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BERND BRÖSKAMP

Bodily Strangerhood(s) Revisited[1]

On bodily strangerhoods and glocalised bodies

In his well-known essay on the *Techniques of the Body*, regarded as a kind of founding document for the sociology of the body, Marcel Mauss relates an anecdote about marching. He describes the effects of a well-meaning attempt to bring different military traditions together. A British regiment, fighting side-by-side with the French infantry during the First World War, requests “Royal permission to have French trumpets and drums, a band of buglers and drummers.” Mauss states in advance that the stride and frequency of steps vary from one army to another and “that the British infantry marches with a different step from” the French. (1973, p. 72). He writes:

> The result was not very encouraging. For nearly six months, in the streets of Bailleul ... I often saw the following sight: the regiment had preserved its English march but had set it to a French rhythm. ...The unfortunate regiment of tall Englishmen could not march. Their gait was completely at odds. When they tried to march in step, the music would be out of step. With the result that the Worcester regiment was forced to give up its French buglers.” (Mauss, 1973, p. 72)

Pierre Bourdieu refers to this example, when, at the beginning of the 1960s, the erosion of the local marriage market, formerly protected by a certain autonomy, in his home village in Béarn, became an object of his ethnological study. It concerns the curious phenomenon of the celibacy of first born sons within a rural population, “renowned for its fierce attachment to the priniciple of primogeniture” (Bourdieu, 2007, p. 61). Once regarded as a “good catch”, they found themselves “suddenly converted into ‘empeasanted’ peasants, savage *hucous* (‘men of the woods’), repellent and graceless, forever excluded from the right to reproduce.” (2007, p. 64). Bourdieu explains this phenomenon retrospectively in the context of the extension of the *market of symbolic goods and practices* which, emanating from urban civilisation, also reaches very isolated regions.

[1] Editor`s note: The title refers to *Körperliche Fremdheit*, a monograph published in 1994, which focused not only on the social space of sport in immigrant societies but also on the bodily dimension of strangerhood and social/ethnic relations which at that time had – at least in Germany – been completely neglected by the sociology of migration.

At the bachelors' ball

At the centre of the study is the ethnographic description of a village dance, an event normally regarded as one of the most important, socially accepted opportunities for the two sexes to meet. Most of those present are young people and they have adopted a 'fashionable' appearance: the young men of the region wear jeans and black leather jackets and the young women, some of whom work as seamstresses, maids or shop assistants in the nearest town, have adopted the clothes and appearance of townswomen. The music also fits the scene – the twist and the cha-cha, all imported from urban environments. Then there are the bachelors, somewhat older than the other guests and all from rural backgrounds. Lining the edge of the dance floor, they stand, tightly packed and silent. They encroach upon the dancing surface with a barely noticeable forward movement, as if the temptation to dance has taken them captive. But they do not dance. They remain in place, their powerless gazes fixed on the young women, who dance with the town boys; physically so near but, as far as the possibility of a marital union is concerned, so eternally far, foreign and unattainable. Their handicap is their rural habitus which, in the light of the advancement of urban cultural forms, especially the emergence of new practices, techniques, images and modes of presenting the body (dance, clothing, gait, appearance, demeanour, hairstyle etc.), cannot be taken for granted anymore. It was obvious to someone like the young Bourdieu (2004 [1962]), who remembered Marcel Mauss' anecdote about the unfortunate British regiment marching to the tune of a French band, that the 'empeasanted' peasant (i.e. in the pejorative sense of the word 'peasant') is in anything other than his element at the dance. Unlike traditional dances, which are still shown to be interwoven with country life, modern dances introduce new types of movement, related to urban contexts which,

> by demanding the adoption of new corporeal uses ... call for a veritable change in 'nature', since the bodily habitus is what is experienced as most 'natural', that upon which conscious action has no grip. Consider dances such as the Charleston or the Cha-Cha in which two partners face each other and hop, in staccato half-steps, without ever embracing: could there be anything more alien to the peasant? And what would he do with his broad hands that he is accustomed to hold wide apart? Moreover, as testified by simple observation and interviews, the peasant is loath to adopt the rhythm of modern dances. (2004, p. 584)

