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Abstract

Background and Study Aim: The purpose of the present paper is to provide a comprehensive review of Joshi goshinhō (“Self-defense methods for Women”), the now reclusive ‘ninth’ kata of Kōdōkan jūdō, once part of the standard women’s jūdō curriculum in Japan.

Material/Methods: To achieve this, we offer a careful critical analysis of the available literature and rare source material on this kata. Historically, women practiced a less physical jūdō than men, their instruction being chiefly driven by health promotion-oriented calisthenics. Joshi goshinhō was created in 1943, following an order by Nangō Jirō, a retired Japanese Navy rear admiral in charge of the Kōdōkan. Joshi goshinhō would meet the increasing demands for more self-defense-oriented jūdō for women. However, jūdō, and joshi goshinhō in particular, also matched popular fascist views of body image in war-time Japan. Joshi goshinhō’s current state of decline is caused by: unavailability of competent teachers, a misconstrued perception that links it to gender discrimination, the sportification of jūdō, concerns about the effectiveness of its techniques, and reminiscences to the jingoist ideologies of Nangō Jirō. Therefore it has become victim to the long-established self-critiqueless and historic revisionist practices of the Kōdōkan leading to a silent exit.

Conclusions: Joshi goshinhō is still worthy of a place in contemporary jūdō, and may be effectively combined with randori techniques for self-defense purposes during an emergency situation. Jūdōka have a right to a critical analytical and non-revisionist approach to jūdō’s history in its every aspect as an integral part of the pedagogical aims of jūdō and free of any anti-intellectual fascism.

Key words: Joshi goshinhō • Kanō Jigorō • Nangō Jirō • jūdō • kata • Fukuda Keiko • Kōdōkan • Noritomi Masako • women’s jūdō

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The purpose of the present paper is to provide a comprehensive study of Joshi goshinhō 女子護身法 (“Self-defense methods for women”), a kata [prearranged and abstract attack/defense choreographic forms] that is today rarely taught within the Kōdōkan curriculum of instruction, and that has never really established itself as a common part of jūdō practice abroad. In recent years, this ‘ninth’ kata of Kōdōkan jūdō, of which, full name is Joshi jūdō goshinhō, has silently disappeared from jūdō kata lists including those circulated and produced by the Kōdōkan Jūdō Institute in Tōkyō, Japan. Finding proper information about the contents, background and history of Joshi...
Anti-intellectual fascism – Formulates policies without the advice of academics and their scholarship, and serves to protect those sharing the ethnic, gender and rank from those without. It compensates for the lack of education via pseudo-militarist hierarchical structures, and advocates revisionist history with paternalistic attitudes to those differing in opinions, gender, ethnicity, or rank, while remaining hostile to intellectuals who represent a threat to its framework.

**Joshi goshinhō** – “Women’s self-defense methods”, a physical exercise which Nangō Jirō ordered to be created and which was completed amidst the Second World War in 1943.

**Nangō Jirō** – The second Head of the Kūdōkan, born in 1876, died in 1951.

**Jūdō** – Jūdō is a Japanese form of pedagogy created by Kanō Jigoro, based on neoconfucianist values, traditional Japanese martial arts, and modern Western principles developed by John Dewey, John Stuart Mill, and Herbert Spencer.

**Kata** – Predetermined and choreographed physical exercises, which together with free exercises (randori), lectures (kōgi), and discussions (mmodō) form the four critical learning pillars of Kūdōkan jūdō education.

**Kūdōkan** – The specific name of the big school and style of jūdō as given by its founder Kanō Jigoro (1860–1938).

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Figure 1(11). Joshi jūdō goshinhō, the first publication ever about Joshi goshinhō, edited by Nomura Hirokazu and published by the Kūdōkan in 1943.

Figure 1(11) shows the first publication on Joshi goshinhō, a combination of both women’s jūdō and Joshi goshinhō, in particular the position of women’s self-defense in historic Japan and the creation of the Women’s Department within the Kūdōkan. We also presented a critical analysis of the technical contents of Joshi goshinhō. Now, in Part Three, we will focus on the existing historic and modern learning texts and study materials for Joshi goshinhō. We will also attempt to clarify the reasons for the inauspiciousness and decline in popularity of Joshi goshinhō.

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**LEARNING TEXTS AND MATERIALS FOR JOSHI GOSHINHŌ IN THE SPECIALIZED JŪDŌ LITERATURE**

1943 – Nomura Hirokazu & Kūdōkan (editors) – Joshi jūdō goshinhō [7]

It is generally believed that Nangō Jirō’s own book from 1944 is the first book about Joshi goshinhō, but that is not correct. In fact, one year earlier (the year of its creation, 1943), the Kūdōkan published a thin booklet on Joshi jūdō goshinhō, similar to those it still produces today for most Kūdōkan kata. The booklet was edited by Nomura Hirokazu 野村寛一, and was called Joshi jūdō goshinhō (Figure 1(11)). This booklet initially set the name of the kata thus to be Joshi jūdō goshinhō. There is really no historic background in the booklet and no pictures, although a separate photo sheet was produced on which Noritomi Masako and an unidentified female jūdōka demonstrate the Ridatsu-hō and Seigo-hō series (Figure 2(12)). The booklet is extremely hard to find, was apparently not very well distributed, and is of little value as study aid for the kata. Because the Joshi goshinhō was produced only in 1943 it does not feature at all in an important standard oeuvre such as Maruyama’s major historic reference text, which was printed in 1939 [9].

1944 – Nangō Jirō – Joshi goshinhō [10]

Nangō’s 1943 Joshi goshinhō book is the most important text on this kata (Figure 3(13)). It provides a 43-pag-es long rationale and historic background, before even starting its step-by-step explanations of the reihō and all the techniques comprised in Joshi goshinhō. The perform-ers appropriately are Noritomi Masako and Sakamoto Fusatarō, both of whom were major contributors to the kata’s creation. Unfortunately as with many pre-1950 Japanese jūdō books, the paper is of fragile quality and the printed pictures are technically poorly reproduced. For those reasons, the book’s major usefulness is for re-search purposes rather than as an actual practical guiding text for studying Joshi goshinhō. As an interesting detail, when Nangō’s book first came out, it was sold for 1.10 yen which at today’s exchange rate amounts to less than 2 cents.
Page 161 of the 1956 Kōdōkan book is the start of Chapter X “General Description of The Prearranged Forms of Judo.” On the opening paragraph of this chapter it reads as follows:

“There are nine kinds of Kata or forms generally taught today at Kōdōkan. They are ... (9) Fujoshi-yō-Goshin-no-Kata (Forms of Self-Defence for Girls and Women); and (10) Ippan-yō Goshin-no-Kata (Forms of Self-Defence for Men).” ([11], p. 162]

Fujoshi-yō goshin-no-kata 婦女子用護身の形 and Ippan-yō goshin-no-Kata 一般用護身の形 are the alternative names that were then in use for Joshi goshinjutsu and Kōdōkan goshinjutsu, and which since have become obsolete. No information or technical instructions on either of these kata, in particular the Fujoshi-yō-goshin-no-kata, are included in the book.

1957 – Mikinosuke Kawaishi – The Complete 7 Katas of Judo [12]

The only mention of a specific self-defense kata for women in Mikinosuke Kawaishi’s (1899–1970) seminal book, The Complete 7 Katas of Judo [12], is as follows:

“... At the Kōdōkan they still study the SEIRYOKU-ZENYOKOKUMIN-TAIKU-NO-KATA, or Kata of Physical Training, and also two derived from the KIME-NO-KATA, a Kata of Defence for Women and another a little different for Men.” ([12], p. 11]

Kawaishi does not provide the Japanese name of this kata nor any further technical details on its content. The two kata referenced by Kawaishi are likely the Joshi goshinjutsu and Kōdōkan goshinjutsu. It cannot be Kime-shiki to which Kawaishi is referring, since Kime-shiki predated Kime-no-kata, which Kawaishi must have known.
1965 – Itō Kazuo 伊藤四男 – *Joshi jūdō – Goshinjutsu & This is jūdō for women* [13,14]

Itō Kazuo 伊藤四男 was an *uchi-deshi* 家弟子 [live-in apprentice] to Mifune Kiyūzō for some time. Itō was an interesting figure who held an academic doctorate, more specifically, a D.Sc. (Rigakka hakase 理学博士) and held the rank of Kūdōkan 9th dan. Itō is largely responsible for composing the *Katame-no-ura-ware* 固めの裏技 [Reverse control techniques], the sequel to Mifune’s *Nage-no-ura-ware-kenkyū* 投げの裏技 research. In 1965 he published a book in Japanese “*Joshi jūdō – Goshinjutsu*” 女子柔道・護身術 [Women’s jūdō – Self-defense] [13], which was subsequently also translated into English and republished as “*This is jūdō for women*” [14]. Together with Fukuda Keiko’s 1973 “*Born for the mat*” [15] it is the most detailed modern teaching book on Joshi goshin hô that is available in the English language. The pictures are much larger and clearer than in Fukuda’s book or any other existing book with Joshi goshin hô, which is an important asset. Joshi goshin hô techniques in Itō Kazuo’s book were demonstrated by Miyake Tsunako 三宅篤子, *joshi* 5th *dan* as *tori*, and Satō Shizuya 佐藤静弥, 6th *dan* as *uke*.

