CHAPTER 5: MODERNITY IN EDUCATION AND SPORTS

In the previous chapter we have seen the manner in which the application of the popular ‘world view’ of education, by itself and through the forms of learning it promotes signifies the increased application of the human ability to spatialise. This is the background against which we explore the realm of modern sports which like the menial activities of the last section suggest of a different rendering of learning and education. What we find though in our analysis of modern sports is the manner in which the spatialising tendency characteristic of modernity seems even to impose upon this seemingly alternate realm of sports. This analysis of sport in exploring its role in modern education and society culminates with an analysis of the professionalization of sport. A process of professionalization that as we experienced in the last section of the second chapter suggests of the extent to which even sports culture has manifested itself in a temporally rigid and therefore spatially circumscribed manner. This analysis reflects the total ascension of the modern logic of mathematic time which we earlier exposed to be nothing but abstract space.

5.1 The modern experience of sports

In approaching modern sports, we can trace their origin back to the industrialization of England, a period during which the human body which was previously treated with scepticism undergoes a radical transformation such that it becomes an important part of the social as well as educational apparatus of the modern state. Replacing interests and habits of an agrarian nature such as hunting, fishing, horse racing and fox hunting, urban sport emerges with modern revolutions in the fields of communication, transportation and manufacturing along with certain contextual historic-political factors such as the decline of puritan orthodoxy, traditions of manliness and strength and the Muscular Christian movement which sought to introduce the care of the body as an important religious imperative (De Ceuster 2003, p. 57).

The distinctive transformation of sports from activities that in the past had comprised of a rural ‘way of life’ reflects the historical development of towns and cities that aided immigration and fostered the birth of the urban masses. Commercial entertainment and spectator sport thus emerge alongside the formation of commercial and labour classes themselves, products of the changes wrought by a spirit of invention that characterizes the age. A spirit characterised by the proliferation of scientific theories that manifest in innovations such as “...the steamboat, the
railroad, the telegraph, the penny press, the electric light, the streetcar, the camera, the bicycle, the automobile, and the mass production goods” (Betts 1953, p. 232).

Betts traces the transformation of sport alongside the process of industrialization in America, through the new occupations, places and experiences that it brought along. Such a qualitative transformation is visible in the nascent emergence of sports such as running, rowing, prize fighting and cricket against the dominant presence of horse racing in the nineteenth century. The latter half of the nineteenth century can in a sense be credited with producing a new orientation of the outdoors, aided by the unique experiences of travel crafted by steamboats and the railroad expansion. Thus the initial proliferation of spectators sports such as rowing, baseball and prize fighting also occur in regions benefiting from the expansion of new networks of travel. A press report describing the manner in which players of a popular baseball club were received while on tour by the public and purveyors of a railroad service provides us with glimpses into beginning of a special relation between the press, the sports star and the masses (ibid, p. 235).

We see a number of interesting venues such as fairs, opera houses; athletic clubs and theatres emerge as sites for prize fighting. Such sporting activities were not among the primary concerns of the railroad companies and are indicated by the poor quality of travel that they offered, yet they aided the development of modern sports greatly. The players and supporters of the earliest inter collegiate sports, professional and amateur cyclists and fishing and hunting enthusiasts where carried to their respective sporting destination by vast expanses of land opened up by trains. Paralleling the expansion of the railroad was the telegraph, news though initially costly now began to travel even faster than the trains that carried the spectators, to the extent that fans began to gather around Western Union offices to know the results of 'significant' contests (ibid, p. 239).

The development of the press and media in general seems to have a great to do with the culture of modern sport. Technological innovations in telegraphy as well as the invention of the cable aided in the growth of a specialist sports media that reported activities in sport from around the country and the Western world. Receiving sets in salons and poolrooms and the proliferation of newspapers and other literatures at the end of the nineteenth century, signal the emergence of sport as a popular topic of conversation among the masses. Public interest and
technological innovation seemed to go hand in hand in giving birth to a new breed of communication specialists as well as a new media. Improvements in the output and quality of printing processes increased not only the circulation but the content of sports reporting as well. Publishers also seemed to have capitalized on this popular interest in sport that sport themed dime novels, sporting manuals, almanacs and rulebooks began to make a prolific entry which can in a sense be identified as crafting the modern culture of sport.

The camera which in its inception was limited to industrial purposes began to service personal and commercial use and gave ascendancy to a new breed of nature lovers by the introduction of the Eastman Kodak after 1888. The sports media had begun to replace the woodcut with the photographs and sport was now introducing visual literacy to large number previous unaware masses. Quick on the heels of this development in visual culture was the invention of techniques to capture motion visually. In a classic study of motion titled *Animal Locomotion* (1887), Eadweard Muybridge used photography to create the illusion of motion in the actions of humans and animals in a variety of contexts. The flexible celluloid film which soon followed was immediately put to use in capturing sporting events, the increasing popularity and improvements of the medium led to news reels, short as well as feature films and the gradual transformation of the sporting media.¹

The allusion to the creation of 'outdoors' as a specific category can be attributed not only to the creation of spectator sports and its media coverage but also to a renewed interest in outdoor activities such as hunting and fishing as sport. Such an impetus was driven by urban interest in getting away from the city and their needs were furnished by the nascent sporting industry that produced a range of sporting gear from camping equipment, canoes, fishing rods, reels, guns and other outdoor equipment. Aided by the growth of the manufacturing industry, by the end of the nineteenth century many standardized sporting goods such as boxing gloves, cricket bats and billiards tables had found their way into the market. The establishment in 1876 of A.G. Spalding & Brothers that supplied the official baseball for the national league signalled the arrival of merchandisers in athletic and sporting goods. Such was the popular reception of

¹ For more on the media revolution see (Peters 1942; Wood 1947; Taft 1942).
these sporting goods that they began to be sold at the toy section of departmental stores and even via mail order (Betts 1953, p. 245).

Edison's incandescent bulb greatly transformed urban social life to such an extent that the 'outdoors' seemed to have gotten a whole new shade. No longer were spectators of prize fighting at the Madison square garden in New York subject to the smoke and fumes that accompanied previous such arrangements. Alongside carnivals and horse shows, new events introduced by Y.M.C.A. such as volleyball and basketball inaugurated clubs, arenas and gymnasiums as new spaces of public entertainment and engagement. The banter of food vendors, the shout of the excited fans, etc., characterize the environment at which sports began to emerge as popular urban culture (ibid, p. 247).

The introduction of electricity heralded truly a new age in human social life. Time and effort saving gadgets found a wide spread presence both industries as well as homes, electric street cars replaced horse driven carriages and vastly improved transit system eased access to sporting events. Technological innovations also had a significant influence upon the very style and character of sport. Inventions such as the stop watch, safety devices, ball bearings and the vulcanization of rubber vastly improved tennis and golf balls as well as the whole sporting enterprise on wheels. Fans and followers of sport were now able to travel and stay in luxury reflecting an organizational and economic impetus that was unimaginable during the early periods of the development of sport. The typewriter, telephone and phonograph put out to the use in the management of the sports enterprise marks the inauguration of sport in the form of a unique social phenomenon of the modern age (ibid, p. 250).

