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(本試題共 19 頁)

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REFLEXIVE MODERNIZATION AND THE DISEMBEDDING OF JŪDŌ FROM 1946 TO THE 2000 SYDNEY OLYMPICS

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Abstract This article considers some of the sociologically significant changes to jūdō in its process of transformation from a Budō based martial art into a modern competitive spectator sport. Taking the period of time from 1946 until the Sydney Olympics, an examination is undertaken using Giddens's notion of reflexive modernization in which key aspects of the original jūdō are disembedded or 'lifted out' of the practice. They are then re-embedded with western structures, practices and meanings. Central themes to emerge from this analysis are the social forces of internationalization, institutionalization and commodification of jūdō over this period, each of which contributes to a reflexive modernization process. It is concluded that the evolution of this activity in its now dominant sporting form is taking jūdō further and further away from the aims, methods and ideas derived from the philosophical principles on which it was originally conceived. Ironically, in spite of this, it appears that many western practitioners are attempting to re-embed the very aspects of eastern movement forms, such as Budō, that have been disembedded, a situation that prompts us to call for further work in this area.

Key words • martial arts • social change • sports diffusion • Westernization

On Monday 18 September 2000, an article in the British newspaper *The Times* broke the following story on the jūdō competition at the 2000 Sydney Olympics:

Britain is to send an official letter of protest to the International Olympic Committee over the sabotage of three sets of scales at the jūdō tournament, which led to medal prospect Debbie Allan being disqualified for failing to make the weight . . . Allan, 24, the 1999 European champion from Surrey, whose preparation for these games over the last four years has cost around £150,000 in public money, was still distraught by the experience yesterday,

and remained in hiding . . . She told officials that, on Saturday night, she weighed in on a set of official practice scales at 52.1 KG, giving her all night to lose 100g. However, at 5.10am the next morning she noticed that the scales were uneven and, when they were examined by officials, small slips of tissue paper were found in the machinery. Similar slips were also found in both another set of practice scales and also the set for the hour-long official weigh-in, which was scheduled to begin at 7am . . . When all three scales had been recalibrated by an engineer about 6am, Allan found she was actually 52.4kg, giving her less than two hours to make the weight. (Goodbody, 2000)

The incident described is illustrative of jūdō as a reflexively modernized sport: weight categories, scientifically supervised ‘weigh-ins’, state sponsorship of athletes, political economy and of course ultra-competitive, individualist sporting discourses. This story depicts a jūdō that stands in direct contrast to that initiated by jūdō’s founder, Jigorō Kanō, who claimed that jūdō would not be one of the Olympic disciplines because once that happened the spirit of jūdō would die (see Feldenkrais, 1984). Our purpose in this article is to explore some sociologically important elements regarding this process of change in jūdō. The process we identify begins with the lifting of the Budō activities ban that prevented the practice of jūdō in post-Second World War Japan by occupying American forces in 1946 and culminates in its manifestation as a ‘fully’ modern Olympic sport in the Sydney Olympics. In so doing, we suggest that the founding spirit of jūdō, as that of a Budō based martial art, has been largely disembedded, with the Budō elements increasingly removed and re-embedded within a western competitive sporting ethos. We also identify some of the tensions that such distinctive disembedding and re-embedding processes create, and highlight the shift of social and cultural power that is inherent in these changes (Saeki, 1994). Like Guttman (1991) therefore, we question the assumption that western modernization always constitutes ‘progress’ and is always morally ‘good’. As the case of jūdō demonstrates, such implicit value judgements are culturally complex and need to be treated with a critical sociological gaze.

It should be noted that, although it is presented in the form of a realist tale (see Sparkes, 2002), the following analysis does not claim to portray an exhaustive nor definitive interpretation. More modestly, we hope to promote insights and add some conceptual texture to this important topic, in the hope that it might promote further empirical and theoretical work in this area. The data that underpin our analysis are drawn from a variety of sources including: academic and historical texts; press reports; documentation from jūdō organizations; participant observations as competitors and coaches from international jūdō culture and from communications with a number of jūdō coaches at the 2000 Sydney Olympics.

Conceptualizing Change: Jūdō, Diffusion and Reflexive Modernization

Guttman (1993) contends that significant aspects of the diffusion of sports culture might be viewed as a form of ludic diffusion. Here, a complex interplay between the intrinsic properties of a given physical activity and the cultural context of its production leads to its spread and change. These are paramount when

considering the uptake or rejection of a particular sporting activity by other cultures. Ordinarily, we might expect to see diffusion moving from the dominant culture to the dominated or minority cultures. The spread of cricket and rugby union across the former British Empire are illustrative of such diffusion. Equally, the same process of reverse diffusion can happen, with a minority or dominated culture spreading a sport or physical activity to the dominating or dominant culture. Indeed, as Guttmann (1991) comments:

Jūdō is an even more striking example of reverse diffusion because it took hold in Europe and the United States at a time when Japan, defeated and occupied, had barely begun to recover from the material ravages of war. (Guttmann, 1991: 186)

