



Chapter 17

Thinking Differently about the Teaching of Judo in Japan¹


David Matsumoto
San Francisco State University

Introduction

Japan today faces many social issues brought about by a gap between the psychological reality of the Japanese people and the stereotypic conceptualizations of culture and its associated social structures and systems within which they must live. What is the role of judo in addressing these social issues? While Japan is clearly the strongest country in the world in competitive sport judo, it may be the case that much of the educational aspects of judo, especially with regard to intellectual, moral, and physical development, are lacking. Numerous indices, including the declining numbers of people doing judo, and its popularity and image among the general public suggest that we need to re-examine the underlying philosophy and goals of judo practice and search for new teaching methodologies if we are to deliver the educational benefits of judo to a wider portion of the population. The goal of this chapter is to stimulate thinking about these issues.

Below I will first discuss the creation and development of judo and the social and cultural context within which it occurred. I will then discuss contemporary Japanese culture and psychology, contrasting it with stereotypic conceptualizations of a consensual Japanese culture. Using this as a platform we will identify a gap that exists between individual psychological realities and the social and cultural systems within which people live, and use this gap to explain a number of social problems that Japan faces today. We will then entertain new ways of thinking about judo practice and teaching methodologies that will allow us to close that gap, and hopefully address those social problems.

Martial Arts Across Japanese History

 know how judo came to be in Japan is to understand the history of Japan and the role of the martial arts in that history. From its earliest recorded history in the *Nihon shoki*, or the Chronicle of Japan (720 AD), and for hundreds of years before, Japan was ruled by emperors thought to have descended from the gods. Imperial rule lasted for centuries until the end of the Fujiwara period and the beginning of the Kamakura period (1185), when





military leaders gained control and the country was ruled by a supreme commander known as the shogun, and his administration the *bakufu*, or “tent government”.

The sixteenth century was known as the Warring States period (*Sengoku jidai*) in Japan because no identified *daimyō* ruled supreme, and the various *han* (domains) continuously fought each other for approximately one century to wrestle for the seat of ultimate power. Toward the end of the sixteenth century, three great leaders began a process of unification through military power and conquests – Oda Nobunaga, Toyotomi Hideyoshi, and finally Tokugawa Ieyasu. Ieyasu was the one who finally gained control of the country over all other *han*. He subsequently moved the capital from Kyoto to Edo and ushered Japan into a period of two-and-a-half centuries of continued peace.

Until Ieyasu, fighting was a way of life for the *bushi*, and consequently the fighting arts held great importance. Warriors used bows and arrows for long distance attacks, and used swords spears in close combat. When they lost their weapons they had to use their bare hands. The fighting arts using bare hands were developed into systems of attack and defence and were known by a number of names such as *yawara*, *taijutsu*, *torite*, or *kumiuchi*. Ultimately they came to be known as *jūjutsu*, or literally, the techniques of *yawara* or “gentleness”.

Different clans and *jūjutsu* masters developed different styles of *jūjutsu*. One of the earliest and most prominent styles of *jūjutsu* was known as the Takenouchi-ryū, founded in 1532. Other schools developed, including the Kito-ryū, Tenshin Shin'yō-ryū, Sekiguchi-ryū, and the Kyushin-ryū. The main differences among the various schools of *jūjutsu* were based on the particular styles and specialization of specific techniques by their founders.

The *jūjutsu* that was practiced during the centuries of military rule in Japan until Ieyasu was a combination of techniques that, when actually applied, resulted in death or maiming. They were actually used in battle, and one's prowess in the fighting arts meant life or death for oneself, and survival or destruction of one's *han* or *ie*. The philosophy or way of the warrior during this period of Japanese history was one that centred on the importance of honourable death, as espoused in the *Hagakure* by Yamamoto Tsunetomo.

Evolution of Martial Arts During the Tokugawa Period

Among the many rules established by the Tokugawa shogunate was that the leaders from each of the *han* were required to travel to and spend a substantial portion of their time (and money) in Edo. The *daimyō*, their retainers, and family members essentially served as political hostages, depriving them of the means to attack Ieyasu or his allies, thereby ensuring shogunate control and continued peace. Ieyasu also closed the country off from outside influence, banning foreigners and foreign products from coming into the country, and Japanese from leaving. Thus, Japan was sealed off from the rest of the world for over 250 years.

The practice and meaning of martial arts and *jūjutsu* evolved during the two-and-a-half centuries of Tokugawa rule. For the first few generations after the Tokugawa took control, warriors continued their practice of *jūjutsu* with the full intent and understanding that their techniques might possibly be used in the battlefields once again. Indeed, during that time there were a number of battles and rebellions that had to be dealt with, such as the siege of





Osaka Castle in 1614-1615 and the Shimabara Rebellion in 1637-1638. So the martial arts in general, and *jūjutsu* in particular continued to be practiced with much the same intent and fervour as during the previous century.

As peace flourished, over time the practice and meaning of the fighting arts changed. People came to question the validity of the arts and their purpose in society. If there were no wars, what was the point of learning how to fight? Many of the techniques and practice methods of *jūjutsu* came to be stylized rather than to maintain combat readiness and effectiveness.