The introduction of mass production techniques led to improved bicycles which prompted a revolution in urban transport as well as served as an outdoor physical exercise that was open to all. The establishment of large number of professional, informal and other women’s groups signalled the scale at which cycling has become a popular affair. The improved efforts of manufacturers and competition in improving cycling equipment led to drastic improvements in speed records while also promoting cycling as a regime of exercise and training. Cycling innovation in gears, suspension and friction management through implements such as ball bearings, spokes and hubs were in a sense important precursors that ushered in the motor car (ibid, p. 252).
Many cycle manufacturers were quick to jump into the car making industry. The impetus for setting speed records on cycles thus seems to have moved into the motor car platform. The media too was not too far behind on these developments as the publisher of a Chicago newspaper was responsible for the very first motor racing event in America that went on to establish the primacy of the gasoline motor in generating power. Endurance and speed thus figured as the key forces driving in automobile innovation, revealing its close relation to the enterprise of sport. Interestingly the very thrill of speed and its relation to public spectacle was what held back automobiles from developing as a larger industry. Rapid progress was made in this direction as many races and racetracks such as those at Indianapolis and Daytona Beach were established. Yet it was a lag in this fierce and competitive spirit attached to speed that fostered innovations based on design comfort and economy (ibid, p. 255).

In conclusion Betts argues that sport was one among the institutions that were transformed by the new communication and transportation revolution that influences and constructs almost all aspects of our social lives. In this context he clarifies that sport is not a reaction to modern lifestyle as some may believe, but rather is the very creation of industrialization and urbanization. In this regard the rail road is seen as a crucial force that promoted locality based rivalries that form the basis of contemporary professional sport. Thus the close relationship between technology and social change can be seen in the manner in which consecutive innovations create the world of sport as we know it today (ibid, p. 256).

5.2 Sports in educational praxis
As an individual involved both in the classroom and the playground, trying to make connections between these two distinct fields in educational praxis seems crucial to any expansive understanding of education. This section attempts to conceptualize the similarity and differences in educational praxis that these two fields generate. The representation of sports as an extra-curricular activity in itself is suggestive its lackadaisical treatment. This manner of approach in which most often sports and other extra-curricular activities reside at the periphery, as reflected by the ambiguous attitudes of most parents, teachers, administrators and policy makers who seem confused about its relation to education. This state of affairs renders participation in sport and games to a secondary status within the popular educational scheme of a better tomorrow. Yet participation in extra-curricular activities is not all that bleak as
exceptions can be found to operate differently across the different classes of society. Sociological research suggests that different classes in a society imagine sport differently. For they seem to espouse different attitudes and pursue different goals and motives in relation to their participating in sport (Washington & Karen, p. 191).

A study of social class and sport that draws on Bourdieu's distinctions between the habitus of different classes serves to acknowledge that consciously or unconsciously different class groups seem to be oriented differently in their selection of distinctive practices revealing to us qualitatively different ways in which sports render notions of decorum and emotion among different classes of society. Such distinctions reveal a number of class attitudes which often serve to limit certain groups to certain sporting activities thereby reproduce societal inequality, a cultural disposition that we also find in formal education, in the continued participation and success of groups with a long discursive tradition. In addition to revealing such a characterisation of sports and society, Bourdieu also deems it necessary to treat sports as an autonomous field separate from larger society. He reveals that though a part of larger society, this site of autonomy may nevertheless be a site of struggle and contestation among different classes.

This struggle is one that reveals the transformation of sport from an elite practice of amateurs to a spectacle performed by professionals for mass consumption. Approaching sport in this manner also inherits from Bourdieu a sense of sensitivity towards the availability of time, cultural and economical backgrounds as well as the different meanings, social values and functions that different groups attribute to sports, thereby resulting in issues of segregation. For indeed lifestyle choices and contexts often play a significant role in the manner in which the human body is imagined by different classes thus influencing different conceptualization of sports in the first place.²

In the Indian context, the discourse on educational quality as we have seen primarily concerns itself with curricular work and its assessment. In a setting where involvement by the private sector is increasing, newspapers serve to indicate the manner in which institutions define success in terms pass ratio and number of highly ranking students. Some institutions even go to

² For more on Bourdieu on sports see (Bourdieu 1984; Bourdieu 1988; Bourdieu 1991).
the extent of displaying hoardings that showcase rank holders and overall achievements of the school at the national exams. Such a state of affairs in a sense reveals an ambiguity within the popular reception of education between curricular and extracurricular, work and play, examinations and everyday practices. This ambiguity seems to stem from the confusion between the various 'world-views' operating within educational praxis and their treatment of educational activities that supplement a way of life. The obsession of managers and planners of education with numbers and percentages with quantifiable outcomes reveal the manner in which popular concerns over higher education, specialization and vocational success eclipse education's crucial role in terms of preparation for life.

Educational praxis and common sense in this context seems to possess an insufficient understanding and appreciation of the relationship between the measurable and the immeasurable between the quantitative and the qualitative aspects of education. For middle and working class parents seem predominantly to identify education in the image of vocational success and socio-economic development, an association supported by the professionalization of sport that underscores the non-instrumental aspects of sports and recreation, forms of leisure in education. This limiting identification of education with socio-economic development is not a new phenomenon nor is it association to the middle classes. We do see such a tendency in education, to promote annual national examinations in support of vocational opportunity in the Sung dynasty of China much before the period of industrialisation (Lee 1977, p. 45).

This dominant association of education with the instrumental end of acquiring a vocation since ancient times seems to have over time led to a gradual loss of the educational significance of such educational activities. Often proficiency in sports unless it leads to professional success finds such achievements and accolades reduced to a section of the mantelpiece since playing sport or engaging in music or art does not appear in the hierarchy of competences required by the popular notion of education. Such activities seem to lack in significance unless they serve a vocational advantage to fields such as professional sports or a military career. This seems to be the manner in which humanitarian disciplines are rendered invisible under the popular platform of educational praxis revealing to us a disparity between theory and practice, between educational praxis as a physical or mental activity.
A lack of public consensus towards the inherent value of sports seems to undermine its role in formal education but also undermines education as a secular enterprise that assists in the social integration of individuals. Under the popular ‘world view’ of education that is espoused by institutes pursuing the universalisation of education lies an inadequate articulation of education as fostering the overall development of children, introducing them to multiple by lanes of life. In paying attention to sports participation and raising the issue diverse by lanes of education beyond its instrumental aspects, an alternative vision of education is possible. Unlike attaining vocational success, an individual achievement that characterises the professionalization of sport, the social, emotional and moral aspects of sport participation reflects educational achievement on a more dynamic platform of participative activities. Sports participation thus seem to support a socially and emotionally relevant means of education, engaging with notions of gender parity, inclusivity and other psycho-motor aspects of learning.

