# *Kōdōkan Jūdō's* Inauspicious Ninth *Kata*: The *Joshi goshinhō* – "Self-Defense Methods for Women" – Part 3

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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:

Authors' Contribution: A Study Design B Data Collection

C Statistical AnalysisD Manuscript Preparation

E Funds Collection

: To achieve this, we offer a careful critical analysis of the available literature and rare source material on this *kata*.

**Results:** 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-defenseoriented *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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## BACKGROUND

We have before reminded that according to the founder of  $j\bar{u}d\bar{o}$ 's own words, the proper study of  $j\bar{u}d\bar{o}$  essentially has to involve both *randori* and *kata* [1,2]. In  $j\bar{u}d\bar{o}$ , techniques such as kicks and strikes, which were deemed essential by its founder, only exist in the form of *kata*. In other words, those who only focus on competitive fighting contests-type  $j\bar{u}d\bar{o}$  lose out on a crucial part of  $j\bar{u}d\bar{o}$  essential to properly defend oneself against malicious physical attacks [3,4]. 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 pseudomilitarist hierarchical structures, and advocates revisionist history with paternalistic attitudes to those differing in opinions, gender, ethnicity, or rank, while remaining hostile to intellectualists 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 *Kōdōkan*, born in 1876, died in 1951.

Jūdō – Jūdō is a Japanese form of pedagogy, created by Kanō Jigorō, based *inter alia* 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 (mondō) form the four critical learning pillars of Kōdōkan jūdō education.

*Kōdōkan* – The specific name of the his school and style of *budō* as given by its founder Kanō Jigorō (1860–1938).

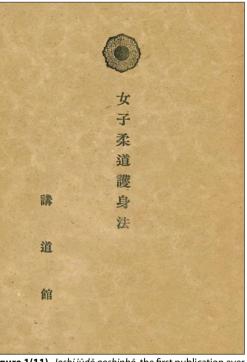


Figure 1(11). Joshi jūdō goshinhō, the first publication ever about Joshi goshinhō, edited by Nomura Hirokazu and published by the Kōdōkan in 1943.

*goshinhō*, is difficult, and the reasons for this *kata*'s relative unpopularity or disappearance are poorly understood. We aim to address this acute shortage of information regarding *Joshi goshinhō*.

Our research questions are as follows:

- Under what circumstances and by whom was *Joshi goshinhō* created ?
- What are the contents and theoretical foundations of *Joshi goshinhõ* ?
- Who practices *Joshi goshinhō* and where can it be observed and studied ?
- Why has Joshi goshinhö become increasingly rare and why is it disappearing from records, curricula and instructional texts ?

To address these questions and achieve our purpose, we offer a critical evaluation of the available literature and source material on this *kata*. Rare material drawn from original and reliable sources will also be introduced to support the drawing of definitive conclusions. This paper offers an important contribution to the existing knowledge base of  $K\bar{o}d\bar{o}kan j\bar{u}d\bar{o}$  and is presented in three parts. In Part One [5] we have examined the place of *Joshi goshinhō* among the *kata* of  $K\bar{o}d\bar{o}kan$  and the circumstances surrounding the creation of *Joshi goshinhō*. We also considered who authored this *kata* and what the extent of each author's input might have been. In Part Two [6] we have reflected upon the rationale behind the

creation 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 *Kōdōkan*. 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* 

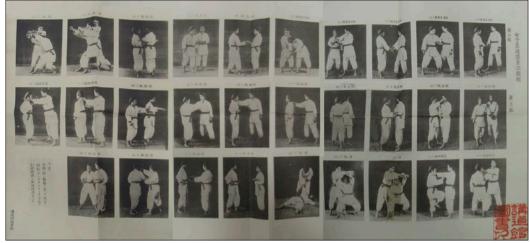
# Learning texts and materials for Joshi goshinhō in the specialized jūdō literature

# 1943 - Nomura Hirokazu & Kōdōkan (editors) -Joshi jūdō goshinhō [7]

It is generally believed that Nango Jiro'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 Kōdōkan published a thin booklet on Joshi jūdō goshinhō, similar to those it still produces today for most Kodokan 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 jūdo goshinho. 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 jūdoka demonstrate the Ridatsu-ho and Seigo-ho 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]

Nango's 1943 Joshi goshinho book is the most important text on this kata (Figure 3(13)). It provides a 45-pages long rationale and historic background, before even starting its step-by-step explanations of the reiho and all the techniques comprised in Joshi goshinhō. The performers 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 jūdo 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 research purposes rather than as an actual practical guiding text for studying Joshi goshinhō. As an interesting detail, when Nango's book first came out, it was sold for 1.10 yen which at today's exchange rate amounts to less than 2 cents.



**Figure 2(12).** The separate photo sheet was included with Nomura Hirokazu's 1943 booklet, called *Joshi jūdō goshinhō*, the first published work on this new *kata*. The sheet shows Noritomi Masako (*tori*) and an unidentified female *jūdōka* (*uke*) demonstrate the complete *Ridatsu-hō* and *Seigo-hō* series, starting at the top and going from right to left. From [8], with kind permission of the *Kōdōkan*.

