CALIFORNIA STATE UNIVERSITY, NORTHRIDGE

A STUDY OF AGGRESSION
IN A KARATE SCHOOL

A thesis submitted in partial satisfaction of the requirements for the degree of Master of Arts in
ANTHROPOLOGY

by

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California State University, Northridge
In memory of Anne Kalinowski

and

To Alicia
ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

I wish to thank my brother, Peter Kalinowski, for his financial assistance and continuous encouragement during my graduate years at CSUN.

My gratitude is expressed to Sifu John Leoning and his students whose thoughtfulness and co-operation facilitated my fieldwork. I also want to express my appreciation to Dr. Lynn Mason, Dr. Evalyn Michaelson and Dr. Antonio Gilman for their helpful suggestions concerning the final preparation of this thesis.

"You should never raise your hand against your opponent first. Only when it becomes absolutely necessary should you raise your hand. And even then, your intention should not be to kill or injure your opponent but only to block his attack."

Gichin Funakoshi

Look, the unworthy is the friend of luck. The reasonable submit: choose. Since you do not have sharp rending claws, it is wiser not to war. Whoever grapples steel arms pains his own weak wrists. Wait for time to tie his hand. Then for the pleasure of your friends, knock out his brains.

Kajukenbo saying
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ABSTRACT

A STUDY OF AGGRESSION
IN A KARATE SCHOOL
by
Michael Anthony Kalinowski
Master of Arts in Anthropology

This thesis represents research in two areas. First, the historical background of the martial art of Karate is explored from an anthropological perspective. A model is presented to illustrate Karate's diffusion (migration and borrowing) through Asian and Western cultures. The Boxer Rebellion is discussed as an example of a revitalization movement utilizing an early form of Karate, chuan-fa. The research in this area necessitated distinguishing between archeological evidence, historical documentation, and the oral tradition upon which much of the martial arts literature is based.

Second, the main focus of the thesis is a study of
aggression and related behavior (self-control, guilt) in a Los Angeles Karate school. A review is made of the literature on aggression theory and research in both anthropology and psychology. Hypotheses are tested concerning overt and self-reported aggression; values and social ranking; guilt over aggression and condemnation of anger in others.

Participant-observation, questionnaires and an Anger Self-Report (Zelin et al., 1972) are the main research techniques used in the fieldwork. An ethnographic description of the school is also presented.

It is suggested that social learning theory is most applicable to aggression studies within the Karate school. Beginning students learn Karate fighting skills and values through observation of instructors and advanced students who function as models.

Conclusions drawn from data analysis gained through the fieldwork should be considered specific to the research setting and not representative of all Karate schools.
CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

With more than 165,000 practitioners of Karate in the United States in 1972\(^1\) (in addition to other martial arts in this country), it seems inevitable that anthropological research be undertaken to investigate this growing phenomenon in as many aspects as possible. One such aspect is in the behavioral area of human aggression. Another area is in the study of culture trait diffusion.

With this in mind, the stated purpose of this thesis is twofold: first, to present the martial art of Karate from an anthropological perspective, including its historical background (based on library research), and an ethnographic description of a Karate school using participant-observation as the main research tool. Second, it is felt that the potentially violent environment of the Karate school lends itself to testable hypotheses concerning aggressive behavior and that this behavior will manifest itself overtly and in questionnaire responses. The main focus of this paper, then is a study of aggression in the environment of a Karate school.

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\(^1\)This figure is from a 1973 Black Belt magazine census of its readers and does not include practitioners who might not have responded to the survey. The figure presented here, then, should be considered a reserved estimate.
which, I believe, is closest to what Fromm (1973:69) refers to as a "natural laboratory" in testing aggression hypotheses.

This research is an outgrowth of an earlier study undertaken in the Fall of 1972. That particular investigation served as an initial experience in data gathering techniques and fieldwork. At that time, participant-observation, a field journal and questionnaires were the sources of data in a study mainly of individuals' reasons for studying Karate. Responses ranged from desire to increase self-control and awareness to self-defense and physical conditioning. The study also revealed a social ranking in the school that was not directly related to belt ranking, but rather to a shared value system. Later, during the Spring of 1973, a 30-minute film was made of an advanced Karate class in progress. Since 1970, the investigator has been a member of the North American Kung-Fu Karate Association and has studied under Sifu (teacher) John Leoning, whose school is located in North Hollywood.

Definitions

belt ranking - The level of achievement of a Karate student, determined by Sifu and instructors, and based upon performance on a promotion test. Various belt colors are used to designate a student's progression from beginning to advanced ranking.
social ranking - A student's position of popularity within the group, determined by other students and based on various factors including adherence to values of the group.

values - "Individual personal qualities which are considered to be desirable by people in a given culture or group..." (Goldschmidt, 1959:72). Karate school values take the form of personality traits.

self-control - In the Karate school, a value consisting of an internal, psychological restraint against verbal aggression and physical violence, and, to a lesser degree, the expression of pain or discomfort.

kata - Formal exercises or "forms" incorporating systematically organized series of offensive and defensive Karate techniques performed in a set sequence, and based on the imagined existence of more than one opponent.

sparring - A method of practicing Karate techniques while facing an actual opponent. The two types of sparring are: 1) semi-free, in which the mode of attack is determined and agreed upon in advance, and 2) free-style, in which nothing is predetermined.

Aggression - Problems of Definition

It is possible that nowhere in the literature of the social sciences has a term been more difficult to define, or to have been the source of so much debate, as aggression. The term itself implies causality; its root, "aggredi" means "to move (go, step) forward."
Fromm states that the obsolete English form "to aggress" must have formerly assumed the meaning of attack, since, in war, moving forward was usually the beginning of an attack: "To be aggressive, in its original meaning of 'aggressing', can be defined as moving forward toward a goal without undue hesitation, doubt, or fear" (Fromm, 1973:189).

The possibility of a "typology" of aggression has been discussed by such individuals as Buss (1961, 1971) who uses the terms "aggression", "anger" and "hostility" to refer to three different aspects of behavior: instrumental response, emotional reaction and attitude, respectively. He defines aggression as: "a response that delivers noxious stimuli to another organism; the term 'attack' will be used as a synonym" (Buss, 1961:1). However, many researchers have been faced with the interchangeability of the terms in their studies, and Buss himself admits that the three aspects of behavior often cluster together. The typology Buss uses consists of a distinction between angry aggression with a victim's pain as a reinforcer, and instrumental aggression where the reinforcer is acquisition of some extraneous reward, not causing the victim injury. He defines physical aggression as "an assault against an organism by means of body parts or weapons... with consequence of pain or injury to the organism" (Buss, 1961:4). This seems to be based on the general definition that aggression is "a response causing
injury", found in the classic Frustration and Aggression (Dollard et al. 1939).

Many researchers make no distinction between the terms violence and aggression, or they define aggression in terms of violent behavior (causing intentional injury or killing). Buss' angry and physical aggression have already been mentioned. Fromm (1973) uses the term malignant aggression for intra-specific aggression, and Johnson (1972) also uses the term violence without defining it, but implies injury and killing in its usage. This researcher does make a distinction between violence and aggression which is presented later in this chapter.

The problem of the general versus specific definition often arises in theory and research and can be illustrated by the use of the word intent in any definition of aggression. Kaufmann (1965,1970) emphasizes that human aggression is an interpersonal attack intended to produce injury or harm and that the attacker must have a subjective probability greater than zero of imparting a noxious stimulus toward some object. Buss (1961, 1971) defines intent as the process of examining the stimuli antecedent to the response and its consequences, and argues against intent in his definition on the grounds that it implies teleology (a purposive act directed toward a future goal). He also experiences difficulty in applying the term to behavioral events, stating that intent is both awkward and unnecessary in the analysis of aggressive
behavior. Certain questions arise. Can a behavior be considered aggressive if it does not cause injury to another organism? Can there be aggression without intent? Fromm cites Zen Buddhist sword fighting (Kendo) as an art developed from the need to kill an enemy in defense or attack, requiring control of the entire body, great skill and concentration:

A Zen master of sword fighting does not harbor the wish to kill or destroy, nor has he any hate. He makes the proper movement, and if the opponent is killed, it is because the latter 'stood in the wrong place.' A classic psychoanalyst may argue that unconsciously the sword fighter is motivated by hate and the wish to destroy his opponent; this is his privilege, but he would show little grasp of the spirit of Zen Buddhism (1973:188-189).

In both Eastern and Western cultures archery, fencing and wrestling are examples of sports representing fighting without the intent to harm. But the potential is still there to apply knowledge of those skills towards the injury or destruction of another organism. The same can be said for Karate practice during class between opponents, where an individual must possess both physical and mental control. Adams (1969) discusses the medical implications of properly-executed Karate techniques, which are theoretically designed to either kill or disable.

In the Karate school, intent to injure is "triggered" by emotions of anger, hate or even fear-

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2 Personal communication from the late Dr. D.T. Suzuki.
emotions which are negatively sanctioned in martial arts training. The following example illustrates intentionality in the Karate school: if two students are practicing punching techniques and one strikes the other, the injured student ideally will not strike back since it is commonly accepted that students should "focus" strikes several inches before contact (or only make light contact), ensuring safety to opponents, and that most injuries are unintentional. If, however, the injured student experiences anger, loses his control, and strikes his opponent in retaliation, then we can say the action was intentional. The major problem is that intentionality is difficult to measure in either the laboratory or field setting where observation and direct questioning of the individual are the main techniques for measurement.

One of the first problems faced in undertaking this research was that of formulating an operational definition of aggression. After a review of the literature, it was found that its definition as "the presentation of aversive stimuli" has had considerable support, although individual researchers have frequently affixed definitions applicable to a particular theory or laboratory setting (Knutson, 1973). Although "agonistic behavior" as an alternative term is also popular among social scientists, it seems to be a matter of semantics or choice. Johnson believes there can be no single, satisfactory definition since there are many different kinds of aggressive behavior. He states
that because of such complex dynamics, the term aggression defies simple definitions and sweeping generalizations, and requires analysis on many levels from different points of view (1972:41). Washburn and Hamburg (1968) go so far as to declare that initial tentative definitions may help identify the problem but accurate definitions can be expected only at the conclusion of the research.

For purposes of this study, aggression is defined as the presentation of aversive stimuli, usually in the form of Karate techniques, without the intent to do physical harm. Karate techniques refer here to various kicks, blocks, etc. or combinations thereof. Aggression is distinguished from violence, which is defined in this study as the assault of one student upon another with intent of physical harm (see fig.1).

