

- スポーツ社会学 ●身体論
- 太極拳 ●武道・武術
- 東洋医学

／ 教育・研究内容

スポーツが発明されたのは 19 世紀イギリスであり、それが日本に輸入されたのは明治時代です。スポーツを知る前の人々は、生活のあらゆる局面で現代人以上に身体は使っていたはずですが、スポーツはしていなかったことになります。「身体を動かすこと」が「スポーツをすること」とほとんど同じ意味を持っている現代とは隔世の感があります。このように、現代においてスポーツに占有されがちな身体性を、社会全体との関係のなかで捉え直すことが、私の研究の全体的な方針です。

スポーツに回収されない身体性に着目するためには、マルセル・モースの身体技法の概念が役立ちます。この概念は、私たちが何気なく繰り返している日々の行為が、社会的な刻印を帯びていることを指摘するものです。たとえば、日本に暮らす私たちは箸を使って食事しますが、インドでは指先を使って食事します。このように、私たちが別段意識していない身体の使い方も、社会的カテゴリーを表すシンボリックな意味を持っているわけです。

しかしながら、身体技法の概念は、かえって身体を見えにくくしてしまう危険性があります。たとえば、正座は、法事の席などでは正しい座り方ですが、長く座っていると足が痺れてきます。膝の痛みのために正座がまったくできない場合もあります。ところが、法事の場におけるシンボリックな正しさという観点から正座を捉えるかぎり、こうした足の痺れや痛みは見えてこないのです。膝の屈曲は、ひらがなの「ら」の下半分の湾曲と同様に、シンボルの成立に貢献するかぎりにおいてしか意味を持ち得ません。そして、この貢献ができなくなった膝は、シンボルを判読不能にする要因でしかないのです。

身体技法の概念を継承したピエール・ブルデューのハビトゥス概念にも、同様の問題が認められます。社会的カテゴリーが身体化されることで形成されたハビトゥスは、行為者の無意識のうちにそのカテゴリーにふさわしい実践を生み出すとされています。しかし、そのために必要な具体的な動作や、この動作がもたらす痛みや痺れは、まったく考察されません。ただ、結果としての振る舞いの不自然さ、ぎこちなさだけが、ハビトゥスの形成不全ないし「不発」の原因として、つまり、シンボリックに正しい振る舞いの阻害要因として捉えられるだけなのです。

必要なのは、身体をめぐる社会的カテゴリーに依拠することなしに、現代社会においてスポーツに局所化した身体性を解放することです。その方法として私が着目するのは、日本および中国の伝統武術、とりわけ、武術と養生術の二側面を持つ太極拳です。競技ルールのもとで勝つことを目指す格闘スポーツ(ボクシングやレスリングのみならず、柔道や剣道も含みます)に対し、本来の意味での武術は、ルールのない戦いに勝つことを目指します。この意味で、武術は、特定の社会的カテゴリーの内部に甘んじることなく、これを超え出ようとする運動性を持っています。また、養生術としての太極拳は、シンボリックな意味には還元できない身体各部の内的な協調を、人生という長いスパンのなかで目指しています。このような観点から、私は日本・中国・イギリスを含む世界各地の太極拳教室の参与観察とインタビュー調査を行ってきました。

ゼミでは、スポーツ・ダンス・フィットネス・ファッション・武道・習い事・指圧・鍼灸・身体変工(メイク・ピアス・タトゥー・整形)など、身体をめぐる実践に関する研究を幅広く歓迎します。丁寧なフィールド調査にもとづき、シンボリックな意味づけに回収されない身体のありようを掘り起こしてほしいです。また、複数の社会的カテゴリーをまたぐ実践もテーマとして大変面白いですが、「所変われば品変わる」式の相対主義を抜け出すような方向性を持っているとなお良いです。ゼミの進行は、基本的に個人の発表とディスカッションを重視します。ゲストスピーカーの講演、論文発表会などは、学部ゼミと合同で行う場合があります。

／ 代表的な著書・論文等

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Kurashima, A. (2024). Évolution du tai chi à la lumière de l'émersiologie. *Revue de Théologie et de Philosophie*, 156(2) 137-155.

／ 研究紹介のホームページなど追加情報

「スポーツと暴力の二元論を超えて—太極拳推手交流会を事例に—」は、次のリンクから読むことができます：
<https://doi.org/10.5987/jjsss.32-01-09>

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Areas of Expertise / Keywords

Sociology of Sport

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Martial Arts

Tai Chi (Taijiquan)

Oriental Medicine

Sport as we know it originated in 19th century England and was imported to Japan during the Meiji era. However, this does not mean that pre-Meiji Japanese were physically inactive. On the contrary, despite having no idea about sports, they were using their bodies a lot more than us in all aspects of their lives, including food preparation, shelter construction, transport, and so on. This is very different from the situation today, where “being physically active” has almost the same meaning as “playing sport.” In modern societies, we are forced to lead mostly disembodied lives, rendering sport the domain of embodiment *par excellence*. Upon acknowledgement of this social situation where embodiment is “concentrated” in sport, my research attempts broaden our understanding of embodiment by empirically and theoretically demonstrating the embodied nature of everyday activities.