5.3 Sports participation: a mental or menial affair
Addressing a number of sociological theories addressing juvenile delinquency, an interesting study conducted in mid-western America attempts to reveal the relationship its relation to participation in sport. The theory of differential association suggests that delinquency occurs over association with deviant influences, a claim supported by research carried out on neighbourhoods with greater and lesser crime rates. The second theory associates weak social control exercised by parents and other concerned authorities with delinquency. The third suggests rebellion emerging from frustration as a source of delinquency. Interestingly we find frustration associated with certain features of educational praxis. For example with failure, punishment, unfair universalistic achievement criteria, the perceived inadequacy of schools in supporting occupational aspirations and a sense that one is not getting what one deserves.

The next theory places sheer boredom as the basis of delinquency. We also find an associated to boredom the manifestation of the need to assert ones masculinity through daring and participation in adventurous activities. The last category that suggests labelling as the cause of delinquent behaviour reveals to us the complexity inherent in the matter. This approach affirms that delinquency does not reside in act itself but is rather framed by the norms of social behaviour that are enforced. Deviation is thus framed in virtue of those who set up norms, the particular situation and its social context along with the reputation of the individual. The study
suggests that the selected method may be revelatory of the outcome that low achievers from blue collared backgrounds were found to most likely be involved in delinquency (Schafer 1969, p. 41).

The study broadly recognises that individual participation in sports helps to keep various forms of delinquency in check. In associating delinquency with deviants and weaker social control we find sports facilitating high standards of behaviour. Standards set by coaches, reinforced by peer friendship and community interactions that affirm conventional behaviour. Similarly in the case of rebellion stemming from frustration with educational praxis, athletes have been recognised to not have much reason to rebel as they are provided with situations that provide for a positive evaluation of the self in both public and private situations. Boredom too is ruled out as the athletes are perceived immersed in their sporting sub-culture. In the context of labelling, we find athletes resilient in virtue of the necessity to maintain a clean and disciplined image that is associated with sport. Sports persons in this sense do not seem to enter into the cycle of negative images that labelling perpetuates. Besides this social importance, participation in sports also does seem to provide boys with a stage to assert their masculinity through socially sanctioned acts of force, skill, aggression and competitiveness.

Using records of school enrolment, intellectual achievement, sports participation, and court records as basic material, this research project pursues other factors that contribute to delinquency. In considering the blue or white collared status of parents, there is straight forward acknowledgement that outcomes may be predicated just by the choice of variables and that all variables cannot really be accounted. Schafer seems to reveal a linkage between the notion of 'labelling' and the manner in which the method and data have been used in this intellectual exploration. For example the use of detailed classroom attendance, academic, court and sporting records as data reflects the nature and processes by which institutional educational approaches label individuals. His reading is prompted by the suggestion that selection into sporting activities itself might be a way of excluding the non-conformists from the conformists. A sensitive reading of this situation paints a rather grim image of schools as ironically the producer of that cousin of the delinquent, the dropout. A state of affairs resulting from the assertion that individuals who conform with the dominant norms of the school and society are “less likely to get caught in the negative, self-fulfilling cycle of action, labelling, repressive or alienating
sanctions by teachers, increasing negative self-images, identification with other troublemakers, rejection of school standards, further deviancy, further labelling, etc., ultimately resulting in overt rebellion in the community” (ibid, p. 44).

Another study conducted in Finland and the surrounding urban towns relied on data from an anonymous child health behaviour questionnaire developed in Europe in collaboration with the World Health Organisation that was administered to fifteen and sixteen year olds ninth graders to assess participation in sports at the club, informal and individual level. The focus of this intellectual inquiry on sports participation stems from the recognition that moral support is a crucial element available to social integrated individuals. An orientation that limits the emphasis of this project in Finland to formal sports, considering both the predominant role of private sports clubs in the organization of sports and the sizable overlap between participation in club and informal sports. This theoretical exploration on the social integrative aspect of sports is based on Durkheim’s idea that integrated societies operate mechanisms of social control by placing external and internal controls on individuals especially through the role of social groups in providing "collective ideas, sentiments, and rituals that prevent vulnerable individuals from psychological distress and suicide” (Thorlindsson & Vilhjalmsson 1992, p. 637).

Another noted orientation of this study is revealed by literature that indicate lower mortality rates, better mental health assessments and the feeling of well being among integrated individuals who are defined variously as married individuals. These individual are also a part of formal or informal groups and individuals with informal relations with friends and relatives. The study of sports clubs in this context extends Durkheim’s idea of the social control of individuals, in which clubs are seen in virtue of the conformity they enforce in promoting protective health behaviours as well as providing social purpose and direction that are important factors that gauge the subjective well-being of individuals.³

Besides arguing for sports from the perspective of social integration, this inquiry also associates participation in sports with a positive influence on mental and physical health that is facilitated by overall conditioning. An association based on research literature that expresses physiological and psycho-physiological benefits to the amount and regularity of sporting

³ For more on the integrative aspects of sports see (Berkman & Syme 1979; Donald & Ware 1982; Snyder & Spreitzer 1983).
activities an individual participates in. A lifestyle of sports participation they claim curbs activities such as smoking and drinking but also have positive co-relations to cardiac, blood circulatory and muscle oxidation processes while bearing negative co-relations with matters of cholesterol, arteriosclerosis and mortality. Matters of well-being such as a reduced experience of factors such as pain, fatigue, anxiety and depression are also claimed to be achieved by adequate physical training.4

Observations made by researchers about physiological and psycho physiological health in the general population have been co-related to the domain of the adolescent health by the authors of this paper. They also note that there is a lack in clarity in whether such benefits result from the physiological of integrative aspects of participation in sport. A uniform understanding of the environment of various sports, insufficient attention to aspects of the structure and organization of sport as well as the characteristics of the larger community in which such activities occur are some of the reasons for this perceived lack of clarity. Examples of a sensitive reading of the integrative aspect of sport participation suggest that they seem to be more effective in urban communities that are dispersed and loosely knit rather than in rural communities that are more closely knit. This organizational aspect, manifested as an internal dynamic of sport is also seen as key to why organized sports have been identified as more beneficial physiologically than informal and individual sports in terms of motivating more energetic performances.5

The variables that measured aspects of health include life satisfaction, psycho-physiological symptoms such as dizziness, stomach, head and back aches, measures of anxiety, tension, restlessness and concentration problems, a measure for depression, loneliness, sleep issues and unwarranted tiredness along with a measure of smoking and alcohol consumption habits. The other set of variables that measured aspects of participation in sports include types of participation depending on club, group or individual, frequency and hours spent each week in participating in activities that generate perspiration and shortness of breath. Other control variables include sex, social class in terms of occupational titles wherein lower classes represent

4 For more on the health aspects of sports see (Clausen 1977; Rossner 1981; Dawber 1980; Gill 1986; Hayes & Ross 1986; Powell & Pratt, 1996).

