Among sport sociologists, the dependency relationship between sport and the dominant culture has become an important area of concern. Examination of the cultural and historical transformations of specific sports may be expected to provide significant insights into the nature of this relationship. The purpose of this study was to develop hypotheses to explain how the meanings and the forms of judo have been transformed and/or maintained in the society of origin, Japan, and in an adoptive society, the United States.

An ethnographic study, based upon in-depth interviews with judo instructors in the United States and Japan, selected by means of criterion-based and purposive sampling, served as the principal source of information. In addition, a variety of additional information-gathering methods were used for the two countries. Observations at selected judo clubs and tournaments, informal interviews with judoists, and analyses—
of sport-specific publications, were employed to develop the credibility of the findings. Consequently, three hypotheses were developed and explored: (1) the forms of judo are independent of the dominant society, (2) the meanings of judo are strongly dependent upon the dominant society, and (3) the forms of judo in Japan have been subject to greater variance than judo as practiced in the United States.

In addition, based upon modern methodology of consumer behavior, an investigation of the favorite possessions of judoists in the United States and Japan was conducted to explore the deeper meanings of judo to individual participants in each country. For the United States, three themes emerged: (1) judo as a means to form friendships, (2) judo as a means to express individual abilities, and (3) persistence of the Kodokan-Japanese orientation. For Japan, the two themes which addressed the meaning of judo were: (1) judo as a means of self-discipline and (2) judo as a championship sport.

When considered jointly, both ethnographic inquiry and favorite possessions investigation suggested that there were culturally different reasons why individuals in the two countries chose to seek involvement in the sport of judo. Basically, American judoists tended to emphasize friendships among judoists and the value of individual achievements, whereas Japanese judoists valued the nature of individual effort and respectful feelings for their instructor and the instructional process.
Cultural and Historical Transformation of Judo in the United States and Japan: Is Sport Dependent on the Dominant Culture?

by

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In general, sport sociologists have acknowledged "the interdependence of sport and culture" (Lüschen, 1972). This view of the relationships between sport and culture is reflected in statements, such as sport is: "a mirror of society" (McPherson, Curtis, & Loy, 1989a); "a microcosm of society" (Eitzen, 1979a); and "a social product" (Hart & Birrell, 1981). When the fact that the forms (e.g., costumes, languages, rules, practice ways, ceremonies) and meanings (e.g., functions, aims, roles) of play and games which originate in one society differ from those of other societies is considered, then those statements are even more meaningful. Furthermore, that the forms and meanings of physical activities change as the society in which the sports exist changes provides support for the dependence of sport upon society. It has been commonly stated that when a sport is introduced from one society to another, then the sport is likely to be adjusted as it is incorporated into the new culture (Riesman & Denney, 1969).
On the other hand, some sport sociologists have begun recently to contest this common view of the interdependence of sport and culture. It has been argued that sport is not totally dependent upon the society; rather, to some degree, sport is independent of the dominant society and culture. For example, when a sport is transferred into a different cultural setting, the sport is less likely to be totally incorporated by the adoptive culture, even when the meanings and forms of the sport are likely to be maintained to a certain degree (Donnelly & Young, 1985). This view of a weak relationship between sport and the dominant culture is seemingly reasonable in view of modern competitive sports. Because of the growth of the importance of international championships, the rules of international sports have been unified. International top athletes, no matter what their nationality, tend to employ similar scientific training methods, equipment, and techniques. International sport subcultures such as baseball, may exist beyond the boundaries of individual societies; and they may be little influenced by the dominant culture of any one society.

Because of the rapid degree of change in modern societies, traditional explanations of the positive relationship between sport and society may not be appropriate. Moreover, though Donnelly (1985) stated that sport is both transformable and resistible to the dominant society, we remain unaware of the degree to which sport is dependent on or independent of society. An examination of the cultural and historical transformation of a specific
sport may be expected to provide important clues in response to this issue. To date, no single theory of the cultural and historical transformation of sport has been developed (Donnelly & Young, 1985),

what are needed now are a number of case studies, ethnographies that show how cultural meanings become attached to specific sports, and how these meanings are contested and transformed over time and by different social and cultural groupings. (p. 20)

Judo provides a significant opportunity for a study of cultural and historical transformation (Goodger & Goodger, 1977; Coakley, 1990). Judo is a cultural product of a non-Western society, and its original values are based upon various Oriental religions: Buddhism, Shintoism, Zen, and Confucianism (Fukushima, 1984; Robert, 1988). While the play and games which have emerged in Western societies are based on the premise that these activities should be fun and enjoyable, judo is expected to be a seriously solemn activity closely related to moral education. Thus, it is apparent that judo originally provided features which were significantly different from play and games in Western societies. Therefore, the philosophy of Dr. Kano (the founder of judo) that judo practice should contribute to mental and ethical training as well as physical education may not always be understood or accepted in non-Oriental societies. For example, in Great Britain after World War II, judo was transformed rapidly "from a small-scale, Japan-oriented, rather esoteric 'martial art' to a relatively large-scale, westernised, modern, international sport"
In the United States, to some degree, judo was introduced as a sport and as an art of self-defense. The practical aspects of the sport (e.g., judo as recreation, as a competitive sport, as enjoyment and as an art of self-defense), rather than its philosophical aspects (e.g., judo as a means of education and physical training), seem to have been emphasized by Americans (Dominy, 1958; Harrington, 1974; Tegner, 1970; Yerkow, 1950).

Factors of historical transformations cannot be ignored in order to conduct a meaningful cultural transformation study. That is, since the forms and meanings of a sport change over time, as the society in which the sport exists is changed (Guttmann, 1988), the forms and meanings of judo in modern Japanese society may differ from Dr. Kano's at the end of the nineteenth-century.

As these explanations suggest, due to cultural and historical factors, judo in both the United States and in Japan may have changed significantly from the original patterns. Moreover, American and Japanese judoists may at the same time have developed similar, if not identical, values, norms, beliefs, and attitudes toward judo because of the simultaneous and parallel transformations and maintenance of the meanings of judo in each of the two countries (Donnelly, 1985). A two-dimensional model (cultural and historical) of the transformation of judo is described in Figure 1.

Therefore, the purpose of this cross-cultural study is to develop hypotheses which address the cultural and
Figure 1. Two Dimensional Model of the Transformation of Judo.
historical transformation of judo in the United States and Japan by a comparison of the forms and the meanings of judo in the two countries. An ethnographic approach has been employed to achieve this goal. To explore the forms and the meanings of judo, qualitative information was obtained by the following methods: 1) in-depth interviews with judo instructors, 2) participant observations at judo clubs, 3) observations of local judo tournaments, 4) informal interviews, and 5) review of the literature published by judo clubs. In addition to an ordinal ethnographic method, this study also employed one unique approach to the problem. That is, the meanings of judo for American and for Japanese judoists were identified through inquiries about the types and meanings of the favorite possessions of the judoists. Favorite possessions can serve as a key to understanding the meaning of judo to judo instructors because "we regard our possessions as parts of ourselves" (Belk, 1988a, p. 139). Tuan (1980) has stated that human self-identity is so fragile that we try to maintain actual self-identity and/or achieve ideal self-identity by having and owning tangible objects. The strong dependence of our identity upon our possessions has also been supported in consumer behavioral research, including reports by Belk (1988a), Mehta and Belk (1991), McAlexander (1990), Solomon (1983), Sirgy (1982), London (1974), Jacobson and Kossoff (1967), Hamm and Cundiff (1964), Grubb and Grathwohl (1967), and Dolich (1969).

To date, no study of the cultural transformation of judo in the United States has been completed. In addition, this
study constitutes an initial attempt in the field of the sociology of sport to analyze a sport subculture by the investigation of the types and the meanings of favorite possessions of the members of the subculture. This unique approach is expected to provide new insight into the relationships between sport and culture.

Statement of the Problem

This study was based upon the examination of the cultural and historical transformation of a sport for the purpose of analyzing the dependency relationship between sport and culture in modern societies. Thus, the principal objective of this study was as follows:

1. Develop hypotheses which address the cultural and historical transformation of judo in the United States and Japan via ethnographic inquiry. That is, a) how Japanese judo has been transformed, incorporated and adopted into American society; and b) how judo in the United States and Japan has changed since its development in the 19th century Japan.

In addition, the secondary objective of the study was as follows:

2. Explore deeper meanings of judo for American and Japanese judoists through an investigation of the
types and meanings of their favorite possessions related to judo.

Significance of the Study

With the exception of the studies conducted by Donnelly & Young (1985), or Riesman and Denny (1969), most studies of the transformation of sport have been focused upon either historical factors or cultural factors. This study simultaneously considered both the cultural and the historical elements in two different cultural settings.

Second, this study is the first attempt to apply consumer behavioral methodology to the exploration of meaning of a sport to members of a sport subculture. Thus, this study has also sought to expand the discipline of consumer behavior. Belk (1988a) noted that understanding the meaning of consumer possessions is a major concern in consumer behavioral research. By studying the meaning of the products to which a unique type of consumer, judoists in two economically developed nations, is attached will thus contribute to improved understanding of consumer behavior.

Research Hypotheses

Since this study was based upon qualitative research, the understanding, interpretation, and exploration of a specific phenomenon (the cultural and historical transformation of judo) were the principal concerns (Thomas & Nelson, 1990). Therefore, this study did not establish
hypotheses prior to the investigation. Rather, hypotheses have been developed during the course of this investigation.

**Assumptions**

This study was based upon the following premises:

1. All of the informants were reliable sources of information.

2. The investigator had at least a minimum level of linguistic ability in both English and Japanese, necessary to conduct a cross-cultural investigation.

3. Interpretations provided by the investigator were correct (i.e., no halo effect).

4. Information obtained from Japanese informants were appropriately translated into English.

5. The linkages between our possessions and our self-identity, as supported by consumer behavioral studies, do exist.

6. The dependence of our self-identity upon our possessions, as demonstrated by consumer behavioral studies in the United States, is equally true of the Japanese people (Wallendort & Arnould, 1988).

**Limitations**

The limitation of this study was that only a relatively small number of in-depth interviews and participant observations (10 interviews in each country and observation
of 7 clubs in the United States and 9 in Japan) were conducted.

**Delimitations**

The findings of the study are delimited as follows:

1. This study focused on the cultural transformation of judo in the United States and its historical transformation in Japan with respect to the modern forms and meanings of judo. Therefore, discussions and conclusions are solely directed to these topics.

2. Although judo participation can occur at various places in Japan (e.g., schools, police departments, private local clubs, or business companies), this study focused only upon *machi dojo*, or private local judo clubs.

3. All American judoists interviewed and all judo clubs observed in the United States were residents of the state of Oregon.

4. All Japanese judoists interviewed and all judo clubs observed in Japan were residents of Numazu city and Susono city in Shizuoka Prefecture.

5. According to the extended self-concept (Belk, 1988a; 1988b), possessions encompass body parts, personal attributes (age or occupation), other persons (friends or parents), pets, places, physical environment, ideas, and even time.
However, since the focus of this study was directed to material objects, the other facets of possession were not included.

6. All investigations, either in-depth interviews or observations, were conducted in a limited time period; June, 1992 through September, 1992.

Definition of Terms

For the purposes of this study, the following definitions were used:

**Budo**: A group of the Japanese martial arts. The concept of *budo* is based upon various Oriental religions; the purpose of practice is directed at the perfection of both body and spirit.

**Bushido**: The chivalry or morality of samurai, heavily influenced by Zen philosophy.

**Consumer behavior**: Those actions directly involved in the acquisition, consumption, and disposition of products.

**Cultural transformation of sport**: The changes in the forms and meanings of a sport as a result of being introduced into a different culture.

**Forms of sport**: The rules, techniques, terminology, ceremonies, costumes, languages, customs, and symbols which are used in a specific sport.
**Historical transformation of sport:** Transmitting the forms and meanings of a sport to the next generation within the same society.

**International sport:** Athletic events identified by official international organizations and which hold international athletic competitions, such as the Olympic Games, the Asian Games, and the Pan-American Games.

**Judo:** A Japanese martial art created by Dr. Jigoro Kano in 1882. Literally, judo means the "gentle way." Officially, it is referred to as *Nippon den Kodokan judo*. Since 1964, it has been a competition in the modern Olympic Games.

**Judo instructors:** Those who are officially enrolled in one or more judo organizations (e.g., Kodokan, the United States Judo Federation, or the United States Judo Association), and who currently teach Kodokan-judo at a judo club.

**Kodokan:** The school founded by Dr. Jigoro Kano in 1882 for the purpose of teaching judo. *Kodokan* literally means "the school for studying the way."

**Meaning of sport:** The aims, significance, objectives, functions, contributions, and roles of a specific sport within a society.

**Possessions relating to judo:** Any tangible object relating to judo owned by a judoist. Examples include judo clothing, judo belts, trophies, certificates, symbols, pictures, letters, presents,
badges, photographs, videos, books, training equipments, uniforms, or magazines.

**Sport**: Physical activities which are distinguished from play and games in respect to their strict and formalized rules, complex organizations, and emphasis upon physical skills (Coakley, 1990b).

**Sport subculture**: A sport group consists of members who possess common cultural components (e.g., values, beliefs, costumes, languages, or customs) which may be in opposition to those of the dominant culture. A sport may diffuse beyond national boundaries and exist on a world-wide basis (Pearson, 1979).
CHAPTER II
REVIEW OF LITERATURE

This chapter consists of four sections. The first section reviews the literature which is supportive of the interdependence of sport and culture. The second section is concerned with the literature which supports the position that sport is to some degree independent of the dominant culture. The third section summarizes the history of judo. Finally, the literature of the relationship between possessions and the sense of self is reviewed in the fourth section.

Interdependence of Sport and Culture

Widespread evidence for the interdependence of sport and culture is divided into three sections: 1) the function of physical activities in primitive societies, 2) the transformation of the nature of physical activities due to changes within the dominant society, and 3) the cultural transformation of sport.

Functions of Play and Games in Primitive Societies

The interdependence of sport and culture is most obvious when the contributions of play and games to society are
considered. Sport is essentially different from play and games. However, since sport has emerged from play and games (Lüschen, 1972), the social roles and functions of play and games can be expected to provide a basis for understanding the relationship between sport and culture.

In the philosophical study, *Homo Ludens*, Huizinga (1955) noted the linkage of play and society:

> Culture arises in the forms of play.... By this we don't mean that play turns into culture, rather that in its earliest phases culture has the play character, that it precedes in the shape and mood of play. (p. 46)

The significant roles of play and games in primitive societies have been reported by anthropologists and sport sociologists (e.g., Calhoun, 1987; Roberts & Sutton-Smith, 1962; Sipes, 1979; Sutton-Smith & Roberts, 1970). For example, Eitzen (1979b) reported that the type of play and games emphasized in a primitive society is related to the type of society. That is, cooperation-oriented societies tended to engage in sporting activities that minimize competition. On the other hand, competition-oriented societies were likely to engage in competitive physical activities.

Similarly, Sipes (1979) conducted a cross-cultural study examination of the relationship between the types of play and games (either combative or non-combative) for various types of societies (either peaceful or warlike). He found that 9 of 10 warlike societies engaged in combative types of play and games, while combative play and games were absent in 8 of
10 peaceful societies. Sipes concluded that it was a cross-cultural fact that there was a positive relationship between the type play and games within societies and the types of societies.

An interesting, if controversial, finding was reported by Calhoun (1987). According to Calhoun, three types of games, including games of physical skill, games of chance, and games of strategy, are distributed world-wide based upon their geographical distance from the equator. For example, games with few physical skills are most likely to be found within 20° of the equator. In contrast, the farther from the equator, the more games with complex physical skills were apparent. Games of chance typically existed farther than the 30° north and south, whereas games of strategy were more likely to exist in the farthest north. Although the regular distribution of the three types of games, based on distance from the equator, could be affected by other factors (e.g., the distribution of civilization and industrialization, climate), the findings did suggest that certain types of games are concentrated in a specific geographic areas with similar characteristics.

Positive linkages between the types of play and games and the types of society suggest that play and games have specific roles and functions within society. Roberts and Sutton-Smith (1962) noted the significant roles of games and play-like activities as a means of child socialization. This explained the characteristics of societies in which certain types of games (games of chance, physical skill, or strategy)
were predominant, and the functions for each game type with respect to child training. Games of chance were predominant in societies which reflected strong beliefs in the existence of supernatural powers. In these societies, children learn the importance of victory as a matter of destiny through involvement in games of chance. Games of physical skill were most popular in societies where practice, sacrifice, dedication and training were emphasized. These types of games teach children how to gain control over themselves as well as how to conquer their environment. Finally, games of strategy were predominant in large and complex societies. These types of game provide society with the opportunities to train children to obey and to conform to the rules of society.

Transformation of Physical Activities Due to Social Change

Because of its dependence upon the dominant culture, physical activity forms change as the dominant society changes. Play and games are frequently replaced by organized and formalized sport when the society becomes industrialized and modernized. Lüschen (1972) developed the hypothesis that "sport is an offspring of technology and industrialization" (p. 22), a hypothesis supported by the fact that sport is emphasized in industrial societies, but not in primitive societies. Though Lüschen's hypothesis does not explain the development of all sports, it is true for most sports and has been supported by several studies.
Williams and Donnelly (1985) addressed how mountain climbing as a sport activity emerged from a play-like activity in Europe around the middle of the 19th century. The emergence of the sport was the result of four major changes in European societies: 1) the development of science and capitalism, 2) industrialization, 3) the increase in wealth and leisure time, and 4) the Romantic revival.

Betts (1972) stated that industrialization and urbanization in the middle of the 19th century in the United States were the major causes of the emergence of modern sport. Sports with an agrarian nature were replaced by modernized, organized, and commercialized competitive sports. During the process of transformation, the standardization of strict rules, the formalization of organization, and the innovation of skills generally occurred.

One of the most obvious examples of the transformation of the nature of sport due to its dependence on the society is the modern Olympic Games, revived in Athens in 1896 by Pierre de Coubertin. Coubertin's philosophy for the modern Games was characterized by 1) the intellectual, mental, and physical education of youth, 2) amateurism, 3) internationalism, and 4) the aesthetic arts (Coubertin, 1988; Krotee, 1988; Lucas, 1988). However, as society has changed, some of Coubertin's ideals have become less important in the Games. For example, the Games have been used to confront political and racial problems (e.g., the 1976 African boycott, the 1980 boycott by the United States and other capitalist nations, and the 1984 boycott by the
Soviet Union and other communist nations). The Games have been used, especially by communist nations, as an environment in which countries demonstrate the superiority of their social-economic system with respect to others or as symbols of nationalism. Moreover, to some degree, commercialism, capitalism, and professionalism are now taken as a matter of course in the Games. Corporate sponsors, as well as TV broadcast rights, have become the major financial resources of the Games (Gruneau & Cantelon, 1988; International Olympic Committee, 1992; Nixon, 1988); and global business firms promote the Games for the purpose of advertising.

Cultural Transformation of Sport

Literature on the cultural transformation of sport in the United States and in Japan is presented in the following sections.

Cultural Transformation of Sport in the U.S.

Many European sports have been transformed into different sports following their introduction into the United States. Baseball is an example of the cultural transformation of sport. Baseball evolved from cricket, which was brought to the United States from Britain around the middle of the 18th century. Baseball did not emerge from cricket within a short period of time. In the earliest years of baseball, many players had previously played as cricketers, and the first baseball uniforms were described as being exactly like those of English cricketers (Menke, 1963).
However, as a result of American modifications, baseball had become a totally different sport from cricket, and now it is considered as the "American national pastime" (Guttmann, 1988).

Rugby football is another example of cultural transformation. Riesman and Denney (1969) described how rugby, brought to the United States from England, was transformed into American football. The principal cause of this transformation was the ambiguity of the rugby rules. Americans could not tolerate this ambiguity since they had little knowledge of the background of the rules. English players were not confused by the ambiguous rules, since the rules had been created on the basis of English traditions and culture, which provided the basis for the values and norms of the players. Since rugby rules did not fit American values, efforts were made to modify the rules "to adapt the game to its new cultural home" (p. 310).

Cultural Transformation of Sport in Japan.

At the turn of the 20th century, a number of Western sports were introduced into Japan, and then transformed by the Japanese culture. In "The Japanese Attitude Toward Sport and the Concept of Do and Shugyo," Uesugi (1982) stated that:

many Japanese people think of sport as a means of developing good and strong character.... The attitude of putting importance on mental training in doing sport and the notion of cultivating mind more than training body are constructed, and also the attitude of mental discipline and of putting up with hard discipline are highly evaluated in order to integrate mind and body. (p. 263)
Sports brought from the West have acquired educational significance in Japan so that the sports could meet needs of Japanese society. When baseball was introduced in the 1870’s, the meaning of the game was transformed by the Japanese culture (Kusaka, 1985). An article in a sports magazine (*Undo-Sekai* or Sport World) published in 1911, described the acquired Japanese meaning of baseball:

**Make Baseball to be Budo (or a Martial Art)**

- Baseball is not a game. Once it is introduced in Japan, it must add the essence of the Japanese Samurai spirit. We must play baseball as a martial art and train ourselves seriously.

- Why do you play baseball? Baseball must be useful in advancing the physical, spiritual, and moral development of elite students, not as players but as whole human being.

- Be serious. You must win. If you did your best and still you lost, it is alright. However, remember that baseball is a martial art. Losing means death (Kusaka, 1985).

Kusaka (1985) termed this Japanese creed “Bushido Baseball.” Since, upon its introduction, baseball was diffused among elite students whose ancestors were Samurai and *kizoku* or nobles, the game began to carry the essence of *budo*. This modified approach is the basis of modern Japanese baseball, and many players continue to manifest the *Bushido* creed. A baseball team manager has insisted that the baseball ground is the place where you have physical and spiritual training. Therefore, our baseball team doesn’t need any guys who can’t stand hardship. The guys, who go through with hard

Emphasis on the spiritual and mental aspects of Japanese baseball was also reported by Whiting (1976). Whiting pointed out that while Americans thought skills, physical condition, and experience were indispensable to winning baseball games, the Japanese believed that even if they lacked these conditions they could still win with a strong fighting spirit. Sometimes, the purpose of practice was not to improve technical skills, but to instill a strong fighting spirit and the confidence.

The appearance of baseball in the United States and Japan is similar. The rules, facilities, equipment and costumes are identical. However, the deeper meanings of baseball are heavily influenced by social values; and in Japan, physical and spiritual training are emphasized. Niwa and Kaneko (1983) examined the attitude of 512 Japanese college students (448 sport team members and 64 non-sport team members) toward sports of different origins. The purpose was to identify the cultural characteristics of the sports in Japan which have emerged from different cultures. Several sports were of Japanese origin, including judo, karate, kendo, and Japanese archery; English sports included tennis, table tennis, track and field, and badminton; the American sports included volleyball, basketball, baseball, and American football. The conclusions of the study were as follows:

1) General attitudes of the subjects toward sports tended to be spiritualistic.
2) The cultural characteristics of sports which originated in England were to stress fair play, to have the tendency of personalism, and seemed to have a "Gentleman Ideal" behind them.

3) The cultural characteristics of sports which originated in America were spectator-appeal, an emphasis on fun, physical strength, winning, and obedience to judges and referees.

4) The cultural characteristics of sports which originated in Japan were to play sports in earnest, aiming at self-training, mental training, and self-control.

In summary, what was found was that sports with different origins reflected divergent cultural meanings. However, regardless of the origins of a sport, each sport in Japan also reflected strong Japanese values (Niwa & Kaneko, 1983). In fact, the subjects' attitudes toward sports in which the greatest degree of agreement was obtained included the following:

1. Manners are very important in sports.
2. Technical training should be done not only for the purpose of winning, but also for self-cultivation.
3. Sport must be taken seriously.
4. The significance of sport is self-cultivation.
5. Sport must help players to enhance their mental maturity.

Although sports with different cultural origins tended to express different characteristics, on the whole all sports in Japan were apt to emphasize spiritual aspects.
Independence of Sport from Dominant Cultures

Sport is not only transformed by the dominant culture, it can at the same time be resistant to the dominant culture (Donnelly, 1985). Recent studies have begun to regard sport "less as a totally incorporated aspect of culture and more as an area in which values, ideologies, and meanings are contested" (Donnelly & Young, 1985, p. 19). Those who employ this perspective commonly regard sport as a subculture within the larger society (Albert, 1982; Boroff, 1969; Donnelly, 1985; Donnelly & Young, 1985, 1988; Jacobs, 1976; McPherson, Curtis, & Loy, 1989c; Pearson, 1980; Weinberg & Arond, 1969).

