exploratory
5.	Snow sports (ski & snowboard)	Owner several snow centres, skier	Exploratory
6.	Scuba diving	Manager scuba diving centre, scuba diver	Exploratory
7.	Snow sports (ski & snowboard)	Advisor and designer snow centres	Exploratory
8.	Skydiving	Owner skydiving centre	Exploratory
9.	Snow sports (ski & snowboard)	Owner several snow centres, skier	Exploratory
10.	Climbing	Owner climbing centre	Exploratory
11.	Climbing	Owner climbing centre, climber	Exploratory
12.	Climbing	Manager climbing centre, climber	Exploratory
13.	White water sports (rafting & kayaking)	Owner white water centre	Exploratory
14.	Climbing	Owner climbing centre, climber	Exploratory
15.	Climbing	Owner climbing centre, climber	Exploratory
16.	Snow sports (ski & snowboard)	Manager snow centre, skier	Exploratory
17.	Snow sports (ski & snowboard)	Manager snow centre, snowboarder	Exploratory
18.	Snow sports (ski & snowboard)	Manager snow and leisure centre, snowboarder	Exploratory, Corporate Env. Responsibility
19.	Skydiving	Manager skydiving centre	Exploratory, Corporate Env. Responsibility

20.	White water sports (rafting & kayaking)	Owner white water centre	Interaction processes, Corporate Env. Responsibility
21.	White water sports (rafting & kayaking)	Manager white water centre	Interaction processes, Corporate Env. Responsibility
22.	White water sports (rafting & kayaking)	Manager white water centre	Corporate Env. Responsibility
23.	Skydiving	Owner skydiving centre	Interaction processes, Corporate Env. Responsibility
24.	Skydiving	Owner skydiving centre	Interaction processes, Corporate Env. Responsibility
25.	Snow sports (ski & snowboard)	Manager snow centre, snowboarder	Interaction processes, Corporate Env. Responsibility
26.	Snow sports (ski & snowboard)	Manager snow centre, snowboarder	Interaction processes, Corporate Env. Responsibility

In order to study the experiences and interpretation of commercially offered lifestyle sports from the consumers' perspective, I conducted 16 interviews with lifestyle sport participants. In these interviews, aspects of the popularisation and commercialisation processes in lifestyle sports and how experiences were changed as a result of the indoorisation of the sports came up for discussion. Of these interviews with lifestyle sport participants, 81 semi-structured interviews conducted in 13 indoor sports centres in The Netherlands were not included. These interviews formed the basis for the study reported in chapter 3, and were conducted by 31 students on two courses of the Master's Programme for Sport Policy and Sport Management at Utrecht University in 2008.

During the research project, I used a process called 'snowballing'. Through snowballing, my respondents recruited future subjects from among their acquaintances. The first interviews were conducted with lifestyle sport participants within my personal network, including friends, students and colleagues of different ages and backgrounds. These interviewees introduced me to their personal network, and so on. A broad range of lifestyle sport participants, from authentic, outdoor to new, indoor participants in lifestyle sports, from novices to well-experienced participants, was interviewed. Table 2

describes the sex, age, sport and participation type of these consumers (as in chapter 5).

Table 2 Interviewee information consumption side

	Sex	Age	Sport	Participant type
1.	Female	22	Climbing	Novice, mainly indoor
2.	Male	38	Skydiving	Core, mainly indoor
3.	Female	28	Surfing, snowboarding	Recreational, mainly outdoor
4.	Male	44	Climbing, skiing	Core, mainly indoor
5.	Male	36	Diving	Core, mainly outdoor
6.	Male	43	Rafting, kayaking	Core, indoor & outdoor
7.	Male	23	Climbing	Recreational, indoor & outdoor
8.	Male	44	Climbing	Core, indoor & outdoor
9.	Male	53	Kayaking	Core, mainly outdoor, board member sport federation*
10.	Male	26	Climbing	Core, mainly outdoor, board member sport federation
11.	Female	38	Scuba diving	Recreational, outdoor, board member sport federation
12.	Male	30	Surfing	Core, outdoor, board member sport federation
13.	Male	48	Rafting	Recreational, outdoor, board member sport federation
14.	Male	36	Freestyle skiing	Core, outdoor, board member sport federation

15.	Male	42	Kayaking	Core, mainly indoor, board member sport federation
16.	Female	25	Climbing	Recreational, mainly indoor

* Although board members of sport federations are not strictly part of the demand side of the market of indoorised lifestyle sports, these interviewees were all participants in the sport as well as board members.

All interviews in the study lasted between 40 and 150 minutes, and each interview was audio-taped. As there is always a degree of interpretation involved in the process of transcribing, each tape was transcribed verbatim as far as possible. The transcripts were analysed inductively, with the interview guide used as an organisational tool.

Web based survey

In order to study consumer preferences, motivations and experiences, I enriched the interviews with a web based survey examining demographics, psychographics and participant behaviour of lifestyle sports participants in non-natural and natural settings for the practice of lifestyle sports.

Lifestyle sport participants are seen as a 'hidden' population and therefore difficult to reach (Browne, 2005). To explore the profiles of the geographically wide spread participants of different lifestyle sports, and to study differences between participants in natural and artificial environments, I used a web based survey. In order to reach a substantial number of lifestyle sports participants, three different methods for distributing the survey were used:

I A total of 13 centres offering artificial environments for lifestyle sports in The Netherlands distributed the link to the online survey in their newsletters, on their website and/or in an email to their visitors. Unfortunately, not all artificial centres recorded their visitors' email addresses, so a direct mailing of the survey was not possible.

II A link to the online survey was posted on over 30 online forums, bulletin boards and websites which were of interest to lifestyle sport participants. Recent research of the media preferences of extreme sports participants found that 71 per cent frequently use online forums or bulletin boards (Thorpe, 2007, p. 92). For that reason, the use of online forums was a quick and easy way to reach lifestyle sport participants.

III The recruitment technique of snowball sampling was used. An email with an introduction and a link to the survey was sent to interested people in the researcher's own network, and these people were asked to send the survey to other participants in their own social network.

As a result, a total of 372 questionnaires formed the basis for describing the demographic, psychographic and behavioural characteristics of the sample. ANOVAs (followed by post-hoc Tukey tests) were used for statistical comparison of the differences between groups.

The ability to generalise the findings from these data is limited due to the digital way the sample was reached. An online survey posted on forums and websites may generate a volunteer sample because the respondents are self-selected (Kaye & Johnson, 1999). However, since there are several difficulties to reach an as varied as possible sample of lifestyle sport participants (indoor as well as outdoor participants, novice as well as core participants, recreational as well as (semi)professional participants), the use of an online survey and self-selected sample appeared to be the best possible method (the limitations of the method are described in detail in chapter 5).

Observations

During various stages of the research, I used observations to measure actual behaviour instead of reported behaviour, without disturbing or affecting the social environment (Gratton & Jones, 2004). During the observations, field notes were written in order to record structural and organisational features (what the actual environment looked like and how it was used), people (how they behaved and interacted), dialogue and an everyday diary of events as they occurred chronologically in the field. The extensive fieldnotes were used for interpreting findings from in-depth interviews and for 'reading' complex processes which were not brought up for discussion in the interviews because of their complex and abstract character. In the first stages of the research, these observations were mainly used to get to know the lifestyle sport participants and to become acquainted with the artificial environments. In the last stage of the research, my observations were deliberately focused on interaction processes between producers and consumers.

References

Beedie, P. (2003). Mountain guiding and adventure tourism: Reflections on the choreography of the experience. *Leisure Studies, 22*(2), 147-167.

Brannick, T., & Coghlan, D. (2007). In defense of being "native": The case for insider academic research. *Organizational Research Methods, 10*(1), 59-74.

Browne, K. (2005). Snowball sampling: Using social networks to research non-heterosexual women. *International Journal for Social Research Methodology, 8*(1), 47-60.

Chavez, C. (2008). Conceptualizing from the inside: Advantages, complications, and demands on insider positionality. *The Qualitative Report, 13*(3), 474-494.

Dandelion, B. P. (1997). Insider dealing: researching your own private world. In A. Tomlinson & S. Fleming (Eds.), *Ethics, sport and leisure. Crises and critiques* (pp. 181-201). Oxford: Meyer & Meyer Sport.

Donnelly, M. (2006). Studying extreme sports: Beyond the core participants. *Journal of Sport & Social Issues, 30*(2), 219-224.

Gratton, C., & Jones, I. (2004). *Research methods for sport studies*. London: Routledge.

Jick, T. D. (1979). Mixing qualitative and quantitative methods: Triangulation in action. *Administrative Science Quarterly, 24*(4), 602-611.

Kay, J., & Laberge, S. (2004). 'Mandatory equipment'. Women in adventure racing. In B. Wheaton (Ed.), *Understanding lifestyle sports. Consumption, identity and difference* (pp. 154-174). London/New York: Routledge.

Kaye, B. K., & Johnson, T. J. (1999). Research methodology: Taming the cyber frontier. Techniques for improving online surveys. *Social Science Computer Review, 17*, 323-337.

LaSala, M. (2003). When interviewing "family": Maximizing the insider advantage in the qualitative study of lesbians and gay men. In W. Meezan & J. I. Martin (Eds.), *Research methods with gay, lesbian, and transgender populations*. Binghamton: Harrington Park Press.

Laurendeau, J., & Sharara, N. (2008). "Women could be every bit as good as guys": Reproductive and resistant agency in two "action" sports. *Journal of Sport & Social Issues, 32*(24), 24-47.

Moisander, J., & Valtonen, A. (2006). *Qualitative Marketing Research. A cultural approach*. London: Sage Publications.

Pink Dandelion, B. (1997). Insider dealing: researching your own private world In A. Tomlinson & S. Fleming (Eds.), *Ethics, sport and leisure. Crises and critiques* (pp. 181-201). Oxford: Meyer & Meyer Sport.

Robinson, V. (2004). Taking risks; Identity, masculinities and rock climbing. In B. Wheaton (Ed.), *Understanding lifestyle sports. Consumption, identity and difference* (pp. 113-130). London/New York: Routledge.

Robinson, V. (2008). *Everyday masculinities and extreme sport: Male identity and rock climbing*. Oxford: Berg Publishers.

Spowart, L., Burrows, L., & Shaw, L. (2010). 'I just eat, sleep and dream of surfing': When surfing meets motherhood. *Sport in Society, 13*(7), 1186-1203.

Thorpe, H. (2007). Extreme media. In D. Booth & H. Thorpe (Eds.), *Berkshire encyclopedia of extreme sports* (pp. 90-94). Great Barrington, Massachusetts: Berskshire Publishing Group.

Thorpe, H. (2009). Bourdieu, feminism and female physical culture: Gender reflexivity and the habitus-field complex. *Sociology of Sport Journal, 26*(4), 491-516.

Wheaton, B. (1997). Covert ethnography and the ethics of research. In A. Tomlinson & S. Fleming (Eds.), *Ethics, sport and leisure. Crises and critiques* (pp. 163-180). Oxford: Meyer & Meyer Sport.

Wheaton, B. (2004). 'New lads'? Competing masculinities in the windsurfing culture. In B. Wheaton (Ed.), *Understanding lifestyle sports; Consumption, identity and difference* (pp. 131-153). London/New York: Routledge.

Young, A. (2004). Being the 'alternative' in an alternative subculture: Gender differences in the experiences of young women and men in skateboarding and snowboarding. *Avante, 10*(3), 69-81.

Chapter 3

An exploration of the rise of lifestyle sports in artificial settings

Abstract

During the last twenty years, a remarkable new type of service has been developed in the world of sports, which can be described as *the indoorisation of outdoor sports*. Typical outdoor sports like climbing, skiing, surfing, rowing, and skydiving, which used to be exclusively practised in a natural environment of mountains, oceans, rivers and the air, are now being offered for consumption in safe, predictable and controlled indoor centres. The present chapter emphasises the rise of indoor *lifestyle* sports, such as rafting, snowboarding, skydiving and surfing. It discusses the conditions under and ways in which commercial entrepreneurs in The Netherlands have created this market, the meanings that they have ascribed to their centres and the dilemmas with which they have been confronted. It is argued that the rise of this economic market cannot be understood if it is solely interpreted as the result of economic, technological or natural developments. These economic activities were also embedded in and influenced by shared understandings and their representations in structured fields of outdoor sports, mainstream sports and leisure experience activities. A better understanding of the indoorisation of outdoor lifestyle sports can be achieved by recognising how these structures and cultures pervaded the rise of this new market.

Keywords: sociology; economy; culture; lifestyle; sport; commercialisation

Van Bottenburg, M., & Salome, L. (2010). The indoorisation of outdoor sports. An exploration of the rise of lifestyle sports in artificial settings. *Leisure Studies, 29*(2), 143-160.

Introduction

Since the late 1980s, there has been a paradoxical development in the sports world, which can be best described as the *indoorisation of outdoor sports*. Outdoor lifestyle sports, such as surfing, skating, rowing, alpine skiing, biathlon, cross-country skiing, snowboarding, mountain climbing and even ski jumping and parachute jumping, which used to be exclusively practised in a natural environment of mountains, oceans, lakes, rivers and the air, are now being offered by entrepreneurs in safe, predictable and controlled indoor centres.

The indoorisation of outdoor lifestyle sports has mainly taken place during the past twenty years, although earlier examples in mainstream sports can also be found. At the end of the nineteenth century, for instance, various miniature versions of sports, such as croquet, bowls, golf and lawn tennis, which were played by members of the social elite in their gardens and on their estates, emerged. Table tennis, for example, started as a sort of mini-tennis that could be played indoors as parlour game in bad weather or after dinner. Dining-tables were used as the playing surface, and a type of net was improvised. Entrepreneurs were quick to seize the commercial advantages of this game (Van Bottenburg, 2001). Other examples of early indoorisation are 'futsal' or indoor soccer and swimming.

During the last quarter of the twentieth century, the indoorisation of outdoor sports occurred on a far greater scale; mainly as a result of the quest for more variation in the fitness branch. The traditional supply of weight-training apparatus was expanded with the introduction of cardiovascular equipment, which meant that people could now run indoors on the treadmill, cycle on the indoor exercise bike or home trainer and row on the indoor rowing machine. While this development certainly sparks the sociological imagination, the process of indoorisation that has developed worldwide outside the fitness branch provides even more food for sociological thought.

A global market of indoor complexes has been developed offering typically outdoor lifestyle sports, such as climbing in the climbing gym, ice climbing up indoor ice walls, diving in indoor diving pools, surfing on artificial waves, skiing and ski jumping in indoor ski centres and parachute jumping in vertical wind tunnels (Loynes, 1998). When discussing the indoorisation of outdoor sports in this article, the focus is on so called lifestyle sports (Wheaton, 2004). Various authors use different definitions to describe these new sports, and the difficulties to capture all of the elements involved in these new activities in a single term are widespread known. Rinehart (2002) uses the term 'alternative sports', Midol (1993) mentions 'whiz' sports, while Tomlinson (2001) holds

the definition of 'extreme sports'.[V] Sky (2001) and Wheaton (2004) reject the use of 'extreme' because of the devaluation of the term due to the use in media and by marketers, and the fact that 'extreme' is certainly not the way participants themselves interpret the activities. In the current paper, Wheaton's definition of lifestyle sports is followed (Wheaton, 2004).

It will be clear from the outset that these lifestyle sports are characterised by meanings and properties, which do not appear to lend themselves to being practised in a reconstructed indoor environment. Indeed, these outdoor sports usually take place in wild and desolate natural places, which have not been prepared for sporting activities in advance. The practitioners of these sports extol the virtues being close to nature and being part of natural sceneries. This goes hand in hand with a sense of adventure, uncertainty and danger; those who practise these sports wilfully seek out the upper limits and take considered risks (cf. Stranger, 1999). At first sight, this experience of nature and a 'just do it' kind of attitude (Wheaton, 2000) is at odds with the artificial and calculated character of the indoor sports centres that have been developed. Whereas those who participate in the outdoor variants of the sports are totally wrapped up in nature, the indoor practitioners must necessarily surrender themselves to technology. While the buzz from outdoor sports comes from adventure, uncertainty and danger, the indoor variants inescapably embrace the elements of control, predictability and calculability.

There is a similar tension with respect to the mutual bond and subculture that has developed among the participants of these sports. Despite the informal ties that are common to the outdoor lifestyle sports, the hard core enthusiasts form various tightly-knit social groups, which outsiders find difficult to penetrate. It takes years of practice and participation – and thus also a major investment in cultural capital – to master the techniques of these sports and to appropriate the shared cultural significance of the sporting styles, clothing, materials, language use and the like (Bourdieu, 1984; Wheaton, 2004). In contrast, gaining access to an indoor sports centre seems to demand no more effort than simply buying a ticket. In comparison to the subcultures that the fervent aficionados of, for example, snowboarding and surfing have built up from the grassroots, visits to the indoor halls are likely to have a fleeting and irregular character from which very few shared meanings can develop. Loynes (1998, p. 35)

[V] Terms like 'alternative', 'extreme' 'lifestyle', 'action' and 'whiz' sports refer to different, but partly overlapping groups of sports that show 'family resemblances' in the Wittgensteinian sense of the term (Tomlinson, Ravenscroft, Wheaton, & Gilchrist, 2005).

mentions to this with the term "recreational capitalism". We show that there are significant differences in indoor and outdoor versions of the same sports.

The indoorisation of these sports raises many questions. How and why have entrepreneurs succeeded in offering these typical outdoor lifestyle sports in a controlled indoor environment? How do they provide efficiency, safety and predictability (i.e. independent of the geographical and climatological conditions), while also offering sufficient variation, challenges and changes to hold the consumer's interest and continue surprising them? How does the way in which the outdoor sports (and above all the lifestyle sports) are packaged and marketed as indoor sports influence the way that they are experienced, consumed and interpreted by consumers? What meanings do consumers attach to participating in these outdoor and lifestyle sports in indoor centres and how does this relate to the meanings attached to participating in these sports outdoors?

As part of a broader research study into a variety of commercial complexes where outdoor sports are presented in an indoor environment, this article offers a first theoretical exploratory interpretation of the process of indoorisation of outdoor lifestyle sports, or, as Eichberg has called it, the "artificialisation and interiorisation of the body" (Eichberg, 1998, p.60). Following Eichberg, we will argue that natural (to take shelter from bad weather), health or medical and technological explanations do not go far enough. The changes in space are indelibly social, related to broader processes like commercialisation, globalisation and individualisation (Eichberg, 1998, p. 60 and further). In a subsequent PhD-project these processes in relation to the activities will be further explored. In this project, sociohistorical developments, participant profiles, questions of ecology and sustainability, the tension between consumers and producers as well as sensation seeking in indoor lifestyle sports will be highlighted.

In the present article, the focus will be rather on the supply side of the market than on the demand side. It will discuss the conditions under and ways in which producers have created this market, the meanings that they have ascribed to their centres, how these meanings have been marketed in an attempt to reach a broad public and the dilemmas with which they have been confronted in the process. Furthermore, it will show that the ways in which commercial entrepreneurs have created this market cannot be understood without taking into account the social networks, institutional structures and power relations in which they are embedded and the shared understandings that give meaning and sense to goods and services exchanged on the market, and indeed, the exchange

itself (Granovetter, 1985; Guillén, Collins, England, & Meyer, 2002; Smelser & Swedberg, 2005).

In order to do so, attention will be devoted to the way in which the rise of this economic market has been embedded in (1) the structure of the fields in which the new indoor centres in this market are positioned (Bourdieu, 1988), (2) the diverse cultures – in the sense of shared meanings and their representations (Zelizer, 2005) – that have developed in these fields, and (3) the broader social processes, which have occurred relatively autonomously from individual action, but have still had a structuring influence on it (Elias, 1977).

Methodology

The research project was carried out between January 2007 and June 2008, with the help of 31 students in two courses of the Master's Program for Sport Policy and Sport Management at Utrecht University. These students conducted 81 semi-structured interviews in 13 indoor sports centres in The Netherlands (indoor centres for beach volleyball, cycling, golf, skiing, skydiving, surfing, and tennis, two fitness (spinning) centres and three indoor skating centres). The interviews were held with 12 owners/managers, 7 trainers and instructors, 50 indoor sports participants and 7 participants in corresponding outdoor sports.

As the indoorisation of outdoor *lifestyle* sports is the subject of this article, we restricted our analysis here to those centres which most pronouncedly represent the combination of risks, sensation, freedom, and adventure on the one hand, and artificiality, simulation of nature and commodification on the other: Skidôme in Rucphen, SnowWorld in Zoetermeer and Landgraaf, Dutch Water Dreams in Zoetermeer and Indoor Skydive in Roosendaal. In the research period, these centres were visited by the authors and eleven master's students, and owners were interviewed.

Besides the interviews, the analysis was based on textual and visual materials of the five selected indoor sports centres, ranging from institutional documents, factual accounts, press releases, media texts, leaflets, websites, photographs and videos. The textual and visual materials were analysed as cultural texts. They were not taken as the only 'real' portrayals of the marketplace phenomenon, but as sources that provide access to particular accounts of those phenomena, in and through which social reality is constructed (Moisander & Valtonen, 2006).

In addition to the interviews and analysis of textual and visual materials, data was obtained from observations in the centres. However, for the purpose of this article,

these observations have not been processed yet. They will be expanded in the near future, as part of a broader, longer and in depth PhD project on the indoorisation of outdoor sports by one of the authors. In this four year project, the methodologies mentioned above will also be extended with consumer surveys, more in-depth interviews and additional textual analyses. Methodologies used in this first explorative study serve a broader goal: to discover questions and to map this specific market for the first time.

The construction of a market

The fact that the indoor centres for outdoor sports have rapidly been able to establish themselves across the globe cannot be seen independently of the acceleration in globalisation, commercialisation and technological change, which has occurred during the past quarter of a century.

The initiatives for these centres were taken by internationally oriented entrepreneurs who can be regarded as outsiders to the mainstream sports world. As far as can be ascertained, the world's first indoor ski centre was opened at the end of the 1980s. At least, that is what SnowDome in Adelaide, South Australia, claimed when it opened its doors in 1988. This idea was also taken up elsewhere, first in Japan, and then later mainly in countries that had poor skiing conditions, but which had nonetheless developed a ski culture partly as a result of their increasing affluence and the rise in popularity of winter sports vacations. By the beginning of the twenty-first century, The Netherlands, Great Britain, Belgium and Germany had the most indoor ski centres. In the meantime, one can find these centres all over the world, even in desert regions, such as Bahrain.[VI]

In The Netherlands there are nowadays 8 indoor ski centres with real snow, about 25 professional climbing centres with artificial climbing walls, an indoor skydiving facility and an artificial raft and surf accommodation. The company SnowWorld runs two of the artificial snow centres and has far-reaching plans to establish similar complexes in other European countries through a stock-market floatation.[VII]

Skidôme in Rucphen was the first indoor ski centre in The Netherlands. It was built in 1995 by Nicky Broos, an independent entrepreneur. The idea that Broos realised

[VI] See http://www.indoorsnow.com/english/worldindoor-new-e.htm; http://www.skiresort.de/allgemein/skihallen.htm; last accessed by the authors on 24 January 2008.

[VII] *FEM Business*, 28 June 2007.

originally came from a Dutch construction and architect company, which had seen one of the very first indoor centres that had been built in Japan in 1993.[VIII] With the 160 meter (525 foot) long slope that he built, he incurred, in the words of Thorstein Veblen, "the penalty of taking the lead". Later ski centres, such as SnowWorld in Zoetermeer and particularly in Landgraaf, which with its 520 meter (1706 feet) ski slope is one of the longest indoor ski runs in the world, would go on to profit from these earlier experiences and new technologies.

The same largely applies to the indoor skydiving and indoor surfing centres: a recent, rapid global expansion, which has been fostered by technological innovations and new commercial initiatives. In 1991, the American Thomas Lochtefeld invented the so-called FlowRider, an invention which made a new board sport possible, christened as 'flowboarding'. The FlowRider first came into use in New Braunfels, Texas, in 1991. Within just a few years, Miyazaki (Japan) and Bo (Norway) followed suit. The FlowRider is now being used across the globe, predominantly in the United States and Europe, but also in Japan, Korea, China, Saudi Arabia and South Africa.[IX] Similar and competing developments also took place elsewhere. In New Zealand, ASR Limited developed the Artificial Surf Reefs, which were also put into operation outside of New Zealand – in the United States, Great Britain and South Africa – in collaboration with other companies.[X] In addition, in Japan a major steel concern, the NKK Corporation, developed an alternative business when shipbuilding went into decline. Due to its shipbuilding activities, NKK had gained significant experience in generating waves and used this to develop Wild Blue Yokohama, a beach with an ocean and waves, complete with plastic palm trees, set in a large building.[XI]

The company Dutch Water Dreams in Zoetermeer, The Netherlands, has offered consumers the possibility of surfing indoors since 2006. The initiator of this centre, which cost some 32.5 million euros (at that time ca. 41.5 million USD), was Tobias Walraven, a celebrated entrepreneur who, amongst other things, set up and ran SNT, a

[VIII] See http://www.dakweb.nl/RH/96-8/96-8-32.htm; last accessed by the author on 24 January 2008.

[IX] *Flowboarding*, flowriding magazine, WaveLoch, first issue, 2007. See also http://www.flowrider.com/english/installations.html; last accessed by the authors on 24 January 2008.

[X] See *The New Zealand Herald*, 31 March 2006, and http://www.surfparks.com/home.php, last visited by the authors on 24 January 2008.

[XI] *New York Times*, 15 June 1993.

call-centre that is quoted on the stock exchange. He bought the French company Hydrostadium's rights to construct a white water sports complex; this company had already built the official Olympic white water course in Barcelona and Sydney, and was also commissioned to build the Olympic course in Beijing. To add indoor surfing to his concept, Walraven established a partnership with Thomas Lochtefeld's WaveLoch.[XII]

The vertical wind tunnel for skydiving had originally been developed during the 1950s and 1960s for military purposes and space travel. The first commercial applications of this technology were realised around 1980 and were then replicated worldwide during the 1990s; first in Japan and Switzerland. There are now more than twenty commercial indoor skydiving centres in the United States and Europe.

Indoor Skydive Roosendaal, the very first indoor skydiving centre in The Netherlands, opened its doors in 2006. This centre has a vertical wind tunnel, which has an air current with a speed of 230 kilometres an hour (143 mph) so that visitors can experience the free-fall of a parachutist. This centre was the initiative of the husband and wife team André and Corrie Kempenaars. They became familiar with the vertical wind tunnel during a parachute jumping course in the United States.[XIII]

Interviews and analyses with relation to the mentioned centres and other, international initiatives, demonstrate that commercial motives lie behind all the innovations in sport facilities that they achieved. In this regard, they were not only able to profit from the politics or market deregulation and liberalisation in general, but also the increasing receptiveness of the public, government and sports organisations to commercially run sports facilities in countries where these facilities were traditionally financed and managed by a coalition of national sporting organisations, local sporting clubs and national and local governments. As will later be discussed, the Dutch national government and the NOC*NSF (Dutch Olympic Committee/Dutch Sports Federation) made funding available for the realisation of one of the indoor centres; local government agencies adopted a helpful and flexible stance with respect to issuing permits; and the sports umbrella organisation and sport federations entered into collaborative relationships with some of the indoor centres with a view to the advancement of elite sport. National borders, national regulatory bodies and national cultural traditions have hardly created any impediment to the global dissemination of these commercial

[XII] Prospectus Dutch Water Dreams Bonds June 2007.

[XIII] See *De Ondernemer. Informatieblad voor ondernemers* in Zuid-West Nederland, February 2006; last accessed by the authors on 24 January 2008.

innovations, which have then been given their own local character (Appadurai, 1996; Castells, 1997).

It is self-evident that the developments in new construction, cooling and insulation techniques and the achievement of innovations in water, snow and atmospheric control, which have been enabled by advanced technology, were prerequisites for the indoorisation of outdoor sports. Yet this does not mean that these technological developments should be seen as the driving force behind indoorisation. In so doing one would run the risk of ignoring the initial idea of using these new technological possibilities to achieve such ends. The development, realisation and response to this idea, and thus the global market of producers and consumers, which has emerged with the indoorisation of outdoor sports, should be viewed as a social construction, in the sense that the use and meaning of these new services had yet to be defined (Collins, 2004).

The idea of offering outdoor sports indoors did not arise from a pre-existent consumer need or interest. "Consumer demand", argues Randall Collins in *Interaction ritual chains*, "is not simply an exogenous quantity, but something that is constructed by what is being offered by producers" (Collins, 2004). The initiative for the indoorisation of outdoor sports came from entrepreneurs who kept a close eye on each another's activities. Naturally, market research was carried out to be able to underpin and justify the necessary investment. And, without a doubt, just as the prospectus of Dutch Water Dreams reports, this market research discovered that there actually was an interest for such centres among a sizeable group of sports-loving respondents who were, of course, part of the target group.[XIV] However, this interest is obviously related to the concept that was presented by the producer prior to the realisation of the complex.

This does not mean to say that consumers are merely followers with no will of their own, who do nothing other than consume the products and services on offer along with the meanings that are ascribed to them. Quite to the contrary, as Apparudai has astutely noted, "the production knowledge that is read into a commodity is quite different from the consumption knowledge that is read from the commodity" (Appadurai, 1986, p. 41). Collins contends that in the on-going flow of social interaction rituals between producers and consumers, the interpretations and meanings that are given to the products and services on one side of the market resonate on the other side, and vice versa (Collins, 2004). Consumers interpret and assess the constructed

[XIV] Prospectus Dutch Water Dreams Bonds June 2007.

meanings, which reach them by way of advertisements, Internet, stories and so forth, and compare these with their personal experiences and those of others. The meanings of the indoor sports centres are therefore not established in advance. Nor are they determined by the producers or the consumers. Instead there is a constant process of what Erving Goffman has called 'framing' and 'reframing' between the producers and consumers (Goffman, 1974). Both producers and consumers are involved in a continual interactive process, a 'cultural circuit', which not only influences themselves, but also the meanings of the product or service in question (Du Gay, Hall, Janes, McKay, & Negus, 1997; Lury, 1996; Sassatelli, 2007; Shove & Pantzar, 2005; Zelizer, 1988; Zukin & Smith Maguire, 2004). This interaction can have an unintended consequence; namely that, over the course of time, (aspects of) the kinds of sport on offer and their setting can acquire a form, meaning and function that no-one had anticipated and intended in advance (Elias, 1977).

As is generally the case with the development of new markets, the initiative for this interaction lies on the side of the producers. They take the first and most decisive steps "that begin to pump up material objects into Durkheimian sacred objects, which will in turn generate the biggest profits" (Collins, 2004, p. 168). This principle does not just apply to material products, but also to services.[xv] While competing with each other, the producers were the first to give shape to the nature and meaning of the indoor complexes and outdoor sports, which had to be realised according to their visions. "Welcome to *our* dream" (our emphasis), proclaimed the commercial supplement that Dutch Water Dreams published in De Telegraaf, the biggest national daily newspaper in The Netherlands, when the centre opened.

[xv] What is particular to services is that production and consumption go hand in hand, while the consumption of goods takes place separately from the production thereof. This difference has consequences for the way in which processes of framing and reframing take place. The consumer of goods can reinterpret meanings by using them in a way that was not intended by the producer. The consumer can also show his or her own interpretation of a good to others in another context. As far as services are concerned, interpretations are made by both producers and consumers through their interaction with each other. Moreover, the acquisition of a service takes place at a location and cannot as easily be taken with and shown to others. The films on YouTube provide a surprising solution to this, which the indoor centers can usefully exploit (as will be discussed later in this article). Strikingly, the acquisition of services has received far less attention than the consumption of products (Korczynski, 2005). Lury thus describes the consumer culture as "The culture of things-in-use" (Lury, 1996). McCracken defines consumption more broadly, namely as "the processes by which consumer goods *and services* are created, bought, and used" (our italics); nonetheless, this study also deals almost exclusively with consumer goods (McCracken, 1988). The same applies to the overwhelming majority of publications on the topic of consumer culture. For an exception see, for example, Shove & Pantzar's study of Nordic walking (Shove & Pantzar, 2005).

To understand this dream, the meanings which are ascribed to the indoor sports centres should not be understood as intrinsic values that can be derived from the activities themselves. Instead, following Pierre Bourdieu, they should be viewed in relation to the structure[XVI] of the sports and leisure field, and the various activities that already existed there (Bourdieu, 1988; Bourdieu, 1996). When launching and promoting their indoor centres, the entrepreneurs paid particular attention to the meanings surrounding three sub-fields: lifestyle sports, organised competitive sports and elite sport, and the adventure and experience market in the leisure sector. As the next section illustrates, the indoor centre entrepreneurs defined their services in such a way that it either competed with one or more of these sub-fields in the market, or actually dovetailed with the wishes and needs of the organisations and the meanings that dominated in these sub-fields. Maintaining a good balance between the various layers of meaning that are involved proved to be a difficult task. Placing the emphasis on one layer of meaning can have undesirable consequences for meanings, which, from another perspective, can be viewed as just as desirable.

Dilemmas of ascribing meaning

Meanings in relation to outdoor lifestyle sports

According to Bourdieu, a field effect occurs when it is no longer possible to understand a practice, like the introduction of a new product or service on a market, without knowing the history of this field (Bourdieu, 1980). In this sense, the fact that the producers – when developing and positioning their indoor sports centres – are unable to escape from the dominant meanings of the outdoor lifestyle sports, from which their sport supply partly derives, can be regarded as a field effect.

While it is true that the hard-core aficionados of the outdoor lifestyle sports do not constitute a large group, the popularity of these sports has grown significantly. Moreover, the diverse aspects of the subculture of these lifestyle sports have gained a worldwide following. Although this subculture was initially characterised by a (rather ambivalent) anti-commercial undertone, it has quickly become the object of commodification, marketing and mediatisation. After all, the sports that they offer are largely derived from these lifestyle sports. They are widely practised outside, so why

[XVI] The structure of a field can be understood as "a state of the power relations among the agents or institutions engaged in the struggle, or, to put it another way, a state of the distribution of the specific capital which has been accumulated in the course of previous struggles and which orients subsequent strategies" (Bourdieu, 1980).

not inside?[XVII] Indeed, the specific culture of the outdoor lifestyle sports can be used to give the indoor variants a similar appeal.

In their publicity, the indoor sports centres make an explicit connection with the culture of the outdoor lifestyle sports by using slogans and language that appeal to it. For instance, Indoor Skydive Roosendaal advertises that its visitors can experience "The Ultimate Xperience", implicitly referring to the so-called XSports (extreme sports) and the XGames of the American sports channel ESPN. This indoor centre also claims that its visitors can also get their kicks when it comes to excitement and adventure ("one gets a great adrenaline rush when skydiving"). In their attempts to lure the public, they also refer to seeking out and pushing back boundaries ("defy the laws of gravity"), and the experience of nature and adventure ("experience the ultimate freedom") among outdoor sports participants. Likewise, the promotional materials for Dutch Water Dreams employs similar language, which is redolent of the outdoor lifestyle sports culture: "an adventurous experience"; "for real adrenaline junkies", "to push back boundaries"; "aimed at the hard-core fun sports enthusiast" and "Go with the flow!".

The experiences that such centres promise attempt to satiate the 'quest for excitement', which, according to Elias and Dunning, characterises modern society. The sporting activities in these centres generate fleeting, pleasant and pleasurable forms of suspense and excitement, which these authors believe are often lacking in the ordinary routines of everyday life. Nonetheless, this suspense and excitement occurs under controlled conditions, thus allowing people the opportunity to experience what Elias has called a "controlled but enjoyable de-controlling of affects and emotions" (Elias & Dunning, 1986, p. 44).

Needless to say, it is crucial for the indoor centres that the safety of the participants is guaranteed. Accidents, which can be blamed on the supplier's negligence, pose a great risk to every indoor centre not only due to the insurance claims that may ensue as a result, but also because such calamities may damage the centre's image. To minimise the risk of accidents, these centres operate a tight safety policy and this is strongly emphasised in their communications. "Naturally, the safety of our guests is our first priority" notes Dutch Water Dreams in one of its brochures. Indoor Skydive Roosendaal

[XVII] The complex relationship to the natural environment is an issue that we do not address in this article. It is clear that the indoor centers are major energy guzzlers. On the other hand, the use of such a center can be viewed as a replacement of a comparable activity in the natural environment. The ambivalence behind this is possibly best expressed in a quote from a promotional film for the indoor ski jumping center that is planned in Finland: "We are completely independent of global warming".

also expressly states like "For every decision we take, we make sure that safety prevails" and "Safety is the leitmotiv of the entire project". To guarantee this safety, extensive safety regulations, protocols and procedures are implemented at all indoor centres. For example, these regulations require that protective clothing is worn and they forbid the use of stimulants. "There is a zero-tolerance policy with respect to the use of alcohol and drugs" (Dutch Water Dreams). "It is strictly forbidden, under penalty of expulsion, to take alcohol, confectionery, food or smoking materials into the Ski School" (Skidôme). Instructors play an important role in this regard. At Dutch Water Dreams there are also lifeguards active and the safety policy is coordinated from a control centre which, thanks to eight cameras, has a complete view of the watercourse.

The emphasis on excitement *and* safety poses a tricky dilemma for the indoor centres. Too great an emphasis on the one (safety) can undermine the very meaning and appeal of the other (excitement). The combination of both desires is the *unique selling point*:

> At Dutch Water Dreams, you can take part in spectacular white water sports in an environment where safety and comfort take centre stage (…) The advantage of the wild water course compared to a natural wild water setting is that, in the event of a calamity, we are able to turn off the water pumps, and stop the flow of water.

The same applies to indoor skydiving:

> If there is a power failure, then the twelve ventilator fans will carry on turning for a while. This means that you will be able to descend gently and land in a strong net.

Nonetheless, there is still a danger that an ambiguous meaning will be transmitted: on the one hand, the indoor centres appeal to the "hard-core fun sports enthusiast" and the "adrenaline junkie", yet, on the other, they position themselves in such a way that the centres also have meaning for rather less courageous daredevils.

> Of course, the outdoor experience of skydiving is partly because of the danger, and the kick from the parachute. But, professionals aren't afraid for a failure of mistake. When these pros are flying indoors, they most enjoy the possibility to 'play'. Indoors, they have the time to play with the wind, to do some tricks. Outdoors, the free fall is about 30 seconds, and after 3 minutes you reach the ground. *(interview with marketing manager indoor skydive centre, March, 2008)*

Indoor Skydive Roosendaal targets both groups: "It is a real kick for people who perhaps find 4 km (2.5 miles) just a bit too high, as well as for the diehards!" Likewise, Dutch Water Dreams reassures the consumer that the bottom layer of the FlowRider is made of a soft material, which feels like a judo mat when water flows over it. "Falling hardly hurts and so this board sport can be practised safely."

The described dilemma is part and parcel of a broader discrepancy. The indoor enterprises are oriented towards efficiency, predictability, calculability and the control of their service provision; this is a development that George Ritzer has called 'The McDonaldization of Society' (Ritzer, 2008). Yet this rationalisation must not be at the expense of the experience of the sport as a special activity, which can be seen as comparable to experiencing such sports outdoors. The rationalisation thus constantly demands diversification and variation to hold the consumers' interest and keep on surprising them. To achieve this, commercial institutions in the sport, leisure and entertainment industry employ specialists, whom Roberta Sassatelli (2007) has characterised as 'motivational professionals'. They must guide the consumers to and in their meaningful experience by giving them insights into the techniques and experiences with which they can better understand the activities concerned and enjoy them even more. In the indoor sport centres, this role is mainly fulfilled by instructors.

> Right now, we are trying to develop a concept with mountain biking in this area. Our ski instructors…those people have a background in sport, they know how to enthuse and entertain people, they also have experience in children's sport camps and so on. In this way, we are always busy with the extension of our products. *(interview with manager ski instructors indoor snow centre, March, 2009)*

Meanings in relation to mainstream sport

The development of competitive sport and elite sport from sporting activities that were initially intended for the leisure market is the next example of a field effect in Bourdieu's terms. Competitive sport is the dominant model of sport worldwide – the mainstream sport – with elite sport as the greatest audience puller, which enjoys the non-stop attention of the media. The organisations and media, which have a vested interest in perpetuating that model, exert pressure to also organise new sports activities according to this model and to incorporate them into the world system of sports organisations. Conversely, interest from the mainstream sports world can also encourage initiators, practitioners, representatives and (possible) developers of these new sports activities to indeed conform to the dominant model, and to organise, regulate and standardise these

sports activities in accordance with the wishes of the media and international sports organisations.

The rise of the outdoor lifestyle sports can be regarded as a reaction to – or resistance against – these mainstream sports. These sports were not developed by or within the established sports organisations, but came about more or less spontaneously from the unregulated activities of young people who, while practicing these sports, began to increasingly align themselves with each other. One of the meanings that they shared was their preference for individual and informal expression in an open and free environment, unhindered by regulations and controls by schools or sports organisations (Wheaton, 2000, 2004). However, the global dissemination and popularisation of these lifestyle sports also went hand in hand with a differentiation of performance styles and subcultures within these outdoor sports. The desire and proclivity to continue to distinguish themselves from mainstream sport has continued within certain subgroups. Yet, at the same time, the dominant sport model has been applied to various kinds of sports within the outdoor lifestyle sports. Organised, regulated and standardised disciplines have developed in nearly all lifestyle sports, culminating in competitive and performance-oriented elite sports that are covered by the media. A number of these, such as snowboarding and freestyle skiing, even have been included in the Olympic program, which can certainly be regarded as *the* symbol of mainstream sport.

Although the commercial indoor sports centres have developed their sports services outside mainstream sport, they cannot escape completely from its sphere of influence. Due to the established balance of power in the field of sport, a relationship with mainstream sport – particularly elite sport – afforded access to funding bodies. For example, the Dutch Ministry of Health, Welfare and Sport and the NOC* NSF awarded grants to Dutch Water Dreams on the recommendation of the Dutch Canoe Association for the creation of a white water course, which would satisfy the requirements and norms of the International Canoe Federation. The facilities were subsequently given the status of an 'A-location' by NOC* NSF and now serve as the training centre for the Dutch kayaking slalom team.[XVIII] Similarly, Indoor Skydive Roosendaal has also focused on raising the performance level in sport parachuting, in collaboration with professional parachutists and the Dutch Ministry of Defense.

In addition to this, a link with mainstream sport – and with elite sport in particular – guarantees free publicity. For example, the SnowWorld ski centre in Landgraaf is used

[XVIII] Prospectus Dutch Water Dreams Bonds June 2007.

annually for the official FIS European Cup and the Snowboarding World Cup championships, which both receive considerable media attention. To further consolidate the relationship between the ski centre and the elite sport, SnowWorld also acts as the sponsor of Dutch elite athletes and talents, particularly with respect to snowboarding. Dutch Water Dreams has also attracted media attention with its white water course, which is based on the design for the Olympic course in Beijing.

These public flirtations with elite sport are significant for the positioning of the centres. In commercial terms, their function as training centres for elite athletes is subordinate to that of consumer entertainment. The vast majority of visitors is not oriented to training for elite sporting performance, but is instead simply looking to have an enjoyable experience. However, the attention for elite sport within these commercial centres prevents too great an emphasis being placed on casual, recreational entertainment. In the light of this, stories in daily newspapers about the "most perfect slope in the world", which makes it possible to perform "bold stunts", are extremely welcome to draw attention to the fact that they are also attractive places to seriously practise sports.

Just as they must maintain the equilibrium between excitement and safety, these centres also have to keep a watchful eye on the precarious balance between their significance to elite sport and their significance to the broader public. The centres use the proximity and easy accessibility of their indoor facilities as another *unique selling point.* As one can read in Indoor Skydive's mission statement, "one of the most important goals is the chance to give the sport greater publicity, so that a broader public is able to become acquainted with it." Likewise, Dutch Water Dreams points out that "for those who want to go rafting, the Ardennes in Belgium is the closest possibility. Dutch Water Dreams has put an end to this situation." Skidôme also emphasises that "increasingly more people are prepared to take their winter sports vacation in their own country. Skidôme offers the best conditions for this: perfect snow, good service and expert guidance."

Their proximity (i.e. you do not have to leave the country to do the sport) also gives the indoor centres an accessible character. The centres stress that they also make the outdoor sports in question more accessible to a broader public. Skiing, surfing and parachute jumping can be done close-by, at a relatively low cost and can also be tried just the once.[XIX] As the promotional materials from Indoor Skydive state, "experience an

[XIX] Proximity is, however, not a sufficient explanation for the success of these indoor centers in itself. In Japan, there are various water parks with indoor surfing facilities situated at a stone's throw from the beach and ocean; also in thinly populated areas.

extreme sport in a very accessible way". In an interview, the owner of Indoor Skydive argued "we have lowered the threshold, so that everyone can experience the sensation" (interview with owner of indoor skydive centre, February, 2008).

Similarly, the brochure for Dutch Water Dreams claims "The complex makes white water canoeing, rafting and indoor surfing accessible to a broad public in an environment where comfort and safety take centre stage." Among others, SnowWorld is aimed at "the littlest ones among us, who can have their first winter sports experience at SnowWorld". Skidôme points out that the middle-aged who "would still really like to try" skiing or snowboard have come to the right address. They offer a skiing course for 50-plussers where they can learn "at your own pace with your peers."

The message is that the indoor sports complexes are open to everyone and they lower the threshold: partly due to their proximity, partly due to the limited degree of difficulty and the higher level of safety. An analysis of the visitors to these centres should reveal the effect that this image has on the broader public and whether new target groups have indeed been attracted.[xx]

In this way, the popularisation of the formerly elite sports should continue. Throughout the twentieth century, the level of affluence in western countries has increased considerably, which has meant that more and more consumer goods have been brought within the reach of an increasingly larger group of people. The differences between rich and poor have decreased significantly and have become less visible. In particular, the expanding middle classes have developed a degree of affluence that would have been unthinkable in previous generations. In relation to these developments, various sports, which previously would have been categorised as elite sports, such as hockey, tennis, skiing, equestrian sports and golf, have enjoyed a huge rise in popularity throughout the past few decades (Van Bottenburg, 2001). The fourteen-fold growth in the number of Dutch winter sports participants from 200.000 in 1970 to two million in 2007 provides a good illustration of this.

The indoor ski centres create this popular winter sport atmosphere in a variety of different ways. "It is all about the ambiance of a winter sport vacation" (interview with owner of indoor snow centre, June, 2008). This vision is translated in SnowWorld's promotional material:

[xx] A case study of indoor snowboarders conducted in 2007 by two students of the Master's program for Sport Policy and Sport Management at Utrecht University, revealed that a majority of the selection team of Freestyle snowboarders between the ages of 8 and 18 years had not been introduced to skiing or snowboarding in winter sport resorts, but in the indoor ski center itself.

