

CULTURAL ANTHROPOLOGY

MICHAEL J. RYAN

Research Associate Department of Anthropology, Binghamton University, Binghamton (USA), Address: P.O. Box 6000, Binghamton, N.Y. 13902 U.S.A.
e-mail: mryan@binghamton.edu

‘Does anybody here want to fight’... ‘No, not really, but if you care to take a swing at me...’ the cultivation of a warrior’s habitus in a Venezuelan combative art

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Abstract

Introduction. The enduring legacy of the fighting stick among rural Venezuelans has led me to examine the persistence of stick, machete and knife fighting in Venezuela and what it has to say about modernity. I look at one example of a global tradition of living civilian combative traditions still practiced and transmitted to protect one’s body, command respect or protect ones property from expropriation at the same time the student is taught a respect for life and the values of the community. One element missing or downplayed in the scholastic literature of many combative systems is a consideration of the emotional commitment needed to succeed in combat. Among those who practice martial arts as a survival tool there is the recognition that a fighter must develop both insensitivity to the suffering of others as well as an emotional detachment to analyze the situation. In what I call the ‘Warriors Habitus’ I suggest these types of aggressive and pitiless dispositions are not purely biologically based but are often culturally mediated and shift through time and space in relations of apprenticeship with skilled combative teachers through the transmission of new ways of holding and moving the body in conjunction with material technology.

Methods. The material for this study arises from a long-term project looking at the extent and role of stick fighting in rural Venezuela. Between 1998 and 2013, 4 trips ranging between 2 weeks and 7 months were made. Data collection relied on semi-formal and informal interviews as well as apprenticeships. Archival research and a literature review of relevant works were also employed to set stick fighting in a broader context.

Results. A common response to the question of what qualities does it take to become a good stick fighter is the idea that a love of stick fighting should ‘be in the blood’, or ‘one must like it’ suggesting an inherent trait. However, the willingness of teachers to train and socialize students in the intricacies of garrote suggests this trait may be open to modification. The ability or willingness to ‘go to the dark side’ or deliberately target vital or vulnerable areas of an opponent’s body in order to quickly and efficiently end a combative encounter and the way this disposition is cultivated and managed through training is seen as vital part of training. In conjunction with the desire to close in and engage an opponent, equally valued is the ability to maintain a sense of emotional detachment in order to seek out and exploit any weakness in the opponent’s defense. The successful domination of an opponent often results in overwhelming feelings of elation or joy that can lead to the active seeking out further combative encounters to test one’s skills and access the intense feelings of power and joy that comes from winning. In order to prevent a student from becoming a threat to their own community the ability to mediate one’s response depending on the modality of combat is treated almost as importantly among garroteros.

Discussion. Traditional warrior arts are concerned with technical efficiency first and foremost and morality last. The training of the body and the emotions for combat while retaining a sense for the humanity of others is what I call the ‘Warriors Habitus’. I find this a useful concept to explore how different combative systems over time and through space have wrestled with and tried different solutions to deal with the realities of violence facing communities on an everyday basis while at the same time cultivating a sense of the importance of human life without which a community would destroy itself. As it took shape in Venezuela, this type of ‘emotion work’ or learned restraint acts as a type of ‘civilizing processes for garroteros. Students are exposed to sets of locally developed bodily movements in conjunction with a range of available weapons to channel their desire for high risk acts as well as a sense of emotional detachment when fighting as well as the ability to turn away from the pleasures associated with victory. Not

only are the chances of dominating a combative encounter improved through this type of training, but the mastery of these dispositions are valued by the community grounding an individual's sense of identity and belonging in a restricted set of movements. Ideally this type of transmission shows a student has been trained in a specific local style and that he has been deemed morally worthy to uphold and protect those around him. Through training the political nature of subjective relations are seen through the amount of time and quality of training imparted. Similarly observable are the levels of skill reached by students, notwithstanding the level of instruction suggesting the habitus as the dominant factor in subject-formation is questioned.

Conclusion. Interested in the persistence of local combative traditions in the modern world, this paper has focused on the role of developing and refining the necessary disposition of the emotional detachment and the enjoyment in the destruction of an opponent and then the ability to mediate these dispositions as not to become a threat to one's community. In rural Venezuela men skilled in garrote were alternately feared or respected and the skills and attitudes they embodied were often seen as possessing a set of values, attitudes and practices that can up through today serve young people well in their struggle with a sometimes hostile and treacherous world.