French sociologist and anthropologist Marcel Mauss’ concept of “body techniques” enables us to take a closer look at our everyday embodiment. This notion designates the habitual and often subconscious ways that bodies are used. For example, in Japan, we use chopsticks to eat, whereas in India, we eat with our fingers. Furthermore, many Japanese consider the proper use of chopsticks a mark of good upbringing. In this way, body techniques used at the table are charged with cultural and symbolic significance, often associated with power and legitimacy in a given society.

Nevertheless, the concept of body techniques poses the risk of rendering certain dimensions of the body invisible. For example, at a Buddhist memorial service in Japan, participants are expected to sit in a *seiza* position, that is, sitting on the floor by folding the legs sharply at the knees and resting the buttocks on the ankles. Since *seiza* is deemed the most proper and respectful way to sit in a Buddhist service, we might say that it is a bodily technique charged with symbolic legitimacy.

However, this understanding fails to capture the lived experience of *seiza*, that of physiological discomfort. Although many Japanese people are accustomed to sit this way from a young age, staying in this position for an extended period inevitably obstructs blood flow in the lower limbs, gradually causing numbness and pain. Most Westerners (and many younger Japanese people who have been brought up in Western-style homes) cannot sit this way in the first place, and attempting to do so will only cause acute pain in the joints and tendons. Thus, for Japanese and Westerners alike, discomfort constitutes an important part of *seiza*.

This sensational dimension would be lost if we understood *seiza* uniquely in terms of symbolic legitimacy in a Buddhist service, because the bending of the knees would contribute to this value only insofar as it enables the distinction from “improper” postures – in much the same way as the curvature in the letter “j” matters insofar as it enables the distinction from the letter “i”. However, while a curved trait of ink feels no pain, humans with legs bent for an extended period do. Hence, especially during long prayer chants, many participants gradually shift to more relaxing sitting positions in the least conspicuous manner possible. Such strategic management of the body would not make sense if we limited ourselves to the perspective of body techniques a vehicle of symbolic meaning.

The same problem is recognized in Pierre Bourdieu’s concept of *habitus*, one of the most important heirs to Mauss’ concept of body techniques. Being the embodiment of a social field, habitus is supposed to be endowed with a practical sense that enables the agent to pre-reflexively (i.e., subconsciously and automatically) produce practices that are appropriate for that field. However, Bourdieu’s emphasis on the pre-reflexive nature of habitus prevents him from examining the actual postures and movements during the practice, and more importantly, the sensory experience that these gestures bring about. To go back to the *seiza* example, without an examination of the pain that this manner of sitting causes, the eventual failure to maintain the correct posture would only be understood as non-conformity to the expectations of the field, thus overlooking the subtle and strategic transformation of practice that this pain initiates.

While it is necessary to broaden our understanding of embodiment to cover all areas of life instead of only sport, the limitations of Mauss and Bourdieu teach us that we need to do this without associating embodiment to particular social categories, thereby risking the oversight of the sensational and potentially transformative dimensions of

embodiment. To achieve this aim, I chose to focus on traditional Japanese and Chinese martial arts, especially tai chi (taijiquan), which is both a traditional martial art and a longevity practice of Chinese origin.

The martial aspect of traditional tai chi is different from that of combat sports and modernized martial arts, such as judo and kendo. While the latter are aimed at winning under a specific set of competition rules, traditional martial arts including tai chi do not presuppose any regulated competition but aims to enhance overall preparedness for physical aggression, regardless the social context. In other words, even though tai chi is trained as the acquisition of techniques particular to a style, a school, or an instructor, the purpose of its training is to be able to use these techniques in social situations that are beyond these limitations. In this sense, tai chi is not about the submission of the body to social categories, but about the transgression of social categories by the body.

The fact that tai chi is often practiced for its health benefits does not diminish the transgressive potential of tai chi. This is because its contribution to health and well-being is realized not by conformity to external standards or objectives, but by ameliorating the internal coordination of the body. This develops awareness of one's own internal bodily state, which allows us a certain autonomy not only against conformity pressure exerted by different social groups, but also against the medical establishment forever willing to externally control the body-object. Armed with these perspectives, I have been conducting participant observation and interview research at tai chi schools worldwide, including Japan, China, and the United Kingdom.

The seminar welcomes a wide range of research on practices related to the body, including sports, dance, fitness, fashion, martial arts, shiatsu, acupuncture and body modification (e.g., makeup, piercing, tattooing, and plastic surgery). Ideally, students will conduct field research to uncover ways of embodiment that elude perspectives that are centered on the symbolic body. Each session centers on individual presentation and discussion. Lectures by guest speakers and term paper presentations may be jointly held with undergraduate seminars.

Main Publications

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Additional Information

The full article of スポーツと暴力の二元論を超えて―太極拳推手交流会を事例に [Beyond the Dualism of Sport and Violence: A Case Study of Tai Chi Push Hands Exchange Meetings (in Japanese)] is available at <https://doi.org/10.5987/jjsss.32-01-09>