> SnowWorld offers all the ingredients of a successful après-ski party. Together with your family, colleagues or business clients, you can enjoy an excellent culinary venue in the midst of a unique winter sports ambiance, which you usually only come across in ski resorts. (…) The six-person chairlift and original Austrian Almhut on the run make the winter sports sensation complete. A comfortable ride in the chairlift takes you to the top of the mountain, where you can begin your descent. To warm yourself up during the skiing, you can visit the Almhut for a warm hot chocolate with whipped cream or a glühwein [mulled wine]. Here you really get the feeling that you are in the Alps. Two green, one blue and even a red run offer enough variety to winter sports fans.

A successful popularisation ensures a significant growth in visitors. At the same time, an indoor centre can also run the risk of alienating the trendsetting public. Indoor Skydive explicitly calls itself trendsetting. Likewise, the wild water complex Dutch Water Dreams also characterises itself "as sporty, innovative and rather hip." They emphasise this meaning by referring to the innovative strength of the sports they offer. They did not only create new 'commercial settings' for the practice of these sports (Sassatelli, 2007), but have also stimulated the development of new sports, with their own rules, meanings and even their own championships. Flowboarding can be seen as a new board sport and is also experienced by the surfers as such. Indeed, the first flowboarding world championships have already taken place. Similarly, the American John Suiter won the new title 'World Champion Wind Tunnel Flyer' in 2002. Interestingly, these innovations conform to the mainstream sport model.

Meanings in relation to leisure experiences

The third field effect, which the indoor centres anticipate, concerns the competition with other providers in the leisure sector. "We have to deal with countless providers of various leisure activities. How can we reach our target group that way, that they prefer us among all that other fun and exciting activities?" (interview with owner of wild water centre, January, 2008).

In this commercial struggle, the publicity materials produced by the indoor centres do not so much emphasise the sport itself, but rather the opportunity to undergo a pleasurable experience (with others). In this regard, Pine and Gilmore (1999) would undoubtedly have used the indoor centres for skiing, surfing and skydiving as typical examples of new enterprises in the experience economy. Following the expansion of the goods economy and then the service economy, according the authors, the greatest

growth that has occurred since the 1990s have been for enterprises that no longer confine themselves to the supply of goods and services, but which also provide experiences. These experiences take place in specially created locations, which influence people's perception of time, space and matter.

Pine and Gilmore contend that this is not so much about the consumer paying for a service, but about their buying time to undergo a memorable experience. Although it is a study from the management literature that has found little resonance in the academic discipline of economics, the concept of experience economy has been widely used to explain developments in the sport and leisure sector. Pine and Gilmore have also referred to the development of extreme sports several times as an example of a successful application of the principles of the experience economy.

> People are always looking for something new, something fun and something different. Nowadays, they want to go 'extreme', and they are willing to pay money for that experience. I think, indoor skydiving fits perfectly in this trend: it is trendsetting, new and exciting. *(interview with marketing manager indoor skydive centre, March, 2008)*

Nonetheless, there is an important difference between the meanings that the indoor centres propagate and the way in which, according to Pine and Gilmore, enterprises in the experience economy operate. Whereas the authors argue in favour of offering an experience to the individual customer ("given that an experience is in itself something personal, no two people can have the same experience", p. 236), the indoor sports centres are focused entirely on groups of consumers. Indeed, they emphasise the social meaning of group visits in fairly elaborate terms. Whether it is for birthdays, wedding parties, business events or school trips, the centres' message is still the same: undergoing the experience together gives pleasure and leads to bonding.

> We can make an unforgettable event not only of your outings with family and friends, but also meetings with, for example, your sports club, student society or another network club. (...) From a theme or wedding party to birthdays and anniversaries, Dutch Water Dreams is *the* place to celebrate!
>
> Meet your business clients in a unique and informal environment. Taking part in a water sports activity certainly brings people closer together. No matter what, the mutual bond will be strengthened!

The supply is geared to this meaning. The centres have put together a wide variety of packages with which they can cater to the needs of various target groups. They have special rooms for large groups where meetings, office parties and other events can be held. Special areas can also be fitted out for children's parties and other special groups.

> In the first place, we have aimed to the business: meetings, team building, special programs. Although this segment of our target group still encloses about 35 per cent of our sales, nowadays these special arrangements, programs and combinations, especially with the catering industry in our centres, are also loved by children's parties, school excursions and bachelor parties. *(interview with owner of snow centre, June, 2008)*

There are two aspects to the meanings that these indoor centres can convey in this regard. First, visits to these centres have a social character: they not only acquire meaning through being an exciting experience of sport, but also because they take place together with other people. As the introduction to this article suggests, in practice, fleeting single visits by individual consumers to these centres do not or seldom happen. Nearly all visitors are part of a group. Realising that the experience only acquires a meaning within a social context, Dutch Water Dreams gives every consumer a chip so that a personal film can be downloaded onto one's cell phone. "It's fun to show your friends", declares one of the advertisements. Even the homemade videos, which are uploaded to YouTube, have precisely the same effect: the consumption of a product or service acquires meaning through the interaction with others, whether it is through experiencing it together, broadcasting it on Internet or talking about it at birthday parties or other social gatherings.

Secondly, the sport is not presented as the primary goal. "At SnowWorld you can find all the facilities to combine your business meetings with relaxation" claims the website of this indoor ski centre.

> Along with the pistes, cosy restaurants, 'Tirol room' and an original Austrian Almhut, SnowWorld also offers several attractive large rooms. These rooms are extremely suitable for business and festive, as well as culinary gatherings. *It goes without saying that the meeting rooms can also be booked without making use of the ski pistes* (our italics).
>
> Naturally all lunch and dining arrangements can be combined with an active snow program. Enjoying a delicious buffet, followed by a descent of more than 500 meters (1640 feet) makes every occasion special. *If*

> *you are not interested in skiing or snowboarding, we have an extensive selection of other activities on offer on our pistes.*

This image is further reinforced by product differentiation. The Skidôme, for example, organises special afternoons where everything in and around the complex is set up for the benefit of children. The centre then does not focus so much on skiing, but on a variety of other activities, like tobogganing and trampolining. In the same way, SnowWorld offers "playful activities" for adults, such as tug-of-war on skis, tandem skiing and herringbone runs.

> SnowWorld offers you many options, even when you don't really like the cold. You can, for instance, make use of the most modern sport and health centre of the region. Here relaxation and exertion go hand in hand. After partaking in sport, you can relax wonderfully in the sauna complex, do weight-training or take an aerobics class.
>
> Some companies visit our centre with a group of 1500 people. Some of them are really snow sport minded, some are not. So we also arrange other activities at other locations, so that everyone can enjoy the day out. *(interview with manager ski instructors indoor snow centre, March, 2009)*

In the same vein, Dutch Water Dreams also reminds potential customers of the fact that "they don't have to get wet for a successful meeting. A so-called 'behind the scenes' program or attending a sporting event are also among the possibilities." All of these alternative activities serve to reinforce the notion that these are leisure centres. In this sense, in their competition with the other providers in the leisure market, the producers have created functions and meanings that transcend the sport itself.

Conclusion

The market for outdoor sports offered indoors was developed under the influence of technological innovations and internationally operating entrepreneurs who have kept a careful eye on their competitors' activities. In so doing, these entrepreneurs have joined the trend of commodification of sport facilities, which has predominantly taken place outside the system of national sports associations and international sports federations.

During the development of this market, the producers have attempted to ascribe a variety of meanings to the new products and services. Yet these meanings do not stem from the intrinsic values of the products and services themselves. They may be better

understood as social constructions, which have emerged not only through the interaction between producers and consumers, in which the initiative was from the producers' side, but also in relation to the structure of the sports and leisure fields and the cultural meanings, which are ascribed to a diverse number of existing activities that take place in these fields.

In the light of this structure, when launching and marketing their indoor centres, the entrepreneurs must particularly pay heed to the shared meanings around the subfields: the lifestyle sports, organised competitive sports and elite sport, and the experience market of the leisure sector. They define their indoor centres and supply of activities in these centres in competition with, or with reference to the dominant meanings of these subfields. In so doing they must also determine their position in the field of tension, which emerges between the various layers of meaning, because placing an emphasis on one layer of meaning can have unintended and undesirable consequences for the meanings that, from another perspective, can be viewed as just as desirable.

The analysis of the construction of the indoorisation of outdoor lifestyle sports and its meanings demonstrates that, as Eichberg (1998) argued, there are more than just natural, health or medical and technological reasons for this development. We have shown that the rise of this economic market is embedded in and influenced by shared understandings and producer and consumer representations in structured fields of outdoor sports, mainstream sports and leisure experience activities.

Because of these representations and meanings, questions arise about topics such as the motives and experiences of consumers, the relationships between indoor and outdoor participants in lifestyle sports, interaction between consumers and producers and producer's goals. A better understanding of the indoorisation of outdoor lifestyle sports can thus be achieved by recognising how these structures and cultures, along with broader social processes, pervaded the production of indoor sports centres for outdoor lifestyle sports. A four year PhD project, which highlights consumer demand as well as producer's supply, will focus on these issues. In this way, the sociological conditions under which the indoorisation of outdoor lifestyle sports has taken place, and how the producers create a new market and give meaning to it, become visible. How this packaging and marketing relates to the way in which consumers interpret and possibly reinterpret this indoorisation of outdoor sports is a topic for further research. Many research studies have already shown that the ascription of meaning by consumers can significantly differ from the meanings that have been promoted by the producers. It is also plausible that the interaction between producers and consumers in relation to

these meanings can lead to modifications, so that, after a course of time, the service on offer (at least partially) acquires a form, meaning and function, which the producer had neither intended nor anticipated in advance.

References

Appadurai, A. (1986). *The social life of things. Commodities in cultural perspective*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Appadurai, A. (1996). *Modernity at large. Cultural dimensions of globalization*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press.

Bourdieu, P. (1980). *Questions de sociologie*. Paris: Editions de Minuit.

Bourdieu, P. (1984). *Distinction. A social critique of the judgement of taste.* Cambridge: Harvard University Press.

Bourdieu, P. (1988). Program for a sociology of sport. *Sociology of Sport Journal 5*(2), 153-161.

Bourdieu, P. (1996). Principles of an economic anthropology. In N. J. Smelser & R. Swedberg (Eds.), *The Handbook of Economic Sociology* (pp. 75-89). New York: Princeton University Press.

Castells, M. (1997). *The power of identity. The information age*. Oxford: Blackwell Publishers.

Collins, R. (2004). *Interaction ritual chains*. Princeton/Oxford: Princeton University Press.

Du Gay, P., Hall, S., Janes, L., McKay, H., & Negus, K. (1997). *Doing cultural studies. The story of the Sony Walkman*. Milton Keynes: Open University Press.

Eichberg, H. (1998). *Body Cultures. Essays on sport, space and identity*. London: Routledge.

Elias, N. (1977). *What is sociology?* New York: Columbia University Press.

Elias, N., & Dunning, E. (1986). *Quest for excitement. Sport and leisure in the civilizing process*. Oxford: Basil Blackwell.

Goffman, E. (1974). *Frame analysis. An essay on the organization of experience*. New York: Harper & Row.

Granovetter, M. (1985). Economic action and social structure. The problem of embeddedness. *American Journal of Sociology, 91*(3), 481-510.

Guillén, M. F., Collins, R., England, P., & Meyer, M. (2002). *The new economic sociology. Developments in an emerging field*. New York: Russell Sage Foundation.

Korczynski, M. (2005). Consumption and service interactions. *Journal of Consumer Culture, 5*(3), 289-293.

Loynes, C. (1998). Adventure in a bun. *Journal of Experiential Education, 21*(1), 35-39.

Lury, C. (1996). *Consumer culture*. Cambridge: Polity Press.

McCracken, G. (1988). *Culture and consumption. New approaches to the symbolic character of consumer goods and activities*. Bloomington and Indianapolis: Indiana University Press.

Midol, N. (1993). Cultural dissidents and technical innovations in the 'whiz' sports. *International Review for the Sociology of Sport 28*(1), 23-32.

Moisander, J., & Valtonen, A. (2006). *Qualitative Marketing Research. A cultural approach.* London: Sage Publications

Pine, B. J., & Gilmore, J. H. (1999). *The experience economy. Work is theatre and every business a stage*. Cambridge: Harvard Business School Press.

Rinehart, R. (2002). Arriving sport: Alternatives to formal sports. In J. J. Coakley & E. Dunning (Eds.), *Handbook of sports studies* (pp. 504-519). London: Sage.

Ritzer, G. (2008). *The McDonaldization of society* (5th ed.). Los Angeles: Pine Forge Press.

Sassatelli, R. (2007). *Consumer culture. History, theory and politics*. London: Sage Publications.

Shove, E., & Pantzar, M. (2005). Consumers, producers and practices. Understanding the invention and reinvention of Nordic walking. *Journal of Consumer Culture, 5*(1), 43-64.

Sky, M. (2001). The influence of media marketing on the intrinsic culture of "extreme" sports. Master's thesis. Roehampton: University of Surrey.

Smelser, N. J., & Swedberg, R. (Eds.). (2005). *The handbook of economic sociology* (2nd ed.). Princeton: Princeton University Press.

Stranger, M. (1999). The aesthetics of risk. A study of surfing. *International Review of Sociology of Sport, 34*(3), 265-276.

Tomlinson, A., Ravenscroft, N., Wheaton, B., & Gilchrist, P. (2005). *Lifestyle sports and national sport policy: An agenda for research*. Brighton: University of Brighton.

Tomlinson, J. (2001). *Extreme sports; The illustrated guide to maximum adrenaline thrills*. London: Carlton Books

Van Bottenburg, M. (2001). *Global games*. Urbana/Chicago: University of Illinois Press.

Wheaton, B. (2000). "Just do it". Consumption, commitment, and identity in the windsurfing subculture. *Sociology of Sport Journal, 17*, 254-255.

Wheaton, B. (Ed.). (2004). *Understanding lifestyle sports. Consumption, identity and difference*. New York: Routledge.

Zelizer, V. A. (1988). Beyond the polemics on the market. Establishing a theoretical and empirical agenda. *Sociological Forum, 3*(4), 614-634.

Zelizer, V. (2005). Culture and consumption. In N. Smelsner & R. Swedberg (Eds.), *Handbook of economic sociology* (pp. 331-354). Princeton: Princeton University Press.

Zukin, S., & Smith Maguire, J. (2004). Consumers and consumption. *Annual Review of Sociology, 30*, 173-197.

Chapter 4

Constructing authenticity in contemporary consumer culture: The case of lifestyle sports

Abstract

For twenty years, typical outdoor lifestyle sports such as rafting, snowboarding and rock climbing, which used to be exclusively practised in natural environments, are being offered in controlled artificial settings. This process can be described as "the indoorisation of outdoor sports". With this development, questions of authenticity arise. Are these new, commercial forms still authentic lifestyle sports? Can we consider the participants in these indoorised lifestyle sports as authentic athletes? There has been a discussion about authenticity in lifestyle sports since its worldwide popularisation and it is valuable to revisit this discussion against the background of new, commercial versions of lifestyle sports. Therefore, this chapter offers a qualitative analysis of the consumption of a constructed authenticity in a cultural context increasingly characterised by artificialisation.

Keywords: authenticity; commercialisation; lifestyle sports; consumer culture.

Salome, L. (2010). Constructing authenticity in contemporary consumer culture: The case of lifestyle sports. *European Journal for Sport and Society, 7*(1), 69-87.

Introduction

During the past twenty years, a remarkable new type of service has developed in the world of sports, which can be described as "the indoorisation of outdoor sports" (Van Bottenburg & Salome, 2010). Typical outdoor lifestyle sports such as surfing, snowboarding, skydiving and rock climbing, which used to be exclusively practised in natural environments, are now being offered for consumption in safe, predictable and controlled artificial settings, such as snow domes.

With this development, questions of authenticity arise. Are these new, commercial forms still authentic lifestyle sports? And what about the participants in these indoorised lifestyle sports: can we consider them as authentic sportsmen? Since 2000, when many of these sports became popular around the globe, there has been a discussion about authenticity in lifestyle sports (e.g. Donnelly, 2006; Wheaton & Beal, 2003). It is worth reconsidering this discussion against the background of new, commercial versions of lifestyle sports. Therefore, in this chapter, an analysis is offered which tells us about the consumption of a constructed authenticity in a cultural context increasingly characterised by artificialisation.

The cultural context in this analysis is produced in the world of lifestyle sports. Lifestyle sports are activities in which risks, sensation, freedom, adventure are important. Sports such as surfing, snowboarding, skydiving and sport climbing are considered lifestyle sports, activities that emphasise values that run counter to the values of dominant sport forms and around which a lifestyle is built (Honea, 2004). With the indoorisation of outdoor sports – the movement of adventurous, outdoor sports to artificial (most indoor) settings – new stakeholders play a role in the world of these lifestyle sports. In this chapter, the perspective of commercial suppliers as new stakeholders – the managers and owners of the artificial settings in which lifestyle sports are being practised – are central.

Historical background

To analyse authenticity in lifestyle sports, the development of lifestyle sports from natural to artificial settings is sketched. This background is necessary to understand the spatial configurations in lifestyle sports.

The oldest and most familiar examples of artificial facilities in lifestyle sport are, throughout the world, artificial climbing walls. The first walls showed up in the 1960s in the United Kingdom (Mittelstaedt, 1997; Wassong, 2007), "first conducted as a method of training and teaching without the concern of falling rocks and other natural hazards,

weather, or long hikes to good routes" (Tomlinson, 2001). Beginning in the 1970s, artificial climbing facilities began to function as an essential part of the sport, and since the early nineties, when speed climbing events were organised, indoor climbing became increasingly popular. In The Netherlands, this branch grew from just two indoor climbing centres in 1995 to 31 particular climbing centres and facilities in 2004 (Glasvezel/polyester klimwanden, 2009).

The next well-known example of indoorised lifestyle sports are snow sports, such as skiing and snowboarding, in facilities commonly known as 'snow domes' (Thorne, 2008). Where neither slopes or snow exist, for example in The Netherlands, artificial ski slopes are constructed to provide a climate controlled environment where snow can be manufactured (Bale, 1989). After various ways of indoor skiing on ski simulators, including the revolving carpet ski simulators and indoor ski slope carpets, the product and the concept of year round indoor snow skiing was first displayed at the Sydney Ski Show in 1986. By the beginning of the twenty-first century, The Netherlands, Great Britain, Belgium, Japan and Germany had the most indoor ski centres (Van Bottenburg & Salome, 2010). But China, Spain, New Zealand, South Korea, and the United Arab Emirates have also developed several areas for indoor skiing on real snow. For example, in The Netherlands, skiing or snowboarding is possible on one of the 23 outdoor carpet slopes, on more than 50 indoor revolving carpet ski simulators or on one of the eight indoor ski slopes with real snow, of which one recently opened. One of the world's largest indoor ski areas with a total of 35.000 m² of snow is SnowWorld in Landgraaf, The Netherlands, opened in 2001. In 2003, the first indoor snowboard FIS World Cup contest was held in Landgraaf: the ultimate proof that a country with poor skiing conditions can develop a ski culture as a result of the increasing affluence, the rise in popularity of winter sport vacations, and the application of new technologies.

Besides the examples of indoorised lifestyle sports as sport climbing and snowboarding, other innovative indoor versions of such sports are developing rapidly. Water sports (surfing, kayaking, rafting) are commercially exploited in Lochtefeld's invention 'the FlowRider' and by artificial white water courses. Artificial water courses have especially developed as an inevitable part of the kayaking and rafting sport: the first non-natural course in Augsburg, near Munich in Germany, is still being used since it was built in 1972 for the Munich Olympic Games (Canoeing & kayak fun at the Olympic course plus safe training channels nearby, 2009).

More exclusive sports like skydiving and scuba diving are also subject to processes of urbanisation. In 1982, the first commercial wind tunnels for the general public opened in

Tennessee and Las Vegas, after such tunnels for free-fall training were built in 1964 by the US Military (The History of Indoor Body Flight, 2009). Since these centres, replications worldwide appeared during the 1990s, first in Japan and Switzerland. Currently there are more than twenty commercial indoor skydiving centres in the United States and Europe (Van Bottenburg & Salome, 2010). In the same way, the commercial exploited indoor parachute simulator became increasingly fashionable (Indoor Parachute Simulator, 2008).

In scuba diving pools were used to learn basic diving skills necessary for scuba diving in open water. So, indoor scuba diving strictly is not a very recent phenomenon. But, increasingly in the recent years, specialised indoor diving basins emerged worldwide. These basins are developed for training aims, to improve diving skills in a safe environment. Worldwide, there are numerous initiatives to create a natural-like indoor diving basin: tropical fish, ship wrecks and real waves go with these plans.

The concept of authenticity

In this chapter, the indoorisation of outdoor sports, in which adventurous sports are urbanised, functions as a case in which the contested concept of authenticity in contemporary consumer culture is explored. To clarify the difficult and contested character of the concept of authenticity, first a short theoretical outline of authenticity is provided.

The concept of authenticity is an increasingly important element of contemporary consumer culture. There is a 'quest for authenticity' (Peterson, 2005), a growing movement to return to the natural, the real thing (Boyle, 2004; Doorman, 2007; Gilmore & Pine, 2008; Golomb, 1995; Lewis & Bridge, 2001). This increased engagement in authenticity can be understood by looking back: "Before 1968, authenticity was not that important. In those times the real life was unpleasantly real, with wars and poverty. The 1950's were, in Western societies, horribly real" (Doorman, 2007). As Lewis and Bridge (2001) stated, the quest for authenticity is the most significant aspect that distinguishes the Old Consumer, conformist and motivated by a need for convenience, from the New Consumer, individualistic, independent, well-informed and driven by a quest for authenticity. There is now a tendency to romanticise and idealise the past, to look back to bygone times when people lived in harmony with nature. Consumers "increasingly value authenticity in a world where the mass production of artefacts causes them to question the plausibility of the value" (Rose & Wood, 2005, p. 286).

Increased attention on authenticity in academic work seemed to emerge around 2000. Since then, numerous publications have acknowledged the importance of the concept of authenticity in consumer culture. Apart from work entirely dedicated to authenticity itself (e.g. Boyle, 2004; Gilmore & Pine, 2008), authenticity is manifested in numerous contexts, including tourism, teaching, sports, and management (cf. Chronis & Hampton, 2008; Kreber, Klampfleitner, McCune, Bayne, & Knottenbelt, 2007; Peterson, 2005).

In addition to the widespread attention on authenticity and the central question 'what is real?', there seems to be a need for authentic products, settings, persons, managers, shops, entertainment parks, sites, and so on. Are today's consumers bored with well-considered fakeness and imitation? Several authors (e.g. Gilmore & Pine, 2008) seem to answer this question with a resolute yes, but explanations and support for this statement are missing in scholarly literature.

Explanations for this lack of publications can be sought in the problematic and intangible character of the concept of authenticity. The perspective on authenticity is largely dependent on the context in which it is used, and there is a debate on the use of the term: some authors use authenticity to point out bygone times, others state that one cannot speak of authenticity in general because this is dependent on the context, the object, and the actors. Academic work on authenticity remains vague in terms of its definition and its consequences. The polemical nature of authenticity is reviewed in numerous articles. Chronis and Hampton (2008) stated that authenticity is a very elusive concept, as it does not have the same meaning for all authors. Therefore, they propose questions such as 'What is authenticity?' and 'To what does authenticity refer to?'. Definitions in terms of first-hand, original, genuine, reliable and real are inadequate. The understanding of authenticity is far more complex than its everyday use suggests, and may in fact exist only in the eyes of the beholder (Golomb, 1995, p. 5; Lewis & Bridge, 2001). Kreber et al. (2007) agree with the difficulties of the multidimensional phenomenon: the multiple interpretations and nuances inherent in the conceptions of authenticity result in a hardly useful concept, which seems to be useless without a thorough philosophical and historical understanding. However, as they argued, one has to keep in mind the concrete purpose of the study and explore the texts for their relevance for understanding authenticity in relation to the focus of the current study (Kreber et al. 2007, p. 25). For that reason, in this chapter, the concept of authenticity is mainly explored in a sport context, in particular in the case of lifestyle sports. A philosophical wandering through essays from great thinkers such as Kierkegaard, Nietzsche and Heidegger, like Golomb (1995) did, is not provided.

Although some authors verbalise their opinion about developments in sports that affect the authenticity directly (e.g. Walsh & Giulianotti, 2001), others hold a more cautious vision (e.g. Donnelly, 2006). These authors regard the contested concept of authenticity as a way in which different people give different meanings to the same object. Following Chronis and Hampton (2008, p. 114), "the term has multiple meanings and diverse referents. Its use is subject to the individual author and the context of its application". There is a 'perceived' authenticity (Lewis & Bridge, 2001), instead of 'the' authenticity. Instead of authenticity, there are 'senses of authenticity'.

Following Bramadat (2005), the purpose of the current analysis is not to define the term, but rather to analyse its problematic symbolic power and multidimensional character by evaluating the current discussion about authenticity in lifestyle sports. In this way, authenticity is considered as a concept derived from social interaction; various actors give meaning to the concept of authenticity, and altogether they construct a kind of authenticity. The dependency of the added senses from stakeholders to the concept suggests that authenticity is best understood by a social construction (Cerulo, 1997; MacNeil & Mak, 2007).

Case study: authenticity and lifestyle sports

Since the growing popularisation of lifestyle sports issues of authenticity and legitimacy have arisen. Scholars are discussing the invented and commercialised character of the sports, and participants consider themselves as authentic against the inauthentic characterisations of 'wannabes, posers, and non-participants' (Donnelly, 2006, p. 219). The power to assign value to authenticity and to appropriate the concept, first subject to participants and scholars in this field, has now shifted to new stakeholders: suppliers seem to construe the authenticity of indoorised lifestyle sports. Stakeholders play with the concept because of the prestige of authenticity; authors have varied perspectives on the definition as well as on the appropriateness of the term; the field of lifestyle sport is a moving and fast developing area; and lifestyle sports form a particular area in the sports field in which developments in consumer culture are highly visible. Because of these reasons, this case study, with a focus on the suppliers, is used for an analysis of the consumption of constructed authenticity in a cultural context as well as for a more precise and sharpened understanding of the problematic use of the concept of authenticity.

It becomes clear how interpretations of authenticity are constructed in new-commercial versions of lifestyle sports. In this, a critical reflection on the concept of authenticity in

lifestyle sports is presented. By evaluating the current discussion on authenticity in lifestyle sports in four sections (where, who, how and why), it is argued that certain meanings and values are assigned to authenticity and that authenticity is carefully construed by different actors.

Methodology

This research project was carried out between September 2008 and June 2009, and consisted of 18 interviews with owners and managers of Dutch indoor lifestyle sport centres and 7 interviews with board members of Dutch sport federations in the field of lifestyle sports. The interviews were based on a topic list, and were conducted in the indoor centres or in the office of the sport federations, with a duration ranging from 40 minutes to 2 hours and 30 minutes per interview.

As the new indoor versions of lifestyle sports are the subject of this chapter, 18 interviews focus on centres in The Netherlands which represent the combination of risks, sensation, freedom, and adventure on the one hand, and artificiality, simulation of nature and commodification on the other (Van Bottenburg & Salome, 2010). These centres represent four artificial ski slopes, one white water centre, one indoor skydive centre, six climbing centres/organisations and a dive basin: Skidome, SnowWorld, SnowBase, De Uithof, Dutch Water Dreams, Indoor Skydive Roosendaal, Climbing centre Neoliet, Ayers Rock, and Klimhal Nijmegen, De Klimmuur, Mountain Network, Monk, and DiveWorld. Furthermore, interviews were conducted with board members of Dutch federations of scuba diving, surfing, rafting, kayaking, skiing and snowboarding, and climbing. In each interview the construct of authenticity was put forward by the interviewer or it was (implicitly) described by the respondent and later labelled as 'authenticity'. Pseudonyms are used to assure respondents confidentiality.

While most research on lifestyle sports is focused on the participants in the sports, this study analyses the concept of authenticity in lifestyle sports with a supplier perspective. This is the first available study which examines the supply side related to the concept of authenticity, and therefore brings to light new perspectives on authenticity. The social construction of authenticity in lifestyle sports is not only derived from participators and scholars, suppliers in this field are also construing the concept. Thus, the supplier perspective on this discussion cannot be avoided.

Besides the interviews, the analysis of authenticity was enriched with observations within the 13 mentioned centres. The interviews, literature reviews and observations are part of a PhD project on 'The indoorisation of outdoor sports' by the author.

Where? The authenticity of natural environments

A natural and challenging environment is an important concept in the participation and experience of lifestyle sports in their traditional form. Closeness to nature, being part of natural sceneries and transfer from reality are seen as the most vital motives for participants in lifestyle sports and part of the subcultures (Belogiannis, Kourtesopoulou, & Nikitaras, 2007; Carr, 2002; Puchan, 2004; Tomlinson, 2001; Vanreusel & Renson, 1982; Wheaton, 2004a). So, the question arises whether 'lifestyle sports' and 'outside' are inextricably linked to each other or not (Loynes, 1996). Before answering this question, one has to bear in mind that spatial configurations in sports are not as new as proposed in this study on the indoorisation of outdoor sports.

Since the Middle Ages and the early modern period in Europe, the open air was the common place for physical exercise. From the 15th and 16th centuries, structures such as tennis-courts and ball-houses began to spring up, in the beginning without roofs, but later entirely enclosed. Protection from the elements and the distinction between the upper-class and the lower classes were main reasons for this enclosure (Bale, 1989; Eichberg, 1998).

Since England's industrialisation, where modern sport as we understand it has its roots, space and sports are interrelated (Guttmann, 2002; Scambler, 2005). There are two major developments since the 19th century in spatial configurations in modern sports (Eichberg, 1998; Van Bottenburg, 2001). The first involved an explosion of buildings specifically designed for activities like swimming and bowling in the 19th century (Eichberg, 1998; Guttmann, 2002). A second development was the attendance of youth culture and commercialisation in the 1960's and 1970's (Van Bottenburg, 2001). Commercial enterprises developed artificial landscapes in sports, for example for swimming and golfing (Eichberg, 1998; Van Bottenburg, 2001), mentioned by Bale (1989, p. 129) as "a gradual artificialisation of the sports environment".

In a postmodern perspective, there is a further development of artificial landscapes and the commercialisation of nature. The intense experience of being active in ruthless environments and elements is changed in a temporary submersion in the adventurous nature, without high costs and long travel distances (Palmer, 2004; Schwartz, 2006). In this consumerist attitude, "artificial simulations of nature will substitute nature itself. Authenticity of nature is not important anymore, nature is now defined as a convertible and adjusted scenery" (Vanreusel, 2002, 185). Loynes (1996) also mentions this 'disassociation of the sport from its context'.

The urbanisation of nature-dependent sports is highly visible in the development of lifestyle sports: first restricted to adventurous environments, now available on the doorstep. As paradoxical as it is, there seems to be no need for real elements for the practice of sports in which the elements served in earlier times as a first requirement. Modern technology created possibilities for artificial sport environments which seem to be more authentic than natural environments (Wang, 1999). These 'inauthentic authentic environments' fit perfectly in the wants of current consumers for a comfortable and predictable sense of authenticity (Ritzer, 2008).

It is clear that environments and activities are intrinsically linked throughout the development of modern sports. As stated earlier, lifestyle sports have shifted from desolate outdoor zones to urbanised artificial indoor centres. It is not surprising that those centres which offer the same activities (but in a different setting) also try to use the attraction of natural environments. Snow domes are decorated with pine trees, and artificial climbing walls are stone-like. The interior of indoor lifestyle sport centres proves that most indoor centres take efforts to simulate a natural environment, to simulate an outdoor experience the best they can.

Today's nature consumers seem to be attracted to these controlled settings: (the simulation of) nature is a suitable décor for practising sports. There is a redefinition from 'nature' to 'scenery' (Vanreusel, 2002).

> When you do up your centre, your restaurant a bit…Then it becomes real for your customers. People like to believe it… like authenticity. *(Max)*

> In most climbing halls, you barely can move, it is so small. Like shoeboxes. We decided to create space, as if you are in the mountains. We created elbow-room; when you are in the outdoors, you don't have to sit very close to each other…. So, in our centre you don't have to. *(Jim)*

Although most indoor lifestyle sport centres create a more or less 'natural' environment, some of the visited centres are averse to this simulation, mostly because of the user friendliness:

> We made the deliberate decision to not imitate an outdoor environment. Most climbing centres work with walls of polyester which look like real rocks. But, these walls are more expensive, and there are fewer opportunities to affix rock holds. […] You get instructions how to use

> these walls, and you have to be careful for not damaging the wall. We choose a simple wall, not rock-like, but much more user friendly and flexible for routes. *(Paul)*

Thus, today there is no necessity to practice outdoor sports in an outdoor environment. There is a disassociation of the sport from its context, in which consumers are attracted by artificial simulations of nature which substitute nature itself. Are these "near-laboratory settings to control conditions and to limit the 'noise' and variation of pure nature" (Bale, 1989, p. 147) authentic? Questioning the authenticity of nature in indoor lifestyle sports, it is clear that there is no 'real' nature involved. Instead, new senses of nature in artificial settings are experienced.

Who? The authenticity of participants

When lifestyle sports first became well known in the world of sports, most lifestyle sports were characterised by a small group of hard-core participants, who in general eschewed the commodified nature of most commercial sport forms (Honea, 2004). Years of training, total dedication and certain amounts of money were spent by these first partakers to get included in the group. Demonstrated knowledge of technology and environment, and physical and technical skills, were highly esteemed values (Vanreusel & Renson, 1982, p. 196), which can be only obtained by commitment of time, effort, and money (Wheaton, 2003, p. 84). These new sports "all demand a high investment of cultural capital in the activity itself, in preparing, maintaining and using the equipment [...] and in verbalising the experiences" (Bourdieu, 1984, p. 220). Other qualities such as music, clothing and jargon are also usually related to style, described as 'subcultural capital' (Thornton, 1997, in: Edensor & Richards, 2007). Although there was a wide participation of females in the early forms of many extreme sports, "extreme sports are a social institution created by men for men" (Thorpe, 2007, p. 103).

Scholars (e.g. Robinson, 2008; Wheaton, 2004a) agree there is a dominance of young, middle-class, white and Western men among participants in lifestyle sports since its origins. Although women are traditionally participating less in lifestyle sports as compared to institutionalised sports, there seems to be a tendency of females entering these sports, despite the culture of risk attached to many lifestyle sports which suggests a male dominance (Laurendeau & Sharara, 2008; Robinson, 2004; Wheaton & Tomlinson, 2006). More and more women could gain status in the subculture as active participants (Wheaton & Tomlinson, 2006, 398). In contrast to traditional

institutionalised sports, lifestyle sports seem to present opportunities for closing the gender gap (Heino, 2000; Laurendeau & Sharara, 2008; Wheaton, 2004a).

Although women are increasingly participating in these activities, there is some evidence women must behave in a 'masculine' manner, and have to earn a place among male participators to be accepted into the mannish culture of lifestyle sports (Beal & Weidman, 2003; Celsi, Rose, & Leigh, 1993; Kay & Laberge, 2004; Thorpe, 2007; Wheaton, 2004b; Wheaton & Beal, 2003; Wheaton & Tomlinson, 2006). Interviews with suppliers of indoor versions of lifestyle sports are supportive of this perspective. In indoor versions of lifestyle sports, the entry of women is clear. Sports such as indoor rock climbing have grown significantly since the entrance of female participants.

> Especially a new version of rock climbing, bouldering, is attractive for women. Bouldering is practised in a group, and is therefore a more social form of climbing. Besides that, bouldering has a more explosive character, which attracts girls. *(Edwin)*

> But, there still is a separation between male and female participants:
> Yeah, there are some women in our centre. But… most men want to climb with a male buddy, just climb and don't talk about clothes and so on. And they climb just better, generally. *(Frank)*

In spite of a lack of statistics about demographics such as gender, age and ethnicity, it seems obvious that, besides the entrance of females, other groups are also attracted to these sports. As Booth and Thorpe stated, extreme sports increasingly attract participants from different social classes and age groups, as well as females and minority groups (2007, p. XI). So, as a result of processes of commercialisation and popularisation, the amount as well as the variation among participants in lifestyle sports is increased. The first groups of hard-core male participants consider themselves and their subculture to be authentic. They are also considered by most authors as authentic participants. This serves as a distinction from other 'lighter' participants in the sports (Bourdieu, 1984). Wheaton and Beal (2003, p. 159) expressed this as "authentic membership status is influenced by factors including commitment, attitude, gender, class, and race".

Interviews and observations in indoor lifestyle sport centres show there is a more varied group of consumers at least in these particular versions of lifestyle sports than just young, white men.

> A group of regular visitors, older men, come to the snow two or three times a week. *(Robert)*

> Among children, the climbing sport is extremely popular. There are a lot of children's parties in our centre, and most of the times, there are 1 or 2 children who actually want to come back to learn more about climbing. These children are potential customers. *(Paul)*

As argued, practicing lifestyle sports in indoor complexes is less about danger, risk, and a specific complete lifestyle. This implies a more varied participation profile than in outdoor lifestyle sports: different social classes and age groups, as well as females and minority groups. As a result, questions about the authenticity of the participants themselves can be posed (Rinehart, 2002). Traditionally the core members – white, young, middle class men – were seen as authentic, but now also include new groups of participants – for example that group of middle aged men that weekly uses the indoor ski slope – can be seen as authentic and committed participants. In fact, this is exactly what Donnelly (2006) argued: take into account the many different kinds of participation, therefore also consider the subcultural participants who are not core members.

How? The authenticity of identity and culture

Most lifestyle sports are characterised in terms such as natural, individual, nomadic, non-commercialised, hedonistic, and alternative (e.g. Booth, 2004; Heino, 2000; Rinehart, 2002; Wheaton & Beal, 2003). However, these characteristics have been challenged by the competitions and commodification of the cultures. There is now a tension between the oppositional tendencies of subcultures and their tendency toward 'mainstreaming' processes (Honea, 2004).

In general, recent developments in lifestyle sports are seen as damaging the authentic image and culture. With the increasing commodification of sport, there is a tendency to have doubts about the authenticity of sports. Sewart (1987), Walsh and Giulianotti (2001), and Edensor and Richards (2007) argued that commodification or commercialisation is not a positive development for the preservation of the authenticity of sport. One of the questions arising when discussing this point is about the conditions in which a sport is authentic or inauthentic. Like many other youth and sports cultures, snowboarding has been increasingly drawn into a process of commodification. This can be seen in the demands of fashion, growing costs and the extensive mediatisation of the sport. Edensor and Richards (2007) proposed the question: can snowboarding any longer be seen as 'alternative', anti-mainstream and 'cool'? Or are snowboarders

becoming 'inauthentic', because of the process of commodification? Besides that question, there are doubts about the development: when is the authenticity of sports an issue?

Self, De Vries Henry, Findley and Reilly (2007) mentioned the declining authenticity when extreme sports become a social convention. They argue that a deviant idea (for example the beginning of a lifestyle sport) is 100% authentic without commercial appeal, and retains of 10% authenticity when developed in a commercial way. In their 'insider' opinion, i.e. some of these authors are lifestyle sport participants themselves, authenticity is similar to novelty.

In an explorative interview with two board members of the Dutch Surfing Federation, it became obvious that some new commercial versions of lifestyle sports are too distant from the real experience and cannot, from an insider's opinion, result in a sport experienced as authentic:

> There is no parallel between a real wave and an artificial sheet wave surfing environment. The developer of that kind of simulation hasn't ever surfed in his life. It is just a project, a pure form of venture. *(Jim)*

So, although a novelty, this activity cannot be considered as authentic, according to these board members. Other artificial simulations of lifestyle sports are in the essence almost the same as the traditional, outdoor versions:

> The crux of climbing is to climb a route as difficult as possible…To go to your max… Regardless the location of your activity. *(Tom)*

Besides recent socio-economic developments in lifestyle sports, technical improvements focused on safety factors in lifestyle sports are becoming an issue of authenticity. In general, the adventurous character of lifestyle sports has declined because of improvements in equipment. Clothes are more protective against the elements, and tools are improved, stronger, easier to use, and more reliable. So, the possibility for serious injuries or accidents due to malfunction of the gear is minimised.

Since the growth of controlled indoor lifestyle sport centres, personal mistakes are not as disastrous as before, and less often fatal than outdoors. On artificial ski slopes, the degree of the descent is not that high and there are no dangerous obstacles such as trees. A directionless skydiver in a vertical wind tunnel lands decently on a net. Instead of the authentic experience of adventure, activities are presented as save:

> Although skydiving has a rather dynamic and adventurous character, I would create a peaceful, safe, well-conditioned and guaranteed environment. *(Nick)*

According to Wheaton, commercial consumption of lifestyle sports is not simply eclipsing the authenticity of the experience as other authors argue. Although she has an insider opinion, i.e. she is a surfer herself, she admitted that it is more than just a decline in authenticity as a result of commercialisation and popularisation. The existence of a culture of commitment in these sports – "a sense of subcultural authenticity and localised resistance to conspicuous consumption, institutionalisation, and materialism" – proves that a sense of authenticity is experienced which separate these specific sports from more institutionalised sports (Wheaton, 2003, p. 94).

As Rinehart (2002, p. 511) proposed, lifestyle sports have been criticised because of the 'invented' character of the sports. While more traditional sports have developed and taken shape in years, lifestyle sports are created for fun and adventurous purposes. Rinehart suggested that a high-low sport ideology has developed, which is similar to a high-low culture ideology. Bramadat (2005) also linked authenticity to this lowbrow/highbrow ideology: he discussed the distinction between authentic forms of cultural expression such as opera in comparison to Las Vegas shows, and the Museum of Civilization in comparison to Disneyland. Both authors reject this perspective.

With the commercialisation of lifestyle sports, it becomes easier to buy the equipment necessary for participation and to master the techniques. The clothing once worn by aficionados is now adopted as part of broader street culture, and snowboards are used as accessory instead of a requirement (Palmer, 2007). Linked to Bourdieu's concept of cultural capital, it is clear that large investments in cultural capital are not essential anymore.

> More and more people consider rock climbing as a 'normal' sport, with a regular club life and excursions and so on…instead of that they see rock climbing as a special adventurous outdoor sport, which is not for everyone. *(Edwin)*

The growth of indoor lifestyle sports centres results in a further reversion of necessarily cultural capital: gaining access to an indoor sports centre seems to demand no more effort than simply buying a ticket (Van Bottenburg & Salome, 2010). Despite the informal and apparently unregulated character of lifestyle sports, within the sports various tightly-knit social groups are common. These subcultural groups are difficult to

penetrate by outsiders; there is a strong insider mentality (Van Bottenburg & Salome, 2010; Wheaton & Beal, 2003).

According to Beal and Weidman (2003, p. 344), "embracing the central values of the subculture – participant control, self-expression, and a de-emphasis on competition – was essential to the authenticity". Rinehart (2002, p. 512) argued that "a participant's authenticity is socially determined". Membership in the subcultures of lifestyle sports is determined by attitude, style, and world-view. So, to be an authentic lifestyle sport participant, being part of the subculture of the sport was essential. Identities of participators were formed by enhancing a certain lifestyle, the dedication to the sport. When these early participators reject the commercialisation of the sports, their authentic lifestyle and therefore their identity is in danger.

> Yeah, it is true that some climbers are looking for a new sport, want to invent a new sport… a new sort of climbing. Why? Maybe they still want to be different, the first […]. To give their whole live to develop, explore, make a sport. I don't know. *(Will)*

Donnelly (2006) posed that authenticity is more than just a label for core members of lifestyle sports. Where in various studies the position of 'wannabes, posers, and non-participants' are seen as inauthentic and much-maligned by core participants, Donnelly advocated a less homogenous type of authenticity. She argued that authenticity is a relative and dynamic concept, which also can be applied to the long existing periphery of non-core members in lifestyle sports. Beal and Weidman (2003) agree and posed that authenticity is now more fluid.

The increasing opportunities to participate in the sports without cultural boundaries confirms the perspective of a more fluid and less strict type of authenticity. Changing participants and changing participant goals require a redefinition of the concept of authenticity. This is underlined by an interview with a manager of a Dutch snowdome:

> There is no more 'the' typical snowboarder or skier. Some of them do their trainings in here, others prepare for vacations, and others doing just for fun…*(Robert)*

Although subcultures in lifestyle sports seem to become more fluid and boundaries become vague, there are still tensions between core members of the sports culture and the new consumers. These tensions are, especially in climbing centres, an issue: in all of the interviews with suppliers of indoor climbing facilities, respondents argue that there are strains between different groups and cultures.

> On a Saturday, there are in most climbing centres just children parties. So, real climbers do not train indoors on an average Saturday. To climb a route in that roaring… That isn't good for the experience. *(Tom)*

Most centres try to solve these problems by creating strict rules or time schedules:

> We do have a precise scheme, so that associations and recreational visitors are not in each other's way. They may create just one slalom, and the rest of the slope is free for recreational skiers. *(Thomas)*

> In most other climbing facilities, the real core climbers are overlooked. Instead, centres have a commercial aim and just facilitate children's parties and school groups. And…real climbers are hindered and irritated by that. In our centre, these core climbers come first. *(Peter)*

These quotes show that there is still a sense of superiority among core, or 'authentic' members of the sports. Self et al. (2007, p. 186) also argued that when more and more people start trying, the original deviant idea is transformed into a safer, user-friendly version. The mainstream begins accepting the 'new' sport. In their perspective, the 'deviant' developers of the sport are seen as authentic, and while the activities become mainstream, these mainstream participants are not considered as authentic.

Why? The authenticity of the centre

Whoever calls a famous Dutch indoor snow centre and has to wait a moment on the phone, hears a typical Tirol tune. It is obvious that this snow centre tries to create a Tirol atmosphere, even on the phone.

With processes of rationalisation or McDonaldization, disenchantment, or the loss of attractive 'magical qualities' for consumers, becomes an issue (Ritzer, 2008; Ritzer & Stillman, 2001). To increase the attractiveness of consumption settings, these places "have undergone a process of re-enchantment, whereby the magical allure is simulated to increase the consumer appeal of a rationalised setting" (Ritzer & Stillman, 2001, p. 100). In these recent consumption sites, the 'fantastic qualities' of the leisure industry are combined with commodities of the consumption industry. A close look of indoor lifestyle sport centres shows on the one hand the 'magical' aspects of leisure such as an atmosphere of an Alpine holiday at snowdome: fake snow covered pine trees, a Biergarten, wooden furniture and Tirol music. On the other hand, the rationalisation of consumption is identifiable in the standardised arrangements, efficiency of the self-serve

restaurant and number of lockers. This standardised efficient consumption alone is not appealing for consumers, so it is covered under an authentic alpine ambience.