5 For more on the organizational aspects of community and sport see (Blumenthal & McCubbin 1984; Faris 1948; Homans 1950; Bott 1957).
skilled and unskilled labourers including farmers and fishermen, the middle classes the service occupations of teachers, clerks, and sales persons while the upper classes are represented by business owners, specialists, executives and professionals.

The results of the study suggest that females exhibit higher anxiety, depression, and psycho physiological symptoms along with a greater proclivity toward alcohol and tobacco use across different demographics as well as social classes. This observation is made alongside the observation that females are less likely to participate in sports. Additional observations include both improved health and deterrence of unhealthy habits as positive co-relates of club participation over individual participation in sport. This inquiry also confirms that the inter-relations between club participation and improved health need not necessarily rest on social aspects but rather they also relate to the strenuousness of training that clubs engage in. Such a conclusion underplays the social integrative aspects of companionship and education that have in the past been used to support participation in sport clubs. Also supported is the view that competition and achievement as pursued by such clubs do not necessarily promote health and well-being. Moreover any integrative aspects that may exist seem to manifest in urban areas rather than in rural areas where social isolation and feelings of loneliness renders individual participation in sport insignificant to health and well-being.

What is interesting is that like the previous intellectual inquiry into sports, there remains an ambiguity in relation to the causal aspects that underpin such determinations as mental health, which in itself can be a significant factor in influencing participation in sports. They also recognise that research on the physiological status of individuals need to rely on testing rather than self-reports. Additionally there is also a need to identify separately lifestyle habits from psychological processes benefiting health and well-being. A final word of caution we are left with relates to the need for sports research to identify particular kinds of integrative effects and their specific processes and sources, keeping in mind the larger community context of such activities (Thorlindsson & Vilhjalmssson 1992, p. 640).

A more recent inquiry into the effects of participation in sports rightly acknowledges findings we encountered in the research inquiry conducted by Schafer. They assert that participation in sports cannot be treated uniformly as different sports may yield different results. Attention is also focussed on the need to consider the larger context of social control beyond
that exercised by sports participation itself. Based on the social control theory which posits that stronger the social control, lesser the delinquency, this inquiry recognizes the attraction towards and excitement generated by transgressing social norms. Four factors are identified as promoting adherence among the participants. Attachment deals with personal relations towards parents, friends, teachers and other institutions. Involvement surmises that those involved in conforming activities will not have time for deviancy. Commitment suggests that those committed to a society have more to lose by exhibiting delinquency and belief relates to the disposition with which one upholds the rules of society. All four factors are deemed interrelated and attachment or detachment from any one of these ideals can lead to overall adherence or rebellion.

As we have seen earlier participating in formal sporting activities is seen as providing a sense of support while promoting affiliation and belonging to peers, the coach and the institution. The strict standards set by the coach and the game itself seems like a major influence on the matter. Such a regime leaves no time for other activities and facilitates a close peer group environment that espouses the values of perseverance, working in teams, sportsmanship and delayed gratification. Given that such relations between participation in sport and social conformity have been made, there exists in educational theory a long history of such associations.⁶

Yet recent research also suggests a positive co-relation between participation in sport and delinquency. In this case, deviant behaviour has been identified within the culture of certain aggressive sports activities themselves that foster such attitudes by conforming to the norms of the game. Such attitudes may be difficult to disengage from even when off the field. Participation in contact games serves as a typical example of fostering aggressive attitudes that are reinforced by spectators, coaches and fellow players which leads us back to the association of sports participation with the promotion of conventional norms of masculinity and violence off the pitch. Besides such forms of delinquency, research also suggests at the professional level, the very structure of sport and the sub-cultures they cultivate may be conducive to

⁶ For more on school sports and conformity see (Waller 1932; Purdy & Richard; Stuck 1990; Landers & Landers 1978).
promoting delinquent behaviour as well as other factors such as corruption and immense social pressure associated with high social status of athletes.\(^7\)

Published ten years back, this inquiry conducted in the United States of America uses data from a series of successive national educational surveys conducted in order to co-relate changes influencing a given sample of fifteen year olds over a period of time. Aside from the variables we have seen in previous such inquiries, we find new variables that distinguish types of sport, measure of students attitudes and aspirations, family attachment, intellectual motivation, conformist beliefs and peer related achievement beliefs. Dependant variables include a self-reported index of problem behaviour ranging from skipping classes to getting into fights, drug use and arrest records as well as the prior delinquency of students.

Analysis links participation in soccer and football for females and males respectively with school problem behaviour and suggests that significant differences in socialization exist among different games. In basketball also which was positively related to delinquent behaviour among males, a regression occurred once the four social control variables were applied. We are left with baseball/softball for females and basketball and other individual sports for males that are negatively associated to problem behaviour. With the exception of soccer and football, results suggest once again an ambiguity as to the inherent nature of sports to deter delinquent behaviour as participation in sport along with social control factors such as parental attachment, conformist beliefs, influence of peers and intellectual engagement are seen as mediating factors in achieving the desired outcome of conformity (Sokol-Katz et al 2006, p. 187).

The significance of this inquiry arises from the fact that it collides against the ideal of sports participation as a constructive institutional social control mechanism that has been forwarded by sociologists of sport. Given that individuals from impoverished backgrounds stand to lose more from forms of delinquency, paradoxically deterrence seems least among such individuals. Commitment as a part of the ethos of sports participation does not seem to hold much sway at the level of high stakes semi-professional or college football as more than often transgressions are washed away before the start of the next game. Stated as a form of legal

\(^7\) For more on sports and delinquency see (Bennett 1991; Hughes & Coakley 1991; Benedict &Yaeger 1998; Lance 1987; Eitzen & Sage 1997; Lerman 1968).
immunity that players beget, such a state of affairs reminds us of the clean and disciplined image of the sports person that we have discussed earlier (Young 2002, p. 20).

Criticism of such a reading of participation in sport and delinquency suggest the simplified treatment of the matter. For violence and sport have been a part of each other since a long time either as prize fighting or the rural hunting activities that characterised sports participation from the early dawn of the human species. This is the light against which one must approach deviance as a complex affair, one that resists easy categorization. Moreover inquiries into sport participation that focus only on the sub-cultures of certain popular and formal sporting activities do not seem to pay sufficient attention to what is common and distinct between different formal and informal sport sub-cultures and their philosophies. An exhaustive study that incorporates the values and attitudes as well as the general disposition of the larger community towards sports requires a sustained and immersed effort as characterized by interpretative sociology. Moreover the demarcation problem in sports is a serious concern that often plagues discussions of sport and it is useful to note that one can approach this question either by considering the common traits or characteristics of sports practices around the globe or by focusing on one case at a time (Wertz 2002, p. 100).