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<td>a)violence (intent)</td>
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<td>b)aggression (no intent)</td>
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<td>2. No Counter Attack</td>
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Fig. 1. Possible responses to injury during Karate practice.

Observation indicates that violence rarely occurs due to a variety of reasons, including strong sanctions of
instructors and group against its expression, and a general rule of focusing strikes and kicks several inches from contact. In actuality, unintentional injuries often do occur, especially during free-style sparring periods.

Proposed hypotheses

Based on previous experience, research and observation over a five-year period (1970-1975), the following hypotheses have been formulated for testing:

1. Advanced students will exhibit more aggression in sparring than beginning students.

Although this hypothesis (derived from social learning theory) seems apparent, I felt it was necessary to actually test it in the field. It is assumed that a student's fighting skills improve with experience in sparring, affording greater ability to express aggression. The research technique used to test this hypothesis was that of direct observation using measurement criterion presented in Chapter 5.

2. Students manifesting the group's values in their training will have a higher social ranking within the school than those who do not.

An assumption is made that aggression is an accepted form of behavior in sparring, not a value in itself. Aggression functions as a means of testing learned fighting skills with an opponent. Specific questionnaire
items were developed to determine values and social ranking in the school. Student responses to those questions were used in testing this hypothesis.

The Anger Self-Report (ASR), discussed in detail in Chapter 5, has been used to test the following hypotheses:

3. Advanced students will tend to manifest less aggression than beginning students on questionnaire responses.

This hypothesis suggests that an extended period of Karate training results in an individual exhibiting self-control in expression of aggressive feelings.

4. Advanced students will manifest more guilt about expressing aggression, and condemnation of anger on the questionnaire responses than beginning students.

Guilt is defined here as a state of tension or anxiety over internalized aggression, or, "aggression turned inward". Stein states that guilt is a conflict phenomenon involving dynamic polarities:

Internally and phenomenologically guilt is anxiety, pain, displeasure, depression, remorse, because of the violation of some internalized values... (1968:26).

It is assumed that self-control creates a conflict with being aggressive in sparring, and that this conflict will manifest itself, if not in overt behavior, then in questionnaire responses.
Overview of Chapters

Chapter II discusses the early origins and development of Karate. A diffusion model is presented to explain Karate's distribution throughout eastern and western cultures.

Chapter III reviews the literature on aggression theory and research in anthropology and psychology, suggesting that a better understanding of aggression can be acquired through fieldwork incorporating research techniques from both disciplines.

Chapter IV is a brief "ethnographic description" of the Karate school including the physical environment, class procedures, observations of group social interaction and the Asian philosophical concepts that are taught to students.

Chapter V is a detailed description of the procedures and methods of data collection that were used during fieldwork at the Karate school.

Chapter VI presents data analysis and results of hypotheses testing, along with additional information gained from initial questionnaire responses.

Chapter VII contains the conclusions and summary of this research.
CHAPTER II

HISTORICAL BACKGROUND
OF KARATE

This chapter looks at the development of Karate through the macro-temporal change process of diffusion, illustrated by a modification of the age-area model. An example of the micro-temporal process of revitalization is presented to further clarify Karate's development through the dynamics of culture change. Initially, an attempt is made to separate historical documentation from the oral tradition found in much of the martial arts literature.

The term "Karate" is a Japanese pronunciation of two Chinese characters which literally mean "empty hand" and can be defined as "a self defense system founded on Okinawa but composed of several Asian arts and geographic areas" (Haines, 1968:186). Karate can be distinguished from other martial arts such as judo in that the former emphasizes various kicks and open and closed-hand strikes, while the latter deals primarily with holds, throws and take-downs (though these are also taught in some Karate styles). The origin of Karate-like movements is somewhat obscure since even early hominids must have possessed some unarmed fighting techniques. Similarly, primates such as the gibbon, chimpanzee and gorilla, observed both in the
natural state and in captivity, show fighting abilities readily utilizing hands and feet (Van Lawick-Goodall, 1968; Johnson, 1972).

There seems to be a general consensus among martial arts authors that Karate as a self-defense art had its beginnings in China. Haines (1968), however, theorizes that India was the possible birthplace of Karate's development, basing his argument on a combination of history and oral tradition.

Historically, in India, there existed a warrior-nobility class called the Kshatriya that antedated Buddhism and played an important role in the development of Indian culture until the rise of the Brahmin (priest) caste. The caste system developed during the period of Yajurveda and the Brahmanas, circa 1000 B.C. (Kosambi, 1965: 85-86).

Haines believes the Kshatriya practiced a bare-handed martial art called Vajramushti, and that it was transmitted to China by an Indian monk called Bodhidharma (Haines, 1968:18). It is my contention, however, that the term referred to only a certain limited striking technique utilizing "brass knuckles" in a larger system of classical Indian wrestling (malla-yuddha), rather than a Karate-like art in itself, since "vajra" is literally translated as "a thunderbolt" and vajramushti, having many meanings, as: "grasping a thunderbolt, or one whose clenched fist is like adamant... of a Rakshasha... of a Kshatriya
or warrior... an adamantine clenched fist or a kind of weapon... position of the hand in shooting an arrow" (Monier-Williams, 1889:913).

The vajra-thunderbolt symbol of power in Indian mythology is the source of martial arts authors' association of NIO statues (temple guardian deities) with Karate techniques:

Many of the postures of early Indian works have a marked resemblance to Karate forms.

and in Japan:

A large number of these statues are found as guardians in the gate entrances to Buddhist temples, usually in an exact Karate stance (Haines, 1968:20-21).

However, the "resemblance" to "exact Karate stance" decreases when it is realized that these NIO deities (Sanskrit:Vajraprani) actually are symbolic of a union of spiritual and material forces. One, Kongo, holds a thunderbolt (vajra) in his clenched fist representing the active (open-mouthed, exhaling) state; the other, Missaku, holds a club and represents the passive (closed-mouthed, inhaling) state in Buddhism (Edmunds, 1934:258). Furthermore, the Karate-like positioning of the hands found in similar artifact types can be attributed to the mudras which are ritualistic hand patterns indicating different states of consciousness expressed by various deities in Asian iconography. The Karate stance similarity can be attributed to the asanas (bodily postures) based upon Yoga exercises and evident in Indian statuary, notably Itengoji,
the "first heavenly protector" (Beltran, 1953:27-34).

Indeed, a Vajraprani statue who has lost his thunderbolt would surely seem to be in a Karate stance to any overzealous martial artist who seeks a close association of his art with Indian culture. It is my opinion, therefore, that the artifact types in question are not representative of deities in Karate positions, but with symbolic positions based on yoga exercises.

I do not intend to dispel any connection at all with India. An historical event actually did occur which is critical in illustrating the relationship of some of the concepts of Zen Buddhism that are inherent in Karate training.

In the early sixth century (circa 520 A.D.) the twenty-eighth patriarch of Buddhism, Bodhidharma (Ch.Tamo; Jap. Daruma), journeyed from India to China, eventually arriving at the Shaolin-ssu monastery on Sung-shan mountain in what is now Honan province (Nakamura and Wiener, 1964: 507). Bodhidharma was a member of the Indian ruling class, a prince, who received his religious training from Prajnatara, a master of dhyana (Ch. Ch'an; Jap. Zen) practices. At that time, the Buddhism practiced in China emphasized salvation through faith and metaphysical speculation, the end-goal being admission to an afterlife. Indian Buddhism emphasized meditation and intuitive insight with the end-goal of attaining perfection in this world. Bodhidharma sought to instruct the Chinese in the latter, which he
considered to be the "true" brand of Buddhism. It was the mental discipline of Zen practice requiring physical endurance and control that laid the basis for the following oral tradition concerning Bodhidharma's sojourn at the Shaolin-ssu monastery. When his disciples supposedly could not withstand the training, Bodhidharma is said to have instructed them:

> Although the way of Buddha is preached for the soul, the body and soul are inseparable. As I look at you now, I think it likely that you will not complete your training because of your exhaustion. For this reason, I shall give you a method by which you can develop your physical strength enough to enable yourselves to attain the essence of Buddha (Funakoshi, 1973:7).

This oral tradition is the source of the belief among many martial artists that Bodhidharma was the founder of chuan-fa, the main contributor to present-day Karate. It does not specifically mention self-defense training, but a method which could have been yoga exercises involving breathing techniques developed for Zen meditation, since Bodhidharma is traditionally known as the "wall-gazing Brahmin". However, not only Buddhism, but boxing forms (e.g. wu-tang-shan) existed in China independently of each other prior to 520 A.D. Historical documentation supports Bodhidharma's philosophical purpose in China (he was the last Indian Buddhist patriarch and the first Chinese one). Also, the Shaolin-ssu monastery was a major Buddhist center where Indian monks helped Chinese scholars translate Sanskrit texts. It seems reasonable to assume, therefore,
that the mental discipline and yoga exercises Bodhidharma taught were combined with the indigenous boxing forms to produce a "hybrid" self-defense art called chuan-fa (Kung-Fu; Jap.Kempo), which occurred in China at a time of acceptance of Indian culture traits. As Kroeber states, "diffusion is like invention in that it results in innovation" (1948:415). In this case, the "innovative" chuan-fa would prove superior to the indigenous forms, itself diffusing through Northern and Southern China, and eventually entering other Asian cultures as well (see Fig. 2).

There is a dearth of archeological evidence to support the Bodhidharma tradition except for an item said to be in the ruins of the Shaolin-ssu temple but not dated by any means other than association:

Covering three walls of a hall, which had escaped destruction, was an enormous fresco depicting the five hundred Buddhist worthies, or lohans—note for their originality and ugliness. Among them some have foreign traits indicating indeed the presence of monks from India and Central Asia (Mullikin and Hotchkis, 1973:38).

Martial arts author Doshin So (1970:13-14) argues that the fresco depicts the monks in actual self-defense techniques, while Draeger and Smith (1969:25) attribute paintings of weapons and chuan-fa training at Shaolin-ssu to a later period ca. 1600-1800 A.D.

Thus it can be seen that through a combination of historical documentation and oral tradition the basis is set for the origin of Karate as a martial art. Until more
Fig. 2. Illustration of Buddhist principles applied to Karate in their diffusion through Asian cultures.
historical documentation and archeological evidence of that period reveal new information, the earliest beginnings will be shrouded in folklore and open to speculation.