Research suggests the cultivation of these dispositions occurs through culturally mediated forms of moving the body with a number of different weapons highlighting the variable and temporal nature of corporeal knowledges. In working class neighborhoods and rural areas throughout the world where there is a concern with one's public reputation, weak state control and a tradition of self-help strategies, learning how to fight with weapons, when to fight, and then how to spin the circumstance of fights to protect yourself from retaliation or to shore up your prestige become key lessons in negotiating everyday life. These lessons often arise unexpectedly, are brutal and unforgiving. Those that can successfully navigate through these episodes are often physically and emotionally scarred but can function or even prosper as model members of a community to be turned to when the community is in danger or to be looked up to by the younger generation to be imitated. For those young men who do not learn these lessons their road often takes them down the path to an early death, prison or madness. The main problem facing the young men raiding, dueling or brawling is how to re-integrate them back into society to act as a protector of their communities. The different pedagogical approaches enabling a young man to 'flip the switch' and fight, then teaching him to 'turn off the switch' and restrain these impulses has proven to be fraught with difficulties. Among my teachers the desire to close in on an opponent while maintaining a sense of emotional detachment and the instilling of a respect for life are key dispositions in the development of a garrotero. The unstable and fragile set of dispositions needed to excel in combat and become a respected member of a community which I call the warrior's habitus is the subject of ongoing research.

Introduction

"Does anybody here want to fight?... 'No, not really, but if you care to take a swing at me.... This invitation and acceptance hollered out in the dark night of El Tocuyo way back in 1912 resulting in a wild brawl highlights a certain aspect of combat which I have been recently exploring [Assunção 1999]. There is an intoxicating thrill that comes with engaging and defeating an opponent, and can be addictive as any drug. The attraction to what some have called the 'dark-side' can lead one down a path of no return, or alternatively one can pull oneself back from the 'dark side and return with a deeper understanding of the humanity of others. The role of the dark side has been largely overlooked in the scholarship today. Some reasons for this include the marginalization of the moving body as a research topic or the continued stigmatization of all forms of violence. Among scholars of combative practices this topic can be difficult to discuss openly. After all, speaking to a group of one's peers in a formal environment recounting how in your last fight you took pleasure in seeing fear and pain in another man's eyes as you unleashed hell on him can adversely affect your scholastic reputation or tenure. The existence of the dark-side in oneself and how one comes to term with the dark side can be difficult to admit to oneself let alone talk about with others.

With this stated topic, I am interested in the different ways that practitioners of combative traditions have come to enunciate, incorporate, or cultivate the necessary dispositions to dominate a combative encounter a number of overlapping elements in what has been called the 'dark side'. First, is the sense of excitement that comes with the prospect of being in a combative encounter. The extreme emotional turmoil that can result from this state of affairs has been remarked upon by chroniclers in the past. In ancient Irish or Norse sagas some men it was noted became worked up to such a degree that they underwent what appeared like epileptic seizures, falling on the ground, foaming at the mouth, gritting their teeth and thrashing around. Some men it was said even died as a result of this emotional maelstrom before ever closing with the enemy. Another element of the dark-side lies in the determination to close with an opponent, to enjoy taking advantage of an opponent's weaknesses or mistakes, to make him suffer before ending the confrontation or obversly, to finish him off and end the combat decisively and efficiently however it may be defined. An additional aspect of the dark-side I will look at is the culturally specific disciplined practices 'Body-Work' [Wacquant 2004], or 'technologies of the self' [Foucault 1988], combative experts have relied upon to bring themselves or their students both into and then back from the dark side. Here, I examine a few ways combative expo-

nents seek to mediate their attitudes towards violence so as they may serve as a protector rather than a predator to their community. Looking at the diverse cultural and historical practices of physically engaging in combat, of entering into the dark-side and then trying to return is what makes up what 'Warriors Habitus'. I use this term to provide a general concept to examine cross-culturally the institutions, attitudes, attributes, practices and social relationships that are valued within a combative system and the way they are manifested in everyday life.

