"IDO MOVEMENT FOR CULTURE. Journal of Martial Arts Anthropology",
Vol. 19, no. 3 (2019), pp. 11–23
DOI: 10.14589/ido.19.3.2

SOCIOLOGY

George Jennings[1(ABDEF)], Wojciech J. Cynarski[2(BDEFG)]
[1] Cardiff School of Sport and Health Sciences, Cardiff Metropolitan University (UK)
Cyncoed Road, Cardiff, CF23 6XD
[2] Faculty of Physical Education, University of Rzeszow, Rzeszow (Poland)
Contact e-mail: gbjennings@cardiffmet.ac.uk

Martial Arts in Postcolonial Times: Local Theories for Local Contexts

Submission: 22.12.2018; acceptance: 15.02.2019

Key words: global sociology, martial arts, Mexico, Poland, postcolonial theory

Abstract
Background. Up to now, the social organisation and practise of the world's fighting systems has been understood through established and popular trends in sociological theory developed primarily in Western Europe and North America.
Problem and aim. As an alternative, researchers can turn to theories local to the culture in question, in order to understand its people on their own terms, as these theories are written largely for and by them in their own language.
Method. The authors employed local theory in their analysis of two martial arts associations that focus on the cultivation of national warrior identities. Based on long-standing case studies on Japanese *Budo* institutions in Poland and *Xilam* in its native Mexico, they demonstrate how local social theories can assist the understanding of belonging, embodiment, identity and nationalism in postcolonial times.
Results. A local warrior identity was identified in both Polish *Budo* and Mexican *Xilam* martial arts organisations. The local social theories enabled the authors to examine these identities in terms of postcolonial identity formation in relation to the nations in question.
Conclusions. Martial arts researchers should employ local theories as well as the more popular canon from social scientific disciplines. Local theories enable detailed appreciation of the history, culture and politics of the country where a martial art has been developed or is being practised and transmitted.

Theorising in Global Postcolonial Societies

Thinkers from around the world have been concerned with the Western European dominance of social theory and a subsequent generalisation of their findings to other regions, and even on the supposed origins of processes such as modernity. This connects with a growing call for "global sociologies' that sees the merits and drawbacks of how sociology is done around the world as forms of national sociologies concerned with the nation-state in question [Burawoy 2016]. It also resonates with a postcolonial and historically-sensitive sociology that forms "connected sociologies" that questions the very foundations of the discipline [Bhambra 2007, 2016, 2017]. Finally, it can fit within the broad remit of an inclusive and eclectic "Southern theory" that is an open canon from international non-Western European and Anglocentric authors and sources [Connell 2007, 2014].

Despite the different terms and viewpoints of these leading figures, they do concur that these twenty-first century sociologies (plural, overlapping and contrasting, such as the Polish sociology and Mexican sociocultural thought we engage with) would benefit from using the connected disciplines of history, philosophy, anthropology and cultural studies for a more rounded appreciation of the people, groups, structures and traditions they are studying. By contrasting the worldviews of different peoples and cultures and their forms of knowledge, we may come to different points of understanding specific processes such as modernity, or, for our purposes, national identity based on ideals of the warrior.

As Green and Svinth [2003] demonstrated, there exists a plethora of martial arts systems and styles from global cultures and civilisations. These martial arts can be developed, to varying degrees, as combat sports, traditionalist martial arts and self-defence systems – to

provide a simplified framework outlined in Channon and Jennings [2014]. They have been modified and expressed in fitness regimes (boxercise, body combat), as well as in existing and proposed school curricula and as forms of rehabilitative mind-body / mindful exercise, etc. These kinds of modernisations and appropriations make them pertinent for social scientific study. Moreover, they are practised by numerous sectors of society in a variety of social, political and historical situations. For example, in education, they have different purposes, practices and potentials, which might be combined with a broader category of "Eastern movement forms" in terms of the Asian styles in Western education [Brown 2013] or martial arts for youth in the context of Flanders [Theeboom, de Knop, Wylleman 2008].

Nevertheless, there are current debates concerning defining "martial arts" in new a very global and inclusive "martial arts studies" by making use of German frameworks and French poststructuralism respectively [Wiztler 2015; Bowman 2017]. This field permits all types of fighting, combat and even virtual training might be considered as a 'martial art' in a human developmental sense of forging character and morals [see Goto-Jones 2016]. This has followed a progression in martial arts research from the 1970s which has tended to gravitate towards three interweaving scales of inquiry: a) macro, global shifts such as the growth of MMA and the modernisation of Judo through a sociohistorical, documental analysis using Anthony Giddens' reflexive modernisation and Norbert Elias's civilising process [e.g. Sanchez Garcia, Malcolm 2010; Villamon *et al*. 2004]; b) the meso, institutionally-specific "school"/group contexts through an ethnographic study of culture, interactions and pedagogy [e.g. Frank 2006] or, c) the micro or individual focus through moving between auto/phenomenological and auto/ethnographic lenses for a consideration of the honing of the sensuous embodiment – inspired by Merleau-Ponty and other French phenomenologists [e.g. Allen Collinson *et al*. 2016; Owton 2015; Spencer 2012].

There remains a gulf between the research on the mediation of martial arts knowledge and actual martial arts practice (with some exceptions in collections [e.g. Farrer, Whalen-Bridge 2011]), which could show how changes in technology and the media link to transformative experiences in the living practitioners who engage with them. Little research has explicitly connected the individual, school or societal levels – the macro, meso and micro levels of social life – in a singular study. Moreover, few authors have attempted to theorize these social themes across different martial arts: instead opting for singular, empirical case studies on one system. Upon the basis of this abundant research on individual styles over the past decade, there exists an opportunity for interdisciplinary, cross-style research in order to apply and (re) formulate theories of how martial arts are developed, taught, promoted and understood by those that practise them: in their own terms, communicated in their language and within their geopolitical, sociocultural and historical context.

Researchers have made extensive use of French theorists such as Pierre Bourdieu, Marcel Mauss, Maurice Merleau-Ponty and Michel Foucault, as well as scholars from the Anglosphere like Catherine Bell and Anthony Giddens and those operating within them, such as Norbert Elias. They have generally overlooked the ideas of thinkers from the "Global South" (such as Latin America) or other regions of Europe (such as the former Soviet Block), and those writing in languages such as Spanish and Polish. This is despite the fact that academic studies on martial arts have been concerned with studying either so-called Western or "developed" societies in the "Global North", as well as developing nations in the Global South. A further historical dichotomy emerged between sociology and anthropology is evident in the recent monographs, with scholars in the West looking at foreign martial arts like Capoeira in their own societies ([Delamont, Stephens 2017] in Britain) and new martial arts phenomena such as mixed martial arts [Spencer 2012], and fieldworkers in the former colonies looking at the arts taught in their native environments [Downey 2005; Farrer 2009; Ryan 2016]. Unfortunately, despite the rich empirical insights from these studies "from the body up" in a phenomenological and conceptual sense, these latter scholars have not made use of local theory or national thinkers in their theorisation.

These theories written by French and German sociologists and those from (and operating in) the Anglosphere are developed from numerous case studies and global examples, and thus provide a solid grounding in the understanding of human beings and their societies through their concepts such as *habitus*. Notwithstanding this broad perspective, they can be a tendency to overlook the idiosyncratic nature or particular cultures that have their own reflexive ways of understanding themselves. Our article has not aimed to erase the good work of scholars using popular theories and exploring contemporary themes. But we have pointed to another way of doing social science, which might support, critique and contrast with the better-known theories.