Diffusion Model

The term "model" is synonymous with "theoretical system," a general source for researchable propositions (hypotheses). Models viewed as scientific metaphors eventually leading to the formulation of theories are discussed by Kaplan (1964). Pelto (1970) states that models facilitate the discovery of new theoretical relationships and research directions.

Considering this research orientation, a model is presented in this chapter to illustrate Karate's diffusion (migration and borrowing) rather than to test that model's theoretical validity, since, to date, empirical research is lacking in the area of Karate diffusion. Studies reviewed by Kroeber (1948) and Driver (1970, 1973) show that widely distributed traits usually spread by diffusion rather than by independent invention. The same can be said for Karate, which is seen in this study as an Asian culture complex that has diffused to Western cultures to the point of world-wide distribution (see Fig. 3).

In the diffusion model of Karate, correlations are made between Karate's development and the political and religio-philosophical conditions existing during periods
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<td>(600-900 A. D.)</td>
<td>(900-1200 A. D.)</td>
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<td>Development of <em>chuan-fa</em> from yoga exercises and indigenous Chinese boxing at Shaolin-ssu monastery.</td>
<td>Chuan-fa diffuses to Korea and Japan through Chinese military attaches and Buddhist priests.</td>
<td>Northern and Southern styles of chuan-fa developed in China.</td>
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<td>(1200-1600 A. D.)</td>
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<td>Chuan-fa diffuses to Okinawa; practiced with indigenous martial art <em>tode</em>.</td>
<td>Development of Karate from chuan-fa and indigenous <em>tode</em> in Okinawa.</td>
<td>Karate diffuses to urban centers of Japan, Europe, Africa, Australia, the Americas.</td>
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Fig. 3. Illustration of the development and diffusion of Karate.
of acculturation (the process by which diffusion through an inter-cultural boundary occurs). The data are fragmentary, consisting of historical documentation and oral tradition with minimal archeological evidence. However, it is felt that as presented, this model adequately illustrates the dynamics of culture change including revitalization, where Karate acts as a "catalyst" to culture change. From the model, it is hoped that other anthropologists will take an active interest in this problem area.

The diffusion model of Karate was inspired by, but should not be confused with, the age-area model of diffusion reviewed by Wallace (1970:182). The age-area model can be criticized on the basis that it does not take into consideration geographic boundaries such as mountain ranges and seas which occur in Karate diffusion. Furthermore, when dealing with more complex societies (e.g. T'ang China), political, economic and religious factors are deleted. These factors are taken into account in constructing the Karate diffusion model, which is comprised of six distinct stages. (The reader is informed that no attempt is made in this model to give an overview of Asian culture history, except as directly relevant to Karate's history and diffusion).

Period:

I. (400-600 A.D.)

Shaolin-ssu monastery, located 35 miles southeast of
China's capital at Lo-yang, was founded circa 477 A.D. during the Northern (Wei) Dynasties (439-581). Boxing forms were already established in China, possibly by independent invention. Zen Buddhism and yoga exercises designed to unify mind and body were introduced by Bodhidharma circa 520 A.D. Translation of Sanskrit texts into Chinese occurred at the monastery, along with development of chuan-fa from Zen concepts and indigenous boxing forms.

China experienced a period of extensive internal migration resulting from frequent warfare with Southern Dynasties (420-589). Buddhism exerted political influence. Artistic development included Buddhist statues (Hsieh, 1973:233). Taoist philosophy, emphasizing non-interference, was already established in China.

During the Sui Dynasty (581-618), Shaolin-ssu continued to be the main Zen Buddhist center and distribution point of Indian culture. Shaolin monks became famous in N. China for their style of boxing (Mullikin and Hotchkis, 1973:38).

II. (600-900 A.D.)

The founder of the T'ang Dynasty (618-906), T'ang Kao-Tsu, whose reign title was "military prowess" (Wu-Te), enlisted the service of Shaolin monks to supress a revolt led by Wang Shih-Ch'ung at Lo-yang in 621. The event was recorded in a stele inscription of 728 (Wright, 1973:244).
Shaolin monks, known for their martial art prowess and political activism, were offered military titles, which they refused.

T'ang Dynasty was a period of inner cultural growth and territorial expansion. Trade routes were established with the West dealing in silk, porcelain and paper, in exchange for perfumes, medicines (including elephant tusks and rhinoceros horns) and pearls. Close relations with India were maintained as evidenced by Buddhist pilgrimages, most notably that of Hsuan Tsang, who returned with more Sanskrit texts (Hsieh, 1973:236).

Acculturation occurred with Korea (after a period of warfare) and Japan, who sent envoys and students to China to learn astronomy, history, art and Buddhism, for the purpose of introduction into their cultures. Possible chuan-fa diffusion as Haines (1968:88-91) theorizes chuan-fa's introduction into Japan; Oyama (1975:312) theorizes its introduction into Korea during this period, transmitted by military attaches and Buddhist priests.

III. (900-1200 A.D.)

In China, Five Dynasties (907-960) were marked by internal rebellions and external invasions producing one of the most turbulent eras in Chinese history (Hsieh 1973:239). Shaolin-ssu monastery underwent repeated destruction and rebuilding as a result of political unrest and religious purges (Draeger and Smith, 1969:46). Monks were
dispersed taking knowledge of chuan-fa with them and producing distinct Northern and Southern styles at this time according to oral tradition.

In Japan, during the Heian period (794-1184), Buddhist monasteries used armed bands to settle local disputes (Haines, 1968:91).

IV. (1200-1600 A.D.)

In China, during the Ming Dynasty (1368-1644), maritime commerce and navigation flourished (Hsieh, 1973:247). As a result, Okinawa received an influx of Chinese artisans and merchants, who formed a separate community on the island. Oral traditions concerning both chuan-fa and tode (indigenous self-defense art) originated in this period (Haines, 1968:74-75).

In Japan, leading chuan-fa practitioners were often Buddhist priests, since that particular martial art was kept from secularization in that culture. Present-day Shorin-ji Kempo is derived from the chuan-fa taught in that period.

V. (1600-1900 A.D.)

China - During the Manchu Dynasty (1644-1911) the Opium War (1839-1842) began European domination, imposing Western culture traits and values on Chinese culture which in many cases was held in contempt. Revitalization movements occurred - Tai ping, with religious leader Hung Hsiu-ch'uan in 1850; Boxer Rebellion in 1900, utilizing
chuan-fa. It is by the end of this period that Taoism is historically associated with chuan-fa (Nakamura and Wiener, 1964:244).

Okinawa - The Satsuma clan from Japan dominated Okinawa early in this period, banning the possession of weapons to prevent rebellion. Te, a combination of chuan-fa and the indigenous form tode, was developed as an offensive martial art in lieu of weapons. Late in this period, the term "Karate" replaced "Te", as that which is applied to the "hybrid" Okinawan form of self-defense (Haines, 1968:77-78).

United States - Chinese immigration occurred during 1800's primarily because of a need for railroad laborers. Westerners witnessed chuan-fa activity during T'ang (Tong) secret society "wars" in West Coast Chinese communities.

VI. (1900-  )

This is the most dynamic and historically well-documented period in Karate's development.

Japan - Okinawan Karate was introduced in 1915 by Gichin Funakoshi; taught in universities and to the military by 1930's; taught in secondary schools by the end of WWII, receiving widespread acceptance in Japanese culture (Haines, 1968:94).

United States - In 1922, The Chinese Physical Culture Association was founded in Hawaii, organizing classes in chuan-fa for the Chinese community. United States expe-
rienced contact with Japanese Karate during WWII. Instruction was initiated on military bases in West Coast United States in late 1940's and early 1950's, spreading to the civilian population by late 1950's. By 1965, Karate schools were established in major urban centers of United States. The 1970's sees instruction offered in universities and occasional coverage of Karate tournaments on communications systems.

In 1948, Hawaii was the focal point for the development of Kajukenbo style Karate by Sifu Emperado, incorporating elements of Karate, judo, boxing and choy-li-fut chuan-fa techniques, illustrating Hawaii as a receiving point for many Asian martial arts before their introduction into United States. Kajukenbo is the Karate style studied at the research setting.

By 1976, Karate as a self-defense art and competitive sport is also well-established in urban centers of Mexico, Central and South America, Canada, Europe, and receiving initial contact in Israel, North Africa, Poland.

Revitalization Movement - Boxer Rebellion

In the historical background of Karate, a revitalization movement occurred in which chuan-fa can be seen as a catalyst to culture change processes over a relatively brief span of time. Wallace (1970:188-190) defines revitalization movements as "deliberate, organ-
lized attempts by some members of a society to construct a more satisfying culture by rapid acceptance of a pattern of multiple innovations". He cites the Handsome Lake Code among the Seneca Indians as an example in which a re-orientation of values to cope with the imposed life-style of white settlers found general acceptance within a few years.

The revitalization movement in China differed from Wallace's example in that it was violent, much shorter in duration, and attempted to expel all foreign elements of culture rather than adjust to them.

By 1900, various Western nations had imposed cultural values and an economic drain upon China, resulting in a condition of disorganization within the social system. In order to return to a previous steady state, a politico-religious organization, the I - Ho - Ch'uan (Righteous - Harmonious Fists) utilizing swords, spears and chuan-fa rose in rebellion against foreign "barbarians" (Wakeman, 1975:217).

Two psychological mechanisms important to revitalization movements were employed. The first was mazeway re-synthesis in which the charismatic leader, Ts'ao Fu-T'ien, formulated a code during a hallucinatory trance, reporting that he had received a revelation from a Taoist deity (The Jade Emperor) to expel the foreign barbarians from China. The second mechanism was hysterical conversion of followers, whose violent behavior
and conformity with the code were maintained by continuous suggestions in the form of rallies and the symbolic environment. Flags and banners with mottos such as "Up With The Ching Dynasty And Down With The Foreigner" were prevalent along with a certain incantation, that when recited mentally, would supposedly render a participant immune from bullets and fatal weapons. Westerners in Peking witnessed and later reported the chuan-fa activity of the I - Ho - Ch'uan leaders and as a result the term "Boxer Rebellion" was applied to the movement. Although large groups of the urban and rural population supported the charismatic leaders and code of the I - Ho - Ch'uan, the "goal culture", free of foreigners, was not attained because of the presence of Western military technology. The failure of the rebellion signalled an end to dynastic China (The reader will remember that China's dynasties were an important political factor in Karate's development and diffusion).