During this transformation, warriors struggled to find meaning in their practice of the arts. Thus, over time they came to add the study of literature, calligraphy, poetry, and other cultural arts to their repertoire. Of special importance were activities such as the practice of the tea ceremony, which actually had its first elevation in status by Toyotomi Hideyoshi's favoured treatment of noted tea ceremonial master Sen no Rikyū. The year 1804, in fact, saw the beginning of the *Bunka jidai* (Culture era). Warriors, therefore, were supposed to become not only accomplished in the military arts, but also be learned scholars and cultural artisans in many respects.

Meiji Restoration and the Overthrow of the Shogunate

In the nineteenth century, the Japanese public came to increasingly question the ways of the military leadership. After over two-hundred years of lasting peace, people saw little benefit in the continued practice of the fighting arts. Over time, the practice of *jūjutsu* and other martial arts even came to be looked upon with disfavour. Martial artists and warriors in general, who were the only people allowed to wear their swords in public, contributed to these images as they engaged in challenge matches so as to seemingly protect their honour.

The Japanese public came to question many of the rules and laws that had been passed down by the warrior government. In particular, the rights and privileges afforded to the warrior class as the top echelon of society were questioned, especially in times of continued peace when the need for such class distinctions was no longer apparent.

Pressure was also applied from the outside as well, from countries who wanted Japan to open its ports for trade and exchange. These social and political movements came to a head in 1853 when Commodore Perry brought his gunships into Tokyo bay and demanded that he be able to dock his ships and open the country to others. While this was not what started the demise of the Tokugawa shogunate, it acted as a catalyst, as once the country was opened to the outside world, it led to the realization that Japan was vulnerable, and the status quo was no longer acceptable. These developments, along with the contributions of extraordinary individuals such as Saigō Takamori of Satsuma, Sakamoto Ryōma of Tosa, Ito Hirobumi of Chōshū, and Katsu Kaishū from the *bakufu*, brought about a change in the leadership of Japan restoring power to the emperor (hence, the Meiji Restoration).

Among the many laws that were instituted during the Meiji period (1868-1912) were those that eliminated the distinctions, rights, and privileges of the warrior class. For example, in 1871 a decree abolishing the wearing of swords (*haijōrei*) was instituted, and warriors were



no longer able to adorn themselves with their weapons. Even though the weapon had probably never been used, it was still considered a symbol of a higher, privileged warrior class, but the warriors were unceremoniously stripped of their status, symbolically, and in reality.

Thus, the Meiji period was a tumultuous time for martial artists, who essentially saw their entire way of life slip away from them. Martial arts, and the Ways of the warrior that had been held in such high esteem for centuries, became associated with an archaic relic of the past. Traditional warrior culture gave way to modern diplomacy, politics, internationalization, and education.

Kanō Jigoro and the Birth of Judo- The Early Years

It was during this tumultuous period of Japanese history that Kanō Jigorō began his career. The history of judo is the history of the shift from a classical martial art to a modern sport and can be understood within the social, historical, and political context of Japan. It is as much the story of Kanō, who devoted himself to the education of the youth of his country, blending traditions and modernity, using individual prowess for collective benefits.

The beginnings of judo are closely related to Kanō's life and personality. He was born on 28 October 1860, in what was then the little village of Mikage (more precisely, Settsukoku, Ubaragun, Mikagemura, Hamahigashi, which is currently Kobe city, Nada East district, Mikage-cho). Kanō's birthplace was well known for *sake* brewing and some members of the Kanō family were wealthy sake brewers. Today the brand name of the company *Kiku Masamune* is very widely known.

Very early in Kanō's rigorous education, Western influences were added to Eastern traditions and teachings. One of his grandfathers was a well-known poet and scholar of Chinese classics. During the 1860s, Kanō's father was a high-ranking official working for the government. A born organizer with a strong sense of social responsibility, he contributed to the modernization of Japan along western lines, opening Hyogo harbour to foreign trade and inviting Western ships with open arms. Young Kanō, in whom the same progressive qualities were to be found later in life, was obviously influenced by his father's spirit of enterprise.

In 1870, soon after the death of his mother, his father decided to move to Tokyo. It was a time of great cultural and social ferment in Japan from which Kanō obviously benefited. In Tokyo he was sent to another Confucian school to continue his education. At the same time he was sent for English lessons to Mitsukuri Shūhei, a renowned scholar who belonged to a group of influential thinkers dedicated to educational reforms. In his early teens, Kanō developed a strong taste for math and showed a particular affinity for languages. Actually, throughout his life he demonstrated exceptional language ability. While studying *jūjutsu* he would write his notes in English, probably to secure the confidentiality of his research at a time of intense rivalry among *jūjutsu* schools. In his old age, he also kept his diaries in English.