> That is the atmosphere which is created in our centre. A little vacation… Visitors seem to be in a different world, because it is nice and friendly. *(Robert)*

> In former days, I use to skate in an indoor ice rink. I always had a D.D.R. feeling when I was at that place: a lot of concrete and very empty. With everything I saw, I thought 'I can do this better'. You have to feel and taste the ambiance of winter sports. *(Mart)*

Although this type of authenticity is most mentioned in studies focused on tourism (e.g. Barthel-Bouchier, 2001), the environment of indoor lifestyle sport centres also has to do with the use of unreal, inauthentic objects to imitate genuine, unique, authentic objects (Best & Kellner, 1997, in: Ritzer & Stillman, 2001, p. 105). This authenticity can be separated into authentic experiences and authentic objects (Chronis & Hampton, 2008; Wang, 1999). An authentic experience is one in which consumers 'feel themselves to be in touch with a real world' (Handler & Saxton, 1988, p. 243, in: Wang, 1999), an authentic object is a genuine thing. By adding authentic objects, the authentic experience is stimulated. This perspective concurs with Sassatelli (2007), who stated that the consumer has to recognise the value of things or services. The emphasis passes from the exclusivity of goods to the authenticity. The consumer himself has to judge about the authenticity.

The effort to approach an 'authentic atmosphere' to contribute to the attractiveness of indoor lifestyle sports is mainly noticeable in snow domes. However, other indoor centres are also trying to capture the unique sphere and feeling of the sports in the centre. Dive basins are decorated with lifebuoys, ship wrecks and gulls at the ceiling, and indoor surf facilities are re-enchanted through a beach feeling with palm trees and sand. These deliberate efforts to create authenticity, or an authentic atmosphere, may result in an unintentional process in which "places become a 'non-place', almost identical to others of its type" (Bale, 1989, p. 149).

Despite the efforts of most centres to bring the outdoor feeling of the sports inside, other centres reject these attempts. Instead, they show their innovative character through a modern interior and atmosphere:

> Most indoor snow facilities look back in time; they create an Austrian atmosphere with mountain lodges and so on. […] We want to create a

> future look in the world of skiing. So we use that natural elements, but in a stylistic and austere kind of way. *(Bryan)*

Besides the deliberate authenticity of the look and appearance of indoor lifestyle sport centres, authenticity related to the exclusivity or uniqueness of the centre appears to be an issue. In first instance, producers do not refer to the simulation of nature in their centres when the concept of authenticity came up for discussion. Authenticity was mostly directly linked to the offer of a unique, sensational or adventurous sport experience.

> We are the only facility in the world this big, qua surface and qua possibilities. […] We offer a unique experience in The Netherlands. *(Nick)*

> Our centre is a unique concept, but is comparable with the concept of snow domes in The Netherlands. […] Consumers are able to experience wild water in a safe and unique way. *(Michael)*

In this way, producers hold the opinion that they are authentic in certain ways. At least the centre is authentic, because it is the only facility in a certain region, in the offer of these activities, or in the atmosphere or target groups. The unique selling point of offering adventurous, unusual activities in a controlled and artificial setting is for most producers the way to maintain the image of authenticity.

Conclusion & Discussion

In contemporary consumer culture, there is now a tendency to search for the authentic, a 'quest for authenticity' (Doorman, 2007; Gilmore & Pine, 2008; Golomb, 1995; Lewis & Bridge, 2001; Peterson, 2005). Although scholars are convinced about the importance of the concept consumer culture, authenticity seems to be an intangible and contested idea with a polemical nature. The perception of authenticity is highly dependent on the actor and the setting, which is why it is difficult to refer to 'authenticity'. Instead, one can mention 'senses of authenticity' or 'perceived authenticity' because of the dynamics, relativity and fluidity of the concept (Beal & Weidman, 2003; Donnelly, 2006).

In this chapter, the elusiveness and dynamics of the concept of authenticity are highlighted in the field of lifestyle sports. To reiterate, the primary question that has guided the analysis was about the consumption of a constructed authenticity in a

cultural context increasingly characterised by artificialisation. In this particular cultural context, i.e. the field of lifestyle sports, there is a discussion among sport participants, scholars and suppliers who want to appropriate the concept and make a stand against it. It becomes clear the stakeholders play with the concept because of the prestige of authenticity and that the concept of authenticity is constructed by different meanings. Commercial developments in lifestyle sports have affected this constructed authenticity: the power to give meaning to authenticity has shifted from consumers (the participants) to consumers and producers (participants and suppliers). New players in the market create these new perceptions of authenticity.

By studying literature complemented with in-depth interviews and observations, different perspectives on authenticity and different settings in which authenticity becomes an issue are examined. Interviews with commercial suppliers in the field offer a broader view of authenticity, in which the perspective of (core) participants seems to be limited and incomplete. By doing so, it turned out that new versions of (lifestyle) sports are subject to a struggle for authenticity. Some argue that the commodified and commercial character of these sports has negative effects on the authenticity (e.g. Walsh & Giulianotti, 2001), others hold a more deliberate and cautious vision (e.g. Donnelly, 2006).

Rather than take a view on authenticity like some authors, in this chapter I have shown the different perspectives from stakeholders who want to assign a certain value to authenticity by which authenticity becomes a constructed concept. Besides the multiple meanings of authenticity, the quest of authenticity can be projected to different phenomena: an authentic object, an authentic experience or an authentic identity (Leigh, Peters, & Shelton, 2006).

The current study on authenticity is focused on the supply side of commercial initiatives in lifestyle sports. The interviews are conducted with owners and managers of such initiatives. By doing so, participants in these lifestyle sports are not examined in this study. This is a quite different procedure than most other authors in the field: they study the participants to study the sports. By highlighting the other side of the market, the supply side, surprising perspectives on authenticity and the role of the concept in these sports are discovered and a broader context with wider commercial implications is offered. Authenticity turned out to be an important concept in the (new) participants in lifestyle sports, but also in motivations for providing a simulation of nature in indoor lifestyle sport centres and in forming subcultures in lifestyle sports.

However, for a complete understanding of the perceived authenticity of lifestyle sports, it is important to include a study of participants. Because of the absence of data derived from sport participants in this phase of the research, this research has a focus on the supply side. In further research the demand side of these indoorised lifestyle sports, i.e. the consumer or participant, will be explored.

References

Bale, J. (1989). *Sports Geography*. London: E. & F. N. Spon.

Barthel-Bouchier, D. (2001). Authenticity and identity: Theme-parking the Amanas. *International Sociology, 16* (2), 221-239.

Beal, B. & Weidman, L. (2003). Authenticity in the skateboarding world. In R.E. Rinehart & S. Sydnor (Eds.), *To the extreme. Alternative sports, inside and out* (337-352). Albany: State University of New York Press.

Belogiannis, C., Kourtesopoulou, A. & Nikitaras, N. (2007). Risk in Sports: Definitions, theories, psychological profile of the participants. *Inquiries in Sport & Physical Education*, *5*(3), 414-423.

Booth, D. (2004). Surfing. In B. Wheaton (Ed.), *Understanding lifestyle sports. Consumption, identity and difference* (94-109). London/New York: Routledge.

Booth, D. & Thorpe, H. (2007). Introduction. In D. Booth & H. Thorpe (Eds.), *Berkshire encyclopedia of extreme sports* (pp. XI-XII). Great Barrington, Massachusetts: Berkshire Publishing Group.

Bourdieu, P. (1984). *Distinction. A social critique of the judgement of taste*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press.

Boyle, D. (2004). *Authenticity: Brands, fakes, spin and the lust for real live*. London: Harper Perennial.

Bramadat, P. A. (2005). Toward a new politics of authenticity: Ethno-cultural representation in theory and practice. *Canadian Ethnic Studies 37*(1), 1-20.

Canoeing & kayak fun at the Olympic course plus safe training channels nearby (2009), downloaded from www.raftingcanyoning.com/english/kajakek.htm

Carr, A. (2002). Mountain Madness: guided mountaineering in *New Zealand's Southern Alps*. Department of Tourism, University of Otago, Dunedin, New Zealand.

Celsi, R. L., Rose, R. L. & Leigh, T. W. (1993). An exploration of high-risk leisure consumption through skydiving. *Journal of Consumer Research*, 20, 1-23.

Cerulo, K. A. (1997). Identity construction: New issues, new directions. *Annual Review of Sociology, 23*, 385-409.

Chronis, A. & Hampton, R. D. (2008). Consuming the authentic Gettysburg: How a tourist landscape becomes an authentic expercience. *Journal of Consumer Behaviour, 7*(2), 111-126.

Donnelly, M. (2006). Studying extreme sports: Beyond the core participants. *Journal of Sport & Social Issues, 30*(2), 219-224.

Doorman, M. (2007). *Paralipomena*. Amsterdam: Bert Bakker

Edensor, T. & Richards, S. (2007). Snowboarders vs Skiers: Contested Choreographies of the Slopes. *Leisure Studies, 26*(1), 97-114.

Eichberg, H. (1998). *Body Cultures*. Essays on sport, space and identity. London: Routledge.

Gilmore, J. H. & Pine, B. J. (2008). *Authenticiteit; wat consumenten écht willen*. Den Haag: Academic Service.

Glasvezel/polyester klimwanden [Polyester climbing walls] (2009), downloaded from http://www.vkcn.nl/show-page.as-p?steID= 1&ID= 540)

Golomb, J. (1995). *In search of authenticity: from Kierkegaard to Camus*. London: Routledge.

Guttmann, A. (2002). The development of modern sports. In J. Coakley & E. Dunning (Eds.), *Handbook of sport studies* (248-259). London: Sage.

Heino, R. (2000). What is so punk about skateboarding? *Journal of Sport and Social Issues, 24*(2), 176-191.

Honea, J. C. (2004). *Youth cultures and consumerism: alternative sport and possibilities for resistance*. Paper presented at The Annual Meeting of the American Sociological Association, august, 2004, San Francisco.

Indoor Parachute Simulator (2008), downloaded from http://www.intotheblue.co.uk/adventure-gifts/extreme-sports/bungee-jumping/indoor-parachute-simulator/

Kay, J. & Laberge, S. (2004). Mandatory equipment. Women in adventure racing. In B. Wheaton (Ed.), *Understanding lifestyle sports. Consumption, identity and difference* (154-174). London/New York: Routledge.

Kreber, C., Klampfleitner, M., McCune, V., Bayne, S. & Knottenbelt, M. (2007). What do you mean by "authentic"? A comparative review of the literature on conceptions of authenticity in teaching. *Adult Education Quarterly, 58*(1), 22-43.

Laurendeau, J. & Sharara, N. (2008). "Women could be every bit as good as guys": Reproductive and resistant agency in two "action" sports. *Journal of Sport & Social Issues, 32*(24), 24-47.

Leigh, T. W., Peters, C. & Shelton, J. (2006). The consumer quest for authenticity: The multiplicity of meanings within the MG sunculture of consumption. *Journal of the Academy of Marketing Science, 34*(4), 481-493.

Lewis, D. & Bridge, D. (2001). *The soul of the new consumer*. London: Brealy.

Loynes, C. (1996). Adventure in a bun. *The journal of adventure and education and outdoor leadership, 13*(2), 52-57.

MacNeil, H. & Mak, B. (2007). Constructions of authenticity. *Library Trends, 56*(1), 26-52.

Mittelstaedt, R. (1997). Indoor climbing walls: The sport of the nineties. *Journal of Physical Education, Recreation & Dance, 68*(9), 26-29.

Palmer, C. (2007). Commercialization. In D. Booth & H. Thorpe (Eds.), *Berkshire encyclopedia of extreme sports* (pp. 72-78). Great Barington, Massachusetts: Berksire Publishing Group.

Palmer, C. (Ed.). (2004). *Death, danger and the selling of risk in adventure sports*. London/New York: Routledge.

Peterson, R. A. (2005). In search of authenticity. *Journal of Management Studies, 42*(5), 1083-1098.

Puchan, H. (2004). Living 'extreme': Adventure sports, media and commercialisation. *Journal of Communication Management, 9*(2), 171-178.

Rinehart, R. (2002). Arriving sport: Alternatives to formal sports. In J. J. Coakley & E. Dunning (Eds.), *Handbook of sports studies* (504-519). London: Sage.

Ritzer, G. (2008). *The McDonaldization of Society*. Thousand Oaks: Pine Forge Press.

Ritzer, G. & Stillman, T. (2001). The postmodern ballpark as a leisure setting: Enchantment and simulated de-McDonaldization. *Leisure Sciences, 23*(2), 99-113.

Robinson, V. (2004). Taking risks; Identity, masculinities and rock climbing. In B. Wheaton (Ed.), *Understanding lifestyle sports. Consumption, identity and difference* (113-130). London/New York: Routledge.

Robinson, V. (2008). *Everyday masculinities and extreme sport: Male identity and rock climbing*. Oxford: Berg Publishers.

Rose, R. L. & Wood, S. L. (2005). Paradox and the consumption of authenticity through reality television. *Journal of Consumer Research, 32*(2), 284-296.

Sassatelli, R. (2007). *Consumer Culture. History, Theory and Politics*. London: Sage Publications.

Scambler, G. (2005). *Sport and society. History, power and culture*. Berkshire: Open University Press.

Schwartz, C. (2006). Sport zonder grenzen. Sporten in en met de natuur [Sports without borders. Sports in and with nature]. *Sportimonium* (3-4).

Self, D. R., De Vries Henry E., Findley, C. S. & Reilly, E. (2007). Thrill seeking: The type T personality and extreme sports. *International Journal of Sport Management and Marketing, 2*(1/2), 175-190.

Sewart, J. J. (1987). The commodification of sport. *International Review for Sociology of Sport, 22*(3), 171-190.

The History of Indoor Body Flight (2009), downloaded from http://www.iflysfbay.com/?page= 10

Thorne, P. (2008). *World Indoor Snow Centres*.

Thorpe, H. (2007). Gender. In D. Booth & H. Thorpe (Eds.), *Berkshire Encyclopedia of Extreme Sports* (103-111). Great Barington, Massachusetts: Berksire Publishing Group.

Tomlinson, J. (2001). *Extreme sports; The illustrated guide to maximum adrenaline thrills*. London: Carlton Books

Van Bottenburg, M. (2001). *Global games*. Urbana/Chicago: University of Illinois Press.

Van Bottenburg, M., & Salome, L. (2010). The indoorisation of outdoor sports. An exploration of the rise of lifestyle sports in artificial settings. *Leisure studies 29*(2), 143-160.

Vanreusel, B. (2002). Naar een socio-economische visie op sportbeoefening in de natuur: van Bambi tot Rambo. [Towards a socio-economic perspective on sports in nature: from Bambi to Rambo]. In P. De Knop, B. Vanreusel & J. Scheerder (Eds.), *Sportsociologie. Het spel en de spelers* (pp. 178-186). Maarssen: Elsevier Gezondheidszorg.

Vanreusel, B. & Renson, R. (1982). The social stigma of high-risk sport subcultures. In A. O. Dunleavy, Miracle, A. W., Rees, C. R. (Ed.), *Studies in the Sociology of Sport*: Refereed Proceedings of the 2nd Annual Conference of the North American Society for the Sociology of Sport (183-202). Fort Worth: TCU Press.

Walsh, A. J. & Giulianotti, R. (2001). This sporting mammon: A normative critique of the commodification of sport. *Journal of the Philosophy of Sport, 28*(1), 53-77.

Wang, N. (1999). Rethinking authenticity in tourism experience. *Annals of Tourism Research, 26*(1), 349-370.

Wassong, S. (2007). Climbing. In D. Booth & H. Thorpe (Eds.), *Berskire Encyclopedia of Extreme Sports* (67-71). Great Barington, Massachusetts: Berksire Publishing Group.

Wheaton, B. (2003). Windsurfing; a subculture of commitment. In R. E. Rinehart & S. Sydnor (Eds.), *To the extreme. Alternative sports, inside and out* (75-101). Albany: State University of New York Press.

Wheaton, B. (2004a). Introduction; Mapping the lifestyle sport-scape. In B. Wheaton (Ed.), *Understanding lifestyle sports. Consumption, identity and difference* (1-28). London/New York: Routledge.

Wheaton, B. (2004b). 'New lads'? competing masculinities in the windsurfing culture In B. Wheaton (Ed.), *Understanding lifestyle sports. Consumption, identity and difference* (131-153). London/New York: Routledge

Wheaton, B., & Beal, B. (2003). 'Keeping it real': Subcultural media and the discourses of authenticity in alternative sport. *International Review for the Sociology of Sport, 38*(2), 155-167.

Wheaton, B. & Tomlinson, A. (2006). The changing gender order in sport? The case of windsurfing subcultures. In A. Tomlinson (Ed.), *The Sport Studies Reader* (392-399). London: Routledge.

Chapter 5

Are they all daredevils? A participation typology for the consumption of lifestyle sports in different settings

Abstract

In this chapter, the relationships between lifestyle sport participants and the natural or artificial settings in which they are active are conceptualised. This exploratory examination of lifestyle sport participants, based on data collected through an online survey and in-depth interviews with lifestyle sport participants in The Netherlands, revealed three participation types: exercisers, experiencers and exceeders. An examination of these groups' motivations and preferences revealed that the consumption of lifestyle sports is more heterogeneous than often presumed. The results support the theory that commercialisation and popularisation processes in lifestyle sports may have blurred the boundary between these sports and traditional sports. The current chapter provides a starting point for a better understanding of the various consumption patterns of lifestyle sport participants. The findings of this study offer new insights that may be of use to managers involved in lifestyle sport participation. They may consider lifestyle sport participants as a number of smaller homogeneous markets with similar needs and motivations.

Keywords: lifestyle sports; sport participation

Salome, L., & Van Bottenburg, M. (2012). Are they all daredevils? Introducing a participation typology for the consumption of lifestyle sports in different settings. *European Sport Management Quarterly, 12*(1), 19-42.*

* A Dutch adaptation of this article has been published as:
Salome, L. (2011). Van de Pyreneeën naar Zoetermeer. Een verkenning van de culturele betekenissen van leefstijlsporten in artificiële settings. In J. Lucassen & E. Wisse (Eds.), *Sporten op de grens. Studies over leefstijlsporten* (pp. 38-57). Nieuwegein: Arko Sports Media.

Introduction

Since the 1960s, there has been an increase in new sporting activities, such as skydiving, rock climbing and snowboarding (Wheaton, 2010). In the scholarly literature, these activities are presented as 'alternative sports', 'lifestyle sports', 'whiz sports' or 'extreme sports' (Booth & Thorpe, 2007a; Featherstone, 1987; Midol, 1993; Rinehart, 2002; Tomlinson, 2001; Tomlinson, Ravenscroft, Wheaton, & Gilchrist, 2005; Wheaton, 2004). Although these terms all highlight a particular aspect of these sports (e.g., Appleton, 2005; Sky, 2001), they are all descriptors of the recently-emerged multitude of non-traditional and independent adventure activities (Brymer & Gray, 2010).

This chapter uses the term 'lifestyle sports' to describe activities in which the action commonly takes place in "new or appropriated outdoor liminal zones without fixed or created boundaries" (Wheaton, 2004, p. 12). In these sports, intrinsic rewards such as fun, living for the moment and adrenalin rushes are central (Tomlinson et al., 2005). Furthermore, collective expression, attitudes and the social identity which develops in and around the activity are considered to be important in these sports (Wheaton, 2004).

During the last 25 years, these typically outdoor lifestyle sports, which used to be practised exclusively in natural environments, have been offered for consumption in safe, predictable and controlled artificial settings such as snow domes and indoor climbing halls. This development has been labelled as "the indoorisation of outdoor sports" (Van Bottenburg & Salome, 2010, p. 143). These artificial settings for lifestyle sports, in which natural environments are simulated using modern technology, comprise a range of different facilities which are currently being used or developed around the world. From the first snow domes in the 1980s to the global development of hundreds of indoor skydiving centres, wakeboarding and skateboarding parks, indoor climbing walls, parkour parks and even indoor parachuting simulators and enormous pools with huge turbine fans for indoor windsurfing, these artificial settings are a growing part of the lifestyle sport culture.

The commercial impetus of the indoorisation process has caused some important changes in lifestyle sports. Most significantly, the threshold for participation in lifestyle sports has been lowered. While the masculine domination of lifestyle sports is often explained by the risks involved in the activities and the investment required in terms of time, effort and money (Laurendeau & Sharara, 2008; Robinson, 2004; Thorpe, 2007b; Young, 2004), in artificial environments the sports can be experienced in a safe, convenient, easy and relatively inexpensive way (Van Bottenburg & Salome, 2010).

Rinehart and Sydnor's (2003, p. 10) statement that "enthusiasts must have funds, leisure time and access to specialized environments in order to participate for any length of time" seems not to apply when the emergence of artificial settings is taken into account. Anyone who wants to experience free-fall skydiving but lacks the courage to jump out of a real plane can visit a vertical wind tunnel for skydiving, while anyone who wants to experience a sensational white water rafting tour without the difficulty of planning and organising a trip to a remote outdoor area can jump on a boat on a white water course just outside the city centre. In addition, climbing aficionados can now easily combine their hobby with their job: training and teaching now take place at indoor climbing walls instead of distant and inaccessible outdoor areas. As a result of this development, various new groups such as women, children and the elderly have access to sports which were previously inaccessible, and are increasingly attracted to these activities.

Thus far, research on lifestyle sports has not focused on these new artificial environments for experiencing lifestyle sports. In order to create a better understanding of the different types of lifestyle sport participation, this exploratory study investigates the ways in which participants in artificial (or non-natural) environments and natural (or outdoor) environments differ in terms of their consumption of lifestyle sports. The study includes both quantitative and qualitative methods and focuses on the Dutch market. Although artificial settings for lifestyle sports are not a Dutch invention, this country is remarkably well-endowed with settings such as eight indoor ski centres with real snow, over 30 professional climbing centres, an indoor skydiving facility and artificial raft and surf centres.

Literature review

Demographics

Popularisation and commercialisation processes have increased the amount of attention which is devoted to lifestyle sports such as surfing and rock climbing, not only by various groups of participants, but by researchers as well. The increased scientific attention given to these sports has led to the production and publication of a rather homogeneous picture of lifestyle sports and lifestyle sport participants. Lifestyle sport participants are predominantly portrayed as young, white, Western males with a tendency to participate in sensational and unregulated activities. This group of participants is said to have a 'go for it' attitude (e.g., Booth & Thorpe, 2007b; Ko, Park, & Claussen, 2008; Wheaton, 2004) and a desire "to conquer or battle against nature"

(Brymer, Downey, & Gray, 2009, p. 195). In addition, lifestyle sports are often characterised by features such as the commitment required in terms of time and money and as "representing values such as fierce individualism, civil disobedience, the quest for human potential, taking control over one's own life, and intimate engagements with the environment" (Booth & Thorpe, 2007a, p. ix). These descriptions of lifestyle sports reveal that the activities are different from traditional sports and the dominant sporting culture. Consequently, lifestyle sports and lifestyle sport participants have been studied as an exclusive area of socio-cultural sports research in which the participants are described as a rather homogeneous group of elite or core members of sporting subcultures (Donnelly, 2006).

Nevertheless, recent developments may provide a different picture. These developments are challenging the exclusivity and authenticity of these cultures (Breivik, 2010; Wheaton, 2010). There is obviously a tendency towards 'mainstreaming' processes in lifestyle sports. As a result, the difference between lifestyle sports and traditional sports seems to be getting smaller than it was in the past (Honea, 2004). Trends in lifestyle sports include the increasing organisation of lifestyle sports – formal regulations, training regimes and safety measures are replacing self-organised, loose and unregulated cultures – and the broadening of the demographic composition of these sports (Breivik, 2010). The expansion in participation in lifestyle sports includes not only young men, but also participants from various backgrounds, ages and levels of experience, including women, young people and the elderly (e.g., Tomlinson et al., 2005; Wheaton, 2010).

Although authors agree that lifestyle sport participation has grown rapidly in recent decades (e.g., Breivik, 2010; Donnelly, 2006; Ko et al., 2008; Tomlinson et al., 2005; Wheaton, 2004), this supposed growth is rarely supported by statistics. Most lifestyle sports are highly individualised, the population is widely dispersed and the volatile subcultures are informally organised (Honea, 2009; Vanreusel & Renson, 1982). Participants are seen as a 'hidden' population (Browne, 2005) that is difficult to reach. As a result, empirical evidence of the suggested growth in lifestyle sports and demographic information which could be used to develop a profile of lifestyle sport participants is scarce, ambiguous and rapidly out-of-date (e.g., Appleton, 2005; Honea, 2004; Puchan, 2004). As Tomlinson et al. (2005) stated: "there is little indication of how many people participate in lifestyle sports, nor who they are, nor the extent to which they are different from those already known to participate in other sports and physical activities" (p. 9). What we know about lifestyle sports and lifestyle sport participants is derived from qualitative ethnographic research, which is often focused on

core participants and their perspectives on sociocultural processes and developments in sport (Donnelly, 2006). These ethnographic studies have indicated that young, middle-class, white, Western males have been the dominant participants in lifestyle sports from the beginning (e.g., Rinehart & Sydnor, 2003; Robinson, 2008; Wheaton, 2004), and that the shift towards increasingly heterogeneous cultures is taking place gradually and slowly. For now, lifestyle sport cultures are still dominated by male participants and masculine representations (e.g., Knijnik, Horton, & Cruz, 2010; Sisjord, 2009; Thorpe, 2005; Thorpe, 2007a).

In a first attempt to examine the demographic characteristics of Dutch lifestyle sport participants, a recent study on lifestyle sport participation in The Netherlands revealed that 42% of respondents between the ages of 5 and 80 had tried a lifestyle sport (Lucassen, Salome, & Wisse, 2011). In the 16-20 age group, 73% had engaged in a lifestyle sport at least once. This study showed that more men than women are active in lifestyle sports. Although this study clearly supports the view that lifestyle sports across the world are becoming increasingly popular, detailed information about lifestyle sport participants is not offered.

With the emergence of artificial settings for lifestyle sports, it is expected that the demographic composition of participants will broaden. Thus, when we began this research project on the indoorisation of outdoor sports in 2008, we assumed that the new group of participants in artificial settings would be different from outdoor lifestyle sport participants, as described in ethnographic studies. Previous explorative studies within this research project have supported this distinction: outdoor lifestyle sport participants seem to look down on less committed, lighter participants who experience these activities in safe, controllable environments; statements such as "indoors is not the real thing" and "indoor climbers are just plastic pullers" were common. Therefore, there seemed to be two distinct groups: real, hard-core daredevils who want to feel at one with nature and to experience the risks and sensations involved in adventurous lifestyle sports; and light, less-committed participants who want to be taught and trained in a convenient environment (Salome, 2010). This finding was the first indication that the entrance of new participant groups into lifestyle sports could challenge the view that lifestyle sport consumption can be reduced to a narrow set of homogeneous traits and that lifestyle sport participants all are young, male 'daredevils' (e.g., Booth & Thorpe, 2007b; Wheaton, 2004).

In the current study, the demographics of lifestyle sport participants are used to examine whether the view of the archetypal lifestyle sport participant, as produced in

qualitative ethnographic research, is still adequate or whether the indoorisation of lifestyle sports has brought about new groups of practitioners that differ radically from this archetype. Several methods – including the publication of a survey on forums, and in newsletters produced by artificial venues – were used to reach new indoor participants as well as core outdoor participants.

Psychographics

The predominantly qualitative nature of research on lifestyle sports focuses mainly on how individuals construct identities, the impact of commercialisation and the experiences of minority groups (Donnelly, 2006; Tomlinson et al., 2005). These studies reveal that lifestyle sports are predominantly individualistic in form and attitude, and that participation is fundamentally about 'doing it' (Thorpe, 2007a; Tomlinson et al., 2005). While mainstream sports are traditionally characterised by achievement, competition, records, hierarchy and exclusion (e.g., Scheerder, Vanreusel, & Taks, 2005), lifestyle sport participants often criticise the institutionalised, regulated and commercialised aspects of traditional sports, and have ambiguous relationships with traditional forms of competition (Rinehart, 2002). Furthermore, participation often involves close interaction with the Earth's natural features and forces (Thorpe, 2007a).

The general motives given for participating in traditional sports include weight control and appearance, stress and mood management, competition, and social contact (Koivula, 1999; Luna-Arocas & Tang, 2005). As Koivula (1999) noted, "motives to sport participation differ not only in what they are, but also how strong or important they are" (p. 360). These motives are expected to be influenced by factors such as age and gender. The motives given for participating in traditional sports seem to be less important in lifestyle sports. In these sports, there is predominantly "a participatory ideology that promotes fun, hedonism, involvement, self-actualisation, 'flow', living for the moment, adrenalin and other intrinsic rewards" (Tomlinson et al., 2005, p. 7). There is a strong emphasis on aesthetics: the display of the performer's body and the beauty of movements to others (or 'being seen') seem to be part of the experience (Ko et al., 2008; Rinehart, 2002; Wheaton, 2004).

Although lifestyle sports are said to present "opportunities for more transgressive embodied social identities that differ from masculinities in traditional sports" (Wheaton, 2004, p. 19), the male-dominated institution of lifestyle sports often requires women to behave in a masculine way and to imitate men (Thorpe, 2007b, p. 105). However, there are clear motivational differences between male and female participants in lifestyle

sports. Thorpe (2007b), for example, noted that female participants differ from males in that they approach risk in a very cautious and responsible way. For female participants, the adrenalin rush gained from risk is not an important motivation for experiencing a lifestyle sport. Ko et al. (2008) found that male lifestyle sport participants were not only more motivated by risk-taking than female participants, but that there were significant differences in motivation in terms of aesthetics, mastery of skills, competition, trend/imitation, affiliation and social facilitation as well.

Behaviours

To be considered an 'authentic' lifestyle sport participant, being part of a subculture is essential. Authentic membership of a lifestyle sport culture is determined by attitude, style and world-view, and participants' identities are formed by embracing a certain lifestyle and commitment in time and money. In authentic participation, a particular lifestyle, clothing, identity and circle of friends are involved (Beal & Weidman, 2003; Thorpe, 2007c; Vanreusel & Renson, 1984; Wheaton & Beal, 2003). This serves as a method of distinction from other 'lighter' participants (Bourdieu, 1984).

According to Rinehart (2002), the 'anti-mainstream' impulse among participants in lifestyle sports has gradually eroded. Due to processes of popularisation, commercialisation and mainstreaming, the authenticity of lifestyle sports and lifestyle sport participants is increasingly being questioned (e.g., Beal & Weidman, 2003; Heino, 2000). As a result, there is a tendency to distinguish between authentic and thus committed and devoted participation and less committed forms of participation. Although these less committed and less devoted participants in lifestyle sports have been described in previous research as 'posers', 'wannabes' or even 'outsiders' (Donnelly, 2006), in the current study, the words 'light' and 'lighter' are used to avoid judgments of value. The former descriptions seem to imply that any form of participation other than authentic participation is inferior. In the current study, different types of participation are seen as diverse but equal.

This literature review demonstrates that lifestyle sports are, in their core subcultures, distinct from traditional sports with regard to demographics, psychographics and behaviour. However, due to the popularisation and commercialisation of lifestyle sports – and especially the indoorisation process, by which typically adventurous outdoor sports are offered in safe, predictable and artificial environments (Salome, 2010; Van Bottenburg & Salome, 2010) – these distinguishing characteristics of lifestyle sport cultures seem to be unsatisfactory for describing recent developments.

As these sports can be experienced in controlled and predictable environments, principles such as risk-taking and sensation-seeking are less relevant, as are the feelings of interacting with nature and escaping from reality. Furthermore, these recent developments have made thrills and excitement attainable without long learning processes and significant investments in cultural capital (Bourdieu, 1984; Breivik, 2010). Through these mainstreaming processes, it seems reasonable to suggest that the motives and experience of lifestyle sports have changed drastically with the emergence of artificial settings.

Methods

Sample

Between May 2009 and August 2009, an online survey was carried out among Dutch lifestyle sport participants. A total of 372 questionnaires formed the basis of the present analyses. Table 1 provides descriptive statistics for the respondents to the lifestyle sport participation survey.

Table 1 Descriptive demographic characteristics of the sample

Variable	Category	Percentage
Sex	Male	63.2
	Female	36.8
Age	15 or younger	4.9
	16-35	70.0
	36-55	23.6
	56 or older	1.5
Ethnicity	Dutch	93.0
	Non-Dutch	7.0
Education	Less than high school	2.8
	High school	31.8
	Bachelor's degree	34.7

	Master's degree	30.7
Practised lifestyle sport(s)*	Climbing	76.6
	Skiing	47.9
	Snowboarding	40.0
	Scuba diving	19.9
	Skydiving	5.1
	Kayaking	19.1
	Rafting	18.8

Note. * These percentages do not add up to 100% because several respondents in the survey indicated that they were active in more than one lifestyle sport.

As it was expected that the demographic characteristics of lifestyle sport participants today would be more heterogeneous than in previous times due to recent commercialisation and popularisation developments, several data collection methods were used to reach core, authentic lifestyle sport participants as well as new, light lifestyle sport participants. In doing so, we aimed to reach a sample with more varied demographic characteristics than those found in most ethnographic studies on lifestyle sport participants.

As there is very little previous research on lifestyle sport participants, a representative check to compare the study sample with the total population of lifestyle sport participants was impossible. In addition, a comparison of the sample with information regarding attendance of lifestyle sport centres was unattainable, because not all of the relevant centres collect consumer information in this way. Therefore, the only possible comparison was to analyse whether the sample in this exploratory study differs from the homogeneous profiles of lifestyle sport participants in previous ethnographic studies. The overall sample in the current lifestyle sport participation survey seems to match the general description of lifestyle sport participants in previous studies. In ethnographic research, lifestyle sport participants are predominantly portrayed as young, white, Western males. In the current study, the respondents were generally fairly young (M = 29.2 years old). The majority of respondents were male (63% male, 37% female) and highly educated. These findings correspond with the results of Tomlinson et al. (2005)

and Wheaton (2004). With regard to race, white people are believed to be the main participants in lifestyle sports (Kusz, 2007). The sample in this study is in line with this assumption. However, because of the exploratory character of this study one has to bear in mind that these figures cannot be generalised.

In order to understand and conceptualise the quantitative findings, the web-based lifestyle sport participation survey was enriched with in-depth interviews. While a survey can paint a static, quantitative picture of who consumes what, it cannot offer a vibrant, qualitative picture of how something is consumed and what meanings are produced through these processes of consumption (Du Gay, Hall, Janes, Mackay, & Negus, 1997). In order to assess concepts and meanings in more depth and to refine our understanding of the quantitative data, eight Dutch lifestyle sport participants were selected from the researcher's professional network, which had been built up over three years of research in this field. These respondents were selected according to their sex, age, type of lifestyle sport, and environmental preferences. The selection of the interviewees was designed to reflect the survey respondent sample. Table 2 provides descriptive statistics for the interviewees.

Table 2 Interviewee information

Pseudonym	Sex	Age	Sport	Participant type
Mandy	Female	22	Climbing	Mainly indoor
Tom	Male	38	Skydiving	Mainly indoor
Mary	Female	28	Surfing, snowboarding	Mainly outdoor
Dirk	Male	44	Climbing, skiing	Mainly outdoor
Alex	Male	36	Diving	Mainly outdoor
Hank	Male	43	Rafting, kayaking	Indoor & outdoor
Pete	Male	23	Climbing	Indoor & outdoor
Dan	Male	44	Climbing	Indoor & outdoor

Procedure

Due to the length of the survey and the inaccessibility and geographic distance between the relatively small number of lifestyle sport participants, the survey was offered online. Online access created the possibility of constructing routing structures in the questionnaire depending on the result of the evaluation of one or more conditions (Bethlehem, 2000). In order to reach a substantial number and various types of lifestyle sport participants, three different data collection methods were used: (a) 13 Dutch artificial lifestyle sport centres distributed a hyperlink to the online survey in their newsletters, on their websites and/or in an email to their visitors; (b) the link to the survey was posted on over 30 Dutch online forums, bulletin boards and websites which were of interest to Dutch lifestyle sport participants; and (c) snowball sampling was used. In the call for respondents, it was stated that the survey was focusing particularly on climbing, skiing, snowboarding, scuba diving, kayaking, rafting and skydiving. These sports can be practised in artificial settings in The Netherlands, and thus a comparison between artificial and natural environments was possible. The aim of the use of several channels was to reach authentic, outdoor participants as well as new, indoor participants. Cooperation with artificial venues in spreading the online survey aimed to reach new, light, indoor participants, a group that has never been included in previous research on lifestyle sports.

In September and October 2009, the lifestyle sport participation survey was followed by eight in-depth interviews with lifestyle sport participants. These semi-structured interviews, conducted in Dutch, were carried out in neutral settings which were deemed suitable for the respondent and independent of any sporting activities. The lifestyle sport participation survey was used as a rough guide for the interviews. The interviews lasted between 50 and 90 minutes, and were audio-recorded. As there is always a small degree of interpretation in the transcription process, each tape was transcribed as closely to verbatim as possible.

Measurement

In order to measure the demographics, psychographics and behaviour of the lifestyle sports participants, the survey was composed of five parts, preceded by an introduction that described the aim of the study and explained the most important terms. In the first section of the questionnaire, demographic information was collected to develop a profile of the participants. The second section focused on types of sport. The third part concentrated on various environments for lifestyle sports, with several five-point Likert

scale statements about preferences for artificial or outdoor environments for lifestyle sports (in which 1 stands for 'strongly agree' and 5 for 'strongly disagree'). These statements included: "I prefer to practise lifestyle sports in an artificial setting, because an outdoor, natural environment is too dangerous" and "In an artificial setting for lifestyle sports, the thrill that comes with lifestyle sports is missing." In the fourth part, five-point Likert scale statements were used to measure the role of lifestyle sports in the respondents' friendships, networks and identity. In this section, statements such as "I derive my identity from lifestyle sports" and "Practising lifestyle sports influences my choice of friends and acquaintances" were incorporated.

The fifth part of the survey included 10 constructs divided into 30 questions that measure the motivation of the lifestyle sport participants. The constructs were derived from Ko et al.'s (2008) sports consumption motivation scale. This scale, specifically developed for consumers and spectators of action sports (Bennett & Henson, 2003; Bennett & Lachowetz, 2004; Ko et al., 2008), served as the basis for the measurement of 10 motivational constructs. These motivational constructs were labelled as: (a) achievement, consisting of items such as "My goal is to be outstanding in lifestyle sports"; (b) self-actualisation, with items such as "Lifestyle sports help me to grow as a person"; (c) self-esteem, consisting of items including "Lifestyle sports make me feel confident about my abilities"; (d) social facilitation, including items such as "Participation in lifestyle sports with a group helps me to learn social skills"; (e) fun/enjoyment, with items such as "I participate in lifestyle sports to have fun"; (f) physical fitness, consisting of items such as "I participate in lifestyle sports to stay physically fit"; (g) skill mastery, with items such as "Lifestyle sports are challenging because they are difficult activities to master"; (h) aesthetics, with items such as "I enjoy the artistry involved in performing lifestyle sports"; (i) competition, consisting of items such as "Competition is the best part of participating in lifestyle sports"; and (j) risk-taking, with items such as "Part of the fun of lifestyle sports is the danger involved." Cronbach's alpha was used to assess the internal consistency of the revision of Ko et al.'s questions. The reliability tests indicated reasonable to good internal consistency for all of the scales, with scores of .65 to .89 for the 10 constructs.

At two points in the survey, the respondents were asked to provide three key words that best described their feelings about lifestyle sports and their specific experiences in artificial or outdoor environments. These keywords were inserted into the questionnaire for two reasons. First, by giving the respondents an opportunity to define their feelings in their own words, it was possible to gain insight into these rather subjective

constructs. Second, the opportunity to provide keywords provided some degree of variation in a long survey in which the respondents mostly had to highlight numbers on a scale. During the developmental stage of the lifestyle sport participation survey, draft versions of the questionnaire were sent to experts in the researcher's network with knowledge and experience in the field of lifestyle sports. The recommendations of these experts focused mainly on clarity and appropriateness. With their feedback, the measure was grounded in the experience of lifestyle sport participants, containing items that could be readily understood by these participants and relevant to their real-life experiences.

Due to the large number of questions and statements in the lifestyle sport participation survey, a routing structure was developed. Depending on the result of the evaluation of one or more conditions, the next question to be asked was determined via routing structures (Bethlehem, 2000). In the survey, the respondents received different questions depending on the sport in which they participated and their participation in artificial or outdoor environments. Some questions were reworded, while other questions were added. For example, participants in indoor lifestyle sports received an extra set of questions relating to their indoor experiences. In addition, when a respondent answered during an early stage of the survey that he or she had experience with skydiving, the following questions were all relevant to the skydiving domain. A snowboarder received only questions which were relevant to the snowboarding domain, such as questions about snow domes in The Netherlands. These routing techniques were used to prevent the respondents from having to answer a lot of questions, and to create an attractive survey for the respondents that focused on their own sport and behaviour.

The (Dutch) lifestyle sport participation survey is included as appendix.

Data analysis

The key research question focused on the differences between participants in lifestyle sports in artificial and natural environments, based on the assumption that both groups had fairly strict separate sporting practices. The demographic, psychographic and behavioural characteristics of each group were described, and ANOVAs (followed by post-hoc Tukey tests) were used to statistically compare the differences in motivational and commitment factors.

The interview transcripts were reviewed to identify common ideas, concepts and themes. These qualitative data supported the findings of the lifestyle sport participation

survey. Based on the data analyses, one main topic emerged that has guided the presentation and discussion of the data in this chapter: the cultural differences between different groups of lifestyle sport participants. In the results section of this chapter, these groups are discussed using the survey data and the interviewees' descriptions.

Results

A lifestyle sport participation typology

One of the first questions in the survey focused on the environment (natural or artificial) in which the respondents participated in lifestyle sports. While the aim was to distinguish between two groups, such as one for indoor participation and one for outdoor participation, there was in fact a group of respondents who answered that they regularly practised lifestyle sports in artificial as well as outdoor settings. As a result, three groups were distinguished by the environment in which the participants were active: 29% (n = 104) practised their sport mostly in an artificial environment; 36% (n = 141) practised their sport mostly in a natural environment; and 35% (n = 127) practised their sport in artificial as well as natural environments.

The findings of the interviews coincide with the findings of the survey. That is, the same types and consumption patterns were found: two interviewees were mainly active in non-natural settings for lifestyle sports; three interviewees had a clear preference for natural settings for lifestyle sports; and three interviewees combined indoor and outdoor environments in order to fully experience lifestyle sports. These three types of participants, as distilled from the data, served as applicable tools for describing different groups of lifestyle sport participants in various settings. In the remainder of this chapter, the three participant groups are named: 'Exercisers' – in reference to the physical fitness and training which these participants are attracted to – including people like Tom, who stated: "Indoors is so more efficient, easy and cheaper. You can find me in a plane just once or twice a year, but you can find me in Roosendaal [an artificial setting for skydiving] at least once a month"; 'Experiencers' – referring to sensational outdoor experiences – who made statements such as "I mean… it is an extreme sport! In my opinion, you can't experience the extremities of these sports in a hall"; and 'Exceeders' – referring to the desire to excel in sporting performances and the fact that these participants transgress the strict indoor/outdoor margin – who put forward arguments such as "Of course I prefer the great outdoors. But I do have a job and other things to do. So, sometimes I train indoors, and if I have time, I go straight outside." Although none of the respondents explicitly used the terminology introduced in this chapter, their

concepts, expressions and meanings may be interpreted as fitting into these types. The division of the overall sample into three participant groups formed the basis of subsequent analyses.

As the demographic differences between the three groups were not significant (see Table 3), the three participant types based on environmental preference were elaborated and contrasted using psychographic and behavioural characteristics.

Table 3 Descriptive demographic characteristics of the sample

	Exercisers N = 104	Experiencers N = 141	Exceeders N = 127	Cramer's V
Sex				
Male	62%	60%	68.5%	0.081
Female	38%	40%	31.5%	
Age	28.5	30.8	28.2	0.142

Exercisers

The first group in the typology, Exercisers, refers to a group of 104 respondents (29% of the total sample) who practised their sports mostly in artificial environments, such as indoor climbing halls, snow domes, white water centres, skydiving centres and diving basins. Exercisers are most active in the area of climbing (46%), and to a lesser degree in snowboarding (24%) and skiing (13%). Interestingly, climbing, snowboarding and skiing are the earliest Dutch examples of 'indoorised' lifestyle sports. These sports have been practised indoors in The Netherlands since the early 1990s, and the settings are being continuously improved to enhance standards and consumers' experiences. The relatively long existence and development of these settings appears to have resulted in satisfying and well-built settings for climbing and snow sports.

The results of the survey indicate that an environmental preference for an artificial setting is due primarily to practical reasons. Of the Exercisers, 66.4% preferred lifestyle sports in an artificial environment because of the limited opportunities to perform these sports in natural environments in The Netherlands. Furthermore, 36.6% of these participants preferred the fully equipped character of an artificial environment. As Tom, one of the interviewees, pointed out:

> Skydiving indoors is very efficient in terms of time and money. And although we can skydive outdoors in The Netherlands, unlike, for

> example, skiing, it is a time-consuming and very expensive activity, and dependent on the state of the weather.

In addition, feelings of anxiety appeared to be important for Mandy, one of the interviewees:

> In the outdoors, I feel very… insignificant. I always hear other climbers talk about feeling one with nature, feeling small in the great outdoors. But maybe then I am too small… I think it is just scary to be so small and insignificant.

The motives of the Exercisers for using artificial environments for lifestyle sports are focused on the possibility of practising a lifestyle sport all year round (75% of the Exercisers thought that this was the most important factor), getting and staying in shape (58%) and social reasons (56%). Indoor climbers in particular consider the sociability of an indoor climbing centre to be one of the most important reasons for visiting such a centre. Mandy argued:

> Although climbers are not known as chummy types, sociability and social contacts are very important in our hall.

The importance of social contacts and friendships is also reflected in the keywords given by respondents in the survey: 37 members of the Exercisers group provided the word ‘sociability’, and 14 offered terms like ‘social’, ‘contacts’, ‘friends’ or ‘meeting other people’ when describing their motives for participation. Despite their clear reasons and motives for visiting an artificial setting such as a snowdome or a white water course, the Exercisers preferred the sporting experience in a natural environment (described in Table 4 as outdoor > indoor). In terms of atmosphere and variation, a natural environment is preferable, but an equal number thought that these aspects are comparable in both environments. For social contact, an artificial setting is obviously preferable (described in the table as indoor > outdoor).

