

THE PLACE OF SPORT IN THE BATTLE FOR THE TOURIST: A FIGURATIONAL PERSPECTIVE OF THE DEVELOPMENT OF SPORT TOURISM

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Abstract:

Sport tourism nowadays has become a fast growing niche of the tourist market. This development will be exemplified in this paper and explained from a figurational perspective. It will show that the phenomenon is not new: connections between sport and tourism have been established for many centuries, though they have been more consciously developed over the last 50 years. Its development can be explained by the developments within sport. Sport tourism indicates a 'quest for excitement', it provides an opportunity to produce pleasurable forms of tension/excitement, which provide an important contrast to the routines of a daily life in (unexciting) modern societies.

Key words: *civilisation process, tourism niche, history, significance, sociology*

DIE ROLLE DES SPORTS IM KAMPF UM DEN TOURISTEN: ENTWICKLUNG DES SPORT-TOURISMUS BETRACHTET VON EINEM SPEZIELLEN SOZIOLOGISCHEN STANDPUNKT

Zusammenfassung:

Heutzutage wird Sport-Tourismus zur schnell anwachsenden Nische des Fremdenverkehrsmarkt. Diese Entwicklung wird in diesem Artikel von einem speziellen soziologischen Standpunkt erläutert. Es wird gezeigt, dass dieses Phänomen nicht neu ist: die Zusammenhänge zwischen Sport und Tourismus wurden seit Jahrhunderten hergestellt. Diese Zusammenhänge wurden aber immer mehr bewusst in den letzten 50 Jahren entwickelt. Die Entwicklung des Sport-Tourismus kann mittels und auf Grund der Entwicklung des Sports erläutert werden. Sport-Tourismus deutet auf die 'Suche nach Spannung'. Er bietet die Möglichkeit, angenehme Formen der Spannung herzustellen, die den wichtigen Gegensatz zur täglichen Routine in den (langweiligen) modernen Gesellschaften schaffen.

Schlüsselwörter: *Zivilisationsprozess, Fremdenverkehrsnische, Geschichte, Bedeutung, Soziologie*

Introduction

The fundamental premise of this study is that sport tourism, including all forms of active and passive involvement in sporting activity, participated in casually or in an organised way for non-commercial or business/commercial reasons, that necessitate travel away from home and work place (Standeven & De Knop, 1999), is a social phenomenon which has become significant and is developing quickly. Some facts:

- Since the fifties, sport tourism, under a variety of forms (active, passive, regularly and

occasional) has become an integral part of tourism. Sport tourism has become a specialised segment of the tourism industry and several types of activity holidays are provided as a year-round tourist product; some organisations are specialised in adventure holidays, others offer club formula, some provide sporting tours for sports teams, others organise skiing holidays, others are specialised in Masterclass holidays, etc. (for an overview see Standeven & De Knop, 1999).

- A great number of people participate in sport tourism or are involved in it; this is demon-

rated by Boniface and Cooper (1994), Gibson and Yiannakis (1995), Johnston (1992), Kearsley (1990), McKie (1994), Mintel (1992), Ogilvie and Dickinson (1992), Smith and Jenner (1990), Studienkreis für Tourismus (1990), Weiler and Hall (1992), Withyman (1994) and Keller (2001).

- Notwithstanding the number of services or opportunities within the sport tourism industry which have increased remarkably, the demand for active sport holidays is still on the increase (Weiler & Hall, 1992); this is confirmed by Késenne, Taks, Laporte, De Knop, Dejaegher & Audenaert (1998) who found that the most increasing part of the family budget for sport is the expenses for sport tourism; the total expenditure of Flemish families for active sport holidays was estimated to be 0.26 billion Euro's a year (c. US\$270 million).

- More and more people have seized upon its potential: commercial entrepreneurs, public providers and consumers themselves (participants and spectators). Authorities (e.g., community, national) are organising sport promotional campaigns during the holiday periods or are using sport to promote tourism to the country (e.g., The Tourism Authority of Thailand promoted the year 1993 as the "Visit Thai Golf Year" with the purpose of increasing the number of foreign tourists in Thailand).

- The number of organisations offering club holidays is increasing (Club Méditerranée, Club Aldiana, Club Robinson, Club Escolette, Holiday Club, ...); Club Med is the leading organisation and accounts for 120 villages in 37 countries, 2,020,500 clients yearly are served by 9,000 GOs (personnel) and 12,500 staff members of 68 different nationalities. The business of Club Med accounts for more than 2 billion American dollars (Club Med, 2000).

- Mass sport events are organised and accordingly tourism is organised to generate a considerable tourism-flow: the primary tourism-flow related to the event itself (e.g., 12,000 participants out of 28,000 in the New York Marathon come from outside the USA) and a secondary tourism flow arising from the attention given by the mass-media to the city, the area or the country where the event takes place. In this context, for mega-events like the FIFA World Cup in the USA, Sugden and Tomlinson (1996) speak of 3.5 million spectators. More recently the Australian Tourist Commission (ATC) Olympic Games Tourism Strategy in Sydney delivered significant benefits to Australian tourism, the ATC and Australia as a whole.

- The Games were forecast to be responsible for attracting an additional 1.7 million visitors, generating a A\$6.1 billion economic boost, between 1997 and 2004.

- Brand Australia has been advanced by ten years, meaning what the world now knows about Australia, however, it wouldn't have known until 2010 had Sydney not hosted the Games.