#### 1955 - Kōdōkan, eds. - Illustrated Kodokan Judo [11]

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 Kodokan. 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 goshinhō 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 Kodokan they still study the SEIRYOKU-ZENYO-KOKUMIN-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



Figure 3(13). Nangō Jirō's 1944 book Joshi goshinhō, which became the most extensive oeuvre dedicated to this kata and the second ever published instructional document dedicated to this kata. Nangō wrote the foreword, while Noritomi Masako, joshi 5<sup>th</sup> dan (tori) and Sakamoto Fusatarō (uke) are the performers depicted on all illustrations.

kata referenced by Kawaishi are likely the Joshi goshinhō and Kōdōkan goshinjutsu. It cannot be Kime-shiki to which Kawaishi is referring, since Kime-shiki predated Kime-nokata, 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 Kyūzō for some time. Itō was an interesting figure who held an academic doctorate, more specifically, a D.Sc. (Rigaku hakase 理学博士) and held the rank of Kōdōkan 9th dan. Itō is largely responsible for composing the Katame-no-ura-waza 固めの裏技 [Reverse control techniques], the sequel to Mifune's Nage-no-ura-waza-kenkyū 投げの裏技研究. In 1965 he published a book in Japanese "Joshi jūdo - Goshinjutsu" 女子柔道•護身術 [Women's jūdo - Self-defense] [13], which was subsequently also translated into English and republished as "This is judo for women" [14]. Together with Fukuda Keiko's 1973 "Born for the mat" [15] it is the most detailed modern teaching book on Joshi goshinhō 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 goshinhō, which is an important asset. Joshi goshinhō techniques in Itō Kazuo's book were demonstrated by Miyake Tsunako1 三宅綱子, joshi 5th dan as tori, and Satō Shizuya<sup>2</sup> 佐藤静弥, 6th dan as uke.

However, there is a major problem in that Joshi goshinhō as presented in Ito's book appears to differ at several stages from the standard Joshi goshinhō as taught at the Kōdōkan, 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 Hiji-ate 肘当 [Elbow strike], which does not normally appear in the original Joshi goshinhō 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 Kyōhaku-dori 脅迫取 [Robbing at knifepoint], Ito lists both the standard defense and an alternative defense. This technique involves an attacker with a knife. In Ito'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 goshinhō* may become confused or even somewhat suspicious about its effectiveness.

#### 1965-1966 - Jerry Young - Willow in the wind [16]

"Willow in the wind" was a stenciled magazine produced by the American Ladies Judo subgroup within the Amateur Athletic Union (AAU)<sup>3</sup>. The magazine in the 1960s featured a three-part series on Joshi goshinhō. 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.

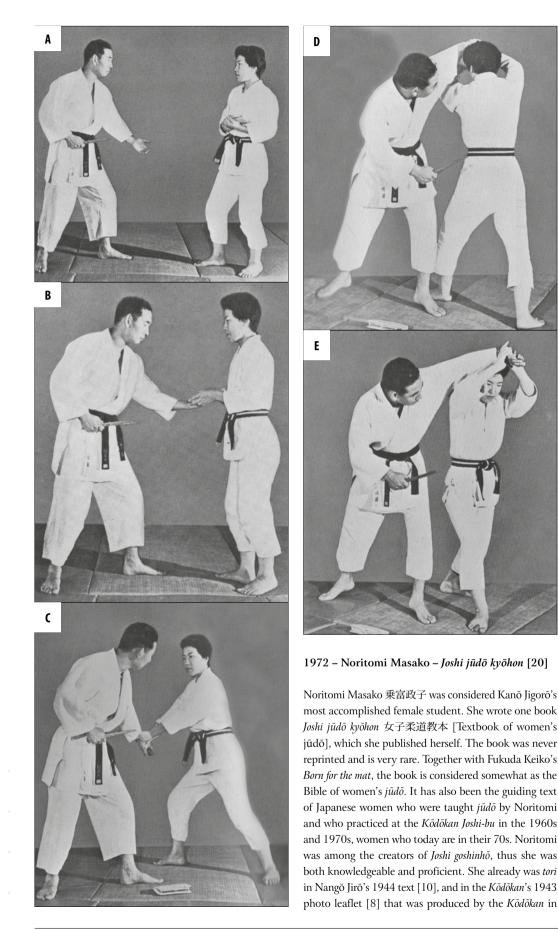
### 1968 – Kotani Sumiyuki, Ōsawa Yoshimi, and Hirose Yūichi – *Kata of Kodokan Judo* [17]