More recently, Guttmann and Thompson (2001) develop the notion of reverse diffusion and consider this in terms of the modernization of indigenous Japanese sports during the Meiji Restoration (1868) of which jūdō and Budō are a product: a fusion of traditional and ‘modern’ approaches to Japanese martial arts. As such, this work neatly leads into the more focused perspective of reflexive modernization as outlined by Giddens (1990) in the *Consequences of Modernity* and Giddens, Beck and Lash (1994) in *Reflexive Modernization*. Against this backdrop we suggest that western forms of reflexive modernization are fundamentally juxtaposed with traditional martial arts because the dynamics of reflexive modernization have both the intended and unintended consequences of ‘lifting out’ or disembedding traditional social processes, practices and knowledge from social localities in which they were constructed. Giddens (1990) summarizes the dynamics driving reflexive modernization as follows:

The separation of time and space. This is condition of time–space distanciation of indefinite scope; it provides means of precise temporal and spatial zoning.

The development of disembedding mechanisms. These ‘lift out’ social activity from localized contexts, reorganising social relations across large time–space distances.

The reflexive appropriation of knowledge. The production of systematic knowledge about social life becomes integral to system reproduction, rolling social life away from the fixities of tradition.

Taken together, these three features of modern institutions help to explain why living in the modern world is more like being aboard a careering juggernaut . . . rather than being in a carefully controlled and well-driven motor car. (Giddens, 1990: 53)

It is important to consolidate at this point how the dynamic of reflexivity is seen to operate as an agent of change:

The reflexivity of modern social life consists in the fact that social practices are constantly examined and reformed in the light of incoming information about those very practices, thus constitutively altering their character . . . In all cultures social practices are routinely altered in the light of discoveries which feed into them. But only in the era of modernity is the revision of convention radicalized to apply (in principle) to all aspects of human life . . . What is characteristic of modernity is not an embracing of the new for its own sake but the presumption of wholesale reflexivity — which of course includes reflection upon the nature of reflection itself. (Giddens, 1990: 38–9)

These dynamics work through the medium of the social institution and Giddens (1990) identifies four interlinked dimensions of institutions at the macro level: those of capitalism, industrialism, surveillance and military power. Within these dimensions, it is possible to locate clusters of smaller institutions that themselves contribute to modernizing processes, both feeding from, and back into, one or more of the dimensions above. The links below firmly embed jūdō into a reflexively modern network of institutions that expose its practice to the dynamics of a radicalized, western, reflexive modernization process. These would include:

- (1) the structuring of jūdō, into clubs, organizations, associations, and federations;
- (2) the affiliation of these to: (a) international sports bodies such as the IOC, (b) nation states, (c) military institutions, (d) commercial institutions (especially the media–advertising–sponsorship coalition).

Within this perspective of reflexive institutional modernization, it is also possible to locate Guttman's (1978) own sport-specific barometers for judging modern sports. These include secularism, equality of opportunity, specialization of roles, rationalization, bureaucratic organization, quantification and the quest for records. We do not undertake to provide systematic confirmation or description of each of Guttman's concepts in relation to modernized competitive jūdō, as this task has already been performed expertly elsewhere by Carr (1993), and Guttman and Thompson (2001), in relation to Japanese sports more generally. Rather, our interest in this article is to build on these analyses by adding concepts that help us to understand how jūdō has been fully subjected to the disembedding/re-embedding mechanisms of the reflexive institutionalization process.

The International Institutions of Jūdō as Disembedding Mechanisms

The process of reflexive modernization for jūdō began significantly over 50 years ago in 1946, when American forces, then occupying Japan, lifted a ban that had been imposed on practising all Budō based activities. This event made possible the reopening of the most well established school of jūdō, the *Kodokan*. Brousse and Matsumoto (1999) note:

Budō activities had been progressively introduced in school and universities to foster the samurai spirit among people. Martial arts were then used as ideological vectors. Because of this militaristic orientation, the Supreme Commander of Allied Powers banned jūdō practice in Japan (and also in Germany) at the end of World War II. After these 'black years' jūdō clubs reopened on a new, educative and sport-oriented basis. (Brousse and Matsumoto, 1999: 90)

As suggested here, these restrictions were only lifted on condition that the discipline was reoriented towards sports practice rather than its Budō, martial and moral focus. Here, we see the beginnings of both the reverse ludic diffusion and western reflexive modernization of jūdō. Thus, the dominating American culture

instigated the diffusion of a valued aspect of the dominated culture, but in so doing changed its core values to approximate its own.

As jūdō diffused outside of Japan its founding principles became increasingly exposed to western culture. Jūdō was reorganized with self-modifying structures put in place that were characteristic of reflexive institutionalization. The formation of local, regional, national and international associations and federations across the world constructed a bureaucratic legitimacy and a collective voice that began to wrest power and control away from its founding community and culture. This process accelerated after the election of the enthusiastic modernizer, Charles Palmer of Britain, as president of the IJF. It is well documented that, for Kanō, jūdō was more than just a means of education (Kanō, 1932) and that his initial enthusiasm for the IOC was more because he saw it as a vehicle with which to spread traditional jūdō. It was not, however, his intent to transfer a western sports model into it via this route (Bui-Xuan, 1986). In these respects, Inman (1988) draws our attention to extracts from the April 1947 *Budōkwai* bulletin, of a conversation that took place in 1936 between Kanō and Gunji Koizumi, who spread jūdō in Great Britain. In it, Kanō comments about the inclusion of jūdō in the Olympics, and Kanō illustrates a passive disposition towards this move. For him, if other countries and members wanted it, he would have no objections, but he did not feel inclined to take any initiative in the matter (Inman, 1988). Kanō's traditional authority as founder and charismatic leader was, it seems, already coming under threat from the creeping institutionalization of jūdō.