Originating rather from their bodily habitus than from conscious intent, the resistance against the symbolic violence of the proliferating cultural influences of urban areas make some of the peasants from Béarn pay a high price: that of unintentional, forced celibacy. This contrasts with the young women from the same background, who work in the nearby towns. Through their exposure to women's magazines, serialised and romantic novels, films as well as music on the radio, not to mention conversations with one another about cosmetics, appearance, hair, figure, tact, courtesy, charm and,

above all, potential husbands, the women are more open to the outward signs which, in their eyes, constitute urban life, not least modern dance and urban forms of presenting the body. Measured against the new ideals, by which the bodily habitus of the men is judged and for which the young men from the larger towns in the neighbourhood strive, the bachelors have no chance.[2] Their openness to technical innovations in the world of the agricultural farming of the soil does not count for much in this context. Furthermore, the fact that the bachelors internalise the stereotypical image of “peasants” (which has been constructed by others based on urban patterns of perceptions and value judgements) means that, in specific situations in public life, such as the village dance, where one is required to let oneself go and loosen up towards the opposite sex and towards, or in front of, other people, their bodies feel foreign, gauche and disloyal, and this they experience together with the shame and fear of looking a fool. The symbolic violence, contained in the establishment of the new, urban image of the body, is rather perceived than being consciously communicated; it is experienced in a contextually specific way and can be understood as a type of bodily strangerhood. Bodily strangerhood, as the example of the village dance shows, can be understood as a *situational* drifting apart of incorporated and objective social structures, as a drifting apart of habitus and habitats within the broader framework of *social stratification processes* (which these days are also transnational). As the marching example illustrates, bodily strangeness can also emerge in social contexts where habitus (in the plural), each the product of varying social or collective histories, are brought together. Moreover, bodily strangerhood can emerge in socially and ethnically differentiated societies, whenever (within systems of interdependent relationships) varying, class-specific, regional, ethnic and/or field-specific cultural codes and disposition-systems are triggered by the generative-structuring capabilties of the various habitus within specific social situations (cf. Gebauer, 1986, Gebauer & Bröskamp, 1992, Bröskamp, 1994, Alkemeyer & Bröskamp, 1996, Sayad, 2004, p. 203 f.). In this respect, we may refer to (bodily) strangerhoods in the plural, since potentially it is possible to generate as many ways of temporary or (as the case may be) also more permanent states of being a stranger as there are socially-constructed groups, categories, (sub-) fields and contexts.

[2] The early ethnological writings of Bourdieu, first published more than 45 years ago, are astoundingly relevant today, if read with the newer developments of some rural areas of East Germany in mind. A gender-selective migratory movement from East to West Germany is increasingly observed; a sort of feminisation of the intra-societal forms of internal migration, with the result that the number of relatively well-educated, geographically and socially upwardly mobile young women is disproportionately high. It is mainly the young men who stay behind, “disadvantaged in the job market, in education and in the search for a partner”. “In extreme cases, and this is by no means statistically uncommon, it means: no job, no education, no girlfriend.” (Kröhnert & Klingholz, 2007, p. 4)

On the drifting apart of habitus and habitats

> *Although an individual can stop talking, he cannot stop communicating through body idiom.*
>
> Erving Goffman