In summary, it can be seen that Karate is a product of a long process of diffusion occurring over a period of at least 1,400 years, and that it is related to political situations. During periods of warfare, those cultures with chuan-fa and Karate in their military training tended to transmit its efficiency as a self-defense art to other cultures, either through conquest (e.g. China-Korea) or defeat (e.g. Japan-U.S.). While only recently being introduced into Western culture over the past thirty years, this occurs at a time of receptivity to Eastern
philosophy and arts analogous to the processes involved when China was accepting Indian culture traits circa 520 A.D. The varied styles or schools of Karate, heavily influenced by chuan-fa techniques, illustrates incorporation of indigenous forms as the martial art diffused through Asian cultures. The Kajukenbo style, for example, has been affectionately referred to by Sifu John Leoning as "chop suey", since it consists of martial arts from various cultures already well-established in Hawaii by 1948, through the process of diffusion. While preferred techniques may change with Karate styles, the movements are basically similar, along with a common set of concepts whose roots lie in Ch'an Buddhism. Some of these concepts, as taught in the school, are given in Chapter 4.
CHAPTER III
REVIEW OF LITERATURE

In this chapter, a review is made of previous aggression research in both psychology and anthropology, with an emphasis on human behavior. These social sciences are considered separately in order to illustrate that they are inexorably linked to the same theories and dynamics of aggressive behavior. Theoretical orientations are briefly presented and we can see that they vary almost as much as the definitions of aggression, where their valid application may be limited to certain conditions.

Theories of Aggression

**Instinct Theory** states that man is aggressive by nature; that aggression is a phylogenetically programmed, innate instinct seeking periodic discharge through some form of (aggressive) behavior. Freud (1927, 1930) expanded his concept of libido in postulating a "death instinct" with a passion to destroy that was as strong as the "life instinct" or Eros, which attempted to preserve living substance. It seems that Freud's position of man possessing an impulse to destroy either himself or others would form a dichotomy with the life instinct, thus producing an ongoing conflict within man's psyche. Lorenz (1966), experienced in animal behavior studies, drew an analogy between
animal and human aggression, which he saw as an instinct, which if not released, is expressed in a spontaneous explosion. For Lorenz, intraspecific aggression has the function of furthering species' survival, as opposed to Freud's inward or outward-directed "death instinct". The instinctual-release approaches of Freud and Lorenz are known as the hydraulic model of aggression. M. F. Ashley Montagu contests the instinctual approach:

It is very easy to accept the idea of an instinctive cause for man's aggression, for that explains everything. But what explains everything in fact explains nothing. (1968:ix)

While Instinct Theory strongly supports a biological base for aggressive behavior, it does not concern itself with social and cultural factors.

Frustration - Aggression Theory, developed by Dollard et al. (1939), originally stated that aggressive behavior always occurs as a result of frustration, and, conversely, that frustration always leads to aggression. The theory was later changed to concede that frustration could elicit a number of different types of responses, one of which is aggression. Frustration can be either the interruption of an ongoing goal-directed activity (a Karate student's promotional test being interrupted), or the negation of a desire or wish (deprivation). An example of this would be Karate students practicing the "low horse" stance which exerts great tension upon leg muscles. If a student wishes to rest his legs and the instructor verbally
compels him to remain in that position, frustration might occur, which could possibly lead to increased aggression during the later sparring period. A large literature on the Frustration-Aggression theory exists as it was widely accepted by psychologists and allows itself to be readily tested under laboratory conditions. However, its role as a generalized theory suffers from its not considering instrumental aggression (mentioned in Chapter I) and any other types of aversive stimuli.

The Catharsis Hypothesis contends that the expression of aggression reduces or "drains" the strength of its tendencies within the individual. This may come about through actually performing, or merely witnessing, an aggressive act. There is limited empirical evidence to support catharsis (Bramel, Taub, and Blum, 1968; Rosenbaum and De Charmis, 1960) while many studies indicate that watching violence may increase or instigate rather than reduce aggressive behavior (Goransen 1969, 1970, Siegel 1970, Bandura 1973). Feshback and Singer (1971) reveal that the context of viewed aggressive acts may be more important than their content in influencing behavior. Thus, a Karate student on the street may react differently to witnessed aggression such as a purse snatching (instrumental aggression, at that!), than he does to overt aggression in a Karate class. The context of the event determines what course of action, if any, is to be taken.
Social Learning Theory applied to aggression research considers the integration of cognitive factors with learning constructs. Modeling behavior is a synonymous term that is used. In essence, an individual "learns" modes of expressing aggression by watching other people successfully use them, or is inhibited if he sees models unsuccessful or even punished in their behavior. Research points out that modeling does enable individuals to socially learn aggressive behavior (Bandura and Huston, 1961; Bandura, Ross and Ross, 1961,1963). Johnson (1972) mentions that models have an additional function of instilling values; he also states that an observer may retain what he has learned from the model and perform it at a future time.

In the Karate school, instructors and advanced students serve as models for the beginning students, with Sifu as the main source of "values" modeling behavior for all. Karate techniques are learned through observation, but might not be in a student's sparring repertoire until after they have been practiced or experienced for some time. The control of aggression and almost total absence of violence in the school can be attributed, in part, to the strong reprimand an advanced student (model) receives if he loses his self-control. Observation is the method by which beginning students "learn" self-control as a value.
Anthropological Research

In surveying previous work in anthropology, it is obvious that aggression, for the most part, has been relegated to the status of a single, generalized term in culture studies. This has presumably occurred as a result of anthropology's holistic bias while avoiding in-depth studies of particular behavior patterns. An exception is when aggressive behavior takes up a major portion of individuals' time due to it being a cultural "value" in goal-directed activity as evidenced in Dobuan and Yanomamo status seeking.

Some anthropologists have made use of Murdock's Human Relations Area Files (HRAF) in cross-cultural studies where aggression is manifested in warfare. Sipes (1973) shows a direct relationship between warfare and "combative" sports (boxing, football etc.) in testing Instinct and social learning theories of aggression, using previous works such as Otterbein's (1968) internal war study sample of 628 societies. Murdock (1949), Mead (1955) and Tiger (1969) also view sports as functional equivalents to war in releasing aggressive drives through cathartic therapy. Lester (1967) sees a relationship between discipline experiences and aggression expression.

Individual ethnographies sometimes reveal that modes of aggressive behavior are actually important aspects
of a culture's value system. Benedict (1934) compares repressed aggression among the Zuni as a contrast to Dobuan wabu wabu, a system of aggressive practices which stresses one's own gains at the expense of another's loss. Whiting (1950) cites aggression as a requisite behavior for sorcerers in Paiute society. Hallowell (1955) studied inhibition of aggressive behavior among the Ojibwa, referring to an absence of overt aggression and a suppression of any impulse to tell someone else what to do. Although fights and quarrels sometimes did occur, aggressive drives were often covertly channeled into sorcery and magic. Mead (1963) mentions strict controls for in-group fighting among head-hunters, and Chagnon (1968) presents instances of verbal and physical aggression socially acceptable among the Yanomamo as a means of achieving status within the group (instrumental aggression). Edgerton (1971) made pastoral and farming comparisons in a study of four East African tribes with aggression as one of many content analysis categories. Through interview responses, it was found that the greater the expression of direct verbal and physical aggression, the greater was the expressed concern with self-control as an internal psychological restraint. A picture-values test was also developed and used, along with a Rorschach test, in this study.

The ethnographies presented here represent only a small sampling of those that have come face-to-face with different modes of expressing aggression within cultures.
Most of the studies mentioned reveal concepts of control or self-control of aggression that are followed to different degrees in each culture. Individual ethnographers often spend more time observing aggressive behavior when it is found to be part of a value system or a means of acquiring a higher social position for group members. The cross-cultural study undertaken by Sipes (1973) lent support to the social learning theory of aggression. However, I feel that future cross-cultural aggression studies should be based on original fieldwork without relying on HRAF comparisons as the sole source of data, and in using instruments of testing from psychology, whenever feasible, in conjunction with ethnographic observations.

Psychological Research

Human aggression research in psychology includes studies that take into account the neurological basis of the behavior. King (1961), Sem-Jacobsen (1966) and Mark and Ervin (1970) relate cases demonstrating aggression as the result of the activation of particular neural systems. Moyer (1968;1973) summarizes neurological and endocrinal bases and presents a physiological model of aggressive behavior, adding some support to instinct theory.

Laboratory studies usually involve subjects delivering an aversive stimulation (shock) to another organism by means of an "aggression machine" developed from non-human studies. Milgram (1963;1965) tested 40 males of
various occupations by instructing the subjects that it was their task to teach someone else a list of words, and to administer a shock if the person made a mistake. While the subjects did not know the machine was without current, they performed the task, sometimes giving a maximum "shock" in the belief that the researcher expected them to do so. Johnson (1972) states that other experiments have similar results. Berkowitz (1965) tested subjects who were either verbally insulted or treated in a neutral manner and later shown either an aggressive or neutral film. It was found that the insulted subjects gave more electric shocks to persons acting as "targets" no matter what film was viewed. Kelly and Mace (1970) and Ulrich and Favell (1970) are two more examples of laboratory testing in which aggressive behavior is a function of positive reinforcement and a response to aversive stimulation.

There are many studies involving the use of the TAT (Thematic Apperception Test) with measurement scales geared to responses indicating aggression. Stone (1956) used a three-point scale, while Leman (1966) felt an 8-point scale more appropriate. There has been much debate as to the validity of TAT responses, in that they supposedly tap sub-conscious levels of aggression, giving us the term projective test. Murstein (1963) classified each TAT picture card as having low, medium, or high stimulus-pull qualities, suggesting that inferences concerning the status of aggression in an individual's personality could
more validly be made with low and medium cards.

The limitations of this study, concentrating on overt and self-reported aggression in the Karate school, led to the decision of not administering TAT cards, though their use in future studies is considered.

A major problem encountered in psychology has been trying to apply any laboratory findings on human aggression to "real-life" situations, where experimental controls may be difficult to maintain. The anthropologist, on the other hand, comes into direct contact with everyday life or portions thereof, during his fieldwork, and can empirically test aggression theories if they happen to be the focus of his research. In this way anthropology can at least gain a better understanding of aggressive behavior from its research, hopefully including testing methods from psychology.