Table 4 Preferences for artificial/natural settings for participation types in percentages

Comparison artificial vs. natural setting	Exercisers	Experiencers	Exceeders
Atmosphere: indoor > outdoor	10	2	2
Atmosphere: indoor = outdoor	45	0	28
Atmosphere: outdoor > indoor	45	98	70
Sporting experience: indoor > outdoor	3	0	0
Sporting experience: indoor = outdoor	38	6	19
Sporting experience: outdoor > indoor	59	94	81
Social contact: indoor > outdoor	61	4	16
Social contact: indoor = outdoor	36	21	50
Social contact: outdoor > indoor	3	75	34
Variation: indoor > outdoor	3	0	7
Variation: indoor = outdoor	48	2	17
Variation: outdoor > indoor	49	98	76

Regarding motivational factors for lifestyle sports, as indicated by the results of Ko et al. (2008), fun/enjoyment[XXI] was rated as most important by the Exercisers (M = 1.37, SD = .54). The t-tests revealed that this motivational factor differs significantly between men (M = 1.48, SD = .74) and women (M = 1.20, SD = .37), t = 2.33, p = 0.02, two-tailed, df = 78.14. Female Exercisers reported fun/enjoyment as being significantly more important (see Table 5).

[XXI] The motivational factor fun/enjoyment is the highest scoring item for all participant types. However, this construct may encompass different aspects for different participant types. As Loy and Coakley (2006) observed, there are several theoretical concepts which relate to fun, including "sociability", "euphoric interaction", "the quest for excitement" and "emotional dialectics".

Table 5 Comparison of lifestyle sports motivation by sex for each participant type (M, F-statistics)

Construct	Exercisers			Experiencers			Exceeders		
	M_{male}	M_{female}	F	M_{male}	M_{female}	F	M_{male}	M_{female}	F
Achievement	2.77	2.99	.75	2.88	3.13	1.14	2.56	2.30	1.38
Self-act.	2.39	2.61	.87	2.24	2.65	4.28*	2.21	2.02	1.14
Self-esteem	2.76	2.68	.12	2.39	2.74	3.62	2.31	2.32	.01
Social fac.	2.54	2.41	.29	2.27	2.62	5.22*	2.38	2.02	3.87*
Fun/enjoyment	1.48	1.20	4.20*	1.20	1.20	.00	1.24	1.19	.39
Phys. Fitness	1.81	1.95	.46	2.15	2.63	5.40*	1.96	2.01	.07
Skill mastery	2.61	2.73	.19	2.55	2.71	.76	2.56	2.28	1.94
Aesthetics	3.26	2.90	2.50	2.88	3.21	2.37	2.57	2.51	.11
Competition	3.61	3.68	.08	3.63	3.75	.28	3.46	3.33	.29
Risk-taking	2.58	2.86	1.40	2.38	2.90	7.79*	2.37	2.50	.55

Note. * $p < .05$

Physical fitness ($M = 1.87$, $SD = .33$) was rated as the second most important factor, which was also reflected in the interviews:

> Climbing is the perfect workout to stay slim and muscled. Your complete body is trained, especially with bouldering. You have to be in shape for these activities, and in the hall there are no fatties, you know. *(Mandy)*

> Indoors, the physical aspect is more important than outdoors. Because of the frequency of flights indoors, you have to be better trained. *(Tom)*

Furthermore, self-actualisation ($M = 2.48$, $SD = .31$) and social facilitation ($M = 2.48$, $SD = .43$) were indicated as being important motives for Exercisers. On the other hand, competition ($M = 3.63$, $SD = .94$) and aesthetics ($M = 3.08$, $SD = .56$) were rated as being the least important. ANOVAs followed by post-hoc Tukey tests indicated that the motives of Exercisers do not differ significantly from the motives of the other groups.

For this group, lifestyle sports were not considered to be relevant to the creation of an identity (*M* = 3.28, *SD* = 1.37) or the participants' clothing and lifestyle (*M* = 3.29, *SD* = 1.41). In addition, feelings of belonging to a group (*M* = 2.85, *SD* = 1.39) and the sport's influence on friends and acquaintances (*M* = 2.64, *SD* = 1.41) were not rated as important. As Tom mentioned:

> The skydiving community is a very open community. Background, clothes, jobs... [are] just not that relevant.

When asked about their opinions of the commercialisation and popularisation of lifestyle sports, the Exercisers agreed (64.8%) that it is a positive development that a wider audience has access to lifestyle sports through artificial lifestyle sport facilities. As Tom stated:

> Skydiving is becoming more widely known because of initiatives such as ISR [Indoor Skydive Roosendaal]. The risk perception is also becoming more realistic, as is the general public's understanding of the sport.

As is clear from the results, Exercisers are typified by their participation in lifestyle sports in artificial settings. Participants in artificial settings in this sample were predominantly active in climbing and snow sports. Social aspects in particular, such as meeting other people and social facilitation, are central to their participation. Furthermore, physical fitness and getting in shape are important.

Experiencers

Participants in lifestyle sports which were experienced in hostile and isolated natural areas were gathered together in this second group. The definition of this second type, the Experiencers, refers to characteristics of lifestyle sports such as sensation, freedom, kicks, flow and natural surroundings, which were often explicitly addressed in the interviews and as keywords in the survey. For this group, the experience of being outdoors and the feeling of being at one with nature are essential elements of lifestyle sports. This was expressed beautifully by Mary, one of the interviewees:

> Freedom, that is the essence of both surfing and snowboarding... Being in the mountains, or in the sea, that is such a big thing, so immense. It

> is not about winning or losing, but it is something uncontrollable, unpredictable, caused by nature, not by humans.

The Experiencers in this sample were especially skilled in kayaking, scuba diving and skydiving. Although these sports can be practised in artificial settings in The Netherlands, these settings are relatively new and with just one white water course, one specific scuba diving tank and one skydiving venue, the choice and rivalry between providers is limited. It is possible that the settings for these sports are not as well-developed as the artificial settings for snow sports or climbing, and they are therefore not (yet) as rewarding as climbing halls or snow domes. The Experiencers stated an explicit preference for outdoor settings over easily available and accessible artificial settings. Specifically, the results of the survey show that 67.4% of the Experiencers thought that non-natural settings are too artificial, 61% believed that artificial settings cannot provide the same sensations as a natural environment and 68.8% believed that a natural environment is just as important as the activity. Artificial settings for lifestyle sports were not appreciated by these participants.

When the Experiencers were asked to compare artificial environments with natural environments, it became clear that natural settings are highly valued (see Table 4). The atmosphere, sporting experience, social contact and variation are clearly preferred in outdoor environments compared to artificial environments. As Alex said:

> Why dive indoors when it is possible to dive outdoors? In the Ardennes, climbing halls are not as popular as they are in the Netherlands! […] I like to see the fish, the crabs, the little snails, and to photograph them while diving. And yeah, indoor diving for me is just counting tiles.

Dirk indicated:

> Indoor skiing is no skiing at all. For me, skiing is all about making hikes, looking around, and enjoying the panoramas.

For Dirk, the sporting experience and the variation found indoors are not comparable to those found outdoors.

Regarding the motivational aspects derived from Ko et al.'s survey, fun/enjoyment gained from lifestyle sports was rated as the most important aspect by the Experiencers (M = 1.20, SD = .28). Competitive aspects were seen as the least important (M = 3.68, SD = 1.14), which is in line with the general perspective that lifestyle sports

have an ambiguous relationship with forms of traditional competition (Wheaton, 2004). ANOVAs and post-hoc Tukey tests revealed that the Experiencers were significantly less motivated than the other groups in terms of physical fitness (F (2, 275) = 6.80, p < .05). Further, Mary said:

> I have been in snow domes, but solely for functional reasons: testing a new board, trying boots. But the sporting experience, it is so very different, so not comparable… I do running, and skating, and swimming. Just to stay in good condition, to keep in shape. And I do surfing and snowboarding for the experience, for the feelings.

Table 6 contains the means and standard deviations of the motivational factors which were significantly different between the groups.

Table 6 Lifestyle sports motivational factors for the three participant types (M, SD)

Construct	M Exercisers	M Experiencers	M Exceeders
Phys. fitness	1.87 (.33)	2.35 (.91)	1.98 (.57)
Aesthetics	3.08 (.56)	3.02 (.93)	2.55 (.41)

The fact that Experiencers are the least motivated by a desire to enhance their physical fitness compared to the other groups supports the view that this group is the most distinct from traditional sports, in which getting physically fit is one of the most common motives (e.g. Luna-Arocas & Tang, 2005).

With regard to gender, t-tests showed that women in the Experiencers group were significantly less motivated than men by self-actualisation, t = -2.07, p = 0.04, two-tailed. Regarding social facilitation, women were also less motivated than men, t = -2.28, p = 0.04, two-tailed. Men were significantly more motivated than women by physical fitness, t = -2.32, p = 0.02, two-tailed. In addition, men were more motivated by risk-taking than women, t= -2.79, p = 0.01, two-tailed (see Table 5). In this group, there are larger differences between the participating females and males than in the other groups. These findings may be supported by the fact that in original lifestyle sports as presented in the scholarly literature, authentic participation is a male-dominated area. In line with this idea, men are more motivated to take part in lifestyle

sports by common motivational factors than women. Mary is very aware of the differences in risk perception between men and women in surfing:

> Women are more consciously aware of possible risks in the sport, but they also consciously create prior conditions in order to practise the sport in a safe manner. For example, in Tenerife, there is a strip with lots of rocks. Female surfers help each other to navigate through, and they ask other surfers how to do their best. I think that male surfers just go, just see what they stumble upon.

Analyses of subculture and identity demonstrated that the majority of the Experiencers did not agree that lifestyle sports helped them to belong to a specific group (M = 2.93, SD = 1.27), nor to create their own identity (M = 3.11, SD = 1.31). In addition, the influence of lifestyle sports on clothing and lifestyle (M = 3.32, SD = 1.41) and on the participants' choice of friends (M = 2.59, SD = 1.23) is limited, according to this group. However, social contact and friends which the Experiencers gained from participating in a specific sport were recurring themes in the interviews. Mary stated that her participation in a lifestyle sport was not appreciated by some of her family and friends:

> When the weather is great, I want to go to the beach. And yeah, when I have an appointment for a cup of coffee, I skip that. For me, every opportunity to surf is... almost necessary. Better than that cup of coffee!

Alex worried that he is an 'lone wolf', but enjoys the social contact among the small group of hard-core divers who go out in all weathers:

> These people have become my friends; that's logical when you see each other every weekend.

Although the Experiencers had a strong preference for natural environments, it is clear that most members of this group thought that it is a positive development that a wider audience has access to lifestyle sports through artificial lifestyle sports facilities. Mary stated:

> I think it is nice to practise a bit in such a centre, for people who are not that experienced. They can try the sport, see if it is a suitable

> activity for them. When in France, you can try different pistes instead of sweat your guts out on the piste for inexperienced skiers.

To summarise, the Experiencers are distinguished from the other groups within the typology by their outdoor recreational activities. Their motives for participation in lifestyle sports are in line with previous research on the motives of lifestyle sport participants and are thus comprised of aspects such as feeling at one with nature, experiencing sensations and 'kicks' and struggling against the elements. Remarkably, the survey results indicated that Experiencers are particularly skilled in rather 'new' indoorised lifestyle sports (in The Netherlands) such as kayaking, scuba diving and skydiving. Fun/enjoyment is seen as the most important motive, while physical fitness is seen as significantly less important than it is for other participant types. There are significant differences regarding self-actualisation, social facilitation, physical fitness and risk-taking between men and women within this participant type.

Exceeders

The third type of participants, the Exceeders, combines both worlds of lifestyle sports: the convenience and accessibility of artificial lifestyle sport settings and the sensation and scenery of natural lifestyle sport settings. Dan, one of the interviewees, stated:

> My generation of climbers, we train indoors in order to be successful and excel outdoors… Climbing indoors is a great alternative but also a supplement to climbing in the open field. But it is not natural, and I am permanently aware of the fact that it is a simulated setting.

The Exceeders reported being the most active in climbing, snowboarding and rafting. Although the frequency at which they engaged in climbing and snowboarding is more or less equal to the frequency for the Exercisers group, a remarkably large percentage (36.4%) of the Exceeders in this sample participated in rafting.

Within the Exceeders group, preferences for artificial or natural settings differed. For example, Pete stressed that he climbs indoors for technical reasons and to master difficult climbing techniques. He goes outdoors to experience nature and to enjoy beautiful scenery. For him, the combination of both aspects creates the full climbing experience. Dan prefers an outdoor environment, especially because of the unexpected:

> Imagine a situation, while climbing on real rocks, and you position your hand and there is a little bird. Or a lizard, or you grab a bush with

> thorns. Situations like that, these are inherent in climbing. And I like that.

At the same time, Dan mentioned the variation in indoor climbing:

> The atmosphere and the dynamics in a hall, these are incomparable with climbing outdoors. That rock is the same rock in a year. But indoors, there is a permanent drive to meet new people, change routes, master new techniques and skills… And I need that variation to train successfully.

In total, 46.5% of the Exceeders appreciated lifestyle sports in an artificial environment because of the limited opportunities to perform these sports in natural environments in The Netherlands. In artificial environments, it is always possible to practise the sport, regardless of the season or the weather conditions. On the other hand, 47.2% of this group thought that artificial settings are too artificial and 66.9% preferred natural environments due to the possibility of pushing their personal boundaries. As Hank stated:

> The adventurous character of being outdoors, being part of a sort of Lord of the Rings setting. It's you and your buddies against the great outdoors, yeah, that's great… On a course, it has a more technical character. We use it to get in shape and to create our team bond.

According to the climbers in this group, indoor climbing halls are necessary and help to become skilled in the sport. Pete stated:

> Indoors, I can try a route, and when it turns out the route is too difficult, I can stop and try another route. So, I can in an easy and safe way explore my limits, my skills. Outside, when you are climbing and you are two rope lengths high, it is not so easy to go down. Then you have to keep on going up.

With regard to the comparison between natural and non-natural settings for lifestyle sports, the Exceeders revealed a general tendency to prefer the variation, atmosphere and sporting experience of outdoor environments to artificial settings (see Table 4). Regarding social contact in artificial and natural settings, the Exceeders found it to be more or less the same regardless of the setting. Hank noted:

> There are several aspects of social contact. When we are training in Zoetermeer [the artificial white water course], we are focused on the team, with the six of us. There is, at that moment, a very intimate bond between the members of our team. But when we are active on a river, for example during World Cups, then there is in the evening, but also during the race, a lot of contact between different teams, different countries. So, I think there are various levels of social contact, depending on the setting.

Dan reflected on the smaller indoor climbing venues by saying:

> You have to wait for the ropes, standing next to each other, talking to each other. And, of course, you notice the failures and successes of other climbers. Outdoors, the distances are longer, and it is hard to speak to your buddy when you're on top and he is at the base.

In terms of motivational factors for lifestyle sports, the Exceeders, like the other groups, considered fun/enjoyment to be the most important (M = 1.22, SD = .31). ANOVAs revealed that aesthetics were rated as being significantly more important by Exceeders than Experiencers or Exercisers F (2, 275) = 6.36, p < .05 (see Table 6).

In the in-depth interviews with respondents who were later labelled as Exceeders, achievement in particular was one of the predominant aspects. These participants seemed to be rather competitive and achieving personal or team goals was seen as important. Dan stated that:

> Every time I climb a route, it is a victory over myself, over death… when I am not climbing in a competition, I want to perform better over time. I am now training to gain one level. One level higher.

As Ko et al. (2008) found, there are sex differences within the Exceeders group (see Table 5). The t-tests indicated a significant difference in social facilitation: female Exceeders were more motivated by the social aspect of lifestyle sports than male Exceeders were t = 1.69, p = 0.03, two-tailed.

Analyses of questions about identity and subculture indicated that Exceeders agreed significantly more than other groups with the fact that lifestyle sports influenced their clothing, lifestyle and choice of friends, F (2, 289) = 5.70, p < .05 and F (2, 289) = 3.94, p < .05. Table 7 contains the means and standard deviations for the statements which were significantly different.

Although we expected that the greatest differences would be found between participants in artificial and outdoor environments, this third type is significantly different from the other types. This finding is supported by data from the interviews, showing that the Exceeders are more devoted, more fanatical and more involved in the complete 'lifestyle' of the sports than the other two types.

Table 7 Significant differences on statements on clothes, lifestyle and friends (M, SD)

Participation in lifestyle sports…	$M_{Exercisers}$	$M_{Experiencers}$	$M_{Exceeders}$
… influences my clothes/lifestyle	3.29 (1.41)	3.32 (1.28)	2.76 (1.22)
… influences my choice of friends	2.64 (1.41)	2.59 (1.23)	2.18 (1.16)

Pete stated that the emergence of climbing halls has been especially positive for the general public's perception of the riskiness of the sport:

> Climbing looks like a very dangerous sport, and that is also the perception of the general public. But instead, climbing is a very safe sport, because of all the precautionary measures. When they are in a climbing hall, they finally see that we, climbers, are not as irresponsible and heroic as they thought.

Further, Hank said:

> Although the course in Zoetermeer is maybe not that appropriate for non-white water participants, I am so glad that this course has been developed… It is very powerful, and even some elite teams have experienced difficulties with it. I really like it, it is fantastic!

The Exceeders agreed with the statement that the creation of artificial lifestyle sport facilities is a positive development for the world of lifestyle sports and disagreed with the statement that it is a pity that the exclusive character of lifestyle sports has been lost through artificial lifestyle sport facilities. After all, Exceeders frequently use these artificial environments for training.

To conclude, Exceeders combine training in artificial settings with experiences in outdoor settings. In artificial environments, social, practical and technical motives are

especially important in comparison with nature in outdoor settings. In contrast with the other types, (personal or team) achievement was seen as important. Together with the fact that this group reported that lifestyle sports influence their lifestyle, clothes and friends, Exceeders seems to be the most devoted and enthusiastic group with regard to their sports.

Discussion

To reiterate, the primary question that has guided the analyses in this exploratory research concerned the ways in which participants in artificial (or non-natural) environments and natural (or outdoor) environments differ in their consumption of lifestyle sports. This research question was derived from previous studies in a research project on "the indoorisation of outdoor lifestyle sports", in which the view that lifestyle sport consumption can be reduced to a narrow set of homogeneous traits was challenged. The current study revealed clear differences not only between outdoor and indoor participants, but also identified a third group of fanatic participants who combine artificial and natural settings. As the demographic differences between the three groups were not significant, the three participant types based on environmental preferences were contrasted using their psychographic and behavioural characteristics.

This study demonstrates that there are numerous different forms of participation within the overall typology of lifestyle sport participants. Furthermore, it indicates that commercialisation and popularisation processes may have blurred the boundary between lifestyle sports and the dominant world of sports. This dominant world of sports, consisting of organised, regulated and competitive sports, is considered to be 'mainstream' in contrast to the alternative culture of lifestyle sports.

Various levels of lifestyle sport participation are revealed, ranging from 'authentic' participation to 'mainstream' participation. Authentic participation refers to the way in which lifestyle sports and lifestyle sport participants are described in previous studies, with a focus on commitment and the exclusivity of the subcultures. Mainstream participation refers to the fact that lifestyle sports are beginning to acquire the status of mainstream sports (Honea, 2004).

When the three participant types distinguished in this study are contrasted with participants in traditional sports, it can be concluded that Exercisers (participants in lifestyle sports in artificial settings) represent a type of mainstream participation in lifestyle sports. This type of participation includes common motives for participation in sports, such as physical fitness, appearance and social contact (Koivula, 1999; Luna-

Arocas & Tang, 2005). Experiencers (participants in lifestyle sports in outdoor, natural settings) seem to resemble the picture of authentic lifestyle sport participants as presented in ethnographic studies of lifestyle sports (e.g., Beal, 2006; Brymer, 2005; Midol, 1993; Thorpe, 2006). These participants are significantly less motivated by physical fitness, and there are large differences between male and female participants within this group. These differences may be caused by the fact that lifestyle sport participation in its original, outdoor form is predominantly a masculine area (e.g., Kay & Laberge, 2004; Laurendeau & Sharara, 2008; Wheaton, 2004). The third typology, the Exceeders, represents a combined group of indoor and outdoor participants. For these lifestyle sport participants, indoor and outdoor environments complement each other. Exceeders are motivated by aesthetics, a common motivational factor in lifestyle sports (Rinehart, 2002; Wheaton, 2004). In addition, being part of a specific subculture (in terms of clothing, lifestyle and choice of friends) is significantly more important for them than for the other groups.

The composition of the groups in this study is based on participation in lifestyle sports in artificial and/or natural environments. Each group in the sample seems to have a clear preference for sports; for example, Exercisers are most active in climbing and Experiencers in kayaking. However, it is necessary to bear in mind that the figures in the current research may have been affected by the way in which the respondents were selected and classified according to their participation.

Management implications

Although lifestyle sports and lifestyle sport participants have been thoroughly studied over the past 10 years, the managerial implications of these studies have often been neglected (Shoham et al., 2000). As lifestyle sport participants are often seen as a group with a narrow set of homogeneous traits, managerial and marketing decisions are frequently focused on the typical young, male daredevil as the archetypal lifestyle sport participant. Differences in motivational factors and preferences are not included in the organisation and programming of lifestyle sport activities.

The findings of this study offer new insights that may be of use to managers involved in lifestyle sport participation. These results are useful for market segmentation in lifestyle sports as they increase the current understanding of consumers. To improve our understanding of the needs of a variety of participants, managers may consider lifestyle sport participants as a number of smaller homogeneous markets with similar needs and motivations. For example, in artificial lifestyle sport settings, segmenting and positioning

lifestyle sport participants by identifying their characteristics and preferences have consequences for the organisation of preference- and experience-based groups. To facilitate social needs and friendships, an aspect which is important to Exceeders (the combined group), training groups could be composed of participants of the same type. To facilitate achievement and competition, homogeneous groups of practitioners with the same preferences could be compiled in order to organise small contests.

Managers of such centres are advised to emphasise different aspects of lifestyle sports for different groups in their visual material (posters, brochures, videos, etc.). Instead of highlighting the safe and controllable environment, which is now common in communications by most centres, advertisements and promotions should also reflect the possibility of entering competitions, feelings of camaraderie with other practitioners and themes such as challenge, thrills and adventure. In this way, managers would better appeal to the needs of their (potential) visitors and would improve their services for participants. When other participants reflect the personal needs and preferences of visitors, it is easier for them to connect with one another and for visitors to feel as if they belong. Consequently, visitors become more committed to the centre, the activities and the other visitors.

Future research

The ability to generalise the findings of this study is limited due to the way in which the sample was reached. An online survey posted on forums and websites generates a volunteer sample because the respondents are self-selected (Kaye & Johnson, 1999). These volunteers may be more interested and better informed, and there is a chance that they may hold stronger and more extreme viewpoints than other individuals. Considering the general characteristics of the sample, the respondents may be some of the core participants in these sports.

To incorporate a variety of lifestyle sport participants – including core participants, outdoor participants and the growing group of indoor participants and light participants – in future research on this topic, various data collection methods should be used. As most lifestyle sports are highly individualised, with widely dispersed, volatile, informal cultures (Honea, 2009; Vanreusel & Renson, 1982), there is no one data source which covers all participants. As Donnelly (2006) argued, "we must develop approaches that allow us to account for these many different kinds of participation and for their varied influences on the construction and reconstruction of these cultures" (p. 224). Only a combination of sources and methods can reflect the different types of lifestyle sport

participation in a representative way. Therefore, quantitative as well as qualitative data should be collected via events (e.g. Ko et al., 2008), forums (e.g. Thorpe, 2007a), websites and artificial settings for lifestyle sports.

A considerable part of this survey was focused on experiences, feelings and motives; in short, subjective concepts. In order to understand the underlying sense-making and interpretive processes, further qualitative research is necessary. This further research should also focus on the levels of experience of lifestyle sport participants and the ways in which their perceptions and experiences in outdoor and indoor environments are affected by their years of experience. It would be interesting to examine the ways in which perceptions and opinions about settings change and develop over time.

Despite the difficulties in data collection and analysis, the current chapter has provided a starting point for a better understanding of the various consumption patterns of lifestyle sport participants. With the introduction of a participation typology, this exploratory examination contributes to a better understanding of lifestyle sport participants, and gives, for the first time, insights in the profiles and motives of lifestyle sport participants in non-natural environments and reflections on their managerial implications. Therefore, it may serve as a critical empirical step in our understanding of the behaviour and motives of lifestyle sport participants regarding recent developments in the world of lifestyle sports. Further research should continue to use this inclusive approach in which not only core members of sport cultures are studied, while bearing in mind the difficulty of approaching respondents and the different characters of various sports.

Acknowledgements

The authors would like to thank the editor of ESMQ and the reviewers for their detailed and constructive comments on previous versions of this manuscript. The authors would also like to thank Remco Hoekman from the W.J.H. Mulier Institute Centre for Research on Sports in Society for his assistance with the digital survey.

References

Appleton, J. (2005). *What's so extreme about extreme sports?* Downloaded from http://www.spiked-online.com/Articles/0000000CAD26.htm

Beal, B. (2006). Disqualifying the official: An exploration of social resistence through the subculture of skating. In A. Tomlinson (Ed.), *The sport studies reader* (pp. 406-411). London: Routledge.

Beal, B., & Weidman, L. (2003). Authenticity in the skateboarding world. In R. E. Rinehart & S. Sydnor (Eds.), *To the extreme: Alternative sports, inside and out* (pp. 337-352). Albany: State University of New York Press.

Bennett, G., & Henson, R. K. (2003). Perceived status of the action sports segment among college students. *International Sports Journal, 7*(1), 124-138.

Bennett, G., & Lachowetz, T. (2004). Marketing to lifestyles: Action sports and generation Y. *Sport Marketing Quarterly, 13*(4), 239-243.

Bethlehem, J. (2000). The routing structure of questionnaires. *International Journal of Market Research, 42*, 95-110.

Booth, D., & Thorpe, H. (2007a). Introduction. In D. Booth & H. Thorpe (Eds.), *Berkshire encyclopedia of extreme sports* (pp. XI-XII). Great Barrington, Massachusetts: Berkshire Publishing Group.

Booth, D., & Thorpe, H. (2007b). The meaning of extreme. In D. Booth & H. Thorpe (Eds.), *Berkshire encyclopedia of extreme sports* (pp. 181-197). Great Barrington, Massachusetts: Berkshire Publishing Group.

Bourdieu, P. (1984). *Distinction: A social critique of the judgement of taste*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press.

Breivik, G. (2010). Trends in adventure sports in a post-modern society. *Sport in Society, 13*(2), 260-273.

Browne, K. (2005). Snowball sampling: Using social networks to research non-heterosexual women. *International Journal for Social Research Methodology, 8*, 47-60.

Brymer, E., Downey, G., & Gray, T. (2009). Extreme sports as a precursor to environmental sustainability. *Journal of Sport & Tourism, 14*(2-3), 193-204.

Brymer, E., & Gray, T. (2010). Developing an intimate "relationship" with nature through extreme sports participation. *Leisure/Loisir, 34*(4), 361-374.

Brymer, G. E. (2005). Extreme dude! A phenomenological perspective on the extreme sport experience. Doctoral dissertation. New South Wales: University of Wollongong.

Donnelly, M. (2006). Studying extreme sports: Beyond the core participants. *Journal of Sport & Social Issues, 30*(2), 219-224.

Du Gay, P., Hall, S., Janes, L., Mackay, H., & Negus, K. (1997). *Doing cultural studies: The story of the Sony Walkman*. London: Sage Publications.

Featherstone, M. (1987). Lifestyle and consumer culture. *Theory, Culture & Society, 4*, 55-70.

Heino, R. (2000). New sports. What is so punk about snowboarding? *Journal of Sport & Social Issues, 24*(2), 176-191.

Honea, J. C. (2004). *Youth cultures and consumerism: Alternative sport and possibilities for resistance.* Paper presented at the Annual Meeting of the American Sociological Association, August 2004, San Francisco.

Honea, J. C. (2009). *Sell-outs or outsiders? Co-optation and resistance in action sports subcultures*. Saarbrucken, Germany: VDM Verlag Dr. Muller.

Kay, J., & Laberge, S. (2004). "Mandatory equipment": Women in adventure racing. In B. Wheaton (Ed.), *Understanding lifestyle sports. Consumption, identity and difference* (pp. 154-174). London: Routledge.

Kaye, B. K., & Johnson, T. J. (1999). Research methodology: Taming the cyber frontier. Techniques for improving online surveys. *Social Science Computer Review, 17*, 323-337.

Knijnik, J. D., Horton, P., & Cruz, L. O. (2010). Rhizomatioc bodies, gendered waves: Transitional femininities in Brazilian surf. *Sport in Society, 13*(7), 1170-1185.

Ko, Y. J., Park, H., & Claussen, C. L. (2008). Action sports participation: Consumer motivation. *International Journal of Sports Marketing & Sponsorship, 9*(2), 111-124.

Koivula, N. (1999). Sport participation: Differences in motivation and actual participation due to gender typing. *Journal of Sport Behavior, 22*, 360-380.

Kusz, K. (2007). Whiteness and extreme sports. In D. Booth & H. Thorpe (Eds.), *Berkshire encyclopedia of extreme sports* (pp. 357-361). Great Barrington, Massachusetts: Berkshire Publishing Group.

Laurendeau, J., & Sharara, N. (2008). "Women could be every bit as good as guys": Reproductive and resistant agency in two "action" sports. *Journal of Sport & Social Issues, 32*(1), 24-47.

Loy, J., & Coakley, J. (2006). Sport. In G. Ritzer (Ed.), *Blackwell encyclopedia of sociology* (pp. 1986-1990). Oxford: Blackwell.

Lucassen, J., Salome, L., & Wisse, E. (2011). Leefstijlsport, een conceptuele verkenning [A conceptual exploration of lifestyle sports]. In J. Lucassen & E. Wisse (Eds.), *Sporten op de grens. Studies over leefstijlsporten [Sports on the border. Studies on lifestyle sports] (*pp. 12-37). Nieuwegein: Arko Sports Media.

Luna-Arocas, R., & Tang, T. L. (2005). The use of cluster analysis to segment clients of a sport centre in Spain. *European Sport Management Quarterly, 5*(4), 381-413.

Midol, N. (1993). Cultural dissidents and technical innovations in the "whiz" sports. *International Review for the Sociology of Sport, 28*(1), 23-32.

Puchan, H. (2004). Living 'extreme': Adventure sports, media and commercialisation. *Journal of Communication Management, 9*(2), 171-178.

Rinehart, R. (2002). Arriving sport: Alternatives to formal sports. In J. J. Coakley & E. Dunning (Eds.), *Handbook of sports studies* (pp. 504-519). London: Sage.

Rinehart, R. E., & Sydnor, S. (2003). *To the extreme. Alternative sports, inside and out*. Albany: State University of New York Press.

Robinson, V. (2004). Taking risks: Identity, masculinities and rock climbing. In B. Wheaton (Ed.), *Understanding lifestyle sports. Consumption, identity and difference* (pp. 113-130). London: Routledge.

Robinson, V. (2008). *Everyday masculinities and extreme sport: Male identity and rock climbing*. Oxford: Berg Publishers.

Salome, L. (2010). Constructing authenticity in contemporary consumer culture: The case of lifestyle sports. *European Journal for Sport and Society, 7*(1), 69-87.

Scheerder, J., Vanreusel, B., & Taks, M. (2005). Leisure-time sport among physical education students: A time trend analysis of sport participation styles. *European Sport Management Quarterly, 5*(4), 415-441.

Shoham, A., Rose, G. M., & Kahle, L. R. (2000). Practitioners of risky sports: A quantitative examination. *Journal of Business Research, 47*, 237-251.

Sisjord, M. K. (2009). Fast-girls, babes and the invisible girls. Gender relations in snowboarding. *Sport in Society, 12*(19), 1299-1316.

Sky, M. (2001). The influence of media marketing on the intrinsic culture of "extreme" sports. Master's thesis. Roehampton: University of Surrey.

Thorpe, H. (2005). Jibbing the gender order: Females in the snowboarding culture. *Sport in Society, 8*(1), 76-100.

Thorpe, H. (2006). Beyond "decorative sociology": Contextualizing female surf, skate and snow boarding. *Sociology of Sport Journal, 23*(3), 205-228.

Thorpe, H. (2007a). Boarders, babes and bad-asses: Theories of female physical youth culture. Doctoral dissertation. Waikato, Australia: University of Waikato.

Thorpe, H. (2007b). Gender. In D. Booth & H. Thorpe (Eds.), *Berkshire encyclopedia of extreme sports* (pp. 103-111). Great Barrington, Massachusetts: Berkshire Publishing Group.

Thorpe, H. (2007c). Snowboarding. In D. Booth & H. Thorpe (Eds.), *Berkshire encyclopedia of extreme sports* (pp. 286-294). Great Barrington, Massachusetts: Berkshire Publishing Group.

Tomlinson, A., Ravenscroft, N., Wheaton, B., & Gilchrist, P. (2005). *Lifestyle sports and national sport policy: An agenda for research*. London: Sport England.

Tomlinson, J. (2001). *Extreme sports: The illustrated guide to maximum adrenaline thrills*. London: Carlton Books.

Van Bottenburg, M., & Salome, L. (2010). The indoorisation of outdoor sports. An exploration of the rise of lifestyle sports in artificial settings. *Leisure Studies, 29*(2), 143-160.

Vanreusel, B., & Renson, R. (1982). The social stigma of high-risk sport subcultures. In A. O. Dunleavy, A. W. Miracle & C. R. Rees (Eds.), *Studies in the sociology of sport: Refereed proceedings of the 2nd Annual Conference of the North American Society for the Sociology of Sport* (pp. 183-202). Fort Worth: TCU Press.

Vanreusel, B., & Renson, R. (1984). Sport als subcultuur. Een andere kijk op sport als vrijetijdsgedrag [Sport subcultures. A different perspective on sport as leisure]. *Vrije tijd en Samenleving, 2*, 243-272.

Wheaton, B. (2004). Introduction: Mapping the lifestyle sport-scape. In B. Wheaton (Ed.), *Understanding lifestyle sports. Consumption, identity and difference* (pp. 1-28). London: Routledge.

Wheaton, B. (2010). Introducing the consumption and representation of lifestyle sports. *Sport in Society, 13*(7), 1057-1081.

Wheaton, B., & Beal, B. (2003). 'Keeping it real': Subcultural media and the discourses of authenticity in alternative sport. *International Review for the Sociology of Sport, 38*(2), 155-167.

Young, A. (2004). Being the "alternative" in an alternative subculture: Gender differences in the experiences of young women and men in skateboarding and snowboarding. *Avante, 10*(3), 69-81.

Chapter 6

The clash of cultures: A confrontation between CCT's active interpretative consumer and Ritzer's McDonaldization in artificial settings for lifestyle sports

Abstract

In this chapter, the free, independent and interpretative consumer as portrayed in the Consumer Culture Theory is put against the rationalising and controlling producer as supposed by Ritzer in his theory of McDonaldization. This confrontation is understood in the context of lifestyle sports, in which adventurous outdoor activities are recently moulded and appropriated in commercial activities, offered in artificial settings for lifestyle sports such as snow domes and wind tunnels.

I draw on qualitative research to show in which way the freedom and independence of lifestyle sports and lifestyle sport participants is caught and interpreted in the artificial, regulated and controlled settings. It is concluded that in dynamic processes, producers and consumers interact and intensify each other. New interpretations and forms of lifestyle sports are the result of meanings that are interactively framed and reframed, added and removed, appropriated and turned away by consumers, producers and cultural intermediaries.

Keywords: lifestyle sports; consumer culture; interaction processes; rationalisation

Salome, L. (2011). The clash of cultures: A confrontation between CCT's active interpretative consumer and Ritzer's McDonaldization in artificial settings for lifestyle sports. *Submitted*.

Introduction

Lifestyle sports such as surfing and rock climbing – often presented as 'alternative sports', 'whiz sports', 'adventure sports' or 'extreme sports' (e.g. Booth & Thorpe, 2007; Midol, 1993; Rinehart, 2002; Tomlinson, Ravenscroft, Wheaton, & Gilchrist, 2005) – are traditionally characterised by fun, freedom, independence and self-actualisation (Tomlinson et al., 2005, p. 7). The activities are known for their unregulated and informal nature, and participants are often described by their 'go for it attitude' (e.g. Booth & Thorpe, 2007; Ko, Park, & Claussen, 2008; Wheaton, 2004) and their 'desire to conquer or battle against nature' (Brymer, Downey, & Gray, 2009).

During the last twenty years, a remarkable new type of service has been developed in these lifestyle sports. A development named 'the indoorisation of outdoor sports' (Salome, 2010; Van Bottenburg & Salome, 2010) has occurred, in which the free and independent nature of lifestyle sports and participants is restricted: the typical outdoor lifestyle sports are being offered for consumption in safe, predictable and controlled artificial settings. These artificial settings such as snow domes, climbing halls and wind tunnels, are operating at the intersection of the sport industry and the postmodern consumer culture. The activities as well as the facilities are considered as prime examples of postmodern consumption settings in Western consumerism in which the "existence of rationalised, disciplined production alongside free and hedonistic consumption" (Korczynski & Ott, 2004, p. 575) is central. With their highly rationalised character and modern technology as an integral part of the scene, the settings can be considered as 'cathedrals of consumption' – just like Disneyland, fast food restaurants and shopping malls are – where memorable experiences are staged and consumers are engaged (Pine & Gilmore, 1999; Ritzer, 2008; Ritzer & Jurgenson, 2010; Ritzer & Stillman, 2001; Sassatelli, 2007).

With the indoorisation of outdoor sports, lifestyle sports have shifted from 'participatory leisure' (participant-led, active and spontaneous) to 'consumerist leisure' (provider-led, passive and packaged) (Parker, 1997). In this shift there is not only a clash of cultures involved – the free and unregulated lifestyle sport cultures are confronted with the controlled and rationalised character of artificial settings for lifestyle sports – there is a clash of exploratory theories as well. The individualistic, creative and independent lifestyle sport participant perfectly fits in the approach of the Consumer Culture Theory (hereinafter: CCT), which emphasises consumers' need to express individuality, authenticity and originality to construct individual and collective identities. On the other hand, in the provider-led, passive and packaged way of experiencing lifestyle sports in

artificial settings (Parker, 1997), Ritzer's principles of McDonaldization are ubiquitous. These principles of discipline, order, systematisation, and methodical operation seem to be in sharp contrast to CCT's perspective of the autonomous, free and sovereign consumer.

In this chapter I question in which way the freedom and independence of lifestyle sports and lifestyle sport participants are caught and interpreted in the artificial, regulated and controlled settings. How is this 'clash' between two different cultures recognised by consumers and producers? In which way results the clash of cultures in a clash of theories, and vice versa?

The autonomous consumer

As Rinehart (2002, p. 505) succinctly stated: the alternative sports phenomenon has arrived. Since their origin in the 1960s, unregulated and non-competitive lifestyle sports as alternatives to the highly organised and competitive mainstream sport world have worldwide attracted an increasing number of participants and followers, encompassing a wide range of different experiences and levels of involvement (Wheaton, 2004). Interest from the media and from corporations – "from small, sport-based sponsors to large multinational corporations" (Rinehart, 2002, p. 506) – have resulted in a widespread familiarity of exotic and sensational activities and a subsequent popularity among participants.

In the increasing number of ethnographic studies focused on lifestyle sports, the activities are defined as generally participant controlled and directed (Beal, 2006; Honea, 2004). Lifestyle sport participants "become and remain active without the interference of undue authority" (Rinehart, 2002, p. 505) with a do-it-yourself philosophy and the standpoint that anyone could and should do 'whatever the fuck they want' (Humphreys, 1997, p. 150). Participants themselves organised small-scale contests, meetings and festivals, without interference of authorities or organisations (Rinehart, 2002).

The increasing attractiveness of lifestyle sports in the last decades can be considered as a development in which the rise of the consumer culture is evident. The concept 'consumer culture' stands for the growing and uncontrolled passion of consumers for new products and services, in which there is a strong consumer sovereignty (Featherstone, 1987; Persky, 1993; Sassatelli, 2007). The postmodern consumer is free to choose whatever he wants (Rojek, 2006). The endless possibilities to make free choices out of the wide range of different products and services enable the consumer to

express individuality, authenticity and originality. Furthermore, new spaces where these products and services can be sampled, purchased and enjoyed are created (Appadurai, 1996; Zukin & Smith Maguire, 2004).

Elements of this consumer culture are in various ways evident in the world of lifestyle sports. The consumption of 'dreams, images and pleasures' (Horne, 2006) is highly noticeable in lifestyle sports in which the binding element is fun and enjoyment (e.g. Ko et al., 2008; Wheaton, 2004). In addition, the attraction of consumers to the 'carnivalesque', or the embracement of disorder, ambiguity, the strange, exotic and spectacular, fits in the culture of lifestyle sports (Varley, 2006).

The role of the consumer – or in this context, the sport participant – in the quest for the spectacular, anti-mainstream, free and hedonistic characteristics of lifestyle sports is emphasised by the Consumer Culture Theory. CCT "refers to a family of theoretical perspectives that address the dynamic relationship between consumer actions, the marketplace, and cultural meanings" (Arnould & Thompson, 2005, p. 868). CCT explores how specific groups in specific settings actively rework and transform symbolic meanings to construct individual and collective identities.

CCT describes modern consumers as active and interpretative, trying to create an own identity (e.g. Arnould & Thompson, 2005, 2007; Korczynski & Ott, 2004; Sassatelli, 2007), or as having "a desire to engage in creative acts of self-expression" (Campbell, 2005, p. 24). This perspective focuses on the active response of consumers to commodities and services. Studies about these roles of modern consumers seem to ignore the role of producers. The producers are considered more in terms of being creators of market platforms on which consumers can perform and create meanings. Consequently, in research about postmodern consumption settings and 'cathedrals of consumption', the focus is on how consumers critically and actively make their creative choices out of the wide range of offered products and services, and interpret it in the way it fits to their own lifestyle (Arnould & Thompson, 2005). This 'playful' interpretation is often oppositional to the frameworks producers have created.

The way the free, hedonistic and unregulated lifestyle sport participants are portrayed in ethnographic lifestyle sport studies is in line with the way consumers are studied in the CCT perspective on consumption in cultural markets. It is emphasised that consumers become producers themselves by participating in activities and creating their own activities and interpretations.

The disciplining producer

The last decade has seen a growth in organisational, commercial and regulatory aspects in lifestyle sports. As Rinehart (2002) argues, the anti-mainstream impulse and self-regulation of lifestyle sport participants has gradually eroded. With the increasing commercialisation and popularisation in lifestyle sports, the first wave of 'outsider' interest and regulation in lifestyle sports since the mid-1990s was represented by coaches, managers, the media, organising committees and federations. Although they were directly related and sometimes derived from the sports and the participants, it is obvious that these stakeholders do have a very different role in the production of culture than the participants themselves have.

Shortly after this first wave, the entry of commercial parties to the cultural market of lifestyle sports was embodied by entrepreneurs and corporations "whose primary function has little or nothing to do with sport" (Rinehart, 2002, p. 512). There has been a shift from a predominant participant control to today's situation in which distant commercial outsiders are actively influencing the cultural market of lifestyle sports.

The involvement of commercial outsiders in these lifestyle sports is highly noticeable in the emergence of artificial settings for the sports. In the 1960s, climbing walls showed up as the first examples of artificial environments in lifestyle sports. Conducted for safe and easy accessible training purposes of climbers, the artificial walls became an essential and independent part of the sport in the 1970s (Mittelstaedt, 1997; Tomlinson, 2001). But while the development of artificial climbing walls did not depend on advanced technological developments – the first walls were simple constructions of cement with bolted handholds – technological developments in the 1980s created new opportunities for the simulation of natural elements such as snow, slopes and whitewater rivers. Together with commercialisation processes through which lifestyle sports were increasingly visible and became popular, the increased technological opportunities enabled entrepreneurs to create settings for training and teaching without the concern of natural hazards, weather, or long hikes (Tomlinson, 2001).

From this period, snow domes with 'real' snow were built, vertical wind tunnels for skydiving became popular, and constructed white water courses for rafting and kayaking became an essential part of white water sports. Technologies progressed in a way that natural elements could be simulated increasingly realistic: at snow domes, the artificial sticky and non-snow like snow is nowadays replaced by 'real' snow produced by forcing water and pressurised air through a snow gun or snow cannon (Thorne, 1999); in sport climbing, the cement walls with bolted handholds have been replaced by

multiplex board climbing surfaces, covered with textured products including concrete and paint and with screw-on holds which may be fastened anywhere on the wall's surface (Mittelstaedt, 1997); and in white water sports, the first diverting of natural rivers through boulder placements or damming is now overtaken by the possibilities of electric pumps, used to lift and re-circulate attuned volumes of water to the top of an artificial white water course.

The success and attractive forces of the first artificial settings for lifestyle sports soon resulted in numerous other initiatives. In the Dutch context, in the last fifteen years, the first small snowdome has been joined by seven other snow domes; the supply of the first climbing halls was extended with several new climbing halls and an indoor boulder centre of 750 m^2; an indoor skydive centre was opened in December 2006; and a whitewater centre for rafting, kayaking and several surf-derived activities opened its doors in October 2006. The recently opened settings not only differ from their predecessors by their size; also their activities, diversity and their alignment with the target groups is developed. With the progressing technologies, the first initiatives – often built by climbers, skydivers or skiers themselves – developed from the 1980s from purely sport settings to multifunctional leisure centres. In these highly commercial settings, lifestyle sport activities are just a part of the complete experience.

The mixture of sport, consumption, excitement, accessibility and safety in the artificial settings for lifestyle sports have resulted in a broad range of consumers or visitors, varying in their interests and experiences: "From the 'outsiders who [...] experience participation via an array of 'taster' activities being marketed through the adventure sport and travel industries, to the 'hard-core' committed practitioners who are fully familiarised in the lifestyle, argot, fashion and technical skills of their activities, and spend considerable time, energy and often money doing it" (Wheaton, 2010, p. 1058). With the emergence of artificial settings for lifestyle sports, *all* consumers have the possibility to experience the sensational character of lifestyle sports in a safe and easy accessible manner without going to hostile and isolated areas. Consequently, day trippers, members of children's parties, staff meetings and stag parties, committed lifestyle sport participants and elite teams mingle with each other in the settings. This mixture of visitors has resulted in a unique atmosphere and a range of meanings and interpretations in the culture of the artificial settings for lifestyle sports.