However, there is a major problem in that Joshi goshin hô as presented in Itō’s book appears to differ at several stages from the standard Joshi goshin hô as taught at the Kūdōkan, and also seems to contain some editorial errors. The solo exercises of the first series contain only seven techniques instead of eight. The first, third, and fourth techniques appear without names. The sixth exercise contains a technique *Hihi-ate* 肘当て [Elbow strike], which does not normally appear in the original Joshi goshin hô contained in Nangō Jirō’s [10] or Fukuda Keiko’s [15] book. Also noteworthy is that for the last technique of Seigo-hō 制護法 [Escapes with counterattack], namely *Kyōbukusa-dori* 背追取 [Robbing at knife-point], Itō lists both the standard defense and an alternative defense. This technique involves an attacker with a knife. In Itō’s alternative defense, *tori* grabs *uke*’s left hand, *i.e.*, the one in which he is not holding the knife, and then turns underneath *tori*’s arm with what appears to be *aikidō*’s *sankyō* 三教 wrist lock, a painful and effective control technique, but … in this case involving a *tori* who thus despite being engaged in combat turns her back to an attacker who intends to and could easily stab in the kidney area with knife (Figure 4(14)).

That in itself does not seem very sensible. The alternative technique presented by Itō would likely be far safer for *tori* if she would get a hold of and apply *sankyō* on *tori*’s hand that is actually holding the knife. Because of these issues, and despite the clear pictures which Itō’s book contains, many inexperienced *jūdōka* interested in studying Joshi goshin hô may become confused or even somewhat suspicious about its effectiveness.


“Willow in the wind” was a stenciled magazine produced by the American Ladies Judo subgroup within the Amateur Athletic Union (AAU)³. The magazine in the 1960s featured a three-part series on Joshi goshin hô. It contains drawings rather than pictures, and was a very early available and cheap alternative to texts only available in Japanese and in Japan. According to today’s standards, most people would find these articles outdated. However, they presented a sincere and bold effort to introduce this *kata* to American *jūdō* and provide some basic documentation.


The kata books authored by Kotani et al. between the end of the 1960s and until the Kūdōkan in 1986 published *Illustrated Kodokan Judo* [18] were the kata reference texts for many *jūdō* practitioners. One of the most technically detailed Joshi goshin hô study texts is contained in their book *Kata of Kodokan Judo*. The performers are the later Kūdōkan *joshi* 8th *dan* Niboshi Haruko 仁星温子 at that point in 1968 still 5th *dan*, and Ōsawa Yoshimi 大澤裕美, then 7th *dan*, later a Kūdōkan 10th *dan*. Photographic illustrations are matte and are relatively small and not always as crisp as desired. As for each *kata* in this book, foot patterns are provided. This works well for those who like this type of graphical representation and who can well learn from it. We note that in the fourth technique of the last series, *Ushiro-dori* 後取 [Grabbing from behind], the concluding throw, according to Kotani et al., is mentioned to be *sae-nage* 背負投 [Back-carrying throw] [17, p. 151]. The entire Joshi goshin hô included in this book was reprinted in one of the 1970 issues of the French magazine *Les cahiers techniques de Budo-Magazine*, *Revue Budo Magazine – Judo Kodokan under the French title “Techniques de Self-defense du Kodokan appliquées aux femmes”* [19].

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¹ Miyake Tsunako 三宅篤子 was born in 1926 and would likely now be the second most senior woman in *jūdō* after Fukuda Keiko. However, as so many talented *jūdōka* she too became entangled in the Kūdōkan politics and many interpersonal problems, nepotism and preferential treatment of certain individuals while isolating others. The acute consequence was that despite having held the rank of *joshi* 5th *dan* since 1965, *i.e.*, for 46 years at the time of writing, she was never promoted again just like Kimura Masahiko. Okano Isao and many others of the best and most knowledgeable *jūdōka* whose Kūdōkan promotional career was destroyed in some of the saddest and darkest pages of Kūdōkan *jūdō* history that continue to be written until this very day.

² This is the very same Sato Shinya 佐藤静弥 (1929–2011) who later became celebrated because of his role in the creation (1951) and management of the Kokusai Budō Renmei 国際武道連盟, Saitama internationally better known under its English name *International Martial Arts Federation* or its acronym I.M.A.F. Sato-sensei used to be a secretary to the Kūdōkan’s International Department since 1949.

³ The *Amateur Athletic Union* (AAU) is one of the largest nonprofit volunteer multi-sports organizations in the United States, which is dedicated to the promotion and development of amateur sports and physical fitness programs.

Noritomi Masako 荒富政子 was considered Kanō Jigorō’s most accomplished female student. She wrote one book Joshi jūdō kyōhon 女子柔道教本 [Textbook of women’s jūdō], which she published herself. The book was never reprinted and is very rare. Together with Fukuda Keiko’s Born for the mat, the book is considered somewhat as the Bible of women’s jūdō. It has also been the guiding text of Japanese women who were taught jūdō by Noritomi and who practiced at the Kōdōkan Joshi-bu in the 1960s and 1970s, women who today are in their 70s. Noritomi was among the creators of Joshi goshinhō, thus she was both knowledgeable and proficient. She already was tori in Nangō Jirō’s 1944 text [10], and in the Kōdōkan’s 1943 photo leaflet [8] that was produced by the Kōdōkan in
those days. Because of those reasons, the book is generally considered the most authoritative Japanese text on Joshi goshin-hō, next to that by Nangō Jirō; however, the latter, as mentioned before, suffers from having been printed on fragile paper and its pictures being poor quality, which makes it not very suitable as a text for frequent use.

1973 – Fukuda Keiko – Born for the mat [15]

No doubt, Fukuda Keiko’s Born for the mat is the most famous jūdō book written for women or by a woman.

It is also now the most expensive, commanding secondhand store and auction prices of $300, $400 and in some instances even over $700. Fukuda’s book was never reprinted, but since the death of the other Joshi 8th dan Niboshi Haruko in 1998, Fukuda had been gaining iconic status related to her being the sole female 8th dan for eight years and for allegedly being the last and only direct jūdō student of Kanō Jigorō. Born for the mat is a unique book ‘dated’ in a positive way in that it recounts its guidelines in a style that feels authentic for the atmosphere and thinking of the Kanō Jūdō-kan in the days of Kanō.

The book is written from a basic view that jūdō is different for women and for men, a view that has been mostly rejected by foreign women, especially American women jūdōka, because of their specific history, i.e. the struggle to be allowed to do randori and shiai, an issue that never really was an issue in Europe. Hence, in particular American women who personally were part of this struggle and Title IX implications will often start...
from the point of view of equality and opine that gender differences in jūdō imply discrimination towards them.

Fukuda’s book remains an excellent choice for studying Joshi goshinjutsu because of the understanding and authenticity it conveys. Its major drawback is that the relatively crisp and glossy properties of the pictures are negatively offset by their small size. Furthermore, the book is now a collector’s item, a text that most people feel needs to be treated with care, and which does no longer belong packed in a work-out bag together with a sweat-drenched and soaking wet jūdōgi. Creating a photocopy of one’s own hard copy as a working document may offer a practical alternative solution for working from this document.


Natsume and Martin in their 1974 French language book include some basic information about Joshi goshinjutsu to which they refer as “Le Goshin Ho”. They provide a list with names of the three series, and the names of the techniques of the second and third series. They also provide pictures of the Ushiro-dori 後取 (Seizing from behind), the fourth technique of Seigo-hō 制護法, the only technique within Joshi goshinjutsu to end in a throw [21, p. 110–111]. No text or information is included on the reihō or how to perform any of the techniques. As such the book is not very helpful in studying the kata.