As a boy, Kanō was frail but quick-tempered. Being extremely gifted, he studied with boys who were older and bigger, and he soon understood the need to find a way to defend himself. At the age of fourteen he entered the Foreign Languages School, which was part



of the Kaisei Gakkō. There, Kanō was one of the first Japanese to play baseball, introduced one year before by two American teachers. He loved the spirit of the sport, a new concept in Meiji Japan, and certainly found some inspiration in it later on. In 1877, he entered Tokyo Teikoku (Imperial) University, currently Tokyo University. Many among the teachers and students he met there were to become leading figures in Meiji society. Because he paled in physical size compared to his peers, he decided to learn more about the art which enabled the weak to overcome the strong. However, it was very difficult to find anyone who knew how to teach *jūjutsu*. The Kōbusho, the *bakufu* military academy where *bushi* had been taught *jūjutsu* was already defunct as a result of the Restoration. Besides, as *jūjutsu* was a composite of different systems, this fragmentation had proved somewhat detrimental to its continued existence.

After months of patient research, he finally managed to find a former Kōbusho *jūjutsu* instructor, Fukuda Hachinosuke (the grandfather of Fukuda Keiko, who has lived in the U.S. since 1966 teaching and promulgating the techniques and way of judo- her first visit to the U.S. was in 1953). Hachinosuke became his first *jūjutsu* teacher, reluctantly accepted by his father who saw no future in this old tradition. Two years later, when General Ulysses Grant came to Japan, Kanō knew enough to take part in a *jūjutsu* demonstration, and he eventually took over Fukuda's school when he died in 1877. He kept on studying with Fukuda's teacher, Iso Masamoto, but his interest for academic subjects (philosophy, political science, economics) never flagged.

In 1881, he began to study the *jūjutsu* of the Kitō school with another Kōbusho teacher, Iikubo Tsunetoshi, who replaced Iso after his death, paying particular attention to the perceived spiritual side of *jūjutsu*. This time, the stress was put on the spiritual side of the art. Iikubo was an expert at throws, and he gave less importance to *kata* training. However the tradition's main *kata* (originally performed with armour), the *koshiki no kata* was maintained, and proved to be one of Kanō's favourites; he performed it before the Emperor in 1929. The Kitō school is also where the name "judo" was coined by Kanō, who deliberately chose it to underline the "moral" side of his system.

Birth of Kōdōkan Judo

1882 was a landmark year for Kanō. He was appointed lecturer in politics and economics at Gakushūin (then a private school for the nobility) where he was to teach for some years and then serve as a director. He also started a private school, the Kanō Juku, and an English language school. Kanō Juku was a preparatory school whose main goal was to nurture the character of the students who studied there. However, this year is said to be when he formally opened his judo academy, the Kōdōkan, in a space rented from a small Buddhist monastery in Tokyo. The number of his students swelled rapidly, coming from all over Japan. Many left old *jūjutsu* masters to train with Kanō. Kanō's method was adopted by the police and the navy, introduced to schools and universities and even spread overseas. What came to be known as Kōdōkan judo was a synthesis of several schools of *jūjutsu* to which he added ideas taken from interviews, readings, and forgotten techniques. In 1889, after his first



trip overseas, during which he inspected educational facilities in Europe, he got married eventually having eight children.

Kanō was an exceptional and brilliant educator. He occupied several positions as headmaster of various schools including the Tokyo Teachers Training college. He was considered a most articulate spokesman in educational matters. Kanō's genius essentially lies in the fact that he saw judo as closely linked with education and adapted it accordingly. He saw and developed the guiding principle behind *jūjutsu* where others had just seen a collection of techniques. The ultimate goal was to make the most efficient use of mental and physical energy. Each combination of movements represented a set of ideas. He rejected techniques that clashed with his conception of life. He paid attention to every single aspect of judo and to its potentialities. Judo etiquette and the aesthetic side of judo, was as much part of this mental and physical discipline as the methods of defence and attack. Judo was, from the start, a sport because of its competitive nature, and a way of life in the founder's mind. The teaching of judo became a means of fighting lethargy, negative frames of mind, and anger. Contests in judo and the lessons derived from them had to be used as mirrors of the social scene.

The principles of judo worked inside and outside the dojo, in the workplace, the school, the political world, everywhere. The forces that were to cause the international success of this discipline were already at work in the early days of his teachings. In 1919 in Tokyo, Kanō met John Dewey, the founder of the American educational system who was then a guest lecturer at the Tokyo Imperial University. They exchanged views on education and various parallels could be drawn from their philosophical concepts. One Sunday morning, Kanō took Dewey to the Kōdōkan to show him how his ideas could be illustrated on the mat. Dewey was fascinated. He admired the way the laws of mechanics were blended with old practices, and added to Zen teachings. He immediately saw the importance of Kanō's teachings : "It is much better than most of our inside formal gymnastics. The mental element is much stronger...A study ought to be made here".

Kanō Method

Kanō's method derived from old-style *jūjutsu* techniques, but differed greatly from the methods of the past. Excluding all dangerous *jūjutsu waza* (techniques), Kanō encouraged practitioners to grapple with one another. Through learning techniques to subdue the opponent with safe but effective techniques and break falls, striving for victory now became a means of character building. But this method differed to anything in the past mainly because it referred to modern science and rationalistic theories. Turning his back to the traditional ways of teaching, Kanō preferred to explain judo techniques scientifically, always studying attitudes, analyzing forces at play such as problems of equilibrium and centre of gravity, and so on. In 1895, in order to facilitate the learning process, throwing techniques were classified into five sets (*go kyō no waza*).