Habits are primarily acquired customs existing in an embodied state (cf. Kaufmann 1997, for example), and culture and communication techniques are, for the most part, acquired and learned techniques of the body. The everyday, virtuoso, practical mastery of a cultural code (e.g. in the form of cultural, linguistic, artistic and/or motor competence) requires, at least at the point of actualization, a *temporary,* theoretical unawareness of those structures and patterns (social, cultural, linguistic) whose product this practical ability is in the first place and which, according to Bourdieu, has become (in an embodied state) a sort of "practical sense" and, as such, a constituent component of an individual or field/group-specific habitus. This practical ability is experienced in its entirety as a "'cohesion without concepts' that guides our felitious encounter with the world whenever our habitus matches the field in which we evolve." (Wacquant, 1992, p. 21). If, in contrast to this matching between habitus and field, conscious knowledge is employed to control one's own performance – or if one feels compelled to use it – in speech, for example, if one considers whether an article (and if so, which) should be placed before or after the noun; or whether the tongue should be placed behind or between the teeth when producing a sibilant; or if, when using a typewriter or computer keyboard, or during a performance as a pianist or cembalist, one has to think about how the fingers find the right keys, or whether to use the middle finger or the ring finger, then, to a certain extent, one trips oneself up and obstructs one's own performance. The same applies to social-motor abilities which are embedded in physical and sportive practices. If the awareness which went into the early learning processes, is reawakened, it ruins the artistry, "and precisely because the artistry is dependent on forgetting the learning process." (Stover, 1974, p. 306).

The everyday – here, in the metaphorical sense – communicative 'dance' which goes on between people, and between people and things, is deeply rooted in the bodily habitus which procreates it, in each case, as a generative system of internalised dispositions, continually co-ordinating individuals with one another. This dance obeys the pre-reflexive logic of an unconscious ability and functions better, the more precisely habitus and habitats/social fields (family, environment, peer group, school and education, sport etc., possibly also plurilingual and pluricultural) are attuned to one another, and the more intimate the participating social agents are with the corresponding cultural codes, which are of a binding as well as a performative nature. "Between people of the same group, who are equipped with the same habitus, and thus spontaneously orchestrated", writes Bourdieu, "everything goes without saying, even the conflicts; they can be understood without people having to spell things out... . But when different systems of dispositions are involved, there appears the possibility of an

accident, a collision or a conflict." (1990a, p. 80). In other words, the "habitus has its 'blips', critical moments when it misfires or is out of phase: the relationship of immediate adaptation is suspended" (Bourdieu, 2000, p. 162), and disparity between objective structures and embodied structures may be revealed in everyday situations. Where, for example, unusualness is signalled at the level of bodily behaviour (appearance, movement and gait, dress, posture, diction and vocal pitch, gestures, make-up, emotional expression in public) or, to put it another way, where habitus and habitats drift apart, or where habitus, which are the result of very different existential conditions, converge on each other, the participating actors will immediately notice this by means of their practical sense (cf. Goffman, 1963, p. 33 ff). As far as there is, in such situations, a compulsion (due to the joint involvement in a social field) to sustain the familiar communicative flow of co-ordinated actions, such efforts may come under tough examination. Sometimes, minimal corrections are enough to pass the examination, sometimes great effort is required and an illusion of mutual understanding is the price to be paid. Sometimes, however, the flow of communication stumbles, breaks off completely or involves vexation, possibly resulting in the avoidance of, or a withdrawal from, these (field-) specific interaction context(s), if indeed the anticipation of potential feelings of strangeness has not already prevented entry into a social (sub-) field (such as certain areas of sport, for example) from the outset.[3] As well as the breakdown of communication, this situation may also evoke those, usually hidden or unnoticed, aspects of class and field-specific cultural values, attitudes, beliefs and ways of life, operating unspoken in the form of habitual bodily practices. For the social agents, these are – on a meta-communicative level - only partially tangible and expressible in their particularity, because, as effectively unquestionable, they tend to elude consciousness by virtue of the level of familiarity with them (cf. Bourdieu, 1977, p. 94 ff.). The frequent experience of situational inadequacy promotes, however, a realisation of the particularity of one's own social world.[4] This tends to become more likely with social climbers and social sliders. In contrast to individuals who find themselves 'in their right place' in society and feel in harmony with the world, social climbers and social sliders are forced, in the course of their trajectories through the social space of stratified societies (and in the case of migration, over and above this space), "to keep watch on themselves and consciously correct the 'first movements'