The two principal characteristics which have suggested the independence of sport from the dominant culture are as follows:

1) The members of a subculture have similar beliefs, values, norms, costumes, languages, and attitudes, which somewhat differ from those of the dominant cultures (Donnelly, 1985).

2) A sport subculture is not limited within one society. It can exist beyond the boundary of a society, and anywhere in the world because of the influence of developed mass media (Pearson, 1979, 1980).

These characteristics indicate that only a weak connection exists between sport and the dominant society. To date, a number of studies have reported unique characteristics for
various sport subcultures which are somewhat inconsistent with the characteristics of the dominant society.

That sport is not totally dependent on the dominant society is evident when unique status structures in the world of sport are considered. The so-called "skier hierarchy," characterized as a strict pecking order among those who make their living by skiing, was reported by Boroff (1969). The bottom of the hierarchy was ski bums, who worked for lodges as part-time employees, whereas the middle class was ski patrolmen. The highest class was ski instructors. Even though "many ski instructors are just small-town boys who in the summer are prosaic cabinet makers, construction workers, or telephone linemen," once they are on the mountain "they are the gods of the mountain" (p. 454). It is of interest that those observations were also true of the ski subculture in Japan.

The martial arts are perhaps a sport subculture which has the most rigid status hierarchy, including the sports of judo, karate, and jujitsu. Social interactions between members are dictated by the colors of their belts (McPherson et al., 1989c). Practice halls are physically, culturally, and socially segregated from the main society. Members' occupations and economic status in the real world have no special meaning in the practice hall. Instead, the colored belts provide "the criteria of who they are and what they do, in this time, in that place" (Jacobs, 1976, p. 142). These hierarchical systems, unique to a specific sport subculture,
indicate a degree of separation between the world of sport and the dominant society.

Deviant sport subcultures have been a popular topic of interest in the field of sport sociology. Rugby has often been cited as an example, and very often rugby has been labeled as a deviant sport subculture (McPherson, Curtis, & Loy, 1989d). It is a subculture which lets players behave with impunity in a manner which would bring immediate condemnation and punishment were it to occur among other social strata or even among members of the upper and middle classes in a different social setting (Sheard & Dunning, 1973, p. 7).

The deviant behavior of rugby players can be observed not only among males but also among female rugby players. Wheatley (1986) reported that the values and norms of the female rugby subculture differ from both those of the dominant society and from other female sport subcultures. The post-game behaviors of female rugby players resemble those of male rugby players. Reportedly, they sing obscene songs, hold drinking contests, use lewd words, abuse men, and proudly exhibit bruises obtained at games. These behaviors would be regarded as violations of acceptable female behaviors in most if not all modern societies.

Weinberg and Arond (1969) explored the boxing subculture in which values and norms were based upon the values and beliefs of adolescents from the lower social class who were potential future fighters. In this subculture, individualism and gang fights were most admired. "Too much education softens a man," and "those in the lower socio-economic levels
make the 'best fighters'" (p. 442), were common opinions among the members of the subculture.

**History of Judo**

First, this section deals with the origins of judo in jujitsu to clarify the fundamental meaning of judo. Second, a brief history of judo and the structure of judo organizations in the United States are discussed. Third, the Goodger and Goodger (1977, 1980) studies of the transformation of judo in Britain are considered, since they provide important information relative to the question of the cultural and historical transformation of judo.

**Jujitsu and Judo**

Jujitsu lies at the origin of the martial art of judo. There are two different opinions on the origin of jujitsu. One is that it was imported from China in the middle of the 17th century, and the second is that it originated in Japan (Itou, 1972). Recently, the latter opinion has gained widespread acceptance (Maruyama, 1967). According to Maruyama, jujitsu seems to have evolved from sumo wrestling, in turn originally a ritual Shinto ceremony (Cuyler, 1985). In any case, it can be said that jujitsu is an authentic Japanese cultural product which carries with it certain Japanese values, traditions, and customs.

Jujitsu consisted of hitting, kicking, choking, twisting arms, throwing, slashing, and pinning techniques, and was practiced during the feudal period in Japan. In particular,
During the Tokugawa era (1603-1868), bushi or the samurai warriors were obligated to practice jujitsu, as well as other martial arts, including archery, use of the lance, and swordsmanship.

Fukushima (1984) described the meaning of martial arts among samurai warriors as follows:

As significant part of the bushi's socialization, martial arts, which consisted of a series of rigorous physical training on the prescribed bodily motion or kata, was not only to reach so called "physical goals," but also to achieve an integral development of human experience toward the depths of inner significance, which was believed to be the individual's ultimate enlightenment. (p. 241)

Robert (1988) noted that the aims of martial arts training were not merely to improve martial arts skills, but also to develop and perfect samurai character. As play and games provide meaningful social roles, such as child training, the martial arts played a significant role in feudal Japan as an agency of the socialization of the samurai.

The objectives of judo practice, as emphasized by Dr. Kano at the end of the 19th century, were similar to those for the martial arts practiced in the Tokugawa era. Dr. Kano's philosophy is described as "seiryoku-zenyo," or the "maximum-efficient use of physical and mental power," and "jita-kyoei," or "self-perfection and mutual welfare and benefit" (Kodokan, 1986; Goodger & Goodger, 1977). The emphasis was that judo practice should contribute to both the individual and society as a means of physical education, spiritual training, and ethical training (Maruyama, 1967) (Appendix A).
This philosophy seems to have been influenced by Oriental religions, including Buddhism, Shintoism, Zen, and Confucianism. In fact, the first *dojo*, or practice hall, was established in the garden of a temple (Kodokan, 1986). The word "*dojo*" stems from a Buddhist term, which means a place of enlightenment. Like a monastery, *dojo* must be a sacred place where people perfect both body and mind.

**Judo in the U.S.**

Judo was brought to the United States by Japanese immigrants as early as the end of the 19th century (Maruyama, 1967). Following its introduction, judo diffused throughout the country and became a popular sport.

**History of Judo in the U.S.**


1932 Formal judo organizations were established when Dr. Kano attended the 1932 Los Angeles Olympic Games as the honorary president of the Japanese Amateur Athletic Federation.

- At that time, four *Yudansha-Kai* (Black Belt Associations) had already been established in southern California, northern California, Seattle, and Hawaii.

1949 Professor Stone, wrestling and judo coach at the University of California at Berkeley, supported by
judo instructors in northern California, submitted a plan for the inclusion of judo as an AAU sport. As a result, judo became a sub-committee of the National AAU Wrestling Committee.

1953 Due to the rapid growth and diffusion of judo, both in the United States and throughout the world, the National Judo Committee became independent from the Wrestling Committee. With the establishment of the National Judo Committee, the ranking authority was moved from the Yudansha-Kai to the new Committee.

1953 The first National Judo Championships were held at San Jose, California. They included four weight classes and an open weight division.

- Five Yudansha-Kai (central California, northern California, southern California, Seattle, and Hawaii), which had formed the Amateur Judo Association, became the United States Judo Federation (USJF).

1963 Judo became an event in the Pan-American Games.

1964 Judo became an event in the Tokyo Olympic Games.

1967 The National AAU Men’s Senior Judo Championships, the National AAU Women’s Kata Championships, the National High School Students’ Championships, and the National Junior Championships were inaugurated.

- The National College Judo Association was established.
Organizational Structure of Judo in the U.S.

There are three different judo organizations in the United States: the United States Judo Institute (USJI), the United States Judo Federation (USJF), and the United States Judo Association (USJA). The USJF, affiliated with the Kodokan, was the only judo organization in the United States until the 1960s. Japanese-Americans exercised exclusive control of judo policies in the United States. Caucasians were somehow discriminated against by Japanese descendants and were less likely to be promoted to black belt ranking than were Japanese-Americans. Therefore, Caucasian judo groups which developed from a military judo association, established a second judo organization, the USJA, in the 1960s.

Since the emergence of the USJA, several conflicts between the two organizations have emerged. Some members of the USJF, especially the Japanese descendants, still do not recognize the existence of the USJA and they do not invite the USJA clubs to their tournaments, nor do they participate in tournaments held by USJA clubs. On the other hand, the USJA has tried to avoid conflict with the USJF and has invited all judoists, no matter what their organizational attachments. Currently, the USJA is larger than the USJF because of the clear and easier promotion system. Black belt ranking is easier to achieve in the USJA than in the USJF. The members of the USJF commonly complain that the point system introduced by the USJA diminishes the authority of the black belt degree. The judoists belonging to the USJF thus
tend to look down upon the USJA black belt degree. In fact, the ranks obtained from the USJF are automatically recognized by Kodokan, whereas the ranks obtained in the USJA are not recognized by Kodokan.

Since judo has become an international sport event, the United States has been required to unify the two organizations, and the USJI was established for this purpose. The USJI functions as a match maker between the USJF and the USJA and approves the participation of judo competitors in international competitions. Although the USJI recognizes the judo degrees of both the USJF and the USJA, it confers no degree approval itself.

**Cultural Transformation of Judo in Britain**

Goodger and Goodger (1977), in their study "Judo in the Light of the Theory and Sociological Research," described how and why judo in Britain was transformed rapidly from a Japanese-oriented, small-scale and somewhat esoteric martial art to a modern, westernized, large-scale, international sport following World War II. They addressed the process of the transformation based on three periods: 1) Pre-World War II to the early 1950s, 2) the 1950s to the mid 1960s, and 3) the mid 1960s to 1977.

During the first period, judo practice emphasized the esoteric and philosophical aspects of judo, that is, "self-perfection and mutual welfare and benefit" and "maximum efficiency." Judoists studied a great variety of techniques rather than trying to perfect selected techniques for
competitions. Judoists had strong interests in Japanese culture and tried to understand it. Period two had a significant meaning not only for judo in Britain, but also for judo throughout the world. During this period, the European Championships and the World Championships were inaugurated in, respectively, 1951 and 1956. In 1964, judo became an event in the Olympic Games. Although the philosophical aspects of judo were still emphasized, the growth of international levels of judo championships triggered the transformation of the meanings and forms of judo for British judoists. Finally, from the mid-1960s to the present, judo has evolved toward a pure competitive international sport.

This transformation has also affected the self-identity of British judoists. Goodger and Goodger (1977) hypothesized that "the process of culture-distancing is a major selective process for effective socialisation into judo culture and for the construction of a specific identity" (p. 26). Goodger and Goodger (1980), in the study "Organisational and Cultural Change in Post-War British Judo," qualified the hypothesis developed in their previous study. The introduction of westernized scientific training methods, encouraged by the rapid growth of international championships, made judo less culturally distinctive. This change in the "core training culture" has greatly weakened the influence of judo on the self-identity of British judoists.
Possessions and Sense of Self

The meanings of judo for American and Japanese judoists are explored as a means of tracing the cultural and historical transformation of judo in the United States and Japan. This section provides a review of the literature which addresses the dependence of individuals' self-identity on their possessions. First, the emergence of research in the relationship of possessions to self-identity, and subsequent developments in the field of consumer behavior, are addressed. Five major topics from self-identity research are presented. Second, theoretical models of possessions and self-identity enhancement are discussed. Finally, evidence which supports the strong dependence of self-identity upon possessions is given. These studies validate the investigation methods employed in this study.

Consumer Behavior Research on the Relationship of Possessions to Self-Identity

There are several reasons why the relationship between possessions and self-identity has become a major topic in the field of consumer behavior study. Belk (1988a) stated that knowing the meaning of possessions to which consumers are attached is fundamental to understanding consumer behaviors because material objects have significant functions in modern societies. At present, people have become increasingly materialistic to the extent that material goods provide more than functional meaning to consumers (Levy, 1959). Material goods can serve as indicators of an individual's social class
and status (Solomon, 1983). For example, in large cities, people tend to identify others by evaluation of what they own (Levy, 1959; Blumberg, 1974). Even legendary social status, or what Hirschman (1990) calls "secular immortality," can be achieved through the conspicuous consumption of material goods.

The discussion on self-identity in consumer behavior was initiated by Levy (1959), who argued that consumers are no longer functionally oriented, but have become symbolically oriented. Consumers thus buy symbolic products to associate the image of products with themselves and to communicate this image to others. Subsequently, a number of consumer behavioral researchers have conducted a variety of self-identity studies. These can be categorized in five groups based upon the focus of each (Sirgy, 1982): 1) influence of self-identity and socio-psychological factors on consumer behavior, 2) self-identity and product image congruity, 3) effect of self-identity on consumer behavior, 4) congruity effects and product image perceptions, and 5) effect of possessions on self-identity. Brief explanations of each topic are provided as follows:

1) Influence of self-identity and socio-psychological factors on consumer behavior: A number of studies have been conducted to differentiate various types of consumers based on their self-identity and to find distinct buying behaviors among consumers with different self-identities (Greeno, Sommers, & Kernan, 1973).
2) Self-identity and product-image congruity: The topic of self-identity/product-image congruence became one of the most popular issues in the field of consumer behavior during the 1960s and 1970s. The purpose was to determine the relationship between consumers' self-identities and the image of products which they bought (London, 1974; Sirgy, 1982). Dolich (1969) argued that it was necessary to determine whether actual self-identity or ideal self-identity was better related to the product-image perceived by consumers. It was reported that for male consumers, ideal self-identity had greater congruence than actual self-identity for the most preferred products, and that ideal self-identity had significantly less congruence than actual self-identity for the least preferred products.

3) Effect of self-identity on consumer behavior: The purpose of these studies was to explore the effect of self-identity upon consumer behavior (Sirgy 1982). In other words, how do consumer self-identities affect buying decisions? Jacobson and Kossoff (1963) reported that individuals who perceive themselves as conservative were more likely to have a favorable attitude toward small cars than individuals who perceived themselves as innovative. This study found that consumer self-identity was directly related to product and brand preferences.

4) Congruity effects and product image perception: A number of studies have addressed the relationships between congruity effects and perceived product images. Hamm and Cundiff (1969) investigated whether consumers with higher
levels of self-actualization (i.e., consumers with greater
degrees of discrepancy between actual self-identity and ideal
self-identity) perceived products they owned differently than
consumers with a lower level of self-actualization. The
findings indicated there were moderate differences between
the two groups.

5) Effect of possessions on self-identity: A number of
researchers have become interested in whether possessing and
consuming material goods can influence consumer self-
identities. It is commonly stated that this influence is
likely to be greater when a product has an established image
and a consumer hasn’t yet formed his/her own self-image
within a specific situation where the product is consumed
(Grubb & Grathwohl, 1967; Sirgy, 1982). Several theoretical
models for the explanation of the relationship between the
possessions of products and self-identity enhancement have
been developed (Grubb & Grathwohl, 1967; Solomon, 1983).

Recently, Belk (1988a) developed the “extended-self
concept,” encompassing a range of possessions as parts of the
consumer’s sense of self. However, Cohen (1989) has argued
that meanings of construction, empirical identification, and
the explanatory power of the extended-self concept are not
valid. In response, Belk (1989) subsequently clarified the
extended-self.

Possessions and Self-Identity Enhancement Models

How does the purchase and consumption of material goods
exert an influence upon self-identity? A theoretical
approach to this question was presented by Grubb and Grathwohl (1967). According to them, the consumption of material products can enhance self-identity under the following two conditions:

1) When products are publicly recognized and they are expected to match an individual's self-identity.
2) When products become the means of increasing desired reactions among others.

Grubb and Grathwohl (1967) developed a Consumer Behavior Model to explain the process of self-identity enhancement through the consumption of products. The model consisted of six steps:

1) An individual possesses his/her self-identity.
2) Self-identity is a matter of interest to him/her.
3) Because of this interest, the individual will try to enhance his/her self-identity.
4) The individual's self-identity is formed through the process of interactions with influential others (e.g., parents, friends, relatives).
5) Material products serve as social symbols. Thus, the products can be a means of communication to others.
6) Consumption of the products as symbols communicates meanings to both the individual and to others, influencing the interaction process between the individual and others. Finally, the influenced interaction affects the individual's self-identity.
The Grubb and Grathwohl model explained how products play an important role in the satisfaction of a consumer's needs and for communication with others. Solomon (1983) took this model one step further:

There is no doubt that products play an important role in the satisfaction of needs and in communication to others in an a posteriori sense, but this is not the whole story. Products also can play an a priori role as stimuli that are antecedent to behavior. (p. 322)

Thus, a bidirectional relationship model between products and consumers was developed. According to the model, products serve not only as tools for communication with others, but have even greater importance in the provision of blueprints for consumer behaviors by expressing particular roles attached to the products. This model which explains the contribution of product consumption (as stimuli) to the consumers' role definition can be explained as follows:

- The greater the discrepancy between ideal role behaviors and the ability to perform the roles, the more likely the products will act as stimuli toward role definition.
- With sufficient role knowledge, the consumer is likely to use the products for communication.
- On the other hand, when role knowledge is lacking, consumer role behavior becomes dependent upon external cues, such as the responses of others. In this situation, products are used to establish the consumer's place in the social system.
Therefore, those with little knowledge are largely reliant upon the external cues achieved by product symbolism to internalize their role scripts.

Finally, consumer role performance serves as feedback information to role knowledge via role validation.

Possessions and Self-Identity: We are What We Have

That possessions are an important component of our sense of self has been supported by a number of studies. "The things to which we are attached help to define who we are, who we were, and who we hope to become" (Mehta & Belk, 1991, p. 398). Strong relationships between possessions and self-identity are evidenced when the impacts of the acquisition and disposition of products upon self-identity are considered. McAlexander and Schouten (1989) pointed out that people acquire consumer goods and services to prepare themselves for their social class and status transitions. For example, male business major seniors buy suits and ties before they enter the real business world so that they can mentally prepare for their identity transition. It is also of interest that individuals prepare themselves for difficult life transitions, such as divorce, by disposing of their possessions (McAlexander, 1990). These studies have indicated that people try to maintain or change their self-identity by acquiring or disposing of their possessions.

The maintenance of sense of the self by the acquisition and disposition of possessions has been supported by Mehta and Belk (1991), who reported the significant contribution of
possessions to the reconstruction and maintenance of self-identity among Indian immigrants. The favorite possessions of immigrants from India in the United States and Indians living in India were compared. Findings identified a strong positive correlation between the length of time the immigrants had lived in the United States and the number of Indian artifacts the immigrants possessed. Very often, these artifacts were their favorite objects. The findings also suggested that the immigrants had tried to maintain their Indian identity by accumulating possessions relating to India, including the artifacts and materials brought from India.

Similar functions of possessions have been identified among other groups. For example, when retirees move into nursing homes, they bring cherished objects with more symbolic than monetary value so that they can avoid feelings of loneliness. These possessions provide retirees with "a sense of security as well as continuity in one's link with others" (Wallendorf & Arnould, 1988, p. 532). Since we control our self-identity by acquiring and disposing our possessions (McAlexander & Schouten, 1989; McAlexander, 1990), we feel diminished self-identity when we are involuntarily deprived of our possessions (Belk, 1988a). Institutions, such as prisons, armies, and mental hospitals, manipulate the self-identity of new members by controlling their personal possessions. The first step in admission procedures at these institutions is characterized as taking away personal possessions in the form of clothing,
properties, or even names, then providing new possessions based upon common clothing or hair styles (Goffman, 1961). Deprived of their older possessions, the new members experience the loss of self-identity, and hence begin to identify themselves as new persons.

Another obvious example of the strong linkages between possessions and self-identity can be seen in the meaning of weapons to soldiers. Since the possession of weapons directly affects soldiers' fighting competence, and even determine life or death issues, soldiers regard weapons as an important part of themselves. This is equally true of the relationships between sport equipment and competitive athletes. For skiers, runners, skaters, or bicycle racers, athletic competence is heavily dependent upon the quality of the equipment and clothing used. Albert (1982) explored the meaning of equipment to bicycle racers through an analysis of cycling magazines, extensive participant observations, and informal interviews. He determined that serious riders continuously invested their money and energy into the acquisition of cycles which provided the best personal fit. Often, a competent rider was described as "looking good on the bike" (p. 328), while a good bicycle was said "to disappear underneath you, to handle so predictably and maneuver so effortlessly that you forget it's there" (p. 323). Albert concluded that for the rider, the bicycle was more than a tool, it was an integral part of the rider.
Summary

This chapter presented four sections. The first reviewed the literature which supported the interdependence of sport and culture. Sport and culture were interdependent since (1) sport, play, and games have unique functions within dominant cultures; (2) the nature of physical activities was changed as dominant social orders changed; and (3) sport was transformed by adoptive societies. The second section reviewed the literature which supported the approach that sport was not totally dependent upon the dominant culture and considered sport as a subcultural phenomenon. The history of judo was described in the third section; and the origins of judo in Japan, the United States, and the transformation of judo in Britain were described. Finally, consumer behavioral studies related to possessions in relation to the sense of self were reviewed. Models of self-identity enhancement and studies which supported linkages between possessions and self-identity were the principal focal issues of the last section.
CHAPTER III
METHODS AND PROCEDURES

The methods and procedures employed in this study are presented in this chapter, beginning with a brief review of ethnographic research methods in the fields of sport sociology and consumer behavior. Second, the ethnographic information gathering methods employed for this study are summarized and then described in detail. Since the in-depth interview method was the principal source of information, this technique is given additional detailed descriptions. The characteristics of the informants as well as of the investigator in this study are described. Finally, methods of information analysis are addressed.

**Ethnographic Approach in Sport Sociology and Consumer Behavior**

Studies of sport subcultures in the field of sport sociology have almost always employed an ethnographic approach (Albert, 1984; Boroff, 1969; Donnelly & Young, 1985; Jacobs, 1976; Klein, 1986; Pearson, 1979; Weinberg & Arond, 1969; Williams & Donnelly, 1985). Ethnographic studies focus upon: 1) description of behavioral characteristics among members of a subculture, 2) description of common subcultural careers among members, and 3) description of ideal manners
and subcultural-identity among members (Donnelly & Young, 1988).

In the field of consumer behavior, the ethnographic approach has become a popular tool, since the trial study, "Consumer Behavior Odyssey" by Belk, Sherry, and Wallendorf (1988). The increased popularity of the ethnographic approach is largely due to the lack of consumer behavioral theory. Thus, emphasis has shifted from a deductive approach based upon borrowed theory, to an inductive approach constructed from original theory (Belk, 1987).

This study employed an ethnographic approach similar to that used in a number of sport subculture studies and consumer behavior studies. Since a common theory for the description of the cultural and historical transformation of sport has not been developed, a number of qualitative studies based upon an inductive approach have been indispensable in the construct of a theoretical approach (Donnelly & Young, 1988). Overall, the ethnographic approach is designed to develop emergent themes and hypotheses to explain how the forms and meanings of a sport are incorporated by an adoptive society when the sport has been introduced from one society to another.

Ethnographic Information Collection Methods

In-depth interviews with judo instructors were expected to be the principal source of data. In addition, other source of information supplemented the data from the in-depth interview. Triangulation, or the use of more than one source
of data, was employed to substantiate the conclusions of this study as well as to substantiate validity and reliability (Thomas & Nelson, 1990a). Table 1 shows the various data collection methods utilized in this study. The following sections describe each information collection method.

In-Depth Interviews

In-depth interviews with judo instructors in the United States and Japan were expected to be the principal source of information for the exploration of the cultural and historical transformation of judo. Ten in-depth interviews were conducted in each country, each lasting from 40 to 50 minutes. The following sections specify: a) how the number and criterion of informants were determined; b) how informants were selected; c) the characteristics of the informants; and d) how information was collected during the interviews.

Number of Informants

Ten informants were selected in the United States and Japan, respectively. This seemed to be a reasonable number since (a) the present study employed in-depth interviews, (b) various information methods were employed in the conduct of the study, and (c) the study was not dependent upon the tools of statistical analysis.
Table 1. Information Gathering Methods.