Opposed to the 'authentic' free, unregulated and informal outdoor lifestyle sport participant as presented in ethnographic lifestyle sport studies, this broad range of consumers is restricted and controlled by the framework of the entrepreneurs. In the

provider-led, passive and packaged way of experiencing lifestyle sports in artificial settings (Parker, 1997), producers stimulate the imagination of consumers "by creating a spectacle that combines the fantastic qualities of the leisure industry with the commodities of the consumption industry" (Ritzer & Stillman, 2001, p. 103). In doing so, these artificial environments have become prime examples of rationalised consumerist settings, in which the principles of Ritzer's McDonaldization are obvious. In the rationalisation or McDonaldization process of lifestyle sports, the experience of a lifestyle sport is quick, easy and nearby: lifestyle sports are practised in an efficient, controlled, calculated and predictable setting. As Bale (1989, p. 151) verbalised: "Why waste precious hours flying to Val d'Isère when you can be on the slopes in minutes without leaving the comfort of your BMW?". These artificial environments can be characterised by 'assembly line aspects'. For example, in a skydive centre, each visitor may try the activity for one minute. After this minute, the next participant is ready for the experience. In one of the interviews, the producer even argued that 'a McDonalds-like menu is offered: small, medium and large', referring to the packages of one, two or three fly sessions. At an indoor snowdome, ticket prices are based on the hours spending on the slope. One can buy a one hour, three hour or all-day ticket. People, time, and space are all managed.

While lifestyle sports are characterised by the unpredictability of the weather and the environment, the artificial settings for these sports are as predictable as possible with characteristics such as discipline, order, systematisation, formalisation, routine, consistency, and methodical operation (Ritzer, 2008). It is obvious that the artificial settings are copied time after time, resulting in indoor ski slopes almost identical to others of its type and artificial waves all having the same speed, height and amount of water. Pure nature has too much variation in it, too much 'noise', as Bale (1989, p. 147) stated. The safeness of the settings is ensured by technological novelties, which control the snow, temperature, amount of water, or the speed of the wind. In these settings, the ultimate form of control is present: the control of 'natural' environments. With removing and replacing ambiguity by definability, objectivity and precision, lifestyle sport's 'magical elements' such as risk taking, sensation seeking, feeling one with nature and the transfer from reality, have disappeared.

This producer's perspective, in which consumers are attracted, controlled and exploited by rationalising lifestyle sports (Ritzer, 2008), seems to be in contrast with the free and active consumer as supposed by the CCT perspective and in studies on lifestyle sports.

Examining the clash

In artificial settings for lifestyle sports, two worlds are confronted with each other: the culture of the free, independent lifestyle sport participant who wants to have fun and seeks for excitement on the one hand, and the controlling, rational entrepreneur running the leisure centre who try to attract an as broad as possible audience in the exploitation of commodified lifestyle sports on the other. With this clash of cultures, there is a theoretical clash involved as well. The purpose of this chapter is to explore the ways in which the freedom and independence of lifestyle sports and lifestyle sport participants are caught and interpreted in the artificial, regulated and controlled settings. In the exploration of the clash, I build on CCT's perspective and Ritzer's McDonaldization theory. I use these theories to understand how the synthesis between both, seemingly opposing, worlds is managed.

In order to examine the confrontation of the cultures and the theories, three Dutch centres in which lifestyle sports are commercially offered were selected: Indoor Skydive Roosendaal, SnowBase and Dutch Water Dreams. These centres were selected for their various sports offer and, practically, for the willing of the owners and managers to cooperate and contribute to this research.

Indoor Skydive Roosendaal (ISR), which opened in 2006, offers a vertical wind tunnel for skydiving, a version of parachute jumping in which participants perform manoeuvres before opening the parachute. In this tunnel, consumers can experience the feelings of a free fall within a controlled and safe setting. In the wind tunnel, skydivers are enabled to fly on air without a plane or a parachute, through the force of wind being generated vertically. SnowBase (SB) is the newest indoor snowdome in The Netherlands, opened in 2008. On 9000 m^2 snow, consumers can ski and snowboard from a 220 metre indoor, artificial slope. Dutch Water Dreams (DWD), opened in 2006, is a facility which offers an artificial white water course in the open air for whitewater canoeing, whitewater kayaking, whitewater racing, whitewater rafting and slalom canoeing with artificially generated rapids. DWD also exploits three indoor flowriders: slightly sloped wave surfaces that generate a smooth wave for body boarding and flowboarding, surf-derived activities (WaveLoch, 2010).

All centres provide besides the facilities for the core activities, a restaurant, a reception desk, changing rooms and several meeting rooms for business purposes. All centres are accessible for the general public, for specific groups such as business outings, bachelor parties and children's trips, and for elite sports training groups.

This study about the clash in the world of lifestyle sports is part of a four year PhD-research project on 'the indoorisation of outdoor lifestyle sports'. This research project started in February 2008, and resulted in in-depth interviews with producers and consumers in this sports industry, an online survey among 372 lifestyle sport participants, active participation, observations, and analyses based on textual materials ranging from institutional documents, press releases, media texts, leaflets, and websites. For this specific study, I conducted six complementary in-depth interviews, focused on the producer side (including managers, owners and employees) of the three selected settings from September 2010 till January 2011. Furthermore, I interviewed nine lifestyle sport participants to analyse the consumers' side of this cultural market. Interviews lasted between 60 and 110 minutes, and each interview was audio-taped. Identifying that there is always a degree of interpretation in the process of transcribing, each tape was transcribed as closely to verbatim as possible. The transcripts were analysed inductively, using the interview guide as an organisational tool. The interviews elaborated on previous findings of the researcher, and issues around developments and adjustments through the interaction between participants and entrepreneurs came up for discussion. Generally, each interview started with the possibility for the interviewee to freely express experiences with and feelings about lifestyle sports and the indoorisation process. As the interview progressed, the interviewer became slightly more directive to make sure the clash between consumers and producers and between independence and discipline came up for discussion.

In addition to the interviews, I conducted six days of observations during the period September-November 2010, focused on the interaction between consumers and producers. During observations, I wrote field notes to describe structural and organisational features (what the actual environment looks like and how it is used), people (how they behave and interact), dialogue and an everyday diary of events as they occur chronologically in the field. These extensive field notes were used for interpreting the findings of the in-depth interviews and for 'reading' interaction processes between consumers and producers, producers' framing activities and consumers' reframing activities. The observational field notes were numbered and organised in 77 readable narrative descriptions with major themes, categories, and illustrative cases.

The ways observations have been obtained were dependent on the possibilities in the centres. At DWD, consumers and employees were observed 'on stage' at the white water course and at the flowriders, and from a table at the restaurant with a clear view

on the activities on the flowriders. Active participation as well as observations informed the researcher about the way consumers and producers act, react, and interact. At ISR, several groups of consumers were followed from their first steps at the reception desk to their goodbye drinks in the restaurant. Observations and short, informal interviews with consumers enlightened the way – besides the in-depth interviews with a manager and the owner – consumers and producers act, react, and interact. At SB, I observed both consumers and employees from a table in the restaurant, and by walking through the centre. Observations of the ski slope and listening to conversations in the restaurants, the bathrooms and at the reception desk provided rich information about the behaviour of consumers and producers.

The triangulation of multiple methods and data sources resulted in a broad analysis of the ways in which the freedom and independence of lifestyle sports and lifestyle sport participants is caught and interpreted in the artificial, regulated and controlled postmodern consumerist settings.

What happens when two different worlds meet?

The mixture of sport, consumption, excitement, accessibility and safety in the artificial settings for lifestyle sports have resulted in a broad range of consumers or visitors, varying in their interests and experiences. The presence of day trippers, members of children's parties, staff meetings and stag parties, committed lifestyle sport participants and elite teams at the consumption side of this market together with the interference of owners, managers and instructors as cultural intermediaries at the production side of the market have resulted in a unique atmosphere and a range of meanings and interpretations in the culture of the artificial settings for lifestyle sports.

In the artificial settings for lifestyle sports, who or what constitute producers and consumers are at times seem indistinguishable. This demarcation has become more marked in recent times with the arrival of many large industry players who are often seen as appropriating elements of the lifestyle's culture and creating new elements of it that diverge from its founding spirit. This is one of the ways in which new and different consumers come into the field, resulting in a contested cultural arena in which there is an on-going contest for meanings and attention.

In this section, the interpretations of three distinguished groups of actors within the artificial settings for lifestyle sports are explored: the consumers, the cultural intermediaries and the producers. Interviews with and observations of these different

groups resulted in various ways in which lifestyle sports are caught, moulded and interpreted in artificial settings for lifestyle sports.

The consumers

In the artificial settings for lifestyle sports, participants with various backgrounds and levels of commitment come into contact. A variety of observations and interviews have shown that, although sometimes in a problematic way, a variety of consumers use the same artificial settings at the same time (Salome, 2010). For example, the skiers and snowboarders at SB during a Saturday afternoon include a father who is trying to teach his two sons the basics of snowboarding, a group of young females who are skiing, an older couple, slowly skiing from the main slope, a group of teenage snowboarders showing each other tricks at the fun park and a young couple who are, apparently, for the first time on a snowboard (field note #5). At this centre, training and teaching goes hand in hand with tasting and consumption. These different consumers interpret and give meaning to the activities and the settings in their own way, depending on their background, experience and commitment. Within the framework shaped by producers – the slope, course or tunnel, i.e. the 'stage', and the activities offered on that stage – consumers actively interpret and shape the meanings of the activities and settings. By creating playful and/or oppositional interpretations, the lifestyle sport participant is consumer and producer at the same time.

> I'm not just consuming… I'm producing at the same time. I'm creating friendships, I'm building routes and I'm sharing experiences […] I think there is a need for a certain structure, and we have to interpret within that structure, that frame […] At the [climbing] wall, it is not like in a traditional sports club with a board and committees who organise activities for which members can sign up. Like… 'we have an idea, and you all join'. I think it is always a joint product of both sides, you can't impose anything on people. *(Core climber, male, 44)*

In other interviews, it was reported that:

> The process of giving meaning to our sport… I do that myself. The [climbing] hall creates the possibility for me to give meaning to indoor climbing in a satisfying way. *(Recreational climber, male, 23)*

And:

> I think that especially the freestyle snowboarders, who come regularly in the same snow dome, could influence the quality of the fun park in that snowdome. They really have the possibility to decide which obstacles they want in the park, to maintain the park and thus, to determine the conditions of that fun park. *(Recreational snowboarder, female, 28)*

The consumer has the feeling he or she is in charge: the endless possibilities shaped by the producers are appreciated and understood. This is in line with Tacli Yazicioglu and Fuat Firat's (2007, p. 114) finding of the sense of power of consumers at rock festivals: consumers "become producers of their own framework to be consumed as a festival" and are "not simply reproducing the images of the festival as imagined by the festival's promoters; they are 'producing' the festival in the act of creating, and participating in, the activities". In this way, different types of consumers ascribe different meanings to different activities. While the experienced, committed sport participant produces at a high level, by trying to exercise power on the producer by adjusting settings and activities, the less experienced and devoted consumers are producing at a lower level:

> I am pleased with the new opportunities and possibilities. We even have organised a female trainings group at the wall! Now we can set up our own small competitions and measure up to each other. *(Novice climber, female, 22)*

In the framing of meanings, it is clear that committed visitors of artificial settings for lifestyle sports – the (relatively) experienced lifestyle sport participants – can be considered as the active and interpretative consumer as theorised by the CCT. These visitors are actively involved in the framing process, and try to create their own activity and culture within the producer's framework. This active and interpretative attitude is opposed to the position of the less committed visitors of the settings – the day trippers or tasters. These visitors are logically less involved in the process of reframing the producers' perspectives and meanings. Observations reveal that the groups of visitors as part of kids parties or family outings meekly follow the instructor, without deliberately pushing the limits and setting the activities to their own (field notes #8, #18 and #42).

The cultural intermediaries

In the interpretation of the activities offered in the artificial settings, cultural intermediaries have a crucial role in the meaning-giving process of not or less committed participants. Cultural intermediaries are professional producers of goods and experiences in the consumer marketplace, and by mobilising and motivating others to participate in the reproduction of consumer culture, they promote new styles of consumption (Sassatelli, 2007; Smith Maguire, 2008). In a cultural market, cultural intermediaries hold a complex position. From the producer's side, they are active in directing and framing. From the consumer's side, they are helpful with interpreting and reframing. Thus, these motivational professionals form a point of connection or articulation between production and consumption (Negus, 2002; Smith Maguire, 2008).

In the artificial settings for lifestyle sports, cultural intermediaries in the form of instructors operate within the framework set up by the entrepreneurs, and create and manage experience and lifestyles on the one hand, and invest and internalise work-identities on the other (Smith Maguire, 2008). Cultural intermediaries ensure direct contact and interaction between producers and consumers. These instructors are trained and skilled in the promotion and creation of styles of consumption, and often there are informal connections between consumers and the instructors. In the interviews and observations in the settings, I noticed that the instructors seemed to be essential in connecting the production side to the consumption side. Instructors are the ultimate sellers of experiences:

> One minute in the air in the tunnel certainly has the most impact, but it is actually the smallest part of the whole process when visitors are at ISR. The first contact starts by email or telephone, or at the reception desk. From that moment until we say goodbye; every step has to be right! In this, our marshals [instructors] have a crucial task. *(producer artificial setting for lifestyle sports)*

During the field observations, the selling of the experience from A to Z was the most prominent role of the instructors. These employees not only guide and accompany the visitors during the actual activities, but they escort the guests from their entry till their departure (field notes #11, #33 and #62). They brighten dull moments when visitors have to wait, assist with the choice of the right gear and equipment, and take a drink with their groups after the activity (field notes #27 and #63).

While training and skills are necessary to legitimate the taste of goods, experiences and lifestyles to consumers, cultural intermediaries in these settings have to have a

confident and commercial attitude, and behave at the same time in an amicable and easy way. A refined blend of being emphatic and friendly and money-making is the key to success for these cultural intermediaries:

> Our instructors are trained in being technical capable, being a good translator to the students. But you know… instructors with good looks, stylish, nice to get on with… those instructors do sell the most lessons. That's a fact. And we cannot train these skills; they have to grow into that […] When I teach a ski lesson, I am a sales man. I am the show piece of our facility. I have to facilitate that people do book another lesson, or better, another ten lessons. That is the secret of a good instructor. *(producer artificial setting for lifestyle sports)*

It is obvious that the instructors in the three centres are not only characterised by their technical knowledge and their didactic skills, but also by their enthusiasm and flair towards the consumers. For example, at DWD, the instructors teach the visitors the necessary skills to stand on a board on a wave, while they at the same time keep an eye on young kids in the water and flirt with the girls (field note #58).

With the rationalisation of lifestyle sports in artificial settings, disenchantment or the loss of attractive 'magical qualities' for consumers can become an issue (Ritzer, 2008; Ritzer & Stillman, 2001). To increase the attractiveness of consumption settings, these places "have undergone a process of re-enchantment, whereby the magical allure is simulated to increase the consumer appeal of a rationalized setting" (Ritzer & Stillman, 2001, p. 100). Cultural intermediaries play a crucial part in the re-enchantment of these over-rationalised settings, as is obvious from the following quote:

> Actually, people are mere numbers in this activity, with all due respect. But they don't feel like just a number! And that is the task of our marshals [the instructors in the indoor skydive facility]: to approach every visitor as a unique person, instead of a number. They are trained to treat people this way, and they are more and more selected by their social capabilities. At my point, it is not about their flying potential; it is all about their human potential, their entertainer potential. *(producer artificial setting for lifestyle sports)*

So, while the activities at artificial environments for lifestyle sports are characterised by their rational and efficient character, almost as an assembly line, the cultural intermediaries are able to gloss over feelings of being a number with their passion and humoristic skills. With this, the intervention of cultural intermediaries makes sure there

is room for individual creativity and subjectivity, important values in lifestyle sports (Beal & Smith, 2010).

The producers

The interpretations and meanings of consumers highly influences the producers to adjust the setting and/or the activities. Although consumers play a dominant role in recent research on postmodern consumption settings, in artificial settings for lifestyle sports, a specific example of such a postmodern consumption setting, the production side seems to be more than just being a creator of market platforms. As one of the interviewees mentioned:

> Although we cannot determine the choices and decisions of the consumer, we can influence these choices and decisions. *(producer artificial setting for lifestyle sports)*

Regardless of consumers' 'playful and/or oppositional interpretations', these interpretations are still shaped and constrained by producers (Peñaloza, 2001; Thompson & Tian, 2008, p. 596). While studies on consumption settings, for example within the CCT approach, have given relatively little consideration to "the production side of consumer culture and the tacit theories, goals, and competitive and ideological influences that shape the actions", producers have a vital role in the creations of meanings, interpretations, strategies and choices (Thompson & Tian, 2008, p. 609).

By rationalising the culture of lifestyle sports, the producers are highly important in shaping creative and innovative interpretation processes. Producers try to catch and mould the free and sensational lifestyle sport activities in packets ready for sale. Although consumers in these McDonaldized settings are producers of their own meal as well – after all, at McDonalds consumers have to select and compose their own meal and carry it to their tables or back to their cars – the real producers create a framework in which they put consumers purposeful to work in the way they had imagined. Producers of the commercial, artificial settings for lifestyle sports make sure the consumers know what to expect in all settings and at all times (Ritzer, 2008). These producers impose their meanings and values of the activities to the consumer (Champ, 2008; Du Gay, 2004). The idea of offering outdoor sports in artificial settings did not arise from a pre-existent consumer need or interest. As Collins (2004, p. 167) argued: "consumer demand is not simply an exogenous quantity, but something that is constructed by what is being offered by producers".

However, the development of the artificial settings for lifestyle sports from straightforward accommodations for training to rationalised, commercial multifunctional leisure settings is the result of the interaction between consumer and producer: The culture of these consumption sites is a dynamic and everlasting story of framing and reframing, of creation and recreation.

Adjustments are made after producers carefully observed and talked to consumers to know the consumer's interpretations and needs. Interaction between consumers and producers, intentionally as well as unintentionally, results in the reframing and recreation of the setting or the activities.

> I took a chair and watched. Sat for hours in the reception desk area. Questioning myself: What is happening? And why? And that's of course the crucial question […] I'm not sitting on that chair thinking about financial benefits. No. I am just sitting in that chair and wondering: what do I want to see happen? And what actually happens? About the result of that thinking, I wonder: Why is that happening? And then I have a focus on that particular question. And maybe there are ten other things which I've seen to happen, but I just focus on one thing at the time. *(producer artificial setting for lifestyle sports)*

Another entrepreneur mentioned:

> We have screens in the reception room with surveys. Consumers can make suggestions about the music, whether they want organised battles, stuff like that. It is our goal to let the people choose. These people are important, recurrent visitors. So, their opinion is important, and we really would like to know their judgments and ideas. *(producer artificial setting for lifestyle sports)*

Simply listening to the consumers is for these producers a good source of information as well:

> Every hour I try to walk my round via the client's route through DWD. I look at things like: is everything cleaned up? And I listen. I do not wear industrial clothing, so they don't know I am overhearing, haha. And then I know the mind of the people. Is the route through the changing rooms clear? Do they like the food in the restaurant? Did they appreciate the instructor's attitude? *(producer artificial setting for lifestyle sports)*

Besides looking and listening what is going on, most producers talk to their consumers about activities, the facility and possibilities. Others use (often small-scale) market research for being informed about visitors' wishes, needs, experiences and suggestions. This indirect and well-thought-out way of interaction is most often used during the first months after the opening of a new setting.

While the quotes from the interviews indicate that consumers' perceptions are essential for the production side of these settings, the data from market research are most of the time only used to enhance practical issues in the settings, such as the quality of the food in the restaurant or the hygienic in the bathrooms. So, the producers pretend to put the consumers in charge, but in reality they hold on to their strict rationalisation to constrain, control and manipulate the unmanageable consumers. Suggestions of visitors for the adjustment of the activities are mostly not used. The producers all argued that they do not need this kind of information; they are all sure that they know what the consumer wants and needs to be satisfied. This suggests that they do not want to give up control. However, they have the power to decide, but the power to shape and to interpret is owned by the consumer.

Although the technological improvements have resulted in state of the art settings in which lifestyle sports can be experienced in a safe yet sensational way, it seems difficult to meet the needs of a range of different consumers. At DWD, the white water course was based on the design of the course for the Beijing Olympics to make sure the course could be of use to elite athletes in rafting or kayaking. In general, artificial settings for lifestyle sports are often used by these athletes as a method of training and teaching without the concern of weather or long hikes (Tomlinson, 2001).

At DWD, the aim was to offer a white water facility which was of interest of elite athletes as well as occasional participants who were attracted to whitewater sports. However, after the completion of the course, it turned out that an optimal training facility for elite athletes was created, but that the whitewater course appeared to be too wild and spectacular for consumers who are not professional rafters or kayakers. The anxiety and amazement of consumers about the untamed water caused the management of DWD to adjust the course in a safer and consumer-friendly way. In this example, especially not or less committed lifestyle sport participants – day trippers and members of parties or groups – exercised some pressure on the producer and created their own meanings and interpretations. Because DWD needed the elite athletes just as

bad as the day trippers to stay financially healthy, the course was adjusted. But, according to the management, modifications are limited:

> We try to comfort the client, and to make sure they have a fun and spectacular day. But, we can't take account for everything and everyone. We offer an extreme sport, and extreme sports are all about sensation and risks. *(producer artificial setting for lifestyle sports)*

At several snow domes, in the last years fun parks for freestyle snowboarding and skiing emerged. The popularity of snowboarding and the increasing number of people interested in jumps and tricks forced the centres to adjust their setting. For example, at SB, the fun park is adjusted monthly:

> We now have a Big Air Bag for freestyle boarders and skiers, but last month we had a kind of wooden scaffold, that was part of the Nike's fun park. We have to adjust that part of the slope regularly, in an attempt to keep attracting the boarders, to give them new challenges. *(producer artificial setting for lifestyle sports)*

Other settings offering lifestyle sports have to adjust the settings and activities regularly as well. For example, in climbing halls, route setters or course setters have to reset the different climbing routes frequently to keep attracting climbers.

Besides adjustments in the setting itself, the centres in the current study are busy with trying new activities to attract new consumers. The crucial active role of producers is, besides the realisation of the artificial settings for lifestyle sports, most identifiable in the development of new activities in the centres to hold the consumer's interest and continuously surprising them with variation, challenges and changes. As one of the entrepreneurs mentioned:

> Although we appreciate consumers' wishes and requests, it is not that we have an idea box or something like that. […] It is always exciting, trying some new ideas. You never know how the market is going to react. […] For customers, it is very difficult to point out their wishes. And they don't have to bother about that. […] As I said, it is the same principle as when the first cars arrived. If Henry Ford has asked to the people 'what do you want', they had answered 'more horses'. They never had answered 'a car'. *(producer artificial setting for lifestyle sports)*

At SB, one of the offered activities on the slope effected differently than expected. The tubing course, originally designated on the slope for young visitors who were too inexperienced to try skiing or snowboarding, seemed to be more appealing to teens because of its spectacular and fun character. SB adjusted the tubing course in an even more spectacular way:

> With the start, it was a quite easy course and it took a lot of place on the slope. Now it does not take that much space and it is way more spectacular. We mentioned that our visitors needed more speed, more spirit. *(producer artificial setting for lifestyle sports)*

At DWD, the forceful white water course appeared to be too wild for large groups of consumers. In addition to body boarding, rafting and kayaking, tubing was introduced as a less risky and wild activity.

In most Dutch climbing centres, leagues and courses are organised, and communities are set up. Consumers have requested these changes, and producers were willing to meet their needs. The consumers reframed the meaning which was given by the producer, and interpreted the activity in their own way. In sequence, the producer changed the activity to create a better fit with the consumers' wishes and needs.

Another example of this development was brought up for discussion with regard to skydiving. The first indoor, controlled environments for skydiving were built in the United States in the 1960s for training and teaching marines. Since the 1980s, these vertical wind tunnels were built for commercial use. During one of the observation days, it was obvious that in indoor skydiving, the fun purposes have overtaken training purposes. Inexperienced consumers who were willing to try the sensation of a free fall were dabbling, floundering and laughing. The elite athletes knew when they were able to use the tunnel in a more serious and committed way: they arrived late in the Saturday afternoon, when the members of parties and groups were drinking in the bar and were telling each other heroic stories about their experience (field note #19). In this example, the new meanings of the indoor lifestyle sports – fun instead of training – were never intended by producers in the first place. Consumers reframed the sports, activities and settings in their own way.

From this section, it is clear that producers have to deal with a wide range of possible cultural meanings and interpretations of different consumers. Day trippers, elite athletes and committed, experienced lifestyle sport participants all assign meanings to settings

and the activities. The producers are in charge of managing these various contrasting interpretations that also conflict with the strategies and choices of the producers.

Conclusion

The temporally, spatially and culturally separate spheres of consumption and production (Korczynski, 2005) can often not be distinguished in postmodern consumption markets (e.g. Du Gay, Hall, Janes, McKay, & Negus, 1997; Ritzer & Jurgenson, 2010). Du Gay et al. (1997) argue that for understanding or explaining of the meaning of a product, a combination of processes rather than privileging one single phenomenon have to be studied. These cultural 'moments' are inseparable and connected (Champ, 2008). In processes of interpretation, meanings are creations formed in and through the defining activities of consumers and producers as they interact (Blumer, 1986). The artificial environments for lifestyle sports are prime examples of specific postmodern consumerist settings in which production and consumption processes are interrelated and overlap. In a 'circuit of culture' (Du Gay et al., 1997, p. 3), producers and consumers interact and 'connect' in a circuit of shared and conflicting meanings (Sassatelli, 2007; Zelizer, 2004; Zukin & Smith Maguire, 2004).

Producers, cultural intermediaries and consumers are involved in a continual interactive process, a cultural circuit, which not only influence their interpretations, but also the meanings of the product or service in question (Du Gay et al., 1997; Lury, 1996; Sassatelli, 2007; Shove & Pantzar, 2005; Zelizer, 1988; Zukin & Smith Maguire, 2004). These meanings are not established in advance, nor are they determined by the producers or the consumers. Over the course of time, (aspects of) the kinds of sport that are offered and their setting can acquire a form, meaning and function that no-one had anticipated and intended in advance (Elias, 1984). Although this may be the case for every sport and every social interaction, I have made clear in this study that the constant process of framing and reframing among the producers, cultural intermediaries and consumers may make it difficult to establish the meanings of artificial settings for lifestyle sports. As in a game of chess, both sides are dependent upon each other. As Elias (1984, p. 77) mentioned: "It is not possible to explain the actions, plans and aims of either of the two groups if they are conceptualised as the freely chosen decisions, plans, and aims of each group considered on its own, independently of the other group. They can be explained only if one takes into account the compelling forces the groups exert upon each other by reason of their interdependence".

Collins contended that in the on-going flow of social interaction rituals between producers and consumers, the interpretations and meanings that are given to the products and services on one side of the market resonate on the other side, and vice versa (Collins, 2004; Van Bottenburg & Salome, 2010). As Gabriel and Lang (2008, p. 326) proposed: "Understanding consumption requires that we understand production; understanding production requires that we understand consumption". The producers seemed to look for interaction and appeared to be open for suggestions for shaping the sports and settings, but they do not give away their power to decide over this market. The consumers are interpretative, active and sovereign, and give their own turn to sports, activities and settings.

In the specific example of commercial lifestyle sports, the role of producers seems to be just as active as the role of consumers in these processes: it is a marketplace characterised by producers' and consumers' joint cultural production. This market is therefore a field of tensions in which, in dynamic processes, producers and consumers interact and complement each other. As a result, an innovative market is successfully developed and institutionalised with incalculable consequences: the kinds of sports on offer and their setting can acquire a form, meaning and function that no-one had anticipated and intended in advance as a result of the socially structured character of the processes (Du Gay et al. 1997; Elias, 1984; Van Bottenburg & Salome, 2010). These results cannot be understood from only one side of the market; an examination of the interaction between both sides is necessary for interpretation. This interaction creates a dynamic and everlasting story of framing and reframing, of creation and recreation, resulting in innovative activities and settings.

In artificial settings for lifestyle sports, the autonomous, free and adventurous lifestyle sport participant is confronted with the strict schedules and frameworks of the producer who controls the setting. This study has focused on what happens when these two worlds meet by examining the ways in which the freedom and independence of lifestyle sports and lifestyle sport participants is caught and interpreted in the artificial, regulated and controlled settings.

The results suggest that who or what distinguishes producers and consumers from each other is unclear: consumers are involved in production as well. And, in their appropriation of elements of the lifestyle's culture and creating new elements of it that diverge from its founding spirit, producers can be considered as consumers as well. The artificial settings for lifestyle sports can therefore be seen as contested cultural arenas in which there is an on-going contest for meanings and attention. Although the producer

clearly is controlling the framework in which the consumer acts and reacts, he or she certainly is not completely in charge. The consumer exerts a large amount of influence on that framework.

The findings suggest that two seemingly contrasting theories are needed to explain the dynamics of the cultural arena. In the artificial settings for lifestyle sports, CCT's view on the autonomous consumer is interwoven with Ritzer's McDonaldization theory. Although these perspectives seem to be opposed to each other, in the artificial settings for lifestyle sports it is clear that both these theories have exploratory power. The presence of the various actors in the arena and their influences result in a dynamic interplay in a direction that no-one had anticipated and intended in advance. As a result, meanings are constantly being framed and reframed, added and removed, appropriated and discarded by consumers, producers and cultural intermediaries.

The study of artificial settings for lifestyle sports makes clear that seemingly contrasting theories can be combined and complement each other. The use of only one of the perspectives would not have done justice to the results. Without combining these theories, the dynamic developments within the lifestyle sport arena could not be examined and explained: both perspectives are needed to understand the various actors and interpretations.

References

Appadurai, A. (1996). *Modernity at large. Cultural dimensions of globalization*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press.

Arnould, E., & Thompson, C. (2005). Consumer Culture Theory (CCT): Twenty years of research. *Journal of Consumer Research, 31*(4), 868-882.

Arnould, E., & Thompson, C. (2007). Consumer Culture Theory (and we really mean *theoretics*): Dilemmas and opportunities posed by an academic branding strategy. In R. W. Belk & J. F. Sherry (Eds.), *Research in Consumer Behavior* (Vol. 11, pp. 3-22). Oxford: Elsevier Ltd.

Bale, J. (1989). *Sports geography*. London: E. & F.N. Spon.

Beal, B. (2006). Disqualifying the official: An exploration of social resistence through the subculture of skating. In A. Tomlinson (Ed.), *The Sport Studies Reader* (pp. 406-411). London: Routledge.

Beal, B., & Smith, M. M. (2010). Maverick's: Big wave surfing and the dynamic of 'nothing' and 'something'. *Sport in Society, 13*(7), 1102-1116.

Blumer, H. (1986). *Symbolic Interactionism; Perspective and method*. Berkeley: University of California Press.

Booth, D., & Thorpe, H. (2007). Introduction. *Berkshire encyclopedia of extreme sports* (pp. XI-XII). Great Barrington, Massachusetts: Berkshire Publishing Group.

Brymer, E., Downey, G., & Gray, T. (2009). Extreme sports as a precursor to environmental sustainability. *Journal of Sport & Tourism, 14*(2-3), 193-204.

Campbell, C. (2005). The craft consumer. Culture, craft and consumption in a postmodern society. *Journal of Consumer Culture, 5*(1), 23-42.

Champ, J. G. (2008). Horizontal power, vertical weakness: Enhancing the "Circuit of Culture". *Popular Communication, 6*(2), 85-102.

Collins, R. (2004). *Interaction ritual chains*. Princeton/Oxford: Princeton University Press.

Du Gay, P. (2004). Devices and dispositions: Promoting consumption. *Consumption Markets & Culture, 7*(2), 99-105.

Du Gay, P., Hall, S., Janes, L., Mackay, H., & Negus, K. (1997). *Doing cultural studies. The story of the Sony Walkman*. London: Sage Publications.

Elias, N. (1984). *What is sociology?* New York: Columbia University Press.

Featherstone, M. (1987). Lifestyle and Consumer Culture. *Theory, Culture & Society, 4*(1), 55-70.

Gabriel, Y., & Lang, T. (2008). New faces and new masks of today's consumer. *Journal of Consumer Culture, 8*(3), 321-340.

Goffman, E. (1974). *Frame analysis. An essay on the organization of experience*. New York: Harper & Row.

Honea, J. C. (2004). *Youth cultures and consumerism: alternative sport and possibilities for resistance.* Paper presented at the Annual Meeting of the American Sociological Association, August 2004, San Francisco.

Horne, J. (2006). *Sport in consumer culture*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan.

Humphreys, D. (1997). 'Shredheads go mainstream'? Snowboarding and alternative youth. *International Review for the Sociology of Sport, 32*(2), 147-160.

Ko, Y. J., Park, H., & Claussen, C. L. (2008). Action sports participation: Consumer motivation. *International Journal of Sports Marketing & Sponsorship, 9*(2), 111-124.

Korczynski, M. (2005). Consumption and service interactions. *Journal of Consumer Culture, 5*(3), 289-293.

Korczynski, M., & Ott, U. (2004). When production and consumption meet: Cultural contradictons and the enchanting myth of customer sovereignty. *Journal of Management Studies, 41*(4), 575-599.

Lury, C. (1996). *Consumer culture*. Cambridge: Polity Press.

Midol, N. (1993). Cultural dissidents and technical innovations in the 'whiz' sports. *International Review for the Sociology of Sport, 28*(1), 23-32.

Mittelstaedt, R. (1997). Indoor climbing walls: The sport of the nineties. *Journal of Physical Education, Recreation & Dance, 68*(9), 26-29.

Negus, K. R. (2002). The work of cultural intermediaries and the enduring distance between production and consumption. *Cultural Studies, 16*(4), 501-515.

Parker, S. (1997). *Leisure and culture: Consumers or participants?* Paper presented at the Leisure Studies Association Conference, September 9-11, 1997, Roehampton.

Peñaloza, L. (2001). Consuming the American west: Animating cultural meaning and memory at a stock show and rodeo. *Journal of Consumer Research, 28*(3), 369-398.

Persky, J. (1993). Retrospectives; Consumer Sovereignty. *Journal of Economic Perspectives, 7*(1), 183-191.

Pine, B. J., & Gilmore, J. H. (1999). *The experience economy. Work is theatre and every business a stage*. Cambridge: Harvard Business School Press.

Rinehart, R. (2002). Arriving sport: Alternatives to formal sports. In J.J. Coakley & E. Dunning (Eds.), *Handbook of sports studies* (pp. 504-519). London: Sage.

Ritzer, G. (2008). *The McDonaldization of society*. Thousand Oaks: Pine Forge Press.

Ritzer, G., & Jurgenson, N. (2010). Production, consumption, prosumption: The nature of capitalism in the age of the digital 'prosumer'. *Journal of Consumer Culture, 10*(1), 13-36.

Ritzer, G., & Stillman, T. (2001). The postmodern ballpark as a leisure setting: Enchantment and simulated de-McDonaldization. *Leisure Sciences, 23*(2), 99-113.

Rojek, C. (2006). Leisure and consumption. *Leisure, 30*(1), 475-486.

Salome, L. (2010). Constructing authenticity in contemporary consumer culture: The case of lifestyle sports. *European Journal for Sport and Society, 7*(1), 69-87.

Sassatelli, R. (2007). *Consumer culture. History, theory and politics*. London: SAGE Publications.

Shove, E., & Pantzar, M. (2005). Consumers, producers and practices. Understanding the invention and reinvention of Nordic walking. *Journal of Consumer Culture, 5*(1), 43-64.

Smith Maguire, J. (2008). *Fit for consumption. Sociology and the business of fitness*. New York: Routledge.

Tacli Yazicioglu, E., & Fuat Firat, A. (2007). Glocal rock festivals as mirrors into the future of culture(s). In R. W. Belk & J. F. Sherry (Eds.), *Research in Consumer Behavior* (Vol. 11). Oxford: Elsevier Ltd.

Thompson, C., & Tian, K. (2008). Reconstructing the south: How commercial myths compete for identity value through the ideological shaping of popular memories and countermemories. *Journal of Consumer Research, 34*(5), 595-613.

Thorne, P. (1999). *Winter sports - The third way*.

Tomlinson, A., Ravenscroft, N., Wheaton, B., & Gilchrist, P. (2005). *Lifestyle sports and national sport policy: An agenda for research*. London: Sport England.

Tomlinson, J. (2001). *Extreme sports; The illustrated guide to maximum adrenaline thrills*. London: Carlton Books.

Van Bottenburg, M., & Salome, L. (2010). The indoorisation of outdoor sports. An exploration of the rise of lifestyle sports in artificial settings. *Leisure Studies, 29*(2), 143-160.

Varley, P. (2006). Confecting adventure and playing with meaning: The Adventure Commodification Continuum. *Journal of Sport & Tourism, 11*(2), 173-194.

WaveLoch. (2010). *FAQs - FlowRider, Wave Pool, Surf Pool, Surf Machines & Wave Machines*. Downloaded from http://www.waveloch.com/faqs.

Wheaton, B. (2004). Introduction; Mapping the lifestyle sport-scape. In B. Wheaton (Ed.), *Understanding lifestyle sports. Consumption, identity and difference* (pp. 1-28). London/New York: Routledge.

Wheaton, B. (2010). Introducing the consumption and representation of lifestyle sports. *Sport in Society, 13*(7), 1057-1081.

Zelizer, V. (2005). Culture and consumption. In N. Smelsner & R. Swedberg (Eds.), *Handbook of economic sociology* (pp. 331-354). Princeton: Princeton University Press.

Zelizer, V. A. (1988). Beyond the polemics on the market. Establishing a theoretical and empirical agenda. *Sociological Forum, 3*(4), 614-634.

Zukin, S., & Smith Maguire, J. (2004). Consumers and consumption. *Annual Review of Sociology, 30*, 173-197.

Chapter 7

"We are as green as possible": Environmental responsibility in commercial artificial settings for lifestyle sports

Abstract

Sport facilities such as snow domes, white water courses and indoor skydive centres offer commercial, commodified activities that are derived from outdoor, adventurous lifestyle sports such as snowboarding, rafting and skydiving. The settings, in which natural elements are simulated through modern technology, are known for their large consumption of water and energy resources. It is intriguing that these settings have emerged in an era in which sustainability awareness and environmental responsibility are increasingly important in the sport industry. In this paper, sustainability awareness and environmental responsibility among entrepreneurs running these artificial settings for lifestyle sports are examined based on a qualitative study of four Dutch settings. By identifying the entrepreneurs' motives or drivers for greening their company, it becomes clear that these entrepreneurs combine altruistic and strategic drives, causing some tensions between and within these drivers. Our research reveals that costs savings, managerial and personal values and attitudes, gaining competitive advantages and improving market image and reputation are the most prominent drivers for greening the companies.

Keywords: corporate social responsibility; sustainable entrepreneurship; lifestyle sports; environmentalism

Salome, L., Van Bottenburg, M., & Van den Heuvel, M. (2012). "We are as green as possible": Environmental responsibility in commercial artificial settings for lifestyle sports. *Leisure Studies*.

Introduction

During the last 25 years, artificial settings for lifestyle sports such as snow domes for snowboarding, vertical wind tunnels for skydiving and white water courses for rafting and kayaking have emerged worldwide (Van Bottenburg & Salome, 2010). These settings are known for their enormous energy consumption: a medium-sized snowdome uses more than 1,500,000 kilowatt-hours of electrical energy on an annual basis, and in white water courses, hundreds of litres of water are pumped through the artificial white water river each second. It is intriguing and ironic that these settings, in which natural elements are simulated through modern technology, have emerged in an era in which sustainability awareness and environmental responsibility are increasingly important.

This paper gives insight into the way Corporate Environmental Responsibility (CER) is adopted and carried out by entrepreneurs within a specific branch of the sport industry, namely the artificial settings in which lifestyle sports are commercially offered. This specific branch is particularly of interest because of its relation to both the sport industry and to postmodern consumerism. These artificial settings offer commercial, commodified activities that are derived from outdoor, adventurous lifestyle sports, in which close interactions with 'the Earth's natural forces' (Booth & Thorpe, 2007, p. 189) are central. In the artificial settings, lifestyle sports are moulded into efficient and controllable activities. The settings and activities are typified by controlled, predictable, efficient and calculable aspects (Salome, 2010): visitors go through a directed programme, from the entering of the setting and the explanation of the safety rules to the experience of the lifestyle sport itself and the goodbye drinks with the instructors afterwards. In these settings, the sensational, adventurous aspects of lifestyle sports are combined with the commercial aspects of modern consumption settings. With terms such as 'sensational', 'extreme', 'spectacular' and 'ultimate freedom' on their websites and in press releases, the centres clearly present themselves as synonymous or related to outdoor lifestyle sports.

Although there is a growing awareness of the need to understand why and how entrepreneurs and corporations engage in CER (Battisti & Perry, 2011; Dummett, 2006), examinations of CER in the sport industry are relatively scarce (Babiak & Wolfe, 2009; Breitbarth & Harris, 2008; Butryn & Masucci, 2009; Vanreusel & Weiss, 1998). While socially responsible initiatives in the sport industry are growing – for example in the form of fund raising, programmes that support organisations committed to offering economically disadvantaged people opportunities to do sports, and camps for young people designed to promote friendship and education through sport – apart from some

recent special issues, CER in sports has attracted little academic attention (Bradish & Cronin, 2009; Mincyte, Casper, & Cole, 2009b)

By bridging (sport) management perspectives on CER with sociological studies on lifestyle sports, the current study attempts to fill the gap in the literature by exploring the way entrepreneurs running artificial settings for lifestyle sports are aware of CER, and how environmental responsibility is understood and translated into practice. Following Mair and Jago (2010), the term 'drivers' is used to identify motives or forces for the greening efforts of entrepreneurs in the particular consumerist settings. The study questions which internal and external influences are most prominent in the understanding of their drivers 'to go green', and how their efforts contribute to the legitimisation of the energy consumption of the settings.

In the remainder of this chapter, relevant literature about CER in general is discussed, followed by a review of sustainability awareness in the sport industry and specifically, in lifestyle sports. The method section describes how in-depth interviews and textual analyses have been used to identify and understand drivers of greening for a small group of entrepreneurs in the Dutch context. By discussing the results, it becomes clear which drivers are most important and what contrasts between the most powerful drivers of greening exist. The study is concluded by a discussion section.

Literature review

Environmental awareness as part of CSR in general

Corporate Social Responsibility (CSR) is considered as the satisfaction of the expectations of all societal stakeholders to maximise the company's positive impact on its social and physical environment, while providing a competitive turn to its financial stakeholders. CSR can roughly be divided into the potential positive *environmental* and *social* contributions of companies (Marsden & Andriof, 1998). Corporate Environmental Responsibility (CER) is considered as part of the broader area of Corporate Social Responsibility (CSR). In scholarly studies and in policy documents, the term CER is increasingly used to emphasise environmental dimensions (e.g. Dummett, 2006; Lynes & Andrachuk, 2008). In this study, the focus is on the environmental contribution of specific companies. Therefore, the term Corporate Environmental Responsibility (CER) is used throughout the paper.

CER has been described by various terminologies, all having their own meaning. Terms such as corporate greening (e.g. Lynes & Andrachuk, 2008), corporate environmentalism (e.g. Banerjee, 2001), environmental protection (e.g. Cantelon &

Letters, 2000), environmental responsibility (e.g. El Dief & Font, 2010) and sustainable development (e.g. Hopwood, Mellor, & O'Brien, 2005) seem to be used interchangeably throughout scholarly literature. The terms are used "to justify and legitimate a myriad of policies and practices" (Hopwood et al., 2005, p. 40). For clarity in the current article, the expressions 'sustainability awareness' and 'environmental responsibility' are used. Sustainability awareness addresses the enlarged alertness to the surrounding environmental conditions (Bale, 1989). It refers to the way awareness of environmental impacts is shown. Environmental responsibility in its turn refers to a company's motivations derived from internal and external influences, and the decisions regarding its level of commitment towards environmental issues (Lynes & Andrachuk, 2008). It deals with the company's actual activities to become more sustainable. The terms are combined under the heading 'greening', which is considered to mean investments in environmentally friendly facilities and practices (Mair & Jago, 2010).

The importance of CER has been emerging since the late nineteenth century, when criticism arose about the consumption-driven lifestyle of a growing number of people. Western consumerism "has led to increasing levels of waste and problems of resource depletion, waste disposal, and environmental pollution" (Smart, 2010, p. 165). Therefore, with the growth of consumer culture, critical public responses and anti-consumerist alternative groups emerged, including campaigns on a variety of green concerns.

As a result of pressure from the public and environmental organisations in modern consumption-driven societies, new environmental legislation has increased in the last few decades (Banerjee, 1998, 2001). These tougher regulatory forces and increasing public environmental concerns have impacted on entrepreneurs and reinforced CER as an implied part of CSR (Lynes & Andrachuk, 2008). In the period from 1970 to 1985 the integration of environmental concerns and business and marketing strategies started (El Dief & Font, 2010; Menon & Menon, 1997). In this 'environmentally oriented business management', the environmental impact of business was reduced by adapting products, organisation processes, organisational structure, stakeholder attitudes, business conduct and performance towards environmentally benign activities and away from environmentally damaging activities (Schaltegger, Burritt, & Petersen, 2003, p. 28). Nowadays, corporate environmentalism has grown beyond reactive compliance with environmental rules and regulations, and is coming to mean a company's proactive management of the environment, including eco-efficient production processes and the ecodesign of products and services (Schaltegger et al., 2003, p. 34). Environmental

responsibility is now increasingly becoming a part of corporate agendas worldwide (El Dief & Font, 2010).

There is a growing body of research on CER which has identified the internal and external forces which influence the way CER is conveyed. Studies about the drivers of CER have identified a range of factors expressed in various terms. These include Battisti and Perry's (2011) cost burden, business opportunity, bottom line and responsibility; Dummett's (2006) legislation, cost savings, market advantages, stakeholders pressure and societal expectation; and Mair and Jago's (2010) competitive advantages, improving image and reputation, and managerial and personal values and attitudes. Although companies and industries differ in their primary determinants, it is argued that drivers of greening processes always involve a 'win-win' situation (Banerjee, 2001): concerns and responsibility for the environment – the altruistic perspective – are always influenced by strategic benefits such as financial performance and reputation (Babiak & Wolfe, 2009). Being 'green' in this way is a contested stigma in which the distinction between economic values and environmental concerns is far from clear (Lenskyj, 1998).

In the current study, the factors – or in other words forces, dimensions or drivers – as expressed in previous studies are summarised in six categories, including managerial and personal values and attitudes, gaining competitive advantages, cost savings, improving image or reputation, complying with regulations, and stakeholder pressure.

Environmental responsibility in sports

As Sheth and Babiak (2010, pp. 435-436) argued, "while little empirical research has been conducted on the intersection of CSR and sport, one look at a professional sport team's webpage and other communication vehicles indicates that CSR has become an integral part of these organizations' business functions". The sport industry is, just as companies outside the sports world are, subject to external forces such as customers, activist groups, legislation, and members of local communities influencing the type and focus of CSR activities. This pressure increasingly results in financial donations and programmes by which coaches and/or athletes contribute time to particular causes. Besides these, programmes to offset carbon emissions and recycling efforts during games and major events have been implemented (Babiak & Wolfe, 2009).