Kanō borrowed heavily from a long tradition of thought in which mostly Confucian and Buddhist elements merged with Taoism and Shinto. A neo-Confucian philosopher of the sixteenth century already claimed that "knowing" implied "doing". This heritage was





common to Kanō and his contemporaries who equally drew from contemporary national and Western studies on education. Kanō's strategy in the field of education was three-pronged: the acquisition of knowledge, the teaching of morality, and the training of one's body by physical education. The *san iku shugi*, or "principle of the three educations" was a popular theory at the time, certainly adapted from Herbert Spencer, one of the most discussed Victorian thinkers, and others.

As an educator, Kanō advocated the "three culture principle". He made this point clear when he wrote: "a healthy body is a condition not only necessary for existence but as a foundation for mental and spiritual activities." He insisted on the purpose of physical exercises: "no matter how healthy a person may be if he does not profit society his existence is vain". *Taiiku*, physical education, was an important factor of Kōdōkan judo. In the Kōdōkan magazines, *Kokushi* (1888-1903) and *Jūdō* (1915 to the present), articles about physical education were numerous. Kanō saw the training of physical education instructors as essential. When he was in charge of the Teachers Training College, he established a physical education department with a wide range of sports.

Kanō designed judo as a way to develop harmoniously the intellectual, moral and physical aspects of the education of young people. He repeatedly showed how the efficient use of one's mind and body was the key to self-fulfilment. But he added to this the Confucian concept of social obligation and consequently helping others to learn or teach was part of the process. Kanō's principles were summed up in the two mottoes launched by the Kōdōkan Cultural society founded in 1922: *Seiryoku zenyō* and *jita kyōei*, one must make good use of spirit and physical strength for the common good and to reach self-realization.

Spread of Judo in Japan and Around the World

After Kanō created judo in 1882, the story of its spread in Japan and around the world is well known. Part of the reason was Kanō's brilliant transformation of *jūjutsu* into judo as a response to social and cultural changes in Meiji Japan. As discussed above Kanō was not satisfied with the status quo. He was a learned scholar in a number of fields and heavily influenced by thinkers in the West. The accumulation of his experiences led him to change the techniques of *jūjutsu* into judo and modify the goals of judo practice.

One particular aspect of his method that led to the widespread acceptance and practice of judo was undoubtedly his teaching methodologies. Of course Kanō spent much time thinking about the rational basis for judo techniques, and used these bases to explain judo techniques in ways that had never been explained before. But beyond the teaching of *waza*, Kanō's teaching methodology included extended discussions with his students of daily, social, cultural, and worldly affairs. He gave advice and guidance on lifestyle and living. He exposed his students to other martial arts, especially through his connections with masters in karate and aikido, and also to other cultural activities and world affairs. Kanō's methods were not just simply about practicing judo and training to get strong to win in competition; they were varied because they were centred on the three educational principles of judo: intellectual, moral, and physical education.



These methodologies were at the cutting edge of revitalizing and utilizing martial arts in education during the Meiji period. Kanō's unique approach was not only one of the reasons for the spread of judo in Japan; it was undoubtedly one of the major reasons for judo's spread around the world. The timing was also perfect, as the world became increasingly interested in the culture of Japan because of its victory in the Russo-Japanese War at the beginning of the twentieth century. After that war Japanese cultural exports became well known around the world, and one of those exports was judo.

Japan Today – A New Japan Cultural and Psychological Suppositions

The culture and especially the psychological composition of the Japanese people have long been objects of study by scholars and laypersons alike, both Japanese and non-Japanese. For instance in the book by the English-educated, Irish-Greek writer Lafcadio Hearn, *Glimpses of Unfamiliar Japan*, Hearn saw the Japanese as a humble, persevering people who, in the face of danger, threat, grief, and other disheartening emotions, manage to maintain a sense of dignity about themselves as they smile. He also saw the Japanese as people who had instituted politeness as a social rule – who brought mannerisms and etiquette in social interaction to its highest standard. (A little known fact is that in 1891, on his return from Europe, Kanō was appointed principal of the college at Kumamoto, where he asked Hearn to join the faculty as a lecturer in English literature. While there, Hearn began a study of judo.)

These images of the Japanese people and culture were promulgated by the Japanese themselves. Nitobe Inazo's 1900 book *Bushido: The Soul of Japan*, gained notoriety after the Russo-Japanese war as people all around the world struggled to find ways to explain why the Japanese were victorious over Russia. In his book, Nitobe tried to demystify the Japanese character using the concepts of the feudal warrior or *bushi*. According to Nitobe, a sense of chivalry, which he referred to as *bushidō*, permeates the Japanese character:

“Chivalry is a flower no less indigenous to the soil of Japan than its emblem, the cherry blossom; nor is it a dried up specimen of an antique virtue preserved in the herbarium of our history. It is still a loving object of power and beauty among us; and if it assumes no tangible shape or form, it not the less scents the moral atmosphere, and makes us aware that we are still under its potent smell. The conditions of society which brought it forth and nourished it have long disappeared; but as those far-off stars which once were and are not, still continue to shed their rays upon us, so the light of chivalry, which was a child of feudalism, still illuminates our moral path, surviving its mother institution.”