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<th>Method</th>
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<th>Japan Informants</th>
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<td>1. In-Depth-Interviews With Judo Instructors.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>At-Home:</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>U.S., n = 9 Informants</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Japan, n = 3 Informants</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Elsewhere:</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>the US, n = 1 Informants</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Japan, n = 7 Informants</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Information Recording:</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- Audio Recording,</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- Photographs,</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- Field Notes,</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- Journal</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Observations in Judo Clubs.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Informants’ Clubs:</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>U.S., n = 7 Clubs</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Japan, n = 9 Clubs</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Information Recording:</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- Photographs,</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>- Field Notes,</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- Journal</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>U.S., n = 2 Tournaments</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Japan, n = 2 Tournaments</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Information Recording:</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- Photographs,</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- Field Notes,</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- Journal</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. Informal Interviews.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>U.S., n = 4 Informants</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Japan, n = 3 Informants</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Information Recording:</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- Field Notes,</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- Journal</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. Analysis of publications of judo clubs,</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>U.S., n = 3 Publications</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Japan, n = 2 Publications</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Information Recording:</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- Journal</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Characteristics of Good Informants

Prior to the selection of informants, five characteristics for good ethnographic interview informants, as recommended by Spradley (1979), were identified to assume that informants were obtained from whom the investigator could derive useful knowledge. These five characteristics were developed as follows:

a) Thorough enculturation: Good informants have been engaged in the judo subculture over a long time period (ten years longer) and are fully encultured within the subculture.

b) Current involvement: Good informants will be currently employed as judo instructors and/or will practice as competitors and will regard the judo subculture from the perspective of judo instructors or competitors.

c) Unfamiliar cultural scene to the investigator: Good informants will be from a heterogeneous cultural scene, unfamiliar to the investigator who will seek to explore and describe the cultural scene.

d) Adequate time for interviews: Good informants will be willing to allocate an adequate length of time to an in-depth interview.

e) Nonanalytic attitude: Good informants will not analyze the judo subculture from an outsider's perspective; however, they will be prepared to analyze it from an insider's perspective.
Sampling of Informants

Selection of the informants for the current study was based upon both criterion-based sampling and purposive sampling methods. Criterion-based sampling was employed to achieve a meaningful cross-cultural comparison by controlling the characteristics of the informants, while purposive sampling was utilized to examine and develop investigative interpretations by reference to subjective sampling.

Criterion-Based Sampling.

To conduct meaningful cross-cultural comparisons, it is desirable to control such demographic factors as age, social class, income, education, and gender (Mehta & Belk, 1991). For this study, desirable demographic criteria for informants were determined as follows. Informants were expected to:

- be from 30 to 60 years of age;
- be gainfully employed;
- have at least the first-degree of the black belt;
- officially belong to one or more judo organizations (i.e., the USJA, USJF, or Kodokan);
- work currently as a judo instructor;
- have more than 10 years of judo experience, either as competitor and/or instructor;
- be of the male gender;
- work at a machi-dojo, or a private local judo club, as opposed to a judo club at schools, colleges, companies, or police departments;
- have American nationality, for informants in the U.S.,
  and Japanese nationality, for informants in Japan;
- be no more than a third generation Asian-Americans (to
  include the third generation) for informants in the
  United States.

**Purposive Sampling.**

Purposive sampling allows for flexible investigative
sampling for the goal of obtaining informants from whom the
greatest amount of knowledge can be derived for the
development of emergent themes (Thomas & Nelson, 1990a).
Therefore, even when an informant did not meet all of the
criteria or some of the five characteristics of good
informants, he could be retained so long as the investigator
believed that he would be useful. In this study, one
American and one Japanese judo instructor served as
informants though they failed to meet all of the criteria
(Table 2).

**Selection Procedure**

**U.S. Informants:** All judo clubs, and the chief
instructors of all clubs in the State of Oregon, were
identified through the assistance of a judo club in Corvallis
Oregon. Nine Judo instructors who met all of the criteria
for good informants and the sampling criteria, and one who
failed to meet some of the criteria (degree of judo and
length of judo experience), were asked to be informants for
this study. Personal telephone contacts were established by
Table 2. Demographic Characteristics of the Informants.

Table 2-1. Informants in the U.S.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Informants' Name* &amp; Occupation</th>
<th>Age</th>
<th>Degree of Belt</th>
<th>Approval Organization</th>
<th>Starting Age</th>
<th>Length of Involvement (Years)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Levy (Steel worker)</td>
<td>56</td>
<td>3rd Dan</td>
<td>JF/Kodokan</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>32</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Becker (School teacher)</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>1st Dan</td>
<td>JA</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Erickson (Special education teacher)</td>
<td>45</td>
<td>1st Dan</td>
<td>JF</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>32</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>McCracken (Independent businessman)</td>
<td>53</td>
<td>3rd Dan</td>
<td>JF/Kodokan</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>26</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Linton (Radio graph technician)</td>
<td>48</td>
<td>5th Dan</td>
<td>JF/Kodokan</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>23</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Berg (Roofer)</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>2nd Dan</td>
<td>JA</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>19</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Foote (Small business owner)</td>
<td>58</td>
<td>4th Dan</td>
<td>JA</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>32</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Davis (Retired air space engineer)</td>
<td>67</td>
<td>5th Dan</td>
<td>JA</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>37</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Knight** (Contractor)</td>
<td>52</td>
<td>1st Kyu</td>
<td>JA</td>
<td>45</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Smith (Small business owner)</td>
<td>52</td>
<td>3rd Dan</td>
<td>JA</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>25</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* Pseudo-name.
** Informant who did not meet some criteria (the criteria which the informant failed to meet are underlined).

JA = the United States Judo Association.
JF = the United States Judo Federation.
Table 2-2. Informants in Japan.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Informants' Name* &amp; Occupation</th>
<th>Age</th>
<th>Degree of Belt</th>
<th>Approval Organization</th>
<th>Starting Age</th>
<th>Length of Involvement (Years)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Ando (Public officer at post office)</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>6th Dan</td>
<td>Kodokan</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>35</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sasaki (Employee at insurance company)</td>
<td>45</td>
<td>4th Dan</td>
<td>Kodokan</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>29</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kawasaki (Acupuncturist)</td>
<td>56</td>
<td>6th Dan</td>
<td>Kodokan</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>43</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tagawa (Small business owner)</td>
<td>48</td>
<td>6th Dan</td>
<td>Kodokan</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>35</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Watanabe** (Employee)</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>1st Dan</td>
<td>Kodokan</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kawaguchi (Chief coordinator of local farmers association)</td>
<td>53</td>
<td>2nd Dan</td>
<td>Kodokan</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>37</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Uematsu (Small business owner)</td>
<td>41</td>
<td>5th Dan</td>
<td>Kodokan</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>26</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Takashima (Jr. high school teacher)</td>
<td>43</td>
<td>6th Dan</td>
<td>Kodokan</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>28</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nakamura (Employee)</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>5th Dan</td>
<td>Kodokan</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>36</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Toyoda (Farm and shopping stores owner)</td>
<td>43</td>
<td>4th Dan</td>
<td>Kodokan</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>27</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

M=45  Md=5th  M=14  M=31

* Pseudo-name.
** Informant who did not meet some criteria (the criteria which the informant failed to meet are underlined).
the investigator. All informants represented different clubs in the state of Oregon. Since this study was designed to explore cross-cultural differences in the forms and meanings of judo between Western and Oriental societies, first, second, and third generation Asian Americans, who were those most likely to possess Oriental values even in the absence of judo experience, were totally excluded from the group of informants to avoid distorted interpretations.

Japanese Informants: Judo is a popular sport in Japan, similar in acceptance to amateur wrestling in the United States. Judo is practiced at various types of clubs, including all levels of schools, police departments, and private companies, as well as machi-dojo or local private clubs. However, except for local private clubs, all clubs reflect a certain homogeneity of membership. For example, the members of a judo club at a police department are all policemen; and the members of a high school club are all high school students. To conduct a meaningful cross-cultural comparison, all Japanese informants were selected only from the machi-dojo. These machi-dojo in Japan have characteristics which in many respects are identical to those of judo clubs in the United States. They have similar practice frequencies each week and practice hours, and they consist of a heterogeneous membership. A list of local judo clubs and instructors, published by Shizuoka-Ken Tobu Judo Renmei or the Eastern Shizuoka Prefecture Judo Federation, and a snowballing sampling method were used to identify all local judo clubs in the cities of Numazu and Susono. Both
cities are located adjacent to the southern base of Mt. Fuji; the populations of each city are approximately 200,000 and 60,000, respectively. Ten informants were selected from different machi-dojo in the two cities. Unlike judo clubs in the United States, typical Japanese local judo clubs have more than one instructor. When a club had more than one instructor, the investigator chose the instructor who had been most closely involved in club activities during the previous year.

Characteristics of Informants

Demographic characteristics of the informants in the two countries are given in Table 2. The informants from both countries had similar mean ages and similar lengths of judo involvement. Occupation was an interesting point of agreement. Four Americans and five Japanese informants operated their own independent businesses. This might be considered as a characteristic of judo instructors since self-employment allows them to manage their time with relative ease in comparison to those who are employed by others.

However, there was a distinctive difference between American and Japanese informants relative to the ages at which they began judo training. Most of the American informants started judo in their 20's, while all of the Japanese began training prior to their 17th year of age. This difference was also reflected in the length of involvement and in the degree of judo achieved. Another
difference between the American and Japanese informants relative to their characteristics was the frequency of change of residence. Eight out of the 10 American informants began judo in a state other than Oregon. In contrast, 8 out of the 10 Japanese informants began judo in either Numazu or Susono city (Table 3).

Location of In-Depth Interview

The investigator planned to conduct in-depth interviews at the informants' homes to facilitate observation and recording of the favorite possessions of the informants. However, one American informant and seven Japanese declined to allow this interview in their homes. The reason why so many Japanese declined is that they have a high sense of privacy. To maintain rapport with those informants, the investigator did not try to force an at-home in-depth interview, but rather interviewed the informants at places where they felt more comfortable (i.e., practice halls or cafeterias). These interviews conducted in other locations made it difficult to record the favorite objects of the informants visually. However, during these interviews, the informants were encouraged to verbally identify the features of their favorite objects and to specify their location.

Information from In-Depth Interview

The in-depth interviews included the utilization of a) a questionnaire, b) audio tapes, c) photographs, d) field notes, and e) a journal.
Table 3. Migration of Informants.

Table 3-1. American Informants.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Informants' Name</th>
<th>Location of first judo involvement</th>
<th>Year of involvement</th>
<th>Arrival in Oregon</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Levy</td>
<td>Oregon</td>
<td>1960</td>
<td>----</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Becker</td>
<td>Oregon</td>
<td>1980</td>
<td>----</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Erickson</td>
<td>Arizona</td>
<td>1961</td>
<td>1978</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>McCracken</td>
<td>Illinois</td>
<td>1967</td>
<td>1987</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Linton</td>
<td>California</td>
<td>1966</td>
<td>1975</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Berg</td>
<td>England</td>
<td>1977</td>
<td>1984</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Foote</td>
<td>Florida</td>
<td>1960</td>
<td>1979</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Davis</td>
<td>California</td>
<td>1955</td>
<td>1986</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Knight</td>
<td>Alaska</td>
<td>1985</td>
<td>1989</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* Other than the United States.

Table 3-2. Japanese Informants.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Informants' Name</th>
<th>Location of first judo involvement</th>
<th>Year of involvement</th>
<th>Arrival in Numazu or Susono</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Ando</td>
<td>Numazu</td>
<td>1958</td>
<td>----</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sasaki</td>
<td>Numazu</td>
<td>1961</td>
<td>----</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kawasaki</td>
<td>Shiga*</td>
<td>1949</td>
<td>1975</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tagawa</td>
<td>Numazu</td>
<td>1955</td>
<td>----</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Watanabe</td>
<td>Numazu</td>
<td>1982</td>
<td>----</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kawaguchi</td>
<td>Numazu</td>
<td>1965</td>
<td>----</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Uematsu</td>
<td>Numazu</td>
<td>1965</td>
<td>----</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Takashima</td>
<td>Susono</td>
<td>1964</td>
<td>----</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nakamura</td>
<td>Hyogo*</td>
<td>1955</td>
<td>1986</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Toyoda</td>
<td>Numazu</td>
<td>1964</td>
<td>----</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* Other than Shizuoka Prefecture.
a) **Questionnaire:** A questionnaire was utilized to make the interviews efficient and fruitful, and to provide a basis for organization of the results. The questionnaire was filled out by the investigator through the discussions with informants. Normal interviews were conducted based upon the order of the items in the questionnaire (Appendix B).

b) **Audio Tapes:** All interviews were recorded so that the investigator had a complete verbal record of all interviews.

c) **Photographs:** Photographs provided raw data on the favorite possessions of each informant, how these possessions were maintained or used, and where they were exhibited or stored.

d) **Field Notes:** After each interview, data obtained during the interview, audio tapes, and photographs were transcribed in the field notes (examples of the transcriptions of the in-depth interviews with American and Japanese informants are given in Appendices C and D).

e) **Journal:** Immediately after each interview, the investigator recorded impressions of the interviews and the themes which emerged from the interviews on audio tape.

**Opening of In-Depth Interviews**

The procedure for each in-depth interview strictly followed the Developmental Research Sequence established by Spradley (1979). The following steps illustrate the opening of a typical interview:
1) The date and time of the interviews were established, based on the informant's most convenient date and time as determined through personal contact by the investigator.

2) Before an interview began, the investigator explained that the purpose of the study was to explore how judo had been incorporated and/or transformed by American society.

3) Informants were asked if their conversation could be recorded with audio tapes.

4) The investigator showed the informants the questionnaire, and then explained the types of questions that would be asked.

Observations of Judo Clubs

The investigator conducted participant observations at the judo clubs of 7 out of the 10 American informants. Each of these seven clubs was visited twice during a period of June through September, 1992. The clubs of three of the informants were not visited since practices were not being held during the summer break. The normal observation lasted from two to three hours. During the observations, photographs, journal, and field notes were utilized to record information.

In Japan, observations were conducted at 9 out of the 10 informants' clubs during the period from July through August, 1992. Observations were conducted on two occasions, and the average duration was three hours. Table 4 shows the practice
Table 4. Practice Days & Hours of Judo Clubs.

Table 4-1. Judo Clubs in the US.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Club &amp; Informants' Name</th>
<th>Days of Practice</th>
<th>Practice Hours</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>A* Levy</td>
<td>MON, TUE, THU.</td>
<td>7:00 - 9:00 PM</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>B* McCracken</td>
<td>MON, WED.</td>
<td>8:30 - 10:30 PM</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>C Becker</td>
<td>TUE, THU.</td>
<td>6:30 - 8:30 PM</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>D* Erickson</td>
<td>WED.</td>
<td>5:00 - 7:00 PM</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>E Linton</td>
<td>MON, WED.</td>
<td>6:00 - 8:00 PM</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>F* Foote</td>
<td>MON, WED.</td>
<td>6:30 - 8:00 PM</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>G* Berg</td>
<td>TUE, WED, THU.</td>
<td>4:30 - 6:30 PM</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>H* Smith</td>
<td>MON, THU.</td>
<td>8:00 - 10:00 PM</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I Davis</td>
<td>MON, WED.</td>
<td>7:00 - 8:30 PM</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>J* Knight</td>
<td>SAT.</td>
<td>10:00 - 12:00 AM</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* Clubs observed.

Table 4-2. Judo Clubs in Japan.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Club &amp; Informants' Name</th>
<th>Days of Practice</th>
<th>Practice Hours</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>K* Ando</td>
<td>TUE, FRI.</td>
<td>6:00 - 8:00 PM</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>L* Sasaki</td>
<td>TUE, THU, SAT.</td>
<td>6:30 - 9:00 PM</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>M* Kawasaki</td>
<td>MON, WED, FRI.</td>
<td>6:00 - 8:00 PM</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>N* Tagawa</td>
<td>MON, TUE, WED, THU, FRI, SAT.</td>
<td>6:00 - 9:00 PM</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>O* Watanabe</td>
<td>MON, SAT.</td>
<td>6:00 - 7:30 PM</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>P* Kawaguchi</td>
<td>TUE, SAT.</td>
<td>7:00 - 8:30 PM</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Q* Uematsu</td>
<td>TUE, THU, SAT.</td>
<td>6:30 - 8:30 PM</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>R* Takashima</td>
<td>WED, SAT.</td>
<td>7:30 - 9:15 PM</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>S* Nakamura</td>
<td>THU, SAT.</td>
<td>7:00 - 9:00 PM</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>T Toyoda</td>
<td>SAT.</td>
<td>7:00 - 8:30 PM</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* Clubs observed.
days and hours for the judo clubs of all informants.

Normally, clubs in the two countries held two to three practices each week, each lasting about two hours. One obvious difference between the two countries was the day of practice. None of the American clubs held practices on weekend evenings, while all of the Japanese clubs held practices on weekend evenings (either Friday or Saturday evening). In Japan, larger numbers of members attended practices on weekends than during weekdays.

Table 5 shows the average number of students who attended each practice and the demographic characteristics of the students of each club in the two countries. American clubs had smaller numbers of judo students, greater turnover rates, and greater variation in the numbers in attendance each time than did the Japanese clubs. Although there were a number of adult instructors, fewer adult students were observed in Japan. Generally, small numbers of female students were observed in the both countries.

**Observations of Judo Tournaments**

Two local judo tournaments in the state of Oregon and two in the eastern part of the Shizuoka Prefecture were observed by the investigator. One tournament in Oregon was attended by 30 Juniors (under 17 years of age) and 20 Seniors (over 17 years of age) from seven local clubs. The other tournament was attended by 45 Juniors from six clubs. In Japan, one tournament was attended by 90 elementary school children (under 12 years of age) from five clubs and 25
Table 5. Characteristics of Students.

Table 5-1. Clubs in the U.S.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Clubs</th>
<th>Ave. Number of Attendees</th>
<th>Students</th>
<th>Gender</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Under 17 (%)</td>
<td>Over 17 (%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A*</td>
<td>17 to 18</td>
<td>80</td>
<td>20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>B*</td>
<td>8 to 12</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>90</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>C</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>90</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>D*</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>75</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>E</td>
<td>5 to 10</td>
<td>90</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>F*</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>35</td>
<td>65</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>G*</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>80</td>
<td>20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>H*</td>
<td>20 to 25</td>
<td>80</td>
<td>20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I</td>
<td>8 to 9</td>
<td>90</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>J*</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* Clubs observed

Table 5-2. Clubs in Japan.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Clubs</th>
<th>Ave. Number of Attendees</th>
<th>Students</th>
<th>Gender</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Under 17 (%)</td>
<td>Over 17 (%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>K*</td>
<td>20 to 30</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>L*</td>
<td>35</td>
<td>95</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>M*</td>
<td>35</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>N*</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>95</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>O*</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>95</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>P*</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Q*</td>
<td>35</td>
<td>90</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>R*</td>
<td>35</td>
<td>65</td>
<td>35</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>S*</td>
<td>25 to 30</td>
<td>45</td>
<td>55</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>T</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>90</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* Clubs observed.
high school students (from 15 to 18 years of age) from four high school judo clubs. The other tournament was based upon local high school championships, and over 200 players from 28 high schools participated. The tournaments in the two countries were held between June, 1992 and August, 1992.

Observations of the local tournaments helped the investigator identify common customs among the local judo clubs and the local level judo subculture. During the observations, information was recorded in journals, by photographs and in field notes.

**Informal Interviews**

In addition to the in-depth interviews, informal interviews with four American judoists who have practiced both at judo clubs owned by Asians (i.e., Japanese-American or Korean-American) and by American were conducted. They were asked to describe any differences in methods of practice and in attitudes toward judo between the American-owned clubs and the Asian-owned clubs.

In Japan, a national level instructor for the female judo team who had just returned from the Barcelona Olympic Games, an instructor from a local club who had visited a judo club in the United States, and an assistant coach who had competed in the United States were asked to describe any perceived differences between Japanese judo and Western judo.

In both countries, the informal interviews normally took from 30 to 45 minutes. Field notes and journals were
utilized to record information. Table 6 summarizes some of the features of the informants for the informal interviews.

**Analysis of Publications**

Publications from four judo clubs in the United States and two clubs in Japan were also utilized as a supplementary source of information. The publications from American clubs included a text of judo techniques, prints of judo history, judo terminology sheets, contest record books, written examinations for promotion, anniversary publications, and diverse publication. Publications from the Japanese clubs included anniversary publications, tournament catalogs, instruction plans, and monthly announcements.

**Investigator**

Since the methods employed in this study were based upon interviews and observations, developing "rapport" between informants and the investigator was of crucial importance (Thomas & Nelson, 1990b). Hill and Stamey (1990) have stated that an investigator must have in-depth knowledge of a specific subculture to which an investigation is directed to avoid potential distortions in interpretation. The investigator for the present study has had 16 years of judo experience, both as a competitor and as an instructor in various cultural settings (10 years in Japan, 2 years in Costa Rica, 1 year in Guatemala, and currently 2 years in the United States). Thus, "rapport" with judoists in both the
Table 6. Informants of Informal Interview.

**Table 6-1. American Informants.**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name*</th>
<th>Position</th>
<th>Age</th>
<th>Degree of Judo</th>
<th>Experience</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Hill</td>
<td>Judo student</td>
<td>34</td>
<td>1st Kyu</td>
<td>Practiced at Korean club for 3 years.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fry</td>
<td>Assistant coach</td>
<td>32</td>
<td>4th Dan</td>
<td>Belonged to Japanese owned club for 5 years.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ikenoya</td>
<td>Judo student</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>1st Dan</td>
<td>Practiced at Japanese-owned club and in Japan.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Curtis</td>
<td>Assistant coach</td>
<td>35</td>
<td>2nd Dan</td>
<td>Began judo at Japanese-owned clubs and practiced for 10 years.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* Pseudo-name.

**Table 6-2. Japanese Informants.**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name*</th>
<th>Position</th>
<th>Age</th>
<th>Degree of Judo</th>
<th>Experience</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Nemoto</td>
<td>Coach at a high school judo club</td>
<td>43</td>
<td>6th Dan</td>
<td>Attended the Seoul and Barcelona Olympic Games.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nakamura</td>
<td>Assistant coach</td>
<td>43</td>
<td>5th Dan</td>
<td>Visited a local judo club in the United States.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Furuta</td>
<td>Assistant coach</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>4th Dan</td>
<td>Competed at national level tournament in the United States.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* Pseudo-name.
United States and Japan was established with relative ease. The investigator also had the advantage of being able to speak both Japanese and English, knowledge of judo terminology, and access to judo clubs and informants for the study.

**Information Analysis**

The purpose of this study was to develop emergent themes and hypotheses addressing the cultural and historical transformations of a sport. The process of developing emergent themes or theorization may be characterized as "perceiving; comparing, contrasting, aggregating, and ordering; establishing linkage and relationships; and speculating" (Goetz & LeCompte, 1974, p. 167). Analysis of information obtained through a naturalistic study does not wait until completion of an investigation. It "begins during initial collection of data and continues throughout the projects" (Belk et al., 1988, p. 455).

To support interpretations of raw information, the member check technique was employed in this study. Belk et al. (1988) explained the member check as follows:

A member check involves providing all or a portion of a final report to people who have served as informants on the project.... Their commentary on the interpretation in the report are sought as a check on the viability of the interpretation. (P. 455)
For the current study, two member checks were conducted; one with an American informant, and one with a Japanese informant.

In addition, speculative and negative analysis were employed for information analysis. Speculation required the investigator to "play with the data and make inferences" and to "go beyond the data and predict what will happen in the future" (Thomas & Nelson, 1990a, p. 334). For negative analysis, the investigator looked for exceptional cases to allow reformulation of the hypothesis and redefinition of the phenomena observed.
CHAPTER IV
EMERGENT HYPOTHESES

Three hypotheses addressing the cultural and historical transformation of judo have emerged from this study. These include the following: 1) The forms of judo are independent of the dominant society, thus they have been incorporated into American society subject to minor transformation; 2) the meanings of judo are strongly dependent upon the dominant society, thus judo in the United States and Japan reflect distinctive functions in each society; 3) in Japan, internationalization has been a greater influence upon judo than in the United States, thus the forms of judo in Japan have been changing faster than judo in the United States. These hypotheses are discussed in the following sections.

Independence of the Forms of Judo from the Dominant Society

The results of in-depth interviews and participant observations of judo clubs in the United States and Japan are strongly supportive of the existence of a cross-cultural judo subculture. Identical practice methods, terminology and techniques, and common ceremonies and customs were observed throughout the investigation in both countries. The forms of Japanese judo seemed to have been adopted by American society
with little transformation. Cross-cultural subcultures are addressed in the following sections: 1) practice methods, 2) costumes, 3) bowing ceremonies, 4) belt system, and 5) language and terminology.

Practice Methods

Although the number and age of participants varied among clubs in the two countries, similar methods of practice were observed. A typical judo practice sequence included: 1) opening bows, 2) warm-up, 3) ukemi or practice taking falls, 4) newaza or mat work, 5) uchikomi or throwing technique repetitions, 6) sutegeiko or throwing opponents, 7) randori or free practice, and 8) closing bows.