- The ATC's media relations program generated an additional A\$3.8 billion in publicity for Australia between 1997 and 2000.

- The ATC's partnerships with major Olympic sponsors, such as Visa, McDonald's, Kodak and Coca-Cola generated an additional A\$300 million in additional advertising exposure for Australia.

- In late 1999, the ATC launched the Australia 2000 – fun and games campaign to encourage visits to Australia in 2000. This was aimed at insuring against avoidance, as had been the experience of other major event host cities and countries. In 2000, visitor arrivals to Australia increased by 10.9 per cent that is, to almost five million according to the preliminary Australian Bureau of Statistics figures.

- The likelihood of potential travellers to visit Australia increased significantly because of the Olympic Games.

- There was a 600 per cent increase in traffic to the ATC's Australian tourism web site, *australia.com*, during the Games.

- The International Congress and Convention Association's predicted Australia to be ranked as the number one country for meetings in 2001 – overtaking both the United States and the United Kingdom.

- In excess of 100 business events, generating millions of additional export dollars for Australia, can be directly attributed to the ATC's New Century. New World. Australia 2001 campaign aimed at capturing business tourism for Australia as a result of the Games.

- Over 5,000 media were serviced at the Sydney Media Centre, a joint venture between the ATC and other government authorities, to cater for media not accredited to the Main Press Centre or International Broadcast Centre.

- The ATC used the Games to host 50 of the world's most influential tourism people from 11 countries to visit Sydney for the Olympics.

- At the conclusion of the Games, the ATC launched 90 tactical campaigns with 200 industry partners worth A\$45 million to quickly convert interest and awareness into actual visits. In October and November 2000, there was a 10 per cent increase in visits compared to the same period in 1999 and visitor arrivals for December 2000 were up a massive 23 per cent.

- Research indicates that 88 per cent of the 110,000 international visitors who came to

Australia for the Olympics are likely to return to Sydney as tourists.

- Unaided awareness of the ATC within Australia increased between 1999 and 2000 standing at 25 per cent, while prompted recognition was above 80 per cent. (ATC, 2001).

- Rahmann, Weber, Groening, Kurscheidt, Napp and Markus (1998) made an estimation of 2.6 to 3.1 million visitors for the 2006 edition of the FIFA World Cup in Germany.

- Sport tourism has become big business; e.g., already at the end of the eighties it was reported that the size of consumers' expenditure in the UK on skiing holidays was almost equal to consumer spending on newspapers (Rigg & Lewney, 1987). Furthermore, Standeven and De Knop (1999) estimated the market value of sport tourism to be of the order of UK£ 3 billion (c. US\$4.5 million) for the UK, representing activity holiday spending of UK£ 2.6 billion (c. US\$3.9 billion) plus UK£ 407 million (c. US\$610 million) sport-related spending. Referring to the results of a research into the economic meaning of sport in Flanders (Késenne et al, 1998), with an average expenditure of c. 200 euro's per family (c. US\$ 195), skiing seems to be the number one on the list of sports on which Flemish families spend the most. 40.3% of this amount is spent on these respective holidays: 22.3% on relocation and 18.1% on ski-equipment.

Ample evidence has been found in literature to support the claim that the relation between sport and tourism has increased significantly (Standeven & De Knop, 1999). However, the group of people participating in tourism with the main objective to practise sport still remains a minority. Also a duplication effect is noticed: sport tourists are also active during their leisure time at home (Bollaert, De Knop, Stoffen, Corijn, Matthijs, Delanghe & Neefs, 1999). However, the interdependency between sport and tourism is becoming stronger. Their relationship is symbiotic: sport stimulates the development of tourism and tourism has an effect on sport (see Figure 1). Sport and tourism are intrinsically linked and, as globalisation advances through the technology of telecommunication and travel, vast new exciting possibilities are opening up to enrich touristic experiences through sport and enhance sport development through tourism. Doubtless, as many people learnt to swim on holiday as have learnt in their local swimming pool and skiing prowess (except in the Alpine countries) is virtually wholly attributable to the touristic experience. The commercial touristic sector, always looking for new markets and products, has seized upon the potential of sport and is concen-

trating its marketing more and more on sport tourism. According to growth strategies (market penetration, product and market development), sport has become an important component of the sector's portfolio and marketing mix. The increasing popularity of sport tourism has resulted in the creation of many new organisations offering both general and specific activities, in the building of specific resorts and even in the development of new sports material. Parallel to this, new job opportunities have emerged within this sector and the further sport tourism expands, the more specific and diversified these jobs will become. Just as in tourism, in sport tourism as well, a large diversity of jobs on different levels, appealing to different skills and knowledge already exist within a broad range of sub-sectors such as sports resorts/clubs/hotels, travel agencies, sports museums, sports events, companies running specialist activities, sports tour operators and sports-oriented travel companies.