1983 – Tadao Otaki & Donn Draeger – Judo Formal Techniques [22]

Writing in their 1983 magnum opus on the Randori-no-kata (“Forms of free exercise”), Otaki and Draeger include Joshi goshinjutsu in their list of “all the standard Kodokan kata” [22, p. 32]. The authors list it alongside Kime-no-kata and Kodokan goshinjutsu in a series of kata grouped according to “...original purpose, scope and spirit...” [Ibid., p. 32] under the heading of “combat” (kata):

“Combat:
Kime no Kata (Classical Forms of Self-Defense)
Goshin-jutsu (no Kata) (Modern Forms of Self-Defense)
Goshin-ho (no Kata) (Modern Forms of Women’s Self-Defense)” (…) [Ibid., p. 32]

1985 – George Parulski – Black Belt Judo [23]

In the book Black Belt Judo [23], published under the auspices of the now defunct American Society of Classical Judo, George Parulski Jr. presents a summary description of the Joshi goshinjutsu (and the Kōdōkan goshinjutsu):

“KODOKAN GOSHIN-JUTSU

Translated as the ‘Kodokan’s method of self-defense’, this kata was invented in the ‘50s by a staff of masters at the Kodokan. Their intention was to update the techniques of the Kime-no-Kata for modern times. This kata contains methods of throwing, holding, evading kicking, striking and choking. There are defenses against bare hands, sticks, knives and guns.

JOSHI JUDO-GOSHIN-HO

Another kata invented during the ’50s, the Kodokan’s form of self-defense for women is a kata with the same intent as the Kodokan Goshin-jutsu, except that all techniques are designed strictly with a woman’s physique in mind." (…) [Ibid., p. 74]

Parulski provides no further details or illustrations of either the Kōdōkan goshinjutsu or the Joshi goshinjutsu. He does, however, provide detailed instructional material on various self-defense techniques, including various atemi-waza (striking/kicking techniques) [Ibid., p. 157–173] and some self-defense sequences against modern day situations [Ibid., p. 174–181].

1986 – Kōdōkan Editorial Committee – Illustrated Kōdōkan Jūdō [18]

This book, which was published by Kōdansha and which presents Kanō Jigorō as its author, was in reality compiled by a Kōdōkan editorial committee and was made available in Japanese, English, French, and German. None of the Western language editions make any mention of Joshi goshinjutsu, but remarkably, the Japanese version [24] does include Joshi goshinjutsu, with clear pictures featuring Umezu Katsuko 梅津勝子, now Kōdōkan joshi 8th dan, and currently the Kōdōkan Joshi-bu’s most senior woman and most knowledgeable still active teacher of Joshi goshinjutsu.


Patricia ‘Pat’ Harrington (born and educated in Australia) is a Kōdōkan joshi 6th dan and the most senior Kōdōkan-graded living Caucasian female in the world. In her book Judo a pictorial manual, originally published by David & Charles Publishers, plc., in 1987 and reprinted by Tuttle Publishing in 1992, Harrington presents a clear and well-illustrated description of how to perform the entire Joshi goshinjutsu as well as guidance for, and the benefits ensuing from its practice. Throughout her jūdō career, Harrington has made regular pilgrimages to the Kōdōkan and has received instruction from both 10th dan–holders Mifune Kyūzō and Ōsawa Yoshimi, as well as Niboshi Haruko, joshi 8th dan. Harrington also lists
Fukuda Keiko, *joshi* 9th *dan*, as one of her teachers. Given this lineage, Harrington can reasonably be considered one of the foremost experts of non-Japanese descent on the *joshi goshinho*. Moreover, since the 1992 reprint of *Judo a Pictorial Manual* can still be purchased relatively easily and inexpensively, it is by far the most easily accessible text not in the Japanese language on the *kata*.


No mention of the *joshi goshinbō* is made in the (compact though relatively comprehensive) *Kōdōkan New Japanese-English Dictionary of Jūdō*. This omission is not surprising as, inexplicably, the *joshi goshinbō* is usually absent from Daigo-sensei’s writings and lectures on *kata*, as indicated before.

**Audiovisual Instructional Materials for *Joshi Goshinbō***

The *Kōdōkan* has been planning for some time to produce an instructional film for the *Sei-ryūka zenyū kokumin taiiku*. However, a similar film for the *joshin goshinbō* has never even been on the drawing table. The following are the limited audiovisual materials on *joshi goshinbō* that are, or at some point in time, were available.

1969 – Fukuda Keiko – *Kodōkan Joshi goshinbo* [16 mm or 8 mm film] [27]

There are currently no professionally produced modern video tapes or DVDs with *joshi goshinbō* available on the market for commercial purchase. In 1969 when Fukuda was preparing her *Born for the Mat* book, she also produced a film that is probably the best *joshi goshinbō* instructional recording known. Fukuda at the time was a *joshi* 5th *dan* and on the recording fulfills the role of *tori*, while Okada Mitsue, then *joshi* 3rd *dan*, was *uke*. The recording, completed at the *Kōdōkan* *joshi-bu*, is in black and white and has no sound, but is determined and effective. However, it was never reissued and only few copies were sold. It was self-published and even the author does not appear to have the master tapes, which seem to have been lost. Regrettably, the recordings were never officially transferred to video or DVD and officially only exist on 40-year old film reels almost impossible to find.

1970s – *Kōdōkan – Joshi jūdō goshinbō* [video] [28]

There does exist another (apparently incomplete) instructional tape of *joshi goshinbō* recorded at the *Kōdōkan* and in color. *Tori* is the late Miyajima Naoko, *joshi* 7th *dan*, and *uke* is Akiyama Sumiko, today *joshi* 7th *dan*. The date and exact origin of this recording are as of yet still not completely identified, and only the partner exercises have been found back. The recording has no sound, and it is still also unclear as part of what project it may have been recorded. Despite these flaws the recording is recommended, partly because a few clips from it have been easily accessible via the Internet.

Unknown date – Karen Collias & Greg Fernandez – *Joshi judo goshinbo* [video] [29]

Karen Collias, 5th *dan*, and Greg Fernandez, 7th *dan*, two Americans from California, were among the first avid Western *kata* competitors and obtained many successful results nationally and for the U.S. in international *kata* contests in the 1990s. It is the merit of these competitors to have made available a VHS tape via their *jūdō* organization (United States Judo Association [USJA]) with a whole range of *kata* and for a relatively small fee. It is not a professional recording; the image quality therefore is limited and the setting is not ideal, but particularly knowing how few *joshi goshinbō* didactic materials are available, it deserves its place. The video is still on the market.

**Internet Sources**

Today, it has become possible for almost anyone with a decent Internet connection to access relevant materials freely in this way. Popular sources like the *Judo Information Site* [30] or *Judo-web* [31] offer such an option. Sometimes, free video clips may be available too [32], which even though they may not be of reference standard may still provide an inspiration of which *jūdōka* who learnt *kata* in the traditional way decades ago could have only dreamt of.

**Reasons for the Inauspiciousness and Decline in Popularity of *Joshi Goshinbō***

Instruction and availability of *joshi goshinbō* instructors in the Post-World War II era

The decline in popularity and the inauspiciousness of *joshi goshinbō* within the educational curriculum of *Kōdōkan* *jūdō* are intriguing and prompt for further scrutiny. It is obvious that it is possible to write at length about the development, importance and various intricacies of *joshi goshinbō*. It also seems that when it was created in 1943 and first introduced to the *Kōdōkan* *joshi-bu* that it was received with a certain enthusiasm, perhaps because it was both new and a significant enrichment to the up to then limited *joshi jūdō* curriculum.
which had exclusively focused on health, physical education and etiquette.

Fukuda writes about this kata with certain keenness: “KODOKAN! Women’s Self-Defense was made so that it can be easily learned by anyone.” (...) [15, p. 71].

Indeed, Joshi goshinhō would soon become fully integrated into the curriculum of the Kōdōkan Joshi-bu. Natsumé writes:


[Transl.: “At the Kōdōkan the beginners start their study of Kime-shiki three months after their entry into the women’s section. Three months later they perform it in their exam for third kyu. They then immediately commence their study of Joshi goshinhō for three months in preparation for their 2nd kyu testing.”]

Despite those promising developments and the status that Joshi goshinhō enjoyed when Noritomi, Fukuda, Niboshi, and Miyajima were still the leading female sensei at the Kōdōkan, the kata has since experienced a sharp decline in popularity. Fukuda emigrated to the U.S. and Noritomi and Miyajima both died prematurely, and soon no woman who had personally known either Kanō or Nangō, remained at the Kōdōkan Joshi-bu. In fact, today, Joshi goshinhō, the ninth kata, although (still apparently) officially recognized by the Kōdōkan, is now usually omitted from lists of kata and from jūdō textbooks1. Some of the reasons for this decline are obvious, but others are more convoluted and common knowledge about these reasons has remained remarkably suppressed.