Without exception, judo practice in the two countries began with a bowing ceremony. After instructors and students had bowed to one another, they warmed up. Warming-up included training exercises, including sit-ups and push-ups. One unique style of push-up, the “Japanese push-up” was observed at most of the clubs in the two countries. This style of push-up, though called “Japanese,” was rarely seen other than in judo practice in Japan. Other gymnastic exercises were used to stretch and warm up the body. All levels of judoists, from white to black belts, practiced ukemi as a part of the warm-up.

Newaza, or free practice at the ground position, was done prior to the standing techniques since it was regarded as a good warm-up and a preparation for the standing techniques. Especially during the winter, reportedly, the
Japanese engage in mat work before practicing standing techniques in order to avoid injuries. In the two countries, when the instructors said "newaza" or "mat randori," judo students found their partners and sat down back-to-back on the mats with their legs straight. When instructors said "hajime," or begin, they tried to pin, choke, or practice joint techniques with their opponents. Each mat randori lasted from two to four minutes.

Following the mat work, the students practiced uchikomi, or repetitive paired throwing techniques. In uchikomi, one judoist practiced single throwing techniques with exactly the same form at the same speed, repetitively. The purpose of the practice was to learn to use the technique automatically. Partners might be changed each 10 or 20 repetitions, or practice might continue with the same partner for a certain number of repetitions. Usually, from 100 to 200 repetitions were performed. Once judoists had finished uchikomi, they practiced sutegeiko, in which the opponent was thrown in realistic movements, physically and mentally preparing them for randori.

Normally, the instructors explained a few standing or ground techniques prior to randori. After instruction, students formed pairs and practiced the techniques repeatedly. It is of interest that the students tended to choose the partners of the same rank.

Practice was completed with randori, each of which lasted from two to four minutes. However, among black belt judoists, randori could last for more than 10 minutes.
Randori was practiced very seriously since the judoists attack each other realistically. This practice required great physical strength and absolute mental concentration.

Cooling or warm-down exercises tended to be omitted. At the end of the practice, everyone lined up as they did at the beginning. The instructors and students then exchanged mutual bows.

Costume

Judo costumes stem from the traditional Japanese clothing called the *kimono*. Judo clothing was called "judo-gi" in Japan, while in the United States it was called simply "gi." The clothing used in the two countries was identical, with the same shapes, and colors (white or ivory), and was made of the same type of cloth (cotton).

The principal reason for this similarity in costume was that the International Judo Federation strictly regulated the color, size, and shape of judo clothing (IJF, 1989). This is because in judo matches competitors seize one another’s clothing; therefore, the size and shape of the judo clothing heavily influences the effects of judo techniques and defense skills. At local tournaments, before matches were started, the clothing of the participants was checked to determine that it met standards. If the clothing failed to meet standards (i.e., too small or too large), the offending competitors would be disqualified.

There were cross-cultural common as well as unique customs observed relative to judo clothing. One common
feature was the use of club symbols. Many judoists had the names and/or symbols of their clubs placed on their clothing on the left-side of the chest. Most of the Japanese used only letters for identification, while Americans were more likely to use symbol marks and logos for identification.

The other unique but common custom was the embroidery of names on belts and judo clothing. Almost all Japanese and some American black-belt holders had embroidered their names on their belts and clothing. Interestingly, many Americans placed their names in katakana, or a type of Japanese character. Belts and clothing with Japanese characters were observed among American judoists with relatively high black-belt degrees. In one sense, these markings were used as a symbol of devotion to judo, since embroidery in Japanese characters was not readily available in the United States. Therefore, the embroidered belts indicated that it was likely that the judoist had trained and received the black-belt in Japan.

**Bowing Ceremonies**

Several ceremonies and customs common to the two countries were identified. The most common ceremony was bowing. A judo practice always began with mutual bowing between instructors and students. Interestingly, this ceremony reflected a strict hierarchy which existed in judo world. When all the members of a club bowed, instructors and students were physically separated. Students lined up in front of instructors to show their respect. There was also a
pecking order among the students. Students lined up in order of the colors of belts (or their rankings) in the United States, whereas they lined up in order of age in Japan. During the bowing ceremony the "instructors first rule" was applied. After bowing with the seiza, or Japanese sitting position, students did not rise before their instructors did.

In the two countries, the manner of bowing was exactly the same, and the sequence of sitting down with a seiza, bowing, and then rising to their feet followed a single style. Moreover, which knee is placed first when sitting in the seiza, where the hands are placed when bowing, and from which leg the judoists begin to stand were strictly fixed.

This bowing ceremony was performed in a solemn atmosphere. All judoists, and even visitors to a practice hall (most are parents), never spoke during this ceremony. In Japan, during the bowing ceremony, other clubs which shared practice halls with the judo clubs, stopped their own practices and maintained silence until the ceremony ended. The bowing ceremony was held not only for the purpose of greetings between instructors and students, but also for the purpose of establishing mental concentration. In fact, meditation was an important part of the ceremony. After everybody was seated on seiza, meditation was observed for about 10 seconds, a period in which the spirits were concentrated.

In both countries, bowing may be observed throughout judo practices. For example, when a judoist practiced with a
partner (e.g., uchikomi, randori, or sutegeiko), both judoists bowed to each other before and after practice.

**Belt Ranking System**

Ranking systems indicated by colored belts is another common custom. This ranking system using various colored belts originated from Kodokan. Although Kodokan recognizes a belt ranking system for children (under 13 years of age), this system is not formalized; rather each local judo club use a unique system for children. However, the system for adults is formalized and is applied to all judoists in Japan as well as other countries. On the other hand, belt systems for both children and adults are regulated by formal judo organizations in the United States. Table 7 shows the belt ranking systems for Kodokan, the USJA and the USJF (Kurihara & Wilson, 1966; USJA, 1990) for seniors, or those 17 years or age or older. No matter the colors used by judoists, the ranking system indicated by colored belts is part of a unique cross-cultural judo subculture.

**Techniques of Judo**

In the United States and Japan, common categories of judo techniques are used. All official judo techniques and types of techniques are indicated by Japanese names. Basically judo techniques may be divided into two groups: nage-waza (throwing techniques) and katame-waza (holding techniques). The nage-waza consists of te-waza or hand throw techniques, koshi-waza or hip throw techniques, ashi-waza or
foot throw techniques, and *sutemi-waza* or sacrifice throw techniques. The *katame-waza* is composed of *osaekomi-waza* or pining techniques, *shime-waza* or choking techniques, and *kansetsu-waza* or joint techniques. Table 8 shows the judo techniques categories, as developed by Kodokan. These categories are currently used both in the United States and Japan.

Table 7. Belt Ranking Systems for Seniors.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Degree of Judo</th>
<th>Kodokan</th>
<th>Color of Belts</th>
<th>USJA</th>
<th>USJF</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>10th Dan*</td>
<td>Red</td>
<td>Red</td>
<td>Red</td>
<td>Red</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9th Dan*</td>
<td>Red</td>
<td>Red</td>
<td>Red</td>
<td>Red</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8th Dan</td>
<td>Red &amp; White or Black</td>
<td>White &amp; Red</td>
<td>White &amp; Red</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7th Dan</td>
<td>Red &amp; White or Black</td>
<td>White &amp; Red</td>
<td>White &amp; Red</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6th Dan</td>
<td>Red &amp; White or Black</td>
<td>White &amp; Red</td>
<td>White &amp; Red</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5th Dan</td>
<td>Black</td>
<td>Black &amp; Red</td>
<td>Black</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4th Dan</td>
<td>Black</td>
<td>Black &amp; Red</td>
<td>Black</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3rd Dan</td>
<td>Black</td>
<td>Black</td>
<td>Black</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2nd Dan</td>
<td>Black</td>
<td>Black</td>
<td>Black</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1st Dan</td>
<td>Black</td>
<td>Black</td>
<td>Black</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1st Kyu</td>
<td>Brown</td>
<td>Brown</td>
<td>Brown</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2nd Kyu</td>
<td>Brown</td>
<td>Brown</td>
<td>Brown</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3rd Kyu</td>
<td>Brown</td>
<td>Brown</td>
<td>Brown</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4th Kyu</td>
<td>White</td>
<td>Green</td>
<td>Green</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5th Kyu</td>
<td>White</td>
<td>Orange</td>
<td>White</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6th Kyu</td>
<td>None</td>
<td>Yellow</td>
<td>White</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7th Kyu</td>
<td>None</td>
<td>White</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* Kodokan and any other organizations do not give 9th or 10th Dan anymore. Therefore, 8th Dan is the highest degree of judo today.
Table 8. Category of Judo Techniques.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Group of Techniques</th>
<th>Types of Techniques</th>
<th>Individual Techniques</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Koshi-Waza . . . .</td>
<td>Hane-Goshi, Harai-Goshi.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Ashi-Waza . . . .</td>
<td>Uchimata, Osoto-Gari</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Sutemi-Waza . . .</td>
<td>Tomoe-Nage, Tani-Otoshi.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Language and Terminology

As discussed above, all official judo techniques or types of techniques stem from Japanese language terminology. This is also true of practice methods, including uchikomi (repetitive throwing technique practice), newaza (mat work), randori (free practice), sutegeiko (practice throwing opponents), and shiai (matches). Moreover, Japanese remains the official language at judo competitions. For example, scores (e.g., ippon or a full point, wazaari or a half-point), penalties (e.g., keikoku or alarm, chui or caution), and referee’s instructions (e.g., hajime or begin, mate or stop) are all expressed in Japanese. Since, this terminology has been derived over 100 years, some terms are unique to judo and are not used in daily life in Japan. Therefore, though these words are Japanese, even Japanese without judo knowledge do not understand what the words mean. The
terminology is understood only by judoists, no matter what their nationality.

In the United States, when judoists count numbers, (e.g., for push-ups or uchikomi), they count in Japanese: eechee (one), nee (two), sahn (three), etc. Except for beginners, everyone is able to count in Japanese to at least 10 or 20. This common cross-cultural language has helped American judoists communicate with Japanese judoists, and vice versa. Mr. Berg (age 30, 2nd Dan) mentioned that his club had had a Japanese visitor who had a judo black belt in judo, but who could speak no English. In spite of this language difficulty, they were able to communicate with one another in the practice hall.

Well, that was nice, we had Mr. Shibahara, a man from Japan, did not speak any English. It was neat because he didn’t speak any English, and well, we didn’t speak any Japanese to communicate enough. But he understood everything going on at the judo mat. Although we didn’t speak the same language, we communicated very well for two hours... It was neat.

Thus the language and terminology of judo, as originated in Japan, has been used in the United States for identical purposes.

Dependence of the Meanings of Judo upon the Dominant Society

The results from observations, in-depth interviews, informal interviews, and review of publication have suggested that the meanings of judo are strongly dependent on the
dominant society. Although common practice methods and ceremonies were observed in judo in the United States and Japan, the meaning of judo practices, ceremonies, and customs were interpreted differently in the two countries. Divergent meanings are discussed first. Second, the functions and contributions of judo in Japanese and American societies are addressed.

Differing Meanings for Ceremonies and Customs

Although common ceremonies and customs exist in both cultures, distinctive differences in the meanings of the ceremonies and customs were observed. This section focuses upon the different meanings between the two countries for: 1) the bowing ceremony, 2) the belt system, 3) emphasis in practice, and 4) the promotion ceremony.

Bowing Ceremony.

Bowing ceremonies were observed at each judo club visited in the United States and Japan. In both countries, the ceremony was conducted to reflect the strict hierarchies of judo society. However, the hierarchies in the two countries were based upon different criteria.

In the United States when the students lined up, they were separated into two groups, depending upon whether they were children (usually under 13 years of age) or adults. The position of a participant within a group of either children or adults was determined by the color of the individual belt rankings. Age and gender were given no consideration.
On the other hand, in Japan, age and gender determined one's position in the line. Though the colored belts represented the length of judo experience and the level of skill, they were of less importance. Mr. Takashima (age 43, 6th Dan) explained his policy relative to line position:

No matter what degree of judo you have, your age is the most important criterion. Older people always sit at higher ranking positions. But at the same time, older people are supposed to teach manners to youngsters. Otherwise, they are not eligible to sit at the positions. Judo experience is not as important as their actual age in my dojo, because what you learn through judo practice should not be limited inside of dojo, but you have to apply it in your daily life.

Although there was some separation between black belt holders and the others, students lined up in the order of their age. Among the black-belt holders, the older judoists sat at higher positions no matter their degree of black belt. Gender was another criterion for position in the line. Females were more likely to be in lower positions within the same age group. In many clubs, even adult female holders of the black belt were set aside in the lowest positions. Mr. Ando (age 50, 6th Dan) explained that:

there is no such rule that adult females have to sit at the lowest position. Females might feel embarrassed for sharing a high position with males.

This segregation of female players was also observed in several other dojos. However, this phenomenon was less likely to exist among children. For adults, the phenomenon was conspicuous.
The different priorities for position in the line reflected the different values of the two countries. The hierarchy system by colored belts observed in the United States is not unique to judo but also other martial arts like karate. Jacobs (1976) reported that colored belts are "the criteria of who they are and what they do" (p. 142) in a Karate dojo. Ignoring other demographic factors and emphasizing one speciality could reflect an American value. For example, if a 16-year-old were able to qualify for college, he/she could be admitted in the United States. Therefore, in American society, age is not considered a barrier to ambition. However, in Japan, one cannot attend college until age 18, no matter how intelligent the individual may be.

In Japan, age is also an important criterion for how to deal with others. Children are expected to respect older people, while older people are expected to care for children. The segregation of female players in Japan is also based on traditional values. Judo stemmed from the martial arts, once exclusively practiced by samurai. Thus, females tended to be turned away from judo society in Japan. In fact, it was not until the first world female judo championships that judo for women became a common sport in Japan. The reason why female judo has become popular in Western societies could be that Westerners did not reflect conservative social values and regarded judo merely as a sport. Though the bowing ceremony has been successfully introduced and diffused throughout the
United States, ceremonies are conducted as a reflection of the different values of the two societies.

Another difference in the bowing ceremony is functional. One of the main functions of the bowing ceremony in Japan is to present a greeting. However, the bowing ceremony does not function as a greeting in American society. After Americans finished the ceremony, the students always offered handshakes to their instructors. For Americans, bowing functioned more as a ceremony and less as a greeting. Mr. Furuta (age 28, 4th Dan) was a college judoist in Japan and, as a college senior, he has participated at national level judo championships in the United States. He provided a summary of an interesting experience:

After I finished my first match, I won fairly easily by the way, I bowed and left the competition area. As soon as I left the area, my American judo friend ran up to me and said "why did you not shake hands with him [the opponent]? Hand shake after a match is an important custom here." I was really upset, you know. So, I said "why do I have to greet twice?"

Bowing is the most important and polite greeting in daily life in Japan, while it means little in American society except a special occasion. Thus, the bowing ceremony functions differently in the two countries.

Belt System.

American judoists seemed to stick to colored belts, or rankings, more than the Japanese. As shown in the Table 5, though the Kodokan, the USJA and the USJF all use a belt
ranking system, the American organizations (USJA & USJF) use a greater number of colored belts.

The belt system has been highly developed in the United States. Both the USJF and the USJA use their own formalized belt systems based on age. The USJF has three ranking systems, one for yonen or children (under 12), a second for shonen or youth (13 to 17 years), and a third for seniors (over 17 years). The USJA has two ranking systems, one for juniors (under 17 years) and the second for seniors (over 17). The ranking systems of the USJF and USJA for those under 17 years of age are described in Table 9 (USJF, 1989; USJA, 1988). According to the USJA, a rank attained as a junior is transferable to the senior rank. Therefore, for example, once the junior green belt is awarded, the same degree is held when one becomes a senior. The USJF applies different system. Even when one attains the yonen purple belt, a child would have to return to the green belt when qualified as shonen. Table 10 shows the USJF system (USJF, 1989).

Table 9-1. USJF Ranking System.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Class</th>
<th>Yonen Rank (12 &amp; under)</th>
<th>Color of Belts</th>
<th>Shonen Rank (13 to 17)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1st Kyu (high)</td>
<td>Purple</td>
<td>Purple</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2nd Kyu</td>
<td>Blue</td>
<td>Blue</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3rd Kyu</td>
<td>Green</td>
<td>Green</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4th Kyu</td>
<td>Orange</td>
<td>Orange</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5th Kyu</td>
<td>Yellow</td>
<td>Yellow</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6th Kyu (low)</td>
<td>White</td>
<td>White</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 9-2. USJA Ranking System.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Degree</th>
<th>Color of Belts (Under 17)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1st Degree (low)</td>
<td>Yellow</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2nd Degree</td>
<td>Yellow</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3rd Degree</td>
<td>Orange</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4th Degree</td>
<td>Orange</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5th Degree</td>
<td>Green</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6th Degree</td>
<td>Green</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7th Degree</td>
<td>Blue</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8th Degree</td>
<td>Blue</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9th Degree</td>
<td>Purple</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10th Degree</td>
<td>Purple</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11th Degree</td>
<td>Brown</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12th Degree (high)</td>
<td>Brown</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Table 10. Rank Conversion.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Yonen (12 &amp; Under)</th>
<th>Shonen (13 to 17)</th>
<th>Senior (over 17)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>White</td>
<td>White</td>
<td>White</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yellow</td>
<td>Yellow</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Orange</td>
<td>Orange</td>
<td>White</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Green</td>
<td>Green</td>
<td>White</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Blue</td>
<td>Blue</td>
<td>Brown</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Purple</td>
<td>Purple</td>
<td>Black</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

A well organized point system for rankings developed by the USJA also indicates Americans' strong interest in rankings. The point system provides students with a clear idea of what must be learned and how many wins at tournaments are required. This objective promotion system encourages judoists to proceed to higher ranks much more than does the traditional USJF system, which is based on instructors' subjective judgments of student mastery of techniques. With the point system, the USJA has attracted a greater number of students than the USJF and it has become the largest judo organization in the United States.

In Japan, though every local private judo club has a belt ranking system for children, there are no formalized belt ranking systems. Each club employs unique colors and orders of belts. Table 11 indicates the belt systems employed by the judo clubs of the 10 Japanese informants.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Clubs*</th>
<th>Order of Colored Belts (Low)</th>
<th>Order of Colored Belts (High)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>K</td>
<td>White - Red - Purple</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>L</td>
<td>White - Blue - Green - Purple - Brown</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>M</td>
<td>White - Blue - Yellow - Green - Purple - Brown</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>N</td>
<td>White - Yellow - Blue - Green - Purple - Brown</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>O</td>
<td>White - Blue - Green - Purple - Brown</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>P</td>
<td>White - Yellow - Blue - Green - Purple - Brown</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Q</td>
<td>White - Yellow - Blue - Green - Purple - Brown</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>R</td>
<td>White - Yellow - Green - Brown</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>S</td>
<td>White - Yellow - Green - Pastel - Purple - Brown</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>T</td>
<td>White - Yellow - Blue</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* Refer Table 4-2.

With the exception of black belts, the belts acquired from a local judo club are meaningless in another dojo. Many Japanese instructors said that the colored belts were used as incentives for children. Some instructors mentioned that belts were utilized to distinguish the ages of children, but not achievement levels. When children reached a certain age, they could then automatically receive a higher rank.

Though the Kodokan ranking system for adults has several colored belts, including white, brown, white and red stripe, and red (Table 7), usually only the white and black are used by adult judoists in Japan. For example, when one earned 1st Kyu, a white belt was more likely to be worn than a brown belt. Even if a child had won a purple belt, he/she would return to white belt when he/she reached the age of 13. Also, judoists in the 6th, 7th and 8th Dan ranks were likely to wear black belts during practice. They wore a white and
red striped belt only on special occasions, such as a demonstration of *kata*. In fact, among the nine Japanese judoists observed with the 6th Dan or higher degree, only one judoist wore a white and red striped belt during practice. Therefore, belts were not a good indication of personal identity in Japanese judo society.

**Emphasis in Practice.**

American and Japanese judo clubs used similar practice methods. However, what they emphasized in practices was different. The fundamental difference seemed to be in attitudes toward the mastery of techniques. The Japanese emphasized the perfection of their favorite techniques and the development of aesthetic techniques. Japanese judoists insisted that throwing an opponent with the principle of maximum efficiency was the most admirable, and throwing with brute force should be avoided. During a practice, any levels of judoists, from white to black belts, repeatedly practiced their own favorite techniques over and over again. Normally, there were at least 100 to 200 *uchikomi* or repetitions during each practice.

However, Japanese seemed to use inflexible teaching techniques. They did not allow for individual differences and tended to force students to master single methods. Mr. Davis (age 67, 5th Dan), who started judo with a Japanese instructor in southern California, pointed out that:

> We make judo fit your characteristics, but Japanese instructors try to make students fit judo. You know, an old Japanese *sensei* (teacher) is the last word. He says "that is the law." It doesn't work,
because everybody is different. That is really a strong philosophy with me.

Randori in American clubs was a kind of judo match. The pairs tended to fight as if they were competing at a tournament and they had only 10 to 15 minutes in each day. On the other hand, randori practice in Japan was more technique-oriented. On occasion, the Japanese allowed an opponent to seize clothing and then try to throw by the use of technique and movement, rather than strength alone. When a technique is applied with good timing, the opponent may be thrown by himself without resisting the technique.

This emphasis upon the perfection of a few techniques also detracts from learning and practicing new techniques. Instructors may never teach new techniques in a practice. In a normal case, beginning students learn fewer than five basic throwing techniques during the first year. Mr. Uematsu (age 41, 5th Dan) started judo in high school:

When I was in Numasho (a high school), nobody taught any single technique. I had not practiced judo before. So I had to learn techniques by watching upper-classmates' techniques and following them. I don't remember that anybody taught me any principle of judo techniques at high school.

New techniques are always introduced during practices at American clubs. Americans emphasize learning a number of various techniques. Unlike the Japanese, they did not emphasize the perfection of specific techniques. Students wanted to learn new judo techniques, and often neglected practicing older ones. Mr. Smith (age 52, 3rd Dan) started
judo in Japan and practiced there for 14 years. He complained of American attitudes toward learning techniques:

Many of my students say, "when are you going to teach something new? We want to learn something new." I say "Wait until you learned the old. Master one first. Do it until you can do it in your sleep. Repeat, repeat, repeat until you get a good attitude."

Therefore, American judoists tended to have a greater knowledge of judo techniques than do Japanese judoists. However, in terms of the proficiency of judo techniques, the Japanese were better students than the Americans.

**Requirement for Promotion.**

In the United States and Japan, each judoist has to pass an examination to attain the degree of black belt. Different attitudes toward learning techniques between Americans and Japanese may be seen in the requirements for promotion. In the United States, students were expected to be able to demonstrate the first four groups of go-kyo-no-waza or the techniques for five categories, which consist of 40 throwing techniques, to be promoted to the first degree of black belt (Table 12). Thus, American judoists were required to have a broad knowledge of techniques and terminology to qualify for the black belt.
### Table 12. Go-Kyo-No-Waza

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Group of Techniques</th>
<th>Individual Techniques</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1st Kyo*</td>
<td>Deashi-Barai, Hiza-Guruma, Sasae-Tsurikomi-Ashi, Uki-Goshi, Osoto-Gari, Ogoshi, Ouchi-Gari, and Seoi-Nage,</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* required for the first degree of USJA black belt.

In Japan, to obtain the degree of black belt, judoists did not have to demonstrate knowledge of a number of techniques so long as they could perform the first three groups of *nage-no-kata*, or a routine of throwing techniques consisting of 15 subroutines (Table 13). However, the judoists had to win a certain number of times at tournaments held each month for the purpose of demonstrating judo skills. At the tournaments, only winning with *ippon* (full point) or *wazaari* (half point) were regarded as victories, whereas most of the tournaments in the United States also accept *yuko*, or lower point of *wazaari*, and *koka*, or the lowest point.
Without the use of complex techniques, a judoist can scarcely be expected to win a black-belt degree in Japan.

Table 13. Nage-No-Kata

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Group of Techniques</th>
<th>Individual Techniques</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Te-Waza*</td>
<td>Uki-Otoshi, Seoi-Nage &amp; Kata-Guruma.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Koshi-Waza*</td>
<td>Uki-Goshi, Harai-Goshi &amp; Tsuri-Komi-Goshi.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* required for the first degree of Kodokan black belt.

Promotion Ceremony.

In both the United States and Japan, unique types of celebrations are provided for promoted persons. These celebrations are conducted when one passes a test and is promoted to a higher rank. American promotion ceremonies involve all members of the club, while Japanese ceremonies included only the instructors.