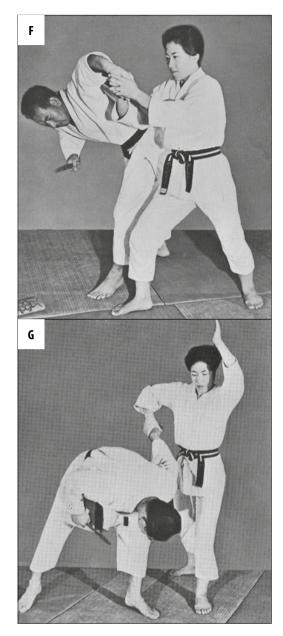
The kata books authored by Kotani et al. between the end of the 1960s and until the Kodokan in 1986 published Illustrated Kodokan Judo [18] were the kata reference texts for many jūdo practitioners. One of the most technically detailed Joshi goshinhō study texts is contained in their book Kata of Kodokan Judo. The performers are the later Kōdōkan joshi 8th dan Niboshi Haruko 仁星温子 at that point in 1968 still 5<sup>th</sup> dan, and Osawa Yoshimi 大澤慶己, then 7th dan, later a Kōdōkan 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 seoi-nage 背負投 [Back-carrying throw] [17, p. 151]. The entire Joshi goshinho 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 Selfdéfense du Kodokan appliquées aux femmes" [19].

<sup>2</sup> This is the very same Satō Shizuya 佐藤静弥 (1929–2011) who later became celebrated because of his role in the creation (1951) and management of the Kokusai Budō Rennei 国際武道聯盟, Saitama internationally better known under its English name International Martial Arts Federation or its acronym I.M.A.F. Satō-sensei used to be a secretary to the Kōdōkan's International Department since 1949.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Miyake Tsunako 三宅綱子 was born in 1926 and would likely now be the second most senior woman in *jūdõ* after Fukuda Keiko. However, as so many talented *jūdõka* she too became entangled in the *Kõdõkan* 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* 5<sup>th</sup> *dan* since 1965, *i.e.*, for 46 years at the time of writing, she was never promoted again just like Kimura Masahiko 木村政彦, Okano Isao 岡野均 and many others of the best and most knowledgeable *jūdõka* whose *Kõdõkan* promotional career was destroyed in some of the saddest and darkest pages of *Kõdõkan* jūdõ history that continue to be written until this very day.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> 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.





those days. Because of those reasons, the book is generally considered the most authoritative Japanese text on *Joshi goshinhō*, 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  $j\bar{u}d\bar{o}$  book written for women or by a woman.



Figure 4(14)A-H. Miyake Tsunako 三宅綱子, joshi 5<sup>th</sup> dan (tori) and Satō Shizuya 佐藤静弥, Kōdōkan 6<sup>th</sup> dan & IMAF 9<sup>th</sup> dan (uke) showing the obsolete alternative defense to Kyohaku-(dasshu)-dori 脅迫(奪)取[Robbing at knifepoint], the last technique of the Seigo-hō 制護法 [Escapes with counterattacks] and final technique of Joshi goshinhō. From [14, p. 34-36], by permission of Tōkyō News, Ltd.

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* 8<sup>th</sup> dan Niboshi Haruko in 1998, Fukuda had been gaining iconic status related to her being the sole female 8<sup>th</sup> 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 Kōdōkan Joshi-bu in the days of Kanō.

The book is written from a basic view that  $j\bar{u}d\bar{o}$  is different for women and for men, a view that has been mostly rejected by foreign women, especially American women  $j\bar{u}d\bar{o}ka$ , 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<sup>4</sup> implications will often start

<sup>4</sup> The term "Title IX" likely does not mean much to non-Americans The abbreviation refers to Title IX of the *Education Amendments* of 1972, an American law, which holds that "No person in the United States shall, on the basis of sex, be excluded from participation in, be denied the benefits of, or be subjected to discrimination under any education program or activity receiving Federal financial assistance..." (...) It is considered as a sequel to the *Civil Rights Act of 1964*. Title IX has become best known for its association with and impact on U.S. college athletics. Although Title IX has had important effects on respecting women's rights to equal opportunity in sports, in populistic terms the law is often explained as women in sports having the right to everything that men have a right to. Title IX only deals with equal opportunities between genders and does not deal at all with equal opportunities between people belonging to different races.

from the point of view of equality and opine that gender differences in  $j\bar{u}d\bar{o}$  imply discrimination towards them.

Fukuda's book remains an excellent choice for studying *Joshi goshinhō* 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 book.

# 1974 – Natsume Miwako & Odile Martin – Judo par ceintures: Le judo féminin [21]

Natsume and Martin in their 1974 French language book include some basic information about *Joshi goshinhō* 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 goshinhō* 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 goshinhō* in their list of "all the standard *Kodokan kata*" [22, p. 32] The authors list it alongside *Kime-no-kata* and *Kōdōkan 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 Judoka*, George Parulski Jr. presents a summary description of the *Joshi goshinhō* (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 goshinhō*. He does, however, provide detailed instructional material on various self-defense techniques, including various *atemiwaza* [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 goshinhō*, but remarkably, the Japanese version [24] does include *Joshi goshinhō*, with clear pictures featuring Umezu Katsuko 梅津勝子, now Kōdōkan joshi 8<sup>th</sup> dan, and currently the Kōdōkan Joshi-bu's most senior woman and most knowledgeable still active teacher of *Joshi goshinhō*.