[3] Another example are those "site effects" that ensure that the "most closed and most 'select'" locations (smart residential areas, luxury residences, "gated cities") are only accessible when one has access to a high level of (economic, cultural and social) capital. The "club-effect" means that, as well as legal forms of exclusion (property), a factual one is added, namely one that condemns the "intruders" to "the inevitable feeling of exclusion" and not belonging, also in the supposedly accessible public spaces of those sophisticated neighbourhoods (Bourdieu, 1999, p. 129)

[4] "It is no exaggeration to assert", writes the young Bourdieu, "that the peasant's coming to awareness of his body is for him the priviliged occasion of his coming to awareness of the peasant condition." (2004, p. 585)

of a habitus that generates inappropriate or misplaced behaviours." (2000, p. 162)

From the perspective outlined here, ways of becoming a stranger and of feeling different are anything but restricted to migration contexts. The challenge of having to cope with social worlds or fields other than those which one knows or was once familiar with, which over the course of time have more or less completely changed and become disconnected from one's habitus – as the example of the Béarn peasants, or that of social climbers and sliders shows, not to mention the field-specific foreignness resulting from an abrupt change of the entire social and cultural framework, as was the case with the reunification of the Federal Republic of Germany (cf. e.g. Stenger, 1997 and his analysis of the academic field)[5] – may occur without any transnational mobility at all. Bodily strangerhoods, as far as they are articulated within body-centred social universes of a culturally pluralistic and ethnically differentiated society such as the Federal Republic of Germany, for example, in the form of abstinence from organised sport (as is the case with certain fractions of Muslim women and girls), in ethno-cultural conflicts within local football games (cf. Klein & Kothy, 1998, Bröskamp, 1998) or also in the form of modernised Muslim body-management (cf. Göle, 2004), is, from this perspective, nothing other than one particular case among many possibilities, that merely brings the context of all-embracing, global developments and symbolic struggles more strongly to attention.

Glocalised bodies

Globalisation processes drive developments which encompass the conditions of social existence in their dialectic of incorporated and objectified structures (as reciprocating processes of internalisation of the social environment and the externalisation of incorporated schemata). In this regard, the global flow of cultural commodities, practices and body techniques in the fields of sport, dance, fashion, sexuality, the beauty industry (cosmetics, diet, plastic surgery etc.) may be understood as sitting at one pole of the double reality of social existence. Namely, as a circulation of culture in an objectified state which, in the context of goods producing economies and media as well as information societies *potentially* ensures distribution within the shortest time. This corresponds to the tendency of the global expansion of the market of symbolic goods. At the other pole, stands the global mobility of social and cultural forms in an embodied condition. Flows of people typically make up the classic scenario here, for example in the form of permanent or temporary, unidirectional, bidirectional or circular wanderings of very different types (from labour, poverty or refugee migration, to the tourism of singles, families and retired people, to the elite migrations within the transnational worlds of the global players, of diplomacy, science

[5] Here also, East-East German foreignness increasingly comes into the picture, in the context of the drifting apart of the existential conditions for the winners and losers of unification (cf. also note 2)

and the nomadic jet-set life of pop, music, film and sports stars). These diverse forms of mobility on the part of individuals and groups may be primarily conceptualised as a circulation of habitus, a circulatory form of cultural or field-specific competences, body techniques and forms of capital in an embodied (body-bound) state (partly including, of course, cultural objectivations such as personal possessions, clothing etc.).