There was a type of promotion ceremony observed which was unique to clubs in the United States. When Americans held this ceremony, the promoted person wore the belt which showed the new rank. Everybody in the club cerebrated the promotion by throwing the promoted person with judo techniques. Like the bowing ceremony, this ceremony was
based upon a strict hierarchy of colored belts. That is, the
members of a club threw the person in the order of their
ranking. Although some clubs began from the lowest ranks,
most of the clubs started with the highest ranks. Usually,
the promoted person was thrown by from 15 to 25 people. This
ceremony was a sort of official event, and whoever was
promoted had to endure this painful ceremony.

There are several possible reasons why Americans have
developed this ceremony. One is that Americans have a well
developed belt ranking system and thus many people are
motivated to take the black belt degree. Also, it may be
that Americans place emphasis upon friendships and social
relationships in judo clubs, and the ceremony provides the
opportunity for Americans to express their admiration of
their friends.

In Japan, though this type of ceremony was observed in
clubs, the ceremony was conducted only when the black belt
degree was attained. However, the ceremony was neither
formal nor official. Only the instructors threw the new
black belt judoist. Japanese clubs present a black belt with
the embroidered names of the club and the person, and the
presentation is the most important aspect of the ceremony.
Instructors tended to engage in randori with the promoted
judoist after the person received the belt from the club.
Sometimes, the new black belt judoist engaged in randori with
all of the instructors continuously.

One reason why the Japanese do not have a formal
ceremony may be that the Japanese do not value colored belts
other than the black belt. For the Japanese, there are only two categories of judoists, master or non-master; that is, black belt holders and the others. In addition, the Japanese manner of celebration reflects the strong relationships between judo instructors and their students.

Functions of Judo in Japanese Society

Since judo is a cultural product of Japanese society, judo can be expected to have a meaningful function in Japanese society. This section addresses the functions of judo in Japanese society as follows: 1) judo as a means of socialization, 2) judo as physical education and disciplinary training, and 3) judo as a philosophy of life.

Judo as a Means of Socialization.

Judo practice is regarded as a means of socialization by most of Japanese judo instructors. Mr. Ando (age 50, 6th Dan) said:

You know, many kids who come to our club had some problems. For example, some were not physically strong, and they caught a cold very often. Some lacked discipline and could not concentrate their attention on anything. The purpose of this club is to train and educate these kids. It is a part of social education.... This club provides a place where kids train and cultivate themselves through judo practice. I want the kids to enhance their self-confidence through judo practice.

Similarly, Mr. Kawasaki (age 56, 6th Dan) stated that he wanted to help children develop their talents and to give them self-confidence through judo. To Mr. Kawasaki, children
have a full range of talent and can sometimes accomplish miracles. What children need is an opportunity where they can try their abilities and find their talents by themselves. He also stated that judo was a character builder. He believed that judoists with higher degrees must have greater character and personality. Therefore, teaching manners was an important part of judo practice in Japan. He related an interesting episode:

One of my pupils cheered wildly over his victory after a judo match. I scolded him for his cheering. I said "think about your defeated opponent! Don't you have any sympathy for him? If you think how he feels, you can never cheer like that. Shame on you!"

Judo instructors are supposed to be responsible for the manners of judo students not only at practice halls, but also in their daily lives. Parents also wanted the instructors to teach manners to their children. Mr. Kawasaki spoke personally.

Believe it or not, I was a feeble child. I got sick very often when I was a child. And what is worse, I had a physical handicap. My right arm did not work. And yet, though I was a helpless rascal I had fights with other kids very often, because I was a physically weak kid and I thought I had to defend myself before somebody beat me. So my mother forced me to practice judo when I was 12 years old so that I could improve personally. She was a stern mother. When I got home after judo practice, she said "adults are still practicing, why don't you practice with them? Your body is not normal. So, you have to practice twice as much as others to become average." In that time I thought this was cruel treatment. But, now I really appreciate it.
Since judo is a means of socialization for Japanese, a black belt is regarded as a symbol of a good Japanese citizen. Mr. Takashima (age 43, 6th Dan) prevented one of his pupils from taking part in promotional tournaments because he thought that the pupil was weak-willed and needed to develop a stronger fighting spirit. The pupil was physically strong, and his judo skills were excellent. At the last promotional tournament, he won all four of his matches. This pupil was only 14 years old. According to Mr. Takashima, having a black belt meant that one was physically and mentally an adult. Without a strong and mature mind, no one should have a black belt; and a 14-year-old boy was no exception.

The idea that judo functions as a character builder may be seen in formal written publications. The Policy of Judo Instruction for Children, published by the club of Mr. Sasaki (age 45, 4th Dan), specified the goals of judo instruction in the club:

The Goal of Judo Instruction:
To teach the basics of traditional and authentic judo, and to provide children with a basis to become respectable Japanese and enhance their talents.

Sub-Objects:
1) To develop a fighting spirit via judo, which requires one-to-one fighting.
2) To cultivate a spirit of self-restraint.
3) To teach the manners and attitudes which are unique to Japanese martial arts.
4) To develop a strong spirit so that they can overcome any difficulty which they may face in the mastery process.
It is of interest that none of these objects mention the technical aspects of judo. The functions of judo are education, human development and socialization; and this is the basis of all practice.

**Judo as Physical Education and Disciplinary Training.**

In Japan, judo also functions as a means of physical education and disciplinary training. At Mr. Takashima's club, 3rd and 4th graders completed 100 push-ups, 100 sit-ups and 200 uchikomi practices in order. He said "the point is to keep children moving. I do not let them have a break. Once they take a rest, they lose concentration and they may be injured." Mr. Uematsu's (age 41, 5th Dan) club also emphasized hard training. Elementary school children engaged in a number of exercises (e.g., push-ups, sit-ups, squats, jumps, 30M dashes, wrestling bridges, or crawls) continuously for 50 minutes. A unique training method, the "700 times jump," was done at each practice. This exercise consisted of various types of jumping exercises (e.g., jumping with open legs and closed legs, squat jumps, side jumps, one leg jumps) and lasted about 10 minutes. Originally, according to Mr. Uematsu, the exercise was created by a police department to maintain policemen's physical conditioning. Surprisingly, the children made the "700 jump" exercise look fairly easy.

**Judo as a Philosophy of Life.**

The word "judo" means a sport to most people. However, for some Japanese judoists the word "judo" indicates more than a mere sport. During an in-depth interview, Mr.
Kawasaki (age 56, 6th Dan) repeatedly said that “my judo” is to make sympathetic persons, or “my judo” is to build character. Judo was a type of religion or philosophy of life to him. His philosophy was strongly affected by his college instructor, Mr. Mifune. A judo song written by Mr. Mifune identifies his concept of judo:

A Song of Judo
by Kyuzo Mifune (Kodokan 10th Dan).

In time of practice, without distraction,
Light in heat and light in limb,
Let us endeavor with full attention,
To concentrate our mind within.
This is the genuine way of judo,
This is the genuine way of judo.

Trained through practice to perfection,
Skilled in the art to rise and fall,
Let us enter the way of salvation,
Freely moving about like a ball.
This is the genuine way of judo,
This is the genuine way of judo.

The way of judo knows no bound,
The mild of heard no enmity,
Let us, all nations hand in hand,
Build the idea of amity.
This is the genuine way of judo,
This is the genuine way of judo.

Although both persons expressed different concepts, the word “judo” had philosophical meanings for both and was not limited to the name of a sport.

Functions of Judo in American Society

While judo in Japan is seemingly a sacred physical activity, judo in the United States is expressed in more secular tones. This section discusses the functions of judo
as: 1) social activity, 2) self-satisfaction, and 3) a means of socialization.

Judo as Social Activity.

Judo in the United States provides Americans with a place of social activity. The results of the in-depth interviews strongly suggested that friendships and social relationships were the main reasons why American informants had been involved in judo.

Mr. McCracken's (age 53, 3rd Dan) club provided a place where people with similar backgrounds could get together and enjoy physical activities. Except for a few individuals, the majority of the members was the first generation of European immigrants, such as English, German, or Italian. Mr. McCracken was himself an immigrant from Germany. Mr. Bellow (age 57, 1st Dan) from England, a member of the club, noted similarities among all judoists:

Every judoist, no matter where he is from, has a similar personality and values. It is not because judo makes similar personalities. But, it attracts and selects unique people with similar values from society.

For Mr. Linton (age 48, 5th black belt), Judo was a form of family activity. Everyone in his family (Mr. Linton, his wife, three sons, and one daughter) practiced judo, and four of them had black belt degrees. He said that he used to take his whole family to judo tournaments, and everyone participated in the tournaments. The family had more than 1,000 medals and trophies from judo tournaments.
When my kids started [judo], I enjoyed seeing their matches, and even mom [wife] started. We used to drive down to tournaments. That was fun. It is like people pick up and go to the coast or go fishing. We took off some place to judo tournament. It is familial. In Klamath Falls, we drove almost to Canada, and to Sacramento and San Jose State College.... every month. We just camp anywhere. Just jump in a pick-up and go.

For him, judo was an activity which an entire family could be involved in and enjoy.

Americans seemed to emphasize good social relations with other judoists. In fact, there was a strong sense of community among American judoists. Mr. Levy (age 56, 3rd Dan) explained this sense of community as follows:

It is a feeling of family. When I visited other dojos for a judo competition, I feel like I came back home.... No other sports that I know do this and have the community judo has.... You are a competitor, and if you go to a competition, you see bunch of these guys are running around and having a good time. Playing, eating pizza or whatever. When they are called, they yell at each other, because they are really going for it. As soon as it [a match] is over, they are back at what they were doing before. No other sports that I know can people do this. In what other sports can you find families and friends competing with each other?

Similarly, Mr. McCracken stated that:

I travel little for my business anymore, but I used to travel a lot around the United States and I took gi [judo clothing] with me. I stopped in San Francisco, I stopped at New York and found out if there were any dojos and went to practice, you know. That is really nice, just stop in and “here I am.” I was always welcomed, always welcomed. I never ever went to a dojo where I was not welcomed. That’s kind a nice.
Sometimes, American judoists regarded themselves as social exception because of the uniqueness of judo which can not been seen in other Western originated sports.

A common language and terminology for judo have helped communications between judoists in clubs throughout the world. At the same time, this unique language has excluded outsiders from the judo world. Unique judo costumes also help to keep outsiders away from the judo world. Only those who wear judo clothing could remain in practice halls. Black belt holders and instructors were not exceptions. The following describes an episode observed at an American club:

That was the second day to visit a local judo club for Mr. Kato (age 26, 2nd Dan), who just came to the United States one week before to see his friend. The first day, he demonstrated his favorite techniques in the club and everybody appreciated his teaching. The second day, he did not bring his judo clothing because the clothing was still wet. So, he was just watching the practice. When he saw someone practicing the technique he taught the last time, he came to the player and tried to demonstrate the technique. The player was upset, and everybody in the club looked at him. Having noticed a strange atmosphere, he returned his position at the edge of practice hall and kept watching quietly.

Without wearing judo clothing in practice hall, any individuals are considered outsiders and are excluded from judo practice. The ceremonies unique to judo, such as bowing ceremony, also exclude outsiders and enhance the sense of community. Mr. Foote (age 58, 4th Dan) stated:

Every time we have new members, we have to explain why we do this ceremony [bowing ceremony]. Parents are afraid that we are trying to brainwash their children. We bow to a picture of Dr. Kano, and
they think that is a religion. We say that is not a religion. That shows appreciation to the person who invented and gave us this sport.

In addition to cultural differences, judo as a sport activity also provides characteristics which enhance the sense of community. First, learning judo techniques always requires a partner. The principle of judo techniques, the maximum use of an opponent's strength, can be mastered only through practice of realistic offensive and defensive movements. Second, judo is one-to-one fighting. Judo always involves direct physical contact, and judoists directly attack their opponent's body. Therefore, the risk of injury is also involved. Judoists may hurt each other accidentally during practices and competitions. The feelings of fear, pain, and hardship shared by judoists seem to enhance their sense of comradeship.

**Judo as a Means of Self-Satisfaction.**

Although Japanese judoists tended to insist that they wanted to contribute to the society by teaching judo, American did not seem to emphasize this contribution to society. Many informants noted that they liked to teach, which is why they were involved in judo. For example, Mr. Davis said:

I just love this sport. But, it is more than I love this sport. I like teaching, too. I really like teaching. I like to pass information on to people. Sometime I go too far and my students cannot follow me. But it always provides a kind of feeling of satisfaction.
Since many Americans prefer to learn new techniques to repetitions of the same exercises, there was a good exchange between instructors and students relative to teaching and learning techniques. In addition, because of the judo hierarchy, it was fairly easy for the instructors to manage students. For instructors, judo provided a good opportunity to satisfy their desires to teach.

Some informants practiced judo for the maintenance of their own health. For example, Mr. McCracken (age 53, 3rd Dan) climbed mountains and lifted weights as hobbies. However, since these activities did not involve people, and especially since climbing was a seasonal sport, he needed another sport which would keep him in shape:

Basically, judo is the main sport I always come back to stay in shape. Judo keeps me in shape for climbing and all other things. My goal is that when I am 75 years old, I am still on the mats. I like to keep active. The person who stays active and never quits can do it until the 70s. I know if I stop practicing judo, it will be a problem....

Judo as a Means of Socialization.

Judo in the United States is not totally secularized, and it also has sacred meanings. Mr. Foote explained the meaning of judo to him:

I love the sport. I love the feeling it gives me of taking young persons and teaching them self-defense and self-confidence, and making good citizens. [It] gives them the opportunity to study and keep them away from negative [influences].
Similarly, Mr. Berg said that judo is a way of life, and not just something to be done on the mat for a few hours. He hoped that his judo students learned the concepts of judo and mutually benefited through practices. He described his judo practices when the philosophical aspects were emphasized:

I take my students in the circle, and I tell them, "the object is to stay in the circle," and I say "hajime." And one pushes and one pulls. If they go out I set them down and put new kids in the circle. Now I wish they could understand the mutual benefit. And finally I get two students and I said, "the object is to stay in the circle," and say "hajime".... Either one is pushing the other now. Instruction is just staying in the circle, that does not mean pushing someone or knocking someone down. The object is to stand in the circle, and both can win. One of students came to me because they want to fight, and I told him finally we can teach you to fight, but do not fight because we teach you mutual benefit. It is more important to take care of other people than to hurt them. I try to get them to understand the circle game.

However, there are obstacles to the educational functions of judo in American society. Because of a large gap between the values of judo and those of American society, it is difficult to apply what American judoists learned during practices to their daily lives. When the meanings of the judo ceremonies are considered, the problems are obvious. Each ceremony in judo is directly related to Japanese manners. Therefore, practicing an appropriate way of bowing in judo practice helps one become a polite Japanese. But in the United States, knowledge of appropriate bowing is meaningless in daily life. These unique ceremonies might
enhance the sense of comradeship among American judoists, but
they do not function as a means of socialization.

**Historical Variation of Judo in Japan and the U.S.**

Japanese judo seemed to have a greater variation than
judo in the United States. The principal cause of this
greater variation in Japanese judo has been the
internationalization of judo. This has had little effect on
American judo since Americans want to attain authentic judo
forms. First, this section considers the perceived
transformation of judo by judoists in each country, followed
by consideration of the historical transformations of judo in
each country.

**Perceived Historical Transformation of Judo**

From the in-depth interviews, few historical
transformations, relative to the philosophical aspects of
judo, were perceived by Americans. They said that “the judo
I see today is still what I saw when I started,” or “was it
not a competitive sport in 1882 when judo was started?” Upon
introduction in the United States, judo seems to have
completely lost the essence of its martial arts past. Mr.
Knight (age 52, 1st Kyu) stated that:

> We do not consider judo as a martial art. It is
sport. There is no doubt that judo has changed
because once judo is introduced in different
countries, every country have to work out and make
rules for judo. There is no doubt at all, I would
say simply, YES, judo is a sport.
Although Americans did not perceive philosophical changes, they have noted some degree of technical change.

Mr. Becker said that:

Now, it [judo] is very aggressive. The person with good physical shape tends to win. And sometimes, they are ready to go hurt, and attack continuously, non-stop. So, you know, it is similar to the way of wrestling. And it got away from the traditional flowing technique. It was just like BOOM, BOOM. But now it’s KU, KU. It has changed, I see the change even over the 12 years I have been in judo. It’s lots more physical.

According to American informants, judo techniques have come to depend more on physical strength than upon skills. However, this trend was observed not only in the United States, but all over the world, including Japan.

Judo in Japan still carried its essence as a martial art, though it was moving toward a competitive sport. Every Japanese informant realized that both technical and philosophical changes in judo have been caused by its internationalization. They were ambivalent about the modification of judo in the direction of westernized sport. Although Japanese judoists hoped that judo would become more popular in the world, at the same time they were afraid that judo would lose its traditional values as a result of internationalization. Mr. Kawasaki (age 56, 6th Dan) expressed the feeling that:

I think that judo as sport is OK, because an important essence of sport is fun. But, from the perspective of budo, it is not enough, because sport doesn't have the purpose of character building and self-training. In the samurai era, losing with ippon meant death. Now, even if you lose; you can still compete again. Losing doesn’t
mean that you die. So, sport lacks seriousness compared to *budo*. Under sport situations, you do not think you must win because losing is not as serious as death. People are forgetting *shuuen* (or great persistence) for winning.

**Historical Transformation in the U.S.**

Although the meanings of judo were transformed by American culture during its introduction and diffusion stages, the forms of judo seem to have been accepted with little transformation. Since the forms are accepted, American judo seems to have experienced little variation. The minor transformation of American judo is reflected in use of a) classical terminology and techniques, b) the Kodokan orientation, c) the minor influence of the internationalization of judo.

**Classical Terminology and Names of Techniques.**

Although judo terminology and the official names of judo techniques have been modified, judo at the local level in the United States is still based upon classical terminology and techniques. For example, the reverse-scarf-hold, a pinning technique, was called *ushiro-kesa-gatame*. Today, it's official international name is *kuzure-kesa-gatame*, or a variation of scarf-hold. However, this pinning technique is still called *ushiro-kesa-gatame* in the United States.

One reason for the usage of old terminology and technique names seems to be the difficulty of obtaining new information. Although published books are one of the most important sources of information for American judoists, most books available in the United States were published in the
1960's when judo boomed; and these may contain outdated information. A number of new techniques have been developed, new rules have been introduced, and new training methods have been employed since the 1960's. Americans believe that "a technique is correct because a text says it is." They try to learn from judo books, no matter the year in which the resources were published. Mr. Foote started judo by reading judo manuals. He owned more than 30 books and his knowledge of judo was heavily dependent on what he has read:

Although I wanted to learn judo, I never met anyone who teaches judo. So I learned judo by myself. I studied it by reading judo books. These books are all my knowledge.

Another reason for classical judo was that Americans were attracted by the exotic atmosphere which accompanies judo and they tried to attain an authentic style of judo. Therefore, old books tended to be valued more than new ones. In fact, Americans seemed to have greater knowledge of the history of judo than average judoists in Japan. Mr. Maruyama (age 43, 5th Dan) visited a judo club in Chicago last summer when he visited his son. He was surprised by the great knowledge of American judoists on the history of judo.

That was really embarrassing. I was taught what judo is in the United States. American judoists know a lot of the history of judo. Even when they asked something about the history of judo, I could not answer. Do American judoists always know the traditions of judo so well?
Kodokan Orientation.

While Kodokan seems not to be as influential as it once was for Japanese judoists, it still exerts a great influence on American judoists. The Kodokan-oriented attitude is reflected in the custom of displaying a picture of Dr. Kano during practices. Nearly half of the American clubs observed for this project followed this custom. The club of Mr. Foote (age 58, 4th Dan) always displayed a picture of Dr. Kano during practice. Mr. Foote explained that:

We always stay with Kodokan, and we still believe in teaching the Kodokan way. What we are teaching here is Kodokan judo more than anything else. That's why we display a picture of Dr. Kano during judo practice. We do this to show our respect to the person who invented and gave the sport to us.

The display of a picture of Dr. Kano originated from Kodokan, and Kodokan still maintains this custom. Although many of the judo clubs in Japan observed this custom until about 20 to 30 years ago, the custom is seldom seen other than in Kodokan today. In fact, none of the Japanese clubs observed for this project displayed a picture of Dr. Kano at practice halls.

The Kodokan-oriented attitude was also seen during practices. During warm-up, Mr. Foote always asked questions about the history of judo, such as "who is the founder of judo?" "what style of martial arts do we learn?" and "in what year judo was established?" Students were required to know the history of judo to be promoted. Also, the Kodokan-oriented attitude was seen in the club symbols. Almost all American clubs had pictorial symbols for their clubs, and
most members put the symbols on their own judo clothing. In most cases, the symbols were based upon the Kodokan design, demonstrating a close relationship with Kodokan.

**Minor Influence of Internationalization upon Judo.**

Because of the development of judo as an international competitive sport, American judo has received influences from countries other than Japan. Mr. Levy (age 56, 3rd Dan) stated that:

Now, not only Japanese judo techniques, but also Korean and Russian techniques are introduced here pretty often. It is because communication is faster and easier than ever before. It doesn't take much time to communicate new techniques now.

However, the influence of Kodokan and Japan (both are the same thing for the American) seemed to be still dominant in local judo clubs. One reason for the strong influence of Japanese judo is related to the structure of American judo. In the United States, judo as a competitive sport and as a recreational sport are clearly distinguished. American local clubs are recreation-oriented; and competition-oriented judoists practice at the more competitive clubs, such as the OTC (Olympic Training Center) and the NJI (National Judo Institute). The influence of internationalization was strong at these competitive clubs, but not at the local level. Local clubs did not receive influences from other counties directly, but only indirectly via the members of competition-oriented clubs who attended international championships.
**Historical Transformation in Japan**

The forms of judo in Japan seemed to be more varied than in American judo clubs, a factor which may be attributed to the internationalization of judo. Japanese judo receives greater influences from judo in other countries than American judo because of (a) communication access to judo in other counties, (b) frequent exchanges of judoists between countries, (c) the pride of Japanese in international championships, and (d) the influence of the International Judo Federation upon Japanese judo. This transformation of judo was not a voluntary change in Japan. There have been conflicts among Japanese judoists regarding changes to judo.

**Mass Communication.**

The influence of internationalization upon judo in Japan has been increased by mass communication. During the 1992 Barcelona Olympic Games, judo competitions were broadcast on TV, and the results were published in newspapers each day in Japan. Not only the Olympic Games, but also the World Judo Championships and other major international judo games are aired on TV frequently. These broadcasts are based on the expectations of Japanese citizens. Actually, judo is the only sport at which the Japanese can win consistently at the international level. At Barcelona, Japanese won a total of 22 medals, and 10 of the 22 were from male and female judo events.

Several judo magazines (e.g., *Kindai-Judo*, or *Modern Judo*) also provide up-date information on what is occurring
Exchanges.

In addition to the mass media, there are frequent exchanges of judoists between Japan and other countries. A number of judo competitors from all over the world come to Japan to practice. They are able to practice judo everywhere in Japan (e.g., Kodokan, universities, high schools, police departments, or local judo clubs). Except for the Kodokan and local clubs, international judoists do not have to pay fees for practice, and Japanese clubs always welcome them.

Many Japanese instructors attended international championships abroad, where they were likely to visit local clubs and practice. These instructors learned the techniques and training methods employed in other countries and brought them back to Japan. After returning from the Barcelona Olympics, Mr. Nemoto reported that:

We need to study more psychology and dietetics. In these respects, Japanese judo is well behind in comparison to Europeans. Japanese players seem to be mentally weak, especially at big games like the Olympics.

Access to judo in other countries has promoted changes in the forms of judo. Mr. Ando (age 50, 6th Dan) called the tendency of introducing judo from other countries as "the re-importation of judo." This re-importation, such as scientific training methods and new techniques, is regarded
as indispensable for Japanese success at international competitions.

Japanese Pride.

Both Japanese and American judoists believe that the Japanese must not lose to foreigners at judo matches, since judo is a Japanese national sport. Losing to foreigners at international competitions is regarded as a dishonorable thing for Japanese judoists; they feel that they have disgraced all Japanese citizens. The following headings appeared in Yomiuri, one of the largest newspapers in Japan, during the Barcelona Olympic Games. These headings somehow reflect the expectations of Japanese citizens for Japanese judoists.

Jul 29: Ogawa (male, +95kg) Silver by losing with ippon (p. 18).
Sakagami (female, +72kg) Bronze by pinning (p. 18).

Jul 30: Kai (male, -95kg) ended in the 7th place (p. 18).
Tanabe (female, -72kg) regrettable “Silver” (p. 18).