Subsequently, jūdō was admitted into the IOC; an institution that is firmly a part of what some refer to as the 'juggernaut of reflexive modernity' (Carr, 1993; Giddens, 1990). One of the consequences of this institutionalization of jūdō was the continuous process of incremental change characterized by the recodification of competition rules with the main objective of trying to make bouts more attractive to the general (western) public. Although modernizers expressed a concern about what they saw as the negative effects of many alterations to the rules put in place, this actually led to an acceleration rather than a reversal of the changes. Therefore, the reflexive modernization of jūdō is best characterized as a constant process of small modifications that are continuously introduced, in the hope that they might alleviate the negative effects of previous changes and produce more positive changes. This process is illustrative of what Giddens (1990) refers to as 'reflexive monitoring', a key dynamic of institutional modernization, with systematic reflection and change being applied as a given, and with the unintended consequence of the Budō traditions of the social practice being increasingly lifted out of the jūdō rules.

A number of commentators, including Carr (1993), conclude that the changes in jūdō over the last few decades can be viewed as philosophically regressive steps. To make sense of this point it is important to consider jūdō's origins. In the far older practice of *jujutsu* or *jujitsu*, from which jūdō derives, pragmatism was paramount, since feudal fights were often to the death and no rules applied. By contrast, Kanō, who according to Guttmann and Thompson (2001) was attempting to fuse the old and the new, gave his method a philosophical and moral dimension, orienting its practice towards the means and not regarding it as an end in itself. Perhaps ironically, the martial pragmatism of ancient *jujitsu* has been

re-emphasized in modern sports jūdō, except now, of course, it is no longer a question of preserving one's life in combat, but the 'lesser' imperative of winning, prestige and money that are barometers of success in the meritocratic political and cultural economies of western societies (see e.g. Maguire, 1999; Sage, 1990). Traditional jūdō, therefore, has given way to a new form of modern sport that sees competition as an end in itself. This orientation towards pure pragmatism is thus closer to classic *jujutsu* than to the jūdō of the *Kodokan*, with the gradual disappearance of the philosophic and moral concepts that Kanō developed with the aim that they should contribute to the moral and spiritual improvement of practitioners of jūdō. After the Second World War, as Carr (1993) points out:

jūdō was the most rapidly growing sport in the world. This explosive growth was accompanied by increasing rationalization and codification of the rules and forms of competition, an increasing international orientation, and increasing organizational scale and complexity. (Carr, 1993: 184–5)

Seen in terms of reflexive modernization, the propagation of jūdō in the West involved a degree of 'lifting out' of Japanese tradition by the very institutions that were initially intended to promote these values internationally. Modernizing opinions and views evolved through the bureaucracies that paid no attention at all to Kanō's original ideas, thus supporting jūdō's separation from the concept of *do* which had been the philosophical base on which it had been constructed. McIntosh (1976) graphically captures these modernizing views in the following statement:

Any sport that resists change dies . . . Many, very many, have given up the sport displeased and frustrated, and jūdō cannot remain content with resting on traditions and dogmas . . . What is needed now is not an approach to jūdō as a stylized form of Japanese wrestling, or as unarmed combat, or as a twentieth-century alternative to the 'noble art of self-defence', but a view of jūdō as a positive and dynamic sport, both for the West and for the East. (McIntosh, 1976: 11)

Arguments such as these need to be seen in the context of their own construction. The main consequence of them, intentionally and otherwise, was to lift the remainder of tradition out of jūdō and deny its status as something other than sport and thereby create a self-fulfilling justification for transforming the practice further towards the western competitive sporting model. While we do not disagree with the view that 'any sport that resists change dies', it is worth pointing out that jūdō was not a sport prior to its reverse diffusion and institutionalization. Rather, it was a Budō activity with a small test match (*Shiai*) component. Even here, students were frequently warned about keeping the test match practice in perspective. Indeed, as late as the 1950s, Koizumi (1958: 6) commented that, although the test match practice is conducted as a form of competition, 'students are warned not be carried away by the sporting instinct too far and end it in a forceful struggle. The motto is "in skill opposed, in spirit united"'. Therefore, these changes are not merely discursive. The practical, embodied impact of sporting recodification meant that Kanō's philosophy, which manifested itself in and through jūdō practice, has been largely lifted out of the physical jūdō experiences of subsequent generations of jūdōka.