The next chapter presents a brief ethnographic description of the Karate school, based on fieldwork observations made during the Spring of 1976.
CHAPTER IV

ETHNOGRAPHIC DESCRIPTION
OF THE KARATE SCHOOL

Physical Environment

The school, part of a single-story complex of small businesses, was itself a single unit measuring approximately 1000 sq. ft. Upon approaching one of the two main entry doors from a parking area having direct access to Burbank Blvd., the visitor could distinguish between separate office and spectator areas, by viewing through plate glass windows. The office was small, with hardly enough room for its desk and several chairs. On the wall behind the desk were pictures of Sifu in an acting role he held in the motion picture - tv series "Kung-Fu", playing the part of a Shaolin monk during the 1800's. The spectator area, entered by another door, was also small and was not able to accommodate more than twelve people at one time in its three rows of closely-placed benches. Sifu's teaching credentials hung on its single wall. Both the office and spectator area had a short wooden railing facing the practice floor. On the opposite side of these areas were two dressing rooms. The practice area had a carpeted floor, and measured approximately 720 sq. ft. with large mirrors covering the lower half of its three walls. Their function was to enable students to check on their own posture and
movements, while also affording Sifu and instructors a means to observe students during class, thus aiding in evaluations and suggestions for improvement. Next to the wall on the side of the dressing rooms was an area where trophies were kept. Exercise weights were provided for student use and could be seen on the floor against each of the three walls. Two supporting posts for the ceiling were located towards the center of the practice area, and were utilized to anchor a punching bag and a striking pad. In the center of the main wall was a large portrait of Bodhidharma (the traditional founder of chuan-fa). To the left of the picture was a United States flag; to the right, a Tong flag — an eight-pointed yellow star on a red background. (The organization is now known as the Chinese Benevolent Association).

The size of the practice area and the support posts made it difficult for more than ten students to perform kata at any one time, and when practicing free-style sparring, it was not unusual for one pair of opponents to "run into" some other student due to the small space. Observation indicated an increase in enrollment would lead to overcrowding, and during the time of fieldwork, not more than ten students attended any one class (see fig. 4).

Class Procedures and Training

Two Karate classes were held on each day, Monday through Thursday. A beginner's class met from 6:30-7:30 p.m.
Fig. 4. Floor plan of the Karate school.
Advanced classes (open to beginners learning kata) met from 7:30-8:30p.m. While beginning students were allowed to attend advanced classes after learning basic Karate techniques, advanced students were not in any beginning class unless they were instructors. A Saturday morning sparring class was open to students from both groups at 11:00a.m. and usually lasted for an hour.

All classes began with either Sifu or an instructor entering the practice area and emphatically saying "Line up!" Students then would align themselves in rows facing the instructor(s) and the main wall. At a verbal command of "Position!", everyone in the practice area, including Sifu, would face the United States flag and bow as a sign of respect. Students and instructors would then turn and bow to Sifu. The "position" consists of standing with feet together, with an open left hand placed palm-down over a closed right hand — both held in front of the individual. The hand position has a symbolic meaning that is taught to beginners by Sifu: the right hand signifies a Karate practitioner's family and "loved ones"; the left hand is symbolic of the student himself, who "covers" or "protects" these people from harm. This preliminary ritual was followed in each class by all students, without exception. Both the show of respect for one's Karate teacher and the symbolic hand position are traditions having Asian chuan-fa origins.

A "warm-up" period followed in every class, involv-
ing stretching exercises and including push-ups and breathing exercises in the advanced classes. This initial period lasted for approximately five minutes.

Beginning students were then taught basic strikes, kicks, blocks and stances, which they then practiced for the remainder of the class period. Occasionally, beginning kata (referred to as "beginner's kicking"; "beginner's"; "#1") and rudimentary self-defense techniques were taught. The techniques were simple at first, involving one student stepping into a forward stance and delivering a single strike or kick and the opponent stepping back and blocking, delivering a counter-strike or kick. These were the initial experiences of facing an opponent in the Karate school. After learning the "basics" through their continuous daily repetition, beginning students were allowed to attend advanced classes, but this occurred only after at least three months of training.

In advanced classes, various types of kicks were practiced while moving in stances, after the warm-up exercises. Kata period followed, with eight performed on Monday and Wednesday and six others on Tuesday and Thursday. Each kata was practiced twice - once "soft", with students concentrating on proper breathing, the other "hard", with kiais (shouts) for focus and power of movements. After the kata, new sparring techniques were taught by Sifu followed by a period of semi-free or free-style sparring. Students were told to "pair off" and soon found themselves facing an
opponent. What usually happened was that students initially sought an opponent of similar belt ranking, but class procedure was to change opponents after several minutes, developing situations of advanced and beginning students as opponents. Sparring occurred during the last 20 minutes of advanced classes and for 30 minutes on Saturday. Students also bowed to each other before and after any sparring took place, as part of class procedure. All classes ended with the same ritual as they were begun. For a more thorough description of Karate techniques, the reader is referred to Nishiyama & Brown (1959).

Concepts Taught In The School

To what extent Eastern philosophy is taught varies from school to school, and with the decision of the instructor to include it in students' training. The following concepts were made available to students (through mimeographed sheets and oral instruction) in the research setting at the time of fieldwork:

The concept of a flowing mind was revealed to students as being the major contribution of Ch'an (Zen) to Asian martial arts. Sifu attempted to teach students to develop a fluid mind so that they would be able to respond "instinctively", without conscious effort, to an opponent's movements:

For example, if an opponent fakes a blow, you must be able to follow it and adjust to his every move. If your mind freezes on any single action, he will be able to attack
you successfully. Watching the movements as a whole is especially important when you are confronted by several opponents. You will be able to focus your attention on all of them. (From Kajukenbo Karate, Choi Li Fut, & Tao Ka Kung-Fu, unpublished manuscript).

This concept was put into practice during the class time when sparring techniques were taught. Students were also reminded to apply "fluidity" in performing their kata. The flowing mind concept seems analogous to the Zen mushin (no-mindedness), a state of consciousness referred to by Fromm (1973) concerning Zen sword fighting, in Chapter I.

The concept of Gin Lek, or "inner strength", was taught as opposed to Hei Lek, or natural body strength, which is muscular power based on a person's size and weight. Gin Lek is power of concentration and is generated from the lower abdominal region when performing strikes, kicks, blocks, etc. This inner strength is developed through Tan Tien training:

Tan Tien is a point within the hypogastric region which is about three inches below the navel. In Asian philosophy, especially to practitioners of Yoga and to the Zen (Chan) school of Buddhism, Tan Tien is the essence of life, the focal point for both mental and physical forces, from which a spiritual unification is derived. (Kajukenbo Karate, Choi Li Fut, & Tao Ka Kung-Fu, unpublished manuscript).

By directing the development of inner strength to the Tan Tien, students were told that their center of gravity would be lowered, aiding in a stronger stance. Breathing exercises practiced by students involved inhaling, re-
taining breath in Tan Tien then exhaling with a kiai (shout). The breathing exercises and Tan Tien concept are also part of specific kata movements. (The reader will remember that Chapter II dealt with the significance of yoga exercises in the early development of chuan-fa and in modern Karate).

Observations and Impressions

The fieldwork entailed participation in classes, beginning after an absence of several months from the Karate school as a result of an academic workload. I felt it was necessary to re-establish myself in the environment as an actual student, while also securing permission from Sifu in the use of the school as a research setting. The latter proved to be the easier of the two preliminary tasks as Sifu remembered my first "micro-study" of 1972, and offered the school and his co-operation in this latest endeavor. He also showed interest in my return to Karate training.

It took two weeks to bring myself back to a physical condition conducive to Karate training (i.e., able to attend the entire class without being exhausted). I remember my first day, in a Wednesday advanced class, when I found myself short of breath and trying to keep pace with even the beginners in performing kata. Feelings of apprehension from this experience centered around the possibility of it jeopardizing my being "accepted" by the group as
a student and researcher. This concern was greatly lessened after class when three students I had formerly trained with welcomed my return and introduced me to newer students. By the end of the first two weeks of training, observations and acquaintance with students, I felt that participation in class would not detract from further observations but add to them in the sense that valuable information could be gathered which an "outside observer" (such as one sitting in the spectator area) might fail to detect or even not be given access to. Fortunately, my familiarity with class procedures, the kata and techniques did not require any lengthy learning period of these activities in the field. Keeping a field journal aided in what I feel are some significant findings concerning individual and group behavior in this Karate school.

Social interaction of students, in the form of discussions, occurred almost exclusively before class for periods ranging from several seconds to ten minutes. This occurred on a regular daily basis as class procedure included maintaining a minimal amount of verbal communication except when related to the Karate lesson. Also, most students left immediately at the end of class, often in their Karate gi (uniform).

One of the recurring main themes of discussion was the martial arts, whether it was a current chuan-fa or Karate film playing at a local theatre, a recent Karate tournament, or the rare case of a student's actual use of
his training during an incident away from the school. Conversations usually began when one student greeted another, quickly leading into the theme. It was not long after this when a group formed with each student taking an active part in the discussion which often ended only when Sifu began the class. Not all students entered into discussion, as there was usually at least one individual preferring to practice kata or exercise as a prelude to class.

Another observation was that individuals of the same belt ranking tended to cluster together in pre-class socializing. Black and brown belts were often seen towards the main wall, while beginning students seemed to favor the corner of the practice area that was next to the spectator area. This distribution occurred with enough daily frequency during the fieldwork as to be considered of major importance in studying Karate school behavior. When a beginning student approached the advanced group, it was often to ask a question about the delivery of a technique, or a related subject. This behavioral procedure leading to socializing between beginning and advanced students occurred more frequently than that mentioned earlier among members of the same group. The beginning class with its several members in regular attendance did not indicate, from my observation, any of the above "procedures". Beginning class students arrived only a few minutes before class began, and when a
discussion started, the theme involved either a recently learned technique or a subject other than the martial arts - a vacation trip, a current event in the news, and automobile repairs as examples. Beginning students not in the later classes left immediately after the 6:30-7:30 class. It seemed to the investigator that the beginning class was more informal in class procedures and socializing than the advanced class.