Setting and Methodology

Data for this study was originally situated in the southern region of the Segovia highlands and nearby Andes Mountains where a local festival dedicated to the Franciscan monk Saint Anthony of Padua has become a major celebration and tourist draw. One aspect that has caught the eye of many scholars and tourists is the mock stick duel that precedes the many dances that make up the ritual [Aretz 1970; Guss 2000; Liscano 1951; Línarez 1990]. In addition to the ubiquitous walking stick, machetes, sticks and knives in combination, and lances have all been used or continued to be used in these festivals suggesting a more antagonist aspect of the ritual that has become downplayed as it has become an icon of Venezuelan nationalism. More often in the past than now, the sheer exuberance of the festival combined with the consumption of alcohol leads to uncontrolled fights. Other times men take this opportunity to settle scores and as a result could become quite serious very quickly. Reflecting Simmel's assertion that all social relationships can be characterized by the amount of secrecy that exists between two people (1906), delving into the world of Venezuelan stick fighting I found a few men from a number of different ethnic communities around Venezuela who still continue to practice this art as a survival tool, not to be shown to strangers or talked about with those you don't know reflecting the unstable and violent atmosphere where the art of garrote was refined.

Discussion

Fundamentally, the 'dark side' is the cultivated ruthlessness and insensitivity to the suffering of others. The ability or willingness to go to the dark side and deliberately target vital areas of an opponent to end the combative encounter as quickly as possible is seen as a vital part of training among many martial artists. Armed combative encounters usually last 1-5 blows before somebody is on the ground bleeding, unconscious or scarred for life. In this type of extreme situation, the idea that one can calibrate a response to meet an unknown threat is madness. One cannot judge the combative ability of a

stranger or know what weapons or friends he may have with him. In a fight one must seek to eliminate the threat quickly, efficiently and with extreme prejudice.

A common response to my question what does it take to be a good stick-fighter was that it must be in the blood, one must like it, suggesting an inherent trait. Saul Téran once said he looks for a person who is not afraid of the sticks, of getting hurt. However the willingness of garroteros to train and socialize students with varying levels of aggressiveness suggests this trait may be open to modification. One way that garroteros seek to cultivate the dark side is through pre-arranged two-man drills to alter a student's consciousness, to enter what has been called a state of 'flow' or a focused and enjoyable immersion in an activity [Csikszentmihályi 1990]. Among many garroteros there are a number of pre-arranged two man drills where basic attacks, blocks and counters and counters for counters are rehearsed until they are committed to muscle memory. Once mastered the teacher will change up or break up the sequence in order to habituate the student to new situations, or the teacher will force the student to continue the drill despite any errors committed in order to maintain the flow and compel the student to maintain is equilibrium or risk severe injuries. During this back and forth the teacher seeks to evoke a shift in consciousness or a flow-state that combines a relaxed enjoyment with an intense concentration or the cultivation of a mind-set of imperturbability. A state of being-in-the-world Japanese martial artists referred to as 'Fudo-shin', the Germans as 'Kaltblütig' or the Spanish as 'Sangra-Fria', where not only is a sense of *ecstais* is achieved when in the midst of a combative encounter, but also in the well placed blow that terminates the combative encounter.

During the course of training finishing blows meant to end a combat encounter are introduced. As these finishing blows will put an end to the development of the flow, these moves are often omitted or modified as to allow the flow to continue. The effectiveness of this type of training to hone one's skill and take one to the dark



Figure 1. Danys Burgos of La riña con palo and Saul Téran of the Palo Sangriento enjoying a round of impromptu stick-play. Photograph by Michael J. Ryan



Figure 2. A blocking move used for friendly sparring in La riña con palo.

Photographs by C. Slavetskas



Figure 3. The same move done as a strike to the elbow for fighting in La riña con palo.

side was brought home to me with Danys Burgos who is gaining a reputation as the holder of a very old and traditional form of garrote. At the same time he is gaining a reputation as a hard-hitting garrotero. Taking a break from training one afternoon in 2013, he told me once you have the flow from training, fighting then becomes easy, just modify your targeting (Figures 2, 3).