The conversion of this eastern martial art into a western competitive sport has created, and continues to create, a number of tensions and paradoxes. Indeed, for some, the culmination of this process causes serious doubts around a number of issues. For example, Carr (1993: 181) believes that, 'Herein, we can witness the slow death of the inner spirituality of jūdō (in mainstream society) under the crushing progress of that unstoppable force called modernization'. Elsewhere, Brousse (1989) comments:

Logically there must be seen to be a paradox in the organization of an oriental practice conceived as an educational model using an almost exclusively western sporting framework. Whether seen as a distortion or a development, as progress or regression, this sporting impulse and Westernization cause modern jūdō to have little in common with the jūdō of the founder, Jigoro Kanō. Official combat, a factor in change, but also an instrument of power, is nowadays at the heart of practice that serves as the chief reference. (Brousse, 1989: 12)

Similarly, Goodger and Goodger (1977) point out that jūdō is traditionally characterized by charismatic leadership, traditional, intuitive practice and spiritual philosophy. Indeed, Goodger (1982) later characterized core elements of traditional jūdō culture as closer to a 'Gnostic sect' than a sport. All of the above authors have identified that jūdō in its traditional form was under 'threat' from modernization. We would agree, but feel that valuable insights into the process of modernization can be generated if we acknowledge that the modernization has become a radically reflexive process. For example, many of the aspects mentioned have been disembedded and replaced by bureaucratic management, and there has been the reflexive mobilization of scientific practices for the purposes of reflexive monitoring. Furthermore, the pragmatic competitive ethos articulated above has been elevated to a core value. In order to further articulate this lifting out of tradition that culminated in the example of the Sydney Olympic Games of 2000, it is useful to briefly return to consider the founding principles of jūdō.

Among Japanese martial arts a distinction is usually made between the *Bugei* (those systems of fighting whose names include the suffix *jutsu*), which were systematically developed from the 10th century onwards, and the Budō or 'martial ways' (e.g. jūdō, kendō, kyūdō, aikidō). The latter are typically products of the 20th century, deriving from concepts that can be clearly identified for the first time towards the middle of the 18th century. Hence, the creation of Budō is bound up with the change of name arising from replacement of the ideogram *jutsu*, 'technique', in the word *bujutsu*, with the element *do*, 'way'. The name change announced a desire on the part of those involved to cultivate purposefully a consciousness of their spiritual nature through the practice of disciplines that would bring them to a heightened state of self-awareness. This objective constitutes the fundamental difference between a classic martial discipline with a name ending in *jutsu* and one terminating in *do*.

In their consideration of terminology, Draeger and Smith (1980: 92) affirm that it is axiomatically wrong for a *do* form to be classified as a sport, since this can only take place following appreciable modification that would in itself undermine the *do* orientation. The dynamic ideology underpinning the modern era of competitive sport, as is powerfully articulated by Brohm (1978), is to extract ever

more performance from the body in the pursuit of records and championships. In contrast, a *do* lays no emphasis on competition or records, other than its usefulness in the pursuit of the ultimate objective of individual and collective self-betterment, a spiritual, rather than material goal. Furthermore, Draeger and Smith (1980) also stress that the founder, Kanō, never wished the sports aspects to be dominant in jūdō. Kanō's jūdō was based on the 'Principle of maximum efficiency in the use of physical and spiritual force' (*Seiryoku Zenyo*), as well as the 'Principle of mutual prosperity and benefits' (*Jita Kyoiei*). On this basis, he intended to promote the correct and complete use of physical and mental energy. Nevertheless, although international institutionalized jūdō flourished thanks to Kanō's efforts (to such an extent that the *Kodokan* aimed at the proliferation of jūdō schools throughout the world), this growth gave rise to numerous different interpretations of the practice, and the form most recently emphasized has been the sporting version. This has had the consequence that, 'with the modern-age emphasis on sport jūdō, self-defence and other intrinsic elements embodied in the original jūdō have been greatly blurred' (Draeger, 1973: 138).

Once again this provides evidence of the impact of the reflexively modernizing process on the founding principles. The principle of maximum efficiency in the use of physical and spiritual force has been reduced to the scientifically quantifiable efficiency of physical force. The physical efficiency principle is constantly re-evaluated and modified in light of incoming information. Such disembedding is consistent with the replacement of a spiritual dimension with the powerfully reflexive, materialist, falsificationist principles of modern science, applied to sport in western culture (see Hoberman, 1992). The second founding principle, that of 'mutual prosperity and benefits', is also emptied out by the bureaucratic institutions which champion competitive individualism as a core value structure. This underpins the approach towards the systemic management of the bodies, behaviours and performances of people who collectively form the institution of jūdō. Clearly, the notion of mutual prosperity and benefits sits very uncomfortably with the mantra of meritocratic individualism that is manifested in the social Darwinist 'winner takes all' philosophy in most western sport. As such, following reflexive modernization, jūdō, like so many alternative and traditional practices, has effectively been 'de-mutualized'.