#### 1987 – Pat Harrington – Judo a pictorial manual [25]

Patricia 'Pat' Harrington (born and educated in Australia) is a  $K\bar{o}d\bar{o}kan$  joshi 6<sup>th</sup> dan and the most senior  $K\bar{o}d\bar{o}kan$ 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 goshinhō as well as guidance for, and the benefits ensuing from its practice. Throughout her jūdō career, Harrington has made regular pilgrimages to the  $K\bar{o}d\bar{o}kan$  and has received instruction from both 10<sup>th</sup> dan–holders Mifune Kyūzō and Ōsawa Yoshimi, as well as Niboshi Haruko, joshi 8<sup>th</sup> dan. Harrington also lists Fukuda Keiko, *joshi* 9<sup>th</sup> *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 goshinhō*. 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*.

# 2000 – Kawamura Teizō & Daigo Toshirō – Kōdōkan New Japanese-English Dictionary of Jūdō [26]

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

# Audiovisual instructional materials for Joshi Goshinhō

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

# 1969 – Fukuda Keiko – *Kodokan Joshi goshinho* [16 mm or 8 mm film] [27]

There are currently no professionally produced modern video tapes or DVDs with Joshi goshinhō available on the market for commercial purchase. In 1969 though when Fukuda was preparing her Born for the mat book, she also produced a film that is probably the best Joshi goshinhō 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 Kodokan 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 goshinhō [video] [28]

There does exist another (apparently incomplete) instructional tape of *Joshi goshinhō* recorded at the *Kōdōkan* and in color. *Tori* is the late Miyajima Naoko, *joshi* 7<sup>th</sup> *dan*, and *uke* is Akiyama Sumiko, today *joshi* 7<sup>th</sup> *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 goshinho [video] [29]

Karen Collias, 5<sup>th</sup> dan, and Greg Fernandez, 7<sup>th</sup> 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 goshinhō* 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  $j\bar{u}d\bar{o}ka$ who learnt *kata* in the traditional way decades ago could have only dreamt of.

### **R**EASONS FOR THE INAUSPICIOUSNESS AND DECLINE IN POPULARITY OF *JOSHI GOSHINHŌ*

# Instruction and availability of Joshi goshinh $\bar{o}$ instructors in the Post-World War II era

The decline in popularity and the inauspiciousness of *Joshi goshinhō* within the educational curriculum of  $K \bar{o} d \bar{o} kan j \bar{u} d \bar{o}$  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 goshinhō*. It also seems that when it was created in 1943 and first introduced to the  $K \bar{o} d \bar{o} kan$  *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*. Natsume writes:

"Au Kodokan, les débutantes commencent l'étude du Kime shiki trois mois après leur entrée à la section féminine. Trois mois plus tard, elles le présentent à l'examen de troisième kyu. Elles commencent aussitôt l'étude du Goshin Ho qu'elle préparent trois mois pour l'examen de 2<sup>ème</sup> kyu." (...) [21, p. 107].

[Transl.: "At the  $K\bar{o}d\bar{o}kan$  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  $ky\bar{u}$ . They then immediately commence their study of *Joshi goshinhō* for three months in preparation for their  $2^{nd} ky\bar{u}$  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* textbooks<sup>5</sup>. 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-residence<sup>6</sup>, 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 steadfastly put it on the program of the *Joshi Summer Camp* she has been organizing on a yearly basis in the U.S. since 1973<sup>7</sup> [34]. A few other countries such as the United Kingdom (Michiko Whyman, née Yūki 結城迪子, *joshi*   $6^{th} dan$ , °1942), France (with Natsume Miwako, *joshi* 7<sup>th</sup> dan, °September 1946), and Australia (Pat Harrington, *joshi* 6<sup>th</sup> dan, °March 1936) have or have had female *jūdō* sensei<sup>8</sup> 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* 7<sup>th</sup> dan [1941 – January 30<sup>th</sup>, 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  $K\bar{o}d\bar{o}kan$  *Joshi-bu* is one of the most serious reasons for its increasing rarity today. The leading senior females at the  $K\bar{o}d\bar{o}kan$  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 *kata*<sup>9</sup>.

# 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 jūdo as early as the 1890s, jūdo did not become properly and systematically developed for women until about half a century after Kanō created jūdō. Until then, the jūdo that was being taught to women was much more physical education-oriented and health-focused than the jūdo being taught to males. Additionally, in women's jūdo there was far less a shinken shōbu 真剣勝負 or real fighting contest orientation than in men's jūdo. Strictly speaking, Kano's pedagogical ideals obviously applied to men's jūdo too. However, particularly during the days that Kodokan jūdo still had to establish its reputation, contests took place against other jūjutsu schools with the aim of showing jūdo'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 Kano's refined and arguably too academic pedagogical ideals. However, for women's jūdo, no such evolution ever took place, and there never was a history of Kodokan jūdo women ending up in fights with women from other jūjutsu schools to prove the superiority of Kodokan's women's jūdo. Thus, there was never a shinken shōbu tradition in women's jūdō developed in competition with other schools.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup> As previously mentioned, Joshi goshinhö is included in the book Ködökan Jūdō [24], but only in the Japanese version, not in the English or any other foreign language version.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>6</sup> Takeuchi Kuniko 竹内久仁子, joshi 7th dan, Sep 1939 is also a Japanese expatriate in the U.S.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>7</sup> 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 goshinhõ* sadly has also started disappearing from women's *kata* practice in the United States.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>8</sup> Margot Sathaye and Pat Harrington also wrote *jūdō* books specifically aimed at women [25,35].