The *bushidō* that permeated the Japanese character was composed of a set of core values that included rectitude or justice, courage, benevolence, politeness, veracity and sincerity, honour, loyalty, and self-control. Stoicism was a major part of *bushidō*, as were the concepts of *giri* and *on* (two different types of obligations). Training and education in the *bushidō* way was based on the three major principles of wisdom, benevolence, and courage.



Over the years, the writings of many other scholars from other fields reinforced these images of Japanese culture. Ruth Benedict's *Chrysanthemum and the Sword*, in which she cast the Japanese culture as a group-oriented "shame culture" became one of the most widely read books in cultural anthropology. Nakane Chie's work characterizing Japanese culture as a vertical society did the same. Reprints of works by Nakane and Hearn even in the 1990s repeated these characterizations.

Thus the concepts of perseverance, chivalry, self-sacrifice, honour, and loyalty came to be considered as some of the core concepts of the Japanese personality. These concepts of Japanese culture are reinforced today by media, television, movies, and by Japanese laypersons as well. For all intents and purposes they have become stereotypes of Japanese culture and psychology.

Japanese Culture and Psychology Today

While there is a great consensus among Japanese and non-Japanese about the psychological composition of Japanese culture, recent studies in cross-cultural psychology, as well as studies conducted by the Japanese government and news agencies in Japan, raise questions about their validity now. In my recent book, *The New Japan*, I discussed how seven cultural stereotypes are simply not supported by the available scientific evidence. These seven stereotypes include concepts about Japanese group-orientation (collectivism), self-concepts, interpersonal awareness and consciousness, emotionality, work ethics, organizational human resource practices, and marriage. The studies were conducted by Japanese and non-Japanese researchers, have involved a variety of research methodologies, and have included samples from diverse areas of Japan. Collectively they paint a picture that suggests that the culture and psychology of contemporary Japan do not conform to the stereotypes described above.

A number of new studies that have appeared since also support this conclusion. For example Oyserman and her colleagues recently conducted a meta-analysis of fifty studies comparing European Americans with people from other nations, including Japan and other ethnic groups in the U.S.² Their comparisons with the Japanese indicated that, contrary to the stereotype about Japanese culture, Americans were significantly higher on collectivism (group-orientation) than were the Japanese. Most recently Shuper and his colleagues administered Hofstede's Individualism-collectivism scale³ to samples of Canadian and Japanese university students and found no cultural differences in their levels on this variable.⁴ This study is significant because it utilized the exact same scale that Hofstede had used over thirty years prior on which differences did exist.⁵

The study of personality traits across cultures also offers some perspective on this issue. McCrae and his colleagues have developed a way to measure the five personality traits that have been empirically shown to be universal in all cultures and languages tested.⁶ Most recently they have aggregated their data across thirty six countries, including Japan, and placed the countries on a two-dimensional space that statistically represent the five personality dimensions.⁷ In doing so he obtained a visual map of the countries in terms of their personality characteristics. What was surprising was that the Japanese personality was closer to Spain,



Russia, Portugal, and Belgium than it was to other countries of East Asia.

The study of values also offers data on contemporary Japanese psychology. Schwartz and his colleagues have measured values in samples of school teachers and college students in sixty seven nations around the world.⁸ Like McCrae and colleagues, Schwartz has transformed his data to create visual maps of the countries in terms of their similarities and differences in values. On this map Japan is most similar to Israel; other countries such as the U.S., Brazil, Australia, and Croatia are also relatively close in space to Japan.

Why should the psychological reality of the Japanese be so different than its consensual, stereotypic culture? There are probably many contributing factors. Japan has seen major social and cultural changes since the beginning of judo at the end of the nineteenth century. Arguably the biggest event to occur from then until now was World War II. The changes instituted by the American occupation forces, including changes in the educational system and the removal of the spiritual powers of the emperor may be factors that have brought about the changes we witness today. Moreover, American occupation forces and a cultural elite of Japan may have worked to promulgate the consensual, stereotypic view of Japanese culture. This may not be entirely unheard of. For instance, despite the stereotypic notion of the concept of *iemoto* being centuries old, it itself is a relatively new one, created in the late nineteenth century by the government in order to stimulate land ownership.

Whatever the causes and contributing factors to a changing or different Japanese culture, what is true is that the psychology of the Japanese people is quite different today than in the past. It may be different than when Kanō created judo, but it is most definitely different than the culture and psychology that characterized post-war Japan.

A New Japan and Old Teaching Methodologies

Differences between the consensual, stereotypic characterizations of Japanese culture and the reality of the psychology of Japanese people today bring with them a host of implications and consequences. Research from my laboratory as well as those of others has shown that gaps between individual perceptions of self from ideals leads to negative consequences. This gap exists because despite real changes in the individual psychologies of the Japanese people as whole, they must still live and contend with a consensual concept of culture and social systems and structures (in the educational system, in business organizations, etc.) that do not match their reality. For example cultural discrepancies between individual psychology and ecological level culture have been predictive of both higher levels of anxiety and depression. Depression, in turn, leads to decreased levels of mental health while anxiety leads to increased levels of physical health problems.⁹

This gap analysis can be conducted on the socio-cultural level and applied to Japan today. The gap between consensual culture and psychological reality in Japan is probably at least one of the reasons for the repeated findings of pessimistic attitudes and pervasive anxiety that are typically found in surveys of the Japanese.¹⁰ This gap probably also contributes to changes in physical and mental health in Japan, increases in certain types of crime, problems in the educational system including dropout and bullying, and the proliferation of a pervasive



underground culture. These differences also bring about changes in various strata of society, including businesses, the educational system, and home life. For example, a recent Japanese Institute of Labour Administration survey indicated that in 1995, 34% of companies with more than 3,000 employees instituted policies to stop calling each other by title and position, and instead by name + *san*. In 2001, that number reached 59%.