The last inquiry into sports participation that we explore is also related to the alternate forms of expression, leisure and enjoyment can often be found listed under the socially and psychologically integrative aspects of sports. In their analysis of the leisure sport of Bowling which they term as an 'ephemeral role' that caters to drives not fulfilled by the dominant role responsibility of everyday life, Steele and Zurcher list four psychological and six social functions of sports. Drawing on a number of sources they list: preparation for life, catharsis of socially unapproved drives in a socially acceptable manner, relaxation and recreation and identity generation, reinforcement and expression as the four psychological functions of sport. Affiliation, socialization, status and prestige needs, occupational needs, fulfilling the wishes of others and the separation from dominant roles and significant others are listed as the social functions of sports participation (Steele & Zurcher 1973, p. 348).

Besides such an orientation for sporting activities, as encountered earlier, such activities seem to be promoted from the health perspective as well, a state of affairs indicated by the promotion of physical activity for a better quality of life by medical professionals. Most often
health care settings due to their spatial constraints only seem to offer cardiovascular programs. Introducing us to workplace and community based programs for the promotion of physical health. The implication on workplaces as important sites of adult literacy and continued learning suggest the possibilities for physical health perspective that has not yet been fully explored. This state of affairs reveals a common reductive and functional rendering not only of work but almost all aspects of modern life, an ignorance of physical and emotional well-being by educational and vocational institutions that subtly address these aspects as matters of individual choice.

Discussing the case in North America, we find the greatest presence of health related sporting activities emerging at the local level of the community. Not for profit public and private organization as well commercial establishments thus seem to be heading the charge by promoting campaigns as well as providing the necessary facilities to meet this requirement. Despite such attempts research indicates that both individual and structural factors stand in the way of improving the overall culture of involvement in health related sports activities. At the level of the individual, a lack of personal discipline is a critical barrier to lifelong participation. While at the structural level the pervasive presence of work related pressures are seen as providing individuals with very little time to pursue such goals (Iverson, Fielding et al 1985, p. 213).

Despite the different orientations we have seen within the intellectual exploration of sports participation so far, in his essay Why Sports Matter, Sheed seems to associate sports with the possibility to teach fairness and cheating, sharing and selfishness. In the 21st century we see sports participation, an arena in which character is built being deplored for the excessive attention and emotional energy it harnesses. The emotions triggered in an obsessive fan at the victory or loss of their favourite team suggests the extent to which sport pervades everyday life. For Sheed, both these attitudes find relevance in terms of the rehearsal of life it provides in dealing with both victory and defeat. Thus while loss can lead to despair and violence among the fans as well as the players, they suggest the importance of alternate realities in providing instruction and motivation in dealing with the vagaries of life (Sheed 1995, p. 12).

Often participation in competition is not for the sake of the self alone but for the sake of the larger community that share in the victory or the loss. Such a character can also reflect upon
larger matters of race relations in a community as often sports teams are often seen serving in the interests of integration. In speaking of the parallels between the court of law and a game of cricket in Barbados, Sheed identifies in common the polite, tough and ironic style that characterizes not the race but the culture of Barbados. For Sheed, this disposition reflects the Victorian ethos of patience and discipline which at times seem to make cricket more work like than play. Not reducing such an attitude to their involvement in cricket, he does indeed draw parallels between culture and cricket and the tendency of sport to assert its style and presence beyond the playground (ibid, p. 17).

In contrast, Sheed discusses the introduction of cricket in British India to immerse the British in leisure activities rooted in British culture so that they would not sway towards the local culture. Leisure in this context emerges as a site of cultural contact and contest, introducing the sports arena as a space that brings together the larger community both as players and spectators. Affirming sports as just a force that is neither good nor bad, Sheed suggests that an exclusive emphasis on sports participation can drain not only the body but the social imagination. A claim that rightly recognizes the importance of a broad vision and intelligent management of sports while removing from it an unrealistic burden of socialization as realized in Barbados that “a society that plays together had better do a few other things together as well, whether that society be a former colony or an American university” (ibid, p. 20).

Sheed shares his concerns on the educational prospects of sports when he briefly compares the teacher to the coach. While acknowledging the emotional realm of sport, he identifies as crucial the mutual excitement between coach and player as something the classroom teacher could benefit from. For in the classroom while it seems as though only the teacher is working, thus discipline and motivation are thus two educational aspects that find more levy in the sports field rather than the classroom. But with the advent of professional sports, players often seem to forget the educational basis of participation in sport. Attracted to the individual promise of vocational success, the player often recedes from the role of an exemplary in the educational community to relative isolation. Professionalism in sport thus seems to have a negative influence on the educational environment as it begins to selectively characterize certain sporting activities as work and thus undermining other inherently useful educational activities (ibid, p. 14).
Yet Sheed returns to the capacity of sports participation in non-professional settings as a stage which influences self-esteem, fosters an egalitarian attitude and promotes individual development. This aspect of individual development is reflected in the last section of the essay where Sheed describes the possible benefits of engaging in sports when he claims that: “What you get in exchange for these ritual humiliations is a thimbleful of self-knowledge, a small but precious sense of how reality works, and all the self-esteem you can earn with your own muscle and sweat and here, sports relents a little: it rewards duffers who try hard with almost as much self-satisfaction as it gives to champions” (ibid, p. 24).

In conclusion to this section on the physical, social and moral implications of sports participation we see Sheed introduces us both to the excesses and benefits of sports participation, keeping in mind contemporary developments in sports such as its professionalization. What is interesting is the manner in which even what can be characterised as leisure activities are increasingly under the scanner of a cause effect relationship type of relationship we saw Bergson argue against. From a Bergsonian perspective one can be but sure that these implications of sports participation is not what is being reflected in the consciousness of those in actual participation.

But for now we will not focus on such matters but continue to review the literature on sports participation beyond its integrative and physical aspects, with a more detailed treatment of the subject accommodating the changes brought about in sport by technological globalization and the increased role of new media. This next section aims to explore literature in this context and raise some of the issues we have not specifically discussed earlier such as the increasing professionalization in sports and its implications for what we have discussed earlier as the temporal rigidity of professionalization, a state of affairs that suggests of the total ascension of the spatial tendency of modernity.

5.4 Media and the production of sports
Given their increased significance of mediated sport in the social life of the general public, there is a need to look at how sport today has brought about changes in the cultural, social and economic lives of the public. One here needs to keep in mind the central position of professional televised sports in the larger global political economy. In matters pertaining to the globalization of sport, America seems to be fore runners as many of the sports which form the national leagues
often take their games abroad while many sports persons are recruited from other countries. Multinational media corporations and sporting bodies as well as national and local sporting bodies along with prevailing politico-economic arrangements serve to facilitate or resist such moves towards integration and homogenization in sport.  