CSR initiatives in general and environmental responsibility in particular have dramatically grown in the sport industry in the last few years. Although there still is relatively little academic research into the sustainability awareness and environmental responsibility of the sport industry, scholarly attention on the pressures, forces and drivers of CER is

increasing. Previous attempts to explore CER in this industry have identified various impacts of sport on our environment, including habitat destruction through the development of sports facilities such as golf courses and ski resorts; unsustainable manufacturing processes; and the lack of clean vehicle traffic (Bradish & Cronin, 2009; Dingle, 2009). It is clear that "[w]hether played or watched, athletic endeavours have the potential to produce huge environmental 'footprints' in terms of their use and abuse of natural resources" (Schmidt, 2006).

The importance of sustainable design and construction of sport facilities has evolved over the past few decades (Eichberg, 1998; Gibson, Lloyd, Bain, & Hottell, 2008), and since the 1990s there has been increasing attention on the building of sport facilities from an environmentalist perspective (Schmidt, 2006). Especially the design, build and operation of sport facilities such as swimming pools, ice rinks, turf grass fields, golf courses and ski slopes are critically evaluated (cf. Jehl, 2000; Schmidt, 2006). Due to their consumption of large amounts of water and energy resources, newly built sport facilities have to comply with strict regulatory and environmental constraints.

Besides sport spaces, the environmental footprint of particular sports like motorsport (Dingle, 2009), winter sports (e.g. Weiss, Norden, Hilscher, & Vanreusel, 1998) and sport fishing (Schmidt, 2006) is increasingly observed. As Cachay (1993) argued, sports have come into conflict with the environment, and "sports are coming more and more under attack from nature and ecology movements" (p.311). The environmental footprint of sports extends beyond the activities themselves: unsustainable manufacturing processes for clothing and equipment are also increasingly criticised (Dingle, 2009; Schmidt, 2006). In addition, major sports events, with the Olympic Games as prime example of an international multi-sport event, are known for their significant contribution to the list of environmental impacts. Energy, water and soil, biodiversity and landscape, mobility and transport are crucial themes in the evaluation of the sustainability of these major events.

It is clear that recently, the debate about CER and sports has been taking place in the *complete* world of sports. As Schmidt (2006, p. 295) stresses, sports and the environment are now indelibly linked, "from the glitziest athletic spectacles, played out on a world stage, to the everyday games played by billions of ordinary people". Such attention on the increasing environmental degradation caused by sport has reinforced the large pressures to become sustainable. Sponsors, the media, advertisers, and municipal and state governments are all putting pressure on sport organisations, teams, individual athletes and entrepreneurs (Babiak & Wolfe, 2009). These pressures have

resulted in attempts to create a green awareness in sports to increase alertness to the surrounding environmental conditions (Bale, 1989; Schmidt, 2006).

As a result, sustainability awareness and environmental responsibility became, after the 1994 Winter Olympic Games in Norway, new dimensions of the Olympic movement, alongside sport and culture (Lesjø, 2000, p. 282). This environmental consciousness in sports led to a clearly articulated protection policy from the International Olympic committee at the Winter Olympics at Nagano in 1998 (Cantelon & Letters, 2000; Schmidt, 2006). From then onwards, sport–environment conflicts in areas such as land deterioration, pollution, destructive effects on ecological life systems and noise were reduced where possible. Consequently, the Sydney Games in 2000 were seen as a clear sign of the inseparable convergence of sports and environmentalism (Lenskyj, 1998; Newlands, 2010).

However, although these Games were superficially seen as a prime example of the greening efforts in the sport industry, Lenskyj (1998) has argued that this seems to be a rather environmentally friendly public image, while at the same time behind the façade real pro-environmental efforts failed. These misleading green marketing claims lead to consumer scepticism towards this "selective disclosure of positive information about a company's environmental or social performance, without full disclosure of negative information on these dimensions", or in short, 'greenwashing' (Lyon & Maxwell, 2006, no page).

In the current chapter, a specific part of the sport industry is central: centres in which lifestyle sports are commercially offered in settings where natural environments are simulated using modern technology. Artificial settings for lifestyle sports comprise a range of different facilities currently being used or developed around the world, from the first snow domes in the late 1980s, to the global development of hundreds of indoor skydiving centres, wakeboard and skateboard parks, indoor climbing walls, parkour parks and even indoor parachute simulators and enormous pools with huge turbine fans for indoor windsurfing.

These settings are seen as prime examples of postmodern consumption settings in Western consumerism in which the 'existence of rationalized, disciplined production alongside free and hedonistic consumption' (Korczynski & Ott, 2004, p. 575) is central. In the artificial environments, lifestyle sports are moulded in safe, predictable, calculated and controlled activities (Bale, 1989; Ritzer, 2008; Salome, 2010), and easily combined with in-house restaurants and shops. With their highly rationalised character and modern

technology as an integral part of the scene, the settings can be considered as 'cathedrals of consumption' – just like Disneyland, fast food restaurants and shopping malls are – where memorable experiences are staged and consumers are engaged (Pine & Gilmore, 1999; Ritzer, 2008; Ritzer & Jurgenson, 2010; Ritzer & Stillman, 2001; Sassatelli, 2007).

Previous research has indicated that the entrepreneurs in these settings have to do justice to the image of lifestyle sports as much as possible to make sure the activities in the artificial settings can be associated with the attractive forces of adventurous outdoor lifestyle sports (Van Bottenburg & Salome, 2010; Salome, 2010). Given the importance of the allure and excitement of lifestyle sports in the commercially offered activities, the next section briefly outlines the issues of sustainability awareness and environmental responsibility in outdoor lifestyle sports.

Sustainability awareness in lifestyle sports

The term lifestyle sports in this paper refers to activities such as rock climbing, rafting and snowboarding, sports in which intimate engagements with the Earth's natural features and forces are important elements. As Brymer, Downey and Gray (2009, p. 195) mentioned: "A river without water means no kayaking. Wind in the wrong direction or too strong means no B.A.S.E. jumping. As yet, humanity cannot manufacture giant waves for surfing competitions or mountains the size of Mount Meru".

In lifestyle sports, for a long time participants were viewed as having a great concern for the natural world and the sports were known for their nature-friendly image (Bale, 1989; Mincyte et al., 2009a; Vanreusel, 2002). However, since these sports have experienced an enormous growth in participation since the 1980s (cf. Wheaton, 2010), the use of natural environments for sport participation has been increasingly studied and criticised. Lifestyle sports are now characterised by various levels of participation, dependent on factors including experience, background and commitment, and participants have multiple and nuanced relationships with natural environments and/or urban spaces (Borden, 2001; Tomlinson, Ravenscroft, Wheaton, & Gilchrist, 2005).

With the growth of conflicts between the conservation and recreation objectives of natural areas for lifestyle sports (Türk, Jacob, Krämer, & Roth, 2004), in various projects the relationship with natural resources is studied in depth. Brymer and Gray (2010), for example, stress the way lifestyle sport participants understand and work with natural forces; Ward (1996), Laviolette (2006) and Wheaton (2007) describe how

the surfers' organisation Surfers Against Sewage create fresh pressures and perspectives on the management of an environmental issue; and Weiss et al. (1998) explore the way participants in skiing are aware of and cope with environmental problems, and conclude that the majority of ski participants perceive the environmental impact of skiing as problematic and are willing to pay an 'environmental tax'. These examples illustrate the inseparable, though varied and contradictory, link between lifestyle sports and natural environments. As Booth and Thorpe argued (2007, p. 189), "although some devotees conceptualize their involvement in extreme sports in terms of conquering the environment, more often they attach spiritual and religious personas to the Earth's forces and stress harmonious relationships with 'mother nature'".

Lifestyle sports are, just like the sport industry in general, increasingly influenced by growing sustainability awareness. For instance, Time magazine ascribed in 2008 an article on greening extreme lifestyle sports (Lee-St.John, 2008), in which it emphasised that those sports that take place outdoors are intimately affected by climate change and pollution. Therefore, 'everyone in the industry' is trying to go green. Planet Green, an eco-lifestyle online and television network launched by Discovery, devoted one of its 'How to go green guides' to skiing and snowboarding, with tips to minimise the environmental impact when "taking advantage of nature's generous decision to include snowy, mountainous inclines in its blueprint" because "it just seems wrong to not be green when you hit the slopes" (Merchant, 2009). Obviously, sustainability awareness is an increasingly dominant aspect of the experience of lifestyle sports. "Everyone in the industry, from individual skateboarders to big-time gear and apparel-makers, is trying to go extremely green" (Lee-St.John, 2008) by taking environmentally responsible decisions.

In artificial settings for lifestyle sports, the same tension exists: recreation objectives and the large amounts of energy involved are opposed to conservation objectives, referring to the steps towards greening and reducing the environmental footprint of the settings.

Method

Although The Netherlands is a forerunner in the development of artificial settings for lifestyle sports with numerous professional climbing centres, various snow domes, an indoor skydiving facility and an artificial raft and surf accommodation, this market is still in its infancy. The area has not been extensively studied yet, and therefore, this study on CER in this specific sport branch is considered as exploratory.

The exploration of CER in artificial environments for lifestyle sports is part of a research project of the rise and the changing meanings of these settings. In an early stage of this project, during in-depth interviews it became clear that environmental issues are increasingly important in this branch. In order to explore the way entrepreneurs running artificial settings for lifestyle sports are aware of CER and how environmental responsibility is understood and translated into practice, four Dutch artificial settings were selected out of the wider range of artificial environments that are part of the broader research project. From the previous interviews, it was clear that these four settings especially struggle with environmentalist issues. The owners and managers of these settings were exposed to high sustainability awareness and environmental responsibility, and were the most interesting for the critical examination of the drivers of greening in this specific sports industry. The settings – each of them identified as a consumer of large amounts of water and energy resources – include an artificial white water course, a snowdome, a multifunctional leisure centre with a snowdome, and a wind tunnel for skydiving.

In a total of nine in-depth semi-structured interviews with owners and managers of these settings, issues around sustainability and environmental awareness came up for discussion. The interview guide consisted of questions related to the entrepreneurs' perspectives on CER, their thoughts and feelings about their own facilities and their opinions about being green and making money at the same time. It was intended that the data collection would be perceived as unthreatening and that this would reveal actual feelings and avoid socially desirable responses (Battisti & Perry, 2011). Interviews were transcribed verbatim and analysed inductively, using the interview guide as an organisational tool.

In addition to the interviews, the analysis of CER in the four settings was enriched with analyses based on textual materials derived from the websites of the settings, press releases and institutional documents (accessed via links on the websites). Each communication that explicitly mentioned words such as 'sustainability', 'ecology' or 'energy' was included in the analysis.

The interviews and the texts were analysed by using the six categories as identified in scholarly literature on CER: Managerial and personal values and attitudes, gaining competitive advantages, cost savings, improving image or reputation, complying with regulations, and stakeholder pressure. Each text segment from the transcribed interviews, press release or institutional document that unambiguously represented a specific driver, and thus category, was labelled and counted. An example of a text

segment which unambiguously represented a specific driver was 'I want to be...we want to green. In a genuine sense'. From this quote, it is clear that the driver about personal values is represented. An example of a text segment from which it was not clear what driver was represented, was 'We used thermal images to indicate heat loss. Consequently, we have improved the cooling techniques'. From this text segment, it is not clear which of the six drivers was represented. Table 1 contains the six drivers as identified from the scholarly literature and the number of times these drivers were mentioned in the various analysed texts.

Table 1 Number of times drivers were mentioned in the in-depth interviews, in press releases and institutional documents, and on websites.

Drivers identified in scholarly literature	Number of times mentioned in texts
Managerial and personal values and attitudes	12
Gaining a competitive advantage	5
Cost savings	14
Improving image or reputation	9
Complying with regulations	2
Stakeholder pressure	2

Results

In the interviews, especially two drivers were mentioned the most frequently: cost savings and managerial and personal values and attitudes of the entrepreneurs. Often these drivers were the first determinants which came to mind when CER was discussed with the entrepreneurs, which implies that these drivers are most important for them. Also the improvement of image and reputation and the gaining of competitive advantages were mentioned more often in the interviews and the other texts than the drivers complying with regulations and stakeholder pressures.

Therefore, in this section, the four most frequently mentioned drivers are – in order of importance according to the entrepreneurs – explained and interpreted. In the interpretation of the drivers, it becomes clear in which way tensions between 'green capitalism' and concerns and responsibility for the environment are present.

Cost savings

Artificial settings for lifestyle sports such as snow domes and wind tunnels can be characterised by the enormous amounts of power and/or water they consume. For example, a Dutch company which offers a 300 metre artificial white water river, one of the cases in this study, is the largest energy consumer of the area with thirteen cubic metres of water pumped through the white water river each second (RVOZ, 2008). Furthermore, this facility exploits three flowriders, which each uses about 180 kW to pump thousands of litres of water over a composite membrane riding surface for the creation of an endless wave (WaveLoch, 2010).

One of the snow domes in this study has a 160 metre piste with snow manufactured using a snow cannon. This snowdome consumes an average amount of 1,604,000 kilowatt-hours of electrical energy on an annual basis (Ros, 2010). It is not surprisingly that adjustments to save energy or water are very relevant for these large-scale energy consumers. As the owner of an indoor skydive centre said:

> We rebuilt the wind tunnel in 2008. With that, we have reduced the electricity consumption by up to forty percent. This is a huge success for us.

This skydive centre was rebuilt to minimise the height at which the skydivers flew from ten to four metres. The skydivers now fly closer to the wind source and thus the generators have to produce less wind for the same speed at a lower point. The owner declared:

> That is a decrease of forty percent in energy consumption. Forty! When you spend 35,000 Euros each month, forty per cent is enormous!

In an interview with the general manager of one of the other settings, it was mentioned that "we direct the use of energy by matching supply and demand" which is "economically highly important" (cited in RVOZ, 2008).

At first sight, it seems that the greening efforts in the settings were purely made for economic reasons and that these producers are solely interested in the reduction of their expenses. Their steps towards an increased alertness to environmental conditions appear to be primarily driven by financial interests. Some of them were explicit about their incentives:

> For me, it is all about the money. Of course! The whole idea of sustainable entrepreneurship is totally exaggerated.

Another entrepreneur consciously links the environmental awareness of the company to its financial interests to make it understandable for all employees:

> For most of our staff, most of them are 24 or 25 years old, the concept of sustainable entrepreneurship is not appealing. So we tell them about the financial implications of being sustainable. It is all about awareness.

In some of the interviews, the increased regulatory forces which compel the entrepreneurs to act in a more environmentally responsible way were highlighted. With respect to legislation aspects, in The Netherlands there is indeed, as in the rest of Europe, a lot of attention on sustainable topics, for example with codes of conduct and the introduction of the Environmental Management Act in 1979. For such a small country, The Netherlands contributes significantly to global climate issues in comparison to other European countries, and there is a major ambition to reduce this footprint (MVO Nederland, 2010). As a result, ecological principles have a great impact in the Dutch policy arena compared to other Western countries (Stevenson, 2002). However, when these legislation aspects were discussed with the interviewees, they were immediately linked to the cost savings involved:

> There is of course quite strict legislation in this branch regarding sustainability. So we have to deal with that. But…yeah, we also save some money with these moves.

In another interview it was argued that "governmental support was crucial in the realisation of our plans, so sustainability issues were highly important. We use the government grants to develop in a sustainable and innovative way, and save a lot of money with that" (cited in Ros, 2009).

Managerial and personal values and attitudes

Despite the monetary basis for more ecologically friendly steps, there is a relatively large degree of sustainability awareness among these entrepreneurs. Apparently, there is a sense of 'green capitalism': making money goes along with personal concerns and values and a responsible attitude towards environmental benign activities. Some entrepreneurs take small steps towards a more sustainable facility:

> Despite huge investments such as the air boarding, I think it is also important to take small steps towards a more sustainable facility. For example, turning off the light when you leave a room. Small things, but great effects.

Others think about more ambitious solutions:

> I think it is important to recycle as much as we can. I'm glad that the architect of the centre has developed two circuits, two heat exchange systems. The residual heat of our generators is used to warm the restaurants and the changing-rooms, for example. In that way, we also contribute to the conservation of energy.

One of the entrepreneurs noticed a direct link between his personal values about environmentalism and the consequences for future generations:

> Yes, of course I take responsibility for my descendants. I am completely aware of the fact that what I do, running an energy-eating centre like this, does nothing for primeval forests. It is damaging. But, I take responsibility. I do what I can, but it has to be reasonable, realistic, not only idealistic.

It is clear that, although monetary interests play a vital role in decisions with respect to environmentalism, managerial and personal values and attitudes towards the environment are important drivers as well. As one of the entrepreneurs argued:

> I want to be...we want to green. In a genuine sense. But at this moment, it is just from a monetary base. Though, in my opinion...also from a monetary base, we give meaning to corporate sustainability [...] From the moment companies and entrepreneurs become concerned with this issue, it comes to the forefront of their minds. And when something is in the forefront of our minds, we bring it automatically in our actions. It is a start, but it will flow into all our activities.

In a press release from one of the settings, it is explicitly declared that "although we use as much energy as 1.000 families on an annual basis, we think it is important that we use that energy in a sustainable way. Therefore, we use green energy, and we thus take responsibility."

There is obviously a 'win-win' situation, as indicated in previous research on corporate environmentalism (Banerjee, 2001), in which making money goes along with personal and managerial values and a responsible attitude. However, the expression 'being green' is in this specific market a contested term, in which a transparent distinction between economic concerns and personal and managerial environmental concerns is far from clear (Lenskyj, 1998).

Market image and reputation

In discussing the emergence of artificial settings for lifestyle sports with the entrepreneurs, it turned out that not only the image of their own setting is important, but that the reputation of the complete branch is taken into account. For example, the construction and development of new plans is critically observed. The interviewees seem to focus on the environmental awareness and responsibility of (future) competitors:

> There are so many plans, ideas, projects. Almost all of them are far from realistic. At first sight, it looks promising, but when you look further into such a plan, the budget is completely unrealistic. And sometimes, then it is too late. Then a new giant has already been built, and is spoiling a landscape.

This manager also mentioned:

> In my opinion, we have to aim at multifunctional leisure centres. When one activity or sport does not attract attention, the space can be used for other activities or sports. [...] In that way, the chance of creating another white elephant is zero.

The anxiety that they will produce a white elephant (an investment project with negative social surplus) is common among the entrepreneurs in this study:

> You just hope that the architect is aware of the fact that this building has to be used in the right manner. That he's not just creating a futuristic exterior and hasn't an eye for the practical things inside the construction. So, if you don't have a capable project leader to channel such a project, afterwards you have a giant building on your hands with no purpose.

Colleagues in the branch who do not exhibit their environmental awareness and do not explicitly take responsibility, are critically observed:

> I think, when you now build a new snowdome or so.... We have so much knowledge now, so many new techniques, and experts in the field of sustainable construction development. Use that expertise! I think it is a shame to build a facility nowadays without being green or environmentally aware.

These critiques are not new; already in the seventies and eighties, there was criticism of the limited sustainability of sport and recreation facilities. These facilities were traditionally constructed to be functional and innovative, without environmental concerns (Gibson et al., 2008). Criticism has now led to demands for green or sustainable facilities: structures designed, built, renovated, or operated in an ecological and resource-efficient manner. 'Green' facilities are characterised by, for example, the use of organic materials and methods of building, energy efficiency and water conservation, and a good connection to the wider environment and the surrounding landscape (Eichberg, 1998; Gibson et al., 2008).

Interestingly, entrepreneurs who run an energy consuming setting themselves are wary of the emergence of new artificial settings for these sports. The building of new facilities is critically observed, and there is a marked anxiety that competitors in the leisure sector might damage their carefully constructed green image. However, the image of the own setting is just as important. "We want to be 'green' and we want to be seen as 'green'" (cited in RVOZ, 2008), and "we want to label our organisation as 'green'" (cited in Den Ridder, 2010) are just two of the examples from which it is clear that greening efforts are effective in the efforts of creating a positive image or reputation. This driver is highly related to the next discussed driver: the gaining of competitive advantages.

Gaining competitive advantages

The entrepreneurs running the artificial settings for lifestyle sports are completely aware of the fact that their centres contribute in a certain way to the damaging of nature or the natural environment. Because of their personal values, the improvement of their image, strict legislation and on financial grounds, sustainable measures are made. And there is another factor in the decision to act a little bit 'greener': the consumer. The supposed pressure of consumers as experienced by the entrepreneurs is linked to the

driver 'stakeholder pressure': the influence of critical public responses to the growth of consumer culture and anti-consumerist alternative groups campaigning on a variety of green concerns is emerging, and entrepreneurs can stay ahead of their competitors by being green.

With regard to artificial settings for lifestyle sports, it is difficult to talk about 'the consumer'. The visitors at these centres can be characterised as highly fragmented and culturally heterogeneous: from those who visit as members of children's parties, staff meetings and stag parties to committed lifestyle sport participants who consider these centres as sufficient training facilities (Salome & Van Bottenburg, 2012). Despite the varied types of consumers in these settings, entrepreneurs seem to agree that 'the consumer' highly appreciates their efforts to act in a green way.

> All these green adjustments…. Of course it is important that our visitors know that we are responsible and sustainable! That is a kind of…. marketing trick, I think. In our society, being green is hot. And we have to deal with that. So, we are also being as green as possible, and mention our greenness on our website.

Indeed, a press release from May 2010 says that in this centre there is a 'strategic plan for sustainable entrepreneurship'. In this communication, it is highlighted that the centre runs on green electricity: 'we are large-scale consumers of energy, and we did not choose the cheapest option, but the most sustainable and corporately socially responsible' (Den Ridder, 2010). The strategic plan includes various tracks to reach sustainable goals within five years.

On the website of the white water setting, a certificate from Delta Energy, a provider of green energy, can be found. The certificate announces that the setting has a contract for 2010, 2011 and 2012. The certificate is publicised to show visitors that steps have been taken in the direction of being a sustainable company. In a press release from December 2008 from this artificial white watercourse, the general manager mentioned:

> We want to be green and we want to be recognised as a green organisation. I am sure that in five or ten years, consumers won't want to visit energy-gulping leisure settings. *(cited in RVOZ, 2008)*

The owner of an indoor skydive centre said:

> Nowadays visitors explicitly ask about our measures for energy saving. […] Some companies only plan their staff outings at green facilities. *(cited in Den Ridder, 2010)*

In these quotes, the influence of critical public responses to the growth of consumer culture and anti-consumerist alternative groups campaigning on a variety of green concerns is clearly present. It is obvious that taking green measures is an important factor for these artificial settings for lifestyle sports. Their efforts to act in a more sustainable way are widely communicated to the audience, in an attempt to create a greener image than their competitors have.

In the communications, it is explicitly argued that the modern consumerist settings in this study are unsustainable by definition, and the centres all 'blame' themselves for being such gigantic energy consumers. For example, the centre which offers an artificial white water river strives for a bronze variant of the Green Key, an international control stamp for businesses in the leisure and recreation branch which act sustainably and responsibly. The manager argued in an interview:

> A Golden Key is not realistic, that is impossible with our activities. All the water and these pumps and electricity… But a Bronze Key, that would be great. That is our goal in the next year, and I am sure that visitors will appreciate our efforts.

However, one of the entrepreneurs in the study was very sceptical about the questionable sales tactics adopted by his competitors:

> Yes, I know all these centres celebrate their green efforts on their websites and so on. It is just a little sales pitch. And I don't think we can fool our visitors in that way. Actually, it is a way to hush up the giant amount of energy which is really used, and to show how green you are. No, for us that is not a big issue. We do not follow the other centres in that strategy.

Without blaming the centres for greenwashing, the observable efforts of the centres to produce a green image run the risk of creating an environmentally friendly public image while at the same time, behind the façade, real pro-environmental efforts fail. It is clear the entrepreneurs select positive information about their company's environmental performance in institutional documents, press releases and websites. However, in these communications, 'negative information' about the company's energy and/or water

consumption is taken into account as well. For example, the press release from an indoor snowdome explicitly mentioned that the company is 'a bulk user of energy' (Ros, 2010). In the press release from the artificial white watercourse, the manager mentioned that he can imagine that outsiders do think the company can't be sustainable, because of its enormous water and energy consumption. He emphasises that he feels responsible for creating a company that is 'as sustainable as possible' (RVOZ, 2008). Despite initiatives such as using green electricity, the settings could not use less energy or water, simply because the offered activities require vast amounts of them.

Discussion

This study has identified drivers for greening of Dutch entrepreneurs in artificial settings for lifestyle sports. In-depth interviews and textual analyses revealed that, in order of importance, costs savings, managerial and personal values and attitudes of the entrepreneurs, improving image or reputation and gaining competitive advantages were the most prominent drivers of greening the companies.

Especially in the postmodern consumerist settings in the current study, the contradictions within and between the drivers have a prominent place. There are sharp contrasts between the most powerful drivers for greening, even within the same company. In the same interview, entrepreneurs highlighted economic interests as well as their own environmental responsibility, drivers which seem to be contradictory.

It is clear that the motives for greening for the entrepreneurs in this field are strategic and altruistic: gaining competitive advantages and improving their reputations seem to be just as important as genuine environmental concerns. Being aware of being unsustainable by definition as large energy consumers, and at the same time taking steps towards greening and reducing their environmental footprints, runs as a common thread through the drivers. This is in line with the vision on CSR of Bradish and Cronin (2009, p. 692), who argued that CSR is "a holistic business mindset, much like a corporate culture, where the 'socially responsible' obligations of the firm could and should incorporate both social and economic interests".

Nevertheless, the environmental concerns of the entrepreneurs in this study seem to be more complex than the somewhat simplified 'win-win' situation in which notions of green capitalism go along with concerns and responsibility for the environment (Banerjee, 2001): as a third factor, the culture of lifestyle sports and their relationship with the natural environment plays an important role for these entrepreneurs, for whom

it is commercially highly interesting to apply the allure and excitement of lifestyle sports to the activities they offer. The entrepreneurs in these settings bring the experience of nature or natural elements to the foreground, to make sure the activities they offer can be related to the adventurous outdoor activities that they originally come from. By stressing these 'natural' elements (for example, by simulating 'real' snow and 'real' white water rapids), environmental issues emerge; directly by the building of vast constructions and indirectly by the use of large amounts of energy and water. This paradoxical situation in which the entrepreneurs are positioned is partly legitimised by their drivers of greening: thoughts about sustainability awareness and actions which demonstrate environmental responsibility brought forward in the interviews reveal that the entrepreneurs are indeed completely aware of their difficult position and the questions raised by this.

By exploring the ways entrepreneurs in the sport industry adopt and carry out sustainability awareness and environmental responsibility, this study gives insight into the tensions many companies struggle with, by the fusion of feelings of responsibility and legitimacy with the need to be commercially interesting.

This research on commercial artificial alternatives to the experience of lifestyle sports in natural environments challenges us to think about the role of natural resources and sustainability awareness in sports in general, and particularly in lifestyle sports. Although previous research indicated that these artificial settings could not replace the experience of lifestyle sports in real nature – they are at best an addition (Salome, 2010) – the settings might serve as a solution for some environmental issues in lifestyle sports; after all, natural environments are no longer directly damaged by participants and long hours of travelling to remote, outdoor areas are no longer necessary for the experience of a lifestyle sport. In addition, it is clear that entrepreneurs in this field make efforts to reduce their environmental footprint as much as possible. The question remains as to which option is the best choice from an environmentalist perspective: travel to a remote area to experience a lifestyle sport to the fullest, or experience this lifestyle sport in a modified version in a nearby artificial setting which uses enormous amounts of energy by creating a simulated natural setting?

Acknowledgements

The authors thank the editors and the anonymous reviewers for suggesting many useful text additions and their helpful comments on earlier drafts of this paper.

References

Babiak, K., & Wolfe, R. (2009). Determinants of corporate social responsibility in professional sport: Internal and external factors. *Journal of Sport Management, 23*(6), 717-742.

Bale, J. (1989). *Sports geography*. London: E. & F. N. Spon.

Banerjee, S. B. (1998). Corporate environmentalism: Perspectives from organizational learning. *Management Learning 29*(2), 147-164.

Banerjee, S. B. (2001). Managerial perceptions of corporate environmentalism: Interpretations from industry and strategic implications for organizations. *Journal of Management Studies, 38*(4), 490-513.

Battisti, M., & Perry, M. (2011). Walking the talk? Environmental responsibility from the perspective of small-business owners. *Corporate Social Responsibility and Environmental Management, 18*(3), 172-185.

Booth, D., & Thorpe, H. (2007). The meaning of extreme. In D. Booth & H. Thorpe (Eds.), *Berkshire encyclopedia of extreme sports* (pp. 181-197). Great Barrington, Massachusetts: Berkshire Publishing Group.

Borden, I. (2001). *Skateboarding, space and the city: Architecture and the body*. Oxford: Berg.

Bradish, C., & Cronin, J. J. (2009). Corporate social responsibility in sport. *Journal of Sport Management, 23*(6), 691-697.

Breitbarth, T., & Harris, P. (2008). The role of corporate social responsibility in the football business: Towards the development of a conceptual model. *European Sport Management Quarterly, 8*(2), 179-206.

Brymer, E., Downey, G., & Gray, T. (2009). Extreme sports as a precursor to environmental sustainability. *Journal of Sport & Tourism, 14*(2-3), 193-204.

Brymer, E., & Gray, T. (2010). Developing an intimate "relationship" with nature through extreme sports participation. *Leisure/Loisir, 34*(4), 361-374.

Butryn, T. M., & Masucci, M. A. (2009). Traversing the Matrix: Cyborg athletes, technology, and the environment. *Journal of Sport & Social Issues, 33*(2), 285-307.

Cachay, K. (1993). Sports for everyone – room for everyone? *International Review for the Sociology of Sport, 28*(2-3), 311-323.

Cantelon, H., & Letters, M. (2000). The making of the IOC environmental policy as the third dimension of the Olympic movement. *International Review for the Sociology of Sport, 35*(3), 294-308.

Den Ridder, H. (2010, June 8). SkiDome Rucphen en Skydive besparen fors op energieverbruik. [SkiDome Rucphen and Skydive save on their energy consumption]. *BN De Stem*. Downloaded from http://www.bndestem.nl/regio/roosendaal/6800661/Skidome-Rucphen-en-Skydive-besparen-fors-op-energiever-bruik.ece

Dingle, G. (2009). Sustaining the race: A review of literature pertaining to the environmental sustainability of motorsport. *International Journal of Sports Marketing & Sponsorship, 11*(1), 80-96.

Dummett, K. (2006). Drivers for corporate environmental responsibility (CER). *Environment, Development and Sustainability, 8*(3), 375-389.

Eichberg, H. (1998). *Body Cultures. Essays on sport, space and identity*. London: Routledge.

El Dief, M., & Font, X. (2010). The determinants of hotels' marketing managers' green marketing behaviour. *Journal of Sustainable Tourism, 18*(2), 157-174.

Gibson, F., Lloyd, J., Bain, S., & Hottell, D. (2008). Green design and sustainability in sport and recreation facilities. *The SMART Journal of Sport Management and Related Topics, 4*(2), 26-33.

Hopwood, B., Mellor, M., & O'Brien, G. (2005). Sustainable development: Mapping different approaches. *Sustainable Development, 13*, 38-52.

Jehl, D. (Sept 10, 2000). Ski resorts pledge to protect natural areas. *The New York Times*.

Korczynski, M., & Ott, U. (2004). When production and consumption meet: Cultural contradictions and the enchanting myth of customer sovereignty. *Journal of Management Studies, 41*(4), 575-599.

Laviolette, P. (2006). Green and extreme: Free-flowing through seascape and sewer. *Worldviews, 10*(2), 178-204.

Lee-St.John, J. (2008). Green to the extreme. Athletes risk life and limb but not the environment. *Time, 172,* 58-59.

Lenskyj, H. J. (1998). Sport and corporate environmentalism: The case of the Sydney 2000 Olympics. *International Review for the Sociology of Sport, 33*(4), 341-354.

Lesjø, J. H. (2000). Lillehammer 1994: Planning, figurations and the 'green' Winter Games. *International Review for the Sociology of Sport, 35*(3), 282-293.

Lynes, J. K., & Andrachuk, M. (2008). Motivations for corporate social and environmental responsibility: A case study of Scandinavian Airlines. *Journal of International Management, 14*(4), 377-390.

Lyon, P. T., & Maxwell, J. W. (2006). Greenwash: Corporate environmental disclosure under threat of audit. *Ross School of Business Working Paper Series*. Michigan: Ross School of Business.

Mair, J., & Jago, L. (2010). The development of a conceptual model of greening in the business events tourism sector. *Journal of Sustainable Tourism, 18*(1), 77-94.

Marsden, C., & Andriof, J. (1998). Towards an understanding of corporate citizenship and how to influence it. *Citizenship Studies, 2*(2), 329-352.

Menon, A., & Menon, A. (1997). Enviropreneurial marketing strategy: The emergence of corporate environmentalism as market strategy. *Journal of Marketing, 61*(1), 51-67.

Merchant, B. (2009). How to go green: Skiing & snowboarding. Downloaded from http://www.treehugger.com/files/2009/01/how-to-go-green-skiing-snowboarding.php

Mincyte, D., Casper, M. J., & Cole, C. L. (2009a). Bodies of nature: Politics of wilderness, recreation, and technology. *Journal of Sport & Social Issues, 33*(3), 199-205.

Mincyte, D., Casper, M. J., & Cole, C. L. (2009b). Sports, environmentalism, land use, and urban development. *Journal of Sport & Social Issues, 33*(2), 103-110.

MVO Nederland (2010). *Hoe duurzaam is Nederland? [How sustainable are The Netherlands?]* Utrecht: MVO Nederland.

Newlands, M. (2010). Green Britannia: Deconstructing 'Team Green Britain' and the London 2012 Olympic Games. *The International Journal of Sport and Society, 1*(3), 185-194.

Pine, B. J., & Gilmore, J. H. (1999). *The experience economy. Work is theatre and every business a stage*. Cambridge: Harvard Business School Press.

Ritzer, G. (2008). *The McDonaldization of society*. Thousand Oaks: Pine Forge Press.

Ritzer, G., & Jurgenson, N. (2010). Production, consumption, prosumption: The nature of capitalism in the age of the digital 'prosumer'. *Journal of Consumer Culture, 10*(1), 13-36.

Ritzer, G., & Stillman, T. (2001). The postmodern ballpark as a leisure setting: Enchantment and simulated de-McDonaldization. *Leisure Sciences, 23*(2), 99-113.

Ros, R. (2009). *Indoor Skydive Roosendaal gaat innovatieve verbouwing doorvoeren. [Indoor Skydive Roosendaal implements an innovative renovation]*. Downloaded from http://www.indoorskydive.com/files/File/Persbericht%2024%20maart%20verbouwing.doc

Ros, R. (2010). *Sneeuwattractiepark SkiDome en Indoor Skydive Roosendaal 100% groen. [SkiDome and Indoor Skydive Roosendaal 100% green].* Downloaded from http://www.indoorskydive.com/files/Persbericht%20-groene%20stroom.doc

RVOZ. (2008). *Dutch Water Dreams als duurzame onderneming. [Dutch Water Dreams as a sustainable company].* Retrieved from http://www.dutchwaterdreams.com/files/Dutch%20Water%20Dreams%20als%20duurzame%20onderneming,%20rvoz%20Nr.%204%20december%202008.PDF

Salome, L. (2010). Constructing authenticity in contemporary consumer culture: The case of lifestyle sports. *European Journal for Sport and Society, 7*(1), 69-87.

Salome, L., & Van Bottenburg, M. (2012). Are they all daredevils? Introducing a participation typology for the consumption of lifestyle sports in different settings. *European Sport Management Quarterly, 12*(1), 19-42.

Sassatelli, R. (2007). *Consumer culture. History, theory and politics*. London: SAGE Publications.

Schaltegger, S., Burritt, R., & Petersen, H. (2003). *An introduction to corporate environmental management: Striving for sustainability*. Sheffield, UK: Greenleaf Publishing Limited.

Schmidt, C. W. (2006). Putting the earth in play. Environmental awareness and sports. *Environmental Health Perspectives, 114*(5), 286-295.

Sheth, H., & Babiak, K. M. (2010). Beyond the game: Perceptions and practices of corporate social responsibility in the professional sport industry. *Journal of Business Ethics, 91*(3), 433-450.

Smart, B. (2010). *Consumer Society: Critical issues and environmental consequences*. London: SAGE Publications Ltd.

Stevenson, N. (2002). Consumer culture, ecology and the possibility of cosmopolitan citizenship. *Consumption Markets & Culture, 5*(4), 305-319.

Tomlinson, A., Ravenscroft, N., Wheaton, B., & Gilchrist, P. (2005). *Lifestyle sports and national sport policy: An agenda for research*. London: Sport England.

Türk, S., Jacob, E., Krämer, A., & Roth, R. (2004). *Outdoor recreation activities in nature protection areas - situation in Germany*. Köln, Germany: Institut für Natursport and Ökologie, Deutsche Sporthochschule.

Van Bottenburg, M., & Salome, L. (2010). The indoorisation of outdoor sports. An exploration of the rise of lifestyle sports in artificial settings. *Leisure Studies, 29*(2), 143-160.

Vanreusel, B. (2002). Naar een socio-economische visie op sportbeoefening in de natuur: van Bambi tot Rambo. [Towards a socio-economic perspective on sports in nature: from Bambi to Rambo]. In P. De Knop, B. Vanreusel & J. Scheerder (Eds.), *Sportsociologie. Het spel en de spelers* (pp. 178-186). Maarssen: Elsevier Gezondheidszorg.

Vanreusel, B., & Weiss, O. (1998). Editorial. *International Review for the Sociology of Sport, 33*(4), 339.

Ward, N. (1996). Surfers, sewage and the new politics of pollution. *Area, 28*(3), 331-338.

WaveLoch. (2010). FAQs - FlowRider, Wave Pool, Surf Pool, Surf Machines & Wave Machines. Retrieved from http://www.waveloch.com/faqs

Weiss, O., Norden, G., Hilscher, P., & Vanreusel, B. (1998). Ski tourism and environmental problems: Ecological awareness among different groups. *International Review for the Sociology of Sport, 33*(4), 367-379.

Wheaton, B. (2007). Identity, politics, and the beach: Environmental activism in Surfers Against Sewage. *Leisure Studies, 26*(3), 279-302.

Wheaton, B. (2010). Introducing the consumption and representation of lifestyle sports. *Sport in Society, 13*(7), 1057-1081.

Chapter 8

The indoorisation process revised: General conclusion & discussion

"A paradox denotes contradictory yet interrelated elements – elements that seem logical in isolation but absurd and irrational when appearing simultaneously" (Lewis, 2000, p. 760). The foregoing chapters in this dissertation have demonstrated that various elements within the process described as *the indoorisation of outdoor sports* are contradictory to one another: the adventure of lifestyle sport cultures appears not to correspond with the control and efficiency of artificial environments for lifestyle sports. Furthermore, the artificiality of the centres is opposed to authenticity as a core element of lifestyle sports, the autonomy of lifestyle sport participants is contradictory to the dependence of consumers on artificial environments for lifestyle sports, and the supposed uniqueness of each lifestyle sport experience conflicts with the mass consumption experiences offered in the artificial environments. Paradoxes appear to be the common thread in this research project.

As discussed in previous research on outdoor lifestyle sports, these sports have gone mainstream, or have undertaken a process described as 'mainstreamisation' (e.g. Heino, 2000; Puchan, 2004). Commercialisation, commodification and popularisation processes are increasingly intertwined in the activities, resulting in a growing number of participants and concerns of core lifestyle sport participants "about 'selling out' or becoming 'inauthentic', part of the 'straight' world they construct as other to themselves" (Edensor & Richards, 2007, p. 102). From previous studies, it was clear that the supposed authenticity, exclusiveness, autonomy and uniqueness of most popular lifestyle sports are gradually eroding, resulting in a change in lifestyle sport cultures. In this dissertation, I argue that with *the indoorisation of outdoor sports*, the way in which lifestyle sport cultures has changed owing to commercialisation, commodification and popularisation processes, is even more accelerated.

The presence of numerous paradoxes in this study has ensured my fascination about the tensions which have emerged in the world of lifestyle sports since the appearance of artificial settings for the experience of these sports. The paradoxes have also guaranteed that the study was peppered with conflicting demands, opposing perspectives and seemingly contrary theories that had to be assembled. This forced me to pursue a balance between the shared representations in the world of lifestyle sports

versus consumer culture, and the meanings and understandings of producers versus consumers. Only through a balanced assessment of both sides of this market and both influencing forces, was I able to explore and understand the emergence, development and meanings of this phenomenon.

What first comes to mind when the indoorisation process is questioned, is that the artificial environments serve as logical alternatives to areas that lack optimal weather or landscape conditions that are required for participating in lifestyle sports. As is clear from the study, however, this new commercial sport experience and sport consumption is inevitably linked to the rise of Western consumerism, to the transformation of economy into experience markets and to the increasing role of commercial actors in today's sports world. Consumption is not just the result of rational considerations, but it is linked to the meanings that consumers and producers ascribe. These meanings must be understood in the context of outdoor lifestyle sports, mainstream sports and leisure activities.

The aim of the study was to explore the diversity of actors, meanings and interpretations in the cultural field of indoor lifestyle sports. I applied an economic sociological approach to the study of this fascinating market, a mixed method approach, and a broad focus on consumers *and* producers to strengthen the exploration. Consequently, this study differs from other studies in which the appearance of commercially organised sport environments such as gyms or hyper-modern stadiums is often examined from a sport marketing or management perspective. In the understanding of *the indoorisation of outdoor sports* I adopted a broad focus on cultural, social, historical and economic developments. With that broad focus, I attempted to provide an interdisciplinary cross-section of this sport business that points to historical, sociological, economic, psychological and organisational fields of interest.

Instead of considering the spatial transformations in (lifestyle) sports purely in terms of natural, health and medical, and technological reasons (Eichberg, 1998), I studied the personal interaction, groups, social structures, and social controls that are interweaved with economic processes. The consumption and production of commodified lifestyle sports is appropriated into the domain of shared meanings, which are built upon culture in the sense of shared understandings and their representations (Zelizer, 2005). Instead of the understanding of standard utilitarian and individualistic accounts of consumption as maximisation, the clear understanding of consumption practices in this study comes from recognising "how meaningful social relations pervade economic processes, including production, acquisition, and use of goods and services" (Zelizer, 2005, p.

348). The combination of an analysis of economic interests with an analysis of social relations in specific commercial settings underlines how economic actions are "embedded in concrete, on-going systems of social relations" (Granovetter, 1985, cited in Smelser & Swedberg, 2005, p. 15).

The foregoing chapters have demonstrated that the cultural market in which lifestyle sports are commercially offered, and the individual preferences of actors in that market are influenced by and built on socially, culturally and historically constructed meanings (Smelser & Swedberg, 2005). In these empirical studies, it became clear that various theories and perspectives appeared to be relevant for the understanding of the consumption and production of lifestyle sports. The ethnographic studies on lifestyle sports were insightful for the embedding of the indoorisation development in the history and development of outdoor lifestyle sports and their cultures. The perspectives from consumer culture worked out to be useful for the understanding of the meanings that consumers and producers attribute, and the interaction between consumption and production. In this concluding chapter, I explain how the study on *the indoorisation of outdoor sports* have resulted in findings at two levels. First, the study demonstrates how commodified lifestyle sports, offered in artificial sport environments, have derived from outdoor lifestyle sports, and the way the indoor activities could change lifestyle sport cultures. Second, the study reveals how consumers and producers in contemporary cultural markets shape and interpret consumption and production, and how both sides of a cultural market interact. Furthermore, in this chapter I provide an overview of the practical implications and outline the limitations of the study.

Lifestyle sports revisited

In chapter 1 of this dissertation, I discussed some main themes in lifestyle sport studies. It was argued that especially the themes commercialisation, risk, and identity politics embraced the most paradoxical changes from outdoor lifestyle sports to commercially offered, indoor lifestyle sports. Therefore, in this section these themes are used to guide the main findings of the study regarding the relation between indoor and outdoor lifestyle sports.

Commercialisation processes

As previously discussed, there is a complex relationship between lifestyle sports and commercialisation (Edwards & Corte, 2010). Research focused on outdoor lifestyle sports has indicated that, on the one hand, commercialisation and commodification

processes have 'sold out' lifestyle sports. On the other hand, however, the broader possibilities that these processes offer seem to be beneficial; for example, for sponsorship and professionalisation. When lifestyle sports became popular with a broad audience in the 1980s, hard-core participants tried to protect the exclusiveness and authenticity of their culture. The intrusion of seemingly less committed, less dedicated and thus less authentic participants was not appreciated. Questions of authenticity and the role of "participants who have been marginalized and ignored by both the core members who are the focus of the research and by the researchers" (Donnelly, 2006, p. 224) have been the subject of discussions in lifestyle sports for years. As the study on *the indoorisation of outdoor sports* indicates, the complex relationship between lifestyle sports and commercialisation should be re-interpreted against the backdrop of the emergence of artificial sport environments for the experience of these lifestyle sports.

In this dissertation, these sport environments were described as 'contested cultural arenas'. That description referred to the on-going competition for meaning and attention between consumers and producers. The findings in chapter 6 revealed that in dynamic processes, producers and consumers interact and intensify each other, and that to understand consumption both sides of a cultural market have to be studied. By combining the perspectives of Ritzer and Consumer Culture Theory, I showed that apparently opposing approaches can be complementary to each other in the exploration and explanation of consumption. Relating these theories enabled me to overview the indoorisation development from a coherent perspective.

The picture of a contested cultural arena is in fact a theme that is strongly present in each of the previous chapters. In chapter 3, the contest in the arena was between the three fields of lifestyle sports, organised competitive sports and elite sport, and the adventure and experience market in the leisure sector. In this chapter, I introduced the concept *the indoorisation of outdoor sports* (Van Bottenburg & Salome, 2010). The meanings that Dutch entrepreneurs have ascribed to artificial settings for lifestyle sports and the dilemmas with which these entrepreneurs have been confronted were discussed. This supported the argument that the economic activities are embedded in and influenced by shared understandings and their representations in structured fields of I) outdoor sports; II) mainstream sports, and; III) leisure experience activities. The entrepreneurs have to deal with meanings and influences from these three fields, and they balance their service between these three forces precariously.

In chapter 4, it was clear that the authenticity of the sports, the participants and the settings was contested by the participants themselves as well as by lifestyle sport

researchers. In this chapter, the focus was on the perspectives of producers as new stakeholders – the managers and owners of the artificial settings in which lifestyle sports are practised. It was argued that authenticity in lifestyle sports can be regarded as a fluid, dynamic, and socially constructed concept, built up of layers of meanings that are appropriated in various ways.