The U.S., due to Fukuda Keiko as Kōdōkan Joshi-bu sensei-in-residence2, is the only country outside of Japan where an expert in this kata has resided and has faithfully kept promoting it to a meaningful number of (female) students [33]. For example, Fukuda Keiko steadily put it on the program of the Joshi Summer Camp she has been organizing on a yearly basis in the U.S. since 19733. A few other countries such as the United Kingdom (Michiko Whyman, née Ōyama Shōgō), Joshi 6th dan, 1942), France (with Natsumé Miwako, Joshi 7th dan, September 1946), and Australia (Pat Harrington, Joshi 6th dan, March 1936) have or have had female jūdō sensei4 who were still schooled in this kata at the Kōdōkan and at some point did teach it on a limited basis in their country of residence. Note that the late Margot Sathaye, Joshi 7th dan [1941 – January 30th, 2000]), who was first at the Kōdōkan Joshi-bu, resided in Japan for 21 years. As such, she did not really teach Joshi goshinhō in the U.K. though she was of course knowledgeable in this kata.

Put simply, the more and more limited numbers of competent female teachers who still learnt Joshi goshinhō in the formative years of the Kōdōkan Joshi-bu is one of the most serious reasons for its increasing rarity today. The leading senior females at the Kōdōkan now are in acute fear that the kata may become lost as they have no successors at the Joshi-bu with their expertise in this kata5.

Consequences of the development and success of women’s jūdō and competition on gender discrimination and the decay of Joshi goshinhō

Despite individual anecdotes of women expressing an interest in jūdō as early as the 1890s, jūdō did not become properly and systematically developed for women until about half a century after Kanō created jūdō. Until then, the jūdō that was being taught to women was much more educational-oriented and health-focused than the jūdō being taught to males. Additionally, in women’s jūdō there was far less a shinken shōbu 真剣勝負 or real fighting contest orientation than in men’s jūdō. Strictly speaking, Kanō’s pedagogical ideals obviously applied to men’s jūdō too. However, particularly during the days that Kōdōkan jūdō still had to establish its reputation, contests took place against other jūjutsu schools with the aim of showing jūdō’s superiority. At this time there was a strong aura of fighting with the intent to show who was best, which in the end seemed to have greater impact on the regular population than Kanō’s refined and arguably too academic pedagogical ideals. However, for women’s jūdō, no such evolution ever took place, and there never was a history of Kōdōkan jūdō women ending up in fights with women from other jūjutsu schools to prove the superiority of Kōdōkan’s women’s jūdō. Thus, there was never a shinken shōbu tradition in women’s jūdō developed in competition with other schools.

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1 As previously mentioned, Joshi goshinhō is included in the book Kōdōkan Jūdō [24], but only in the Japanese version, not in the English or any other foreign language version.

2 Takeuchi Kuniko 竹内久仁子, Joshi 7th dan, Sep 1939 is also a Japanese expatriate in the U.S.

3 With Fukuda in recent years because of the impairments of old age being committed to a wheelchair and because her assistants and guest-instructors do not have the same expertise in this kata anymore, Joshi goshinhō sadly has also started disappearing from women’s kata practice in the United States.

4 Margot Sathaye and Pat Harrington also wrote jūdō books specifically aimed at women [25,35].

5 Umezu Katsuko, Personal communication, Summer 2009.
Fukuda wrote in 1973: “One of the most important problems is, should Women’s Judo be considered the same as Men’s Judo? As Judo is also as sport, it is natural that competition exists; however the main object of Women’s Judo is not to win in a competition as in Men’s Judo.” (…) [15, p. 10]

She continues: “Women who truly love Judo and understand its purpose, would not consider competition as the only way to prove their ability”. (…) [Ibid., p. 10]

“When the KODOKAN Women’s Section began the training was very gentle and emphasized T'ai-Sabaki and Ukemi. It was mainly open to women of upper class society when I began my study. But things changed after 1945 and the doors to Judo were opened for everyone.

The number of women judoists increased yearly since that time. Thus, the urge to study Judo for mental training, for self-defense purposes, and to become stronger physically has become reality for the Japanese women. This can be seen in the manner in which the women judoists all seem to be really enjoying Randori (Free Exercise).” (…) [Ibid., p. 11]

Fukuda concludes: “In the countries of Europe where there is little communication with the KODOKAN Women’s Section, little understanding of the spirit and aims of Women’s Judo exists. Competition is considered to be of the utmost importance and I have heard that international competitions in some countries have been started.

I would like to stress again that Women’s Judo differs essentially from Men’s Judo, particularly in Randori”. (…) [Ibid., p. 11]

Fukuda somewhat remarkably and uniquely defines something practically not found in any other writing on jūdō. “Those who seriously study Judo and master a higher degree of Kata, may reach the point of acquiring “Satori”, comparable to that concept of “Spiritual Enlightenment” in Zen Buddhism, possessing a highly trained physique.” (…) [Ibid., p. 11]

Most likely what happened to women’s jūdō resulted from a combination of two factors, namely, the Kōdōkan after the passing of Kanō losing its visionary, and the discrepancy between women’s jūdō in Europe, the U.S., the Kōdōkan and elsewhere in Japan (i.e., outside of the Kōdōkan). While the Kōdōkan has tried to claim much of the contribution to women’s jūdō the reality is more nuanced. For example, various publications on women’s jūdō enthusiastically mention that Ozaki Kaneko (Katsuko ?) 小崎甲子 on January 18th of 1933 was the first woman to obtain shodan in jūdō at the Kōdōkan. What they do not mention though is that Ozaki had already been promoted to shodan by the Butokukai [36,37]. It is likely no coincidence that this important fact has been mostly omitted from Kōdōkan publications. Ozaki had been born in 1908 and was from the Nagoya area. She entered the Butokukai through its Nagoya division in 1927 at age 19. At one point, Ozaki sought instruction from the legendary Tobarī Takisaburō 大場道場三郎, 8th dan sensei in jūdō but mostly known as one of the 6th generation shihan and menkyo kaiden 免許皆伝 [Holder of full transmission teaching license] holder in Tenjin Shinyō-ryū jūjutsu 天神真流柔術 ["The Divine True Willow School"].

Tobarī Takisaburō (1872–1942) had a far more progressive attitude towards developing fighting skills in women than the Kōdōkan. This is also evidenced by the fact that he would instruct and train his own wife Tobarī Kazu10 大場和 and all the way up to menkyo kaiden in Tenjin Shinyō-ryū and to be his own successor and shihan of the Inoue Keitarō 井上敬太郎 Tenjin Shinyō-ryū lineage. In particular, Ozaki during a jūdō tournament in Gifu was able to defeat three males. After this achievement, and on recommendation of Tobarī Takisaburō (at that point President of the Osaka Jūdō Federation 大阪府柔道連盟長 and Butokukai member), Ozaki was promoted by the Butokukai through its Osaka division in 1932 to become the first ever female shodan in jūdō [36,37]. Only about one year later, in January 1933 did Ozaki enter the Kōdōkan and was ‘promoted’ to shodan on January 18th of 193311 [20, 38]. The term ’promotion’ is even ambiguous since Butokukai ranks were considered by many as more prestigious (than Kōdōkan ones) and were automatically accepted by the Kōdōkan.

The critical point here is that it would be hardly accurate to characterize these events as reflecting the Kōdōkan’s progressive attitude towards women. In truth, dan promotions for women were at that time prohibited in the Kōdōkan [36,37]. The reason that the Kōdōkan acquired, was likely motivated by its intense rivalry with the Butokukai far more than representing an indicator of progress and respect towards women. When the first foreign woman, Sarah B. MAYER (1896–1957) from Britain, was promoted to shodan in jūdō on Wednesday, February 27th of 1933 [39], it was by the Butokukai in Kyōto and not by the Kōdōkan in Tōkyō. This too is hardly a coincidence.