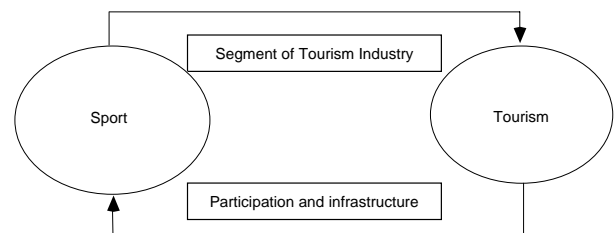


Figure 1. The interrelationship between sport and tourism (Standeven & De Knop, 1999, p.5)

In this paper it is intended to examine the long-established, yet until recently, little recognised relationship between sport and tourism. The significance of sport in the rise of the pre-eminence of tourism as well as the reverse relationship (i.e. the significance of tourism in the development of sport) are focused upon. A sociological analysis of the emergence of what will be referred to as “a marriage of convenience” between sport and tourism is offered. This topic was researched because of the increasing economic, social and cultural significance of sport tourism. This means that we will try to explain sociologically “how and why the goals of sport and tourism have become linked”. An investigation of the development of sport tourism throws light on the degree in which “sport tourism” is influenced by wider ideological, economic and cultural constraints. In order to examine satisfactorily the interrelationship between sport and tourism questions are asked about the motivation of people involved in sport tourism and about the processes internal and external to sport and tourism. Sport and tourism are indeed integral parts of most modern societies; they thus cannot

escape being influenced by much wider aspects of social change in the modern world. There can be little doubt that sport and tourism, contextualised by these changes within society as a whole, have themselves undergone, and are continuing to undergo, rapid and quite substantial change.

Therefore three categories of influences are examined :

1. the influences that shaped the rise of (mass) sport and (mass) tourism;
2. the influences that help explain the changes within tourism;
3. the influences that help explain the changes within sport.

This will make it possible to summarise the influences that have shaped the development of sport tourism.

The study thus incorporates both a sociological and historical approach. It is in fact imperative to analyse the social processes that give rise to tourism and later on to sport tourism in order to establish why the phenomenon sport tourism started, how it started, where it started and how it has developed.

Methods

The research for this paper mainly consists of secondary sources. It represents an attempt to synthesise history and sociology. The subject is approached historically because of the belief that this perspective offers the most coherent and comprehensive account. This methodology places indeed emphasis upon the necessity of analysing long-term processes and recommends in this connection a synthesis of sociology and history (Murphy, 1995). A developmental approach and thus a comparative method allows one to perceive, understand and analyse the distinctive features of the phenomenon as it develops, and to provide a more adequate knowledge of contemporary sport tourism. Many aspects of contemporary sport tourism have developed from earlier forms as one would expect given the wide-ranging nature of social changes that have occurred in the past. The theory of the civilising process (Elias & Dunning, 1986) is used to explain the development of tourism and within tourism the development of sport tourism. Therefore, connections are examined in the ancient world, in the early modern period and in the modern world.

Consequently, a review of literature was conducted and four kinds of data were studied :

1. dates of the foundation and data of development of sport tourism companies (e.g., Club Med, Center Parcs,...);

2. dates of starting up sport tourism programmes by municipalities and countries;
3. dates of seminars and congresses related to sport tourism;
4. dates of appearance of sport tourism in scientific literature.

These objective data were gathered not only from literature but also using a telephonic and a mail inquiry to people working in tourism companies, specialised in sport tourism.

In order to get a more adequate understanding of how significant sport tourism is as a quest for excitement, primary research was also done. The following in-depth interviews were conducted :

- 250 people participating in a sport tourism club holiday organised by UCPA during the summer of 1996 in Bombannes (France);
- 250 students of the Vrije Universiteit Brussel (Belgium) who have participated in a sport activity holiday (De Knop, 1996).

The interviews were open-ended and were aimed at gaining insight into the underlying motives of sport tourists. The interviews were audio-taped and afterwards analysed independently by two researchers. The statements related to excitement have been selected, clustered and reproduced in this paper. The subjective answers of the sport tourists serve as a useful way of leading into the sociological substance of 'the quest for excitement' in sport tourism.

Results

Historical approach

Connections between sport and tourism have been established for many centuries. It is important to appreciate the historical development of sport tourism, including the motivations for travel, in order to better understand contemporary tourism.

Sport, travel and tourism have not always been connected. During prehistoric times, people travelled mainly for reasons of survival. However, holidays in which people engage in sport go back many centuries to before the birth of Christ. In premodern times we can find examples of travel being enriched by sporting activities, and, conversely, of sport being developed as a result of travel. The ancient Olympic Games, first held in 776 BC in Greece, took place every four years and lasted for over 1,000 years (Finley & Pleket, 1976). People came in tens of thousands from all parts of Greece to participate or to attend the Games. Being held over five days they were almost certainly the first example of a connection between sport and tou-

ism. The Romans were participating in sports at their *thermae* or baths. Roman soldiers and citizens played ball games before plunging into the water. The welding together of pagan rites and European customs led to the development of popular pastimes throughout the Middle Ages.

While the Industrial Revolution created the basis for modern tourism development, the connections between sport and tourism were more consciously developed after World War II. The Industrial Revolution provoked many changes on the social, economic and political levels. The emergence of tourism can be understood through developments such as industrialisation, pacification, urbanisation, transport revolution, growth in population, growth in leisure and globalisation. Besides the development of tourism as the world's actual fastest growing industry, tourism is also changing: an increasing diversification and individualisation, a changing consumer demand, a growing commercialisation and commodification, resulting in an increasing provision for activity type holidays, and a greater emphasis on a healthy and/or hedonistic life style. Due to these processes in society, sport became a commodity discovered/created by the tourism industry as a possibility to enlarge its market (Standeven & De Knop, 1999).