The Reflexive Re-appropriation of Jūdō Knowledge and Practice

Given the central space occupied by sport in modern jūdō, the rules of competition and their successive revisions constitute a significant driving force for the reflexive modernization of jūdō as a practice. Writings on the changes to jūdō rules indicate that some form of competition rules were deemed necessary from an early period (see Craig, 1995; Goodger and Goodger, 1977; Harrison, 1982; Ratti and Westbrook, 1994). However, Kanō's rules were more deontological in nature, functioning to consolidate and promote Budō based conduct rather than enhance the competitive element. This approach is clearly evident in the writings of Kanō himself, when, in an article published in 1915, he laid down the rules of refereeing for the practice of 'free practice' or 'sparring' (*randori*):

Refereeing of 'randori' combat should not have a written set of rules, as the established standards authorize personal interpretations. However, when it comes to the practical problems arising from the great spread attained by jūdō, the disadvantages that might emerge from the lack of common rules must be kept in mind. Hence, it is necessary to develop guidelines based on the customs handed down by tradition. (Kanō, 1915: 47)

As Brousse and Matsumoto (1999: 44) note, in the early days the competitions organized were closer to a duel than a sporting contest, because these matches had no standardized procedural rules and the honour of judging was granted only to referees of high rank. Not until the establishment of regular competitions, like the first 'All Japan' championship in 1930, were changes made to this situation. Nevertheless, it was not until after the Second World War and more precisely the start of the 1950s, with the international institutionalization of jūdō, that 'truly' modern rules began to appear. For example, it was at the third World Championship, held in Paris in 1961, that weight categories were first established (under 68 kg; under 80 kg; over 80 kg; and open), beginning a process of standardizing competition (and martial strategy) between body sizes. Similarly, the inclusion of jūdō in the official programme of the 1964 Tokyo Olympics not only consolidated these categories but also led to the adding of new competition rules. From these dates onwards, constant modifications to the refereeing rules have been made. Regarding this process, Goodger and Goodger (1977) note the following:

Codification, frequent manipulation and growing complexity of the contest rules, partly as a result of changes made by international controlling bodies, and the growing importance of efficient adjudication of contests has encouraged the development of a centralized scheme for training referees and judges, who subsequently take examinations at various levels and, if successful, become qualified to referee appropriate categories of competition. Since there are not enough high grade, experienced, top-level, contest players to meet the requirements for judges and referees, many relatively less able players have been recruited who have, after training, to referee contests between much more experienced, able and highly graded players. This would have been regarded as most unsatisfactory at one time and a source of severe embarrassment to the referee concerned. The referee is, however, now regarded much more as a trained official with a particular sphere of competence, whose advice on the interpretation of rules is frequently sought by top players. (Goodger and Goodger, 1977: 20)

These changes are exemplars of the institutionally driven reflexive monitoring that, in turn, drives modernization, drawing on and responding to science and technology for legitimacy. The referee and refereeing becomes a bureaucratized entity rather than a respected social and moral third party. These approaches to competition disembody the contest of inherent meanings and values previously embedded within Budō based interpretations of a challenge or contest and, in so doing, begin to replace these with an ends-led rationale for jūdō practice. A more recent example further illustrates the radicalized process of reflexive monitoring and its agendas. In March 2000, the Refereeing Commission of the IJF met in Rome (International Jūdō Federation, 2000). The principal topic of the meeting was a study of the statistics from World Championships and Olympic Games for the period 1995–9 in relation to the way in which wins were achieved. Among other points, the committee concluded that in recent years there had been a considerable reduction in groundwork (*ne-waza*). The statistics revealed that the percentage for all jūdō control techniques (*katame-waza* consisting of hold-downs, arm lock and strangleholds) was in gradual decline. In 1995 this percentage was

26.1 for women's bouts and 24.2 for men's. In 1997 it was down to 11 for women and 4.7 for men. In 1999 it was lower still: 9.1 for women and 4.1 for men. When discussing the statistical trend the Refereeing Commission declared it might be due to the following factors:

- 1) Referees interrupt the combat too soon and do not permit it to progress adequately.
- 2) Trainers have realized that groundwork has become less prominent and consequently concentrate on standing techniques.
- 3) Strangleholds (*shime-waza*) in particular cannot be applied because jacket collar thickness is too great.

These reflexive appropriations of scientific observation, measurement and the application of technology brought with it a change in the nature of jūdō practice, so much so that some became concerned about what was being done to the art in the name of sport. For example, Kudo (1967) states:

Throwing technique and grappling technique are as inseparable as the front and rear wheels of a vehicle. The two techniques work together, each aiding the other to decide success or failure. Grappling technique is much more effective if it follows a throw, and similarly throws can generate a greater power if they are followed by grappling. (Kudo, 1967: 67)

In order to address the unintended consequences of previous changes, the Commission decided to issue precise instructions to referees so that they would allow adequate time during the various stages of groundwork.

Elsewhere, the evolving 'story' of the sports jūdō suit (*jūdōgi*) is another good illustration of the application of science and technology as a reflexively transforming process. On 27 August 1999, following a study on the impact of maximum measurements of one centimetre thick and five centimetres width for jacket collars, the IJF Executive Committee, decided to create an ad hoc working party to consider every point relating to the design of the suit (Article 3.1 of the regulations). While a definitive solution was being sought, the working party, chaired by the vice-president of the IJF, Mr Yoshinori Takeuchi, established that the rule to be applied in deciding whether the type of material and thickness of the suits was appropriate was that it should allow the opponent (whether male or female) to grasp it effectively, otherwise the suit would not be considered acceptable. Finally, a norm was established in the 2000 IJF meeting in Israel that fixed limits of five centimetres, and one centimetre respectively for the maximum width and thickness of lapels.