Insofar as the circulation of flows of people – as, for example, in the context of the European migration of workers during the post war period – takes the form of permanent immigration, they achieve, over generations, an increasingly visible presence, even in the field of the everyday, non-professional leisure sport activities and interests of a culturally diverse society such as the Federal Republic of Germany. They alter local social (sub-) spaces of sport at, for example, the local organisation level, and in Germany, also, primarily at the level of the clubs, fitness studios and educational institutions in urban areas, in neighbourhoods and suburbs. These days, anyone growing up in Berlin or another large city in the former Federal Republic and playing football in a sports association, getting into the ring with a boxing team or simply taking part in sports education at school, generally does so either together with and/or distinct from young people of the most varied cultural backgrounds. At the same time, local forms of acquisition of newly imported body practices accompanying the global expansion of the market for symbolic goods, e.g. 'Californian' sports or trend sports; the integration of Asian body techniques into fitness and wellness cultures, the adoption of dance forms such as tango, salsa, mambo, capoeira, street-dance and hip-hop etc. – in stratified societies (including ethnic stratification), are subject to an habitual class-based and ethno-cultural filtering and to a 'cultural lag'. Their reception is bound to the acquired dispositions of the body, its capacity for learning and to milieu-specific somatic cultures (Boltanksi, 1971). Their distribution and integration into a specific milieu will take place successfully, where a supply, destined to meet local demands and modes of consumption, is available to social actors with and without migrant background, who are disposed to adopt them, to incorporate them and to breathe new life into them in this way.[6] This occurs according to their habitual schemata; i.e. the commodities and practices are

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[6] The observation that variants of elementary techniques of the body (such as gait, for example) can, in an objectified state find distribution on a global level, has already been made by Marcel Mauss in the following quotation: "A kind of revelation came to me in hospital. I was ill in New York. I wondered where previously I had seen girls walking as my nurses walked. I had the time to think about it. At last I realised that it was at the cinema. Returning to France, I noticed how common this gait was, especially in Paris; the girls were French and they too were walking in this way. In fact, American walking fashions had begun to arrive over here, thanks to the cinema." (1973, p. 72). Nigel Barley adds that the gait of American women caused offense in Paris and London. "When American ladies first appeared in large numbers on the streets of Edwardian capital, they were appalled to discover that, because of their characteristic gait, they were generally taken for prostitutes and approached accordingly." (Barley, 1990, p. 61).On the question of body techniques as a manifestation of ethnic dimensions of habitus, cf. Bourgois & Schonberg (2007).

appropriated in a creative process according to the cultural taste of the individual habitus, they are newly formed, contextualised, reframed and reinterpreted. In this respect, corporeal practices are subject to change and pressure to change in the course of their circulation, which also costs time – time that is necessary for the acquisition, practice and inculcation, repetition, correction and improvement of ways of movement and body techniques.[7] Conversely, acquisition processes of this nature naturally have a reverse impact upon the social agents themselves; they also alter, partly imperceptibly, partly clearly discernibly, the bodily habitus of their carriers, who are in culturally diverse contexts often characterised by competencies in code-switching.

From this perspective, globalisation processes are far from being identical with the idea of the development of a single world culture in the sense of a "McDonaldisation". At the level of corporeal practices too, global and local exert alternating effects on each other, so that they both in each case intertwine into varying, specifically mixed proportions. These mutual effects are exactly what Robertson (1995) is referring to with his concept of "glocalisation". The strength of the concept lies in the fact that it unites opposites in a single expression; tendencies, which are described often enough as contradictory, are made comprehensible as two aspects of the same process. In this way, globalisation processes are characterised by a specific and varying tension between simultaneous processes of cultural homogenisation *and* heterogenisation, through a synchronism of unification and fragmentation. The trend towards a worldwide homogenisation on the level of norms, values and cultural forms is accordingly inextricably linked with a dynamic, that presses for the renewed manufacture and increased production of cultural diversity and difference, also on the level of the body and its practices (cf. Bröskamp, 2006a, 2006b), so that, within global contexts, field-specific (corporeal) strangerhoods can possibly be continually generated, invented and socially constructed again and again.