This gap analysis can be applied to the case of judo as well. I believe that there is a gap today between how judo practices are conducted and the psychology of the judo students who participate. Judo practices today are essentially unchanged over the last fifty years since the end of World War II. After the war, judo was first banned but then reinstated by the American occupation forces as a sport, especially within the educational system. The internationalization of judo, with the founding of the International Judo Federation and the creation of the World Championships in 1956, and then the Olympic Games in 1964, helped to foster the view of judo as a sport. Interestingly, however, this almost exclusive view of judo as a sport may be peculiar to Japan. In one comparison of the values of judo teachers in the U.S., Poland, and Japan, for example, to our surprise the Japanese coaches valued individuality and achievement more than did the American or Polish coaches;¹¹ the Americans and Poles, on the other hand, valued patriotism, honour, justice, and spiritual balance more than did the Japanese, despite the fact that these are more associated with the educational values of judo.

Because of the pervasive view of judo as a sport in Japan, especially among its coaches and instructors, it is no wonder that judo practices focus on competition training rather than educational, moral, or spiritual development. While competition training in and of itself is not bad, the ways in which it is often conducted, under severe conditions of mental anguish and physical exhaustion and pain for extremely long periods of time, is clearly not commensurate with the psychology of the Japanese public today. Thus there is a gap between the philosophy underlying practices of judo as a whole and the individual psychologies of the masses of people to which it could appeal. As a result judo loses its ability to influence intellectual or moral development. These notions have recently been confirmed by a series of studies by my colleagues and me using the Intercultural Adjustment Potential Scale (ICAPS), which show that judo students have extremely low levels of scores related to self-control and self-discipline compared to other Japanese university student samples.¹² This gap analysis can also be used to explain the continuing decline in the numbers of people enrolling in judo classes in Japan, the drop in the number of juniors doing judo, the decline of the numbers of privately owned *machi dōjō*, and a host of other changing demographics in the judo world.

It seems that that judo in Japan, while continuing to demonstrate that it is the strongest in terms of world level competition, has lost some of its appeal among the Japanese public to deliver the educational, intellectual, and moral benefits that it originally espoused. Further I believe that this loss is the result of the ever increasing gap between the philosophy and nature of contemporary judo practices, with its emphasis on harsh brutality, and the dynamic, fluid, and ever changing realities of the psychology of the Japanese people, which is increasingly focusing on immediate gratification. For judo to deliver the benefits it espouses to the public, we need to consider ways of closing this gap. These ways will inevitably lead to considerations of new teaching methodologies.



A New Japan - The Need for New Teaching Methodologies

A new or at least different culture and psychology in Japan suggests that we consider new teaching methodologies for judo. We have been witness to the consequences of a discrepancy between old teaching methodologies and philosophies and the changing psychologies of the people for years now. For judo to be able to deliver the intellectual, moral, and physical educational benefits to a greater proportion of the people than in the immediate past, it needs to revamp its outlook in terms of underlying philosophies in order to be more appealing and more importantly more commensurate with the psychology of the greater population it wishes to serve.

In fact this is exactly what Kanō did when he created judo in the first place. As we discussed above Kanō was not content with just adopting the techniques and teaching methods of the various *jūjutsu* schools in which he was knowledgeable. He adapted those techniques and more importantly modified the teaching methodologies to make them more contemporary, modern, and progressive. In doing so he addressed a great social need at the time of great social and cultural change and upheaval in people's lives in Japan, and his adaptations were the major reason why judo gained so much popularity. If his teachings and teaching methods did not appeal to the public, and if they did not address great personal, social, and cultural concerns of the time, why would it have become so popular among so many people in so short a time? There is little other explanation.

If we can agree that we need to consider the need for new teaching methodologies of judo in order to be able to deliver the wonderful package of benefits to a larger audience of individuals, then the next question becomes how. To answer this one of the first places we need to re-examine is the teaching methods of Kanō himself. One of the issues that the Japanese people and society face today is one of identity. Clearly the new generations of the past decade or two have rejected the ways of their parents and grandparents. Many have questioned the reason they need to sacrifice so much of their time and life for their companies. Today there is much more of a focus on "me" and immediate, not delayed, gratification, and on issues of quality of life. Today the popular image of a worker is not a "salaryman" but a "*furiitaa*" who jumps from job to job making just enough to get by. Today there is much more affluence in the economy, personally, familial, and nationally. Yet the rejection of the old is not accompanied by an adoption of a new identity. While people are fairly sure they don't want to follow in their parents' footsteps, they are not as sure about what it therefore means to be Japanese, or how they wish to live their lives. These are major identity issues, and I believe that it can explain a number of social problems that Japan faces today.