This topic is of great importance, since the increase in the thickness of the suit has made strangleholds almost impossible to apply during sports combat. As a result, there has been a noticeable drop in the use of strangleholds in competition and such holds have virtually disappeared in practice. Indeed, Katsuhiko Kashiwazaki, an ex-World Champion and acknowledged 'control technique' specialist, stated that the change of jūdō into a sport had a dramatic (negative) effect on the use of strangleholds (1993).

It should also be kept in mind that strangleholds represent the techniques that are the most refined in, and specific to, jūdō groundwork (*ne-waza*). While hold-down techniques (*osae-waza*) exist in other combat sports, as to a lesser degree

do arm-lock techniques (*kansetsu-waza*), it is only in jūdō that strangleholds exist. The practical disappearance of the application of strangleholds represents a serious loss to jūdō, since it signals the lifting out of one of its most distinctive elements, and thereby curtails jūdō's variety and richness of motion. Kashiwazaki was not alone in his opinions, in 1992 Neil Adams, another former World Champion and renowned specialist in control technique, commented that he would personally like to return to a more traditional style of jūdō because it was being influenced too much by wrestling techniques and that, 'in any case, it was vital not to forget the form and spirit with which jūdō originated' (Adams, 1992: 15). The process of change through reflexive monitoring and re-embedding, driven by science and technology, impacts upon very specific aspects of the art, subtly 'lifting out' traditional practice and meanings in order to make the art more extrinsically quantifiable, and 'acceptable', as a recognizable western sport. We pursue this subject further in the next section.

Jūdō as a Time–Space Separated Media Sport: The Re-embedding of Commodity

With reference to the work of Giddens (1990), modern sports media might be regarded as a cluster of institutions that promote and sustain the separation of time and space in the sporting world by separating the place, space and time of sports events or physical practice and then reconstructing these to 'fit' the intended viewing audience. The cluster of media institutions coalesces with other institutions to form a hegemonic bloc: specifically the media–advertising–sponsorship (industry) coalition (Hargreaves, 1986). In this way media sports and in particular 'mega events' such as the Olympic Games (see France and Roche, 1998) are powerful disembedding and re-embedding mechanisms. Media sports not only 'lift out' sports practices from their traditional contexts of meaning and production, but also have the power and motives to re-embed them with new meanings that are largely outside of the control of the participants and even the various sports institutions in question.

The re-embedding process is especially significant if we consider what gets re-embedded. As Clumpner (1998) points out, in media sport this cluster of institutions has a distinctively North American, consumer capitalist cultural logic underpinning it. Moreover, according to Hall and Hodges (1998) what was re-embedded at the Sydney Games was the 'the spirit of corporate capitalism'. The preponderance of media coverage of certain western sports remains as strong as ever in the Olympics. Given the cultural hegemony within western sports broadcasting, winning a gold medal in a sport not favoured by television audiences, or with those in charge of television programming, is not very likely to trigger great media exposure in respect of the activity involved. Indeed, as Goodger and Goodger (1989) point out, this hegemony has long since been recognized by the international jūdō institutions. They point to the example of Tony Reay, the influential former secretary of the British Jūdō Federation in the 1970s. Reay suggested that his organization was encouraged by television companies to change the competition rules in order to make jūdō more attractive for

novitiate viewers, even suggesting the possibility of match ‘fixing’ as happens in wrestling. His response was that jūdō is a sport to be practised, not watched (Reay, 1976: 15). The media influence and its rationale, however, has remained strongly insidious, indirectly contributing to the disembedding of traditional practice in televised tournaments and the re-embedding of western perspectives of sporting practice. As Carr (1993: 185) notes, since the 1960s, the rulebooks have been continually modified to appeal to spectators. He continues, ‘as jūdō is generally not conducive to spectatorship because it is so technical, quick, and subtle, additions such as the multiple levels of points and penalties have been made’. These views were also echoed by Goodger (1982: 350) who considered that there were agendas behind the rule changes during the 1970s. The most significant of these was the non-combativity rule introduced in 1974.

Non-combativity has had a considerable impact in jūdō, as is well illustrated by 2000 Sydney Olympic Games, where the rule was increasingly applied throughout the tournament. Indeed, there were few bouts that remained free from penalties for breaking the rules and in particular for non-combativity or ‘no fighting spirit’, which is almost ironic as it is the jūdōka’s competitive spirit that drives them to break the rules. As a result, in many cases the bouts were reduced simply to achieving a grip and immediately attacking forcefully. Indeed, after the 1999 World Championships, the Refereeing Commission of the IJF became worried about the number of penalties for ‘negative jūdō’ that were being imposed. As a result, following the very obvious proliferation of sanctions for this same cause at the 2000 Sydney Olympics, it will not be surprising if a future Congress of the IJF considers the question of whether there should be further incremental change to the rules relating to ‘negative jūdō’. This rule forces the competitors to engage quickly and removes the opportunity for any sustained period of surveillance of the opponent where the jūdōka looks for weaknesses and openings. Non-combativity therefore encourages rapid attacks, but at the expense of the traditional (and well-tested) martial strategies of coming to know the opponent and not over-exposing oneself in attack. The fighting spirit, in its purest form has been disembedded and the ‘competitive’ and ‘entertainment’ spirit re-embedded.