<sup>9</sup> 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 Tai-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 Enlightment" in Zen Buddhism, possessing a highly trained physique." (...) [Ibid., p. 11]

Most likely what happened to women's  $j\bar{u}d\bar{o}$  resulted from a combination of two factors, namely, the  $K\bar{o}d\bar{o}kan$ after the passing of Kanō losing its visionary, and the discrepancy between women's  $j\bar{u}d\bar{o}$  in Europe, the U.S., the  $K\bar{o}d\bar{o}kan$  and elsewhere in Japan (*i.e.*, outside of the  $K\bar{o}d\bar{o}kan$ ). While the  $K\bar{o}d\bar{o}kan$  has tried to claim much of the contribution to women's  $j\bar{u}d\bar{o}$  the reality is more nuanced. For example, various publications on women's  $j\bar{u}d\bar{o}$  enthusiastically mention that Ozaki Kaneko (Katsuko?) 小崎甲子 on January 18<sup>th</sup> 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 Tobari Takisaburō 戸張滝三郎, 8<sup>th</sup> dan sensei in *jūdō* but mostly known as one of the 6<sup>th</sup> generation *shihan* and *menkyo kaiden* 免許皆伝 [Holder of full transmission teaching license] holder in *Tenjin Shinyō-ryū jūjutsu* 天神真楊流柔術 ["The Divine True Willow School"].

Tobari 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 Tobari Kazu<sup>10</sup> 戸張和 all the way up to menkyo kaiden in Tenjin Shinyō-ryū and to be his own successor and shihan of the Inoue Keitaro 井上敬太郎 Tenjin Shinyo-ryū lineage. In particular, Ozaki during a jūdo tournament in Gifu was able to defeat three males. After this achievement, and on recommendation of Tobari Takisaburō (at that point President of the Ösaka Jūdo Federation 大坂府柔道連盟長 and Butokukai member), Ozaki was promoted by the Butokukai through its Ōsaka division in 1932 to become the first ever female shodan in jūdo [36,37]. Only about one year later, in January 1933 did Ozaki enter the Kodokan 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 Kodokan 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  $K\bar{o}d\bar{o}kan$ 's progressive attitude towards women. In truth, *dan* promotions for women were at that time prohibited in the  $K\bar{o}d\bar{o}kan$  [36,37]. The reason that the  $K\bar{o}d\bar{o}kan$  acquiesced, 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 27<sup>th</sup> of 1935 [39], it was by the *Butokukai* in Kyōto and not by the  $K\bar{o}d\bar{o}kan$  in Tōkyō. This too is hardly a coincidence.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>10</sup> Tobari Kazu was also the Tenjin Shinyō-ryū jūjutsu instructor of one of the authors (C.D.C.) of this paper.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>11</sup> The next female black belt promotions by the Kôdôkan (and thus really the first promotion of its own students) came about one year later on January 14<sup>th</sup> of 1934, when Akutagawa Ayako 芥川綾子 and Morioka Yasuko 森岡康子 were promoted to *shodan*, and Noritomi Masako was jump-promoted that same day directly from no rank to *nidan*. This, in one move, made Noritomi the most senior female *jūdôka* at the Kôdôkan, a position she would maintain until her premature death in December of 1982. Little more was heard in Tôkyô from the first *joshi jūdô* black belt Ozaki Kaneko. However, Ozaki did open her own women's *jūdô dôjô*, the Seigenkan Dôjô 清源館道場 in Ôsaka Tennôji 大阪天王寺 in 1939 [37] hence giving another strong impulse to the development women's *jūdô*. This is yet another important achievement usually absent from Kôdôkan-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 Kodokan [40, p. 111–112, 115–117]. The conflict was so fierce that the Kodokan, 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 jūdo authority in Japan. The political frictions between Tōkyō and Kansai jūdō continue to this very day, some subtle, others less so12. Indeed, almost any significant change in Kodokan 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 Kodokan finally conceded to promote Fukuda Keiko to 6<sup>th</sup> 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 same 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 Kodokan. 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  $j\bar{u}d\bar{o}$  rank promotions against women or people who are not of Japanese (or Caucasian) ethnicity at the *Kodokan* 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 Kodokan 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<sup>13</sup>. It is hence no surprise that the Kodokan 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 Kodokan only allows ethnic Japanese to become Kodokan instructors despite sometimes more knowledgeable, skillful, and certainly better English-speaking jūdo teachers of other ethnicity being widely available for hire14.