Also the changes within and related to sport (sportification of society, de-sportification of sport, an increasing consumerism, diversification, differentiation, and privatisation of sport) have their reflections in the development of sport tourism. The sportification of society (Crum, 1991) of which the increasing sport participation is one of the characteristics, is a development that fosters the increase of sport tourism. A counter-move (the de-sportification of sport) involves a rejection of traditional sporting values and a move away from traditional sport institutions, of which the tourism industry takes advantage. Increasing consumerism, diversification (new sport activities), differentiation (levels of sport performance grow wider and wider apart) and privatisation are processes which help to explain the marriage of convenience between sport and tourism. The conjuncture of these three relatively autonomous processes - the process of tourism, the increasing sportification of society and the de-sportification of sport - has been central to the development of sport tourism. Although they can be traced back well beyond the Second World War, all three processes have been particularly

rapid in the period since 1945. The convergence of these processes in the post-1945 period has had a major impact on the development of sport tourism. It has resulted in the rapid expansion of what was, before 1945, a relatively small and marginal area within tourism. It is also important to note that the difference between contemporary sport tourism and sport tourism before the Second World War lies not simply in the greater quantity, but also in the greater diversity of the sport tourism programmes.

The tourist market has become sharply segmented over the past few years with sport tourism as a fast growing segment. The benefits (the experience of being adventurous, the opportunity to improve health, well-being and quality of life, the fun of meeting others who similarly enjoy exercising in settings of natural grandeur, etc.) the customer buys can be considered as the most important segmentation criterion. Any of these homogeneous groups may be conceivably selected as a target market to be reached with a distinct marketing strategy. This explains the success of the so called 'focus factories' (Club Med, UCPA, ...) which focus on a well-defined market segment (niche) and have designed their services in accordance with the characteristics of the customer's needs or expectations in this market segment. Mass production and consumption have been replaced by more individual and customised production. This is due to a trend towards individualisation. People gain ever more experience, expect quality and service, and do not accept impersonal treatment. Active holidays form a segment within the tourist market that is geared towards tourists who want to be actively or passively engaged in sport.

It was after the Second World War that the connections between sport and tourism were more consciously developed, especially by the development of club holidays. Club Med, founded in 1950 (see Table 1), has been setting the trend for other commercial and non-commercial sport tourist organisations. National governments (France: 1953) as well as municipalities (in Germany and Switzerland: 1963), scientists (in 1971) and sports governmental bodies (Sweden: 1974) followed gradually to recognise the potentialities of sport to develop tourism (see Table 2). In 1971, the International Council for Sport Sciences and Physical Education (ICSSPE) organised the first international seminar on sport tourism (see Table 3).

Table 1. The development of some holiday clubs (De Knop, 1996, p. 51)

| | Organisation (country of origin) | Date | Number of clubs | Number of participants |
|---|-------------------------------------|------|-----------------|------------------------|
| 1 | Club Méditerranée (France) | 1950 | 1 | 1,000 |
| | | 1970 | 10 | 2,200 |
| | | 1996 | 114 | 1,801,600 |
| 2 | Center Parcs (Netherlands) | 1967 | 1 | 15,000 |
| | | 1996 | 14 | 3,800,000 |
| 3 | UCPA (France) | 1965 | 1 | 30,000 |
| | | 1996 | 120 | 250,000 |
| 4 | GSF (Belgium) | 1980 | 13 | 284 |
| | | 1996 | 128 | 3,561 |
| 5 | Sunsail Clubs (Great Britain) | 1983 | 1 | 300 |
| | | 1996 | 9 | 7,371 |
| 6 | Club Mark Warner (Great Britain) | 1971 | 2 | 30 |
| | | 1996 | 10 | 28,000 |
| 7 | Gran Dorado (Netherlands) | 1988 | 3 | |
| | | 1990 | 3 | 570,000 |
| | | 1996 | 6 | 1,010,000 |
| 8 | Club Robinson (Germany) | 1970 | 24 | |
| | | 1996 | 24 | 270,000 |
| 9 | Club La Santa (Spain) | 1983 | 1 | 5,200 |
| | | 1996 | 1 | 41,600 |

Table 2. An overview of sport tourism programs set up by different European countries/cities