10 Tobarī Kazu was also the Tenjin Shinyō-ryū jūjutsu instructor of one of the authors (C.D.C.) of this paper.
11 The next female black belt promotions by the Kōdōkan (and thus really the first promotion of its own students) came about one year later on January 14th of 1934; when Akutagawa Ayako 井上敬三女 and Monoka Yanaka 天神三女 were promoted to shodan, and Noritomi Masako 新宮麻子 was jump-promoted that same day directly from no rank to nidan. This, in one move, made Noritomi the most senior female jūdōka at the Kōdōkan, a position she would maintain until her premature death in December of 1982. Little more was heard in Tōkyō from the first jūdō black belt Ozaki Kaneko. However, Ozaki did open her own women’s jūdō dojo, the Seigyokan Daibo 海源館大成 in Osaka Tenmoku 天神天満 in Osaka 1930 天満 in Osaka 1933 天神 and elsewhere in 1939 [37] hence giving another strong impulse to the development women’s jūdō. This is yet another important achievement usually absent from Kōdōkan-sponsored publications.
The political rivalry between the Butokukai and the Kōdōkan took an ugly turn at several points in history. In particular, dan rank recognition represented a major dispute, with the Butokukai issuing its own ranks much to the chagrin of the Kōdōkan [40, p. 111–112, 115–117]. The conflict was so fierce that the Kōdōkan, after the death of Kanō Jigorō, may have collaborated with the Allied Occupation to achieve the final demise of the Butokukai and in this way to endure as the only jūdō authority in Japan. The political rivalries between Tōkyō and Kansai jūdō continue to this very day, some subtle, others less so. Indeed, almost any significant change in Kōdōkan procedures was because of politics and the fear of losing out, rather than as a consequence of taking responsibility and showing accountability for the mistakes it made or the discrimination it had engaged in. The situation was no different when in 1973 the Kōdōkan finally consented to promote Fukuda Keiko to 6th dan after a world-wide petition action [41], since Kōdōkan rules capped women’s ranks at that time to 5th dan, irrespective of their skills and knowledge. It is for that very reason that Noritomi Masako, Kanō’s most successful female student, for more than 30 years was never promoted beyond 5th dan, despite having held this rank since January of 1940. Even Fukuda had held the rank of 5th dan since 1953 when she was finally promoted to 6th dan in 1973 following continuing international pressure as expressed in a petition to the Kōdōkan. At that point, Noritomi then too was promoted to 6th dan. She was eventually (posthumously) promoted to 7th dan after her death in December 1982.

Discrimination in jūdō rank promotions against women or people who are not of Japanese (or Caucasian) ethnicity at the Kōdōkan continues to this very day. To be fair, efforts towards reducing rank promotion discrimination in women have been made in recent years, for example through mostly synchronizing the promotion programs for men and women [42,43]. However, no efforts have been made against the still widespread racial discrimination in Kōdōkan promotions, to the extent that the problem is not even recognized and remains institutionalized with a “glass ceiling” both for women and especially for ethnic minorities. It is hence no surprise that the Kōdōkan to this very day has no equal opportunities policy that is actually enforced, no Equal Opportunities or Anti-Discrimination or Affirmative Action Officer, no Ombudswoman/man, no Appeals Procedures, but instead continues stunning colonialist policies, discriminating on the bases of ethnicity and nationality not just in promotions, but also in employing people; for example, the Kōdōkan only allows ethnic Japanese to become Kōdōkan instructors despite sometimes more knowledgeable, skillful, and certainly better English-speaking jūdō teachers of other ethnicity being widely available for hire.

With Ozaki’s promotion to shodan and randori becoming more implemented in the women’s Kōdōkan curriculum, women’s jūdō changed. However, from the mid-1950s though until much later, women’s randori at the Kōdōkan and in most of the rest of Japan was still mostly a women’s only event and not mixed. Elsewhere, women’s jūdō never really followed such a pattern. For example, European women did jūdō and randori from the very start, even with both women or men. Most European countries had women’s national championships and tournaments in place since the early 1970s, and the first official European Championships for women were held in 1975 in Munich. When by 1980 the first World

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12 For example, for more than 60 years no living person who was not at the Kōdōkan or in Tōkyō has been awarded the rank of jūdan ±. Hatake Shōtarō (恵高徳太郎, 1884–1970) who became 10th dan on April 5th of 1948 and who was located in Kyōto in Kansai 関西, was the last such promotion. The last such promotion is to strengthen the authority of the Kōdōkan and Tōkyō as the central nervous system of jūdō and to prevent and deny anyone outside the Kōdōkan any authority that could amount to representing competition for the jūdō governing powers in Tōkyō. Although posthumous jūdan promotions, such as the one of Kūhara Tamio (九原田盛zo, 1896–1979) in 1979 have occurred, at that point the individual thus was already dead and therefore “safe” in terms of being unable to provide any such feared challenge to Tōkyō.

13 High dan ranks of 7th and 8th dan have been awarded by the Kōdōkan virtually only to Japanese, other Asians and Caucasians. Among the ranks of Kōdōkan 6th dan-holders there are: 0.8% Arabs, 0.04% Hispanics, less than 0.01% of African-Americans, Blacks of other origin, Native Americans or Inuits together. All the other Kōdōkan 6th dan-holders consist exclusively of Japanese, other Asians and Caucasians. Among women’s high dan ranks of 4th dan and higher there are only Japanese, other Asians and Caucasians. No female Kōdōkan high dan-rank of 2nd dan has ever been awarded to an African-American woman, a Native American woman, an Inuit woman, or a Hispanic woman. Attempts to change this institutionalized discrimination have been and are still regularly sabotaged by non-minority Kōdōkan high-dan holders and/or officials. Among the participants to the Kōdōkan Summer Kate Course between 2005–2010 the proportion of non-Japanese, non-Asian, and non-Caucasian participants was approximately <0.2% for males, and <0.1% for females. The Kōdōkan does engage in activities geared towards increasing the involvement of people of ethnic minorities, but only from a post-colonial and paternalistic perspective just like it did towards women pre-1960. The Kōdōkan achieves this by sending high-ranked Kōdōkan instructors to countries of lowly or non-ranked ethnic minorities hence amplifying the supposed superiority of the Japanese race by the enormous gap in jūdan rank, which is extra emphasized by difference in colored belts between Japanese instructors and the ethnic minority participants in the country thus emphasizing the clear distinction between the ‘superior’ Japanese and the ‘subordinate’ ethnic minorities. Since in Japanese culture having to bow, and that bow being deeper and more emphatic towards people in a higher hierarchical position, the enforcing framework of cultural submission to Japanese instructors is already present. The Kōdōkan also frequently uses other institutionalized tactics to achieve this such as referring to teachers and instructors by the highest academic rank of ‘professor’ while the majority of its instructors in reality are mere ‘instructors’ or ‘teachers’, who do not hold significant academic qualifications and have never been promoted to the rank of professor by an accredited academic institution of higher education. Ethnic minority novices and lower ranked jūdōka may struggle with properly understanding and carrying out these protocols hence they have to be frequently ‘corrected’ by the Japanese high-ranked instructor in this way consolidating the racial divide in jūdō to the advantage of those who are Japanese.

14 Personal Inquiry, Kōdōkan, August 2009.

15 This was preceded one year earlier by a test European Championship in 1974 in Genoa, Italy.
Championships for women were held in New York, with the exception of Yamaguchi Kaori [21] losing the ~52 kg final to Edith Hrovat of Austria (and thus winning silver), Japan did not succeed in winning any other medal. The eagerness of wanting to win medals and the frustration of being defeated yet again (Geesink’s 1964 achievements were not yet forgotten) did more to accelerate the further development of women’s jūdō in Japan [44] than anything Kanō Jigorō could have written or said.

**Limited self-defense effectiveness of Joshi goshinjō compared with randori and other fighting arts**

While these developments attracted many new women into jūdō and increased the overall popularity of jūdō, it came at a price. The jūdō Kanō Jigorō had created, was increasingly diluted and replaced by a winning-oriented and medal-crazy competitive sport with little of its educational value intact [45]. In the United States women’s jūdō had not quite developed as it had in Europe. This was, perhaps, partly because of the large representation of Japanese immigrants who held high ranks in jūdō and who had grown up while sharing those paternalistic views on women, and who dominated jūdō policy making. In consequence, a considerable number of American women in jūdō felt increasingly discriminated, when men without any form of debate, attempted to impose restrictions that did not exist in men’s jūdō. However, anything that emphasized a difference between men’s jūdō and women’s jūdō, by some women, mainly in the United States, became perceived as a sign of discrimination. In certain instances, this was justified, in others, such as the joshi obi 5つ帯 or women’s belt with a white longitudinal stripe, it was not, and justification for it was found in misunderstanding and misrepresentation of its value and significance [46]. With championships for women becoming more and more prevalent the quality of women’s jūdō as expressed in performance criteria such as speed, explosive force, strength and physical endurance, rapidly increased. However, some twenty to thirty years later this evolution has reversed. The reason for this change is that as in every sport, the higher the level of the elite athletes, the less that level is attainable by the average participant and the greater the loss with the base. International medals therefore were only achievable by elite female athletes rather than by highly skilled female jūdōka. Changes in rules by the International Jūdō Federation (IJF) continued to decrease the quality of jūdō in both men and women as they emphasized athleticism and strength rather than classical jūdō skill. Against this backdrop, most women in jūdō felt that high level randori skills and the physical conditioning qualities that came with their pursuits, were more effective in self-defense than studying kata, including self-defense kata such as Joshi goshinjō.