With Ozaki's promotion to *shodan* and *randori* becoming more implemented in the women's  $K\bar{o}d\bar{o}kan$  curriculum, women's  $j\bar{u}d\bar{o}$  changed. However, from the mid-1950s though until much later, women's *randori* at the  $K\bar{o}d\bar{o}kan$  and in most of the rest of Japan was still mostly a women's only event and not mixed. Elsewhere, women's  $j\bar{u}d\bar{o}$  never really followed such a pattern. For example, European women did  $j\bar{u}d\bar{o}$  and *randori* from the very start, with either 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<sup>15</sup>. When by 1980 the first World

14 Personal Inquiry, Ködökan, August 2009.

<sup>15</sup> This was preceded one year earlier by a test European Championship in 1974 in Genoa, Italy.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>12</sup> 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* 十段. Tabata Shōtarō 田畑昇太郎 (1884–1950) who became 10<sup>th</sup> *dan* on April 5<sup>th</sup> of 1948 and who was located in Kyōto in Kansai 関西, was the last such promotion. An underlying rationale for avoiding such promotions is to strengthen the authority of the *Kōdōkan* and Tōkyō as the central nervous system of *jūdā* and to prevent and deny anyone outside the *Kōdōkan* any authority that could amount to representing competition for the *jūdā* overning powers in Tōkyō. Although posthumous *jūdan* promotions, such as the one of Kurihara Tamio 栗原民雄 (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.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>13</sup> High dan ranks of 7th and 8th dan have been awarded by the Ködökan virtually only to Japanese, other Asians and Caucasians. Among the ranks of Ködökan 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 Kodokan 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 Kõdökan high dan-rank of ≥4<sup>th</sup> 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 Ködökan high-dan holders and/or officials. Among the participants to the Ködökan Summer Kata 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 Kôdôkan 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 Ködökan achieves this by sending high-ranked Ködökan instructors to countries of lowly or non-ranked ethnic minorities hence amplifying the supposed superiority of the Japanese race by the enormous gap in jūdo rank, which is extra emphasized by difference in colored belts between Japanese instructors and the ethnic minority participants in the host country thus emphasizing the class 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 Ködökan 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 jūdoka 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 jūdo to the advantage of those who are Japanese.

Championships for women were held in New York, with the exception of Yamaguchi Kaori 山口香 losing the -52 kg final to Edith Hrovath 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 goshinhō* compared with *randori* and other fighting arts

While these developments attracted many new women into jūdo and increased the overall popularity of jūdo, it came at a price. The jūdo Kano Jigoro had created, was increasingly diluted and replaced by a winning-oriented and medal-crazy competitive sport with little of its educational value left intact [45]. In the United States women's jūdo 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 jūdo and who had grown up while sharing those paternalistic views on women, and who dominated jūdo policy making. In consequence, a considerable number of American women in jūdo felt increasingly discriminated, when men without any form of debate, attempted to impose restrictions that did not exist in men's jūdo. However, anything that emphasized a difference between men's jūdo and women's jūdo, 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 女子带 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<sup>16</sup>. With championships for women becoming more and more prevalent the quality of women's jūdo 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 jūdoka. 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<sup>17</sup> 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 goshinhō.

The consequence of all of this was a near complete disinterest by women (and men) in jūdo kata, with the sole exception of when they were compelled by jūdo national governing bodies to study kata, namely, for jūdo dan rank promotion examinations. However, with the exception of Japan, Joshi goshinhō 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 goshinhō, 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 jūdoka [46]; only, Joshi goshinhō has virtualy never featured in a competitive kata tournament as an option one could win a medal with. Thus, Joshi goshinho never benefitted from the recent competition-induced boom in kata interest.

# Joshi goshinhō, the Kōdōkan's undesired silent witness of discrimination and fascism

We have explained why Joshi goshinho is rare outside of Europe, and why today it is less taught in Japan and at the Kodokan. However, none of the previous explanations clarify its somewhat strange and silent disappearance from kata lists in reference texts produced by the Kodokan and other Japanese authors. One of the most remarkable things is that Daigo Toshirō in 2009 authored a 7-part scholarly article about the Kodokan kata which is totally silent about Joshi goshinhō [47,48]. This is inexplicable and odd, particularly since Oimatsu, an authority in jūdo history, in all of his overviews of kata which he authored for the Kodokan two decades earlier, with consistency lists Joshi goshinho [49]. Currently, the kata is not even listed anymore on the Kodokan's website [50]18. Why ? Because it was not designed by Kanō Jigorō ? Hardly; Kōdōkan goshinjutsu was not designed by Kanō Jigorō, and is included everywhere [Ibid.]. Is

<sup>17</sup> Even if this 'emphasis' on athleticism and strength may not have been intentional, the evolution of *jūdõ*'s refereeing rules and the way competitive *jūdõ* has been and still is being marketed, make no alternative outcome remotely realistic.

18 http://www.Kodokan.org/e basic/kata.html

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>16</sup> It is also common for Ködökan jüdö 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 5<sup>th</sup> 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.



Figure 5(15) A-B. Japanese flag with patriotic-nationalist writing on it and hand-signed by Nangō Jirō 南郷次郎 (middle of the lower panel).

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 goshinhū* under *Kodōkan goshinhū*.