| PROMOTION-ACTION | COUNTRY | DATE |
|--|--------------------|------|
| Nature classes ¹ | Vanves France | 1953 |
| Snow Holidays for young workers ¹ | France | 1955 |
| Animation centres in holiday areas ¹ | France | 1962 |
| Magglinger -sport activities during holidays ¹ | Switzerland | 1963 |
| Engelberg-sport activities during holidays ¹ | Switzerland | 1963 |
| Inzell-fitness badges for holiday-makers ¹ | Germany | 1963 |
| Ruhpolding- Team Holiday (exercise teams) ¹ | Germany | 1963 |
| Lezerheide - Valbella - Dolce - far – Sport ¹ | Switzerland | 1963 |
| Wildhaus - Job join in, keep fit ¹ | Switzerland | 1963 |
| Arosa - Pro-fit-Sport-Holiday ¹ | Switzerland | 1963 |
| Outdoor and recreation bases for tourists ¹ | France | 1964 |
| Nature classes ¹ (snow, seaside & green classes) | France | 1965 |
| Youth sport camps ¹ | Switzerland | 1972 |
| Active holidays ¹ | Sweden | 1973 |
| Trim during the holidays ¹ | Sweden | 1974 |
| Train + bicycle ¹ | Belgium | 1975 |
| "40-60-80 kilometres on foot during the holidays" scheme ¹ | GDR | 1975 |
| Family sports camps ¹ | United Kingdom | 1975 |
| Proving sports and games areas on sites ¹ | France | 1975 |
| "Keep fit" holidays for older people ¹ | Belgium | 1975 |
| Snow classes abroad ¹ | Belgium | 1975 |
| Specific holiday sport promotion actions (courses for people staying at home, in communities ...) ² | GDR | 1987 |
| A model holiday sport programme ¹ | Switzerland | 1978 |
| Dolce far Sport | (Lenzerheide- | |
| Keep fit test | Valbella) | |
| "Wanderschuh" (the hiking boot) ³ | Austria | 1979 |
| Recreational programmes in holiday centres ² | Finland | 1979 |
| Game-festivals (Spielfest) during holidays ³ | Austria/Germany | 1979 |
| Sportfederations with a special offer for tourists (sailing and rowing) ¹ | Netherlands/France | 1981 |
| Promotion-action "Participate in Sport during your holiday" ⁴ | France | 1983 |
| Sports camps ⁴ | Belgium | 1985 |
| Game-festivals (Spielfest) during holidays ⁴ | Switzerland | 1987 |
| Sportbreaks ⁴ | Scotland | 1988 |
| With Bloso in the breakers ³ | Belgium | 1988 |

¹ From Remans et al., 1982a; ² From Remans et al., 1982b;³ From an analysis of the Clearing House Microform Publications 972 —> 1384; ⁴ From Clearing House, 1985-1996

This table is far from being inclusive (as the Clearing House is dependent on the initiative of the liaison officer to send in the information), and it also exclusively refers to Europe. However, no other publications were found reporting sport tourism campaigns or programmes.

Table 3. Overview of international congresses, seminars and workshops on sport tourism (adapted from De Knop, 1998, p. 14).

| Data | Country | Topic | Organisation |
|------|----------------|--|--|
| 1971 | Finland | Active Holiday-making | ICSSPE "Sport and Leisure"- Committee |
| 1975 | France | Sport on Holiday | DBS + Nat. Olympic Committee of France |
| 1981 | Switzerland | Sport for All during vacation | Trim + Fitness |
| 1981 | Canada | Int. Conference on Winter Recreation | Nat. Capital Commission |
| 1983 | Czechoslovakia | The Economic Basis of Recreation Services in Tourism | CIEPSS "Sport and Leisure" Committee |
| 1986 | Portugal | Sport and Tourism Sports Animation in the Tourism Field | Council of Europe |
| 1986 | Israel | Outdoor Education Recreation & Sport Tourism | ICHPER ICSSPE |
| 1988 | Austria | Staff Training | FISpT + Freizeit Pool |
| 1988 | Spain | Leisure, tourism & sport | Unisport |
| 1989 | Yugoslavia | Sport and Tourism | ICSSPE |
| 1989 | Ireland | Qualified leadership in Sport and Tourism | FIEP |
| 1990 | Canada | Meeting of the Tourism Sport International Council | TSIC |
| 1991 | Australia | Leisure and Tourism | WLRA |
| 1994 | Scotland | Tourmand Leisure: towards the Millenium | LSA |
| 1995 | USA | World Congress | ICHPER |
| 2001 | Spain | World Conference | IOC and WTO |

Sociological approach

Having set out the historical conditions, it was examined what insight sociology could provide into the emergence of sport tourism. A figurational perspective was used to examine the relationship between sport and tourism. Figurational sociology seeks to reconcile the ideas that are put forward in the different sociological theories and that seem to exclude each other. It believes a "developmental approach" is necessary to arrive at the valid insights and focuses its attention on the sociological, psychological and historical conditions at the same time. It also attempts to integrate a number of elements from other theories such as Marxism (for which sport is a typical product of capitalism), functionalism (which sees sport tourism as a valuable function both for society and for individuals) and symbolic interactionism (considering sport tourism to be important because it generates self-respect and self-determination). Figurational sociology is therefore an attempt to integrate the contradictions between the actors and factors and materialistic and idealistic viewpoints of different sociological movements.

The findings of Elias and Dunning (1986), the two pioneers of figurational sociology, can be applied to modern tourism and therefore also indirectly to sport tourism. The most important concepts were social figuration and the civilisation process. The theory of the civilisation process is based on the finding that, since the Middle Ages, western European societies have more or less continuously refined and elaborated manners and social standards. During this process of civilisation, society became less violent. Interests and conflicts were dealt with in parliament. Elias suggests that as society becomes more civilised, sports become less violent, more regulated and with increases in popularity. The Industrial Revolution created the basis for modern tourism through pacification, industrialisation, urbanisation and technological advances in transportation. Growth in population, growth in income, growth in leisure and globalisation are other processes within the complex modern societies which have fostered tourism. The connections between sport and tourism were more consciously developed after World War II.

Apart from focusing on the rise of modern sport (tourism), figurational sociology asks in fact what role and significance sport fulfils in the life of human beings. Some believe that in highly industrialised societies sport may be regarded as an ideal means for maintaining physical condition, above all for those with sedentary jobs. Another function which sport fulfils is that of a safety valve. A society where the State has an apparatus at hand to enforce civilised behaviour codes in itself forms no guarantee that the tensions which human beings experience are also effectively eliminated. That is why in society a number of substitutes for violence have developed.