Another teacher who then was visiting told me Danys is gaining quite a reputation among garroteros today. After some prodding Danys explained; One day a group of garroteros from another school with a reputation for hard-sparring and aggressiveness invited him to join them for a training session. Engaged in what was supposed to be a friendly round of stick play, one man repeatedly refused to honor the unspoken restraints of a friendly match and kept hitting Danys. Finally losing patience Danys baited a diagonal descending attack to the man's neck. The man fell for the ruse and blocked the attack. However, letting his garrote follow through the trajectory of the blow by relaxing his grip on his stick, Danys also stepped to the outside and to the side of the man. From this position Danys initiated a vicious descending backhanded blow to the back of the calf of his opponent that dropped him to the ground. "Sorry about that" he exclaimed. Twice more they engaged and both times Danys dropped him with a well-placed blows accompanied to increasing shouts and objections from the other teacher and his students. In response Danys would say 'Ohh! Sorry, my hand just slipped', or 'Sorry, it was just an accident'. Finishing the story Danys explained to me 'if you want to jugar garrote easy we will jugar easy, but if you want to jugar hard, fine, that is the way we will jugar. It's not difficult just change your targeting'¹. Although a very easy going and gentle man and a great

garrote teacher, after telling the story we all could feel that if the situation called for it, Danys could evoke a demon inside him.

Coming back from the dark side

While the garrote is still seen as a fearsome weapon at a time when firearms are increasingly available and the murder rate in Venezuela is skyrocketing, as an anthropologist I find it interesting how it is felt the garrote as a piece of material technology has the potentiality of shaping an individual's subjectivity and relationship to the world anchoring an individual to a place, a time, or a teacher or a lineage [Conley 1999; Todd 1938]. As this manifested itself among garroteros who accepted students, they were concerned that the art was not used for aggrandizing or criminal goals. While extremely proud of their skills and with a history of hard-fought fights behind them all my teachers stressed the moral and ethical qualities inherent in the garrote. A stick can serve as a fearsome weapon as many can attest, however, compared to the blade and the firearm there is a lot more room to defeat an opponent without seriously injuring him. In this regards I see the adoption of the garrote by Venezuelan men as their premier weapon as an example of a cultural brake on the escalation of violence, a culturally significant piece of material technology that was part of a civilizing process that began in Western Europe and dealt with the restraining of overt acts of emotional displays and recourse to extra-state violence to resolve disputes [Elias 2000].

In Venezuela it was said in the past that men fought with *palos y coñazos*², one ex-guerrilla fighter from the 1960's explained that during the fighting his favorite weapon was a FAL assault rifle, but that in contrast the

¹ 'Jugar' is the Spanish word for 'to play' and encompasses a more general agonistic sense of competitiveness than the English word 'play' signifies.

² A walking stick and a pair of 'balls'.

garrote was never meant to kill anyone only to garner respect. The criminal records from the province of Barquisimeto bear out these reminiscences with deaths resulting from garrote accounting for of 1.8% of the 325 deaths related to assaults from the mid-19th to early 20th century, time when garrote was at its peak [Assunção 1999]. Both criminal complaints and oral histories suggest events could easily spiral out of control with bladed weapons, group assaults, ambushes, and increasingly firearms could often be introduced into the fray to ensure the domination of the encounter. Men calling themselves garroteros had to be ready for any unforeseen escalation of combat which in one way could only heighten the sense of risk and danger which fed into the public reputation of a man as one to be feared and respected. A way of judging men that goes back at least as the pre-Homeric times when the Greek poet Pindar once said something along the lines of ‘Struggle without risk brings no honor’.

Many of my teachers of garrote seeing the art as a survival tool in everyday life, not just as a way to stay in shape or access the spiritual realm or a hobby were concerned with teaching a trusted student to access the dark side to dominate a combative encounter. At the same time they advised students to beware of the pleasures of the dark side, and tried to show how one could draw on the art to turn away from it. This was never made explicit to me but, all the men I trained with had a different way to impart ideas of morality to their students. One element they all shared though which I understand as a way to re-affirm the humanity in oneself and others was in the act of gathering in a small group, training hard and socializing while catching one’s breath seemed to act both as an emotional release and a way to mentally fortify oneself for future challenges. After class, everybody was tired, happy and ready to escape back home where they could eat lunch, take a nap and avoid the brutal afternoon sun (Figure 4).