Subsequently, in this article, we wish to merge sociology with the works of thinkers from often overlooked areas of the world (such as in Connell's [2007] proposal of Southern Theory and its subsequent developments [Connell 2014]), and an appreciation of different forms of knowledge and ways of knowing (epistemology), as well as new media of communication, as through the body in motion and oral transmission. We perceive Mexico and Poland as postcolonial nations, with Mexico once being part of the former Spanish Empire (and colonised in part by later French and American interventions) and Poland having being conquered by the Russian, German and Soviet empires. Adopting a moderate approach to

postcolonial theory, we advocate the position of studying, comparing and contrasting contemporary, pluralistic societies (rather than a global "society"). We do not overlook the importance of established works inspired by the likes of Loic Wacquant [2004], but wish to offer an alternative perspective on where theories can be drawn from.

The International Collaboration

These international debates over theory bring us together from our respective martial arts backgrounds, the forms of sociology we tend to engage in and our origins. Our joint focus is thus expressed in two specifically national approaches of theorising around the warrior, national identity and belonging. The localised approaches to social theory explored through two particular martial arts (and their specialised institutions) in very specific, yet largely urban and cosmopolitan contexts through a dual historical, sociocultural and geopolitical analysis in the 21st century: 1) Japanese *Budo* martial arts in Poland and 2) the Aztec-inspired *Xilam* in its native Mexico. We illustrate these two case studies in order for a global and interdisciplinary readership such as that of *Ido Movement for Culture: Journal of Martial Arts Anthropology*, with hope that scholars might consider how such an approach could be applied in their own cultural, geographical, institutional, historical, political and social contexts and to cases other than the martial arts.

The structure of the article follows the two case studies of long-term (and ongoing) research into these physical cultures. We begin with the collective of martial arts following the approach of spreading the Japanese values of *Budo* using Polish sociological scholarship on the martial arts in their local context (refer to [Cynarski 2012; Cynarski *et al*. 2015; Nakiri 2015; Mor-Stabilini 2016; Piepiora *et al*. 2016]), and then explore the modern Mexican martial art of *Xilam* concerned with philosophical national building from the body up (emerging in [Jennings, 2015, 2016, 2018a, 2018b]). They provide an overview of our ongoing studies as practitioner-researchers and "fighting scholars" (to borrow Sanchez Garcia and Spencer's 2013 title).

Our vantage points differ yet converge, as Wojciech Cynarski is a veteran professor of Japanese martial arts and a pioneer of martial arts research in his native Poland. Cynarski's work is a result of 40 years' involvement in the martial arts within the central institutions in Poland as a practitioner, instructor and author, and also as a sociologist of culture. Wojciech Cynarski has undertaken research into Budo martial arts using surveys, historical analysis, archival research and in-depth interviews with experts, as well as ongoing observation of student development. He has adopted a mixed-methods design driven by quantitative surveys and qualitative case studies that is representative of Polish sociology.

George Jennings, meanwhile, is a British sociologist of physical culture with interests in anthropology and comparative philosophy. He is also a Wing Chun Kung Fu instructor, with experience in Taekwondo, Kendo, kickboxing, Judo, Taijiquan, along with Xilam. Jennings has been involved in mainly qualitative research that is typical of British sociology that he is trained in and the Mexican sociocultural anthropology that he is inspired by. His early ethnographic and life history research on Chinese martial arts in the UK was followed by a project on Xilam in Mexico (2011-2016) as a participant observer, which extended to an analysis of the media and philosophies underpinning the art.

With these different methodologies, data sets and martial arts, we were faced with two dilemmas: 1) how could we work together on an article? 2) How could we represent all of our data in this manuscript? The reason for our collaboration is that during the course of our practice and research, we encountered new and alternative ways of understanding these arts not from the established canon of British, French, German and American theorists. Instead, we drew insights from sociologists, anthropologists, cultural critics and pedagogues from the countries in question: Poland and Mexico. Furthermore, it was evident that both the Polish *Budo* practitioners and the Mexican exponents of Xilam advocated a keen sense of national identity that is centred around the ideal typical model of a warrior. This is the theme that binds our work. This theoretical and topical combination sparked our collaboration that forms the basis of this rather unusual article: a theoretical exploration of possibilities as evidence by two case studies. These case studies as described as a whole rather than deal with specific elements of our data sets, which are highlighted in the cited literature.

There is a burgeoning body of empirical literature on martial arts in Polish and Spanish. In Poland, the journals *Archives of Budo* and *Ido Movement for Culture: Journal of Martial Arts Anthropology* are already well established, while the *Revista de Artes Marciales Asiáticas* is based in Spain, offering works in English, Portuguese and Spanish. These journals are associated with international conferences and also collaborative projects. Wojciech Cynarski expressed the decades of sociological development in Polish theory since the 1930s. The Polish case illustrates a solid development and testing of Polish social theory that underpins research from its inception. There numerous studies revealed in this article illustrate a distinctly Polish approach to research and theory.

However, the Mexican context reveals a lack of empirical research into the martial arts. George Jennings took a largely inductive approach by building theory as he encountered this new culture as an immigrant. His readings were fellow Xilam practitioners as well as social encounters regarding important Mexican writers and visionaries such as Octavio Paz, Guillermo Bonfil

Batalla and Jose Vasconcelos – scholars with a sharp perspective on what Mexican society was, is, can and might be. With the importance of anthropology and cultural critique in Mexico, George Jennings drew on these traditions while maintaining sociological questions around identity, embodiment and nationalism.

In what follows, we assess each case study in three parts, which reflect inductive and deductive approaches to engaging with theory. Beginning with Wojciech Cynarski's deductive approach, we: a) outline the Polish tradition of humanistic sociology; b) explore the setting of *Budo* in Poland, and c) assess one Budo institution in the country in relation to postcolonial views of the construction of a national warrior identity. Then, with George Jennings's inductive approach, we: a) first introduce the given martial art (and association) of Xilam to allow the readers to appreciate them; b) outline some of the key social issues that relate to these martial arts in terms of its sociocultural context and ambitions, and c) provide an overview of the mixed theoretical approaches utilised, explaining them with the pre-established context. We begin with the better-known Budo arts, which include the modern *–do* arts of Judo and Aikido, before turning to the fledgling system of Xilam, which has yet to expand beyond Mexico. Because of the theoretical nature of this analysis, we focus on the breadth of our studies and the various angles we have taken to examine the organisation, promotion and pedagogy of these fighting systems.

Budo in Poland: Explorations with Polish Humanistic Sociology

Polish Humanistic Sociology

The Polish school of sociology that informs much martial arts scholarship adopts a holistic approach. Because of their technical and organisational complexity, martial arts are examined as a whole: systematically, and without losing the broader humanistic dimension. Pertinent to resulting scholarship is the systems theory and humanistic idea of a new paradigm [Cynarski 2014], which means that this is simultaneously a systemic, cultural and humanistic approach (it thus rejects behaviourism). In particular, the founder, Znaniecki [1934], emphasized that the humanistic factor should be taken into account as methodological standard of humanistic sociology. Hence, the spiritual values and needs of humankind, which are constitutive to human existence, cannot be overlooked.

Inspired by Znaniecki, the Polish theorist Bronislaw Misztal [2000] indicated that this sociological theory appears to be 'cognitive practice', which corresponds to the postulate of 'epistemic science' prescribed by Fritjof Capra and is generally consistent with the assumptions of systems theory. The cognitive practice involves processing experience in the conceptual, symbolic and emotional mapping. The theory takes into account the dimensions of time, such as how a martial art and practitioner change (temporal factor of lived time, and long-term history), the related theme of becoming something (process-related factor), and the cultural context (contextual factor) [Misztal 2000]. In addition to the concepts of 'personality' and 'culture', which are understood as systems in themselves, Misztal includes the concept of 'discourse', the ways of describing the differences between one's own world and other life (and social) worlds. In his opinion, sociological theory passes from the paradigmatic to discursive environment of its practice. It confers to sociology the (attribute) function of cognitive, normative and political missions [Misztal 2000].