The civilisation process is characterised by a change of etiquette and manners which brought about greater emotional control. This change must be seen in the light of a general trend towards emotional self-control and, closely tied in with this, the process of state formation (Elias & Dunning 1986). The most important meaning that figurational sociology attributes to leisure, and therefore also indirectly to sport tourism, in modern societies is that leisure causes the arousal of strong, pleasant, pleasurable feelings which are often lacking and missed in people's ordinary daily routine (Rojek, 1985). Elias and Dunning (1986) call this the 'quest for excitement'. This is in fact illustrated by some statements of the interviewed sport tourists in our research project:

"A sport holiday provides me with the opportunity to escape the daily problems and limitations, material as well as psychological";

"I get this pleasant feeling of being free";

"It is so different from the daily routine at the office: it is enjoyable, it provides me the strong feeling of liberty and pleasure";

"It is exciting";

"I discover new things, exciting things, pleasant things";

"I feel young again; I feel excited... even if it is only for a while (De Knop, 1996:81).

The need for optimal arousal can be considered as the key motivator or decisive driving force for these leisure activities.

The excitement that people seek in their leisure time is different from other forms of excitement in their ordinary daily life, it is a pleasurable excitement. It has been reported that active leisure participation throughout one's life span is associated with high satisfaction and happiness and is increasing psychological well-being. The spectators of the Greek festivals were also looking to escape the grind of everyday life (Kugel, 1972). Even in those days people travelled so they could discover new things. During the Middle Ages the

upper classes looked upon the games of the peasant classes as release valves for their social dissatisfaction (Baker, 1992). During the period of the Enlightenment, the most important function of sport was relaxation. At that time there was also a kind of urge to discover new areas; that was excitement. One therefore did not just travel out of functional necessity, but also for the pleasure of travelling in itself. Leisure activities as an area for loosening non-leisure restraints can be found in all developmental stages of societies. Previously many forms of religious activities had the same function as the present-day leisure activities. Excitement from play differs from other forms of excitement. It is an excitement that is sought voluntarily and is always pleasurable (Elias & Dunning, 1986). During the Industrial Revolution, tired workers sought entertainment and relaxation. The Industrial Revolution changed people's lives dramatically and everywhere mechanical production had developed strongly, the need for relaxation increased. To compensate for the anonymity of city life, people went on outings and sports clubs were set up. A hedonistic life style also began to emerge. People wanted to enjoy life. In modern societies sport and tourism allow people to feel self-important, to relax and to have fun in a socially acceptable way.

This is illustrated by some statements of the sport tourists :

"It is great fun";

"I feel important when people sunbathing at the beach are gazing at me while I am surfing";

"Being active on holiday is for me the best way to relax";

"It is relaxing because it is so different from the daily routine at work";

"When I am not active on holiday I continue to work and to concentrate on the problems I am faced with when at work...";

"Being skilled in sailing and in skiing is very important for me..." (De Knop, 1996:82-83).

According to Elias and Dunning (1986), an important characteristic is the transition of emotions from direct action to mimetic activities and the visual pleasure of spectating. They claim with regard to sport that as such, deep rooted emotions are socially channelled in a relatively controlled context. As play, sport must satisfy the need for excitement in a boring society but without threatening new standards of social control and self-control (Jary & Horne, 1987).

Sport tourism in modern societies has been devised to move, to arouse emotions, to create tensions in the form of controlled excitement without the tensions and risks that are usually connected

with other so-called "real-life situations". A mimetic excitement can be enjoyed which has a freeing, cathartic effect. This is illustrated by the statement of a sport tourist:

"The speed of my surfing board gives me a cathartic feeling .. I feel high..." (De Knop, 1996: 83).

Sport is always a controlled fight in an imaginary environment, whether the opponent is a mountain, sea, animal or person. Elias and Dunning say that a major part of sport and leisure activities involves staged tensions, artificially created fears and imaginary dangers. Sport in strongly industrialised societies therefore has a complementary function, it provides exercise for a sedentary population and fulfils the need to relieve tensions caused by stress (Elias and Dunning 1986).

This is illustrated by the statements of some sport tourists :

"It keeps me fit";

"If I were not active my, physical fitness would be even worse than during the working period; when I am at work I do not have time to practise sport";

"It is healthy";

"The best way to be in good shape and to fight stress";

"I dream all the year of the speed on my surfboard, controlling the waves..." (De Knop, 1996: 84).

The tourist also seeks a degree of excitement. The degree of excitement depends on the tourist and the environment (Cohen, 1972). The tourist industry exploits the control and de-control of emotions and wants to give the tourist the illusion of adventure while the risk and the uncertainty of the adventure remain limited. People want to escape from everyday life, they seek to break the routine but within socially accepted boundaries. Sport tourism is therefore a form of controlled excitement. To date, many people live in an environment that impedes their attempts to achieve the optimum amount of arousal or incongruity and use sport (tourism) to fulfil this fundamental need.

This is illustrated by some of the statements of the sport tourists in our research project:

"I am afraid of danger and on the other hand I like it. Following this course (windsurfing) gives me the challenge but also the certainty of safety. Without a coach it would be dangerous for me; now I think it is dangerous .. but I know it is not";

"I have the need to escape from reality, to return to nature" (De Knop, 1996:85).