The increasing influence of the media–advertising–sponsorship coalition over jūdō has a significant role to play in its reflexive modernization. Goodger and Goodger’s (1980) analysis is useful here to illustrate the significant features of the disembedding and re-embedding processes during the 1960s, 1970s and 1980s. They point out that television broadcasting, due to its own needs, demands a more competitive jūdō and this led to proposals from influential figures in jūdō institutions for a series of adaptations with a view to meeting media requirements. The first of these predates the 1972 Olympic Games, and came from John Goodbody, an influential writer and journalist of jūdō, who by 1971 had already suggested that jūdō needed a new image as a ‘violent, thrilling, aggressive, Olympic sport’ (Goodbody, 1971: 32). Clearly, some involved in jūdō had the intention of creating an image of jūdō as an example of a fully modernized exciting televised sport.

Goodger and Goodger (1980) also point to another influential figure, Syd Hoare, a former competitor in the Tokyo Olympics, jūdō writer and coach, who in 1973 suggested using more ‘practical’ criteria, stating:

If jūdō wants to maintain its television coverage a major overhaul of the rules is necessary. In many cases jūdō is plain boring to watch for those in the know and baffling for those who aren't. (Hoare, cited in Goodger and Goodger, 1980: 347)

In response to this situation (which must be seen as a rhetorical exercise to promote change), Hoare proposed the following reforms to competition rules:

On scoring points, rather than throwing, hold-down, strangling, and armlock techniques being given equal weighting, strangles or arm lock (producing 'submissions') would be outright winning techniques, thus emphasizing a 'sudden death', combative image in jūdō contest . . .

The length of the contest should be reduced to 3 minutes (from 6 or 10 minutes), again encouraging more active contests.

There should be a 'running scoreboard' to allow players and spectators to follow the course of the contest more easily, and players should be more clearly distinguished, visually, through the marking of their jūdō outfits.

The range of permitted techniques might be extended, for example, by including wrist locks and knee locks, in addition to strangles and arm lock . . . (Cited in Goodger and Goodger, 1980: 347)

Of these suggestions, two were later to become new rules. The scoreboard was accepted in 1974 and coloured jūdō suits were used for the first time at the European Championship held at Pamplona in Spain in 1988. Underpinning these changes, as Goodger and Goodger (1980: 352) note, has been the commercial drive of television broadcasting to satisfy its predominantly western audience, and the use of western applied sports science and technology to enable the changes. Therefore, from the perspective of reflexive modernization a number of factors have been re-embedded. These include, nationalism (ironically), elitism, excellence, individual success, competitive or spectacular actions, aggression and often even forms of media sanctioned violence. However, as part of this process, these changes also disembed the aspects of cooperation, the performance of traditionally fitting or desirable actions and the promotion of intrinsic satisfactions derived from simply taking part, aspects that were considered important for the development of Budō through jūdō test matches.

Such westernized representations and agendas are exemplified in the way in which numerous television broadcasters copied one another's delivery, by showing over and over again the accident suffered by the present under 90 kg World Champion, the Japanese jūdōka Hidehiko Yoshida. Yoshida broke his right elbow in a third round bout of the Sydney Olympics competition, as a direct consequence of not wanting to take a fall which in all probability would have meant he lost the bout (see Canoe, 2000).

The repeated showing of these images powerfully reconstructed jūdō as a violent, dangerous and aggressive activity, when its original emphasis, as is well known, is clearly contrary to such tendencies. The incident in question demonstrates clearly what a jūdōka should not do on falling. All instructors, wherever they may be located, train their pupils on a daily basis to perform falls (*ukemi*) 'correctly' so as not to harm themselves. However, what is also reinforced by this incident and its reconstruction by the media is that in sport jūdō athletes legitimately adopt a 'win at all costs' philosophy that manifests itself through

actions that jeopardize personal health and safety. Such consequences of reflexive modernization perhaps represent the ultimate transitional statement: the disembedding of the spirit of Budō and the basic principles of self-defence and the re-embedding of pragmatic, competitive individualism, and the spirit of entertainment.