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, Nango 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 his 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, Nango was not just a military man in peace time. He fought in the Russo-Japanese war of 1904-1907, in which Japan was victorious. Nango had other high ranked military men his family, and additionally, Nango would lose two of his sons in action, i.e. Nango 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 Nango in his beliefs a little bit further to the right than merely "being a patriot"<sup>19</sup> (Figure 5(15)). Terms such as

<sup>19</sup> In the preface to his Joshi goshinho book, Nango already uses terms such as jinchūhokoku 盡忠報国 (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  $K\bar{o}d\bar{o}kan$  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. Nangō 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 Nangō Jirō at the *Kōdōkan* in May 1940:

"One of the things that puzzled us was Dr. Kano's<sup>20</sup> insistence that the principles of judo (maximum efficiency: mutual aid and concession leading to mutual welfare and benefit) are allpervading, 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. Roentgen had discovered X-rays, but they were not German. Why was Dr. Kanō emphasizing that judo principles were not specially Japanese, but all-pervading ? He added that other branches of budo such as kendo were specialized applications of the universal principle of jūdo, 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 Nangō Jirō give an address at the Dōjō-biraki in 1940. He said that although Dr. Kanō 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<sup>21</sup>.

Hearing this I realized what a clear-sighted man Dr. Kanō was." (...) [51]<sup>22</sup>

In other words, Leggett is saying as much as that Nangō Jirō, the then President of the Kodokan, was either seriously misunderstanding or even intentionally misusing the philosophy of *jūdo* for propagandistic purposes, and was advancing political and ideological views that were directly contrary to Kanō's thinking. This is also clear from other writings about jūdo and budo by Nango [52] although most of these have been carefully and discreetly removed from public knowledge and do not typically appear within reference lists of Kodokan-mandated texts. Nango'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 Nango 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 Fukuda Keiko did in her book. However, Nangō's motives for the *kata* went somewhat further and were not free of jingoistic motives. Indeed, *Joshi goshinhō* was not just created for the selfdefense of Japanese women in general, but *specifically* to protect against *foreign* (*i.e.*, specifically non-Japanese)

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>21</sup> Yamato damashii 大和魂 literally means "the Japanese spirit" a term that founds its origin in the late Hei'an 平安時代 period (794–1185) and that became part of the samurai and bushidō 武士道 ideology. However, in early 20<sup>th</sup> 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 underwrote Japanese supposed cultural and racial superiority. When Nangō used the term Yamato damashii in his speech here, he was certainly not referring to the old historic connotation of the word "...

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>22</sup> Boldfacing is ours.

men, or people not belonging to the Japanese race. In Nango's book on Joshi goshinho 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 Boxers<sup>23</sup>, the popular term referring to the adepts of the "Righteous Fist of Harmony Society" sect (義和團 Yihétuán in Chinese24, or pronounced Giwadan in Japanese), were already known to call foreigners Guizi [鬼子], a deprecatory Chinese term<sup>25</sup>, in Japanese pronounced Onigo, 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 Kodokan 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 jūdo and was once close to Kanō Jigorō. This is the same Uchida who wrote the very first book on jūdo [53], and who two years earlier (1901) had founded the ultranationalist Kokuryūkai 黒龍會 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. Kano'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 jūdo, he had to battle these forces within the Kodokan 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 Nango'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 nearly 300,000 "Comfort Women" or *Jūgun i'anfu* 従軍慰安婦, 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 Ködökan jūdo 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 Kodokan jūdo's structures and policies, despite the advances it has made in the discrimination against women.

A proper understanding of jūdo's history requires a more analytical and critical approach than the re-constructed versions prepared by the Kodokan. The way jūdo 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 taisou<sup>26</sup> (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 premilitary 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

<sup>25</sup> 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".

<sup>26</sup> Heishiki taisō 兵式体操.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>23</sup> 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 practioners of calisthenics and Chinese martial arts. Despite the obvious differences between Chinese *rushu* 武術 (Japanese reading: *bujutsu*; simplified Chinese characters: 武木) 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" *arant 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.

 $<sup>^{24}</sup>$  义和团 are the proper simplified Chinese characters.

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 [56,57]. 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 basedgrass-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 Taishō 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]

Kanō too can be categorized here, hence the increasing gap between Kanō and other powers within the nation and within the *Kōdōkan*.

"Classical bujutsu as well as budō, 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 budō 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 symbolical 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].

*Kendō* and *jūdō* 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-dō* and *kyūdō*. [*Ibid.*, p. 69]

"In 1939, the new sport of national defense or Kokubō undō<sup>27</sup> was added to the sport curriculum." (...) [Ibid., p. 70]

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

"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  $j\bar{u}d\bar{o}$  instruction during Nangō's tenure fitted well within this framework and was observed and accepted as proper, also within the  $K\bar{o}d\bar{o}kan$ , no matter how far it fundamentally deviated from Kanō's vision and intent, as was obvious from Leggett's quote earlier.

Yet, these mistakes, errors in judgment, or blatant abuses of jūdo for ideological reasons do neither invalidate Kanō's educational philosophy, nor the value of Joshi goshinhō as one of the kata of Kōdōkan jūdō. 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 Kanō's jūdō 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 goshinhō 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 Kanō'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 goshinhō because of

<sup>27</sup> 国防運動.