The consequence of all of this was a near complete disinterest by women (and men) in jūdō kata, with the sole exception of when they were compelled by jūdō national governing bodies to study kara, namely, for jūdō dan rank promotion examinations. However, with the exception of Japan, Joshi goshinjō was not required in any promotion test for women anywhere in the world [21, p. 107; 42, 43]. Thus the only remaining motivator for practicing kata never existed outside of Japan for Joshi goshinjō, because no one was ‘forced’ to study it in order to obtain a higher dan rank black belt. By the end of the 1990s, the creation of international kata contests infused new interest for the practice of kata in competition-minded jūdōka [46]; only, Joshi goshinjō has virtually never featured in a competitive kata tournament as an option one could win a medal with. Thus, Joshi goshinjō never benefitted from the recent competition-induced boom in kata interest.

**Joshi goshinjō, the Kōdōkan’s undesired silent witness of discrimination and fascism**

We have explained why Joshi goshinjō is rare outside of Europe, and why today it is less taught in Japan and at the Kōdōkan. However, none of the previous explanations clarify its somewhat strange and silent disappearance from kata lists in reference texts produced by the Kōdōkan and other Japanese authors. One of the most remarkable things is that Daigo Toshirō in 2009 authored a 7-part scholarly article about the Kōdōkan kata which is totally silent about Joshi goshinjō [47, 48]. This is inexplicable and odd, particularly since Oimatsu, an authority in jūdō history, in all of his overviews of kata which he authored for the Kōdōkan two decades earlier, with consistency lists Joshi goshinjō [49]. Currently, the kata is not even listed anymore on the Kōdōkan’s website [50]14. Why? Because it was not designed by Kanō Jigorō? Hardly, Kōdōkan goshinjutsu was not designed by Kanō Jigorō, and is included everywhere [Ibid.]. Is

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10 It is also common for Kōdōkan jūdō dan-ranks to be preceded by the word ‘joshi’ (woman/women) when referring to a person who is not male. American women have attempted to explain this as an indication that “women’s ranks” — if such a term would exist — would be less valuable than men’s hence the distinction. That is not quite correct though and not supported by historic facts, not even in the days that women could not be promoted beyond 5th dan. There are, however, linguistic and cultural reasons for this. For example, Japanese people are often just referred to by their surname, and the difficulty of the language is such that regularly one does not know how to pronounce a name. Adding the term ‘joshi’ addresses some of those problems. Doing so is welcome because language and certain cultural conventions are different for men than that they are for women, and any knowledge before meeting one might help in not violating protocol, such as, for example acquiring a courtesy gift beforehand, which may often be different in case of a woman than when dealing with a man.

12 Even if this ‘emphasis’ on athleticism and strength may not have been intentional, the evolution of jūdō’s refereeing rules and the way competitive jūdō has been and still is being marketed, make no alternative outcome realistic.

14http://www.Kendoalan.org/e_basic/kata.html
it because the effectiveness of the techniques of Joshi goshinhō in a real life-threatening situation is somewhat under scrutiny? No, similar concerns have been raised about some of the techniques in Kōdōkan goshinjutsu, often by law enforcement and special operations officers who on a regular basis may have to deal with disarming and detaining suspects. Thus neither of these arguments is very significantly different when considering Joshi goshinhō and its slow demise. But there is one thing which is different between both Joshi goshinhō and Kōdōkan goshinjutsu: the person of Nangō Jirō.

The tenure of Nangō as Kōdōkan kanchō is the shortest of any other Head of the Kōdōkan who completed his term. Today his name has little significance for most jūdōka and usually receives only brief attention in historic texts about jūdō or when Joshi goshinhō is mentioned, something which does not happen very frequently anymore. To many Japanese and the Kōdōkan the name Nangō is not without connotation and some would prefer the name to completely vanish. Fading out about the sole item to which his name is linked, helps in that process. The question then is: What is so concerning about Nangō that merits almost completely erasing him from the history of Kōdōkan jūdō?

Well, Nangō was a military man, an officer who progressed to one of the highest military ranks, that of Rear Admiral. He was not a mere administrative officer, but part of a weapons and fighting unit since this specialty was torpedo warfare. As with many men with a military background he had a strong feeling of patriotism and loyalty to one’s country. However, Nangō was not just a military man in peace time. He fought in the Russo-Japanese war of 1904–1907, in which Japan was victorious. Nangō had other high ranked military men in his family, and additionally, Nangō would lose two of his sons in action, i.e. Nangō Shigeru 南郷茂章, a Kaigun shōza 海軍少佐 or Navy Lieutenant Commander, and Nangō Shigeo 南郷茂男, a Rikugun chūsa 陸軍中佐 or Army Lieutenant Colonel. All these factors pushed Nangō in his beliefs a little bit further to the right than merely “being a patriot” (Figure 5(15)). Terms such as

19 In the preface to his Joshi goshinhō book, Nangō already uses terms such as jinchūhōkoku 謹忠報国 (loyalty & patriotism) [11, Preface, p. 1].
‘jingoism’ and ‘fascism’ may be more accurate descriptors of his views. In fact, as we will evidence, his views could be seen as even more extreme.

While Kanō Jigorō himself certainly was not averse to the military, as suggested by several Kōdōkan jump promotions up two dan-ranks and similar for numerous military officers after returning dead (posthumous promotions) or alive from the Russo-Japanese war, at least he believed in globalization, education, mutual understanding, and jūdō as a tool for world peace. Nāngō Jirō though differed in his opinions and in the way in which he explained in fundamental ways that would advocate the supposed superiority of the Japanese race. If jūdō were to be used or shared with foreigners then it would be from a neocolonialist kind of approach...

No one less than Trevor P. Leggett comments on this in his own words after having heard a speech by Nāngō Jirō at the Kōdōkan in May 1940:

“One of the things that puzzled us was Dr. Kano’s insistence that the principles of judo (maximum efficiency: mutual aid and concession leading to mutual welfare and benefit) are all-pervading, though developed in Japan. He said repeatedly that these are not national things, but universal. I could not understand why he insisted on this point; I thought it was obvious. After all, Newton had discovered gravity, but it was not an English thing but a universal principle applying everywhere. Rontgen had discovered X-rays, but they were not German. Why was Dr. Kano emphasizing that judo principles were not specially Japanese, but all-pervading? He added that other branches of budō such as kendō were specialized applications of the universal principle of jūdō, namely maximum efficiency and mutual aid. It was not till I went to Japan towards the end of the 1930s that I understood why Dr. Kano insisted on this point, and how brave he was in doing so. He saw that Japan’s future role would be to contribute to world culture, and not regard itself as a closed and superior society. I realized clearly the nature of that nationalism; high-minded though it undoubtedly sometimes was, I heard Admiral Nāngō Jirō give an address at the Dōjō-biraki in 1940. He said that although Dr. Kano had seemed sometimes to say that kendō and budō in general were applications of the principles of jūdō, it would be truer to say that judo, like the other branches of budō, were in fact manifestations of the Japanese spirit of Yamato damashii.

Hearing this I realized what a clear-sighted man Dr. Kano was.” (…) [51]

In other words, Leggett is saying as much as that Nāngō Jirō, the then President of the Kōdōkan, was either sincerely misunderstanding or even intentionally misusing the philosophy of jūdō for propagandistic purposes, and was advancing political and ideological views that were directly contrary to Kano’s thinking. This is also clear from other writings about jūdō and budō by Nāngō [52] although most of these have been carefully and discreetly removed from public knowledge and do not typically appear within reference lists of Kōdōkan-mediated texts. Nāngō’s thoughts were no doubt nationalist; whether they went so far as to be fascist and xenophobic, Leggett is not directly asserting. Nevertheless, the context as presented by Nāngō certainly does collide with fundamental human values such as equality between gender and amongst different races and ethnicities.