Jul 31: Okada (male, -86kg) mortifying “Bronze” (p. 18).

Aug 1: Judo Yoshida (male, -78kg) long-expected Gold (p. 1).
Aug 2: Koga (male, -71kg) "Gold" by spirits (p. 1).
Tachino (female, -56kg) "bronze," won by ippon (p. 11).
Aug 4: Judo Tamura (female, - 48kg) "Silver" (p. 1).

In a sense, the international judo championships are regarded as a place where Japanese can show "yamatomodashii," or the Japanese spirit, to people all over the world. Therefore, the Japanese must beat foreigners in the judo matches. To do so, traditional values somehow have to be set aside and Japanese judo moved toward a competitive, winning-oriented sport.

**Influence from the International Judo Federation.**

Since the establishment of the International Judo Federation, the influence from Western countries has become very strong; and Japanese values are no longer predominant throughout the judo world. The modification of rules, techniques, and costumes from the original Japanese standards, as accepted by the International Judo Federation, frequently conflict with the values which Japanese believe judo should reflect.

These modifications have somehow diminished the attraction of judo to the Japanese. The introduction of the weight classes is a good example. Japanese judoists do not believe that fighting against an opponent with a great physical advantage or disadvantage is unfair. They believe
that as long as one applies the fundamental concept of judo, manipulating the strength of opponents with maximum efficiency, physical disadvantages do not matter. It was not until the first World Championships that Japanese judo accepted weight classes. Since the 1988 Seoul Olympic Games, judo events have not included an open weight division. Ironically, the introduction of weight classes and the discontinuance of the open weight division have ruined much of the charm of judo for the Japanese.

The point system based on wrestling introduced by Western society also is a modification of the essence of judo. Judo in Japan has historically used only ippon (full point) and wazaari (a half point), and the emphasis has been on artistic techniques. It was commonly said by Japanese judoists that the only techniques with which you can score ippon were judo techniques. However, because of the introduction of lower point values, such as yuko and koka, (a) the values for artistic techniques have diminished, (b) judoists have increasingly emphasized physical condition at the expense of technique, and, therefore, (c) scientific training methods have been introduced to improve physical strength.
CHAPTER V
FAVORITE POSSESSIONS AND MEANINGS OF JUDO

The deeper meanings of judo for American and Japanese judoists were explored through the investigation of the types and meanings of their favorite possessions. The first part of this chapter summarizes the types of favorite possessions for informants in the two countries. Second, the meaning of the possessions to the informants are presented. Discussion of the types and meaning of the favorite possessions considered in these first two sections is descriptive in nature. Interpretative analysis is provided in the final two sections: a) meaning of judo to Americans, and b) meaning of judo to Japanese.

Favorite Types of Possessions

Of the 20 American and Japanese informants selected for the present study, nine Americans and nine Japanese identified their favorite objects in relation to judo. Normally, an informant in the two countries picked out one to two objects. Table 14 shows the objects cited as favorites by each informant, including substantial differences between the types of the possessions favored by American and Japanese informants. Table 15 summarizes the types of the favorite possessions for informants from each country.
The types of favorite objects for American informants varied. Each informant cited unique objects, and none of the objects were cited as favorites by more than three informants. On the other hand, Japanese informants were in relative agreement on the types of possessions. That is, 7 of 10 of the informants cited either judo clothing and belts, or one or the other as a favorite.

Table 14-1. American Informants.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Informant</th>
<th>Favorite Possessions</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>
| Levy      | a) Kodokan certificate for 3rd Dan.  
|           | b) Referee certificate from the USJI.  |
| Becker    | a) Black belt from his friend.  |
| Erickson  | a) Trophy awarded at a tournament.  
|           | b) Calligraphy presented by a student.  |
| McCracken | a) Kodokan certificate for 3rd Dan.  |
| Linton    | None.  |
| Berg      | a) Swords given from his club.  |
| Foote     | a) Watch given as an award of championships.  
|           | b) Painting presented by judoists.  
|           | c) Sculpture presented by judoists.  |
| Davis     | a) Letter & photograph of his instructor.  
|           | b) A judo book.  |
| Knight    | a) Bag and sweater which were given all participants at a regional game.  
|           | b) Vase presented by an instructor.  
|           | c) A book with signature of a judoist.  |
| Smith     | a) Black belt given by an instructor.  |
Table 14. (continued)

Table 14-2. Japanese Informants.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Informant</th>
<th>Favorite Possessions</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Ando</td>
<td>a) Black belt received at high school.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>b) Photograph of his performance.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sasaki</td>
<td>None.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kawasaki</td>
<td>a) Judo clothing and belts of his instructor.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>b) Judo clothing and belts of world champions.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>c) Negative films of possessions of his instructor.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>d) Shikishi given by his instructor.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tagawa</td>
<td>a) His own dojo.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Watanabe</td>
<td>a) His own black belt and judo clothing.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kawaguchi</td>
<td>a) Photographs of high school days.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>b) Photographs taken with Olympic judo competitors.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Uematsu</td>
<td>a) Black belts he has used.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Takashima</td>
<td>a) His own judo clothing.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nakamura</td>
<td>a) His instructor's judo clothing and belt.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Toyoda</td>
<td>a) Black belt given from a judo club.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>b) The first white belt awarded.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>c) Photograph with Olympic judo competitors.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

There was a clear cross-cultural difference relative to the types of the possessions favored by judoists from the United States and Japan. None of American informants chose judo clothing as a favorite. They noted only that their clothing was ragged, which is why they were not favored. Only one American informant showed an attachment to a worn-out black belt, but this judoist had lived in Japan between
the ages of 27 to 41 and practiced judo in Japan for 14 years. Therefore, his attitude toward a ragged belt might be developed by his living and practice experience in Japan.

Table 15. Summary of The Types of Favorite Possessions in Each Country.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>the U.S.</th>
<th>Number of Informants</th>
<th>Japan</th>
<th>Number of Informants</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Certificate</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>Belt</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Black Belt</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>Judo clothing</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Trophy</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>Photograph</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Book</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>Dojo</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sculpture</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>Writing</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Calligraphies</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>Negative film</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Watch</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Painting</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Swords</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Photograph</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Letter</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bag</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Shirt</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vase</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
The favorite objects were categorized into two groups, dependent upon how they were obtained by informants: a) objects given to them by others as awards or presents and b) objects obtained by an informant. Table 16 indicates the number of informants cited by each of these types of favored objects.

Table 16. Acquisition of the Possessions.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Types of Objects</th>
<th>Number of Informants Owning the Objects</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>U.S.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Given by Others</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Acquired by Informants</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Favored possessions for Americans tended to be given by others as awards or presents, while those for the Japanese were likely to be obtained by the informants themselves. However, the results merely show how the objects were acquired by the informants. The meaning of the objects to the informants is addressed in the following section.

**Meaning of Favorite Possessions**

Given differences in the types of favorite possessions cited by American and by Japanese, the reason why possessions were meaningful to each was also largely different. Table 17 presents the significance of each object for informants in the two countries.
Table 17. Significance of Favorite Possessions.

Table 17-1. Favorite Possessions for Americans.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Object</th>
<th>Significance</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Certificate</td>
<td>a) Sanction of ranking&lt;br&gt; b) Self-achievement</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Black Belt</td>
<td>a) Self-achievement&lt;br&gt; b) Representation of learning&lt;br&gt; c) Friendships</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Trophy</td>
<td>a) Self-achievement&lt;br&gt; b) Self-confidence&lt;br&gt; c) Physical value</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Book</td>
<td>a) Relation to a famous judoist&lt;br&gt; b) Judo philosophy</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sculpture</td>
<td>a) Friendships&lt;br&gt; b) Reflection of appreciation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Calligraphy</td>
<td>a) Judo philosophy&lt;br&gt; b) Reflection of appreciation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Watch</td>
<td>a) Self-achievement&lt;br&gt; b) Physical value</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Painting</td>
<td>a) Friendships&lt;br&gt; b) Reflection of appreciation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Swords</td>
<td>a) Friendships&lt;br&gt; b) Reflection of appreciation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Photograph</td>
<td>a) Reminder of an instructor</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Letter</td>
<td>a) Reminder of an instructor’s Kindness</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bag</td>
<td>a) Memory of a judo club</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Shirt</td>
<td>a) Memory of a judo club</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vase</td>
<td>a) Relationship to an Instructor</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Table 17. (continued)

Table 17-2. Favorite Possessions for Japanese.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Object</th>
<th>Significance</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Belt</td>
<td>a) Representation of effort</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>b) Self-confidence</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>c) Personal relationship to world champions</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>d) Reminder of an instructor</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Judo Clothing</td>
<td>a) Representation of effort</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>b) Reminder of an instructor</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>c) Personal relationship to world champions</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>d) Judo spirit</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Photograph</td>
<td>a) Self-confidence</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>b) Memory</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>c) Personal relationship to Olympic competitors</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dojo</td>
<td>a) Self-actualization</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>b) Judo spirit</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Shikishi</td>
<td>a) Judo philosophy</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>b) Judo spirit</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>c) Reminder of an instructor</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Negative Film</td>
<td>a) Reminder of an instructor</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

Table 18 summarizes the meaning of favorite possessions for informants in the two countries. The favorite objects cited by Americans were significant as: a) representations of self-achievement, b) reflection of friendships, and c) reminders of past memories. For the Japanese, they were significant as: a) reflections of efforts, b) personifications of an instructor, c) symbols of judo spirit, and d) reminders of past memories.
Several distinctive differences in the significance of the objects for Americans and Japanese were revealed. One distinctive difference was that although favorite objects for Americans reflected a sense of self-achievement, those for the Japanese more often represented their efforts or a process itself, rather than the achievement or a result.

The second distinction among differences was in relation to who and how many people were involved with the favorite objects. Favorite objects for Americans involved any number of people, including instructors, students, or friends; and the objects tended to represent friendships with these people and symbols of their appreciation. Those for the Japanese involved a specific person (specifically, informants' instructors or famous judoists), and they tended to reflect a bond with the specific person or the individual as a person. Although fellow judo students were often involved with the favorite objects of Americans, they were seldom involved with the favorite objects of the Japanese.

The third difference was the involvement of the judo spirit. Favorite things for Japanese, especially worn-out judo clothing and belts, reputedly carried the judo spirit of the judoist who had worn the clothing. However, judo clothing was rarely considered by American judoists to the carry judo spirit. Although the Japanese were attached to worn judo clothing or belts, Americans observed that their clothing and belts were not favorites since they were ragged in appearance.
Table 18. Relative Significance of Favorite Possessions.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Meaning of Possessions</th>
<th>Relative Significance</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>U.S.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Self-achievement</td>
<td>high</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Effort</td>
<td>low</td>
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<tr>
<td>Sanction of ranking</td>
<td>relatively high</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Friendships</td>
<td>high</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Teacher</td>
<td>relatively low</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Appreciation</td>
<td>relatively high</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Judo spirits</td>
<td>relatively low</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Memories</td>
<td>high</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Famous judoists</td>
<td>low</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The following two sections address emergent themes in relation to the meaning of judo to Americans and Japanese.
Favorite Possessions and the Meaning of Judo to Americans

Three principal meanings of judo to Americans emerged from the inquiry regarding their favorite possessions: a) judo as a means of friendship; b) judo as a means to express individual ability; c) Kodokan and the Japan orientation.

Judo as a Means of Friendship

Favorite possessions for American informants involved a number of people. The results of the investigation strongly suggested that friendships and comradeship between judoists was one of the most valuable aspects of judo activity for American informants. The theme, judo as a means of friendship, was reflected in favored objects, which carried (a) a sense of appreciation from other judoists, (b) memories of clubs and members of clubs, (c) kindnesses offered by other judoists, and (d) congratulations provided by other judoists.

Appreciation.

Though the types of objects were different, the presents given as an appreciation by other judoists meant a lot to Mr. Foote (age 58, 4th Dan), Mr. Berg (age 30, 2nd Dan) and Mr. Erickson (age 45, 1st Dan). They valued their favorite objects because of the sense of appreciation which the objects signified. These presents provided the feeling that
the informants had contributed to other judoists and that their efforts had been appreciated.

Mr. Foote taught judo in Germany from 1966 to 1969 when he served at a military base. There was no judo when he arrived, so he started a judo club. During the first six months, the club had only three students. However, when he left the country, the club had grown to more than 200 students. A painting of the city hall and a reindeer sculpture were given to him by his judo friends, instructors, and students in Germany following a tournament which was intentionally scheduled prior to his return to the United States. Judoists attending the ceremony included not only Germans, but Americans, Japanese, and other European judoists. He explained the meaning of the objects to him:

This [painting] and this [sculpture] mean more to me because they were given to me by the judo club. Why they gave it to me means a lot to me. This is in German [pointing to the plate attached to the base of the sculpture]. It says "Friendship Competition." These types of things, I think, mean more to me because they were given to me as a friend, not for winning competitions. They were given to me to show their appreciation for what I have done for judo in their country. They were given to me for contributing to judo.

The favorite possessions for Mr. Berg were Samurai swords given to him by sensei, or instructor, and students in appreciation of his judo clinic. The swords were displayed on the top of fireplace in his living room.

I was awarded those [pointing at the swords] for the judo clinic. The swords, "samurai." My sensei got together with my students, and they gave them to me for the clinic. So, a whole dojo was involved.
Mr. Erickson's favorite possession was a calligraphic inscription written by one of his judo students. The calligraphy was framed and hung on the wall in his house.

One of the my students gave it to me about five years ago. He took time to have written in Calligraphy, and it means a lot to me. What the whole thing [the calligraphy] talks about are the basic attitudes toward the instruction of children, boys and girls, in judo. It basically talks about character building. We should build character and morals, or a way of life, the way to deal with people in the world. It is meaningful you know, because he went to trouble to have it done. And the other thing was that he knew that what it says makes sense to me, in other words, my philosophy.

The favorite objects of Mr. Foote, Mr. Berg and Mr. Erickson were meaningful, not because of the tangible values of the objects, but because of the reasons why the objects were given to them. These objects given in appreciation were always displayed in the house of the informants.

Memories.

Favorite objects for American informants functioned as a reminder of people and events. The favorite possessions of Mr. Knight (age 52, 1st Kyu) signified memories of a judo club at which he used to practice. Mr. Knight began judo in Alaska at the age of 45. He practiced there for three years and then was promoted to green belt. He said he had wanted to practice judo since he was a child, but he had no chance to practice until he went to Alaska. Because of his age, he could not practice judo as a competitor. So he used to help teach children’s classes with the instructors. One of his favorite objects was a ceramic vase given to him by his
sensei when he left Alaska. The vase was made in Japan, and it was displayed on a shelf in his living room. He also cited a bag and a sweat shirt which were given to him for participation at the British Columbia Games in Canada with members of his judo club. He said that these objects were important because of the memories they carried. While looking at the bag and shirt, he said:

I say memory is the biggest portion [of meaningfulness]. You know, they are all good people. I enjoyed people very much. Good friends and good times. The things are related more to the club and to humans.

These objects always refreshed his memories of judo friends in the clubs.

Kindness.

Mr. Davis’s (age 67, 5th Dan) favorite possessions were a photograph of his first instructor and a recommendation letter written by that instructor. The instructor, a 7th Dan Japanese-Hawaiian judoist, was famous in the southern California area when Mr. Davis started judo in the 1950’s. The photograph was taken about 25 years ago at the instructor’s club. In the photograph, the instructor wore judo clothing. The letter was written to recommend Mr. Davis as a qualified judoist when he moved to Texas for a new job.

These are my favorite possessions [showing a framed picture and letter]. That letter with that picture. It sort of introduces me, see, to whom they may concern. When I went to Texas, I did not know anybody, so I asked sensei, “Could you give me a small note, if you would be so kind, to show I
was taught in your dojo." Since they do not know me, I can show them something. So he wrote that for me.

The picture and letter were framed together and displayed on the wall in his living room. The objects always reminded him of a kindness from his instructor.

**Congratulations.**

Black belts were cited by Mr. Becker (age 30, 1st Dan) and Mr. Smith (age 52, 3rd Dan) as their favorites. The black belts of the informants were given to them by other judoists for a congratulatory gift when they were promoted.

Mr. Becker noted the belt was his favorite because:

It [the belt] is the representation of all my learning, all my classes and the 12 years process that I have gone through. So, that is probably the tangible object most meaningful to me. Plus, in fact, I got it from Peter [a friend]. He gave it to me, and Alex [his judo instructor] presented it. So, a lot of people who were influential in my life and people who have been associated with me for a long time. The club which I started was there to see me get it. You know, so that black belt has a lot of memories and was a lot of hard work and the staff were all kind of tied up in that object. So, I guess [I value it] probably the most.

His belt was originally worn by an intimate judo friend, who gave it to Mr. Becker when he was promoted to the first degree of black belt. Mr. Becker and the friend had been friendly rivals since they were on a high school wrestling team together. Mr. Becker said he started judo because the friend was practicing it. The belt reflected their intimate relationship. Moreover, his instructor tested him for a
black belt degree and provided a presentation ceremony. His judo students from as far as 300 miles away came to see the test and the ceremony. In addition, his parents, his fiancee, and his ex-wife watched the examination. After he passed the examination, he was given the black belt, which signified congratulations from a number of people.

The favorite black belt for Mr. Smith was also a gift from a judoist. He said the black belt was meaningful to him because that was when I received my second degree of black belt, and my instructor gave it to me on that occasion.... The belt is a belt. But the person who gave it to you is important, and why he gave it to you, and how it was received. That is important, because anybody can buy a new one, and you even do not have to be black belt to buy a black belt.

The belts of Mr. Becker and Mr. Smith carried a sense of congratulations from significant persons when they acquired the black belt degree.

**Individual Achievement**

American judoists seemed to emphasize individual achievement in judo. In other words, judo functioned as a means to demonstrate personal ability and to enhance self-confidence. The emphasis on the individual achievement was reflected in the following favorite possessions of judoists: a) certificates, b) awards from tournaments, and c) black belts.
Certificates.

Framed certificates for the black belt degree from judo organizations were frequently observed in the homes of the American informants. Two informants mentioned certificates that were their most favorite possessions. Mr. Levy (age 53, 3rd Dan) noted that the Kodokan certificate for his 3rd Dan and the referee certificate from the USJI were his favorites. These two certificates were framed and displayed in his bedroom:

The only things I hold in pride are my Kodokan certificate and my JI referee certificate. The Kodokan certificate signifies more than a black belt, you have gone through a set of criteria, you met the standards. So they acknowledge that is your rank. The referee certificate is the same thing. There are three types of referees in the United States, A referee, B referee, and C referee. A JI referee is an elite referee, that is a C referee; and we have only 235 qualified elite referees in the United States.

He mentioned he was not a good competitor and that he had never won awards at a tournament. In a sense, the certificates were the only awards he had ever received, and they seemed to provide him with a sort of self-confidence that he had qualified at his judo level.

Similarly, Mr. McCracken (age 53, 3rd Dan) said his Kodokan certificate was his favorite:

If I have to throw away a whole mess right there in the garbage and keep one thing, that probably is the Kodokan certificate for my San Dan (3rd Dan). [The certificate which I keep is] not [from] the local, not [from] the Yudansha-Kai [the Black Belt Association], not [from] the USJF, because to me they are just an accommodation to local politics. But the Kodokan certificate, I will probably keep.
I received the Kodokan certificate for each rank, you know, for my Sho Dan [1st Dan], Ni Dan [2nd Dan] and San Dan [3rd Dan]. I got one for each rank. The Kodokan certificate probably means more to me because it is recognized on an international level that I have met a standard of excellence. I think that is probably why it means more than anything else.

The certificates provided Mr. Levy and Mr. McCracken with a sense of self-confidence by signifying a sense that they were approved as qualified judoists by official judo organizations.

**Awards from Tournaments.**

Three informants cited specific awards from tournaments as their favorite objects, but gave different reasons. For Mr. Erickson (age 45, 1st Dan), his favorite trophy appeared to prove him with confidence:

So many things that I acquired through the years of judo became either broken or stolen or lost. Probably one thing that I still have, it’s in pretty poor shape though, and it means the most, is a 5th place trophy that I got at the Seinan [Southern California] Invitational Tournament. It is a little little trophy. Why it means a lot to me is that in kohaku-shiai [a tournament in which you keep fighting different opponents until you lose or draw] I had seven matches and won seven times. And Hiro Matsuda, he was a pretty young man himself, but he was already a national competitor, came over after the tournament and shook my hand and said “congratulations,” the only one at the time. My instructor was really happy, but I did not who he was because I was a just white belt, you know. So, it was good for my ego.

Mr. Becker (age 30, 1st Dan) was going to move to Washington state during the time of this study. The informant was a college wrestler and he kept the trophies
from judo tournaments and from wrestling all together in boxes. He said that he would take all the trophies with him to Washington and display them for others to see. He chose his favorite among them. However, the trophy did not seem to have a specific meaning other than its physical value:

Well, I have a whole bunch of trophies, and I have one that I like because I think it is the neatest looking among the whole bunch. It is from [a tournament at] Scio, and made of wood, hand-made. It is cut out in the shape of the state of Oregon. It has Japanese writing on it. It looks nice.

Mr. Foote (age 58, 4th black belt) received a watch as a first place award at the European Championships in 1967.

This is probably very valuable compared to others [trophies] I received. This is a 21-jewel watch I received in 1967. I was very angry because they did not give a trophy. But now I am happy because it is more valuable.

For Mr. Becker and Mr. Foote, the background of the trophies were not really meaningful, but the value of the objects had provided them with meaning.

Though a few American informants had lost their trophies when they changed residences, most Americans still kept their trophies in spite of frequent moves (see Table 3). However, few American informants displayed their trophies, rather most kept them in boxes. The main function of the trophies seemed to provide judoists with self-confidence as competitors, motivating them to participate in competitions, and to show their competence as competitors. Therefore, active competitors were more likely to display trophies. However,
once judoists withdrew from active competition, the trophies tended to lose their functions as motivations. Moreover, the judoists no longer needed to be confident as competitors. Though the trophies remained as indications of their competence as judo competitors, the judoists were less likely to find great meaning in them any longer. Therefore, they placed them in boxes and kept them as memories. However, they were not inclined to dispose of them voluntarily.

Kodokan and the Japan Orientation

American judo seemed to reflect a strong Kodokan and Japanese orientation. In other words, the American judoists seemed to seek an authentic Japanese judo style, rather than modern competitive judo practices. The Kodokan and Japan-oriented attitudes were seen in their favorite objects:

a) judo manuals, b) Kodokan certificates, and c) approval signified by Japanese judoists.

Judo Manuals.

Books were one of the most important sources of information on judo for American judoists. Most of the American informants possessed a number of books on judo. They tried to learn not only judo skills, but also the judo spirit and philosophy from books written by prominent judoists. This was the case in spite of the difficulty in understanding Japanese philosophies.

Mr. Davis (age 67, 5th Dan), who had worked as the chairman of the Coach Certification Board of the USJA, had
over 50 books relating to judo and sport science. Among his favorites was a book with a judo-clothing cover written by Mr. Mifune, regarded as Dr. Kano's most favored judo pupil in Japan.

I have Mr. Mifune's "Canon of Judo" with a judo-gi (judo clothing) cover published in 1966. You can't buy it anymore. I always like that book, because when translated into the English they used English words for Japanese. So, you have to sit down and figure out what it means. Actually, it's almost like philosophy, you know. It is a challenge to read that book. Very, very difficult. But it is a real challenge.

Kodokan Certificates.

The Kodokan-oriented attitudes were reflected in the objects involving Kodokan and Japanese judoists. Mr. Levy's and Mr. McCracken's Kodokan certificates for their black belt degrees were one example. Though they also had certificates for the degree from an American judo organization, they regarded the certificates from Kodokan as more meaningful. Kodokan certificates seemed to indicate that they had acquired a certain level of authentic Japanese judo and approval of their degree at the international level. The certificate from the American organizations seemed to be regarded as valid only in the United States. A judoist with a black belt degree approved by Kodokan was likely to be regarded as more qualified than a judoist with a black belt awarded by any other judo organization.
Approval from Japanese Judoists.

The Kodokan-oriented attitudes were also reflected in objects given by Japanese judoists as approval of the mastery of judo. Mr. Erickson's favorite trophy was a case in point. The reason why the trophy meant so much to him was that he was congratulated by a Japanese judoist for his judo skills when he received the trophy. The congratulations from a Japanese enhanced the value of the trophy.