This new theory in sociology is supposed to provide a narrative of both individual and group experiences. Taking into account the role of postmodern criticism of the 'advanced society' and postindustrial heuristics that are perhaps inappropriate to the Polish context (and a number of countries for that matter), Misztal places 'hyper intellectualism' and postmodernism (along with 'atrophy of intelligence', consumerism and the explanatory inability) into his critique of the "theoretical crisis of modern sociology" [Misztal 2000: 11]. Instead, Misztal discusses the topic of a dynamic, developing identity, which is associated with the identification process carried out by discourse as a way of defining identity. For him, a person cannot be reduced to an individual unit, without seeing the whole person with her/his emotions, physicality and perceived higher needs (spirituality) [Cynarski 2018].

Taking a similar approach in Polish martial arts research, Tokarski [1989] proposed concepts of self-defence, self-realisation, and self-expression that were developed into the (humanistic) sociology of martial arts [Cynarski 2012; *cf*. Znaniecki 1952]. On the other hand, modern training in combat sports undergoes scientific rationalisation. Researchers analyse not only the physical aspects of *Budo*, but also its values (nobility and honour, respect for tradition and authority, faithfulness to the truth, fulfilling duties) and rules (normative ethics in social relations), spiritual dimension, cultural traditions, what can be named as phenomena of cultivation.

We suggest that a certain way of practising martial arts as a form of cultivation – the traditionalist approach – could be one such path towards these higher needs and the related emotional, intellectual and physical integration. This might be in the form of cultivating certain culturally-specific values through martial practice. An indication of this theory is seen in Cynarski's [2006] study "The Hierarchy of Values of Far East Martial Arts Practitioners", in which Rokeach's values framework was used alongside a quantitative methodology common in Polish sociology. 18 categories of social values and 18 individual values were considered (derived from Rokeach [1973]) so that comparisons could be made between practitioners' statements based on non-com-

petitive martial arts, combat sports, or combat systems. This study found that the prosperous life is most valued by representatives of competition-orientated schools, and the least among adepts of non-competing arts or schools. According to Cynarski [2006: 273-291], this is due, in part, to the former group's consumption-hedonistic lifestyle, and also due to the latter group's "ascetic pattern of psycho-physical culture". This is confirmed by the ratio of combat sports practitioners for pleasure. These values appear more important for them than training in non-competitive groups. Conversely, the sense of accomplishment appears higher among non-competing practitioners than by competing ones; non-competitive practitioners tend to evaluate the qualities of the intelligent and thoughtful human being, which may point to the deep cultural knowledge of the martial arts they train. Representatives of these traditional forms highly value the imaginative, cheerful person who expresses respect and obedience. In contrast, sports convention requires attuned, courageous practitioners prepared for tournament purposes, who are also helpful and provide support to their team. The general conclusion confirms the assumption that martial artists have slightly different value systems than in combat sports. Thus, the fighters (in combat sports) are more instrumental than ideological, and focus on other values, creating different hierarchies of values [Cynarski 2006].

Inspired by a similar aim, Zienowicz, Parzelski and Budnik-Przybylska [2015] made their research in the group of 22 instructors and 54 *Karate* exponents. The study was conducted by using a scale of Scheler's values [in: Brzozowski 1995]. Results showed that 'traditionalist' trainers and students scored higher on the scale of 'moral values' and the 'religious sanctity factor' subscale. "Traditionalists" upholding ideals of ethics and values were guided by an ascetic educational model, which assumes that through the physical and spiritual development they seek to moral perfection. The values resulting from spirituality are an inseparable part of a good, rounded and self-fulfilling life (sense of happiness): back to the value of life that was cherished by the traditionalist enthusiasts in the study by Cynarski [2012].

From this brief overview, we can see that Polish humanistic sociology (from Znaniecki to Misztal and applications of their theories) enables multi-faceted assessments of socio-cultural phenomena. The martial arts phenomenon (by no means restricted to *Budo*) includes a set of educational systems and ethos. It seems that after years of communism in Poland (1945-1989) [*cf. Mitropolitski 2017],* there is a shift in values for which the ancestors of today's Poles lived and died, and Poland as a nation survived. In *Budo,* some Polish practitioners may find a 'knightly' or 'warrior' form of spirituality to approach their higher needs. But it is also a stepping stone from the haste of hard capitalism that has shaped this Eastern European country since 1989.

Budo in Post-Soviet Poland

Poland was not commonly perceived as being a former colonial area, but for 123 years, it remained divided between various invaders. Later, after 20 years of regained independence (1918-1939), this state was again attacked by the Germans and Soviet Union. The Russians left Poland only after 1989. Therefore, martial arts were not a form of recreation for Poles, but a contestation [Tokarski 1989]. In turn, the mentioned Old Polish traditions, such as the Hussar sabre [Sawicki 2011; Marsden 2015], are a form of appeal to the former glory of Royal Poland and a means of strengthening national identity.

After the fall of Communist rule in 1989, practising *Budo* was more accessible for Poles because the borders were open for migrant teachers and to seek learning abroad. Many organisations were founded (e.g. the Idokan Poland Association, in 1993). Nevertheless, to this day, traditionalist martial arts play no special political role, as only combat sports and the successes of Polish athletes have a political meaning. Despite the fact that activity of martial arts organisations is important particularly for physical culture and social health, for the authorities, the sporting results of Polish national team (e.g. in Judo) are deemed more important. In general, for individuals within Polish society, it can be the quest for the perceived lost cultural values (ethos of chivalry, akin to the *Bushido* code), alongside a sense of security and the possibility of self-expression and self-realisation. In a social dimension, for practising groups, this cultivation is a factor of social integration (in *dojo*s, clubs, and schools). The values are important for new paradigmatic sociology and they have been confirmed in the reception of martial arts [Cynarski 2014].

The specific theoretical framework adopted in the next section is the Polish sociology of culture [see: Golka 2008] and its expression in the Polish sociology of physical culture (refer to [Krawczyk 1995]), whose scope is more expansive than sociology of sport through analyses of the games and exercises that accompany the martial arts – which may also be practised as combat sports in this particular context. Connected to this Polish sociology of culture are the burgeoning sociology and anthropology of martial arts [Cynarski 2012, 2018].

The Kobudo School

Budo is a fundamental concept in this sociology of martial arts. 'Bu' means martial or military, etymologically from: "stop the spear", i.e., to stop aggression and to resolve conflict. 'Do' signifies "the way/path" or "the Way of Heaven" (Chinese *Tao/Dao*, Korean *Do*). *Budo* contains an important fragment of the Japanese cultural heritage of *Bushi* (warrior) culture [Sasaki 2009; Nakiri 2015] and what is important for community and wider society. Rafolt (2014) identifies the *Koryu Budo* (*Kobudo*) with martial arts culture, and *Gendai Budo* (after Meiji restoration, 1867) with the modern form. The ancient form is connected with *Kata* (technical forms) and ritual.