Through direct questioning it was discovered that employment or academic schedules permitted only minimal, if any, socializing to take place outside of class between the Karate students. The only exception was when an advanced student mentioned a visit to another student injured in class. This was the topic of one of the conversations before an advanced class: a black belt student received an injury (a foot fracture) as the result of a brown belt being very aggressive during a Thursday evening sparring session. The brown belt was not present during the discussion in which 3 black belts, 2 brown belts, 1 blue belt and 3 white belts participated. They all voiced opinions about dealing with the brown belt (who had injured people prior to this incident) and agreed that they would avoid sparring with him until he realized they expected him to exhibit more self-control. This observation revealed to me the dynamics of group sanctions against violent behavior in the Karate school. Even though the brown belt mentioned he did not intend to in-
jure his opponents, the group generally felt that he was trying to "prove" his sparring abilities by injuring people. Later observations showed me that many of the students were avoiding this person in sparring, and that he was left without an opponent on many occasions. When this occurred, Sifu or an instructor would ask a student to specifically spar with the brown belt. Within a month's time, however, the brown belt began showing enough control in sparring to prompt students to voluntarily face him as an opponent. The fact that group sanctions were applied against students who repeatedly injured others indicated that while aggressiveness in sparring was accepted it had to be tempered with self-control. Violence or near-violence was not condoned. The observed sanctions were either aviodance in sparring, or an aloofness during times of socializing.

By taking the role of an observer, I discovered that these brief periods of socializing prior to class served to maintain group solidarity and reinforce individuals in their pursuit of a common activity (with the danger of possible injury). More than that, it was learned that although Sifu was opposed to violence within the school, it was the students themselves who implemented that opposition.

By participating in class, I acquired a better understanding of student sanctions against violence. Many evenings I would return home from the Karate school
with minor injuries incurred while training. One week, it would be bruised forearms from blocking exercises; another week, a sprained foot or fingers, all in the course of "controlled" sparring sessions. By experiencing firsthand these injuries, I saw that there was a need for student group control of violence as a precautionary measure against any loss of individual self-control.
CHAPTER V

PROCEDURES AND METHODS

Subject Selection

The total enrollment of the school at the time of the study (spring, 1976) was 23 students; two students were absent indefinitely as a result of injuries incurred while training, and two others attended class so infrequently (absent several weeks at a time) as to make their inclusion in the research difficult. With this in mind, it was decided to test all regularly attending students due to the small population. Subjects (all males) were divided into two groups for comparison: beginning (N = 10), composed of white, purple and blue belt rankings, and advanced (N = 9), composed of brown and black belt ranks.

Preliminary investigation revealed that a significant divergence existed in number of years of Karate training when students were grouped in this manner: 2 wks. to 2½ yrs. for beginners, 5-12 yrs. for advanced students. At least 8 years of study is required for a black belt in this school. Ethnic background and socio-economic status were not considered in the group categorization although students of Oriental, Black, Mexican and Anglo-American ethnic backgrounds were enrolled. While the total number of subjects was small (N = 19), it nevertheless represented 83% of total enrollment and afforded a greater
opportunity to more closely observe each individual's behavior.

Students were initially addressed during the second week of fieldwork by Sifu, who mentioned that I was undertaking a study leading to a graduate degree in anthropology, and that he would appreciate their "helping out with the study." The initial questionnaires were then administered to students from each group during the time interval (15 minutes) between the beginning and advanced classes. The investigator's participation in classes did not require a formal introduction to be made. The procedure was repeated on the following day to several students not present the first time. The feeling of cooperation and interest in the research the investigator received from many of the students could be attributed in part to the fact that Sifu made the initial comments (i.e., the students were participating as a result of Sifu's request). Also, the investigator, wearing a Karate gi (uniform) from attending classes on these occasions, ensured an unobtrusiveness sought after in this study's data collection. Even after the testing began, I did not experience any feelings from the students of being an "outsider". Instead, it seemed that there was no noticeable difference in student behavior as a result of my presence. That was precisely what I had hoped for in beginning the study. An ongoing field journal was kept of observations, incidents and personal impressions, to
Data Collection

The need to find techniques of collecting data that would efficiently produce information valid for testing the hypotheses was a primary concern since this study was first conceptualized several years ago. While standard ethnographic techniques of participant-observation, questionnaires and keeping a field journal proved useful, it was further necessary to consider employing at least one psychological data gathering instrument that has specifically been used in previous aggression research. After considering several alternate methods, including the Luscher Color Test, Hand Test and Thematic Apperception Test, the Anger Self-Report was decided upon, based on what the investigator believes is its applicability and relevance to studies within the Karate school. It also gives more precise measurements of aggressive behavior, unlike the others whose responses are left open to investigator interpretation, even with a measurement scale, thus necessitating inter-rater reliability testing. The following methods of gathering data enabled both qualitative and quantitative comparisons to be made of student aggressive behavior.

Initial Questionnaire. The questionnaire, containing 20 items, served as a source for general background information (belt ranking, age, etc.) on each
student as well as yielding data for hypothesis testing. Open-ended questions such as "Initial reasons for studying Karate", and "Have these reasons changed in any way? If yes, please explain", investigated student motivations for attending the classes.

Questions #13, "What is the most important thing for Sifu to teach a student?"; and #14, "What do you think are some important qualities or ways of behavior a student should have in this school?", afforded a means to ascertain what values existed among the students in the school, while question #15, "Who, in your opinion, are the five best students in this school, and what qualities do they possess?", was structured to determine if there was a relationship between adherence to values and social ranking. (Questions 13, 14 and 15 were the main sources of data used in testing hypothesis #2). Responses from question #17, "Should a student be aggressive in sparring without intending to injure his opponent; why?", were compared with responses from the ASR and observations of overt aggression, while questions #18 and #19 dealt with a subject's attitude towards aggressive behavior in other students and were compared with specific ASR items. Responses to question #20, "Based on your knowledge, what kicks and strikes, or techniques do you believe are most powerful/aggressive?", were used to develop a typology of Karate techniques within this school, the criterion being degree of aggressiveness as determined by the students.
The questionnaire form is in Appendix A. Code numbers (see Table 1) were assigned to each student and facilitated their identification in questionnaires and observations. Beginning students were designated B (1 through 10); advanced students as A (1 through 9).

**Anger Self-Report.** Rather than include a series of questions on the initial form, the investigator felt that a separate, self-report questionnaire would be a more valid means of acquiring data on each subject's own attitude towards overtly expressing aggression. After a series of consultations with Dr. Philip Smith of the CSUN Department of Psychology, a decision was made to use certain scales of the Anger Self-Report (ASR). Developed by Zelin et al (1972), the ASR has undergone validating studies on its utilization for aggression research. Two main categories totaling 40 items were chosen from the ASR in testing hypotheses 3 and 4:

1. **Expression of Anger.** There are three separate scales under this general category.
   a) **General Expression** (G Exp.) In this subcategory the items do not reflect the mode or manner of expression but concentrate on the amount of expression of anger. For example, "I feel it is easy to express anger at people", is an item in this category. It leaves unsaid how the anger is expressed. (9 items: 7,12,15,21,24,25,26,35,39).
   b) **Verbal Expression of Aggression** (Verb.) In this
### TABLE 1

**STUDENT CODING SYSTEM**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Student</th>
<th>Belt Ranking</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>B1</td>
<td>white</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>B2</td>
<td>white</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>B3</td>
<td>white</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>B4</td>
<td>white</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>B5</td>
<td>white</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>B6</td>
<td>purple</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>B7</td>
<td>purple</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>B8</td>
<td>white</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>B9</td>
<td>blue</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>B10</td>
<td>blue</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A1</td>
<td>brown</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A2</td>
<td>brown</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A3</td>
<td>brown</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A4</td>
<td>black</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A5</td>
<td>black</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A6</td>
<td>black</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A7</td>
<td>black</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A8</td>
<td>black</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A9</td>
<td>black</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
subcategory the amount of verbal expression is assessed. An item in this scale is "I will criticize someone to his face if he deserves it." (9 items: 1, 5, 6, 8, 14, 19, 30, 34, 37).

c) Physical Expression of Aggression (Phys.). This subcategory assesses the amount of physical expression of aggression. As an example, the item "When I really lose my temper, I am capable of striking someone", is found in this scale. (6 items: 2, 10, 20, 27, 31, 36).

A single score of Expression of Anger (Tot. Exp.) is obtained by summing the scores on the General, Verbal and Physical Expression.

II. Guilt. There are two scales for measuring guilt.

a) Guilt. This category attempts to assess the amount of aggression turned inward. A major reason for its inclusion was to investigate the relationship between guilt and expression of aggression. The item "I blame myself if anything goes wrong", is in this scale. (9 items: 9, 13, 16, 18, 22, 23, 28, 29, 33).

b) Condemnation of Anger (Condemn. Ang.). This category assesses how negatively one feels about anger and its items focus on attitudes towards anger in people in general. Zelin also terms this category as "guilt over aggression." It most nearly corresponds to items 18 and 19 in the initial questionnaire. This scale includes the
For the purposes of this study, I felt it was necessary to exclude the Awareness of Anger and Mistrust or Suspicion Scales of the ASR and to retain item #5 in Zelin's Physical Aggression Scale. The reasons for this modification were to concentrate on physical and verbal aggression responses and to compare these with observed aggression. Also, a shorter, more relevant form was needed due to time limitations in its administration before class. The Awareness of Anger Scale assesses reported awareness but not behavioral expression, while the Mistrust or Suspicion Scale has been used as an indicator of aggression management in seriously disturbed psychiatric patients, thus not necessarily applicable to this study.

The method of scoring the ASR is found in Zelin et al (1972) and entails definite directions for scoring, where the algebraic sum of the agree (A) items and the algebraic sum of the disagree (D) items are obtained separately for each scale. The sum of the disagree items are then subtracted from the sum of the agree items. The sign of the original sums and the sum of the Total Score are retained when doing these calculations. The following list of items shows each scale by number, along with each item's direction for scoring:

item: "People should never get angry." (7 items: 3, 4, 11, 17, 32, 38, 40).

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The ASR forms were administered to both groups separately, during the last month of fieldwork following the same procedure as with the initial questionnaire. If a student was absent from class, he was given the form to complete on the following evening. A sample instruction sheet and form is in Appendix B.