Mr. Smith's favorite black belt was obtained in Japan when he was promoted to the 2nd Dan by Kodokan. This black belt was given to him by a Japanese instructor. The person who gave it to him, as well as the reason why he received the belt, enhanced the value of the belt.

I think my number one possession that I value the most is my black belt. Not just a black belt, but the black belt that I received from my instructor [in Japan]. It is an old belt. It is turning gray, like me [laughing]. It is not a black belt any more, [but] a gray belt instead....

Though he acquired the USJA 3rd degree of black belt two years ago, he did not obtain a new black belt for the 3rd Dan. He was still wearing the black belt acquired in Japan.

Mr. Davis's favorite possessions, a photograph and a recommendation letter, involved a Japanese instructor. The letter recommended him as a qualified judoist. The letter was regarded as persuasive by American judoists because it reflected approval from a Japanese judoist.

Like the Kodokan certificates, Mr. Smith's black belt and Mr. Davis's letter and photograph provided them with a
sense that they were granted approval through having had mastered authentic judo.

**Favorite Possessions and the Meaning of Judo to Japanese**

Two themes which deal with the meanings of judo in Japan emerged from the favorite possessions inquiry: a) judo as a means of self-discipline and b) judo as a championship sport.

**Judo as a Means of Self-Discipline**

Japanese judoists tended to regard judo as a means to cultivate their own spiritual lives as well as their physical bodies. Judo was supposed to be a sacred and solemn physical activity, and having fun in judo practice was likely to be denied and even regarded as wrong. Their attitudes toward judo were reflected in their favorite possessions: a) objects that represented hard work, b) objects that provided self-confidence, c) objects that signified memories of past judo practices, and d) objects that signified the spirit of judo.

**Representation of Hard Work.**

Five of the 10 Japanese informants cited their own ragged judo clothing and/or belts as the favorite objects. These objects represented rigorous discipline and the hard practices which the informants had undergone. The strong attachment to their own ragged clothing and/or belts was
enhanced by the feeling that the objects were "contaminated" (Belk, 1989) by themselves.

Mr. Takashima (age 43, 6th Dan) insisted that his most meaningful possessions were his own judo clothing:

My favorite possessions are nothing else than my own judo clothing, which have been worn out by judo practice. When I look at my worn-out clothing, I feel like admiring myself for having gone through hard practice. And, you know, the more and longer you wear them, the better they fit you and the more they become a part of your body. This ragged clothing just fits my body. But brand new ones do not.

Similarly, Mr. Watanabe (age 20, 1st Dan) cited his worn-out judo clothing and belts as favorites since they represented a lot of his sweat from hard work. He sweats during a practice, and after every practice he feels satisfied for having had a hard workout. The harder the practice, the more a person sweats; and the more his clothing becomes a part of himself. His ragged black belt represents competence as a judo competitor. Interestingly, judo competitors tend to identify an opponent's skills by observing to what degree their belts are worn-out. A judoist with a ragged black belt is regarded as a tough guy, while a judoist with a brand new black belt is taken lightly since it is likely that this person has been promoted very recently.

Judoists' attachment to the ragged judo clothing and belts is seemingly difficult for others to understand. Mr. Takashima complained that his wife had disposed of some of his worn-out judo clothing. Having heard the complaint, the
wife responded that no one would think that ragged clothing was valuable.

Self-Confidence.

A theme, judo as a means of self-discipline, was reflected in the objects which provided Japanese judoists with self-confidence. Mr. Ando (age 50, 6th Dan) received his favorite black belt when he was a high school student. He described the scene where he received the belt:

You know in that time my high school judo club had over 120 members. The practice was very hard. We had four to five hours practice everyday, seven days a week. Our team became the high school champion in Shizuoka prefecture two years in row when I was a student. So it was really hard to become a regular member for competitions. Once you became a regular, you were awarded a black belt from the club. When I was a sophomore, the black belts were given to five regular members among 70 sophomores in the club. I had never dreamed that I would be selected one of the regular members, because I was very small and I just started judo after I got in the high school. When I received the belt in front of all the members, I was so glad that I could hardly believe it. The belt gave me great confidence that I could do anything.

Mr. Ando’s belief that judo contributes to the enhancement of self-confidence was reflected in another of his favorite possessions, a photograph taken when he demonstrated kimono-kata, or a routine of self-defense, at a local judo festival last year. The festival was held once each year, consisting of a number of judo tournaments and performances of several kata. Unlike other judo tournaments, competitors were from every type of judo club (e.g., school judo teams, machi-dojo, company clubs), and over 300 judoists
took part. In the photograph, Mr. Ando applied wakigatame, a joint technique from the standing position, against an opponent wearing a red and white striped belt, indicating that he was one of the highest ranking judoists. Performing kata on that occasion was honorable for a judoist. He mentioned that he had never dreamed that he could have risen to 6th Dan and performed kata at the festival, and he did not know if he would even have the same opportunity again in his entire lifetime. Mr. Ando said that he was going to make a large copy of the photograph and display it in his house.

American judoists tended to limit feelings of self-confidence acquired from judo to an area primarily within the judo world, while the Japanese were likely to extend their feeling beyond the judo world into other aspects of their lives. According to Mr. Ando, the black belt and the photograph provided him with great confidence that he could succeed in anything as long as he made a great effort.

Memories.

The memories which their favorite possessions signified for the Japanese informants were often related to hardship experienced through judo practice, while the memories signified by the favorite possessions of American informants were connected more often to people. Photographs were one of the examples. Although photographs were not cited by many Japanese informants as favorites, every Japanese judoist kept photographs taken of high school and college judo teams.

Mr. Kawaguchi (age 53, 2nd Dan) and Mr. Toyoda (age 43, 4th Dan) cited photographs taken during high school days as
their favorites. Among all the photographs, those taken at gashuku, or a judo camp, at high school were especially meaningful to them.

High school judo in Japan is very competitive. Japanese high school judo has three national level championships each year: Inter-High School Championships in August, the National Sports Festival in October, and the All-Japan High School Judo Championship in May. Clubs practice on the average from two to three hours each day, six days a week. They practice more during the summer, winter, and spring vacations than during the academic terms. Usually, there is at least one judo camp during the summer and spring vacations. Practices in the judo camps are hard. At a judo camp, several schools meet together at one school and hold practices three times a day for one week. The camp during the summer is the hardest. The temperature in a practice halls can exceed 100°F. Training during the summer judo camp emphasizes mental aspects more than the physical or technical aspects. It is not uncommon when students are hospitalized because of overwork, and some freshmen try to escape from the camps. In fact, a number of freshmen drop out during the judo camps.

The hardships experienced in the camps provide judoists with self-confidence and later the experience becomes a good memory. Photographs always bring back memories of hardship and recall the confidence obtained through these experiences.

Judo belts are another example of objects which carry the memory of hardship. Although some Japanese informants
mentioned they disposed of worn-out judo clothing, few informants disposed of black belts, even if they became useless. Because of the custom of embroidering the name of the club on black belts, Japanese judoists tended to change black belts when moving to another club. On the average, informants owned from three to four black belts, those used in junior high, in high school, at college, and at their current local club.

Mr. Uematsu (age 41, 5th Dan) kept all of the black belts he had ever worn. He never disposed of them, though some were almost worn into two parts. He said that he did not know why he kept them, but he knew that he could not throw them away because of the memories they signified. Mr. Toyoda (age 43, 4th Dan) kept not only black belts, but also the first white belt he used at a high school judo club. The practice at his high school judo club was stern, and a number of high school freshmen dropped out because of the hard workouts. The white belt of Mr. Toyoda functioned as a reminder of his resolution to master judo:

If you remember your resolution to do something, you never drop out easily. The white belt always makes me recall my resolution to master judo. Well, I have never thought how the belt is meaningful to me, though I think the belt is very important to me because I have never tried to dispose of it, but have always unconsciously kept it.

His opinion reflected a Japanese value that once something is begun, it must be completed; otherwise, it should not be started.
Of course, the memories of Japanese judoists included a number of judo friends; however, even these memories were more significant when related to some hardship that they had experienced in common practices. For the Japanese judoists, the harder the experience, the more significant the memory.

Spirit of Judo.

Some Japanese informants tried to inherit the judo spirit from judo instructors by owning the possessions of the latter. Examples of this type of possessions were judo clothing and belts. Mr. Nakamura (age 50, 5th Dan) and Mr. Kawasaki (age 56, 6th Dan) cited their instructors’ judo clothing and belts as their favorites since they believed that the items carried the instructors’ judo spirits. For them these items were sacred objects, representation of their revered instructors.

Mr. Nakamura met his judo instructor when he was recruited by the instructor into a club following sumo tournaments at his junior high school. The instructor took care of him as if he was a real son, even after Mr. Nakamura graduated from the school. For him, the instructor was one of the most significant persons in his life. When the instructor died, the wife of the instructor gave his judo clothing and belt to Mr. Nakamura as katami, or mementos.

The clothing and belt have a lot of my instructor’s sweat. And I feel like they even carry his soul. These objects are my instructor himself. When I wear his clothing and belt, I feel his judo spirit and I feel like I am with the instructor. When I received them as his katami, I decided to wear the clothing until they become worn-out in order to acquire his judo spirits.
Mr. Nakamura still used the clothing and belt, but now was hoping that his son would use the clothing and the belt to obtain the judo spirit of the instructor.

Mr. Kawasaki owned judo clothing and a red belt from his college instructor, Mr. Mifune. Mr. Mifune, regarded as Dr. Kano’s most favored pupil, had the highest degree of judo, the 10th Dan. In this sense, Mr. Mifune is better known than Dr. Kano as a judoist in modern Japan. When Mr. Mifune died, Mr. Kawasaki worked as chief coordinator for the establishment of the Mifne-Kinenkan, or the Mifune memorial, to memorialize Mr. Mifune’s contribution to the development of judo. The clothing and belt were given to him by Mr. Mifune’s wife when the memorial opened in 1975.

Other than judo clothing and belt, Mr. Kawasaki owned two other favorite objects relating to Mr. Mifune. One consisted of negative films of all of Mr. Mifune’s possessions, taken when he worked to establish the memorial. It took 16 years for him to take all the photographs. The other was the shikishi, or square cardboard papers, on which Mr. Mifune had recorded his philosophy and deeper thoughts on the meaning of judo. The shikishi were especially meaningful to Mr. Kawasaki since Mr. Mifune wrote them in his presence, explaining to him the meaning of his thought. When the investigator conducted his observations, Mr. Kawasaki explained Mr. Mifune’s philosophy by showing him the shikishi.

Both for Mr. Nakamura and Mr. Kawasaki, tangible objects, such as judo clothing and shikishi served as an
Judo as a Championship Sport

Because judo is Japan’s national sport, Japanese judoists believe that they must not lose to foreigners at competitions in order to avoid harming Japanese national pride and dignity. Judoists who win at world championships are regarded as honorable Japanese and admired, since they have demonstrated the Japanese spirit to people throughout the world. Like other sport events in the Olympics, or in a sense even more so, judo attracts the attention of the Japanese as an international championship sport. This is reflected in the objects which show personal relationships to international-level judo competitors.

Personal Relationships to International Competitors.

Favorite objects for the Japanese tended to involve famous judo competitors, such as Olympic medalists or world judo champions. The objects were used to show personal relationships with international competitors. Mr. Kawasaki also cited the judo clothing and black belts of two judo competitors as favored possessions. One competitor was one of Mr. Kawasaki’s students who had won a gold medal at the World Championships of 1981. This competitor started judo at Mr. Kawasaki’s club when he was an elementary school child. The clothing and belt were embroidered with his name and the name of college where he worked. The second competitor was
regarded as the most successful Japanese judoist. He won gold medals at the 1984 Los Angeles Olympics, and at the 1981, 1983, and 1985 World Championships. He also won the All-Japan Judo Championship on 10 occasions. The reason why this judoist was regarded as the best is that he never lost to any foreign judoist in his entire judo career. Mr. Kawasaki, as a team doctor, treated him for an injury at the Los Angeles Olympics. The judoist then gave Mr. Kawasaki the clothing and belts which he had brought as spares to the Games. The clothing had a small Japanese flag on the left-side of chest with his name embroidered on it as well. These items were all displayed with the clothing of Mr. Mifune on a shelf in Mr. Kawasaki’s living room.

Unlike the clothing of Mr. Mifune, those of the two competitors were new and thus the judo spirit was less likely to be carried by them. By displaying the clothing and belts, the informant tried to demonstrate his personal relationships with famous competitors.

Mr. Kawaguchi and Mr. Toyoda cited photographs taken of the members of the Japanese Olympic female judo team when its members visited the informants’ clubs for judo camps and clinics. The informants stated that if the female judoists won medals at the Olympics and become famous, then they would display the photographs to demonstrate their relationships to competitors. However, there was one concern about these last comments. That fact that the in-depth interviews were conducted just one to two weeks prior to the Olympic games
may have affected the informants' opinions about the possessions of the Olympic competitors' keepsakes.
CHAPTER VI
DISCUSSION

Introduction

This chapter is presented in three main sections. The first is a summary of this study, the second section addresses implications from the other studies reviewed, and recommendations for further studies of the cultural and historical transformation of sport are provided in the third section.

Summary

The findings of an ethnographic approach to the cross-cultural study of judo subcultures in relation to the personal possessions of judoists are summarized as follows.

Ethnography of Judo in the U.S. and Japan

This study explored (1) how the meanings and forms of judo have been transformed by an adoptive society, the United States (a cultural transformation), and (2) how the meanings and forms of judo have been transformed in the society of origin, Japan (a historical transformation). Ethnographic research methods were employed to develop hypotheses to address these issues. To reinforce the credibility of the
findings, various methods of data collection were employed, including in-depth interviews, participant observations, non-participant observations, review of related literature, and informal interviews. Three hypotheses were thus developed as follows:

1) **The forms of judo are independent of the dominant society:** The present study identified the existence of a cross-cultural judo subculture with respect to the forms of the sport. The forms of Japanese judo were adopted by American society with little transformation. That is, the same practice methods, ceremonies, terminology, language, and customs were observed in judo in each of the two countries. The findings suggested that sport is transmittable from one society to another without the transformation of the original forms. Thus, with respect to forms, sport is independent of the dominant society.

2) **The meanings of judo are strongly dependent on the dominant society:** Though the same ceremonies and customs were observed during judo practices in the two countries, the ceremonies and customs carried different meanings in the United States and Japan. Moreover, judo, as a physical activity, provided unique functions for each of the two societies. American judoists emphasized friendships, the sense of community, and social relationships in judo activities. Judo in the United State functions largely as a social activity. In contrast, Japanese judoists considered judo to be a means of character building and instruction in self-discipline. The findings suggest that the meanings of
sport are heavily dependent on the values of the society in which the sport exists.

3) **The forms of judo in Japan varied to a great degree than Judo practiced in the United States:** The forms of judo in Japan were more varied than judo in the United States because of a greater influence of the internationalization of judo in Japan. Because judo is Japan's national sport, Japanese judoists believed that they must not lose to foreigners in international judo competitions. Therefore, they have been required to introduce scientific training methods and new techniques from other countries to maintain dominance at international competitions. However, at the same time, there has been a conflict between the transformation of judo in the direction of competitive sport and the maintenance of traditional judo as a martial art. Judo in Japan still maintains its essence as a martial art while encompassing the modernization of its sport respects. Judo in the United States apparently completed its transformation into a sport and has been subject to little change since that point. Nevertheless, classic ceremonies and terminologies are more often observed in the United States than in Japan. The classic style of American judo may be attributed to (1) the American lack of access to information regarding modern competitive judo, (2) the fact that countries other than Japan exercise limited influence in the United States, and (3) reason of American personal preferences which favor authentic and traditional judo.
**Favorite Possessions Inquiry**

In addition to utilizing an ordinal ethnographic approach, the meaning of judo in the two countries was explored by conducting an investigation into the types and meanings of the favored possessions of judoists in the two countries. Ten informants in each of the two countries were asked to identify their favorite possessions relative to judo, describing the personal meaning and significance of the possessions.

1) **Favorite possessions and the meaning of judo to Americans:** American informants cited a variety of objects as favorites. These objects were given to them by others as presents or awards; generally, these objects were related to other judoists. These objects signified feelings of appreciation, friendships, and brotherhood. Another type of favorite object was those which reflected self-achievement, such as certificates and black belts. The three themes which addressed the meaning of judo to Americans were as follows: a) judo was a means to reinforce friendships, b) judo was a means to express individual ability, and c) judo symbolized the Kodokan and Japanese orientation.

2) **Favorite possessions and the meanings of judo to Japanese:** Favorite objects of the Japanese informants included worn-out judo clothing and/or belts. These objects were meaningful to them because the ragged clothing symbolized their efforts and their devotion to the mastery of judo techniques and the judo spirit. The clothing was often given to them by other judoists, such as instructors or
international competitors; and the clothing was also regarded as the spirit and reality of the donors. Two themes which addressed the meanings of judo to Japanese from the investigation of favored possessions were: a) judo as a means of self-discipline and b) judo as a championship sport.

**Implications from the Review of Literature**

This section discusses implications for further exploration of the cultural and historical transformation of sport with respect to related studies in the field of sport sociology. In addition, implications for studies of consumer behavior are provided to develop a general framework for the meaning of possessions to consumers.

**Studies in the Sociology of Sport**

Goodger and Goodger (1977) hypothesized that “the process of culture-distancing is a major selective process for effective socialization into judo culture and for the construction of a specific identity” (p. 26). Similarly, the findings of this study suggested that although the cultural distances, or the uniqueness of judo in American society, made it difficult for Americans to adopt the meaning of judo without transformation, for reason of the strong dependence of the meaning of judo upon the dominant society, cultural distance enhanced the sense of community among American judoists and their self-identity as judoists. Devoted American judoists tended to be regarded by others, and to regard themselves, as a self-contained group.
Donnelly and Young (1985) noted that sport is less likely to be totally incorporated by an adoptive culture, rather, to some degree, the meanings and forms of the sport are more likely to be maintained. Also, according to Niwa and Kaneko (1983), because sport is a cultural and historical product of a society, the traditions and the culture of the society would somehow be reflected in the forms and meaning of a sport even after it had been transferred to another society. The present study found that local American judo had maintained the original forms of judo, including ceremonies, customs, and terminology. However, the functions of these forms were rarely maintained and the meaning of judo had been transformed by American culture. Though a few American judoists, many of whom were Japanese descendants, had maintained the original values, they were likely to be regarded as deviants within the American judo society. In other words, judo, especially its functions and roles, could not avoid transformation by values of the dominant society in order to gain acceptance in American society. The meaning of judo was thus maintained in the adoptive society only to the extent society reflected the same values.

The velocity of social change is related to the velocity of innovation diffusion in the societies (Katz, Hamilton, & Levin, 1963). This is equally true of the world of sports. The faster that innovations diffuse in the world of sports, the faster the sport is changed (Loy, 1969). The concept that the velocity of the transformation is affected by the velocity of the innovation diffusion explains the rapid
transformation of judo in Japan. Judo clubs in Japan had better access to internationalized modern judo than did local judo clubs in the United States. Japanese judoists tried to introduce innovations developed in other countries to foster continued success in international championships. American judoists continued to seek authentic judo styles and hence avoided the introduction of the innovations accepted by Japanese.

An overall impression of the results of this study supports the classic explanation of the relationship between sport and society. A cross-cultural judo subculture was found to exist, but at the same time this subculture was limited to a superficial level and the deeper meanings of judo in the two countries were strongly affected by values of each society. Therefore, when the functions and roles of judo in each of the two countries are examined carefully, the values and beliefs of the respective societies are seen. Judo is a reflection of the values and beliefs of the dominant society, though presenting an apparently shared identity between the two countries.

Studies in Consumer Behavior

Mehta and Belk (1991) noted that immigrants from India had tried to maintain their identity by accumulating possessions relating to India. McAlexander and Schouten (1989) and McAlexander (1990) reported that the disposition of possessions, as well as acquisitions, contributed to the maintenance of self-identity in life transitions. The
results of this investigation supported both statements. Judoists in the two countries maintained their self-identity through acquisition and disposition of tangible objects. Japanese judoists tried not to forget the efforts undertaken in judo practice or memories of hardships endured by accumulating worn-out judo clothing and belts. On the other hand, Americans tended to dispose of their worn-out clothing and belts, as they acquired new roles within clubs. Because of the existence of a strict hierarchy system based on the colored belt rankings in the United States, American judoists faced this role transition whenever they were promoted to a higher rank. By disposing of old colored belts, they tried to discard their old identity as lower rankers.

Albert (1982) explored the meanings of bicycles to bicycle racers via an ethnographic approach. He concluded that for serious racers, the bicycle was more than just a tool, it became a part of the racer’s person and personality. The same results were obtained from the meanings of clothing to Japanese judoists. Japanese judoists regarded their own worn judo clothing as a part of their personalities. The personality of other judoists was symbolized through their clothing and was transformed as the clothing was acquired. To become a part of the judoists’ personalities, the clothing had to be worn for a long time, to the point when it became ragged. One reason why American judoists did not consider their clothing in this way may be that they did not have the same experience of rigorous training and endured hardships during judo practices.
Wallendorf and Arnould (1988) reported a positive relationship between physical proximity to favorite objects which carry the memories of other people and past experience. Their statement explains the case of the favorite possessions of American judoists. Except for a few objects, for Americans the objects which carried memories of other judoists and experiences were very likely to be displayed in their homes. On the other hand, the judo clothing and belts given to them by other judoists were also observed in close physical proximity to the Japanese judoists, but their own worn clothing and belts seemed to have no relation to physical proximity. This may be because these objects did not involve people, but centered upon individual efforts.

The favorite possessions of judoists in the United States and Japan reflected what the judoists valued the most in judo. There were some degrees of correlation between the significance of the favorite objects to the judoists and the reasons why the judoists had been involved in judo. American judoists insisted that people were the main reason for their involvement in judo, whereas the Japanese related the educational functions of judo to their involvement. The favorite objects for the American judoists tended to be given to them by others as gifts or awards. Those of Japanese judoists tended to involve few other people and were likely to reflect their own individual efforts. The results of the favorite possessions inquiry strongly suggested that favorite possessions serve as a good indication of what the judoists valued the most in judo activities.
Recommendations

For the further exploration of similar cultural and historical transformations, the following recommendations are provided:

1. A replication of this study should be conducted with different types of informants, including top level judo competitors, judoists from countries other than the United States and Japan, and female judoists.

2. A quantitative study concerned with the types and meanings of favorite possessions of a number of judoists in the two countries should be completed.

3. Ethnographic studies which focus on diverse sports among diverse cultures should be conducted to develop further hypotheses regarding the cultural and historical transformation of sport.

4. Since Japanese-Americans have served in an important role as intermediaries for the transmission of judo from Japan to the United States, case studies on the Japanese-American judoists should be conducted to provide new insights into the cultural transformation of judo.
REFERENCES


APPENDICES
APPENDIX A

DR. KANO'S PHILOSOPHY OF JUDO AND COUBERTIN'S PHILOSOPHY OF THE OLYMPIC GAMES.

Dr. Kano's philosophy of judo (e.g., physical education, mental training, ethical training, and aesthetic arts) and Coubertin's philosophy of the Modern Olympic Games (e.g., young men's education, amateurism, internationalism, aesthetic arts) are identical. Interestingly, Dr. Kano and Coubertin had very similar personal backgrounds. Both were born in the middle of nineteen century (Coubertin in 1853 and Dr. Kano in 1860) in noble families in France and Japan, respectively. Their careers started as school teachers, and later they became great educators in their countries. Both desired to enhance international understandings and world peace through sport. Dr. Kano became the first Japanese member of International Olympic Committee in 1909 and contributed to Olympic movements (Mandell, 1976; Kodokan, 1986).
APPENDIX B

QUESTIONNAIRE

Date:__/__/____  Code Number:__________

General Demographic Questions

Occupation:___________  Age:___________

Degree of Judo:_____ DAN  Year Obtained:___

Belonging to: JA / JF / JI

Martial Arts other than Judo

Have you ever practiced any martial arts other than judo?
*No
*Yes:What?:_____________________________________

How long?:_____________________________________

Color of belt (check belt system):____________

:Did you perceive any philosophical differences between judo and other martial arts which you learned?
*No
*Yes:What?:_____________________________________

What (nationality) were the instructors?

:________________________________________

**Background of Judo Club**

Name of Club:________________________________________

Year Started: 19____/

Origin of the Name:________________________________________

Who began the club?:________________________________________

What are characteristics of your club?

:________________________________________

Does your club have any symbols?

*No: Why not?:________________________________________

*Yes: Could you show me? Take photos.