According to Elias and Dunning (1986) sport also provides opportunities for integration at the level of open and friendly emotionality, enjoying

each other's company, a higher level of emotional warmth, of social integration and of stimulation by the presence of others - a playful stimulus without serious obligations and inherent risks - other than is possible in any other area of life.

This is illustrated by some of the statements of the sport tourists involved in our research :

"During a sport holiday I can be creative and active without any obligation";

"It is easier to make friends when you participate in sport activities while on holiday" (De Knop, 1996:85-86).

The double binding process Elias and Dunning (1986) refer to also exists within present-day sport tourism. The current elite is copied by the masses. There is also a jet set among sport tourists who are continuously looking for new forms of sport tourism which in their turn will be copied and followed by the masses. Sport tourism is especially popular with the upper classes and the masses follow class. To be a tourist is nowadays one of the characteristics of a 'modern' experience:

"I want self-respect; I want to feel important. When I participate in a Club Holiday and practise golf I really am somebody ..."

"It provides me with the opportunity to meet other people, people from other countries, from another class ... and to make new friends"

"Not everybody participates in golf, tennis and watersport ..." (De Knop, 1996:88).

Discussion and conclusion

By identifying the connections between sport and tourism that originated in the ancient world it is demonstrated that the extensive connections we now see are rooted in old foundations.

A figurational perspective was used to examine the relationship between sport and tourism. The civilisation process is characterised by a change of etiquette and manners which brought about greater emotional control. According to Elias and Dunning (1986), leisure activities in advanced industrial societies form an enclave for socially acceptable arousal of measured behaviour in public. The specific nature and specific functions of leisure cannot be understood if one is not aware that the public and even personal level of emotional control has become high compared with that of less differentiated societies. All human societies have some form of social or personal restraints, but the relatively strong and equal distribution of control, characteristic of people in more differentiated and complex societies, came about during the course of a specific transformation of social and personal structures. This is indicative of a rather long civilisation process which in turn is interde-

pendent with the increasing effectiveness of the controlling organisation of complex societies, the organisation of the State. Sport tourism thus gives the opportunity to evoke emotions and tensions within a socially acceptable context. This escape from daily life is possible in a variety of ways, e.g., staying home and doing nothing. Sport tourism is one of the many options to break the daily routine. Figural sociologists thus look upon sport tourism as a 'quest for excitement'.

This was underlined by several statements of the interviewed sport tourists and students who previously had been sport tourists. Sport tourism is making/can make a significant contribution to the life of an individual, because of reasons of health, self-respect and self-determination. An increasing number of people is becoming aware of the importance of good health, which results in a more active life style. Hence the need to continue sport during the holidays. With regard to the psychological factors it was found that the most common motivation factors for sport tourism were: getting away from it all, relaxation, social contact, fantasy, health and fitness, recreation, breaking the routine, a 'quest for excitement' and adventure. The 'quest for excitement' found by sport tourists provides an opportunity to produce pleasurable forms of excitement/tension in contrast to the daily routines in (unexciting) modern societies.

By considering the typical object of the sport tourist activities, one can use these to make sense of the elements of the wider society with which they are contrasted. In other words, to consider how social groups construct their tourism is a good way of seeing what is happening in the 'normal

society'. Thus rather than being a trivial subject, tourism is significant in its ability to reveal aspects of normal practice which might otherwise remain opaque. Feelings are aroused in leisure activities (e.g., sport on holiday) by creating tensions through imaginary danger, mimetic fear and pleasure, downheartedness and joy. These feelings are therefore the same as in real-life situations, but these mimetic activities are not connected with the risks and dangers of delicate human life (Elias & Dunning, 1986). Mimetic activities therefore allow a socially legitimised setting to be created within certain limits in which one can let go. These settings lie at the basis of leisure sports of sport tourism activities.

Figural sociology finally sees globalisation as a kind of balance reducing contrasts and increasing diversity. The tourist market is becoming ever larger and more segmented.

However, the social and economic functions of sport tourism should not be overestimated, e.g., the lower classes are ignored in sport tourism (sport tourism at this moment is in fact not a universal trend found equally all over the world, it is rather a phenomenon for affluent Western citizens); sport during holidays does not necessarily have positive health consequences, the economic importance of sport tourism still lacks reliable statistics, sport tourism has some unwanted side-effects on the natural and socio-economic environment and many of the facilities that result from sport tourism (e.g., airports, golf courses, hotels, etc.) will be of little benefit to the mass of the indigenous population (Urry, 1990).

These are interesting points on which to base further study.

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ULOGA SPORTA U BORBI ZA TURISTE: FIGURALNA PERSPEKTIVA RAZVOJA SPORTSKOG TURIZMA

Sažetak

Uvod

Osnovna pretpostavka ovog istraživanja jest da je sportski turizam, koji uključuje sve oblike aktivne i pasivne uključenosti u sportske aktivnosti, bez obzira jesu li to organizirani ili neformalni oblici sportske aktivnosti zbog nekomercijalnih ili komercijalnih/poslovnih razloga, a zahtijeva putovanje od kuće ili s radnog mjesta radi sportske aktivnosti (Standeven i De Knop, 1999), društveni fenomen koji postaje sve značajniji i sve se brže razvija. Međuovisnost između turizma i sporta postaje sve izrazitija.