Such a reckoning of sports participation is based out of a fascination with the institutional and formal platform that individual sports have created for themselves, a platform that reflects the market orientation of professional sport which concerns itself with factors such as audiences, advertisements, regulators and competitors. So while there is an institutional focus in this intellectual inquiry, there also is the need to take into consideration subsidiary factors such as urbanization, migration, industrialization and the flow of global capital. Professionalism in sports, a modern development by virtue of its connection with large sums of money manifests a tendency to malign the culture of sports. The increased media coverage and ownership of sports also indicate the transformation of sport as a cultural product. An issue that affects both spectators and players as well, among the former we see a tendency among promoters to draw crowds using other factors than the display of skills that characterises sports spectatorship. In the case of the players we find monetary influences corrupting the pure joy of playing, absence of which reduces the exemplary status of the sports person.

   The sports person of today cannot but escape the drive to assert and promote their selves. Scouts from professional sports visit all levels of sport in order to sign spectacular talent. Exquisite pay checks have become the measure by which quality is calibrated. The only thing that keeps the ball rolling among a group of such mixed individuals is the desire to win. The fact that better performances result in better pay packages do have a positive outcomes. Thus leaving aside the pleasure of immersing in the now of play, sports as imagined by the player takes the form of a continuous investment towards the future, towards the next game, the next tournament, to college sports and then a professional career (Sheed 1995, p. 24).

Modern sport and the mass media, television in particular share an intimate relationship. The huge viewer ship base and amounts of money that this enterprise earns during major sporting events point us towards a unique relationship between sports and the new economies.

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8 For more on the homogenization of sports see (Friedmann 1999; Guttmann 1994).
There are a number of theoretical models that discuss this relationship. For example, the critical model that discusses the manner in which the mediation of sporting activities alters the political consciousness involved in sport. We also explore the more elaborate transactional model that concerns itself with the qualitative difference in audience experience of sports spectatorship at home and at the stadium. An approach that contextualises the sociological implications of stadium experiences alongside the production aspect of sports programs, its content and politics. A third approach to this subject follows a Marxian paradigm that poses sports as a cultural product, focussing on what such texts are, how they are produced and how they are read by the general public thus contributing to its reproduction in the social lives of the general public (Karen & Washington 2001, p. 201).

Such mediation in sports rightly acknowledges the distance created between the fan and the athlete by promoting a pseudo-social relationship between the two. Thus we find among middle-class urban Indians a huge support for international soccer clubs and players often at the cost of reduced participation in and support for the game at the local level. Such a state of affairs also supports the manner in which dominant values and norms of a society are transmitted and upheld. The media platform thus has come to occupy a central role in facilitating an artificial sense of motivation and gratification while reducing the imagination of life to a mere display of competition governed by a framework of rules. A number of mutual aspects such as suburbanization and the privatization of leisure thus seem to support this increased significance of media in sport.⁹

Criticism of this partnership primarily deals with the commercialization of sports and the subsequent distance the general public faces from the culture of sports. The predominant presence of commercial sports in sports sections over other informal sporting pursuits further reveal the pervasiveness of this arrangement. Media representation of minority and women athletes and their achievements reveal racist and sexist tendencies inherent in the media.Termed variously by academics as the construction of race and/or gender, this arrangement is reflected in the disparate racial and gender composition among sports presenters and correspondents.

⁹ For more on the media and the politics of leisure see (Rader 1984; Weiss 1996).
This mediated construction of identities has been criticized for its biased representation of the identity of athletes that often sexualizes them or pays disproportionate attention to non-sporting aspects in the lives of such athletes. Over and above such reporting, the field of advertising too plays a great role in promoting such biased stereotypes. Thus we find those historically marginalized both on and off the playground, subject to dominant regimes of stereotyping that stamp their authority on the bodies and identities of women and minority athletes. In this sense sport as an activity as well as by the virtue of its representation in the form of sports commentaries and its marketing in the mass media promote stereotyped identities and representations of the body that in turn promote gender disparity.10

Such a state of affairs prompts us to question the relationship between social identity and participation in sport. At the middle school level in America, research reveals that male athletes and female cheerleaders receive more attention and status from spectators. Reinforced by such attitudes are identities of masculinity associated with competition and achievement while identities of femininity are associated with emotions and appearances. This is the manner in which participation in sport at the school and high school level while producing gender disparities also include a positive co-relation to notions of social status. One such study suggests that boys and girls by virtue of their engagement in sporting activities are able to achieve greater flexibility in access to sexual activities. But overall the overall trend suggests gender disparity, favouring men in the construction of identities.11

Even direct participation in sports as players do seem to imbibe identities with a gendered status, yet this is not the only manner in which social identities are produced. Racial, local, gendered and national aspects also find their way into identities through the media coverage of sport. In this context, television and newspaper reporting of sports events seem to play an important role in promoting nationality based stereotypes of identity. The prevalence of such practices can often foster a sense of national or local unity but most often at the cost of fostering animosity towards other nationalities and localities. For the happiness of spectators are directly contingent on the performances of their favourite sports person or team. Moreover

10 For more on racial and gendered stereotypes in sports media see (Messner 1988; Cahn 1994; Connell 1987; Eder & Parker 1987).
11 For more on gender disparity in representation on the sports media see (Miller 1998; Hasbrook & Harris 2000; Holland & Andre 1994).
even among spectators there exists a great variety based on the amount of interest and sport preference exercised by the group.

In discussing the relation between sports, race and class in America, the presence of a few notable sports persons like the Williams sisters in tennis and other African-Americans in sports such as basketball seem to suggest the absence of discrimination along class and ethnic lines. Yet commentators assert that equitable access to sports as a way of achieving social mobility is a myth related to the American Dream. Research indicates the persistent existence of institutional racism as well as a rather dismal percentage of mobility being provided through participation in sports. Institutional Racism widely exists in the management of many professional games; basketball and baseball are significant examples.

Such practices include differences in pay packages, differences in team composition and the distribution of positions, differences in player retention and other exclusionary practices. The composition as well as compensation for coaches in such leagues along with the racial and class orientation to team ownership also manifest the same trends. Given that the realm of sporting has been identified as a site of discrimination, it is only natural that such sites serve as a stage for struggle and contestation. The revolt of African-American athletes at the 1968 Olympics, the presence of cricket teams composed only by individuals of colour in Britain as well as protest against sports outfits using Native American mascots is symptomatic of such relevance to sports.12

Social-mobility, self-esteem and group identity seems to have natural relationship with participation in sports, but only focusing on these aspects with relation to minority communities seem to be a fallacy. The odds of such a success are much higher than what the popular imagination would have us believe; moreover minorities tend to have access only to fewer sporting activities. Despite the enormous encouragement for youth in such communities, the practical realities are stark given the fact that enormous investment in time is required and such an engagement is detrimental to the intellectual improvement of individuals from minority backgrounds. Statistics on the graduation rates for athletes from such communities alongside resistance by coaches to a move by authorities to increase the admission criteria suggest the

negative co-relation between social-mobility and sports participation. Matters of self-esteem and group identity on the other hand suggest a positive co-relation to sports participation on the basis of promoting individualistic style and sub-cultural identity. Thus we find that the study of such concerns do promote a framework of individual struggle in the face of larger structures of opportunity and their relation to the community (Karen & Washington 2001, p. 195).