In the process, substantial scope for strangerhoods develop, in accordance with the relational logic of the symbolic. The idiosyncrasy of the symbolic logic, which, viewed socio-psychologically, is effective as a medium of struggles about the legitimate definition of social (and ethnic) boundaries within inter-group relations, lies precisely in the possibility of 'playing' with strangeness and difference. In contrast to the quantitative logic of measurements, whereby the distance between two points on a straight line gets smaller, the closer they lie to each other, symbolic logic invents differences, where previously none existed. It can also magnify 'infinitesimal differences' and turn them into "absolute 'all or nothing' differences" (Bourdieu, 1992, p. 137), and, in reverse, it can minimise apparently

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[7] The phenomenon of 'time-space compression', associated with globalisation processes, impinges, at a practical level, on boundaries that lie established within the process-nature of learning procedures bound by bodily habitus. In contrast to the economic acquisition in the form of an instantly accomplished purchase, symbolic-habitual acquirement requires time.

objective differences, show them to be irrelevant and treat them as non-existent. In a similarly variable way, strangerhood can be experienced as a great burden, if it is associated with a position of powerlessness. It can also be downright sought-after, however (in the sense of a longing for strangerhood, the wish to be different, to stand out, for the thrill and/or to test the limits). Under particularly favourable conditions, it is possible to rework the experience of strangeness creatively and inventively and *to* turn it into some kind of field-specific capital which may take the form of the *profits of strangerhood*, in professionalised form, e.g. in the fields of cultural production (professional dance, sport, fashion etc.) and, not least, also within the field of social sciences. Its utilisation within the academic world, as an extraordinary clarity of vision is shown nowhere clearer than in the work of the sociologist Pierre Bourdieu (cf. Hahn, 2002).

Strangerhood as an experience and as an epistemological principle

My world was not the world of the Paris intellectual and this foreignness was strengthened further by my Algerian experiences.

Pierre Bourdieu

Although never an explicit and only rarely an incidental object of his research, strangerhood runs like a red thread (even if hidden and not recognisable at first sight), as a tantalising and inspiring, but always a productively digested experience, through the life and work of the French sociologist Pierre Bourdieu, who died in 2002. Born to and brought up in a rural family with peasant roots in a small, isolated village in Béarn, Southwest France, his life took a more than unusual course within the social space of of French society and also within the (transnational) social space of the social sciences, where he was catapulted “into the Olympus of French intellectual life, the *Collège de France*” (Schultheis & Vester, 2003, p.4), with the result that this life is characterised by the practical incongruity of the social worlds of its origin and of academic work, which “it links without reconciling them.” (Bourdieu, 2007, p. 1). This thread runs also through his whole oeuvre, within which Bourdieu utilises strangeness as an epistemological principle, which, on an analytical level, is at work as “a source for critical distancing from what is supposed to be self-evident in his own academic life-world, and as a permanent resource for self reflection and self-objectification” (Schultheis, 2002, p.138 f.). As such it implies the controlled “denial of rapid agreement and immediate recognition as well as a gaze which remains aloof and respects aloofness, seeking to understand at all costs.” (Vogel, 2006, p. 1). The art of handling experiences of stranger-hood productively and making them promote the epistemological process puts its stamp on the anthropological work of Pierre Bourdieu.
Sociologists are, in Bourdieu’s mind, professional strangers – strangers by vocation. For, “one cannot go into sociology without tearing through the