Chapter 5 discussed the exclusiveness and distinctiveness of lifestyle sport cultures as a contested terrain. The results presented in this chapter challenged the view that lifestyle sport participation could be reduced to a narrow set of homogeneous traits, as is often presumed (Salome & Van Bottenburg, 2012). The quantitative and qualitative examination of lifestyle sport participants revealed three participation types, and it was concluded that the consumers of lifestyle sports are more heterogeneous than is often supposed.

In chapter 7, sustainability was explored as highly contested issue by consumers as well as producers in sport business. This chapter indicated that there are ecological drawbacks to the rise of the Western consumption way of life (Salome, Van Bottenburg, & Van den Heuvel, 2012). It was revealed that cost savings, managerial and personal values and attitudes, gaining competitive advantages and improving market image and reputation were the most prominent drivers of greening efforts by producers of artificial environments for lifestyle sports. By presenting the perspectives of these producers on Corporate Environmental Responsibility, I suggested that altruistic and strategic motives together serve as prominent drivers for greening the sport business.

Overall, the results of the research on the indoorisation development demonstrate that the emergence of new environments in which lifestyle sports can be practised, are an extension of the culture of these sports. Owing to commercialisation and popularisation processes – which were highly prevalent in lifestyle sports even before the indoorisation process started – the lifestyle sport cultures continue to develop. Renewal and innovativeness are among their core characteristics. These new forms, participants and activities all have a clear link with the early 'authentic' lifestyle sport culture, from the invention of flowboarding to a group of boys who excel at indoor snowboarding without ever having been on a real mountain with natural, real snow. Technical developments such as the creation of snow, the generation of winds with speeds of hundreds of kilometres per hour and the production of white water rapids are the basis of cultural changes within lifestyle sport cultures. These cultural changes comprise for example the way in which lifestyle sports are used as a fitness activity (Salome & Van Bottenburg, 2012), how professional athletes can train, and the emergence of clubs, competitions

and associations as a result of the creation of artificial environments. In this perspective, the indoorisation process can be regarded as a coherent development emerging from the innovative character of lifestyle sports and lifestyle sport cultures. As Wheaton (2004) observed, new technologies, change and innovation are often involved in these sports. Because of the emergence of artificial settings, the level of participation in the activities is increased, elite athletes have better training and teaching opportunities and competitions can be relatively easily organised without regard to weather conditions. Furthermore, the artificial settings have boosted the attractiveness of the sports for a broad audience, by offering accessible versions of lifestyle sports.

These new participant groups and the changed characteristics can also mean, however, that the new indoor versions have little to do with their outdoor precursors. The supposed authenticity and exclusiveness of outdoor lifestyle sports, in which extreme athletes are recognised as unique individuals, as heroes, are hard to find in the new settings and the new, commodified versions of the sports. In this perspective, the indoorisation process has not deepened but broadened the lifestyle sport cultures. Through this broadening, lifestyle sport cultures are blended into consumer culture. The studies within this research project emphasise that lifestyle sports, lifestyle sport cultures and lifestyle sport participants cannot be seen in isolation from the sports world and from contemporary society. The dominant sports world and aspects of consumer culture have interacted in the lifestyle sport culture, resulting in numerous hybrids in terms of activities and participants. The borderline between authentic, core participation and new, light participation is fading and becoming transparent, just like the distinctions between mainstream sports and lifestyle sports, and between authentic lifestyle sport activities and recently developed commercial lifestyle sport activities. In fact, it is a continuum in which every actor has their own preference, perspective, meaning and interpretation. Together, these various – sometimes contradictory – interests have resulted in a unique contextual culture and a range of meanings and interpretations in the artificial settings for lifestyle sports.

I argue that with the emergence of artificial environments for lifestyle sports, the debate about commercialisation processes in these sports has found a new dimension. In the indoorisation process, the commodification and commercialisation of lifestyle sport goes to another level: not only are clothing and products widely appropriated by the general public, but the activities themselves are consumed and appropriated. In the commodification of the activities, producers have a crucial role to play. As discussed, producers or suppliers deliberately strive to make a connection with outdoor sports in an

attempt to reach a broader public. I suggested that producers – when developing, presenting and positioning the rationalised, commodified lifestyle sport activities and environments – are unable to escape from the dominant meanings of outdoor lifestyle sports, from which their sport supply partly derives. Therefore, they make an explicit connection with the culture of the outdoor lifestyle sports by using slogans and language that appeal to it. At the same time, they also strongly emphasise rationalised aspects such as the extensive safety regulations, protocols and procedures that are implemented at all indoor centres.

Risk

Throughout the dissertation, I have discussed how the risks, adventures and dangers inherent in the experience of lifestyle sports are minimised in standardised lifestyle sport environments. The strict safety rules, the immediate presence of instructors or guards and the high-tech environment in settings such as snow domes and white water courses seem to be juxtaposed to the risky and 'living on the edge' characteristics that are often attributed to lifestyle sports. In lifestyle sport studies the feelings of danger and risk are often linked to the intrinsic rewards that the experience of lifestyle sports in challenging environments have to offer, such as peak sensations. I wondered whether the absence of challenges and the skills required to master challenges in artificial sport environments have consequences for the intrinsic rewards of the sport experiences, and examined the tensions between risks and control in artificial environments for lifestyle sports.

In the attempt to reach a broad audience – from core lifestyle sport participants to new, light participants, from pros to business teams and from young children to the elderly – producers search for equilibrium between lifestyle sports, organised competitive sports and elite sport, and the adventure and experience market in the leisure sector. Furthermore, they have to place emphasis on safety and controlling predictability as well as on excitement and adventure. Maintaining a good balance between these paradoxes and between the various layers of meaning that are involved proves to be a difficult task for the producers. As shown in various chapters, these difficulties may have consequences for the attractiveness of these centres to consumers. For example, the white water course at Dutch Water Dreams appeared to be sufficiently challenging and sensational for elite kayakers and rafters, but it emerged that the course was too difficult for day trippers and children. In attracting a great diversity of consumers that use the standardised sport venue, producers manoeuvre themselves into a difficult position. It seems to be impossible to satisfy every consumer. For some groups of

consumers, the notion of excitement is especially appealing, for others the emphasis on the safe and controllable experience of an adventurous activity is the most tempting aspect.

Identity politics

Lifestyle sport participants are in previous studies on outdoor lifestyle sports often described as different than sport participants who are active in mainstream sports. With terms such as authenticity, dedication and commitment, the identity and culture of lifestyle sport participants is marked as disconnected and different from mainstream sports and the dominant sport culture: lifestyle sport participants have "a consciously resistive, outsider identity relative to the organized sports establishment" (Kusz, 2007, p. 359).

Lifestyle sport researchers argued that the expansion in participation in lifestyle sports includes participants with various backgrounds, ages, and levels of experience. As a result, the subcultures in lifestyle sports are becoming increasingly heterogeneous (Wheaton, 2010). However, in studies on outdoor lifestyle sports, it is emphasised that lifestyle sports "are a social institution created by men for men" (Thorpe, 2007, p. 103), and that the sports are characterised by a predominantly middle-class, white, Western participant composition (Wheaton, 2004a). Despite the fact that several studies have demonstrated that lifestyle sports present "opportunities for more transgressive embodied social identities that differ from masculinities in traditional sports" (Wheaton, 2004a, p. 19), this shift takes place gradually and slowly, and lifestyle sport cultures still are dominated by male participants and representations of masculinity.

The dominance of young, middle-class, white, Western and male participants in lifestyle sports – despite the increasing heterogeneous character of the subcultures – seems to be less strong in artificial settings. As findings in this research project reveal, in artificial sport environments a diverse vast amount of occasional visitors can be found, from kids parties to bachelor stags and business meetings. Furthermore, lifestyle sport participants from various levels and backgrounds use the settings for training, teaching or just for fun.

The participation profiles of lifestyle sport participants are generally considered as being the result of the social and cultural capital which participants have to invest, but in the artificial settings such investments may not be necessary. The occasional experience of white water rafting on a course demands no more than simply buying a ticket: equipment can be hired and the instructor or guide replicates the necessary experience.

Also more experienced participants, for example in sport climbing, do not have to spend time travelling to mountains or rocks: a nearby climbing walls offers an easily accessible and safe option. I therefore conclude that artificial settings for lifestyle sports open up lifestyle sport experiences to marginalised groups. Because of the absence of severe risks and injuries and the financial and actual accessibility, women, young kids and older people could easily try a lifestyle sport in an artificial setting.

On the other hand, the quantitative data presented earlier in the dissertation indicated that the profiles of indoor lifestyle sport participants seems to match the general description of lifestyle sport participants in previous ethnographic studies. Despite these resembling demographic profiles, the study demonstrated that there are numerous different forms of participation within the overall typology of lifestyle sport participants, ranging from 'authentic' participation to 'mainstream' participation.

Therefore, I argue that there is no typical lifestyle sport participant, or indoor lifestyle sport consumer either. Since social and cultural capital are no longer necessary to experience a lifestyle sport, and participant groups such as the elderly and children can experience activities in a safe yet sensational way, the exclusive and distinguished 'way of life', cultures, and individual and group identities that accompany participation in lifestyle sports may be relegated to the background. Numerous factors determine how lifestyle sports are experienced in natural or artificial environments. These include previous experience in the sports, demographic factors, the motivations and goals of the consumer, and how producers present the activities. The (social) environment shapes how consumers frame and reframe, appropriate and discard new interpretations, forms and experiences. These processes are socially constructed, and consumers are continuously influenced by other consumers and producers in the cultural field. Social structures and controls, and the meanings that actors attribute to the sports and the settings, are embedded in the way the sports are consumed and produced.

Thus, there is no unequivocal answer to the question how consumers interpret, consume and experience commercially offered lifestyle sport activities. The standardised, rational character of the settings and the fact that these artificial sport environments usually resemble each other to a certain extent seems to be inconsistent with the wide diversity of consumers who experience the activities in their own way. Their interpretations and meanings, I suggest, cannot be explored and explained in isolation, but are part of a complete cultural field. In that cultural field, consumers' and producers' interactions can be understood in 'processes of interpretation' (Blumer, 1986), in which meanings are creations formed in and through the defining activities of

the actors. As a result of the on-going processes of framing and reframing between the producers and consumers, over the course of time, (aspects of) the kinds of sport on offer and their setting have acquired a form, meaning and function that no-one had anticipated or intended. The first climbing aficionados never thought that their training walls would be used for children's parties. When the first indoor skydive facilities were built, nobody believed that indoor skydiving tunnels would become a popular venue for business team-building activities from the late 1980s on.

In re-assessing the dominant themes on outdoor lifestyle sports and reinterpreting these in the light of the indoorisation process, I have shown that artificial environments for lifestyle sports can radically change the world of lifestyle sports as presented in previous research. I argue that artificial sport settings such as snow domes and wind tunnels have become an integral part of the lifestyle sport cultures, and that this development should be embraced in lifestyle sport studies. Whereas other studies consider artificial settings – if they are mentioned at all – as "outside the subculture" (Stranger, 2011, p. 239) and not being integrated in lifestyle sport cultures, this study underlines the artificial environments as resulting from and potentially strongly influencing the culture of lifestyle sports.

The finding that the indoorisation process in lifestyle sports changes the sport experiences in various ways makes this study different from previous outdoor lifestyle sport studies. As discussed previously, my outsider status and the mixed method approach applied in this study have created a different perspective on lifestyle sport cultures, participants and environments from that hitherto offered in lifestyle sport studies. My holistic approach differentiates the current research from the often ethnographic studies in lifestyle sport research, and gives impulse to the on-going debate about commercialisation and mainstreamisation processes in lifestyle sports.

Consumption and production processes revisited

Based on the assumption that artificial lifestyle sport environments are contemporary, collective consumption sites, that indoor lifestyle sport participants can be considered as consumers and that entrepreneurs in this market are producers of lifestyle sport experiences, this study combines socio-cultural and socio-economic analyses with insights from consumer research. I embedded recent processes in lifestyle sports in research approaches from consumer culture, and adopted a holistic perspective on lifestyle sports and the indoorisation development. In combining Ritzer's perspective on

rationalised production processes with CCT's focus on the active, interpretative consumer, it was aimed to give insights to both sides of the cultural market in this study and relating these sites. Production and consumption do not take place in isolation, but they are interrelated and overlap.

I studied the perspectives of consumers and producers on *the indoorisation of outdoor sports* in various chapters within this dissertation. In chapter 3, a clear producer's perspective on the development was adopted, as was the fact in chapter 4. From these chapters, it became clear how producers commodify typical outdoor lifestyle sports in (indoor) artificial settings, and present them to a broad audience of consumers. I demonstrated that producers in this cultural market try to catch the allure and excitement of adventurous outdoor activities, and frame the commercial sports and settings in such a way that consumers are attracted to the thrilling experience that is offered. I emphasised the meanings that producers ascribe to the indoorisation development, and the way these meanings are intertwined with a rational economic perspective on production.

In chapter 5, I adopted a consumers' perspective to reveal how lifestyle sport participants from various backgrounds – the consumers – give meaning and interpret the commercially offered activities. With the introduction of different types of lifestyle sport participation, I showed that commercialisation and popularisation processes in lifestyle sports may have blurred the boundary between these sports and what are considered mainstream sports, and between sports culture and consumer culture.

In chapter 6, I combined the perspectives of consumers and producers, and demonstrated that these perspectives are difficult to reunite. The producer's perspective, in which consumers are attracted, controlled and exploited by rationalising lifestyle sports (Ritzer, 2008), seemed to be in contrast with the free and active consumer as supposed by the CCT perspective and in studies on lifestyle sports. However, I concluded in this chapter that the artificial environments for lifestyle sports are prime examples of specific contemporary consumerist settings in which production and consumption processes are interrelated and overlap. In a 'circuit of culture' (Du Gay, Hall, Janes, Mackay & Negus, 1997, p. 3), producers and consumers interact and 'connect' in a circuit of shared and conflicting meanings (Sassatelli, 2007; Zelizer, 2004; Zukin & Smith Maguire, 2004).

My attempt to embed cultural processes of meaning giving and interpreting in practices of consumption and production has resulted in the understanding that consumers and producers constantly play vital and interdependent roles. Instead of focussing on

consumption patterns – from a consumer perspective – and production patterns – from a producer perspective – I have stepped back and have overseen the complete cultural circuit including consumers *and* producers *and* their interaction. In my holistic perspective, the socially, culturally and historically constructed meanings on which production and consumption are built are taken into account. Only then, the complex cultural dimensions of consumption and production can be fully understood in context. Furthermore, it is necessary to understand the meanings that are ascribed to both sides of a cultural market to recognise how (aspects of) the kinds of sport that are offered and their setting acquire a form, meaning and function that no-one had anticipated and intended in advance (Elias, 1984). These meanings are not established in advance, nor are they determined by the producers or the consumers.

By applying consumer research and marketing perspectives in sociological sport research, the study reveals that such perspectives can complement and reinforce each other. The incorporation of CCT's approach to consumer research indicates the sport business is an insightful area for culturally oriented consumer research. The sociohistoric patterns of sport consumption, as extensively discussed in this dissertation, are highly interesting for the study of influences on marketplace behaviours (e.g. Arnould & Thompson, 2005, 2007). The study of sport consumption and its involved behavioural choices and practices as social and cultural phenomena – as opposed to psychological or purely economic phenomena – fits well with CCT's interdisciplinary and holistic approach of studying consumption.

Overall, the different research disciplines I have brought in to explore and explain the development of artificial environments for lifestyle sports have enabled me to provide insight into sociological, organisational and management as well as marketing, communication and economic aspects of sport consumption. With the combination of insights from (sociological) sport studies with economic approaches of consumption within consumer culture, I have revealed how contemporary sport consumption can be examined as a cultural field.

Practical implications of the study

Although the number of lifestyle sport studies has increased since the late 1990s, practical managerial and marketing implications have often been neglected (Shoham, Rose, & Kahle, 2000). As argued in various chapters in this dissertation, lifestyle sport participants are often seen as a homogeneous group. Therefore, managerial and marketing decisions in this sport branch have frequently focused on typical young, male

risk-takers as the archetypal lifestyle sport participant. Differences in motivational factors and preferences are not included in the organisation and programming of lifestyle sport activities, indoors or outdoors.

This research project has demonstrated that lifestyle sports, lifestyle sport cultures and lifestyle sport participants are increasingly diverse and fluid, a consequence that is partly owed to the indoorisation process. Together with the centralised role of commercial suppliers in lifestyle sports, this has implications for future managerial and marketing decisions.

The findings of the research show that there are tensions between consumers with different backgrounds in artificial settings for lifestyle sports. For example, committed and experienced climbers sometimes feel frustrated when the climbing hall is overrun by children. And, elite athletes using the white water course feel confined by the presence of day-trippers. There clearly are differences in the meanings that these consumers ascribe to the sports and the settings. In the study I found that producers often focus on 'the' lifestyle sport consumer. They not distinguish between core, recreational and occasional participants, and they not take into account the different meanings these consumer ascribe to the sports and the settings. This results in a partial understanding of lifestyle sport participants and lifestyle sport consumption. Producers of these commodified versions of lifestyle sports should be aware of the presence of various meanings and interpretations, and the way these meanings are framed, reframed and constantly trump each other.

Therefore, the first step for producers offering these commodified lifestyle sports is being aware of the numerous hybrids of activities, participants and meanings. Then, they are able to respond to these consumers with different backgrounds and experiences, and create schedules in which each type of consumer feels free to fully experience the activity. This implication is related to the managerial and marketing implications as outlined earlier in the dissertation. The participation typology that was created offers new insights that may be of use to managers involved in lifestyle sport participation. The results may be useful for market segmentation in lifestyle sports as they add to the understanding of the various types of consumers. Managers could consider lifestyle sport participants in terms of smaller homogeneous markets based on needs and motivations. For example, certain consumers are attracted to the possibility of participating in small-scale competitions and others prefer to see how activities could facilitate social contacts and friendships. When the characteristics and preferences of various groups of consumers have been identified, preference- and experience-based

groups can be organised. This means that producers of commodified lifestyle sports could emphasise different aspects of the offered activities for different groups in their visual material (posters, brochures, videos, etc.). Instead of highlighting the safe and controllable environment, advertisements and promotions could suggest the possibility of entering competitions, feelings of camaraderie with other practitioners and themes such as challenge, thrills and adventure. Information about how the setting is run in a green or environmental friendly way could also attract consumers' interest. In these ways, managers could better appeal to the needs of their various (potential) visitors and improve their services for participants.

During the four years of my study in this branch, several Dutch settings were declared bankrupt: Dutch Water Dreams has been undergoing reorganisation since February 2011, and De Uithof, a multifunctional leisure centre with a snow dome in The Hague, was under reorganisation in 2010 for the second time. Thus, despite the fact that several new settings have opened in the last couple of years and there is an increasing number of participants in lifestyle sports, the chances of success are not guaranteed. I argue that, when producers are aware of the numerous hybrids of activities, participants and meanings, the chances of success could be enhanced.

Finally, the findings from the study on interaction processes between producers and consumers showed that specific groups of consumers appreciate a certain freedom to be productive and creative. Producers of the artificial environments are therefore advised, to a certain extent, to stimulate their visitors to become part of the production side. For example, in climbing halls consumers could participate in the creation of new routes, and in snow domes consumers could put their stamp on the fun park. Emphasising the freedom and creativity of the consumers instead of seeing them as passive dupes subject to commercially-entrenched ideas could be very appealing, especially to core lifestyle sport participants, who are used to making their own creative choices and interpreting those in a way that fits their own lifestyle.

Limitations of the study

Although the current study provides interesting insights into the background and underlying processes that created new opportunities to commodify lifestyle sports in artificial environments and the way consumers react to these commodified forms, it also has some limitations that provide avenues for future research. The research project has limitations at three levels: the theoretical framework, the methodology, and the implementation of the methods.

In this study, socio-cultural sport studies that framed lifestyle sports as distinctive cultures and various perspectives on studying consumer cultures were considered the most useful starting point. Together these approaches were situated in the field of economic sociology in which consumption was appropriated into the domain of shared meanings (Zelizer, 2005). I used this economic sociologic approach to highlight the social consequences of economic exchanges, the social meanings they involve and the social interactions they facilitate or obstruct.

However, in the attempt to take economic and cultural factors into account, the ethnographic socio-cultural sport studies and the perspectives on consumer culture may not be the only approaches with explanatory potential. For example, research is needed that explores the extent to which the commodified lifestyle sport activities offered in artificial sport environments are more related to leisure than to sport. As regards the vast number of occasional visitors to artificial settings for lifestyle sports – e.g. parties for kids, or business meetings – these settings could be labelled as theme parks or playgrounds instead of sport environments.

In relation to the methods applied in this study, I discussed the ways in which diverse methods of data collection were combined in order to provide a complete overview of the recently developed leisure market of lifestyle sports. The triangulation of qualitative and quantitative methods informed me about the various dimensions of the phenomenon and stimulated me to approach the subject of the research from different angles (Jick, 1979). Although the results of the quantitative method (a survey among Dutch lifestyle sport participants) cannot be generalised, the survey gave detailed insights into the experiences, motivations and behaviours of lifestyle sport consumers. Additional quantitative analyses to test the findings of this explorative research may however reveal how the indoorisation process is experienced by other groups such as elite athletes or in areas where lifestyle sports can be experienced outdoors.

As discussed earlier, lifestyle sport participants are seen as a 'hidden' population (Browne, 2005). Unlike participants in mainstream sports, which are often associated with federations or societies and are therefore relatively easy to measure, participants in alternative or lifestyle sports are usually informally and are more difficult to reach. The measurement and administration of participation are therefore more difficult. Owing to the difficulties of finding lifestyle sport participants, the own social network of the researcher was used as a starting point for the snowball technique, and calls were posted on forums and websites of interest of lifestyle sport participants. The self-selected, voluntary sample of respondents for the survey and for the interviews means

there is a possibility that these volunteers were more interested and better informed than other lifestyle sport participants (Kaye & Johnson, 1999). Moreover, there is a chance that they held stronger and more extreme viewpoints than other individuals. Thus, the sample possibly did not accurately represent the population as a whole. Furthermore, it was presumed that the centres in which lifestyle sports were offered collected data about their visitors. Unfortunately, not all centres maintained a structured database, so data from the settings were very limited. These difficulties are outlined in more depth in the study on participation profiles (Salome & Van Bottenburg, 2012).

Despite the limitations regarding theoretical and methodological issues, this study has made an insightful contribution to the existing domain of lifestyle sport studies and studies on contemporary sport business. I hope that this contribution challenges the way we think about how meaningful social and cultural actions are constructed in the consumption of (lifestyle) sports.

Recommendations for future research

The explorative approach in this research project was explicitly designed to raise questions for further studies. As described earlier, more questions were raised than answered, especially in the first stage of the research. This study was all about judging and selecting; it was simply impossible to elaborate all topics and issues of interest. In this section, these new topics, suggestions and ideas – of a theoretical as well as a practical nature – are treated properly.

In order to examine sportisation processes in lifestyle sports, further research should explore the perspective of professional lifestyle sport participants on the artificial environments. Since elite athletes in lifestyle sports are able to make a living from prize money and sponsorship fees (e.g. Edwards & Corte, 2010; Sky, 2001), artificial environments could be of increasing importance for training and teaching purposes, especially in regions where natural environments do not lend themselves to the practice of particular lifestyle sports. Although the perspectives and influences of elite athletes are briefly discussed throughout this dissertation, more extensive case studies of specific sports and elite athletes in these sports are recommended. It could be useful to examine the role these artificial environments play in the enhancement of professionalism, or how ‘outsiders’ who were previously not able to participate in these sports are now able to participate in international competitions. A study on the progression of the sportisation of lifestyle sports as a result of the training, teaching and competition possibilities of artificial sport venues could explore these questions.

One fruitful avenue for future research could be the study of the indoorisation process from a leisure perspective instead of a sport perspective. I have explored the process with a sport lens, and grounded my research in previous studies on outdoor lifestyle sports. As I argued, however, these commodified, indoor lifestyle sports are experienced by some consumers as day trips, as party activities instead of sports. A leisure perspective may reveal in which category the activities should be grouped and framed.

Another area for future research could be directed on the differences between regions or countries. The current research project is predominantly focused on the Dutch context, so the development of artificial environments for outdoor sports is studied in a country in which snowboarding, rafting and rock climbing cannot be experienced in an outdoor, natural environment. A similar study in a country in which these activities can be practised outdoors, might provide different findings with regard to consumers' motivations and producers' purposes. Therefore, a comparison between different countries with various geographical elements would be interesting for the understanding and interpretation of the meanings of producers and consumers.

A focus on the ecological consequences of the consumption way of life from a consumer perspective should be thought-provoking. Such a focus on environmentalism among consumers should produce useful results in terms of how greening efforts of producers are valued, and the consequent effects on image or reputation of companies. Research about this consumer view on environmentalism should be dedicated to the field of commodified forms of lifestyle sports as well as to other contexts inside and outside contemporary sport business.

More theoretically, as described in chapter 6, studies on consumer culture should incorporate the dialogue between production and consumption in which meanings are constructed. In fact, we have to step back to overview the complete cultural circuit including consumers *and* producers *and* their interaction instead of taking a position within this cultural circuit while immediately in front of the consumers' perspective. Only then the complex cultural dimensions of consumption and markets in context can be fully understood. Consumer culture theorists must acknowledge that the understanding of the realisation and development of a market is a dynamic and fluid process in which consumers and producers constantly play vital and interdependent roles. Cultural meanings are always the result of the interaction between consumer and producer, and it should be questioned how this interaction is processed. For that reason, examining and theorising the importance of the supply side and the interaction in today's cultural markets is crucial in future studies on (sport) consumption.

References

Arnould, E., & Thompson, C. (2005). Consumer Culture Theory (CCT): Twenty years of research. *Journal of Consumer Research, 31*(4), 868-882.

Arnould, E., & Thompson, C. (2007). Consumer Culture Theory (and we really mean *theoretics*): Dilemmas and opportunities posed by an academic branding strategy. In R. W. Belk & J. F. Sherry (Eds.), *Research in Consumer Behavior* (Vol. 11, pp. 3-22). Oxford: Elsevier Ltd.

Blumer, H. (1986). *Symbolic Interactionism; Perspective and method*. Berkeley: University of California Press.

Browne, K. (2005). Snowball sampling: Using social networks to research non-heterosexual women. *International Journal for Social Research Methodology, 8*(1), 47-60.

Donnelly, M. (2006). Studying extreme sports: Beyond the core participants. *Journal of Sport & Social Issues, 30*(2), 219-224.

Du Gay, P., Hall, S., Janes, L., Mackay, H., & Negus, K. (1997). *Doing cultural studies. The story of the Sony Walkman*. London: Sage Publications.

Edensor, T., & Richards, S. (2007). Snowboarders vs Skiers: Contested choreographies of the slopes. *Leisure Studies, 26*(1), 97-114.

Edwards, B., & Corte, U. (2010). Commercialization and lifestyle sport: Lessons from 20 years of freestyle BMX in Pro-Town, USA. *Sport in Society, 13*(7), 1135-1151.

Eichberg, H. (1998). *Body Cultures. Essays on sport, space and identity*. London: Routledge.

Elias, N. (1984). *What is sociology?* New York: Columbia University Press.

Heino, R. (2000). New sports. What is so punk about snowboarding? *Journal of Sport & Social Issues, 24*(2), 176-191.

Jick, T. D. (1979). Mixing qualitative and quantitative methods: Triangulation in action. *Administrative Science Quarterly, 24*(4), 602-611.

Kusz, K. (2007). Whiteness and extreme sports. In D. Booth & H. Thorpe (Eds.), *Berkshire encyclopedia of extreme sports* (pp. 357-361). Great Barrington, Massachusetts: Berkshire Publishing Group.

Lewis, M. W. (2000). Exploring paradox: Toward a more comprehensive guide. *Academy of Management Review, 25*(4), 760-776.

Puchan, H. (2004). Living 'extreme': Adventure sports, media and commercialisation. *Journal of Communication Management, 9*(2), 171-178.

Salome, L. (2010). Constructing authenticity in contemporary consumer culture: The case of lifestyle sports. *European Journal for Sport and Society, 7*(1), 69-87.

Salome, L., & Van Bottenburg, M. (2012). Are they all daredevils? Introducing a participation typology for the consumption of lifestyle sports in different settings. *European Sport Management Quarterly, 12*(1), 19-42.

Salome, L., Van Bottenburg, M., & Van den Heuvel, M. (2012). "We are as green as possible": Environmental responsibility in commercial artificial settings for lifestyle sports. *Leisure Studies*.

Sassatelli, R. (2007). *Consumer culture. History, theory and politics*. London: SAGE Publications.

Shoham, A., Rose, G. M., & Kahle, L. R. (2000). Practitioners of risky sports: A quantitative examination. *Journal of Business Research, 47*(3), 237-251.

Sky, M. (2001). *The influence of media marketing on the intrinsic culture of 'extreme' sports.* Master's thesis. University of Surrey Roehampton, London.

Smelser, N. J., & Swedberg, R. (2005). Introducing economic sociology. In N. J. Smelser & R. Swedberg (Eds.), *The handbook of economic sociology* (2nd ed.) (pp.3-25). Princeton: Princeton University Press.

Stranger, M. (2011). *Surfing life. Surface, substructure and the commodification of the sublime*. Farnham: Ashgate Publishing Limited.

Thorpe, H. (2007). Snowboarding. In D. Booth & H. Thorpe (Eds.), *Berkshire encyclopedia of extreme sports* (pp. 286-294). Great Barrington, Massachusetts: Berkshire Publishing Group.

Van Bottenburg, M., & Salome, L. (2010). The indoorisation of outdoor sports. An exploration of the rise of lifestyle sports in artificial settings. *Leisure Studies, 29*(2), 143-160.

Wheaton, B. (2004). Introduction; Mapping the lifestyle sport-scape. In B. Wheaton (Ed.), *Understanding lifestyle sports. Consumption, identity and difference* (pp. 1-28). London/New York: Routledge.

Zelizer, V. (2005). Culture and consumption. In N. Smelsner & R. Swedberg (Eds.), *Handbook of economic sociology* (pp. 331-354). Princeton: Princeton University Press.

Zukin, S., & Smith Maguire, J. (2004). Consumers and consumption. *Annual Review of Sociology, 30*, 173-197.

Appendix

Lifestyle sport participation survey (in Dutch)

Deze vragenlijst maakt onderdeel uit van een onderzoek naar de beleving van lifestyle sporten in Nederland. Met dit onderzoek wordt beoogd een bijdrage te leveren aan de ontwikkeling en het in stand houden van kwalitatief hoogwaardige centra waar lifestyle sporten beoefend kunnen worden naar wens van de gebruikers.
Omdat u zelf beoefenaar bent van één of meerdere vormen van lifestyle sport, ben ik benieuwd naar uw persoonlijke mening.

In de vragenlijst komt een aantal op elkaar lijkende begrippen voor. Onderstaand worden de meest voorkomende begrippen uitgelegd, zodat u begrijpt wat er met de vragen bedoeld wordt.

Met traditionele sporten worden sporten bedoeld die in Nederland georganiseerd zijn via bonden, organisaties en verenigingen. Dit zijn sporten zoals voetbal en volleybal.
Met lifestyle sporten worden sporten als snowboarden en klimmen bedoeld. Deze sporten worden over het algemeen in mindere mate georganiseerd via bonden en federaties, en worden vaak individueel of in kleine groepjes beoefend.
Met *outdoor* lifestyle sporten worden lifestyle sporten bedoeld die beoefend worden in een natuurlijke omgeving, zoals bergen of rivieren. Een voorbeeld van een *outdoor* lifestyle sport is snowboarden in de Franse Alpen.
Met *indoor* lifestyle sporten worden lifestyle sporten bedoeld die voorheen alleen in een natuurlijke omgeving konden worden uitgeoefend, maar tegenwoordig ook aangeboden worden in moderne indoorcentra. Een voorbeeld van een *indoor* lifestyle sport is snowboarden in een overdekte sneeuwhal.
Met indoor lifestyle sport centra worden accommodaties bedoeld waar lifestyle sporten in een kunstmatige en gecontroleerde omgeving beoefend kunnen worden. Een voorbeeld van een indoor lifestyle sport centrum is een indoor skibaan, een kunstmatige wildwaterbaan, een klimwand of een verticale windtunnel voor indoor skydiven.

Neem de tijd om de enquête rustig en naar waarheid in te vullen. De gegevens zullen anoniem worden verwerkt.

Het invullen van de vragenlijst neemt ongeveer 7 minuten in beslag.

Alvast bedankt voor uw medewerking.

Deel 1 Demografische kenmerken

1.1 Leeftijd: … jaar

1.2. Geslacht
- o Man
- o Vrouw

1.3. Bent u in Nederland geboren of in een ander land?
- o in Nederland
- o in een ander land, namelijk ……

1.4. Is uw vader in Nederland geboren of in een ander land?

- o in Nederland
- o in een ander land, namelijk .....

1.5. Is uw moeder in Nederland geboren of in een ander land?
- o in Nederland
- o in een ander land, namelijk .....

1.6. Wat is uw postcode?
.....

1.7. Wat is uw huidige of hoogst voltooide opleiding?
- o geen
- o lager onderwijs, basisonderwijs of speciaal onderwijs
- o LBO, VBO, VMBO basis- of kaderberoepsgerichte leerweg
- o MAVO, VMBO theoretische of gemengde leerweg, (M)ULO, 3-jarige HBS
- o HAVO, MMS, HBS, VWO
- o MBO
- o HBO
- o universiteit (voor 1986 ook Technische en Landbouw Hogeschool)

1.8. Hoeveel bedraagt het netto maandinkomen van uw huishouden (inclusief jaarlijkse uitkeringen, exclusief kinderbijslag)?
- o minder dan €850
- o tussen €850 €1.200
- o tussen €1.200 en €1.750
- o tussen €1.750 en €3.050
- o tussen €3.050 en €3.500
- o meer dan €3.500
- o ik weet het niet

1.9. Heeft u ervaring met het beoefenen van lifestyle sporten?
- o Ja
- o Nee **(sluit vragenlijst af. Deze persoon valt niet in de doelgroep)**

Nu volgen er een aantal vragen over uw participatie in lifestyle sporten.

Deel 2 Inventariseren lifestyle sport participatie

Op basis van het aanbod van lifestyle sporten in Nederlandse indoorcentra zijn een aantal sporten geselecteerd voor dit onderzoek.

2.1. Kunt u aangeven met welke van de volgende lifestyle sporten u ervaring heeft? Indien u ervaring heeft met meerdere lifestyle sporten, gaat het hier om de sport die u het **meest frequent** beoefent.
- o Freestyle skiën
- o Recreatief skiën
- o Freestyle snowboarden
- o Recreatief snowboarden
- o Raften
- o Kayaken
- o Duiken
- o Skydiven
- o Sportklimmen
- o Boulderen
- o Ik heb geen ervaring met één van bovenstaande sporten **(sluit vragenlijst af. Deze persoon valt niet in de doelgroep)**

2.2. Indien u meerdere lifestyle sporten beoefent, kunt u aangeven met welke van de volgende lifestyle sporten u nog meer ervaring heeft?
(meerdere antwoorden mogelijk)

- o Freestyle skiën
- o Recreatief skiën
- o Freestyle snowboarden
- o Recreatief snowboarden
- o Raften
- o Kayaken
- o Duiken
- o Skydiven
- o Sportklimmen
- o Boulderen

In het vervolg van de vragenlijst wordt uitgegaan van de lifestyle sport waarvan u heeft aangegeven deze het meest frequent te beoefenen.

U heeft bij 2.1 aangegeven ervaring te hebben met snowboarden/skiën/surfen/raften/kayaken/duiken/
skydiven/klimmen (meest frequent beoefende sport van 2.1 inlezen).

2.3. Beoefent u deze sport indoor, outdoor of zowel indoor als outdoor?

- o Ik beoefen deze sport (vooral) indoor
- o Ik beoefen deze sport (vooral) outdoor
- o Ik beoefen deze sport evenveel indoor als outdoor

2.4. Omschrijf in drie steekwoorden wat u aantrekt in deze lifestyle sport
.....

Respondenten die hebben aangegeven lifestyle sporten evenveel indoor als outdoor te beoefenen, vullen alleen sectie ① in van Deel 4 in de vragenlijst.

Respondenten die het antwoord (vooral) indoor hebben gegeven, vullen alleen sectie ② in van Deel 4 in de vragenlijst.

Respondenten die het antwoord (vooral) outdoor hebben gegeven, vullen alleen sectie ③ in van Deel 4 in de vragenlijst.

2.5. Hoe vaak bent u gemiddeld actief in het beoefenen van deze lifestyle sport(en)?
(het gaat hier om alle lifestyle sporten die u beoefent, dus niet alleen de meest frequente)

- o Minder dan 1 keer per maand
- o 1-2 keer per maand
- o 3-4 keer per maand
- o 5-6 keer per maand
- o 2 keer per week of meer
- o Anders, namelijk.....
- o Ik weet het niet

2.6. In hoeverre ziet u uzelf als een geoefende sporter op het gebied van lifestyle sporten?

- o Ik ben een beginnende lifestyle sporter
- o Ik ben een gevorderde lifestyle sporter
- o Ik ben een professionele lifestyle sporter
- o Ik weet het niet

2.7. Hoe vaak brengt u een bezoek aan een *indoor* lifestyle sport centrum?

- o Ik ben nooit in een dergelijk centrum geweest. **(sla de volgende vragen over, en ga verder bij deel 3 van de vragenlijst)**
- o Ik ben 1 of 2 keer in een dergelijk centrum geweest.
- o Ik kom jaarlijks in een indoor lifestyle sport centrum
- o Ik kom maandelijks in een indoor lifestyle sport centrum
- o Ik kom wekelijks in een indoor lifestyle sport centrum
- o Anders, namelijk.....
- o Ik weet het niet

2.8. Welke indoor lifestyle sportcentra in Nederland heeft u bezocht?
(meerdere antwoorden mogelijk)

- o SnowWorld (Landgraaf of Zoetermeer)
- o De Uithof, Den Haag
- o SkiDome, Rucphen
- o SnowBase, Terneuzen
- o Dutch Water Dreams, Zoetermeer
- o Indoor Skydive Roosendaal
- o Dive World, Enschede
- o De Klimmuur, Haarlem
- o Klimcentrum Nijmegen
- o Klimcentrum Neoliet (Tilburg, Eindhoven of Heerlen)
- o Mountain Network (Amsterdam, Heerenveen, Arnhem of Nieuwegein)
- o Monk Bouldergym, Eindhoven
- o Ayers Rock, Zoetermeer
- o Anders, namelijk.....
- o Anders, namelijk.....

2.9. Maak uit onderstaande opties één keuze.

- o Als ik *indoor* een lifestyle sport beoefen, is dat vooral in een **sneeuwcentrum** (zoals SnowWorld, De Uithof, SkiDome, SnowBase)
- o Als ik *indoor* een lifestyle sport beoefen, is dat vooral in een **wildwatercomplex** (zoals Dutch Water Dreams)
- o Als ik *indoor* een lifestyle sport beoefen, is dat vooral in een **skydivecentrum** (zoals Indoor Skydive Roosendaal)
- o Als ik *indoor* een lifestyle sport beoefen, is dat vooral in een **duikcentrum** (zoals DiveWorld)
- o Als ik *indoor* een lifestyle sport beoefen, is dat vooral in een **klimcentrum** (zoals Ayers Rock, De Klimmuur, Klimcentrum Nijmegen, Neoliet, Mountain Network of Monk)
- o Ik weet het niet

Afhankelijk van wat er bij de vorige vraag wordt ingevuld, krijgt de respondent de volgende set vragen.

SNEEUW

2.10. Om welke reden bezoekt u een sneeuwcentrum? (meerdere antwoorden mogelijk)

- o Om in vorm te komen/blijven voor het wintersportseizoen
- o Om het hele jaar door bezig te kunnen zijn met skiën/snowboarden
- o Om deel te kunnen nemen aan een competitie
- o Om mijn vaardigheden te kunnen meten met andere sporters
- o Vanwege een bedrijfsuitje/vrijgezellenfeest/andere speciale gelegenheid
- o Om mijn (nieuwe) materiaal te testen
- o Ik maak graag kennis met nieuwe sporten
- o Ik vind skiën/snowboarden leuk, maar een wintersportvakantie is mij te duur
- o Ik vind skiën/snowboarden leuk, maar heb geen tijd voor een wintersportvakantie
- o Ik heb het idee dat ik hier op een veilige manier de sport kan beoefenen
- o Voor de gezelligheid

- o Anders, namelijk.....
- o Ik weet het niet

2.11. Vindt u dat de beoefening van het skiën/snowboarden in een indoor sneeuwcentrum te vergelijken is met het beoefenen van de sport in de buitenlucht? (meerdere antwoorden mogelijk)

- o Ja, er heerst eenzelfde sfeer als buiten
- o Ja, ik ervaar de sport op dezelfde manier als in de buitenlucht
- o Ja, ik heb net zoveel contact met andere sporters als buiten
- o Nee, de sfeer is anders dan buiten
- o Nee, ik ervaar de sport op een andere manier als in de buitenlucht
- o Nee, ik heb minder contact met andere sporters dan buiten
- o Nee, ik mis de afwisseling die ik in de natuur wel ervaar
- o Anders, namelijk.....
- o Ik weet het niet

WATER

2.10. Om welke reden bezoekt u een wildwatercomplex? (meerdere antwoorden mogelijk)

- o Om in vorm te komen/blijven voor de het buiten sporten
- o Om het hele jaar door bezig te kunnen zijn met raften/surfen/kayaken
- o Om deel te kunnen nemen aan een competitie
- o Om mijn vaardigheden te kunnen meten met andere sporters
- o Vanwege een bedrijfsuitje/vrijgezellenfeest/andere speciale gelegenheid
- o Om mijn (nieuwe) materiaal te testen
- o Ik maak graag kennis met nieuwe sporten
- o Ik vind raften/surfen/kayaken leuk, maar een buitensportvakantie is mij te duur
- o Ik vind raften/surfen/kayaken leuk, maar heb geen tijd voor een buitensportvakantie
- o Ik heb het idee dat ik hier op een veilige manier de sport kan beoefenen
- o Voor de gezelligheid
- o Anders, namelijk.....
- o Ik weet het niet

2.11. Vindt u dat de beoefening van het raften/surfen/kayaken in een wildwatercomplex te vergelijken is met het beoefenen van de sport in de buitenlucht? (meerdere antwoorden mogelijk)

- o Ja, er heerst eenzelfde sfeer als in een natuurlijke omgeving
- o Ja, ik ervaar de sport op dezelfde manier als in een natuurlijke omgeving
- o Ja, ik heb net zoveel contact met andere sporters als in een natuurlijke omgeving
- o Nee, de sfeer is anders dan in een natuurlijke omgeving
- o Nee, de sport is anders dan in een natuurlijke omgeving
- o Nee, ik heb minder contact met andere sporters dan in een natuurlijke omgeving
- o Nee, ik mis de afwisseling die ik in een natuurlijke omgeving wel ervaar
- o Anders, namelijk.....
- o Ik weet het niet

SKYDIVE

2.10. Om welke reden bezoekt u een skydive centrum? (meerdere antwoorden mogelijk)

- o Om in vorm te komen/blijven voor het buiten skydiven
- o Om het hele jaar door bezig te kunnen zijn met skydiven
- o Om deel te kunnen nemen aan een competitie
- o Om mijn vaardigheden te kunnen meten met andere sporters
- o Vanwege een bedrijfsuitje/vrijgezellenfeest/andere speciale gelegenheid
- o Om mijn (nieuwe) materiaal te testen
- o Ik maak graag kennis met nieuwe sporten
- o Ik vind skydiven leuk, maar een outdoor skydive is mij te duur
- o Ik vind skydiven leuk, maar heb geen tijd voor outdoor skydiven
- o Ik heb het idee dat ik hier op een veilige manier de sport kan beoefenen

- o Voor de gezelligheid
- o Anders, namelijk.....
- o Ik weet het niet

2.11. Vindt u dat de beoefening van het skydiven in een indoorcentrum te vergelijken is met het beoefenen van de sport in de buitenlucht? (meerdere antwoorden mogelijk)

- o Ja, er heerst eenzelfde sfeer als buiten
- o Ja, ik ervaar de sport op dezelfde manier als in de buitenlucht
- o Ja, ik heb net zoveel contact met andere sporters als buiten
- o Nee, de sfeer is anders dan buiten
- o Nee, ik ervaar de sport op een andere manier als in de buitenlucht
- o Nee, ik heb minder contact met andere sporters dan buiten
- o Nee, ik mis de afwisseling die ik in de natuur wel ervaar
- o Anders, namelijk.....
- o Ik weet het niet

DUIKEN

2.10. Om welke reden bezoekt u een duikcentrum? (meerdere antwoorden mogelijk)

- o Om in vorm te komen/blijven voor het duikseizoen
- o Om het hele jaar door bezig te kunnen zijn met duiken
- o Om deel te kunnen nemen aan een competitie
- o Om mijn vaardigheden te kunnen meten met andere sporters
- o Vanwege een bedrijfsuitje/vrijgezellenfeest/andere speciale gelegenheid
- o Om mijn (nieuwe) materiaal te testen
- o Ik vind duiken leuk, maar een duikvakantie is mij te duur
- o Ik vind duiken leuk, maar heb geen tijd voor een duikvakantie
- o Ik heb het idee dat ik hier op een veilige manier de sport kan beoefenen
- o Ik maak graag kennis met nieuwe sporten
- o Voor de gezelligheid
- o Anders, namelijk.....
- o Ik weet het niet

2.11. Vindt u dat de beoefening van het duiken in een duikcentrum te vergelijken is met het beoefenen van de sport in de buitenlucht? (meerdere antwoorden mogelijk)

- o Ja, er heerst eenzelfde sfeer als buiten
- o Ja, ik ervaar de sport op dezelfde manier als in een natuurlijke omgeving
- o Ja, ik heb net zoveel contact met andere sporters als buiten
- o Nee, de sfeer is anders dan buiten
- o Nee, ik ervaar de sport op een andere manier als in een natuurlijke omgeving
- o Nee, ik heb minder contact met andere sporters dan buiten
- o Nee, ik mis de afwisseling die ik in de natuur wel ervaar
- o Anders, namelijk.....
- o Ik weet het niet

KLIMMEN

2.10. Om welke reden bezoekt u een klimcentrum? (meerdere antwoorden mogelijk)

- o Om in vorm te komen/blijven voor het buiten klimmen
- o Om het hele jaar door bezig te kunnen zijn met klimmen
- o Om deel te kunnen nemen aan een competitie
- o Om mijn vaardigheden te kunnen meten met andere sporters
- o Vanwege een bedrijfsuitje/vrijgezellenfeest/andere speciale gelegenheid
- o Om mijn (nieuwe) materiaal te testen
- o Ik maak graag kennis met nieuwe sporten
- o Ik vind klimmen leuk, maar een buitensportvakantie is mij te duur
- o Ik vind klimmen leuk, maar heb geen tijd voor een buitensportvakantie
- o Ik heb het idee dat ik hier op een veilige manier de sport kan beoefenen

- o Voor de gezelligheid
- o Anders, namelijk.....
- o Ik weet het niet

2.11. Vindt u dat de beoefening van het klimmen in een klimcentrum te vergelijken is met het beoefenen van de sport in de buitenlucht? (meerdere antwoorden mogelijk)

- o Ja, er heerst eenzelfde sfeer als buiten
- o Ja, ik ervaar de sport op dezelfde manier als in de buitenlucht
- o Ja, ik heb net zoveel contact met andere sporters als buiten
- o Nee, de sfeer is anders dan buiten
- o Nee, ik ervaar de sport op een andere manier als in de buitenlucht
- o Nee, ik heb minder contact met andere sporters dan buiten
- o Nee, ik mis de afwisseling die ik in de natuur wel ervaar
- o Anders, namelijk.....
- o Ik weet het niet

Nu volgen er een aantal vragen over uw motivatie om in indoor centra lifestyle sporten te beoefenen.