And in many ways this is exactly the same social problem that Kanō faced at the turn of the nineteenth century. For that reason Kanō's original teaching methods may be very appropriate to address the personal and social concerns that face Japan today. Judo instructors may give consideration to focusing less on judo practice to win competition and more emphasis on having regular, meaningful discussions with their students about life, social issues, national and economic concerns, and world affairs. Judo instructors may give consideration



to exposing their students not only to the techniques of judo, but to the underlying history and philosophy of judo. We may expose our students to other martial arts so they can gain an appreciation of those. We may bring lecturers on topics related to sports, such as exercise physiology, sport nutrition, and the like. We may expose our students to other spiritual practices such as yoga or meditation. We can schedule regular field trips to other sporting or cultural events so that students can learn to be excellent citizens and gentlepersons of the world. All of these methods are the very same ones that Kanō himself used in the original development and promulgation of judo 120 years ago.

But we can also go beyond those original ways of Kanō. As judo is part of the educational system in Japan, we need to reconsider its role in that system. Does judo exist in that system for itself or for the sake of education? I believe that judo (and all other physical education activities for that matter) exists in the educational system primarily for the sake of enhancing the educational experiences of the students. So we need to ensure that judo student not only mature and develop their basic physical fitness; we also need to pay attention to their academic performance and social skills. Yet are we doing an adequate job? We may be doing an excellent job in developing basic physical fitness skills, but how are we doing in helping judo students develop good skills for life, especially with regard to their eating and drinking habits, or their rest and recovery? Are we ensuring that judo students are among the best academic students? I think not. Are we ensuring that our judo students have the social skills of exemplary citizens in order to transform society? Data from our studies described above and those of others suggest we have a long way to go.

So perhaps we need to place a greater emphasis on academic learning on our judo students. This can be accomplished in many ways. We can require a certain academic performance standard in order to do judo or even compete. We can have students bring instructors their grades. We can make sure they study by arranging for study halls before or after practice. We can read their papers that they write for classes and give them comments. We can put them on a pedestal and recognize their achievements, just as we recognize the achievements of judo players who win competition. There are so many ways in which these can be accomplished. Surely if we work in high schools or universities as teachers or professors, we should be able to comment on our student's academic work in an intellectual manner so that they grow in their cognitive skills and develop intellectually as well.

Research in education and educational psychology has repeatedly shown that one of the most important things students learn from their teachers is not the content of what they are taught, but the way of being of the teacher. That is, teachers are important role models for their students. If we want to improve the academic performance of our students, then we need to model that performance, motivation, and behaviour to them. We ourselves need to be the best students, continuing our own study, and we need to show our students that that is the case. The same is true for our social skills or personal habits. If we want our students to develop in their social or interpersonal skills, then we need to model for them what those skills are like in our interactions with others. If we want our students to develop good habits, like not smoking, drinking and eating in moderation, taking care of ourselves, staying physically fit, and such, then we need to do it ourselves. If we don't model the behaviour that is desired in our students, then it is highly unlikely that students will adopt those behaviours.


There are so many ways in which new teaching methodologies can be created. In my





opinion it all starts with redefining what the underlying philosophy and goal of judo practice should be, the population we want to influence, and understanding the powerful influence of our own behaviours and selves as role models. The hunt for new curricula, pedagogy, and teaching methods are all secondary, albeit an important secondary, to these realizations. The cultural shifts and social issues that Japan faces today seem to me to be important reasons why we give serious thought to these potentialities.

Conclusion

Most people I talk with agree that Japanese culture and psychology are different today than it was  the recent past, and quite different than the stereotypic notions of culture and psychology to which we are accustomed. In fact, I have questions as to whether the Japanese people have ever been like the degree to which cultural stereotypes attempt to pigeonhole them. But whether the consensual, stereotypical culture of Japan matched individual reality in the past is an open and hopefully empirical question that can be addressed by social historians.

Regardless of whether or not it was true in the past, however, we know today that the gap between individual reality and stereotypic culture exists today. And we know that contemporary judo practices for the most part are not delivering the intellectual, moral, and even physical benefits to a wide segment of the population that it could. While competitive judo in Japan surely is doing a great job, judo in the larger sense of the word may not be doing as well. For this reason we need to engage in objective discussion about why that might be and creatively and constructively develop ways of improving the situation if judo is to deliver those benefits.

In my opinion, it is exactly those educational benefits, not winning in competition, that is the light of Kōdōkan judo. It is this light that shined brightly when Kanō first lit it, and it is that light that was passed on to millions of people worldwide. This light, however, seems to have dimmed in contemporary Japan, and we need to think about lighting it again and fanning the flame.

While we all say that the ultimate goal of judo practice is the development of one's character and the improvement of society, we need to come to the realization that despite what people believe there is little inherent in the techniques of judo that produces good people. Good people are produced by teachers who are themselves good people, and who cultivate *people* skills, not judo competition skills. It is the cultivation of these people skills that we need to reconsider and refocus our energies.