Observation of Overt Aggression. Overt aggression, discussed in Chapter I, occurs in the Karate school with the delivery of strikes, kicks and any other offensive techniques such as leg sweeps and take-downs that are directed at an opponent. Since the Karate classes were
structured in terms of definite periods (warm-up exercises, kata, sparring), observations focused on the sparring periods during the last 1/3 of advanced class time Mondays through Thursdays and for approximately 20 minutes on Saturday mornings.

Observations were made over a three-month period encompassing a total sparring time of three hours. Only free-style sparring situations were tested. Preliminary observations indicated that semi-free sparring resulted in opponents initiating the same number of attacks by "taking turns" delivering pre-determined techniques. Eight advanced and seven beginning students constituted the sample size. Students A9, B1, B4 and B7 did not participate in free-style sparring, and offered different reasons (ill health, personal conviction, too young and being a new student) for not doing so.

The 15 students were tested individually over three random 3-minute sparring periods, from which a mean overt aggression score for each was computed. The criterion for scoring was quantitative, and was based on the number of instances each student initiated an attack within the period. The decision not to use separate strikes, kicks, etc. in the scoring system was that even in tournaments where there are four or five judges, a consensus often is not reached on particular techniques due to speed of delivery and having to watch two opponents at once. Also, an advanced student might
initiate an attack with several techniques, while beginners often only deliver a single strike or kick until they have learned combinations. Recording the initiation of attacks closely adheres to the "presentation of aversive stimuli" definition of aggression and gives more valid measurements for each group. Each 3-minute sparring period involved a number of separate attacks. In most instances, when an attack was successfully delivered by one student, both opponents ceased delivering techniques, returned to a central location, and resumed sparring. This procedure facilitated data collection.

Two sparring situations were compared: advanced vs. advanced and beginning vs. beginning students. It was felt that the three hours of actual observation of sparring produced a sufficient amount of data for testing hypothesis #1. Observation of verbal aggression, since it rarely occurred, took place throughout the fieldwork, recording any instances and individuals involved. A sample scoring sheet is presented in Appendix C.

Statistical Analysis

After consultation with Dr. Gregory Truex (CSUN Dept. of Anthropology), it was decided to employ the t-test (Garrett, 1971) for statistical analysis. This technique can be used to test the significance of the mean difference of two independent samples when the N's are small (less than 30). The t-test, when applied
to aspects of the research data, is computed by the following formula:

\[ t = \frac{M_1 - M_2}{SE_D} \]

where: \( M_1 \) and \( M_2 \) are the means of two independent samples.

\[ SE_D = SD \sqrt{\frac{N_1 + N_2}{N_1 N_2}} \]

where: \( SE_D \) is the standard error of the difference between means in small independent samples.

\[ SD = \sqrt{\frac{\sum x^2}{(N-1)}} \]

where: \( SD \) is the standard deviation when two small independent samples are pooled.

\( x^2 \) is the sums of the square deviations around the means of Group A and Group B scores.

These sums of squares are combined to give a single SD.

Available statistical tables (Garrett, 1971:461) allow the researcher to determine the significance of \( t \) when the degrees of freedom (df) must be taken into account. In the above formula, \((N_1 - 1) + (N_2 - 1)\) serves as the df.

In testing the hypotheses, the t-test was applied to the overt aggression scores concerning hypothesis 1, and to the ASR scores concerning hypotheses 3 and 4. No statistical technique was employed in testing hypothesis 2.
CHAPTER VI
DATA ANALYSIS AND FINDINGS

Some initial questionnaire items were asked to obtain general information not intended for hypotheses testing. At the request of eleven (58%) of the students responses to items 3, 4 and 5 were not included in data analysis, after concern for confidentiality was expressed. I felt that their exclusion did not detract from the analysis as related to the hypotheses. Responses to items 13, 14 and 15 relate to hypotheses 2 and are presented later in this chapter with results of hypotheses testing. All other questionnaire responses are presented and discussed at this time. Certain open-ended questions resulted in some of the subjects giving more than one response. The method of analysis in those cases was dual: The percentage of total number of mentions of each response was determined, as well as the percentage of the total number of students giving each response.

General Information Items

The mean age was 23.7 yrs. for beginners and 32.7 yrs. for advanced students. The mean length of time studying Karate was 1.67 yrs. for beginners and 8.67 yrs. for advanced students. Item 8, number of classes attended each week, revealed an average of 4 for beginners
and 3 for advanced students. Absence from class during
the week was usually the result of minor injuries (sprains
or strained muscles). Sifu counseled students that it was
better to miss class in order not to aggravate a minor
injury. Also, as mentioned in Chapter IV, beginners some-
times attended two classes in a single day. These factors
explain why beginners, on the average, attended one more
class per week than advanced students.

**Item 9.** Do you also practice elsewhere; if yes, how
much each week?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>TABLE 2</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>PRACTICE AWAY FROM SCHOOL</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>no</th>
<th>0-1hr.</th>
<th>1-5hrs.</th>
<th>more than 5hrs.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>B(N=10)</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>%of B's</td>
<td>10%</td>
<td>20%</td>
<td>50%</td>
<td>20%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A(N=9)</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>%of B's</td>
<td>44%</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>56%</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total(N=19)</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>%of total students</td>
<td>26%</td>
<td>10.5%</td>
<td>53%</td>
<td>10.5%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

This questionnaire item determined whether or not
students practiced outside of the school. Table 2 reveals
that, 90% of B's and 56% of A's practiced Karate on a week-
ly basis away from the school, yet 44% of A's stated they
did not practice at all, other than during class time. A
possible explanation for this is that some A's concen-
trated on perfecting the Karate techniques and katas they
had already learned over a period of several years, and did this in the school. Many B's, however, needed additional practice time since they had a greater intake of new techniques and katas to learn in order to successfully participate in classes that A's attended.

**Item 10. Initial reasons for studying Karate.**

**TABLE 3**

**INITIAL REASONS FOR KARATE PRACTICE**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>physical conditioning</th>
<th>self-defense</th>
<th>self-awareness</th>
<th>curiosity/friends as students</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>B(10)</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>% of B's</td>
<td>80%</td>
<td>60%</td>
<td>10%</td>
<td>10%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A(9)</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>% of A's</td>
<td>78%</td>
<td>44%</td>
<td>44%</td>
<td>11%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total (19)</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>% Tot. Students</td>
<td>79%</td>
<td>53%</td>
<td>26%</td>
<td>11%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>% Tot. Responses (32)</td>
<td>47%</td>
<td>31%</td>
<td>16%</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In this multiple-response question concerning motivations, 79% of the total number of students indicated physical conditioning as an initial reason for their Karate training. Fifty-three per cent also mentioned self-defense and 26% indicated an interest in self-awareness. Only one student from each group entered Karate training out of curiosity or because of a friend who trained.

To summarize, the initial reasons concentrated on
the physical conditioning/self-defense categories (78% of total responses). It was interesting to discover that 4 out of 9 A's (44%) indicated the psychological factor of self-awareness while only 1 out of 10 B's (10%) gave that response as an initial reason.

**Item 11.** Have these reasons changed in any way? (see Table 4).

In this multiple-response question concerning changed motivations, 42% of the total number of students (60% of B's; 22% of A's) stated that their initial reasons did not change. Thirty-seven per cent (20% of B's; 56% of A's) mentioned the reason for studying Karate now was to develop self-awareness. Another response given, interest in Karate more as an art, was mentioned by 20% of B's and 33% of A's. To develop self-control was given by only 1 out of 10 (10%) B's and 1 out of 9 (11%) A's. "Other" responses were all from the A group: Two students (22%) mentioned their having developed an interest in meditation, and one student (11%) gave physical conditioning as one of his responses (this was not one of his initial reasons).

The data in Table 4 indicate that for the majority of the B group, initial reasons for studying Karate did not change. A possible explanation is that those beginners had not yet attended enough classes to develop a different motivation for practicing Karate. In Table 3, 44% of A's mentioned self-awareness as an initial reason. When con-
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>no</th>
<th>interest in Karate as an art</th>
<th>to develop self-awareness</th>
<th>to develop self-control</th>
<th>&quot;other&quot;</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>B (N=10)</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>% of B's</td>
<td>60%</td>
<td>20%</td>
<td>20%</td>
<td>10%</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A (N=9)</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>% of A's</td>
<td>22%</td>
<td>33%</td>
<td>56%</td>
<td>11%</td>
<td>33%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total (N=19)</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>%Tot. Students</td>
<td>42%</td>
<td>26%</td>
<td>37%</td>
<td>11%</td>
<td>16%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>%Tot. Responses</td>
<td>32%</td>
<td>20%</td>
<td>28%</td>
<td>8%</td>
<td>12%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

TABLE 4
CHANGED REASONS FOR KARATE PRACTICE
sidering that response in Table 5, 56% of A's included it in their changed reasons, indicating that 100% of A's were interested in developing a self-awareness through Karate training.

Item 12. Do you think your study of Karate has changed your personality or behavior in any way? (see Table 5).

Table 5 reveals that 53% of the students (50% of B's; 56% of A's) felt they had gained more confidence through their Karate training. Thirty-two per cent (20% of B's; 44% of A's) also mentioned developing more patience, 26% (30% of B's; 22% of A's) said they developed more self-control, and 16% (20% of B's; 11% of A's) attributed more awareness to Karate training. Only one beginning student felt no change in his personality or behavior. "Other" responses from B's were: more maturity (1); having more respect for others (1); having better health (2). "Other" responses from A's were: more maturity (1) and having more respect for others (1).

In summary, the development of confidence, patience, self-control and awareness were the most frequently mentioned personality changes given in response to Item 12. Table 5 also suggests that confidence was developed early in Karate training by the number of B responses in that category.