Deel 4 Motivatie voor indoorcentra lifestyle sporten

① **Voor respondenten die aangegeven hebben evenveel indoor als outdoor hun lifestyle sport te beoefenen**

4.1. Omschrijf in drie steekwoorden waarom u zich aangetrokken voelt door *indoor* lifestyle sporten
.....

4.2. Omschrijf in drie steekwoorden waarom u zich aangetrokken voelt door *outdoor* lifestyle sporten
.....

Geeft u aan in hoeverre u het eens bent met de volgende uitspraken.

De cijfers hebben de volgende betekenis:
1 = daar ben ik het helemaal mee eens
2 = daar ben ik het tamelijk mee eens
3 = dat weet ik niet
4 = daar ben ik het tamelijk mee oneens
5 = daar ben ik het helemaal mee oneens

4.3. Mijn voorkeur gaat uit naar het beoefenen van een lifestyle sport in een indoor centrum, want het beoefenen van een lifestyle sport in de natuurlijke omgeving kost mij teveel moeite en planning.
1 2 3 4 5

4.4. Mijn voorkeur gaat uit naar het beoefenen van een lifestyle sport in de vrije natuur, want een indoor omgeving geeft mij niet de kick die ik in de buitenlucht wel ervaar.
1 2 3 4 5

4.5. Mijn voorkeur gaat uit naar het beoefenen van een lifestyle sport in een indoor centrum, want het beoefenen van een lifestyle sport in de natuurlijke omgeving vind ik te gevaarlijk.
1 2 3 4 5

4.6. Mijn voorkeur gaat uit naar het beoefenen van een lifestyle sport in de vrije natuur, want een indoor omgeving komt op mij te kunstmatig over.
1 2 3 4 5

4.7. Mijn voorkeur gaat uit naar het beoefenen van een lifestyle sport in een indoor centrum, want het beoefenen van een lifestyle sport in de natuurlijke omgeving vind ik te duur.
1 2 3 4 5

4.8. Ik vind het goed dat door het aanbod van *indoor* lifestyle sporten een breder publiek toegang heeft tot deze sporten.
1 2 3 4 5

4.9. Mijn voorkeur gaat uit naar het beoefenen van een lifestyle sport in de vrije natuur, want het verleggen van de grenzen bij de beoefening van lifestyle sporten in de openlucht spreekt mij aan.
1 2 3 4 5

4.10. Mijn voorkeur gaat uit naar het beoefenen van een lifestyle sport in een indoor centrum, want het beoefenen van een lifestyle sport in de natuurlijke omgeving is in Nederland niet of nauwelijks mogelijk.
1 2 3 4 5

4.11. Ik vind het jammer dat door het aanbod van *indoor* lifestyle sporten de exclusiviteit van veel lifestyle sporten verloren gaat.
1 2 3 4 5

4.12. Mijn voorkeur gaat uit naar het beoefenen van een lifestyle sport in de vrije natuur, want ik vind de natuurlijke omgeving net zo belangrijk als de activiteit zelf.
1 2 3 4 5

4.13 Mijn voorkeur gaat uit naar het beoefenen van een lifestyle sport in een indoor centrum vanwege het gevoel van veiligheid dat ik in een indoor omgeving ervaar.
1 2 3 4 5

4.14 Mijn voorkeur gaat uit naar het beoefenen van een lifestyle sport in een indoor centrum, want in een indoor omgeving ben ik van alle gemakken voorzien.
1 2 3 4 5

Deel 5 Subcultuur & Identiteit

Geeft u aan in hoeverre u het eens bent met de volgende uitspraken.

De cijfers hebben de volgende betekenis:
1 = daar ben ik het helemaal mee eens
2 = daar ben ik het tamelijk mee eens
3 = dat weet ik niet
4 = daar ben ik het tamelijk mee oneens
5 = daar ben ik het helemaal mee oneens

5.1. Door de beoefening van lifestyle sporten voel ik me tot een bepaalde groep behoren.
1 2 3 4 5

5.2. Door de beoefening van *indoor* lifestyle sporten voel ik me tot een bepaalde groep of subcultuur behoren.
1 2 3 4 5

5.3. Door de beoefening van *outdoor* lifestyle sporten voel ik me tot een bepaalde groep of subcultuur behoren.
1 2 3 4 5

5.4. Aan de beoefening van lifestyle sporten ontleen ik mijn identiteit.
1 2 3 4 5

5.5. Aan de beoefening van *indoor* lifestyle sporten ontleen ik mijn identiteit.
1 2 3 4 5

5.6. Aan de beoefening van *outdoor* lifestyle sporten ontleen ik mijn identiteit.
1 2 3 4 5

5.7. De beoefening van lifestyle sporten heeft invloed op mijn kleding en levensstijl.
1 2 3 4 5

5.8. De beoefening van *indoor* lifestyle sporten heeft invloed op mijn kleding en levensstijl.
1 2 3 4 5

5.9. De beoefening van *outdoor* lifestyle sporten heeft invloed op mijn kleding en levensstijl.
1 2 3 4 5

5.10. De beoefening van lifestyle sporten heeft invloed op mijn vriendengroep en kennissenkring.
1 2 3 4 5

5.11. De beoefening van *indoor* lifestyle sporten heeft invloed op mijn vriendengroep en kennissenkring.
1 2 3 4 5

5.12. De beoefening van *outdoor* lifestyle sporten heeft invloed op mijn vriendengroep en kennissenkring.
1 2 3 4 5

Deel 4 Motivatie voor indoorcentra lifestyle sporten

② **Voor respondenten die aangegeven hebben ALLEEN INDOOR hun lifestyle sport te beoefenen**

4.1. Omschrijf in drie steekwoorden waarom u zich aangetrokken voelt door *indoor* lifestyle sporten
……

Geeft u aan in hoeverre u het eens bent met de volgende uitspraken.

De cijfers hebben de volgende betekenis:
1 = daar ben ik het helemaal mee eens
2 = daar ben ik het tamelijk mee eens
3 = dat weet ik niet
4 = daar ben ik het tamelijk mee oneens
5 = daar ben ik het helemaal mee oneens

4.2. Mijn voorkeur gaat uit naar het beoefenen van een lifestyle sport in een indoor centrum, want het beoefenen van een lifestyle sport in de natuurlijke omgeving vind ik te duur.
1 2 3 4 5

4.3. Mijn voorkeur gaat uit naar het beoefenen van een lifestyle sport in een indoor centrum, want het beoefenen van een lifestyle sport in de natuurlijke omgeving kost mij teveel moeite en planning.
1 2 3 4 5

4.4. Mijn voorkeur gaat uit naar het beoefenen van een lifestyle sport in een indoor centrum, want het beoefenen van een lifestyle sport in de natuurlijke omgeving is in Nederland niet of nauwelijks mogelijk.
1 2 3 4 5

4.5. Mijn voorkeur gaat uit naar het beoefenen van een lifestyle sport in een indoor centrum, want het beoefenen van een lifestyle sport in de natuurlijke omgeving vind ik te gevaarlijk.
1 2 3 4 5

4.6. Ik vind het jammer dat door het aanbod van *indoor* lifestyle sporten de exclusiviteit van veel lifestyle sporten verloren gaat.
1 2 3 4 5

4.7. Ik vind het goed dat door het aanbod van *indoor* lifestyle sporten een breder publiek toegang heeft tot deze sporten.
1 2 3 4 5

4.8 Mijn voorkeur gaat uit naar het beoefenen van een lifestyle sport in een indoor centrum vanwege het gevoel van veiligheid dat ik in een indoor omgeving ervaar.
1 2 3 4 5

4.9 Mijn voorkeur gaat uit naar het beoefenen van een lifestyle sport in een indoor centrum, want in een indoor omgeving ben ik van alle gemakken voorzien.
1 2 3 4 5

Deel 5 Subcultuur & Identiteit

Geeft u aan in hoeverre u het eens bent met de volgende uitspraken.
De cijfers hebben de volgende betekenis:
1 = daar ben ik het helemaal mee eens
2 = daar ben ik het tamelijk mee eens
3 = dat weet ik niet
4 = daar ben ik het tamelijk mee oneens
5 = daar ben ik het helemaal mee oneens

5.1. Door de beoefening van *indoor* lifestyle sporten voel ik me tot een bepaalde groep of subcultuur behoren.
1 2 3 4 5

5.2. Aan de beoefening van *indoor* lifestyle sporten ontleen ik mijn identiteit.
1 2 3 4 5

5.3. De beoefening van *indoor* lifestyle sporten heeft invloed op mijn kleding en levensstijl.
1 2 3 4 5

5.4. De beoefening van *indoor* lifestyle sporten heeft invloed op mijn vriendengroep en kennissenkring.
1 2 3 4 5

Deel 4 Motivatie voor indoorcentra lifestyle sporten

---

③ **Voor respondenten die aangegeven hebben ALLEEN OUTDOOR hun lifestyle sport te beoefenen**

4.1. Omschrijf in drie steekwoorden waarom u zich aangetrokken voelt door *outdoor* lifestyle sporten
……

Geeft u aan in hoeverre u het eens bent met de volgende uitspraken.

De cijfers hebben de volgende betekenis:
1 = daar ben ik het helemaal mee eens
2 = daar ben ik het tamelijk mee eens
3 = dat weet ik niet
4 = daar ben ik het tamelijk mee oneens
5 = daar ben ik het helemaal mee oneens

4.2. Mijn voorkeur gaat uit naar het beoefenen van een lifestyle sport in de vrije natuur, want een indoor omgeving komt op mij te kunstmatig over.
1 2 3 4 5

4.3. Mijn voorkeur gaat uit naar het beoefenen van een lifestyle sport in de vrije natuur, want een indoor omgeving geeft mij niet de kick die ik in de buitenlucht wel ervaar.
1 2 3 4 5

4.4. Mijn voorkeur gaat uit naar het beoefenen van een lifestyle sport in de vrije natuur, want ik vind juist het risico van de beoefening van lifestyle sporten in de openlucht aantrekkelijk.
1 2 3 4 5

4.5. Mijn voorkeur gaat uit naar het beoefenen van een lifestyle sport in de vrije natuur, want ik vind de natuurlijke omgeving net zo belangrijk als de activiteit zelf.
1 2 3 4 5

4.6. Ik vind het jammer dat door het aanbod van *indoor* lifestyle sporten de exclusiviteit van veel lifestyle sporten verloren gaat.
1 2 3 4 5

4.7. Ik vind het goed dat door het aanbod van *indoor* lifestyle sporten een breder publiek toegang heeft tot deze sporten.
1 2 3 4 5

Deel 5 Subcultuur & Identiteit

Geeft u aan in hoeverre u het eens bent met de volgende uitspraken.
De cijfers hebben de volgende betekenis:
1 = daar ben ik het helemaal mee eens
2 = daar ben ik het tamelijk mee eens
3 = dat weet ik niet

4 = daar ben ik het tamelijk mee oneens
5 = daar ben ik het helemaal mee oneens

5.1. Door de beoefening van *outdoor* lifestyle sporten voel ik me tot een bepaalde groep of subcultuur behoren.
1 2 3 4 5

5.2. Aan de beoefening van *outdoor* lifestyle sporten ontleen ik mijn identiteit.
1 2 3 4 5

5.3. De beoefening van *outdoor* lifestyle sporten heeft invloed op mijn kleding en levensstijl.
1 2 3 4 5

5.4. De beoefening van *outdoor* lifestyle sporten heeft invloed op mijn vriendengroep en kennissenkring.
1 2 3 4 5

(Voor alle respondenten)
Deel 6 Vergelijking lifestyle sporten – traditionele sporten

6.1. Lees onderstaande beweringen goed door. Welke bewering(en) is/zijn op u van toepassing? (meerdere antwoorden mogelijk)

- Ik beoefen een traditionele sport omdat ik in vorm wil blijven en gezond wil leven.
- Ik beoefen een lifestyle sport omdat ik in vorm wil blijven en gezond wil leven.
- Ik beoefen een traditionele sport omdat ik het een leuke tijdsbesteding vind.
- Ik beoefen een lifestyle sport omdat ik het een leuke tijdsbesteding vind.
- Ik beoefen een traditionele sport omdat ik het fijn vind aangesloten te zijn bij een bond/federatie/vereniging.
- Ik beoefen een lifestyle sport omdat ik het fijn vind aangesloten te zijn bij een bond/federatie/vereniging.
- Ik beoefen een lifestyle sport omdat ik niet aangesloten hoef te zijn bij een bond/federatie/vereniging.
- Ik beoefen een traditionele sport omdat ik in competitieverband wil sporten.
- Ik beoefen een lifestyle sport omdat ik in competitieverband wil sporten.
- Ik beoefen een lifestyle sport omdat ik *niet* in competitieverband wil sporten.
- Ik beoefen een traditionele sport vanwege het sociale aspect.
- Ik beoefen een lifestyle sport vanwege het sociale aspect.
- Ik beoefen een traditionele sport omdat dit een veilige manier is om te recreëren.
- Ik beoefen een lifestyle sport omdat ik graag risico neem als ik recreëer.

Nu volgen er een aantal vragen over de motivatie om lifestyle sporten te beoefenen.

Deel 7 Lifestyle sport motivatie

Geeft u aan in hoeverre u het eens bent met de volgende uitspraken.
De cijfers hebben de volgende betekenis:
1 = daar ben ik het helemaal mee eens
2 = daar ben ik het tamelijk mee eens
3 = dat weet ik niet
4 = daar ben ik het tamelijk mee oneens
5 = daar ben ik het helemaal mee oneens

7.1 Mijn doel is om opvallend goed te zijn in lifestyle sporten
1 2 3 4 5

7.2 Ik wil graag hard werken om succesvol te zijn in lifestyle sporten
1 2 3 4 5

7.3 Als ik mogelijk fysieke risico's loop bij het beoefenen van lifestyle sporten, dan vind ik dat geen groot probleem
1 2 3 4 5

7.4 Het strijden tegen anderen is het leukste van lifestyle sporten
1 2 3 4 5

7.5 Het doen van lifestyle sporten helpt me groeien als persoon
1 2 3 4 5

7.6 Ik beoefen lifestyle sporten omdat ze me helpen gezond te blijven
1 2 3 4 5

7.7 Door het beoefenen van lifestyle sporten voel ik me speciaal
1 2 3 4 5

7.8 Het beoefenen van lifestyle sporten helpt me om bepaalde dingen te bereiken
1 2 3 4 5

7.9 Ik beoefen lifestyle sporten om plezier te hebben
1 2 3 4 5

7.10 Het beoefenen van lifestyle sporten helpt me het uiterste uit mezelf te halen
1 2 3 4 5

7.11 Ik heb de sterke wens succesvol te zijn in lifestyle sporten
1 2 3 4 5

7.12 Het beoefenen van lifestyle sporten vergroot mijn zelfvertrouwen
1 2 3 4 5

7.13 Gevaar is één van de leuke aspecten van de beoefening van lifestyle sporten
1 2 3 4 5

7.14 Ik vind de beoefening van lifestyle sporten leuk vanwege de kans om vriendschappen op te doen
1 2 3 4 5

7.15 Ik vind lifestyle sporten leuk omdat de technieken moeilijk te leren zijn
1 2 3 4 5

7.16 Het beoefenen van lifestyle sporten maken dat ik me zelfverzekerd voel over mijn capaciteiten
1 2 3 4 5

7.17 Door het beoefenen van lifestyle sporten in een groep doe ik sociale vaardigheden op

1 2 3 4 5

7.18 Ik vind lifestyle sporten leuk
1 2 3 4 5

7.19 Ik beoefen lifestyle sporten om fysiek fit te blijven
1 2 3 4 5

7.20 Ik ga lifestyle sporten leuker vinden naarmate ik de ervaringen meer kan delen met andere mensen
1 2 3 4 5

7.21 Lifestyle sporten zijn uitdagend omdat het activiteiten zijn die moeilijk onder de knie te krijgen zijn
1 2 3 4 5

7.22 Het vraagt veel van me om een goede lifestyle sporter te worden of te zijn
1 2 3 4 5

7.23 In het beoefenen van lifestyle sporten kan ik mezelf uitdrukken
1 2 3 4 5

7.24 Ik kan mijn persoonlijkheid kwijt in trainingen en wedstrijden van lifestyle sporten
1 2 3 4 5

7.25 Door lifestyle sporten kan ik een competitief ethos ontwikkelen
1 2 3 4 5

7.26 Hoe beter mijn tegenstanders, hoe meer plezier ik heb in het beoefenen van lifestyle sporten
1 2 3 4 5

7.27 Ik zie het beoefenen van lifestyle sporten als een kunstvorm
1 2 3 4 5

7.28 Ik geef me compleet wanneer ik een lifestyle sport beoefen
1 2 3 4 5

7.29 Als ik lifestyle sporten beoefen heb ik plezier
1 2 3 4 5

7.30 Ik beoefen lifestyle sporten omdat het mijn fysieke fitheid ten goede komt
1 2 3 4 5

Dit was de vragenlijst. Bedankt voor uw tijd en moeite!

Summary in Dutch (Nederlandse samenvatting)

Achtergrond en aanleiding

Tot voor kort was er voor raften een wilde rivier nodig, om te klimmen een rotswand en om te skydiven op z'n minst een vliegtuig. In deze avontuurlijke lifestyle sporten speelt de natuur een grote rol. In de eerste plaats is een natuurlijke omgeving een vereiste om de sport uit te kunnen oefenen, in de tweede plaats worden veel beoefenaars van lifestyle sporten juist door de beleving van de natuur en het gevoel te strijden tegen de elementen aangetrokken. Lifestyle sporten lijken onlosmakelijk verbonden met een natuurlijke omgeving. Sinds zo'n twintig jaar is de rol van de natuur in lifestyle sporten echter steeds minder belangrijk. Met de komst van artificiële omgevingen voor lifestyle sporten, zoals snowdomes (indoor sneeuwhallen), klimwanden en kunstmatige wildwaterbanen, krijgt de natuur een ondergeschikte betekenis binnen de wereld van lifestyle sporten.

De opkomst van deze artificiële omgevingen voor lifestyle sporten is door Van Bottenburg en Salome (2010) omschreven als '*the indoorisation of outdoor sports*'. Dit proces beschrijft hoe typische outdoor lifestyle sporten momenteel worden aangeboden in commerciële, veilige, gecontroleerde, kunstmatige omgevingen. Hoewel dit proces wereldwijd in gang is gezet, speelt Nederland in dit proces een hoofdrol: in geen enkel land ter wereld staan er acht overdekte sneeuwbanen en zijn er zoveel klimhallen voor een relatief klein aantal inwoners en een kleine oppervlakte. In Nederland, een land waar sporten zoals klimmen en snowboarden niet in een natuurlijke omgeving beoefend kunnen worden, hebben kunstmatige settingen voor lifestyle sporten een prominente plek veroverd in het brede scala aan sport- en vrijetijdsactiviteiten.

In dit proefschrift staat de vraag centraal in hoeverre de nieuwe kunstmatige omgevingen voor de beoefening van lifestyle sporten het karakter van de sporten en de manier van beoefenen veranderd hebben. Door te onderzoeken welke betekenissen sport participanten – de consumenten – en de ondernemers die de sporten aanbieden – de producenten – aan de activiteiten en de kunstmatige settings toekennen, wordt getracht te begrijpen hoe processen van consumptie en productie elkaar beïnvloeden.

Juist in avontuurlijke buitensporten zoals snowboarden, skydiven, klimmen en raften is de transformatie van buiten naar binnen een fascinerend en paradoxaal gegeven. Deze sporten, die lange tijd gezien werden als een alternatief ten opzichte van de dominante,

competitieve sportwereld, zijn onlosmakelijke verbonden met de natuur. Het paradoxale gegeven dat deze riskante, door velen gezien als 'extreme', sporten nu in een gecontroleerde omgeving worden aangeboden vormde de basis van de fascinatie waarop dit proefschrift gebaseerd is.

Lifestyle sporten kenden sinds hun intrede in de sportwereld in de jaren '60 een groeiende populariteit. Met name in de jaren '80 groeide de participatie in sporten zoals surfen en snowboarden in toenemende mate. Waar deze sporten voorheen gekenmerkt werden door een jong en mannelijk publiek, is sinds begin jaren '90 een steeds gevarieerder groep beoefenaars actief in de sporten. Met de populariseringvan de lifestyle sporten nam de commercialisering toe. Niet meer alleen de sporters zelf, maar ook commerciële partijen bemoeiden zich met de ontwikkeling en vermarkting van de activiteiten en producten rondom die activiteiten, zoals magazines, films en kleding. Het gevolg was een ongekende groei in media-aandacht, het creëren van een 'celebrity cultuur', en een toenemend aanbod van extreme activiteiten – en de producten die daar vanaf werden geleid – voor collectieve consumptie.

De populariserings- en commercialiseringsprocessen in lifestyle sporten in de afgelopen decennia hebben een basis gecreëerd voor de het zogenaamde indoorisatie proces. Juist omdat het *mainstream* publiek in toename geïnteresseerd raakte in deze nieuwe, spannende activiteiten, zagen commerciële ondernemers sinds eind jaren '80 kansen tot het succesvol exploiteren van artificiële omgevingen waar lifestyle sporten op een laagdrempelige manier voor het eerst ervaren kunnen worden, waar toegewijde sporters kunnen trainen op hoog niveau, en waar dagjesmensen een spectaculair tijdverdrijf vinden.

De collectieve consumptie van lifestyle sporten wordt in dit proefschrift bezien vanuit de opkomst van de *consumer culture.* De postmoderne Westerse manier van consumeren – een groeiende, continue ongecontroleerde passie voor en zoektocht naar producten – sluit naadloos aan bij de huidige ontwikkelingen in deze sporten. Niet alleen is alles in rond deze sporten te koop, van bergexpedities tot raft-uitjes, ook moet de consumptie tegelijkertijd een beleving én efficiënt zijn. Ritzer's visie op de McDonaldisering (2008) van de samenleving, waarin wordt beargumenteerd dat steeds meer producten en services volgens de principes efficiëntie, voorspelbaarheid, calculeerbaarheid en controle vorm krijgen, is daarom van toepassing op de ontwikkelingen binnen de lifestyle sporten. Daarnaast wordt in dit proefschrift het perspectief van de *Consumer Culture Theory* (CCT) gebruikt om de actieve en kritische rol van de consument, of in dit verband de sportbeoefenaar, te benadrukken. In deze van oorsprong Amerikaanse benadering

worden consumenten niet gezien als passieve poppen die doen wat de markt of industrie hen opdraagt, maar worden ze beschouwd als 'interpretative agents' die op een creatieve, zelfstandige en kritische wijze keuzes maken uit het enorme scala aan producten en diensten. Vervolgens interpreteren ze deze op een individuele, bij de eigen levenswijze passende, manier (Arnould & Thompson, 2005). Door de artificiële omgevingen waarin lifestyle sporten in toenemende mate worden aangeboden te beschouwen als postmoderne consumptiecentra, worden lifestyle sport participanten bestudeerd als consumenten en de aanbieders van de commerciële activiteiten als producenten.

Met een economisch sociologische benadering, waarin perspectieven vanuit internationaal onderzoek naar lifestyle sport culturen gecombineerd worden met inzichten uit de marketing en economie op consumptie, beoogt dit proefschrift inzicht te verschaffen in de manier waarop de postmoderne consumptiemarkt van commercieel aangeboden lifestyle sporten in artificiële omgevingen tot stand is gekomen en zich heeft ontwikkeld.

Vraagstelling

Hoewel onderzoek naar lifestyle sporten – overigens met name in Engeland en Amerika – een steeds groter aandeel inneemt in het sportonderzoek vanuit sociologisch en marketing oogpunt, staat dit onderzoek in Nederland nog in de kinderschoenen. Ook onderzoek naar het specifieke indoorisatieproces van deze lifestyle sporten is nationaal en internationaal niet eerder uitgevoerd. De bovenstaande wetenschappelijke aanknopingspunten hebben geleid tot de volgende centrale vraag in deze studie:

Op welke manier zijn lifestyle sporten getransformeerd in commercieel aangeboden activiteiten in artificiële sportomgevingen, en hoe is deze ontwikkeling gerelateerd aan de (ontwikkelingen in) lifestyle sporten die van oudsher in een natuurlijke omgeving beoefend worden?

De overkoepelende vraagstelling is opgedeeld in een drietal subvragen:

I Op welke manieren worden lifestyle sporten gecommodificeerd en gecommuniceerd bezien vanaf de kant van de aanbieder van de activiteiten?

II Op welke manier interpreteert, consumeert en beleeft de consument deze nieuwe, efficiënte, gecontroleerde activiteiten?

III Op welke manier zijn de consumenten en producenten in deze postmoderne consumptiemarkt met elkaar verbonden, en welke consequenties heeft hun interactie voor de recent ontwikkelde activiteiten en sportomgevingen?

Methoden

Om zowel de productie- als de consumptiezijde van deze nieuwe sportmarkt te onderzoeken en om het indoorisatieproces te begrijpen, is een *mixed method* benadering toegepast. De combinatie van kwalitatief en kwantitatief onderzoek in deze benadering stelde me in staat om deze recente ontwikkeling binnen de sportbusiness zo compleet mogelijk in beeld te brengen. Door triangulatie van technieken kon ik ontwikkeling van de markt vanuit verschillende perspectieven onderzoeken, en kon ik de resultaten met elkaar vergelijken. Puntsgewijs is er binnen deze studie gebruik gemaakt van de volgende methoden:

Literatuuronderzoek – Hoofdzakelijk om de ontwikkelingen binnen de lifestyle sport en de rol van de consumentencultuur in de sport in kaart te brengen.

Contentanalyse – Tekstuele en visuele documenten (zoals websites, brochures, flyers, beleidsdocumenten, jaarverslagen, video's en foto's) vanuit de aanbieders boden inzicht in de ontwikkeling en de communicatie.

Diepte-interviews – In 42 semi-gestructureerde interviews met zowel de producenten als de consumenten van deze sportmarkt werd inzicht verkregen in de betekenissen die beide kanten van de markt toekennen aan de nieuwe activiteiten en settingen.

Online survey – Om inzicht te krijgen in het gedrag, de beleving en de motivatie van Nederlandse lifestyle sport participanten (zowel 'hardcore' beoefenaars als nieuwkomers, en zowel binnen- als buitensporters), is een digitale vragenlijst ingevuld door 372 Nederlandse participanten.

Observaties – Om een goede indruk te krijgen van het reilen en zeilen binnen de kunstmatige sportomgevingen en om de interactie tussen consument en producent in kaart te brengen, werden gedurende verschillende fases van het onderzoek observaties uitgevoerd binnen verscheidene sportomgevingen met een specifieke focus op lifestyle sporten.

Het toepassen van een diversiteit van methoden heeft me in staat gesteld om zo volledig mogelijk de achtergronden, motieven, gedragingen en belevingen van verschillende actoren in deze markt te bestuderen. Hierdoor wordt consumptie en productiegedrag in

deze studie bestudeerd als een betekenisvolle sociale handeling in plaats van een rationele afweging van kosten en baten.

Resultaten

De verschillende bovengenoemde subvragen zijn beantwoord in de afzonderlijke hoofdstukken van dit proefschrift, waarna in de algemene conclusie de inzichten vanuit de verschillende substudies zijn verenigd.

Hoofdstuk 2 gaat in op de historie en de ontwikkeling van de lifestyle sporten, zowel nationaal als internationaal. In dit hoofdstuk zijn door middel van literatuuronderzoek een aantal dominante thema´s onderscheiden, die veelvuldig in studies over deze sporten gebruikt worden om de sporten te definiëren, interpreteren en af te bakenen van de dominante sportwereld. Door deze thema's toe te passen op het huidige indoorisatieproces tracht dit hoofdstuk deze ontwikkeling in te bedden in de lifestyle sport cultuur.

Daarnaast biedt dit hoofdstuk een theoretische introductie op concepten binnen de consumentencultuur, en de rol die dit postmoderne Westerse consumentisme speelt in de sportwereld, en specifiek, in lifestyle sporten. Door middel van literatuurstudie zijn twee dominante perspectieven onderscheiden en toegepast op de huidige ontwikkelingen in de lifestyle sporten. De CCT (e.g. Arnould & Thompson, 2005, 2007) en Ritzer´s (2008) perspectief op de McDonaldisering van de samenleving bieden een bruikbaar houvast om de ontwikkelingen zowel vanuit de consument als vanuit de producent als vanuit de wisselwerking tussen de twee te begrijpen.

In hoofdstuk 3, waarin de term *the indoorisation of outdoor sports* uitgebreid wordt gedefinieerd, staan de condities centraal waarin ondernemers er sinds een aantal decennia in geslaagd zijn om typische avontuurlijke buitensporten aan te bieden in settingen waarin natuurlijke elementen zijn nagebootst. Daarnaast is door interviews, observaties en content analyses inzicht verkregen in de betekenissen die zij toekennen aan de lifestyle sporten in artificiële omgevingen, en met welke dilemma´s zij te maken hebben bij het aanbieden van de activiteiten. Door het aanbod te plaatsen in een spanningsveld van lifestyle sporten, *mainstream* sporten en vrijetijdsactiviteiten, wordt duidelijk dat deze producenten rekening moeten houden met tal van verschillende interpretaties, representaties en vormen van beoefening.

In hoofdstuk 4 worden vragen met betrekking tot de authenticiteit van lifestyle sporten, lifestyle sport participanten en artificiële omgevingen voor lifestyle sporten verkend. Lifestyle sporten worden over het algemeen gekarakteriseerd in termen als non-

commercieel, hedonistisch, alternatief en niet-competitief, met plezier als belangrijkste element. Gedurende hun commercialiserings- en populariseringsprocessen werden deze waarden echter steeds minder onderscheidend. Het opzetten van bijvoorbeeld snowboardcompetities, het instellen van reguleringssystemen en de enorme toename aan nieuwe, niet-hardcore beoefenaars in de sporten hebben ervoor gezorgd dat lifestyle sporten zich tegenwoordig in mindere mate onderscheiden van de dominante sportcultuur dan eerder het geval was. Met de oprichting van artificiële settingen voor lifestyle sporten lijkt het definitief gedaan met de exclusiviteit en authenticiteit, waarden die voorheen van groot belang waren in lifestyle sporten (Salome, 2010). Dit hoofdstuk maakt door middel van diepte-interviews met producenten, observaties en content analyses dan ook duidelijk dat authenticiteit een uitermate relatief, dynamisch en betwist concept is in de wereld van de lifestyle sporten.

Het volgende hoofdstuk bouwt voort op het authentieke beeld van de lifestyle sport en de lifestyle sport participant dat is ontstaan door de hoofdzakelijk etnografische studies over deze sporten. Hoewel er een beeld is geschept van een homogene groep jonge, mannelijke lifestyle sporters die zich aangetrokken voelen tot het alternatieve, hedonistische en sensationele, toont deze deelstudie aan dat lifestyle sport beoefenaars een grotere diversiteit kennen dan wordt verondersteld. Een survey aangevuld met diepte-interviews met lifestyle sport participanten staaft dat door het indoorisatieproces van lifestyle sporten het homogene beeld niet meer voldoet (Salome & Van Bottenburg, 2012). De introductie van een participatieprofiel, met daarbinnen verschillende manieren en settingen waarin lifestyle sporten beoefend worden, illustreert dit.

In hoofdstuk 6 komt de interactie tussen consumenten en producenten in een postmoderne consumptiemarkt aan bod. Door middel van interviews met zowel consumenten als producenten en observaties gericht op de interactie tussen beide zijden van de markt, toont dit hoofdstuk dat de ontwikkeling in lifestyle sporten niet alleen wordt gekenmerkt door een confrontatie tussen twee culturen, maar ook door een confrontatie tussen theorieën. De vrije, onafhankelijke lifestyle sporter zoals gedefinieerd in de Consumer Culture Theory lijkt lijnrecht tegenover de gedisciplineerde, rationele producent zoals omschreven door Ritzer's McDonaldiserings benadering. Deze twee – op het oog botsende – benaderingen laten zien dat consument en producent niet zonder elkaar kunnen bij de ontwikkeling en innovaties in lifestyle sporten en omgevingen waar deze sporten beoefend worden.

In hoofdstuk 7 wordt vervolgens ingegaan op de keerzijde van deze postmoderne consumptiecultuur. Door het thema maatschappelijk verantwoord ondernemen aan de

orde te brengen, met daarbij de nadruk op de ecologische of omgevingscomponent, laat dit hoofdstuk zien dat producenten van artificiële settingen voor lifestyle sporten te maken hebben met een steeds dringender verzoek rekening te houden met milieu en omgeving. Diepte-interviews en content analyses tonen aan dat verschillende altruïstische en strategische motieven een grote rol spelen bij het 'verduurzamen' van de onderneming, en dat er grote spanningen bestaan tussen deze uitersten (Salome, Van Bottenburg, & Van den Heuvel, 2012). Deze deelstudie bewijst dat de opkomst van energievretende artificiële omgevingen grote vragen oproept in een wereld die in toenemende mate het duurzame, groene en maatschappelijke aspect binnen ondernemen van belang vindt.

Conclusie

Het interdisciplinaire en explorerende perspectief in deze studie verschaft inzicht in de verschuiving van sportbeoefening naar sportconsumptie. Door het gedrag van lifestyle sport beoefenaars in artificiële sportomgevingen niet alleen te beschouwen als een rationele afweging van kosten en baten, maar als een economisch én sociaal proces, wordt helder dat consumptiegedrag binnen de commerciële sport begrepen kan worden als een betekenisvolle sociale handeling.

De vijf empirische studies laten samen met de twee theoretische hoofdstukken zien dat *the indoorisation of outdoor sports* beschreven kan worden als een ontwikkeling die een grote invloed heeft op de cultuur van lifestyle sporten zoals wij die kenden. Door de komst van de artificiële omgevingen kan een steeds grotere groep mensen deelnemen aan deze voorheen exclusieve en riskante sporten en kunnen beoefenaars een hoger niveau halen door geschikte trainingsomstandigheden. Competities kunnen eenvoudiger georganiseerd en gejureerd worden, regulerings- en veiligheidsaspecten gaan een grotere rol spelen, en de sporten lijken toenemend sociale in plaats van individuele activiteiten te worden. Daarnaast kan beargumenteerd worden dat door de opkomst van de kunstmatige settingen de strikte scheidslijn tussen lifestyle sporten en *mainstream* sporten uit de dominante sportcultuur verdwijnt, en dat deze sporten van authentiek en exclusief verschuiven in de richting van collectieve consumptiegoederen.

Door zowel de productiekant als de consumptiekant binnen het indoorisatieproces te bestuderen aan de hand van diverse methoden, is duidelijk geworden dat deze nieuwe sportvormen gekenmerkt worden door een voortdurende strijd om betekenissen. Niet alleen drukken de producenten en de verschillende soorten consumenten hun stempel op de activiteiten én de settingen, ook dominante concepten uit avontuurlijke

buitensporten, de vrijetijdssector, de dominante sportcultuur en de consumentencultuur lijken een strijd te leveren om een plekje in deze postmoderne consumptiemarkt.

Theoretisch draagt het onderzoek bij aan het debat over ingrijpende commercialiseringsprocessen in lifestyle sporten en geeft het inzicht in postmoderne, energievretende innovaties in de context van de ecologische problematiek. Door de gebruikte economisch sociologische benadering toont de studie aan dat consumptiepatronen binnen de sportbusiness zowel economische als sociologische componenten bevatten, in tegenstelling tot de vaak gebruikte economische of managementbenaderingen die gericht zijn op commerciële sportomgevingen. Tot slot toont het onderzoek aan dat het verbinden van schijnbaar contrasterende theoretische perspectieven zoals de CCT en Ritzer's McDonaldization zeer bruikbaar is bij het creëren van een samenhangend perspectief om deze fascinerende sportbusiness te begrijpen en verklaren.

Literatuur

Arnould, E., & Thompson, C. (2005). Consumer Culture Theory (CCT): Twenty years of research. *Journal of Consumer Research, 31*(4), 868-882.

Arnould, E., & Thompson, C. (2007). Consumer Culture Theory (and we really mean *theoretics*): Dilemmas and opportunities posed by an academic branding strategy. In R. W. Belk & J. F. Sherry (Eds.), *Research in Consumer Behavior* (Vol. 11, pp. 3-22). Oxford: Elsevier Ltd.

Ritzer, G. (2008). *The McDonaldization of society*. Thousand Oaks: Pine Forge Press.

Salome, L. (2010). Constructing authenticity in contemporary consumer culture: The case of lifestyle sports. *European Journal for Sport and Society, 7*(1), 69-87.

Salome, L., & Van Bottenburg, M. (2012). Are they all daredevils? Introducing a participation typology for the consumption of lifestyle sports in different settings. *European Sport Management Quarterly, 12*(1), 19-42.

Salome, L., Van Bottenburg, M., & Van den Heuvel, M. (2012). "We are as green as possible": Environmental responsibility in commercial artificial settings for lifestyle sports. *Leisure Studies*.

Van Bottenburg, M., & Salome, L. (2010). The indoorisation of outdoor sports. An exploration of the rise of lifestyle sports in artificial settings. *Leisure Studies, 29*(2), 143-160.

List of publications

Salome, L. (2012). De indoorisatie van buitensporten: Leefstijlsporten opnieuw geïnterpreteerd. *Sport & Strategie, 6*(3), 29.

Salome, L., Van Bottenburg, M., & Van den Heuvel, M. (2012). "We are as green as possible": Environmental responsibility in commercial artificial settings for lifestyle sports. *Leisure Studies*.

Salome, L., & Van Bottenburg, M. (2012). Are they all daredevils? Introducing a participation typology for the consumption of lifestyle sports in different settings. *European Sport Management Quarterly (12)*1, 19-42.

Lucassen, J., Salome, L., & Wisse, E. (2011). Leefstijlsport, een conceptuele verkenning. In J. Lucassen & E. Wisse (Eds.), *Sporten op de grens. Studies over leefstijlsporten* (pp. 12-37). Nieuwegein: Arko Sports Media.

Salome, L. (2011). Van de Pyreneeën naar Zoetermeer. Een verkenning van de culturele betekenissen van leefstijlsporten in artificiële settings. In J. Lucassen & E. Wisse (Eds.), *Sporten op de grens. Studies over leefstijlsporten* (pp. 38-57). Nieuwegein: Arko Sports Media.

Wisse, E., Lucassen, J., Smits, F., Reijgersberg, N., Salome, L., & Luijt, R. (2011). Leefstijlsporten: Van tegencultuur tot webbased sportnetwerk. *Vrijetijdsstudies, 29*(1), 17-26.

Salome, L. (2011). *A participation typology for the consumption of lifestyle sports in varied settings*. Paper presented at the 19th Conference of the European Association for Sport Management, Madrid, September 7-11, 2011.

Salome, L. (2011). *"We are as green as possible": Corporate environmentalism in commercial artificial settings for lifestyle sports*. Paper presented at the World Congress for the Sociology of Sport, Havana International Convention Centre, Cuba, July 10-17, 2011.

Salome, L. (2010). *The indoorisation of outdoor lifestyle sports: Een overview*. Paper presented at the Dag van het Sportonderzoek, Sportcentrum Universum Amsterdam, October 7, 2010.

Salome, L. (2010). *The new frontiers for CCT: Considering consumer-producer interaction in consumer culture.* Paper presented at the 5th Consumer Culture Theory Conference, Wisconsin School of Business, Madison, June 10-13, 2010.

Salome, L. (2010). *Are lifestyle sports indeed that special? Critical reflections on the established interpretation of lifestyle sports*. Paper presented at the 7th Conference of the European Association for Sociology of Sport, Porto, May 5-8, 2010.

Salome, L. (2010). Constructing authenticity in contemporary consumer culture: The case of lifestyle sports. *European Journal for Sport and Society 7*(1), 96-87.

Van Bottenburg, M., & Salome, L. (2010). The indoorisation of outdoor sports. An exploration of the rise of lifestyle sports in artificial settings. *Leisure studies 29*(2), 143-160.

Salome, L. (2009). *The indoorisation of outdoor sports: The construction of authenticity.* Paper presented at ISSA's World Congress of the Sociology of Sport, Utrecht, July 15-18, 2009.

Salome, L. (2009). *Senses of authenticity in contemporary consumer culture: New versions of lifestyle sports and questions of genuineness*. Paper presented at the 6th Conference of the European Association for Sociology of Sport, Rome, May 27-51, 2009. (*paper received honourable mention EASS Young Researcher Award 2009)*

Curriculum Vitae

Lotte Salome was born in Leiderdorp, The Netherlands, on 18 January 1984. She graduated from Het Groene Hart Lyceum in Alphen a/d Rijn in 2002. In September 2002, she started studying Communication Science at the University of Amsterdam, resulting in a cum laude MA degree in the Persuasive Communication track in 2007.
From February 2008 until February 2012, she worked on her dissertation in sport sociology at the Tilburg School of Economics, department of Fontys University of Applied Sciences in The Netherlands. During her PhD research, she was also affiliated as a lecturer in communications at this economics department.

Dankwoord

Klaar. Af. Het zit er op! Eigenlijk moet ik hier zeggen dat ik na jaren bloed, zweet en tranen blij ben dat ik een punt achter dit werk heb gezet. Dat ik diepe dalen en hoge pieken heb gekend. En dat ik met hard zwoegen tot het uiterste ben gegaan. Maar dat is niet waar. Eigenlijk heb ik het schrijven van een proefschrift als een heel erg fijne, relaxte baan ervaren. Veel eigen verantwoordelijkheid, mijn eigen tijd indelen en op z'n tijd leuke tripjes naar exotische congresbestemmingen. Het voelde als een privilege om vier jaar de tijd te krijgen om me in te graven in een ontzettend fascinerend fenomeen, en daar nog voor betaald te krijgen ook.
Dit klinkt alsof ik de afgelopen vier jaar fluitend ben doorgekomen. Soms was dat zo, maar soms ook niet. Met name aan het begin van mijn vierde onderzoeksjaar heb ik tegen verschillende mensen gezegd dat ik mijn onderzoek het liefst vandaag nog over de heg zou gooien. Gelukkig heb ik dat niet gedaan! Met name in die periode, maar uiteraard ook voor en na die tijd, hebben vele personen direct en indirect een bijdrage geleverd aan dit proefschrift. Hoewel ik dit proefschrift zie als een persoonlijk wetenschappelijk ontwikkelingstraject, was voor een optimaal resultaat een goede samenwerking nodig. Graag wil ik iedereen bedanken voor zijn of haar inzet, en een aantal personen wil ik in het bijzonder noemen.

Niet alleen hoort de promotor bovenaan het lijstje te staan, in dit geval is deze plek ook dubbel en dwars verdiend. Maarten, ontzettend bedankt voor je vertrouwen, tomeloze enthousiasme en steun. Als promotor, dagelijks begeleider en initiatiefnemer van het onderzoek heb jij een belangrijke stempel gedrukt op de studie en op mijn persoonlijke ontwikkeling als wetenschapper. Na de cappuccino's bij het DE-café in Den Bosch of na een inspirerend overleg in Utrecht kon ik er zonder uitzondering weer vol tegenaan. Gelukkig kon ik altijd vragen om 'een-schop-onder-mijn-kont'-gesprek en maakte jij daar altijd tijd voor vrij.
Dit onderzoek kon niet uitgevoerd worden door een groot aantal meewerkende sporters en sportcentra. Medewerkers van klimhallen, skibanen en fanatieke lifestyle sporters, bedankt voor jullie medewerking. In deze context wil ik vooral Indoor Skydive Roosendaal, Dutch Water Dreams en Snow Base bedanken voor de enthousiaste samenwerking en relevante input.
Fontys Hogescholen in het algemeen en FEHT in het bijzonder wil ik graag bedanken voor het mogelijk maken van dit onderzoek. Door het werken bij FEHT heb ik ervaren dat

onderzoek en onderwijs erg goed samen kunnen gaan. De zinnige én onzinnige inbreng van de SPECO-studenten en –collega's hebben mij heel veel energie gegeven, die ik mooi heb kunnen gebruiken om dit proefschrift tot een succes te maken. Bedankt voor jullie gezelligheid, belangstelling en enthousiasme! Met name het gezelschap van Marije en Merel heb ik heel erg gewaardeerd. Superfijn dat ik alle ups en downs met jullie mocht delen.

Leden van INSPIRE, ik heb de tips, inspiratie en het medeleven dat wij de afgelopen jaren hebben uitgewisseld erg op prijs gesteld. Iedere jonge, naïeve, twijfelende wetenschapper die geen idee heeft waar hij of zij mee bezig is heeft ontzettend veel aan een dergelijk netwerk. Bij het Mulier Instituut vond ik waardige sparringpartners en ervaren onderzoekers. Voor een hopeloos rondzwemmende onderzoeker een prachtige omgeving om ervaring op te kunnen doen en een hoop te kunnen leren.

Simone, Nienke en Hely, de vele wijntjes en etentjes waarbij ik met jullie mijn frustraties en vreugde over afwijzingen en publicaties kon delen vergeet ik nooit. Gelukkig kon ik jullie af en toe ook jaloers maken met leuke congresbestemmingen. Dankjulliewel voor alle steun en interesse!

Lieve familie, jullie gezelschap en interesse in het onderzoek (met vragen als 'wat doe je nou eigenlijk precies?' en 'wat kan je daar dan straks mee?') hebben me altijd gesteund. Dank daarvoor! De komst van mijn kleine nichtje Anna maakte dat ik me realiseerde dat er nog veel belangrijker dingen op de wereld zijn dan het afronden van mijn proefschrift.

En tot slot: Paul, je onvoorwaardelijke vertrouwen, eindeloze geduld en inzet bij het lezen, nalezen en herlezen van teksten betekenen veel voor me. Dankjewel dat je er altijd voor me bent.

Lotte Salome