The inadequate study of sports occurs due to a number of reasons beginning with sociologists and sports persons who do not show an inclination towards it. An attitude symptomatic in the manner in which a college curriculum committee countered a request to teach a course on 'Sports and Society' by asking if the sports page wasn't sufficient. This essay on 'Sport and Society' makes the claim that insufficient attention has been paid to the field, despite that fact that sports finds more economic and socio-cultural relevance in contemporary life. Wide spread media coverage in radio, television and newspapers, increased fan following and activities, thus prompt a renewed academic interest in sport as an activity, an industry, a market and a field. Two subfields in sociology that have paid some attention to the field deal with notions of stratification in sport and its organizational and institutional context. The discipline of cultural studies has been engaged with this question, their work seems to have approached the subject as a study of popular culture with an emphasis on social hegemony along gendered lines. The struggle of the individual and his/her experiences against the structural pattern and background that society provides the focus for such analyses. At the foundation of these research projects is the manner in which the body is socially constructed and marketed often leading to the marginalization of certain bodies (ibid, p. 188).

5.5 Experiences from the field: negotiating a world view and exploring ways of life
The promotion of the body has been a welcome development in contemporary educational praxis, yet the matter is not simple as historically and culturally this promotion has always privileged only the male body. The ancient roots of sporting activities, associated closely with preparation for war, more than often celebrate masculinity in relation to physical prowess and femininity alongside frailty. Unfortunately such an orientation seems to have been reinforced in Victorian England, the modern precursor to contemporary sporting, industrial and educational culture. While policy documents in education make an issue of equality of access and participation of females at all levels, similar changes in the domain of leisure to increase
female participation as players, managers, coaches and policy makers in sports is yet to find adequate traction (Burnett 2001, p. 76).

In the American context, the facilitation of a national league for women in professional sports and serious commitment by policy makers has indeed increased the participation of women in sports. Yet their number at the higher stages of college and professional sports as participants, coaches and managers remain low. Additionally such efforts towards setting up professional leagues for women seem to be lacking in commitment as quality of facilities, accommodation and even endorsement deals remain inferior to their male counterparts. Significant studies in this area study the interrelation between sports participation, gender, inequality, political economy alongside matters of race and class.13

In lieu of such a state of affairs a number of academics have attempted to explore ways in which sports can facilitate gender parity. Some of the suggestions include a move to get rid of the male/female dichotomy in the management and performance of sports. Others include posing a challenge to gender appropriate behaviour by promoting male participation in cheer leading. Despite some women's sports like ice hockey really challenging gender stereotypes, the fact that the standards of the game are still set by the version played my men make parity a difficult ideal. Thus while the feminist mantra of empowerment does indeed get women to engage in fitness programs, such programs often uphold traditional ideas of beauty and femininity instead of working towards notions of equality, health and empowerment. Sporting subcultures often provide the backdrop to pursue oppositional activities like muscle building and skill training yet there remains difficulty in making away with dominant power structures.

In her essay Women and Sports: Extending Limits to Physical Expression, Prakash offers us a feminist reading of sports from the Indian context. Such a reading traces the gradual manner in which women around the world have after decades of struggle made their entry into the world of sports. Prakash skilfully uses this context to address many of the biological myths associated with the subjugation of women. But the principle insight we can draw from her discussion is the acknowledgement of the manner in which modern sports provide for women, an alternative form of expression, leisure and enjoyment. Acknowledging the heritage of folk

13 For more on gender and participation in sports see (Carrington 1998; Festle 1996).
dances in having fulfilled this need in the past, Prakash urges that “...we must recognize that dance may not be everyone's choice of communicating or giving expression to emotion” (Prakash 1990, p. 29).

At this point it becomes necessary that one provide an adequate delineation between the concepts of spectatorship and playing sports, especially its association with social equity as well as the health and integrationist aspect we have discussed in earlier sections. So leaving out individual and indoor sports, in this section the focus shall be on team sports due to their social character. One reason to do so is the perceived similarity between the exchanges that occur in the classroom as well on the playground. To do so I will dwell fairly on my experiences and reflections of playing sports at university. Working and living in the city had totally alienated me from the experience of playing sports due to the lack of time and facilities which one can probably attribute to the near total ascendency of the mathematical time.

Coming back to playing was a much appreciated lifestyle change that seems exclusive to educational spaces, thus reflecting the temporal restrictions between vocation and education as actually spatial restrictions. But I was also introduced to a familiar form of the politics of exclusion; a spatial tendency of students to align themselves into groups in the classroom which seems to have seeped into the field as well. Like every other method of group exclusivity, participants in outdoor team sports too seem to have valid reasons for excluding others. The familiarity with one another that fosters a sense of comfort seemed like the most recognisable explanation and though this explanation made practical sense it would always leave a bad taste in my mouth. I often found myself a member of the team often composed of newcomers who were often strangers with little or no compatibility with one other. So while the playing seemed fluent and familiar from one side, the other side seemed unfamiliar and divisive.

Additionally I began to realize that if a new player happened to join a team of regulars, they often did not involve him as much in the game. They often justified this action by pointing out at the poor performance or cohesiveness of the new player. In a sense the larger participative ethos of sports participation that have quite simply engaged with in earlier sections seem to be rather complicated affair off the page of the theoretician. Initially such a rendering of casual sports participation seemed to reflect my subjective opinion of a contextual phenomenon. But later as I began playing Ultimate Frisbee with a familiar group of students from my centre, I
began to notice a similar trend along gendered lines. In this case again the perceived incompetence of the other was gleaned from their existing track record which served as a marker of merit for their inclusion in the game. Indeed this act was not a pre-planned activity that players deliberately manifested but rather they were seemingly instinctive moves that in a certain sense characterise the competitive ethos of contemporary educational praxis.

Ultimate Frisbee is a game that in many ways suggests of an attempt to invert certain dominant values in popular sports. This is achieved in the game by incorporating rules that attempts to achieve gender parity and exempts the requirement of an external referee. In promoting such social and secular values, my experience playing Ultimate Frisbee seems to have provided an alternate context to recognise the texture of the gap existing between educational policy and practice, space and duration, ‘world view’ and ‘way of life’. A gap that my peers and I were well aware of as we attempted to realise the secular ‘world view’ imbibed in the rules of Ultimate Frisbee. This gap manifested in the manner in which gender parity, an issue that most of my peers had been introduced to from personal experiences as well as a number of educational discourses that deal with notions of gender, sexuality and equality. Despite our elaborate theoretical sensitivity to the issue in theoretical space, one began to sense that as the competitiveness on the field arose sexist behaviour also rose, especially among the better players. An experience that has also been found in other gender equalised game such as that of co-ed softball (Synder & Ammons 1993, p. 14).