Perhaps, this reality is even more shocking and more relevant for the topic of this paper. Joshi goshinhō in official texts and instruction is explained to a general audience much like Fukuoka Keiko did in her book. However, Nāngō’s motives for the kata went somewhat further and were not free of jingoistic motives. Indeed, Joshi goshinhō was not just created for the self-defense of Japanese women in general, but specifically to protect against foreign (i.e., specifically non-Japanese)

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20 This is a rare error in Leggett’s assumptions likely caused by the Kōdōkan’s historic revisionism since Kanō Jigorō never obtained any academic doctorate, nor was he ever awarded a honorary doctorate (doctor honoris causa). Kanō’s educational career as a student was as follows. In 1870, at age 10 yrs, he entered the 成達書塾[Teikoku Daigaku Shibusho], a boarding-type school, with courses taught in English and German that was affiliated with the 巴学園[Kaisha Gakuen]. In 1874, he entered 東京外語学校[Tōkyō Gaiō Gakkō] 東京外国语学校 [Tōkyō Foreign Language School] to formally study English. In 1875 he entered 成達書塾[Teikoku Daigaku Shibusho] again.

21 Yamato damashii 大和魂 literally means “the Japanese spirit” a term that founds its origin in the late Heian平安時代 периod (794–1185) and that became part of the samurai and bushidō 武士道 ideology. However, in early 20th century the term became coined and adopted by extreme right Japanese nationalists and Japanese military-political doctrines to refer to a number of concepts that undermined Japanese supposed cultural and racial superiority. When Nāngō used the term Yamato damashii in his speech here, he was certainly not referring to the old historic connotation of the word “…
men, or people not belonging to the Japanese race. In Nangō’s book on Joshi goshinhō there are various references to expressions such as “blood-thirsty Americans and other Westerners”, and dramatic calls for Japanese women to learn “how not to be raped by Americans”. These xenophobic views of foreigners by Japanese organizations involved in martial arts practice are not new. Even in China, between 1898 and 1901 the Boxers21, the popular term referring to the adepts of the “Righteous Fist of Harmony Society” sect (義和團 Yihetuan in Chinese22, or pronounced Gwódan in Japanese), were already known to call foreigners Guizi [鬼子], a deprecatory Chinese term23, in Japanese pronounced Onige, which literally means “demon child” or in common Japanese is understood as “a child that does not resemble its parents” indicating “a bastard child”.

There exist even specific links between the Kōdōkan and ultranationalist and Japanese racial superiority sympathies. For example, Uchida Ryōhei 内田良平 (February 11th, 1874 – July 26th, 1937) held a 5th dan in jūdō and was once close to Kanō Jigorō. This is the same Uchida who wrote the very first book on jūdō [53], and who two years earlier (1901) had founded the ultranationalist Kokuryūkai 黑龍會 or “Black Dragon Society”, an organization with outspoken Pan-Asian ideologies. Even the famous jūdōka Saigō Shirō 西郷四郎 (March 20th, 1866 – December 12th, 1922) was linked to this organization, and it did not stop there either. Kanō’s own father-in-law, famous Chinese scholar Takezoe Shin’ichirō 竹添信一郎, was known to having been a Japanese consul in Korea in the early 1880s when an attempted coup was made there, and it would be rather surprising if he was totally ‘unaware’ about its preparations and intentions. While Kanō Jigorō has always distanced himself from such ideologies, which collided with the moral principles of jūdō, he had to battle these forces within the Kōdōkan throughout his life. After his passing though, these views rapidly gained a new drive and some would argue that they have not been eradicated totally to this very day.

The statements in Nangō’s book against the “danger of foreigners”, especially to Japanese women, and his choice of words, may surprise by their hypocrisy given Japan’s unpleasant history with the nearby 300,000 “Comfort Women” or Jōgun i’anfu 德軍慰安婦, a Japanese military prostitution system where innocent chiefly Korean, Chinese and Philippine women were forcibly seized against their will, in order to provide sexual services for the Japanese Imperial Army, and often were systematically beaten and raped day and night. As much as these stories later became part of Japanese revisionism in which Japan actively tried to deny its atrocities and destroy or cover up evidence, the same revisionist attitudes have continued to exist with regard to the uglier pages in Kōdōkan jūdō history. Instead of an open and self-critical attitude in order to learn from its past mistakes, these cover-ups continue until this very day. Hence it is no surprise that institutionalized discrimination on basis of gender, and even more so on the basis of race, remains pervasive in Kōdōkan jūdō’s structures and policies, despite the advances it has made in the discrimination against women.

A proper understanding of jūdō’s history requires a more analytical and critical approach than the re-constructed versions prepared by the Kōdōkan. The way jūdō was instructed and even structured during the first half of the 20th century, involved exercises which were conducted according to military-style orders and afforded the conscious adjustment of individual moves with the bodies of the instructor and fellow students. According to Manzenreiter, physical education and similar exercises in Japan “… were well suited to install collective attitudes and deliberate subordination. Body techniques acquired in physical education could be used for public demonstrations of social cohesion as well as for more practical military purposes. Since the 1880s, heishiki taisou26 (military gymnastics using military equipment, mock rifles, marching exercises and combat simulations), was introduced to the school curriculum for higher grades. With the years, pressure to extend the reach of pre-military education increased: in 1917, the Special Council on Education recommended to the Parliament that students above middle school should be trained to be soldiers with patriotic conformity, martial spirit, obedience and toughness of mind and body.” (…) [54, p. 68–69]

Furthermore: “When the school curriculum was changed in May 1926, it reflected the militaristic policy to the extent that nationalism went beyond the aim of normal education to form a nation. Furthermore, after June 1928, when the Minister of Education emphasized the spirit of the founding a nation, the national ethos and ideological guidance through physical

21 It is somewhat funny that the term ‘Boxers’ has remained in English (or its equivalent in other Western languages) to designate the members of the “Righteous Fist of Harmony Society” sect. Indeed, the members of the “Righteous Fist of Harmony Society” sect, a secret society, were typically well-trained, athletic young men who were avid practitioners of calisthenics and Chinese martial arts. Despite the obvious differences between Chinese sōshū 武術 (Japanese reading: bujutsu; simplified Chinese characters: 武術) and Western pugilistic boxing, their art was designated the same name by the Europeans. The term ‘Boxers’ has remained in English (or its equivalent in other Western languages) since. The Boxers were mystic “health freaks avant la lettre. They believed that a combination of diet, severe martial arts training and prayer, would make them immune to swords and even bullets, and allow levitation and human flight.

22 Sōshū are the proper simplified Chinese characters.

23 Apart from the literal meaning of the term in Japanese, the term in Chinese more or less would be the equivalent of something like “foreign devil”.

24 Heishiki taisou 武式体操.
education, physical education was not only expected to increase physical strength for imperial invasion, but also to create a core role for the enhancement of characteristic Imperialism-Ideology of Japan.” (…) [55, p. 202]

Thus the drive behind increasing physical education and martial arts participation was motivated by much more than health or self-defense [36,57]. The forces that functioned as main motivation were undoubtedly fascist in nature, an ideology that became known as Japanese fascism, characterized by xenophobia, anti-intellectualism, pan-Asianism, and promotion of strong, healthy bodies.

“…Many Japanese historians who wrote about the peculiarity of Japanese fascism concluded it to be not the enforcement fulfilled by the command of the upper classes but family based-grass-roots fascism. It was said that the ordinary feelings of the family or some paternalistic sensibility had been utilized or changed into people’s loyalty to the emperor and national ethos.” (…) [Ibid., p. 202]

“During the Taishô 大正 years (1912–1926), liberal educationalists in the councils of the Ministry of Education safeguarded the younger age groups as well as female students against these objectives of the Ministry of Army.” (…) [54, p. 69]

Kanô too can be categorized here, hence the increasing gap between Kanô and other powers within the nation and within the Kôdôkan.

“Classical bujutsu as well as budô, the modernised versions of Japan’s autochthonous physical culture, were regarded as equally useful for the purpose of indoctrination because of their common emphasis on obedience, endurance, and self-discipline. Furthermore, the practice of budô allowed the immediate establishment of links with a glorious tradition and the historical continuity of the warrior ethics from feudal Japan. As Reischauer had observed, both primary school and conscription convinced the peasant population, ‘who for almost three centuries had been denied swords and other arms, that they too were members of a warrior race’ and ‘inculcated in them the glory of Japan’s great military traditions and the ideal of death on the battlefield in the service of the emperor’.” (…) [Ibid., p. 69]

Within the public education sport system, Western sports were increasingly marginalized and oppressed. “The nationalist appropriation of Western sports acquired a rather absurd, yet highly symbolic dimension, when English expressions were replaced by newly coined sport terms in Japanese.” (…) [Ibid., p. 70]

“This development started in 1936 and was reinforced by the beginning of war against England in the Pacific.” (…) [Ibid., p. 70].