Some Reflexive Conclusions

Theorists of sports history, culture and sociology often reflect on the dynamic nature of change and how there is no longer any defensible position for notions of linear change (Guttmann, 1993). It would be as easy to lapse into a populist and nostalgic discussion of the spirit of a Budō based jūdō in its dehistoricized and decontextualized form in a way that much popular literature on this topic has done. Such a position is not warranted. Indeed, as Abe et al. (1992) and Arisaka (1997) illustrate, Budō was extensively used in the Japanese education system as a powerful modernized symbol of Bushido, delivered via traditional martial arts such as jūdō, kūdō and kendō during the first third of the 20th century in order to engender nationalist dispositions. While international viewers and participants alike may not make the association, for many in Japan, Budō still has historical associations with imperial fascism and nationalism. Nevertheless, and regardless of how Budō has been manipulated to the ends of hegemonic coalitions, we share with Förster (1986) a sense of unease that something of unique cultural, historical and embodied significance is being lost amidst the flux of disembedding processes we have highlighted. As Förster comments:

The transition of the martial arts to martial 'sports' imparts a negative impact. Specialization supplants *do* orientation; commercialism paves the way into show business, and the worst result is the brutalization of the martial arts . . . One positive consequence is the rediscovery of meditative moments in the sport experience. Sport as a means of self-discovery allows for the renewal of personal unity in the *do* sense . . . But the simple assumption of methods isolated from the philosophical background and *do* practice with only partial understanding of the martial arts lead inevitably to a change of the method, and a failure to realize the enriching potential of Western sport. (Förster, 1986: 87)

We consider that there is still much work to be done through the historical and sociological analyses of these processes. A better understanding of the intended and unintended consequences of reflexive modernization and their disembedding/re-embedding processes will help our appreciation, not only of the relationship between jūdō and Budō, and how this is evolving (see e.g. Cunningham, 1998), but also Asian martial arts more generally. Cox's (1993) review of literature and research into meanings and benefits of participation in traditional Asian martial arts training reveals that people's engagement in martial arts in the West is by no means limited to an interest in actual combat or sport. Rather, in many cases it is linked to a search for self-betterment through, and engagement in, embodied practices that provide a systematic modification of attitudes and emotions in ways that enhance some sense of physical and mental well-being. Within this, it may be particularly useful to consider that a sense of ontological security

may be constructed through traditional Asian martial arts training. Indeed, we might further investigate the premise that these practices may already function as a reaction to the ontological vacuum created by global processes of reflexive modernization and of the secularization of significant sectors of modern western societies (Brown and Johnson, 2000). Therefore, just as many principles of Budō are being disembedded in one sphere, they are becoming culturally relevant again in others, prompting something of a renaissance of interest and attempts at re-embedding a reconstructed sense of traditional practice.

We would like to conclude by revisiting Carr's (1993) own closing comments with the benefit of hindsight. Carr identifies that there remains a critical minority of martial artists who wish to continue the practices of Budō through their martial arts engagement. He comments that, 'whether these "seekers of wisdom" will get crushed under the unstoppable wheels of modern sports or reclaim the driver's seat in the coming years remains to be seen' (Carr, 1993: 188). The processes of reflexive modernization that so transformed jūdō are themselves changing in ways that are beginning to offer possibilities for traditional cultures and practices to reconstruct themselves. For example, following nearly seven years of consultations in 1987 the Japanese Budō Association (Nippon Budō Shingikai) published the Budō Charter (Budō Kensho) that, prior to its six articles, states:

Budō, rooted in the martial spirit of ancient Japan, is an aspect of traditional culture that has evolved from *jyutsu* to *dō* through centuries of historical and social change. Following the concept of unity of mind and technique, *Budō* has developed and refined a discipline of austere training which promotes etiquette, skilful technique, physical strength, and the unity of mind and body. Modern Japanese have inherited these values and they play a prominent role in forming Japanese personalities. In modern Japan the *Budō* spirit is a source of powerful energy and promotes a pleasant disposition in the individual.

Today, *Budō* has been diffused throughout the world and has attracted strong interest internationally. However, infatuation with mere technical training, and undue concern with winning is a severe threat to the essence of *Budō*. To prevent this perversion of the art, we must continually examine ourselves and endeavour to perfect and preserve this national heritage.

It is with this hope that we establish the BUDŌ CHARTER in order to uphold the fundamental principles of traditional *Budō*. (Omi, 1997)

What is interesting in all of this is that, in spite of its seemingly nationalistic character, the charter has been adopted across a wide number of international 'traditional' and 'hybrid' martial arts associations alike, and it is regularly being re-embedded in the public representations of these arts in culturally reconstructed spaces such as the World Wide Web. The followers of 'traditional' jūdō and Budō more generally, it would seem, are using the very same reflexive processes that originally emptied their arts of Budō in order to question western values and reconstruct Budō in their practice once again (see e.g. Cunningham, 1998; Kanō Society, 2003). Added to this is one, not insignificant, conceptual caveat: any search for the 'traditional' is in itself a reconstructive exercise and one that is already infused with, yet suspicious of, western approaches to the martial arts. Therefore, any such re-embedding in itself constitutes change, the clock cannot be turned back, jūdō and Budō cannot and will not be exactly as before. Its

practices, intentions and interpreted meanings will differ in important ways. The dilemma between continuity and change in jūdō is not only a sociological one, but also philosophical, ethical and above all practical. We therefore agree with Guttman (1991: 189) who concludes, 'diffusion and modernization interact in ways that defy simple analysis'. However, by adding the perspective of reflexive modernization to the analysis, we can begin to make renewed sense of the non-linear dynamism of these processes, and some of the mechanisms that characterize it.

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