adherencies and adhesions by which one ordinarily belongs to groups, without abjuring beliefs that are constitutive of belonging and without disowning every link of affiliation and filiation” (1990, p. 178 f.) - an attitude and a professional ethos which determines, temporarily and methodologically controlled, even the sociologist’s relationship to the scientific community and the intellectual field in which his or her own academic work is embedded. This becomes particularly clear with the example of the devices called *participant objectivation* and (self-) *socio-analysis*, both developed by Bourdieu and regarded as the principle methodological items of his reflexive anthropology. They contain a clarification of the researchers’ relationship to their scientific object and this clarification includes a self-analysis, which is always tied to the understanding of a particular intellectual field and which is carried out by utilising the point of view of a stranger, an approach that may very well involve a reorganisation of the entire habitus, a “conversion of the whole person” (2003, p. 291).[8] And Bourdieu, having incorporated this ‘strange gaze’ during the course of his experience as a reseacher, does not shy away from directing it at the academic world itself and its modes of operation; at, for example, the mutually dependent illusions of being understood and understanding something during the pedagogic communication between professors and students (Bourdieu & Passeron, 1971). Or also at the academic (consecration) rituals such as an inaugural lecture with all its performative acts reminiscent of social magic, which he himself makes the object of his own inaugural lecture at the *Collège de France* (Bourdieu, 1990).Thus, at the moment of admittance into this exclusive club of the “assembled masters” (such as Claude Lévi-Strauss, George Dumézil and Michel Foucault), Bourdieu – in the interests of advancing the social sciences – highlights the professional necessity of establishing a *temporary* and methodologically well-founded rejection of an unquestionably accepted familiarity, also and in particular, a familiarity with the academic milieu, its rites and rituals. By making the social world to which he belongs – actually now the academic world – an object of research, as he did in Béarn in the early 1960s, he sees himself as “the sorcerer’s apprentice who takes the risk

[8] Stages in this conversion, over and above Bourdieu’s early life-experience disruptions, are his “Algerian apprenticeship”, the first professional school for this analytical gaze of a stranger, as well as the sometimes simultaneously accomplished analysis of his own cultural background in Béarn (cf. Schultheis, 2007), from which the ethnographic description of the village dance quoted at the beginning of this text is derived. Analyses like theses stand at the beginning of many sociological standard works of an ethnosociology (not established by Bourdieu, but, nevertheless, significantly influenced by him) of one’s own “familiar culture” (including those of tongue and palate) within differentiated societies. These standard works afford the reader a “sort of estrangement” (1984, p. IVX) from and, thereby, a more complete understanding of his or her own “familiar, domestic, native world”, its cultural practices and social imprintings (ibid.).

of looking into native sorcery and its fetishes, instead of departing to seek in tropical climes the comforting charms of exotic magic." (1986, p. 5)[9]

It could also be helpful for the field of sports sciences, seen as a sub-field of the academic world, to become interested in the enchantments of its own tribe. Because those who do research as members of this tribe, operate potentially in a (too) familiar social world, and in one that certainly is not neutral. This is a world which is also part of the (hierarchical) field of cultural production, within which it is about specific, symbolic profits in the form of academic capital, in the form of prestige and renown ("making a name for oneself"), it is also about social recognition and not least about asserting one's own vision of reality. The participation in (and sharing of) these field-specific struggles is, for the social agents who make up the field, not only legitimate, but urgently necessary. It is, however, important to bear in mind that it is the struggles themselves, which bring forth all of those questions and objects of research, which are regarded as legitimate and which will determine the analysis as having value. A scientific object does not impose itself upon the field, it is perceived as such by the field and then it is given legitimacy. In the particular case of sports sciences, it is important to bear in mind that its agents, beyond their membership of the academic world, mostly in universities, also belong to the field of sport through their capacity as sport experts. At least in the sense that this social universe is – alongside "the system of institutions and agents directly or indirectly linked to the existence of sporting activities" (sport associations, sport practioners, trainers, sportswear industry and sport-related service industries etc.) – made up of a "body of specialists living directly or indirectly off sport", including also sport sociologists, sport historians and sport teachers (Bourdieu, 1991, p. 358). Because of their dual membership of the academic world and the field of sport, they run the risk of playing "a socially as well as psychologically profitable double-dealing trickery" (1987, p. 160) and thus, in the worst case, of conducting a kind of devotional science, if they misjudge the effects that the dual membership of these fields, as well as the individual, relationally defined positions within them, may have on the construction of scientific objects. If, on the other hand, "all the adherencies and ambivalences that arise from the fact that one once used to be involved in it" (ibid.), – as an active hobby, competitive or professional sportsman, as a member of a sports association, sport boarding school, sports club, a faculty of sport science and physical education at a university etc. – are socio-analytically objectified, then respective interests, fed by membership, non-membership