Despite access as well a sophisticated understanding in abstract theoretical space of the ‘world view’ of gender disparity, there seems to be confusion with the manner in which this idea impinges upon our subjective ‘ways of life’ as characterised by our day to day experiences. What was revealed during the course of our engagement in the field was that like in any other realm of educational praxis, the spirit of competition seemed to impinge upon the Frisbee field as well. The desire to win often meant that players who well less adept, which included a large number of girls and even boys who were not really of the sporting type were marginalized in play. Such a practical orientation reminds one of the classroom space where the best students are often the only ones who maintain continuity with the spatial progress of the curriculum, leaving the others in the fray and in some sense fostering a lack of confidence or even a sense of disinterest among these other students.
What this reveals is the existence of disparities in the notion of equitable learning which are as visible in the playing field as in the classroom. Moreover it quite simply reflects Bergson’s insights into the manner in which space and duration seem to influence the manner in which educational praxis is rendered. This is because educational transmission is rather unlike the transmission of an idea which then occupies a particular location in an individual’s memory only to be reproduced in the same form later, but is rather like an idea that resonates with us permeates through the whole of our organism. In this case, as the competitiveness increased it indicated that not all ideas necessarily flow alongside the fluidity which is our conscious states, but that certain readymade ideas which aren’t properly assimilated do float upon this fluidity. They remain external to us as ideas that have not been cherished and thereby withered away in the life of our conscious lives (Bergson 2001, p. 136).

This experience indicates to me the manner in the practical implications of the difference between abstract space and concrete duration. For instance if we are to translate this discussion into the context of written examinations, it suggests that despite the fact that an individual may know the answer to a mathematical problem, a chemical equation, a biological process, or a historical event this does not necessarily reflect that he or she has understood it or assimilated it in the manner in which we have discussed above. Such a state of affairs reflects the manner in which the imposition of educational space in the garb of time does not necessarily coincide with the individual experience of temporality.

Such a perspective celebrates for instance the differences across cultures in the manner in which different cultures take to one and the same sporting activity. Take for example the culture of baseball in Japan which Sheed brings into the equation while discussing Robert Whiting’s book *You Gotta Have Wa*. Describing their commitment towards team spirit, Sheed applauds Japanese ball players for their unwavering commitment towards keeping the individual and collective from disgrace, a commitment viewed as greater even than victory. Such an attitude supported by practices such as full attendance during practice even at the cost of delaying games that are interrupted by the weather or other factors. All this occurs despite the fact that baseball is an extremely individualistic game and tolerates other individualists. Such a state of affairs reveals the influence of diverse cultural traditions within the same game, one that services the individual and the other the collective (Sheed 1995, p. 21).
Leaving behind such diversity in the approach to sports participation, we proceed to explore the modern lifestyle sport of Windsurfing in collusion with what Prakash has earlier described the expressive aspects of participation in individualised sports. This discussion can provides us with an alternate lens to look at the educational possibilities alongside the notions of individual effort and its implication for self-determination. The experience of windsurfing as a sport is characterized by the dynamic relationship between body, kit sail and board, water and wind. Learning to windsurf in this sense cannot draw upon other previous learning experiences or on the existing spatial characterisation of the sport in manuals and so on. Knowing to windsurf in this sense reminds one of an unfolding in subjective duration as it resides in the interaction of the body with the kit which involves various fine adjustments of the body in relation the board and the mast. Since the windsurfer does not have a rudder or a handlebar most steering occurs by using the heel and the toe which adjust the angle of the board against the water (Dant and Wheaton 2007, p. 10).

Now given the unpredictability of the sea one can assume that now two experiences of windsurfing can ever be the same. Moreover since two people cannot surf aboard one board, we can discern that in such a sport, learning or education can only be characterised as a very intuitive process. So even though the ability to windsurf does open access to the subculture and such membership does bring along hints and suggestions from fellow windsurfers such educational content if one may call them so are not directly intuitive as the required skills for walking and running which we learn without really being taught. Dant and Wheaton quote Merleau-Ponty's notion of the 'intentional arc' to describe the manner in which such a form of embodied learning expresses an individual’s intentions through the motor capacity of the body. So while the exhilarating experience of windsurfing provides for a unique form of expression, Dant and Wheaton claim that “the motivation to engage in the action and the pleasure derived from engagement are linked to how the body has learnt to be in the world” (ibid, p. 11).

What we find in conclusion is that despite literature suggesting the positive physical and psychological aspects of sports participation, there exists, a great extent of ambiguity with which such a claim is forwarded. Although the association with positive health seems like a rather straightforward claim, we find the social integrative aspects of sports participation under criticism. Some studies even go to the extent of claiming that sports participation also manifests
its own regime of competence and exclusionary practices similar to that we find in the classroom culture of competition. Of interest to us is the manner in which lifestyle sports such as windsurfing reveal to us a rather different model by which we can imagine educational praxis as a process of self-determination rather than socially sanctioned determination. Such an individualised model of learning seems characterise the 'way of life' approach of lifestyle sports and suggests to us an alternative manner in which we can conceive participation in sports as an integral element of individual learning, freedom and determination. Such an approach gives us some respite from the professionalization of sport and its media representation that which capitalises on the popular aspect spatial representation without reflecting on the manner in which this standardisation of sporting experience through spectatorship negatively influences the subjective experience of sports.

This distinction between sports participation and spectatorship, between its socially integrative and individually educational aspects reveals from a Bergsonian perspective what can be characterised as the spatialisation of sports vis a vis professional sports. In other words the professionalization of sports and the subsequent rise of spectatorship characterises reveals to us the arbitrary basis by which the sporting calendar, educational calendar and time table manifest as the popular spatialisation of temporality. A tendency that separates the world of amateur sports participation as a 'way of life' from the world of professional sports that emerges quite literally as a 'world view'. Not only does specialisation in sports reflect the exclusive spaces of participation and spectatorship that are thus created. In this context, the obsession of professional sports with statistics and results further reveals a close proximity between educational praxis and sporting praxis in their inclination towards instrumental ends. An obsession with ends that in more than one sense transforms sports participation to an exclusive professional affair rather than manifesting as popular a site of self-expression.

This chapter has thus briefly acquainted us with the relationship between a new logic of temporality that characterises modernity and the manner in which it influences all fields including that of modern sports. Another aspect of this temporal logic of modernity that we find in our discussion of sports is the common sense association of cause and effect that we find in the studies trying to relate the health and social benefits of sports participation. A Bergsonian approach would suggest that these medical and social co-relations that are attempted are not
reflected in the consciousness for instance of the windsurfer. What is reflected rather is a sense of freedom which characterises the self-expression of individuals through their participation in sports.