Odnos je simbiotičan: sport potiče razvoj turizma, a turizam također utječe na sport. Sport i turizam intrinzično su povezani, pa kako globalizacija napreduje tehnološki, telekomunikacijski i prometno, otvaraju se nove uzbudljive mogućnosti za obogaćivanje turističkog iskustva kroz sport, kao i za ubrzanje sportskog razvoja kroz turizam.

Brojni aspekti suvremenog sportskog turizma razvili su se na temelju ranijih oblika, što je očekivano uzme li se u obzir širok raspon društvenih promjena koje su se događale u prošlosti. Teorija civilizacijskih procesa (Elias i Dunning, 1986) korištena je u ovoj studiji da bi se objasnio razvoj turizma, kao i razvoj sportskog turizma unutar njega.

Metode

Sukladno ciljevima istraživanja, pregledana je literatura i analizirane su četiri vrste podataka:

1. datumi osnivanja i datumi razvoja sportsko-turističkih kompanija (npr. Club Med, Center Parcs, ..);
2. datumi kada su se počeli provoditi sportsko-turistički programi po općinama i zemljama;
3. datumi seminara i kongresa koji su se odnosili na sportski turizam;
4. datumi pojavljivanja sportskog turizma u novijoj znanstvenoj literaturi.

Da bi se dobio dublji uvid u važnost sportskog turizma kao stalne potrage za zabavom i zadovoljstvom, provedeno je i izvorno istraživanje. Provedeni su dubinski intervjui na slijedećim uzorcima:

- 250 ispitanika koji su ljetovali 1996. godine na Bombannima (Francuska) u sportsko-turističkim klubovima u organizaciji UCPA;
- 250 studenata briselskog Sveučilišta Vrije (Belgija) koji su sudjelovali u sportski aktivnom ljetovanju.

Rasprava i zaključci

Autori su pokazali da današnja široka i čvrsta povezanost sporta i turizma potječe još iz antičkih vremena.

Figuralna perspektiva korištena je da bi se ispitao odnos između turizma i sporta. Proces uljudivanja (civilizacijski proces) karakterizira promjena konvencionalnih pravila etikete i ponašanja koji omogućuju znatno veću emocionalnu kontrolu. Prema Eliasu i Dunningu (1986), rekreacijske aktivnosti u naprednim industrijskim društvima tvore enklavu za socijalno prihvatljivo poticanje uzbuđenja inače odmjerenog ponašanja u javnosti. Specifična priroda i funkcije rekreacije ne mogu se shvatiti ako nismo svjesni da su javna i osobna razina emocionalne kontrole u razvijenim zemljama postale znatno više nego u slabije diferenciranim društvima. Sva ljudska društva obilježavaju neki oblici društvenih ili individualnih ograničenja, ali relativno snažna i podjednaka distribucija kontrole, karakteristična za pripadnike diferenciranih i kompleksnih društava, pojavila se tijekom specifičnih transformacija društvenih i individualnih struktura. To je indikativno za dugotrajan civilizacijski proces koji, pak, postaje ovisan o rastućoj učinkovitosti kontrolirajuće organizacije složenih društava te organizacije države. Sportski turizam pruža mogućnosti za poticanje emocija i uzbuđenja u društveno prihvatljivom kontekstu. Pobjeći od svakodnevnog života možemo na različite načine; primjerice, ostati kod kuće i ne raditi ništa, jedna je od opcija. Sportski turizam jedan je od brojnih načina razbijanja dnevne rutine. Figuralni sociolozi, zato, na sportski turizam gledaju kao na 'potragu za uzbuđenjem'.

Takvo gledanje potvrđeno je i nekim izjavama koje su dali sportski turisti i studenti koji su imali 'sportsko-turističko iskustvo'. Sportski turizam može pozitivno doprinijeti svakodnevnom životu pojedinca s aspekta zdravlja, samopoštovanja i samoodređenja. Iz psihološke

perspektive je utvrđeno da su najuobičajeniji motivacijski faktori za sudjelovanje u sportsko-turističkim aktivnostima: bijeg od svega, opuštanje, druženje, mašta, zdravlje i fitness, rekreacija, prekidanje dnevne rutine, 'potraga za uzbuđenjem' i avantura. 'Potraga za uzbuđenjem', kako je definiraju sportski turisti, daje mogućnost da se stvore ugodni oblici uzbuđenja i napetosti, ugodnost kojih je kontrast svakodnevnoj rutini u (monotonim) modernim društvima.

Međutim, socijalne i ekonomske funkcije sportskog turizma ne bi trebale biti precijenjene: niže klase, naime, ne sudjeluju u sportskom turizmu (u ovom trenutku sportski turizam nije

univerzalni trend jednako rasprostranjen po cijelom svijetu, već je to većinom fenomen koji se povezuje s dobrostojećim zapadnim građanima); bavljenje sportom za vrijeme odmora ne mora nužno proizvesti pozitivne zdravstvene učinke; ekonomska važnost sportskog turizma još uvijek se ne oslanja na pouzdanu statistiku; utjecaj sportskog turizma može poprimiti i neke nepoželjne vidove u odnosu na prirodni i društveni okoliš, a brojni objekti, nastali iz i za sportski turizam (npr. aerodromi, golf tereni, hoteli ...), malo doprinose dobrobiti opće populacije pojedinog naroda (Urry, 1990).

To su također zanimljive postavke koje predstavljaju polazišta za buduća istraživanja.

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