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[9] In the preface to the English as well as the German editions of *Homo Academicus*, Bourdieu explains this approach: "The sociologist, who chooses to study his own world in its nearest and most familiar aspects should not, as the ethnologist would, domesticate the exotic, but, if I may venture the expression, exoticise the domestic, through a break with his initial relation of intimacy with modes of life and thought which remain opaque to him because they are too familiar. In fact the movement towards the originary, and the ordinary, world should be the culmination of a movement towards alien and extraordinary worlds." (Bourdieu, 1986, p. IX f.)

or dissociation, as well as by a love of sport, which may be more or less pronounced and occasionally ambivalent, can be methodically controlled and, instead of unconsciously influencing the construction of the scientific object and distorting it, become a source of important insights. The current, observable development – in which questions about the role of sport in the context of migration, integration, strangeness and cultural diversity, after many years on the sidelines (in the Federal Republic of Germany, at any rate), become (with a previously unknown, almost 'boom-like' momentum) core research objects both in and outside sports sciences[10], and possess a presence in research and teaching, the breadth of which was also previously unknown – is a phenomenon which, because of its tardy abruptness, is strange in itself and which, over 50 years after the beginning of the history of post-war migration, throws out a series of questions, which concern the nature of the academic field equally as much as the scientific object itself[11]. Several exceptions notwithstanding, a younger generation of researchers was probably necessary, in order to accomplish this change.

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[10] Rather than listing the almost incalculable number of publications in recent years, reference can be made to the exemplary studies of Thiel & Seilberth (2007), Soeffner & Zifonun (2008) and the articles in Neckel & Soeffner (2008).

[11] Sport teaching considerations to initiate educational processes and practical reflexivity through the means of introducing an alienation of or by "making strange" the familiar in sport are found in regard to the conveyance of a competence in handling strangeness and interculturality by Gieß-Stüber (2003) and in regard to the utilisation of Bourdieu's concept of "bodily knowledge" (2000, p. 128-163) in the sense of a "critically-reflexive 'movement pedagogic'" in the perspective of historical anthropology by Alkemeyer (2003). Although I have sympathy with these perspectives and, independently to all intents and purposes of the connection of sport, employ them within the framework of diversity-trainings, partial doubts remain. Is it not the case that that which, in 'established' sport and sport education, seems to be familiar, is taken implicitly for granted as unquestionable and assumed to be known? And if one, as Bourdieu points out, "can be very unhappy in the educational system, feel completely out of place there" (1993, p. 98), then does the danger not exist that, with regard to *Bildungsferne* (people who are remote from education), strangerhood already experienced will be pedagogically duplicated? Whereas a 'traditional', 'correct' sports education, in such conditions, could have maybe offered some kind of 'home'? The value of field-specific competitions regarding pedagogical concepts of sport and exercise actually exists above all in the creation of a multiplicity of approaches, that can be selected. None of these replaces the detailed practical knowledge on the part of (sport) educators of the sport and exercise related to living conditions of their local clientele in schools, nursery schools and other local education institutions. Only with this foundation does it become possible for *them* to devise an individually tailored sports programme or – more embracing – a concept of "somatic education" (cf. Sächsisches Staatsministerium für Soziales [=Saxon State Ministry] 2006 pp. 33-42), specifically tailored *by themselves*. As well as a high degree of self-responsibility, this also requires the readiness and ability to examine one's own (partly unconscious) preferences for a particular style of sports teaching and the choice of its content, to subordinate them where appropriate or – in the case of simultaneous availability of a wide and varied spectrum of methods - to put one's own, familiar sport preferences and abilities then (and only then) consciously at the service of the educational process, as long as they genuinely fit and are attuned to the bodily habitus of the children and young people in one's care.

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