However, the programmes of teaching have been very useful for historical warriors [Cynarski 2013a]. Today, it is cultivated in symbolic forms, as heritage, or sometimes in popular, modified forms [Cynarski, Sieber, Litwiniuk 2005; Cynarski *et al*. 2015; Henriquez 2016; Nagy 2015]. This ancient form of martial arts, *Bujutsu,* are a historical category of:

Methods of unarmed combat fights and use of weapons combined with a spiritual element. Martial (path)way (Jap. *Budo*) – these are particular forms of physical or psycho-physical culture based on the traditions of warrior culture which lead through the training of fighting techniques, to psycho-improvement and self-realization. These are simultaneous processes of education and positive asceticism. In other words: the 'way of martial arts' is a psychophysical process of improvement and of understanding the complex systems of values, knowledge and skills [Cynarski, Skowron 2014: 63].

This is the traditionalist meaning upheld by certain Polish *Budo* associations. The modern forms by them are modified in their ideologies and programmes of teaching according to the individual *sensei* (teachers/masters). Because of this historical and cultural complexity that accompanies the humanistic sociological approach outline earlier – in relation to time, becoming and culture – we can understand *Budo* in four ways:

1) Originally in Japan, *Budo* was understood as a synonym of *Bushido* – the pathway of a warrior. In a narrower sense, it refers to the Japanese tradition of chivalry (i.e., the *Bushi* culture); hand-to-hand combat, and wielding weapons; 2) The concept refers, in a broader sense, to the "way of a warrior" or "a spiritual path of martial arts", and as a group of these cultural traditions throughout the Far East Asia, i.e., martial arts in general; 3) *Budo* is understood in a narrower sense to refer to a group of Japanese martial arts. 4) *Budo* is further understood as a way to "stop violence", promote moral development, as an educational system, and a path toward improvement and striving for widely understood perfection [Cynarski, Skowron 2014: 60-61].

These four definitions show how *Budo* has changed and diversified over time and place to suit the needs and desires of the individual practitioners, teachers and leaders as well as their direct communities and societies more broadly. Between the second half of the 20th century and 1989 (change of the political system in Poland; Poles regained freedom and independence from Soviet control), the dissemination of *Budo* in Poland was very limited. Only *Judo* was popular, and from the 1970s, *Karate* – most notably the *Kyokushin* and *Shotokan* styles. Practising *Budo* this time was – for the nation – an expression of the desire for freedom. Tokarski [1989] combines this with counterculture, which in Poland was directed against communist power.

Budo martial arts are part of the cultural heritage of its country of origin (Japan) and maintain links with the area of high culture, especially one regarded as moral and spiritual. Similarly, for original *Karate* it was Okinawa / RyuKyu Kingdom [Juster 2009], and in Poland, a special sabre fencing style is being rediscovered [Sawicki 2011; Marsden 2015]. Meanwhile, the combat sport elements are derivative of the martial arts traditions of the East or the West, whose distinctive feature is sports rivalry expressed through a direct fight (with rules protecting athlete's health) or in the form of individual motion (demonstrational forms). Sometimes, there are different formulae for competitive sports (as in kick-boxing) [Cynarski, Skowron 2014].

Because some combat sports and self-defence systems are far from the idea of *Budo* (presented, for example, in the *Budo Charter* [Cynarski 2013c]), we focus in martial arts to extend the comparison between a classical martial art and modern forms of this tradition (and social/pedagogical patterns) that address the question: How do individuals and groups of enthusiasts cultivate the old, classical *Koryu* today? One pattern can be the *Tenshinshoden Katorishinto-ryu – Kobudo* school, active since the fifteenth century. In many Western countries, small, select groups have been practising century-old forms, which include *Shinto* rituals. The teaching lineages of Grandmaster Yoshio Sugino and his son Yukihiro, and of Grandmaster Risuke Otake, and of Goro Hatakeyama (9th dan, *Hanshi*) are taught among some European instructors in Poland, too. There are numerous studies of *Kenjutsu* and other methods/forms [Otake 2007; Sugino, Ito 2010; Mor-Stabilini 2016]. This is the teaching of the classical form, unchanged since the fifteenth century. This allows practitioners to discover a wide range of skills of ancient *Bushi*, and at the same time gives them a wealth of recreational values [Cynarski, Obodynski 2006].

The *Kobudo* students try to achieve skills, *dan* degrees and *menkyo* licences. They practise in both their *dojos* and during many cross-school seminars acting as meetings of enthusiasts, for that the most important aim of participation is the practical study of *Kobudo*. For instructors, the challenge is more difficult, because they must often learn practice "at the source" in Japan. The institutionalisation of teaching this classical *Budo* forms is already advanced in many countries. In Poland, the Shibu Kobudo (organisation of this school) has been active since 1995, when the *Kobudo* style has been practised since 1987 [Sieber, Grzywacz 2015]. It is a form of cultural studies in the area of Japanese martial arts – more for self-cultivation than for self-defence. Central to this practice is a cooperative (rather than competitive) training. The organisation tries to develop a strong healthy and moral group for a better Polish (and integrated European) society. However, this first pattern of *Budo* potential is not properly used, yet because state and social measures are directed mainly at the Olympic sport.

To sum up, this approach to collective human development involves the cultivation of the spirit of *Budo* in fidelity to the older pedagogical elements (*kata* forms and methods of teaching). It is therefore seen in classical forms (the first example and pattern). Other approaches – not shown here for reasons of space – offer new solutions to expand the legacy of the old masters; by retaining the values, but changing the teaching and training methodology, and often the technique, too. This second pattern is therefore focused on innovation through mixing exercises, styles and training methods: varied mind-body and pedagogic practices for overall human development. This approach is seen in *Xilam*, a recently invented martial art.

Xilam: A National Martial Art for Mexican Warriors

The System and Philosophy of Xilam

Not all martial arts are "Oriental". Indeed, some approaches are neither East Asian nor particularly ancient. Linking back to the previous theme of innovation, some systems are actually recently invented, rediscovered or reinterpreted to act as elaborate systems of human development in modernity. *Xilam* is such a case, being a Latin American martial art that is now subject to academic interest. This case study differs in that it derives from a recent project that begins research into Mexican martial arts, and thus used a more restricted literature base. In the first scholarly publication on *Xilam*, Jennings [2015] outlined the life history of its founder to share how and why it was invented in the late 1980s and registered in 1992 in Mexico City by a female Mexican martial arts pioneer, Marisela Ugalde Velazquez de León, after several decades of her personal martial arts training and research under various teachers of Asian martial arts and a spiritual mentor, Andres Segura Granados. To date, *Xilam* and the Xilam Martial Arts Association remains under *maestra* (teacher) Ugalde's leadership, and is taught and practised in the central region of Mexico by a team of instructors in Mexico City, the surrounding State of Mexico (Estado de Mexico) and the nearby state of Hidalgo, with some regular seminars in other large cities such as Guadalajara.

From its regional base, *Xilam* has yet to succeed as a global phenomenon, possibly due to the specific nation-building discourse and its focus on pre-Hispanic Mesoamerican heritage intended primarily for Mexicans themselves. However, as Jennings [2016] has outlined from a study of its online communications via its webpage, YouTube and Facebook group, *Xilam* does present an interesting approach to collaborative human development and psychophysical training from the paradigm of pre-Colombian warrior culture and Mesoamerican philosophy. This philosophy is an example of human development and cultivation from a non-Asian and non-European perspective. Meanwhile, its influence on oral tradition, indigenous body culture and body practices such as fasting, shamanistic meditation, dance, rituals and 'Maya yoga' alongside esotericism and astrology make *Xilam* a hybrid physical culture that uses the medium of martial arts to unite mind-body practices from throughout the region now understood as Mesoamerica.