Figure 6(16). Fukuda Keiko, Ködökan joshi 9<sup>th</sup> dan and USA Judo (USJI) 10<sup>th</sup> dan, and some of her club members and regular visiting students and teachers, among whom also one of the authors (professor Carl De Crée, 7<sup>th</sup> dan) to her Sökö Joshi Jūdō Club 桑港女子柔道クラブ ["San Francisco Jūdō Club for Women"] in San Francisco, CA, a döjō, that instead of a sports hall atmosphere still breaths an authentic Japanese mood that is rare to find outside of Japan. Fukuda's teaching and guidance succeeds in recreating the tone of the Kōdōkan Joshi-bu as it was established by Kanō-shihan and used to exist in the pre-1955 Japan.

Nangō's personal beliefs or sympathies. What is necessary, is for *Joshi goshinhō* 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 goshinhō 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 goshinho may be of questionable utility for a female Special Forces or S.W.A.T.28 team member, however, Joshi goshinhō also was never intended as a complete system of self-defense against professional criminals or trained martial artists. To understand Joshi goshinho'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 antibiotics29 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 goshinhō* likely not being an exhaustive or complete system of self-defense, it deserves a worthy place in contemporary women's (and men's)  $j\bar{u}d\bar{o}$ . 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<sup>30</sup>.

Joshi goshinhō also remains a valuable historic link to what  $j\bar{u}d\bar{o}$  was like in the immediate aftermath of the death of Kanō-shihan. Today, in the 21<sup>st</sup> century novice  $j\bar{u}d\bar{o}ka$  are commonly totally ignorant of what  $j\bar{u}d\bar{o}$ 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

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>28</sup> "Special Weapons and Tactics" teams are elite paramilitary tactical units in American law enforcement departments charged with special operations such freeing hostages or detaining terrorists and dangerous armed criminals.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>29</sup> Only with antibiotics is it possible to effectively treat the otherwise debilitating and potentially lethal consequences of serious venereal diseases such as syphilis, which an early 20<sup>th</sup> century victim of rape could have ended up with.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>30</sup> Somewhat simplistic applications of escape techniques combined with more mainstream jūdo techniques were shown during the IJF's Self-defense Conference in Santo Domingo in October 2006 [58].



Figure 7 (17). Umezu Katsuko 梅津勝子, now a *joshi* 8<sup>th</sup> *dan*, is the *Kōdōkan*'s foremost and still active specialist in *Joshi-goshinhō*, and the world's highest ranked woman after Fukuda Keiko. She is depicted here second from left, with at her right side Abe Ichirō 安部一郎, 10<sup>th</sup> *dan*, and to her left side current other senior members of the *Kōdōkan Joshi-bu*, Ishibashi Keiko 石橋桂子 and Akiyama Sumiko 秋山澄子, both *joshi* 7<sup>th</sup> *dan*. All four are here performing as jury members during a *kata* certification session on August 3<sup>rd</sup> of 2008 at the *Kōdōkan* in Tōkyō.

in women's jūdo, 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 goshinho, 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 goshinho and even refused to further discuss it<sup>31</sup> despite the kata being referenced in her own book and she fulfilling the part of uke 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 Ködökan (Figure 7(17)). It is thanks to Umezusensei'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 jingoist ideologies of Nangō Jirō may have contributed to the *Kōdōkan*'s apparent acquiescence to *joshi gosinhō*'s silent disappearance from its syllabus, such revisionist and self-critiqueless approaches to *jūdō* history are not helpful. The major obstacle against achieving any improvement is what is known by the term of antiintellectual fascism (反知性主義のファシズム hanchiseishugi no fashizumu in Japanese) which underpins the Kōdōkan's and jūdō's political power structure [59]. Its hierarchical framework in the form of jūdo dan-ranks for more than a century has been able to protect the Kodokan from within. No Japanese jūdoka, 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 Kodokan 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 jūdo 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 jūdo 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 Kodokan 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  $j\bar{u}d\bar{o}$ most scholars in jūdo are jūdoka themselves; therefore they are acutely aware that any critical scholarly analysis that embarrasses or exposes the Kodokan'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 [59].

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>31</sup> Natsume Miwako 夏目美和子. Personal communication. *Kōdōkan Kata Kaki Kōshūkai* (講道館 形夏期講習会) [Kōdōkan Summer Kata Course], Tōkyō: Kōdōkan Jūdō Institute; 2010, July 23<sup>rd</sup>.

The tragic consequence is that much of the knowledge about  $j\bar{u}d\bar{o}$  that is commonly promulgated and understood is fundamentally wrong and distorted.  $J\bar{u}d\bar{o}ka$  who dedicate their life to  $j\bar{u}d\bar{o}$  have a right to a critical analytical approach to  $j\bar{u}d\bar{o}$ '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  $j\bar{u}d\bar{o}$  as defined by its creator in an attempt to make better humans of all of us.

#### Notes

 Japanese names in this paper are listed by family name first and given name second, as common in traditional Japanese usage and to maintain consistency with the order of names of Japanese historic figures.

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2. For absolute rigor, long Japanese vowel sounds have been approximated using macrons (*e.g. Kodokan*) 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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