Kendô and jûdô became compulsory for secondary schooling in 1931, the same year of the Manchurian invasion by Japan, and in 1936 for the higher grades of elementary schools; girls, on the other hand, since then were also obliged to take courses in naginata-dô and kyûdô. [Ibid., p. 69]

“In 1939, the new sport of national defense or Kokubô undô was added to the sport curriculum.” (…) [Ibid., p. 70]

By that time, Kanô had passed away, and a man with a solid military résumé had replaced him as the Head of the Kôdôkan.

“Starting from 1940, the Ministry of Education officially allowed students to participate in competitive sports merely for one or two hours a week, and this just on Sundays or holidays; instead the youth was encouraged to study martial arts.” (…) [Ibid., p. 70]

The structured jûdô instruction during Nangô’s tenure fitted well within this framework and was observed and accepted as proper, also within the Kôdôkan, no matter how far it fundamentally deviated from Kanô’s vision and intent, as was obvious from Leggett’s quote earlier.

Yet, these mistakes, errors in judgment, or blatant abuses of jûdô for ideological reasons do neither invalidate Kanô’s educational philosophy, nor the value of Joshi goshinhô as one of the kata of Kôdôkan jûdô. In similar ways, Beethoven’s and Wagner’s music were actively abused and misrepresented by Dr. Joseph Goebbels, Hitler’s Reich Minister of Propaganda in Nazi Germany from 1933 to 1945. Indeed, arguing that the true purpose of Kanô’s jûdô is to demonstrate the power of Yamato damashii is not too different from asserting that the purpose of the music of Beethoven and Wagner was to demonstrate pure “German art that hails the superiority of the Aryan race and German culture”. Neither Beethoven, nor Wagner is responsible for this, and their music does not become less valuable because of how the Nazis abused it. Similarly, Joshi goshinhô does not become a reprehensible exercise simply because the person ordering its creation might have entertained some extreme rightist views that do not have a place in Kanô’s pedagogy or in modern respectful human relationships and acceptance of equality between gender and race. Rejecting Beethoven and Wagner for what the Nazis did with their music would be plain absurd; it would be similarly absurd if rejecting the Joshi goshinhô because of
Nangō’s personal beliefs or sympathies. What is necessary, is for Joshi goshin-hō to be preserved and practiced in a truthful and critical historic context. Educated adults are sufficiently able and hopefully sufficiently responsible to contextualize and decide for themselves whether they wish to study and explore this kata. At the very least they should be afforded the opportunity to do so.

**Conclusions**

Research into the Joshi goshin-hō is not a simple endeavor. While there exist a few published sources these are typically between 40–70 years old and have long been out of print. Joshi goshin-hō may be of questionable utility for a female Special Forces or S.W.A.T.28 team member; however, Joshi goshin-hō also was never intended as a complete system of self-defense against professional criminals or trained martial artists. To understand Joshi goshin-hō’s contents and aims it is necessary to put it in the right context, i.e., part of a physical education system intended to improve the health of females in a time when fitness equipment was not generally commercially available, when women in Japan were not yet emancipated, and when antibiotics and modern medicine were still largely in developmental stages. The advantage of jūdo was that unlike other forms of calisthenics and gymnastics it could be readily adapted in daily life situation as a simple and basic form of self-defense. It is in this framework that Joshi goshinhō must be appreciated, not in a framework of attempting to form a female “fighting machine”.

Thus, despite Joshi goshin-hō likely not being an exhaustive or complete system of self-defense, it deserves a worthy place in contemporary women’s (and men’s) jūdo. As a series of technical skills rather than a ceremonial performance exercise it helps to install self-confidence, situational awareness and mastery of simple escape and tai-sabaki skills which may be effectively combined with randori, nage-waza or katame-waza techniques during an emergency situation.29

Joshi goshinhō also remains a valuable historic link to what jūdo was like in the immediate aftermath of the death of Kanō-shihan. Today, in the 21st century novice jūdōka are commonly totally ignorant of what jūdo is truly about, having come to think that it equals the bizarre competition-oriented and medal-obsessed activity marketed by the IJF [46], preserving these exercises is more necessary than ever. Unfortunately, just the authors’ enthusiastic plea for the continuing existence and preservation of Joshi goshinhō may not be enough. Indeed, finding competent teachers in this exercise is not easy.

The United States was virtually the only foreign country where this Joshi goshinhō was once regularly taught
in women’s jūdō, but today this too has changed (Figure 6(16)). One of the authors of the present paper for years passionately sought instruction from the few female kata teachers who used to instruct joshi goshinhō, but most sadly, none still actively taught it or felt sufficiently confident and sharp to teach it. In fact, all without exception were remarkably reluctant to even practice or talk about it. For example, when we asked Natsume Miwako, joshi 7th dan, she claimed not to know anything about joshi goshinhō and even refused to further discuss it despite the kata being referenced in her own book and she fulfilling the part of ike on the pictures that accompany the text! [21, p. 107–111]. Even at the Kōdōkan finding competent instruction in joshi goshinhō will require some insistence. It is generally believed that the last true expert in joshi goshinhō who still actively teaches it (at least once a year) is Umezu Katsuko, joshi 8th dan at the Kōdōkan (Figure 7(17)). It is thanks to Umezu-sei’s enthusiasm and sincere commitment that one of the authors of the present paper was able to properly master joshi goshinhō and transfer that knowledge to others both by practical instruction as well as by theoretical debate such as represented by the current paper. While the jingooist ideologies of Nangō Jiūro may have contributed to the Kōdōkan’s apparent acquiescence to joshi goshinhō’s silent disappearance from its syllabus, such revisionist and self-critiquelless approaches to jūdō history are not helpful. The major obstacle against achieving any improvement is what is known by the term of anti-intellectual fascism (反知性主義のファシズム kanchisei shugi no fashizumu in Japanese) which underpins the Kōdōkan’s and jūdō’s political power structure [39]. Its hierarchical framework in the form of jūdō dan-ranks for more than a century has been able to protect the Kōdōkan from within. No Japanese jūdōka, or Japanese scholars will ever openly challenge or demonstrate how a 9th or 10th dan-holder would be wrong, no matter how nonsensical his explanation or no matter how fundamentally wrong he might be. Even if the Kōdōkan makes a complete volte face (180° turn) on a policy it still will attempt to praise and even glorify the previous guidelines. However, even foreign scholars in jūdō betray academic principles to sell out and submit to the same intellectual fascism and scholarly approaches which show a remarkable lack of critical analysis. They do so for two reasons: (1) the highly specialized nature of jūdō research sources and the fact that many of them are historic, implies that they are not available in libraries or research institutions abroad; thus to get access to them, achieving and maintaining optimal relationships with the Kōdōkan are so important, that the personal relationships take priority over the outcomes of the research which must be made ‘comfortable’ in order not to damage that relationship; (2) because of the specialist nature of jūdō most scholars in jūdō are jūdōka themselves; therefore they are acutely aware that any critical scholarly analysis that embarrasses or exposes the Kōdōkan’s frequent historic revisionist tactics, would promptly provoke institutionalized retaliation against them in the form of denied dan-rank promotions and social and academic isolation. This is a sacrifice virtually no jūdōka, Japanese or Western, including those who are scholars, are willing to make in the name of science [39].

59 Natsume Miwako 夏目美和子. Personal communication. Kōdōkan Kata Kaki Kōshikai (講道館 形夏期講習会) [Kōdōkan Summer Kata Course], Tōkyō, Kōdōkan Jūdō Institute; 2010, July 23rd.
The tragic consequence is that much of the knowledge about jūdō that is commonly promulgated and understood is fundamentally wrong and distorted. Jūdōka who dedicate their life to jūdō have a right to a critical analytical approach to jūdō’s history in its every aspect even if that demands a need for accountability and self-critique. Pursuing this goal is an integral part of the pedagogical aims of jūdō as defined by its creator in an attempt to make better humans of all of us.

2. For absolute rigor, long Japanese vowel sounds have been approximated using macrons (e.g. Kōdōkan) in order to indicate their Japanese pronunciation as closely as possible. However, when referring to or quoting from Western literature, the relevant text or author is cited exactly as per the original source, with macrons used or omitted accordingly.

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