Amid strong commercial competition and even scorn from various martial arts circles in urban Mexico, *Xilam* continues as a non-sporting martial art that seeks to develop the whole human being through the specific elements of willpower, intent, emotions and consciousness over a lifetime of disciplined practice and shared experience. Like other cultivation martial arts, it is learned in a systematic, step-by-step fashion along distinct levels – in this case, seven animal grades (also organised by coloured belts ranging from white to black) of the snake, the eagle, the *ocelotl* (akin to a small jaguar), the monkey, the deer, the iguana and the armadillo. Each stage has its corresponding games, physical conditioning and weapons training. These animals are indigenous to Mexico and were important to the Mesoamerican cultures that inspired the creation of the martial art – especially the elite eagle and jaguar warrior order of the Mexica (Aztecs). The number four is of vital importance in Xilam, as it is a number used in Aztec cosmic philosophy, including numerical calculations of life stages, the four seasons, elements and anatomical divisions such as limbs. Each animal level is therefore composed of four forms: The first deals with physical development, alignment and balance and stance training through a ritual movement along the four cardinal directions; the second is a linear approach to understanding the unique techniques of each animal; the third is concerned with dynamic movements between stances, heights and directions; and the fourth is cooperative, controlled partner training of the direct and potentially deadly techniques, which include eye gouges, strikes to the throat and genitals, ear pulls and skin tearing.

Beyond the emphasis on the individual aspect of development (self-cultivation) through form training, *Xilam* has distinct shared and social elements. The social element of cultivation is particular evident, as the art is intended to instigate pride in one's ancestors, and aims to use the past to forge a new project for the future of Mexico, with the grand ambition of making it a world leader (see xilam.org). A notable example of this is language. Practitioners learn the numbers and terminology of movements and concepts in three native languages (Nahuatl, Maya and Zapotec) through simultaneous movement and mantra (for a brief overview, see Jennings, 2017) and gather round in a 'council of warriors' to discuss theory and wisdom learned from the training. This training is open to all, adopting the meaning of the term *Xilam*, derived from *Dzilam* or "to remove the skin" in Mayan: not in a violent, tortuous sense,

but (in a metaphorical and metaphysical sense) to peel away visual differences and get to the universal matter of human beings and the deeper personal identity that can be developed from this.

Xilam in Contemporary Post-Revolutionary Mexico

With a harsh contrast between the rapidly developing urban areas and the impoverished rural and indigenous zones, today's Mexico is sadly a country fraught with violent crime between drug cartels and the government, poverty, educational inequality and political corruption, being a world leader in obesity and work-related stress. The potential (or perhaps, utopian) role of *Xilam* is to transform this society from the bottom up: Starting with the individual human being and his / her body-mind, core values, dispositions, aspirations and conduct. This is the concept of social cultivation that makes its move beyond the self and the pedagogic: To reach out to wider society and draw on the cultural and knowledge resources to instigate positive changes in the country. Such a movement extends beyond the regular training in the art through specialist seminars and workshops, such as the efforts to educate youngsters in secondary schools on the dangers of following the drugs trade and its lucrative lifestyle (*see* the project Poder Xilam [Xilam Power, https://www.xilam.org/poder-xilam]). This impact could include ecological considerations due to the naturalistic philosophy and structure of *Xilam* and even its rudimentary training methods employing logs in place of barbells and body-to-body conditioning as opposed to modern punching bags.

In sum, *Xilam* provides a second of an approach to human development in a specific geopolitical context (modern Mexico tied to the USA and Latin America) and sociocultural background (a culture that is the blend of ancient Mesoamerican, surviving indigenous, Spanish colonial and influences from the USA). It offers a way of forging individual identity through cooperative, non-competitive training in the aim of making a stronger Mexican society through interactions between skills levels, generations and genders as underpinned by a holistic philosophy that connects humans to the earth and wider cosmos (ecological cultivation). Now that the exemplar art has been examined, we can return to our broader argument advocating the use of local theories written by local theorists (largely for a local readership) to understand social problems, which we believe could offer something to those outside their nation-states, regions and cultures.

Theorising Xilam with Mexican Thinkers

From a methodological standpoint, George Jennings acknowledges that his (initially) ethnographic study has been spontaneous and even 'messy' in many regards of forms of research. His position moved from a novice student undertaking ethnographic fieldwork in the summer of 2011 to a former student conducting a life history and later online media and interview strategy [*see*: Jennings 2018a]. The study began with an examination of *Xilam* as a broader physical culture that extended beyond a martial art, with its connections with other contemporary indigenous Mexican and ancient Mesoamerican body practices and games such as pre-Hispanic dance (often taught after the class) and the Mesoamerican ball game (one of the theoretical bases of its movements). As *Xilam* resists being a combat sport and a utilitarian martial art mainly for self-defence, Henning Eichberg's [1998] body cultures was a starting point for theoretical analysis. This model offers a dynamic, non-dualistic way to understand historical and organisation change, as well as individual development and expression in festivals and gatherings, of which *Xilam* is often involved in, including indigenous rights marches, martial arts exhibitions and the Festival of Eagles and Jaguars (for youngsters) and the *Festival de los Abuelos* (intergenerational workshops), as well as gender-specific educational workshops.

Notwithstanding the utility of body cultures through his focus on space, movement and identity of such movement cultures and their festive manifestations (as seen in ethnographic fieldwork in [Jennings 2018b]), George Jennings sought out studies of Mexico itself by its own theorists and writers and the work of those examining the value and thought systems underpinning their culture. All of these theories have formed the basis of Jennings's study of *Xilam* from a postcolonial and multidisciplinary perspective that has blended sociological theory with anthropological works [Bonfil Batalla 1996] and cultural studies [Paz 1981] along with comparative philosophy examining Aztec thought [Leon-Portilla 1990; Maffie 2014] and political writings on 'race' and ethnicity [Vasconcelos 1925]. All of these texts assisted Jennings's analysis of previously collected empirical data.

The *Xilam* techniques and the Xilam Martial Arts Association's non-competitive, collaborative ethos and the focus on lifelong practice (as advocated by *maestra* Ugalde herself – now in her mid-sixties) are characteristics of a broader human and societal development programme that follows a nationalist but also *indigenista* (pro-indigenous) agenda: a programme for an imagined, utopian Mexico that draws upon a deeper, underlying civilisation of what Bonfil Batalla [1996] calls *Mexico Profundo* – a profound and overlooked Mexico that has been hidden under a Westernisation project and the supposed image of Mexico being part of Western civilisation (the imaginary Mexico). This underlying, older Mexico includes "Aztec" (or more broadly, Nahua – Nahuatl speaking) philosophy for lifelong human development in society. This was applied in Jennings [2016], which uncovered the philosophies driving the organisation as expressed through its official media.

The practice of *Xilam* also involves an ongoing quest for a sense of unique identity that the cultural

critic Paz outlined in his well-known book, *The Labyrinth of Solitude (El Laberinto de la Soledad),* in which he outlines that the tensions between the influence of the United States, the Spanish colonial past and the pre-Hispanic foundation that make Mexico such a complex and troubled nation [Paz 2004/1950]. For Paz, Mexico (as a nation-state, culture and people across borders) has and is constantly striving to understand itself in terms of its neighbours (especially the United States) and its past (pre-Hispanic, colonial and revolutionary) in order to construct ideas of Mexicanness – *Mexicanidad* – a phenomenon expressed in other physical cultures such as pre-Hispanic and *conchero* dance [Rostas 2002]. This kind of theorisation sprang from the Mexican Revolution, which led to artists, poets and philosophers expressing staunch nationalism and ideals stemming from the revered pre-Hispanic warrior past. This search for identity in Xilam and the other Mexican martial arts of SUCEM, *Pak at Tok* and *Tae Lama* was the subject of analysis in Jennings [2017], which used Paz's earlier work and later musings [Paz 2000] stemming from his own personal search for his sense of ethnicity, home and nation.