I have a dream that one day judo teachers and students are society's most intelligent and knowledgeable individuals, who are the best students and professors academically in the educational system, who exemplify the Japanese cultural essence of kindness and consideration in all aspects of life, and who are the leaders of Japan, both socially, morally, educationally, politically, and economically. Judo is the most wonderful cultural art, sport, and activity that exists in the world. Won't you share my dream and help make it a reality?





Endnotes

- ¹ A portion of this chapter was taken from a previous work (Brousse & Matsumoto, 1999).
- ² See Oyserman, Coon, & Kimmelmeier, 2002.
- ³ See Hofstede, 2001.
- ⁴ Shuper, Sorrentino, Otsubo, Hodson, & Walker, in press.
- ⁵ Hofstede, 1980, 1984.
- ⁶ McCrae, 2001; McCrae & Costa, 1989; McCrae & Costa, 1997; McCrae, Costa, del Pilar, Rolland, & Parker, 1998.
- ⁷ McCrae, 2002.
- ⁸ Shalom H. Schwartz, 1994; S. H. Schwartz, 1994; Schwartz, 1999.
- ⁹ Matsumoto et al., 1999.
- ¹⁰ Matsumoto, 2002.
- ¹¹ Matsumoto, Takeuchi, & Horiyama, 2001.
- ¹² Takeuchi, Okada, & Matsumoto, in preparation.

Bibliography

- Benedict, R. *The Chrysanthemum and the Sword: Patterns of Japanese Culture*. New York: Houghton Mifflin and Company, 1946.
- Brousse, M., & Matsumoto, D. *Judo: A Sport and a Way of Life*. Seoul, Korea: International Judo Federation, 1999.
- Hearn, L. *Glimpses of Unfamiliar Japan*. Tokyo: Charles E. Tuttle, 1894 (1976).
- Hofstede, G. *Culture's Consequences: Comparing Values, Behaviors, Institutions and Organizations across Nations* (2nd ed.). Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publications, 2001.
- *Culture's Consequences: International Differences in Work-related Values*. Beverly Hills: Sage Publications, 1980.
- *Culture's Consequences: International Differences in Work-related Values* (Abridged ed.). Beverly Hills: Sage Publications, 1984.
- Matsumoto, D. *The New Japan*. Yarmouth, ME: Intercultural Press, 2002.
- Matsumoto, D., Kouznetsova, N., Ray, R., Ratzlaff, C., Biehl, M., & Raroque, J. "Psychological Culture, Physical Health, and Subjective Well-being". *Journal of Gender, Culture, and Health*, 4(1), 1999. pp. 1-18.
- Matsumoto, D., Takeuchi, H., & Horiyama, K. "Cultural Differences in the Values of Judo Instructors". *Budōgaku kenkyū*, 34(1), 2001. pp. -10.
- McCrae, R. R. "Trait psychology and culture: Exploring intercultural comparisons". *Journal of Personality*, 69(6). 2001, pp. 819-846.
- McCrae, R. R. "NEO-PI-R data from 36 cultures: Further intercultural comparisons." In R. R. McCrae & J. Allik, eds. *The Five-Factor Model of Personality Across Cultures* (pp. 105-125). New York: Kluwer Academic/Plenum Publishers, 2002.
- McCrae, R. R., & Costa, P. T. "The Structure of Interpersonal Traits: Wiggin's



- Circumplex and the Five Factor Model". *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 56, 1989. pp. 559-586.
- "Personality Trait Structure as a Human Universal. *American Psychologist*, 52, 1997. pp. 509-516.
- McCrae, R. R., Costa, P. T., del Pilar, G. H., Rolland, J.-P., & Parker, W. D. "Cross-cultural Assessment of the Five-factor Model: The Revised NEO Personality Inventory". *Journal of Cross-Cultural Psychology*, 29(1), 1989. pp. 171-188.
- Nakane, C. *Tate-shakai no ningen-kankei: Tanitsu-shakai no riron*. Kodansha, 1967.
- Japanese Society*. Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 1970.
- Nitobe, I. *Bushido: The soul of Japan*. Tokyo: Charles E. Tuttle, 1905 (1969).
- Oyserman, D., Coon, H. M., & Kemmelmeier, M. "Rethinking Individualism and Collectivism: Evaluation of Theoretical Assumptions and Meta-analyses". *Psychological Bulletin*, 128(1), 2002. pp. 3-72.
- Schwartz, S. H. "A Theory of Cultural Values and Some Implications for Work. *Applied Psychology: An International Review*, 48(1), 1999. pp. 23-47.
- "Are There Universals in the Content and Structure of Values?" *Journal of Social Issues*, 50, 1994. pp. 19-45.
- "Beyond Individualism/Collectivism: New Cultural Dimensions of Values". In U. E. Kim, Triandis, Harry C. et al., ed. *Individualism and Collectivism: Theory, Method, and Applications*. (Vol. 18, pp. 85-119). Newbury Park, CA: Sage, 1994.
- Shuper, P. A., Sorrentino, R. M., Otsubo, Y., Hodson, G., & Walker, A. M. (in press). "A Theory of Uncertainty Orientation: Implications for the Study of Individual Differences Within and Across Cultures". *Journal of Cross-Cultural Psychology*.
- Takeuchi, M., Okada, R., & Matsumoto, D. (in preparation). "Intercultural Adjustment Potential in Japanese Judo Players".