Who designed it?:________________________________________

Meaning of the design:________________________________________
For what do you use this symbols?

:________________________________________

Do you exhibit this symbol or any other symbols in your dojo?

*No :  
*Yes:What are they?:____________________________________

Could you show me? Take photo.

Why do you do that?:____________________________________

____________________________________

Do you exhibit a picture of Jigoro Kano during judo practice?

*No: Why not?:____________________________________

*Yes:Why do you exhibit the picture?:________

____________________________________

Club Activities

Average Number of Students in last one year:________

% of Jr. (-17). and Sr. (+17):________________________
% of male and female: ____________________________

Fee for each person (for kid/adults) per month

: $________

Can you describe a practice of the club on a typical day?

: ____________________________________________

Personal Judo History and Possessions

At what age did you start judo?: ________________

Why did you start judo?: ________________________

Questions

1) Could you tell me where & when have you ever practiced and/or taught judo based on chronological order?

2) What was your status, instructor or student, and your rank of belt?

3) What keeps you involved in judo?

4) Do you still have some tangible objects which were used in those days? What are they?
Year: __ to __  Place: __________________________

Status & Rank: __________________________

Possessions: __________________________

Year: __ to __  Place: __________________________

Status & Rank: __________________________

Possessions: __________________________

Year: __ to __  Place: __________________________

Status & Rank: __________________________

Possessions: __________________________

Year: __ to __  Place: __________________________

Status & Rank: __________________________

Possessions: __________________________
Meanings of Judo

What keeps you involved in judo?: ______________________

________________________________________________________

Do you think there are any differences in the way of judo practice between the time when you started judo as a student and today's practice in your club?

*No:___________________________________________________________________

*Yes: In what way?: ___________________________________________________________________

Why the practice way has changed?: __________

________________________________________________________

There is an opinion that judo has become a modernized competitive international sport, and it has lost an aspect of a traditional Japanese martial art. What do you think of this opinion?

: __________________________________________________________

________________________________________________________

________________________________________________________
Favorite Possessions

Among your all possessions relating judo, what are your favorite ones?

Why?

CHECK LIST

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APPENDIX C

EXAMPLE OF TRANSCRIPTION OF IN-DEPTH INTERVIEW
AN AMERICAN INFORMANT

QUESTIONNAIRE

DATE: 7/2/92
CODE NUMBER: 103

GENERAL DEMOGRAPHIC QUESTIONS

OCCUPATION:
Independent businessman relating to manufacture.
He represents 20 different companies in the HBSC industry.
A sort of the president of a corporation.

AGE:
53 years old.
Born in Germany, came to the US in 1952 when he was 13 years old.

DEGREE OF JUDO & YEAR OBTAINED:

BELONG TO:
Both the USJA and the USJF
“For political reasons. I tried to stay out of the political arena, but I found out the best way to eliminate a lot of political garbage is to belong to the both groups. At the beginning, I belonged to JF for 25 years, then I became to belong to JA after I came to Oregon, because JF here have a strong power and for JA members it is impossible to compete with JF members. So, we decided to swing both ways. It is only a local problem, not a national problem. I used to make options for my students, but now I say ‘belong to both.’ The problems are all garbage, that is too bad. I prefer JA, only because JA still stay with the people in the mat. That is all about to me because judo is about people on the mat. In JF, there are a bunch of people who are not active any more and more belong to personal power group. They forget about competitors. That is why I left Bushido-Club, you know, I was an instructor of the club. There were two members of the Bushido-Club on the mat with competitors, and the other members are in the office. They sit around and promoted each other, you know, all these stuff. They totally forgot the
people on the mat. In any clubs, every judoists should be on the mat, participating. They may not be competitors because of age or you know whatever, but still participating in the sport. That is all about. And JA supplies members a lot of information. We get training videos, and ranking system is very well layout. Everybody knows exactly what they have to do for ranks and so on. But for JF, at least locally, it's loose. Once you like to get promoted, if he does not like you, you never be promoted. I am San Dan for 10 years, because JF members do not like me."

EXPERIENCE OF MARTIAL ARTS OTHER THAN JUDO:

Kendo in Chicago for 2 years
"We practiced kendo after we worked out judo at the dojo. The teacher was really good. He is American, but studied over there. He has been in Japan and ranks were obtained in Japan. He was very good."

PERCEIVED PHILOSOPHICAL DIFFERENCES IN JUDO AND KENDO:
"Not really. Where I started judo was Chicago. I came from Chicago area which had national top level of kendo. The most of judo students are above Sho Dan of judo because the national ranks of kendoists did not want people who did not have any bushido philosophy. So, all beginners were expected to have Sho Dan in judo. It was interesting approach. And the kendo instructor was also black belt in judo."

BACKGROUND OF JUDO CLUB

NAME OF THE CLUB & YEAR STARTED:

THE ORIGIN OF THE NAME:
"I wanted to pick a Japanese language, but a reason why I did not was, you know, Bushido-Club and Konjo-Kan, so on, what I was trying to do was to attract the beginner, or a person who is looking for a place for a practice. When he hears Bushido-Club and Konjo-Kan, unless he is Oriental or unless he is in the sport, he doesn't know what it means, and it is meaningless to him, just meaningless words. But when he hears Pacific judo club, he finds out 'Oh! here is a judo club,' that type of thing. So, I picked the word which is simple and recognized by anybody."
PERSON STARTED THE CLUB:

He did.
"When first I came here, I worked as an instructor at Bushido-Club, but I left there for two reasons, one was political reason, and the second was that I wanted to create an environment for seniors only. In many times, there were conflicts in the Bushido-Club. In many times, 75 percent were children and 2 to 3 big men. It is difficult to work out. So, I wanted to create an environment open to anybody, well, strictly for adult, so that we could work out a little bit harder if we wanted to. That is why I started my club."

CHARACTERISTICS OF THE JUDO CLUB:
"Well, the unique aspect is just we’ve talked about, primarily for adult club, and in different places where I practice in the US, and I do not remember adult only clubs, They are always mixed groups. And it is always problem you know. A lot of problem because you know, unless a large club, large enough to separate, juniors here and seniors there, and they had different instructors, that works fine. But if you do not have a large group, if you have only 6, 7, or 8 people show off and not enough to separate part and you work out together, it is not very productive for either for kids and adults. So, I think the thing we need is to provide outlet for adults to go as hard as he wants to go without worrying about hurting small children or not very good working out or something like that. Not against kids because my own kid started when he was 6 years old. So, you know, I work for a children program, but I wanted to provide something for adults. That is the reason why we can not start until late. Many times I am involved in business meetings. And I wanted to provide late night work out. When we started the club, we started at 9 pm o’clock, and we went until 11 pm o’clock. It is pretty late, but there is no excuse for not being there because you normally finish your business or meetings by 9 pm o’clock at night."

ANY SYMBOLS OF THE CLUB:
"Yes, we do, we do have a symbol. We stole that from the the USJA, it just like a T shirt."

The picture is some of the USJA. He put the picture of the USJA and put the word "JUDO" and the name of his club under the picture.
"You might see we all wear this T shirt and sweat shirt and so on at tournaments."

MEANING OF THE DESIGN:
"Well, actually, this is the second symbol, the first symbol
which we used to use as a club symbol was an international judo symbol, you know? the Olympic symbols. It is a kind of a stick figure which is showing something like ippon-seoinage or something. That is the original symbols. Then we started new symbol, we adapted this one here. This shows more animated, shows more actions."

EXHIBITION OF A PICTURE OF DR. KANO:
"Yea, Bushido-Club do, they bow to the picture and so on. We never did that. I think, primarily because I hardly understood the purpose of that."

CLUB ACTIVITY

AVERAGE NUMBER OF STUDENTS IN THE LAST YEAR:
"How many people registered? Probably about 20 to 24 people. All adults. It seems like any one night, we have between 8 to 12 people show up. Not everybody shows up every night you know."

THE NUMBER OF FEMALE:
"Not currently. But we have had them. Actually we had a black belt from Alaska. She was an exchange student here in a school in Oregon. She was working out in our club and went back to Alaska this summer. But no beginners. I don't know if you determine we are male only, but we are not really successful with that. We never had two women. They always came one at the time. If we had two of them, they might stay. But they have to work out with big boys, you know."

MONTHLY FEE FOR ONE PERSON:
$20.00

PRACTICE OF TYPICAL DAY:
"We spend about 15 minutes for warm up and Ukemi, and Ukemi can come in many forms, self-rolling, or one person trying to throw everybody. I use this as a Ukemi practice. One person practice throwing techniques and the other practice Ukemi using as a warm-up exercise. We do not do any push ups and shit ups. If you go to a place like Bushido-Club and some other places, they really spent a half hour for these exercises. We don’t, because I told everybody ‘we do not have time for it’. We only have one hour and a half to 2 hours, and there is not enough time. I say ‘get shape somewhere else, go to gym.’ Form 8:30 we start pure judo, so
all of warm up exercise are kinda base on judo techniques. And after a good warm-up, we usually spend at least a half one hour for good uchikomi. And then minimum 15 minutes after that is clinic style. I select a technique. And then, we finish up with good randori. And randori is about a half one hour to 45 minutes. I like to have every night at least a half one hour to 45 minutes of hard randori and so on. Because for me, what makes judo unique from many of other martial arts is that you practice and you try every single night. And a lot of martial arts, you can do that. It’s all practice, you know, it’s all theoretical with very low practical application. And to me, unless they have a practical application, the martial art is meaningless. I was frustrated by what they do looks really well but doesn’t work at all.”

PERSONAL HISTORY OF JUDO & POSSESSIONS

AGE STARTED JUDO:
27 years old, at Chicago.

REASON WHY STARTED JUDO:
“I was a typical person mid-twenty who worked out basket ball and you know, I used to go YMCA and worked out different things. The thing very frustrating to me was I have to make my friends to with me. You know they can’t get out the house or they are sick, because the most of the sports required partners. That was a real problem. Also, a lot of sports are very seasonal, and a lot of sports are basically youth oriented. When I was in YMCA, I saw judo practice going on, and I saw an old man, to me old in that time, was teaching it and I thought it was individual sport, it was something that there is always going to be somebody for you, and I did not have to bring somebody, it is not a team sport. And I thought it was something year around and some older persons can do. I was looking for something I can do all the time with study basis late my years. As I started training at dojo in Chicago, I saw a lot of senseis 60’s and 70’s still very active. That impressed me, I was impressed by that because I knew the secret of good health and conditioning is that you have to stay with something all your life, you know. I don’t see here by the way, I was very disappointed by the North West, and there are too much problems, my age still active competing that kind of stuff. I saw a lot of that in Chicago, and I do not see it here, you know. There are a lot of senseis. They are fat and they are not active any more. Anyhow, that was why I started judo, there is nothing to do with the philosophy or or nothing to do with martial arts or
self-defense or anything like that. Actually in that time, obviously, I did not know anything about philosophy you know."

1. WHERE AND WHEN PRACTICED AND TAUGHT JUDO.
2. STATUS IN THE CLUBS.
3. DEGREE OF JUDO.
4. POSSESSIONS.

1967 - 1968
YMCA at Chicago for one year with American instructor who won his black belt in Japan and used to teach judo at Air Force. He won up to Green belt.

POSSESSIONS;
"No, I don’t think I do."

1968 - 1973
Another dojo which was also at YMCA in Chicago with a Hawaiian-American instructor.
"In Chicago, most dojos are in YMCA, I don’t know if it is true at the nation wide, but in Chicago area, there were about 8 good dojos there, and they are all YMCA’s".
"I practiced at the second dojos for five years, and I got my black belt with him. He was excellent.... A good teacher. About your size, just an excellent technician. He was old, too, about 60, when I left there, he was about 60, and still excellent excellent condition. He was very impressive."

POSSESSIONS;
Membership card, 1, 2, and 3 Kyu, and Sho Dan, Ni Dan, and old San Dan.
News papers’ articles on the result of 1960’s tournaments. Picture when he took the first place at a tournament in 1968. He showed a picture of his son competing at a judo match.

OBJECTS TAKEN PICTURE:
Certificates of Kodokan, membership cards, news paper articles, a box of trophies and medals.

1975 to 83
He came to Portland and practiced at Bushido-Club as a student. Later he worked as an instructor about until 1983.
1983 to 1987
After he left Bushido-Club, he practiced primarily at Konjo-Dojo. He practiced there until he began his own dojo.

"The Originally, when the dojo was started, the dojo was not called Pacific Judo club, I respected sensei of Konjo-Dojo, and I did not want take student out or compete against them, so we called ourselves as Konjo-Dojo Two. The idea was an adult portion of Konjo-Dojo. But, that caused problems as far as tournaments and so on, you know. So, we really needed to make our club become a regular register club by itself."

POSSESSIONS;
"I get trophies here started 1968 all the way to 1991. I competed last year, at the State Games. We got trophies and medals from all over the U.S., you know, Louisiana, Illinois, Wisconsin...When I was in Chicago, there were a lot more competitions there, I would go through Indiana, Michigan, Illinois, Wisconsin, and I was just competing all over, about once a month. There were a lot of tournament there, a lot more tournaments than the North West."

He showed 20 years ago’s trophy from the boxes. Since his certificates which were his favorite possessions, were at the bottom of the boxes, pictures could not be taken. He said he have about 3 boxes which keep his trophies.

He said he might had 60 to 70 trophies in total. So, if he exhibit them all, it gonna take a lot of space. That is why he doesn’t exhibit them. He also had about 120 medals.

DO YOU HAVE OLD BELTS?:
"I have the original belt that I went the way from white belt to Sho Dan, I kept using it dying the colors."

He showed the belt. The belt had his name on it. He said he kept it as a spare belt.

JUDO CLOTHING?:
"No, actually I had 25 gis you know. Gi lasts one year for me, that all. That is why I wear black pants, that is my spare pants, Karate pants. There are lot of you know newaza and so on, you know. I think the hardest thing of gi is washing. I wash it two times a week, I wash the gi all the time. And after about a year, it is a kind fall into parts."
MEANING OF JUDO

WHAT KEEPS YOU INVOLVE IN JUDO?:
"Well, I like something keeps me active. I stay active out of the sport. You know I am a mountain climber and I also belong to gyms. I love mountain climbing, mostly ice climbing. I am a climber leader, and I was a president of rescue for 4 terms and I was mountain rescue for about 10 years. But it is nothing study all the time. Basically, judo is main sport I always come back to stay in shape. Judo keeps me in shape for climbing and all other thing. My goal is that when I am 75 years old, I am still on the mat unless I have a bad injury. The person stays active, and never quit but stays with it all the time, they can do until 70's. I saw a lot of people back to the east. I know if I stop practicing judo it is problem, even a month it will be trouble."

CHANGE IN PRACTICE BETWEEN WHAT YOU LEARNED AND WHAT YOU TEACH?:
"A little bit, yes." He learned how to do some techniques but he did not learn why do in that way.
"I learned by doing. But now when I teach it, it is totally different. I teach with scientific bases telling everybody exactly how to do it."

TRANSFORMATION OF JUDO FROM A MARTIAL ART TO A SPORT:
"My opinion is I think that is wonderful, I always tell my students once they get black belt here, they can go anywhere in the world and will recognize, not just for what they do, but also they are doing the same technique and the same word and the same everything, so they are learning a sport they can go to participate anywhere in the world. If you go to Moscow or Tokyo or Singapore or San Francisco or you know, always the same thing, and you know not the sport is the same, but the standard for excellence, I think it is the same pretty much, so if they are black belt of brown belt, they will be recognized as black belt or brown belt, because the standard will be the same, which is good I think."
"Some of them feel that I hold back from their promotion, I always tell them that when you leave this club here with brown belt or black belt, I want you to look like a brown belt or black belt in New York or Singapore or Moscow or any where because you are a reflection of North West judo. I have seen in a little local town, instructors promote students too fast and when the students go to a regional tournament, they do pretty bad. What happen as a result is that the students get frustrated and quit."
"I like the idea of international sport that you can participate anywhere in the world. I travel not as much as my business anymore but I used travel a lot around the United States and I took gi with me. I stopped San Francisco, I stopped at New York city and find out if there are any dojos and go to practice, you know. That is really nice just hop in and here I am and I was always welcomed, always welcomed, I never ever went to Dojo where I was not welcomed. That is kind a nice."

FAVORITE POSSESSIONS

FAVORITE POSSESSIONS:
"Probably, my Kodokan certificate for San Dan, if I pick one thing. If I have to throw away a whole mess right there in the garbage and keep one thing, that probably is the Kodokan certificate for my San Dan. Not the local, not the Yudansha-Kai, not the USJF, because to me that was just an accommodation to local politics. But Kodokan certificate, probably I keep that. I received the Kodokan certificate for each rank, you know. For my Sho Dan, Ni Dan and San Dan, I got one for each rank."
"Trophies are all the same, each one has a little different story, but I can not say any one is more favorite than others. Even the Master of judo in the North West gave me a plate, one for my contribution to the club, it does not mean much. It is just local politics. The Kodokan Certificate probably means more to me because I am recognized on international level that I having of you to a standard of excellence. I think probably why it means more than anything else."

JUDO CLOTHING AND BELTS:
"Belt yes, it has a lot of memories. I still have that. That is the only active object that I still have. I rolled it up and put in my case all the time as an extra one."

"In my life, I try not to draw not too much past ones what I did. I am concerned about what I am doing today rather than what I was doing yesterday. That is why my trophies are in the boxes. It is nice to know what I did 25 years ago, but it is not really important today."
APPENDIX D

EXAMPLE OF TRANSCRIPTION OF IN-DEPTH INTERVIEW
A JAPANESE INFORMANT

QUESTIONNAIRE

DATE: 8/6/92
CODE NUMBER: 209

GENERAL DEMOGRAPHIC QUESTIONS

OCCUPATION:
Employee.

AGE:
50 years old.

DEGREE OF JUDO & YEAR OBTAINED:
5th Dan Black Belt in 1985.

EXPERIENCE OF MARTIAL ARTS OTHER THAN JUDO:
No.
"Not at all. I have been devoted myself to judo. Well, I
have competed at sumo tournaments, though. You know when I
was young, there were no sumo clubs. So, the members of judo
club participated sumo tournament in stead."

BACKGROUND OF JUDO CLUB

NAME OF THE CLUB & YEAR STARTED:
Susono Judo Kyokai (Susono Judo Association) in 1972.

THE ORIGIN OF THE NAME:
Since he moved in the city 6 years ago, he did not know much
about the history of the club.
"According to an old document, the club was called 'Rensei-
Kai' before. Therefore, I think this club originated from
the Rensei-Kai. I think that the Rensei-Kai was one of the
clubs belong to the Susono Judo Association."
PERSON STARTED THE CLUB:
"Well, I heard that Mr. Suzuki, who was the first president of the club, and Mr. Yamano started the club here."

CHARACTERISTICS OF THE JUDO CLUB:
"I do not know it is characteristics or not, but I think children, they are not strong at all, but they have a good friendship. Most of the children are from different schools and they seem to enjoy practicing here with other members."
"Since the last year, we have had a quite a few adults. Until the last year, we had only 3 to 4 adult members. Recently, the persons who used to practice here and a high school came back the club and practice."

ANY SYMBOLS OF THE CLUB:
No.
"No, we do not have any. I want to have some symbols because the club is getting active now. Since the number of instructors are increasing, some symbols may be used to recruit children. Before the club had only two instructors, so, we could not recruit students because we could not manage them. But, now we have a lot of black belts. So, I think we can manage a larger number of children."

EXHIBITION OF A PICTURE OF DR. KANO:
No.
"Since we are using public facilities of the city, there are many restrictions that we have to follow. For example, we can not put a Japanese flag and any religious symbols in the practice hall and so on. If our club had a private facility, we could display the picture, but not here."

CLUB ACTIVITY

AVERAGE NUMBER OF STUDENTS IN THE LAST YEAR:
"Usually, we have 25 to 30 students for each day."

PERCENTAGE OF ADULTS:
"Usually 12 to 15 adults show up. I think we have more adults members than children now."
THE NUMBER OF FEMALE:
"We have total 10 female. Three Junior high school students, Four high school students, and the rests are adults. Currently, we do not have any female elementary school children. It is rare case for local clubs. Actually, we have had girls, but they did not have many other girls, so they quitted. Those females (Jr. high and high school students and adults) came to attend the practice last one year."

MONTHLY FEE FOR ONE PERSON:
$16.00

PRACTICE OF TYPICAL DAY:
"I think the main part of our practice for adults is randori. Children have a number of uchikomi practice. When we have mat work, I make everybody practice mat work because if somebody practice standing techniques while others are practicing on the mat, it is dangerous. Unfortunately, we had an accident before. So, when we practice standing techniques, nobody practice mat techniques. Well, it depends of the number of student though."

PERSONAL HISTORY OF JUDO & POSSESSIONS

AGE STARTED JUDO:
14 years old in Hyogo prefecture.

REASON WHY STARTED JUDO:
"I participated a sumo tournament in my Jr. High school and became the champion. A manager of judo club watched my competitions and he induced me to become a member of judo club. That is the reason why I started judo. Until I start judo, I practiced gymnastics. And I've hardly thought I would practice judo until I met the manager."

1. WHERE AND WHEN PRACTICED AND TAUGHT JUDO.
2. STATUS IN THE CLUBS.
3. DEGREE OF JUDO.
4. POSSESSIONS.
1955 - 1957
Practiced at a judo club in Jr. high school.

POSSESSIONS;
"I believe I still have pictures, but I do not have judo clothing and belt of those days anymore."

1957 - 1960
Belonged to a high school judo club.

POSSESSIONS;
"I believe I still have at least one judo clothing. Of course, they are not usable, they are worn out. I used to have a number of medals from judo tournaments, but I lost them when my family moved resident. I was really disappointed by loosing the medals. So, the other things I still possess are, I think, pictures only. I have a lot of pictures."

1960 - 1986
Belonged to a judo club of business company where he worked.

1960 - 1986
Taught at a private judo club and a police department. "Since 1960 to 6 years ago, I was in Hyogo prefecture, and I taught judo at a local judo club and a judo club in a police department. I did the same thing what I am doing here before."

POSSESSIONS;
"I have certificate given by winning at judo tournaments."

1986 to date.
Teach at Susono Judo Association as a head instructor. "I have never had any single year in which I didn't practice judo so far."

MEANING OF JUDO

WHAT KEEPS YOU INVOLVE IN JUDO?:
"I feel like judo is an important part of myself. For example, when I see somebody is practicing judo, I can not help participating judo practice. For long time, I grew up with judo. Judo is a means of character building, is it? So, I feel like judo is an essence of myself. Today's me is
the result of the long devotion to judo. All of memories relating to judo are good things. I am really glad I have been practicing judo and I appreciate my instructor for introducing me judo.”

CHANGE IN PRACTICE BETWEEN WHAT YOU LEARNED AND WHAT YOU TEACH?:
“Before judo had only ippon and wazaari, but now, a point system is introduced. When I was a competitor, everybody tried to master some throwing techniques with which the person could take ippon. But, now, wrestling like judo techniques are seen very often. Without having any big throw, you can win at the competitions. So, I feel judo techniques became less attractive than before. It is the same for children's judo. I think that is the biggest change. And I think the first degree of black belt in 20 years ago is equivalent to the 2nd degree of black belt today. One reason is a promotion system. You know, before, you had to have 4 matched and win every match at the promotional tournament, otherwise you could not get promoted to black belt degree. Now, you can accumulate your winning points. So, compared to before, today's ranking is one rank lower.”

TRANSFORMATION OF JUDO FROM A MARTIAL ART TO A SPORT:
“I think we can not avoid modifying judo toward a sport for some extent in order to increase judo population. But whenever I talk with other judo instructors, they insist that judo should have only ippon and wazaari. I agree to their opinion, too.”

FAVORITE POSSESSIONS:
“Of course, the judo clothing of my instructor, because he gave me an opportunity to involve in judo and also he always took care of me like a real parent. When my instructor died, his wife gave me a set of judo clothing and a black belt. I wore the clothing and the belt and I let my son were the clothing, too. So, it became really ragged, and almost unusable. Of course, I still keep them. You know, he devoted himself into judo, so, I feel like his soul still stays in the judo clothing. I can be together with the instructor by wearing the clothing.”
BELT RANKING SYSTEM

ORDER OF COLORED BELT:
White - Yellow - green - light blue - purple - brown.

PROMOTION & AGE:
"You know 6th grade is the last year in elementary school, so, as long as 6th graders practice very seriously, I like to gave them a highest rank no matter how long they have been involved in judo."