Before Paz, Vasconcelos was one of the first in the wave of this Mexican intelligentsia aiming to stimulate scholarship and art alike. He was the first rector of the national university, the UNAM, and is often considered one of the country's foremost philosophers. In *The Cosmic Race* [1925], a highly contentious set of essays, Vasconcelos sets out a clear argument on 'race': that all races have their period of dominance, isolation and decadence, and have a time of mixing and blending. He claimed that Latin America, with its fusion of native and European peoples (along with African and Asian peoples) in the "Iberomaerican race" or "fifth race" could harness the best of each of these civilisations and cultures. To assist an ongoing analysis of video interviews, George Jennings has started to use some of these radical ideas, themselves inspired by Aztec cosmology and "the fifth sun." This theory also helps to make sense of how the Mexican practitioners of *Xilam* he interviewed interpreted their ancestry sense of ethnicity and the future course of the Mexican people in very similar tones.

In short, *Xilam* is an exemplar of a contemporary cultivation martial art that strives to connect mind, body, emotion, consciousness and identity through a holistic, non-dualist Mesoamerican worldview that balances notions of male and female, light and soft, strong and weak, etc. It is therefore neither about the individual and their process of self-cultivation not about their particular society, and neither just about the human species nor their immediate (and wider) physical environment, as for this integral Aztec-inspired philosophy, the seeming opposites are interdependent. However, for the purpose of illustrating the postcolonial and local approach to theory, the social element is the most striking feature of *Xilam* in its public portrayal and documentation. It is, as Jennings [2017] points out, but one example of a range of Mexican martial arts, but it is particularly pertinent among for its deliberate foundation around a holistic philosophy rather than potential combat: a philosophy in which one can forge their own unique aspects of ethnic belonging and identity: neither masculine or feminine, hard or soft or traditional or modern.

Conclusion: Local Theories for National Contexts

This article has both introduced and illustrated our approach of using local theory to understand local social phenomena by drawing upon our ongoing investigations of two forms (and social organisations) of martial arts. We have shown deductive and inductive ways of developing and applying local theory to understand martial arts practise and inform research about them in specific martial arts associations in two postcolonial nations. This adds to current debates on comparing forms of sociology in terms of their dominant methodologies [Williams, Sloan, Brookfield 2017] and discussions of national traditions in global sociologies [Sorokin 2015] our neighbouring field, the subdiscipline of the sociology of sport [Young 2016]. The first outlined a specific approach in Polish sociology as applied in two schools of Polish *Budo*. The second demonstrated a more emergent, interdisciplinary theoretical application to help understand Mexican Xilam and other martial arts created in that region. We now turn to the implications of our exemplars, which we hope might prove as useful illustrations for scholarship using local theories to the nation state, organisation and activity in question.

Budo and *Xilam* are from strikingly different parts of the world as taught and practised by a range of contemporary individuals and groups in specific geopolitical and sociocultural situations. Yet there are united by a common reality: Mexico and Poland are postcolonial societies with rich and complex histories, proud warrior traditions, developing economies, powerful neighbours and an expansive intellectual tradition that can make sense of their own social realities within their own language. These case studies were used to engage with a global sociology whilst considering the forms of knowledge and related practices from other cultures and civilisations. We thus invite dialogue and debate from our contemporaries around the world who wish to engage with a global approach to human and societal development. It is hoped that this approach could be further developed and tested within studies of martial arts and beyond.

There are various sociological theories that could have helped explain the long-term practice or interaction within and transformation through these self-cultivation arts. To begin, many of their activities are to do

with embodiment. As Channon and Jennings [2014] have pointed out in their review on martial arts and embodiment, the theories and concepts of Bourdieu, Elias, Foucault, Frank and Giddens have been and are being reflexively deployed in order to examine the social world of martial arts and combat sports. More broadly applied outside of the martial arts, local theories coupled with social and cultural theory might aid scholars and practitioners to understand the other interrelated themes of identity, gender, pedagogy, spirituality, ecology and nationalism. Other theories could add themes of embodiment, mind-body holism and transformative relationships, levels of consciousness and lifelong learning – all noteworthy themes that classical and contemporary approaches sociology are yet to significantly engage with themes such as: Sustainable lifestyles, lifelong practice, mind-body integration and character development over the life course. These themes can be seen in other mind-body arts and practices, such as acting, dancing, painting, running and singing for both comparative analysis and to shed new light on previously familiar cultural activities: To make the familiar strange and the strange familiar.

Nevertheless, given that the martial arts originate from all corners of the world, both from colonised and colonising nations (and those outside the official former borders of empire), it is important to consider the expansive movement of global sociology and postcolonial theory that move beyond the dominant American and British models of social science. How, then, might one go about scrutinising or studying systems like *Budo* arts and *Xilam*? Because of their historical complexity and controversy, diverse organisational and political structures, culture influences and novel strategies towards human development, a broad range of methods – quantitative, qualitative and mixed – are required across and between paradigms and disciplines. We have offered examples of this from sociologies typical to Britain and Poland and also sociocultural theory to help us understand the complex Mexican context.

Despite our global outlook and combined examples based on an extensive data set, our article does have limitations. To begin, it has only provided an overview of the two martial arts in specific contexts, and has not offered empirical data from interviews, observations, media analysis, documentary analysis, etc. – which are located in the references cited. Instead, we have opted to contextualise theory that forms the foundation of empirical work and varied forms of representing our research.

Certain questions remain highly pertinent. How might one go about studying martial arts and other cultivation practices from a sociological standpoint? Such exemplars could be examined in detail using a multimodal approach encompassing quantitative, qualitative and mixed methods designs in order to express the methodological traditions of the country in question. Of equal importance are studies that compare and contrast martial arts with other fighting systems and combat sports in order to critically appraise their unique characteristics and potential role in modern societies around the world. Beyond that, we wish for our approach to be considered as an open framework for exploring human development beyond the martial arts – in systems of exploration and growth including yoga, meditation, dance and any other form of physical culture that has been harnessed to develop individual agents, their direct communities, their official society and the environment as stake from their actions. We hope this article will encourage fellow scholars to join forces as we have done, in order to connect previously disconnected cases, theories and projects for an increasingly global social science.

Declaration of Conflicting Interests

The authors declared no conflicts of interest with respect to the research, authorship, and/or publication of this article.

References

1. Allen Collinson J., Vaittinen A., Jennings G., Owton H. (2016), *Exploring lived heat, "temperature work" and embodiment: Novel auto/ethnographic insights from physical culture*, "Journal of Contemporary Ethnography", vol. 47, no. 3, pp. 283-305; doi: https://doi.org/10.1177/0891241616680721.
2. Bhambra G. (2016), *Postcolonial reflections on sociology*, "Sociology", vol. 50, no. 5, pp. 960-966.
3. Bhambra G. (2007), *Rethinking Modernity: Postcolonialism and the Sociological Imagination*, Palgrave Macmillan, Basingstoke.
4. Bhambra G., de Sousa Santos B. (2017), *Introduction: Global challenges for sociology*, "Sociology", vol. 51, no. 1, pp. 3-10.
5. Bonfil Batalla G. (1996), *Mexico Profundo: Reclaiming Civilisation* (trans. P.A. Dennis) University of Texas Press, Austin.
6. Bowman P. (2017), *The definition of martial arts studies*, "Martial Arts Studies", no. 3, pp. 6-23.
7. Brown D. (2013), *Seeking spirituality through physicality in schools: Learning from 'Eastern movement forms'*, "International Journal of Children's Spirituality", vol. 18, no. 1, pp. 30-45.
8. Brzozowski P. (1995), *Skala wartosci Schelerowskich*, Pracownia Testow Psychologicznych Polskiego Towarzystwa Psychologicznego, Warsaw [in Polish].
9. Burawoy M. (2016), *The promise of sociology: Global challenges for national disciplines*, "Sociology", vol. 50, no. 5, pp. 949-959.
10. Channon A., Jennings G. (2014), *Exploring embodiment through martial arts and combat sports: A review of empirical research*, "Sport in Society", vol. 17, no. 6, pp. 773-789.