Of all my teachers Jose-Felipe Alvarado of the Siete Lineas style of garrote was a deep thinker and a philosopher. One night after training and interviewing garroteros I came back to the farm of Jose-Felipe. Sitting on his front porch as I did most every night where both him and his wife and a neighbor or two would sit and enjoy the cool night air and each other’s company, I would often elicit his views on life, garrote and how to live a good and moral life in a hard world. One night he began to tell me how: “In Venezuela it was that men carried about sticks in an honorable manner and others less honorable, others in an even less honorable manner and if as a result one decides to launch a blow at someone in an aggressive manner, people said he was a *jugador*, but Señor he is not, it is a sign of disrespect. The stick is very sacred and shows that a man has been taught right from wrong. He comes from a good family, he has good friends and is a good worker and shows respect to all. There comes



Figure 4. William Liscano, Danys Burgos and Saul Téran, relaxing after an afternoon of stick-play. Photograph by Michael J. Ryan

a time when two people are going to *jugar*, they have something very much on their minds, respect for their reputation, respect for the public and their friends that he is to cross sticks with. Because imagine that you don’t respect an attack that this man launches at you, is it still a *juego* (a friendly game)? It degenerates into foolishness, because all of us men those possess this art that we hold dear. (aside) We don’t know that.... I don’t know anything, but I understand very well, I know absolutely nothing. But the first thing one has to do is acquire the discipline, the friendship, the understanding until one is able to survive” (Alvarado Pers. comm.)³.

What I took away from this and other experiences was how the role of apprenticeship, the teaching, and guiding a student to develop his skills with the garrote is another way that not only technical knowledge but emotional structures, ethical precepts and feelings of belonging are cultivated to create a uniquely Venezuelan ‘Warriors Habitus’ or an individual in the civil-sphere would be able to meet, close-in on and dominate other individuals in a combative encounter in a way that would be seen as right normal and effective to the community [Mauss 1979; Warnier 2011]. Foregrounding the heterogeneous, uneven and fragmented nature of transmission and incorporation of the warrior’s habitus many older garroteros in their youth confessed to seeking out confrontations to test their skills and gain a reputation as a fighter or to bring honor to the teacher by not backing down from a challenge. At the same time there was the desire to avoid bringing shame or dishonor by being perceived as a trouble-maker, a bully or a loser to one’s teacher if one lost a match. Out of the desire to emulate and or earn the approval of one’s teacher or other forms of socialization that anchored an individual to a place and a lineage, the act of hard physical training to prepare one’s body and mind for combat allowed not only a site

³ José-Felipe Alvarado. Personal communication 03/15/2005. El Molino.

to access the dark side when called upon but also allowed an emotional release from the stress of everyday life and in this way provided one avenue to be able to enter and then withdraw from the dark-side. A journey I should add, that not all succeeded in accomplishing and that many still wrestle foregrounding the heterogeneous and contingent nature of the habitus where not everybody learns or incorporates the same dispositions equally [Bourdieu, Wacquant 1992; Downey 2011; Mauss 1979].

Conclusion

Interested in the persistence of local combative traditions in the modern world, this paper has focused on the role of developing and refining the necessary disposition of emotional detachment and the enjoyment in the destruction of an opponent and then the ability to mediate these dispositions as not to become a threat to one's community. In rural Venezuela men skilled in garrote were alternately feared or respected and the skills and attitudes they embodied were often seen as possessing a set of values, attitudes and practices that can up through today serve young people well in their struggle with a sometimes hostile and treacherous world.

The different ways men have organized systems to hone and perfect their bodies and minds for the stress of combat and then turn around and become a caring and respected member of a community is what I call the 'Warriors Habitus'. I find this a useful concept to explore how practioners of different combative systems over time and through space have wrestled with and tried different solutions to deal with the realities of violence facing young men and the different strategies they have developed the needed physiological skills and emotional affectivities to successfully dominate any combative act while instilling a sense for the sanctity of life.

Research suggests the cultivation of these dispositions occurs through culturally mediated forms of moving the body with a number of different weapons highlighting the variable and temporal nature of corporeal knowledges. A 'Warriors Habitus' or the unstable and fragile set of dispositions to excel in combat as it is enacted in specific socio-historical ways and become a respected member of a community is the subject of ongoing research.

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„Czy ktoś tu chce walczyć” ... „Nie, raczej nie, ale jeśli zależy Ci, aby się zamachnąć na mnie...”. Kształtowanie nawyków wojownika w Wenezueli sztukach walki

Słowa kluczowe: sztuki walki, walka na kije, ciemna strona

Abstrakt

Problem. Autor badał jak różne systemy walki zmagaly się w czasie i w przestrzeni, próbowały odnaleźć różne rozwiązania w kwestii przemocy napotykającej społeczności na co dzień, kultywując w tym samym czasie poczucie znaczenia człowieka bez społeczności niszczącej go. Jak to miało kształt w Wenezueli? Tego typu „praca emocjonalna” lub emocjonalna powściągliwość działa jako rodzaj „procesów cywilizujących” dla garroteros.