11. Connell R. (2007), *Southern Theory: The Global Dynamics of Knowledge in Social Science*, Polity Press, Cambridge.
12. Connell R. (2014), *Using southern theory: Decolonizing social thought in theory, research and application*, "Planning Theory", vol. 13, no. 2, pp. 210-223.
13. Cynarski W.J. (2006), *Recepcja i internalizacja etosu dalekowschodnich sztuk walki przez osoby cwiczace* (The reception and internalization of the ethos of martial arts by persons exercising), Rzeszow University Press, Rzeszow [in Polish].
14. Cynarski W.J. (2012), *Antropologia sztuk walki. Studia i szkice z socjologii i filozofii sztuk walki* (Anthropology martial arts. Studies and essays of the sociology and philosophy of martial arts), Rzeszow University Press, Rzeszow [in Polish].
15. Cynarski W.J. (2013a), *The training of a warrior following the teaching of the classical Japanese and Korean schools of martial arts (C14–C19th)*, "Ido Movement for Culture. Journal of Martial Arts Anthropology", vol. 13, no. 2, pp. 1-10.
16. Cynarski W.J. (2013b), *Karta Budo. Analiza tresci z perspektywy humanistycznej teorii sztuk walki,* "Polish Journal of the Arts and Culture", vol. 7, no. 4, pp. 31-53.
17. Cynarski W.J. (2014), *The new paradigm of science suitable for the 21st century*, "Procedia – Social and Behavioral Sciences", vol. 149, pp. 269-275.
18. Cynarski W.J. (2018), *Current problems of the sociology of martial arts according to the Rzeszow School*, "Arrancada", vol. 18, no. 4, pp. 315-335.
19. Cynarski W.J., Obodynski K. (2006), *The samurai way – recreation with classical white weapon* [in:] Z. Borysiuk [ed.], *Movement and Health. 5th International Conference Proceedings, Głuchołazy, 17-18 November 2006*, Opole University of Technology, Opole, pp. 263-268.
20. Cynarski W.J., Skowron J. (2014), *An analysis of the conceptual language used for the general theory of martial arts – Japanese, Polish and English terminology,* "Ido Movement for Culture. Journal of Martial Arts Anthropology", vol. 14, no. 3, pp. 49-66; doi: 10.14589/ido.14.3.7.
21. Cynarski W.J., Sieber L., Litwiniuk A. (2005), *Perception, understanding and adaptation of Asian martial arts in the West: A sociological analysis*, "Archives of Budo", no. 1, pp. 13-18.
22. Cynarski W.J., Yu J.H., Warchol K., Bartik P. (2015), *Martial arts in psycho-physical culture,* "Ido Movement for Culture. Journal of Martial Arts Anthropology", vol. 15, no. 4, pp. 33-38; doi: 10.14589/ido.15.4.5.
23. Delamont S., Stephens N., Campos C. (2017), *Embodying Brazil: An Ethnography of Diasporic Capoeira*. London: Routledge.
24. Downey G. (2005), *Learning Capoeira: Lessons in Cunning from an Afro-Brazilian Martial Art*, Oxford University Press, Oxford.
25. Eichberg H. (1998), *Body Cultures: Essays on Sport, Space and Identity*, Routledge, London.
26. Farrer D.S. (2009), *Shadows of the Prophet: Martial Arts and Sufi Mysticism*, Springer, London.
27. Farrer D.S., Whalen-Bridge J. [eds.] (2011), *Martial Arts as Embodied Knowledge: Asian Traditions in a Transnational* World, SUNY Press, Albany, NY.
28. Frank A.D. (2006), *Taijiquan and the Search for the Little Old Chinese Man: Understanding Identity through Martial Arts*, Palgrave Macmillan, Basingstoke.
29. Golka M. (2008), *Sociology of Culture*, WN Scholar, Warsaw [in Polish].
30. Goto-Jones C. (2016), *The Virtual Ninja Manifesto: Fighting Games, Martial Arts and Gamic Orientalism*, Rowman & Littlefield, London.
31. Green T., Svinth J. [eds.] (2003), *Martial Arts in the Modern World*, Praeger, Westport, CT.
32. Henriquez V.V. (2016), *Bujinkan Budo Taijitsu and mediated learning experience*, "Arrancada", vol. 16(29), pp. 129-139.
33. Jennings G. (2018a), *Messy ethnographic types and shifting researcher positioning: Reflections from a study of a Mexican martial art* [in:] A. Plows [ed.], *Messy Ethnographies*, Vernon Press, Wilmington, DE, pp. 41-50.
34. Jennings G. (2018b), *From the calendar to the flesh: Movement, space and identity in a Mexican body culture*, "Societies", vol. 8, no. 3, pp. 66-87; doi: https://doi.org/10.3390/soc8030066.
35. Jennings G. (2017), *Seeking identity through the martial arts: The case of Mexicanidad* [in:] chinesemartialstudies (Kung Fu Tea), https://chinesemartialstudies.com/2017/08/14/seeking-identity-through-the-martial-arts-the-case-of-mexicanidad/ (accessed: 14 October 2017).
36. Jennings G. (2016), *Ancient wisdom, modern warriors: The (re)invention of a warrior tradition in Xilam*, "Martial Arts Studies", no. 2, pp. 59-70.
37. Jennings G. (2015), *Mexican female warriors: The case of maestra Marisela Ugalde, founder of Xilam* [in:] A. Channon, C. Matthews [eds.], *Women Warriors: International Perspectives on Women in Combat Sports*, Palgrave MacMillan, London, pp. 119-134.
38. Juster J.C. (2009), *Okinawa is identity seen through the body in combative elements dance*, "Archiv Orientali", vol. 77, no. 3, pp. 233-253.
39. Krawczyk Z. [ed.] (1995), *Sociology of Physical Culture*, AWF, Warsaw [in Polish].
40. Leon Portilla M. (1990), *Aztec Thought and Culture*, University of Oklahoma, Norman, OK.
41. Maffie J. (2014), *Aztec Philosophy: Understanding a World in Motion*, University of Colorado Press, Boulder.
42. Marsden R. (2015), *Polish Saber. The Use of the Polish Saber on Foot in the 17th Century*, Tyrant Industries, USA.
43. Misztal B. (2000), *Sociological Theory and Social Practice*, Universitas, Krakow [in Polish].
44. Mitropolitski S. (2017), *After the Soviet Empire: Legacies and Pathways, "International Sociology", vol. 32, no. 2, pp. 228-231.*
45. Mor-Stabilini S. (2016), *The Ancient Art of the Japanese Sword. The Ancient School of Tenshin Shoden Katori Shinto Ryū along the Historical, Cultural and Spiritual Path*, Jitakyoei Budo, Bergamo.
46. Nagy S.R. (2015), *Japanese Martial Arts as popular culture:*

teaching opportunity and challenge, "Asian Studies – Azijske Studije", vol. 3, no. 1, pp. 83-102.
47. Owton H. (2015), *Reinventing the body-self: Intense, gendered and heightened sensorial experience in women's boxing embodiment* [in:] A. Channon, C. Matthews [eds.], *Global Perspectives on Women in Combat Sports: Women Warriors around the World* Palgrave Macmillan, Basingstoke, pp. 221-236.
48. Otake R. (2007), *Katori Shinto-Ryu. Warrior Tradition*, Koryu Books, Berkeley Heights – New Jersey.
49. Paz O. (2004 [1981]), *El Laberinto de la Soledad. Postdata. Vuelta a "El Laberinto de la Soledad"*, Fondo de Cultura Economica, Mexico City.
50. Paz O. (2000), *How and why I wrote the Labyrinth of Solitude: An Elucidation*, "Hopscotch: A Cultural Review", vol. 2, no. 1, pp. 60-71.
51. Piepiora P.A., Szmajke A., Migasiewicz J., Witkowski K. (2016), *The Karate culture and aggressiveness in Kumite competitors*, "Ido Movement for Culture. Journal of Martial Arts Anthropology", vol. 16, no. 2, pp. 41–44.
52. Poder Xilam, https://www.xilam.org/poder-xilam (accessed: 14 October 2018).
53. Rokeach M. (1973), *The Nature of Human* Values, The Free Press, New York.
54. Rostas S. (2002), *'Mexicanidad': The resurgence of the Indian in popular Mexican nationalism*, "Cambridge Journal of Anthropology", vol. 23, no. 1, pp. 20-38.
55. Ryan M. (2016), *Venezuelan Stick Fighting: The Civilizing Process in Martial Arts*, Rowman & Littlefield, London.
56. Sanchez Garcia R., Malcolm D. (2010), *Decivilizing, civilizing or informalizing? The international development of Mixed Martial Arts*, "International Review for the Sociology of Sport", vol. 45, no. 1, pp. 39-58.
57. Sanchez Garcia R., Spencer D. [eds.] (2013), *Fighting Scholars: Habitus and Ethnographies of Martial Arts and Combat Sports*, Anthem Press, London.
58. Sasaki T. (2009), *Budo (the martial arts) as Japanese culture: the outlook on the techniques and the outlook on the human being* [in:] W.J. Cynarski [ed.], *Martial Arts and Combat Sports – Humanistic Outlook*, Rzeszow University Press, Rzeszow, pp. 12-19.
59. Sawicki Z (2011), *Polish Martial Art – Signum Polonicum: Historical background, profile and the main plots of the system,* "Ido Movement for Culture. Journal of Martial Arts Anthropology", vol. 11, no. 2, pp. 38-46.
60. Sieber L., Grzywacz R. (2015), *Jubilee of Shibu Kobudo in Poland 1995–2015*, "Ido Movement for Culture. Journal of Martial Arts Anthropology", vol. 15, no. 4, pp. 13–25.
61. Sorokin P. (2015), *'Global sociology' in different disciplinary practices: Current conditions, problems and perspectives*, "Current Sociology", vol. 64, no. 1, pp. 41-59.
62. Spencer D. (2012), *Ultimate Fighting and Embodiment: Violence, Gender and Mixed Martial Arts*, Routledge, London.
63. Sugino Y., Ito K. (2010), *Tenshin Shoden Katori Shinto Ryu Budo Kyohan*, (trans. Ulf Rott) Demond GmbH, Norderstedt [in German].
64. Theeboom M., de Knop P., Wylleman P. (2008), *Martial arts and socially vulnerable youth. An analysis of Flemish initiatives*, "Sport, Education and Society", vol. 13, no. 3, pp. 301-318.
65. Tokarski S. (1989), *Sztuki walki. Ruchowe formy ekspresji filozofii Wschodu*, Glob, Szczecin [in Polish].
66. Tokarski S. (2006), *Budo in transition – the challenge of combat sports in the third millennium*, "Archives of Budo:, no. 2, pp. 35-39.
67. Vasconcelos J. (1925), *La Raza Cosmica: Mision de la Raza Iberoamericana* [The Cosmic Race: Mission of the Iberoamerican Race], Trillas, Mexico City.
68. Villamon M., Brown D., Espartero J., Gutierrez C. (2004), *Reflexive modernization and the disembedding of Jūdo from 1946 to the 2000 Sydney Olympics*, "International Review for the Sociology of Sport", vol. 39, no. 2, pp. 139-156.
69. Wacquant J.L.D. (2004), *Body and Soul: Notebooks of an Apprentice Boxer*, Oxford University Press, Oxford.
70. Weztler S. (2015), *Martial arts as Kulturwissenschaft: A possible theoretical framework*, "Martial Arts Studies", vol. 1, pp. 20-33.
71. Williams M., Sloan L., Brookfield C. (2017), *A Tale of Two Sociologies: Analyzing Versus Critique in UK Sociology*, "Sociological Research Online", vol. 22, no. 4, pp. 132-151.
72. Xilam official website: www.xilam.org (accessed: 14 October 2018).
73. Young K. [ed.] (2016), *Sociology of Sport: A Global Subdiscipline in Review*, Emerald, Bingley.
74. Zienowicz A., Parzelski D., Budnik-Przybylska D. (2015), *The attitude of the coach to the philosophy of karate and his system of values and attitudes and value systems of its students*, "Journal of Education, Health and Sport", vol. 5, no. 9, pp. 149-169.
75. Znaniecki F. (1934), *The Method of Sociology*, Farrar & Rinehart, New York.
76. Znaniecki F. (1952), *Cultural Sciences: Their Origin and Development*, University of Illinois, Champaign, IL.

Sztuki walki w czasach postkolonialnych: lokalne teorie w lokalnych kontekstach

Słowa kluczowe: socjologia globalna, sztuki walki, Meksyk, Polska, teoria postkolonialna

Abstrakt

Tło. Dotychczas organizacja społeczna i praktyka światowych systemów walki była rozumiana poprzez ustalone i popularne trendy w teorii socjologicznej, rozwiniętej głównie w Europie Zachodniej i Ameryce Północnej.

Problem i cel. W pewnych przypadkach badacze mogą zwrócić się do teorii lokalnych dotyczących danej kultury, aby zrozumieć jej mieszkańców, tak jak oni je rozumieją, ponieważ owe teorie są pisane głównie dla i przez nich, w ich własnym języku.

Metoda. Autorzy wykorzystali lokalną teorię w analizie dwóch stowarzyszeń sztuk walki, które skupiają się na kultywowaniu

narodowych tożsamości wojowników. Opierając się na wieloletnich studiach przypadków japońskich instytucji *Budo* w Polsce i *Xilam* w rodzimym Meksyku, pokazują, w jaki sposób lokalne teorie społeczne mogą pomóc w zrozumieniu poczucia przynależności, ucieleśnienia, tożsamości i nacjonalizmu w czasach postkolonialnych.

Wyniki. Lokalna tożsamość wojownika została zidentyfikowana zarówno w polskich organizacjach *Budo*, jak i meksykańskich organizacjach sztuk walki *Xilam*. Lokalne teorie społeczne pozwoliły autorom na zbadanie tych tożsamości w zakresie kształtowania tożsamości postkolonialnej w odniesieniu do omawianych narodów.

Wnioski. Badacze sztuk walki powinni wykorzystywać lokalne teorie oraz bardziej popularny kanon nauk społecznych. Teorie lokalne umożliwiają szczegółowe poznanie historii, kultury i polityki kraju, w którym sztuka walki została rozwinięta lub jest uprawiana i przekazywana.