Metody. Materiał do badania wynika z długofalowego projektu (4 wyjazdy studyjne, począwszy od 2 tygodni do 7 miesięcy w latach 1998 i 2013) dotyczącego zakresu walki na kije na wiejskich terenach Wenezueli. Zbieranie danych oparło się na pół-formalnych i nieformalnych rozmowach, jak i praktykach. Zastosowano również badania archiwalne i literatury przedmiotu w celu przedstawienia walki na kije w szerszym kontekście.

Wyniki. Autorzy próbując znaleźć wspólną odpowiedź na pytanie, jakie cechy trzeba posiadać, aby dobrze walczyć na kije, doszli do wniosku, iż fascynacja tym sportem musi być „we krwi” i jest nieodłączną cechą. Jednak chęć nauczycieli do szkolenia i zapoznania studentów z zawiłościami garoty sugeruje, że cecha ta może być otwarta na zmiany. Zdolność i gotowość do „przejścia na ciemną stronę” lub świadome atakowanie istotnych lub wrażliwych obszarów ciała przeciwnika w celu szybkiego oraz sprawnego zakończenia walki, a także sposób w jaki taka skłonność jest kultywowana i zarządzana jest postrzegana jako istotna część szkolenia. W połączeniu z dążeniem do osaczenia i zaangażowania przeciwnika do walki, równie ceniona jest zdolność do utrzymania poczucia dystansu emocjonalnego, w celu poszukiwania i wykorzystania wszelkich słabości w obronie przeciwnika. Udane zdominowanie przeciwnika często powoduje przemożne uczucie uniesienia i radości, które mogą prowadzić do dalszego aktywnego poszukiwania okazji do testowania swoich umiejętności walki oraz odczuwania intensywnego uczucia energii i radości, które pochodzą z wygranej. Aby uczeń nie stał się zagrożeniem dla własnej społeczności umiejętność mediacji czyjejś reakcji w zależności od modalności walki jest traktowana niemal równie ważne wśród *garroteros*.

Dyskusja. Tradycyjne sztuki walki dotyczą przede wszystkim sprawności technicznej i moralności. Trening ciała i emocje towarzyszące walce przy zachowaniu sensu człowieczeństwa innych jest tym, co nazywa się „postępowaniem wojownika” (*habitus*). Adeptci walk zapoznają się z zestawem lokalnie opracowanych ruchów ciała oraz wieloma dostępnymi rodzajami

broni i uczą się kierować chęcią do wysokiego ryzyka, a także poczucia emocjonalnego oderwania podczas walki, jak również zdolnością do odwrócenia się od przyjemności związanych ze zwycięstwem. W ten sposób nie tylko poprawiają swoje umiejętności, ale także wzmacniają poczucie tożsamości poprzez określony zestaw ruchów. Ten rodzaj transmisji pokazuje, iż student został przeszkolony w określonym stylu lokalnym i że został uznany za moralnie godnego do ochrony społeczności go otaczającej.

Wnioski. Biorąc pod uwagę miejscowe tradycje sztuk walki artykuł koncentruje się tworzeniu i doskonaleniu niezbędnego emocjonalnego nastawienia, przyjemności czerpanej ze zniszczenia przeciwnika, a następnie nabywania umiejętności pogodzenia tych cech, tak aby nie stać się zagrożeniem dla własnej społeczności. Na wiejskich terenach Wenezueli mężczyźni posługujących się garotą na przemian się bano lub otaczano szacunkiem, a umiejętności i wartości, które uosabiali, mogą posłużyć dzisiejszej młodzieży w walce z wrogim i zdračliwym niekiedy światem. Dotyczy to szczególnie terenów gdzie istnieje słaba kontrola państwa, natomiast ważna jest reputacja i prestiż, a umiejętności walki, obrony przed odwetem oraz znajomość negocjacji mogą zaważyć na życiu bądź śmierci. Ci którzy nie naberą odpowiednich umiejętności są narażeni na przedwczesną śmierć, więzienie lub chorobę psychiczną. Głównym problemem stojącym przed młodymi ludźmi jest zreintegracja się ze społeczeństwem, a przed ich nauczycielami - wskazanie równowagi między emocjonalnym wyizolowaniem się a szacunkiem dla ludzkiego życia.