Item 16, if there is one person in this school you
### Table 5

**Personality/Behavior Change Through Karate Practice**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>No</th>
<th>More Confidence</th>
<th>More Patience</th>
<th>More Self-control</th>
<th>More Awareness</th>
<th>&quot;Other&quot;</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>B (N=10)</strong></td>
<td>1</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>% of B's</td>
<td>10%</td>
<td>50%</td>
<td>20%</td>
<td>30%</td>
<td>20%</td>
<td>40%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>A (N=9)</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td>5</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>% of A's</td>
<td></td>
<td>56%</td>
<td>44%</td>
<td>22%</td>
<td>11%</td>
<td>22%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total (N=19)</strong></td>
<td>1</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>% Tot. Students</td>
<td>5%</td>
<td>53%</td>
<td>32%</td>
<td>26%</td>
<td>16%</td>
<td>32%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>% Tot. Responses (N=31)</td>
<td>3%</td>
<td>32.3%</td>
<td>19.3%</td>
<td>16%</td>
<td>10%</td>
<td>19.3%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Table 6
PERSON IN SCHOOL WHO IS MOST RESPECTED

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>decline to answer</th>
<th>Sifu</th>
<th>A5</th>
<th>A4</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>B (N=10)</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>% of B's</td>
<td>20%</td>
<td>70%</td>
<td>10%</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A (N=9)</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>% of A's</td>
<td>11%</td>
<td>78%</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>11%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total (N=19)</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>14%</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>% of Total students</td>
<td>16%</td>
<td>74%</td>
<td>5%</td>
<td>5%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Item 16 was a single-response question. When beginners responded by indicating Sifu, reasons mentioned were: he was the teacher (3); his patience (1); he deserves respect (2); he is a "good person" (1); and he helped with a personal problem (1). The reason given for choosing A5 was his "dedication to Karate training."

Advanced students gave the following reasons for choosing Sifu: he was the teacher (5); his patience (2); he "helps students to realize their potential" (1); his being a "living example of his teachings seeking perfection" (1); "he has achieved unity of mind and body" (1); "his thoughtfulness and consideration for other people" (1).

A4 named himself as the person deserving the most respect and stated: "The psychological situations I have survived," as the reason.
Item 17. Should a student be aggressive in sparring without intending to injure his opponent; why? (see Table 7).

Table 7 reveals that 18 (95%) of the students felt that a student should be aggressive in sparring, without an intent to injure the opponent. The single "no" respondent gave the reasons: "should have control" and "he might hurt someone" for his answer. Forty-two per cent (40% of B's; 44% of A's) of the students indicated that aggressiveness in sparring was a way to test fighting skills or techniques they learned in class. Thirty-two per cent (20% of B's; 44% of A's) mentioned aggressiveness in sparring enabled a student to practice his self-control. "Other" responses from B's were: "for practice"; "to advance himself"; "in order to increase reflexes, but you could overdo like anything else". "Other" responses from A's were: "for self-confidence"; "it is intended for the betterment of the student and the art"; "to respond to a combat situation"; "only way to excellence-timing important"; "to develop aggressiveness and power."

The data from Table 7 shows that testing fighting skills and practicing self-control were the most frequently mentioned reasons for students being aggressive in sparring. Most of the "other" responses seemed to imply testing or improving fighting skills.

Item 18. How do you feel about a student who loses
### TABLE 7
STUDENT ATTITUDE TOWARDS AGGRESSION IN SPARRING WITHOUT INTENT TO INJURE

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>no</th>
<th>to test fighting skills</th>
<th>to practice self-control</th>
<th>&quot;other&quot;</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>B (N=10)</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>% of B's</td>
<td>10%</td>
<td>40%</td>
<td>20%</td>
<td>30%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A (N=9)</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>% of A's</td>
<td></td>
<td>44%</td>
<td>44%</td>
<td>56%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total (N=19)</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>% of Tot. Students</td>
<td>5%</td>
<td>42%</td>
<td>32%</td>
<td>42%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>% of Tot. Responses (N=23)</td>
<td>4%</td>
<td>35%</td>
<td>26%</td>
<td>35%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
his temper in class?

TABLE 8
LOSS OF TEMPER IN CLASS

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>feel student needs self-control</th>
<th>&quot;other&quot;</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>B (N=10)</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>% of B's</td>
<td>60%</td>
<td>40%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A (N=9)</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>% of A's</td>
<td>67%</td>
<td>33%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total (N=19)</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>% of Total Students</td>
<td>63%</td>
<td>37%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

There were no multiple responses to item 18. Data from Table 8 show that 63% of the students felt that a loss of temper (expression of anger) would require an individual to develop more self-control. "Other" responses from B's were: "A poor student, with much to learn"; "not mature - Sifu should talk to him"; "out of place." Only one student stated a possible acceptance of another's loss of temper: "If the student has a good reason for losing his temper, I suppose I would have to condone it." "Other responses from A's were more critical: "Dismiss him after the second unprovoked incident"; "humiliated. His example is that of a fellow student"; "he isn't a good student. Shouldn't be training here."

From the data, there seems to be a general disapproval of loss of temper within the school.
Item 19. If you are practicing or sparring with another student, and he injures you, what should you do? (see Table 9).

Item 19 produced multiple responses from most students. Forty-two per cent of the students (60% of B's; 33% of A's) indicated they would either do nothing concerning the opponent or simply stop sparring with him. Twenty-six per cent showed concern for the injury itself, saying they would "see a doctor"; "call an ambulance"; "take care of it"; etc. Only 1 out of 10 (10%) beginners, but 4 out of 9 (44%) advanced students mentioned self-control. The A's self-control responses were evenly distributed between personal use and asking the opponent to exhibit the behavior. The "other" responses, both from B's, were: "you should report it to Sifu"; "let him know so it won't happen again."

In no case was there any mention of a counter-attack (either aggressive or violent), supporting fieldwork observations of non-violence in the school, even after an injury occurred. Factors influencing individuals' responses to item 19 were that the type of injury and its intensity were left open to interpretation. Also, at least 16% of the students, by asking the opponent why the injury occurred (in their response), indicated wanting to determine intentionality of the injury.

Item 20. Based on your knowledge what kicks and
TABLE 9
RESPONSES TO INJURY

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>nothing/stop sparring with him</th>
<th>see a doctor/use self-tend to control</th>
<th>ask opponent to use self-control</th>
<th>ask opponent why it occurred</th>
<th>&quot;other&quot;</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>B (N=10)</strong></td>
<td>6</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>% of B's</td>
<td>60%</td>
<td>30%</td>
<td>10%</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>10%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>A (N=9)</strong></td>
<td>3</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>22%</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>% of A's</td>
<td>33%</td>
<td>22%</td>
<td>22%</td>
<td>22%</td>
<td>22%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total (N=19)</strong></td>
<td>8</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>22%</td>
<td>22%</td>
<td>22%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>% Tot. Students</td>
<td>42%</td>
<td>26%</td>
<td>16%</td>
<td>11%</td>
<td>16%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>% Tot. Responses</td>
<td>35%</td>
<td>21%</td>
<td>13%</td>
<td>9%</td>
<td>13%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(N=23)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
strikes, or techniques do you believe are most powerful/ aggressive? (see Table 10).

From the data in Table 10, most aggressive single techniques are the front, side, back and roundhouse kicks, respectively, and the lunge & reverse punches. "Other" responses from beginners were: "any"; "can't properly answer"; "open-hand claw" and "kung-fu movements." Advanced students also responded with: "two-knuckle strike"; "back-fist strike"; "depends on student. A strong finger-poke is more powerful than a weak back kick"; "all kicks and strikes"; "those which are physically and psychologically applicable by the student and defeating to the opponent"; "any combination techniques."

The A's responses tended to be more varied, indicating development of particular techniques suited to the individual. B's responses of front kick (70%) and lunge punch (40%) are the two main techniques learned as basics. The data suggest that after basics are learned, each student will concentrate on perfecting specific techniques, listing those as his most powerful or aggressive.

In summary, the general information items served as a means to compare students' actual responses with the researcher's observations concerning similar behavior within the school. As an example, observations indicated that violence rarely, if ever occurred in the school as a result of student sanctions against its expression. This is
TABLE 10

TYPOLOGY OF TECHNIQUES

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>lunge punch</th>
<th>reverse punch</th>
<th>front kick</th>
<th>side kick</th>
<th>back kick</th>
<th>roundhouse kick</th>
<th>&quot;other&quot;</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>B (N=10)</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>% of B's</td>
<td>40%</td>
<td>20%</td>
<td>70%</td>
<td>40%</td>
<td>20%</td>
<td>30%</td>
<td>40%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A (N=9)</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>% of A's</td>
<td>5%</td>
<td>5%</td>
<td>11%</td>
<td>44%</td>
<td>33%</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>66%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total (N=19)</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>% Tot. Students</td>
<td>26%</td>
<td>16%</td>
<td>47%</td>
<td>42%</td>
<td>26%</td>
<td>21%</td>
<td>53%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>% Tot. Responses (N=44)</td>
<td>11%</td>
<td>7%</td>
<td>21%</td>
<td>18%</td>
<td>11%</td>
<td>9%</td>
<td>23%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
supported by the data in Tables 8 and 9, where there was a total lack of violence (or even physical aggression) in response to an injury or another student's loss of temper in class.

Data from Table 7 support observations indicating that aggression was an accepted form of behavior in the Karate school. Ninety-five per cent of the respondents felt that a student should be aggressive in sparring without intending to injure his opponent. Sifu's role in modeling behavior was suggested in observations and is evident in responses presented in Table 6, where 74% of the students chose him as the person most respected in the school, citing his "being the teacher", "setting an example", and other implications of being a model.

Although not critical in testing the hypotheses, the items presented and discussed thus far did support my observations. Hopefully, they will help develop interest in future aggression studies within Karate schools.

The following results were obtained in data analysis pertaining to the hypotheses:

Table 11 shows the recorded number of instances each student who participated in sparring initiated an
attack. The scores for three separate 3-minute sparring periods with different opponents are presented as well as each student's mean number of attacks for these periods. Overall mean scores for the A and B groups are derived from these individual means, and used in the analysis. The statistical significance of t is also given.

### Table 11
STUDENT SPARRING SCORES AND SIGNIFICANCE OF t

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Student</th>
<th>A1</th>
<th>A2</th>
<th>A3</th>
<th>A4</th>
<th>A5</th>
<th>A6</th>
<th>A7</th>
<th>A8</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>period 1</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>period 2</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>period 3</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mean</td>
<td>7.67</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>12.33</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>6.67</td>
<td>7.67</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>M (N=8)</td>
<td>8.04</td>
<td>5.67</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>4.67</td>
<td>5.33</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>4.67</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Student</th>
<th>B2</th>
<th>B3</th>
<th>B5</th>
<th>B6</th>
<th>B8</th>
<th>B9</th>
<th>B10</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>period 1</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>period 2</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>period 3</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mean</td>
<td>5.67</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>4.67</td>
<td>5.33</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>4.67</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>M (N=7)</td>
<td>5.19</td>
<td>5.67</td>
<td>4.67</td>
<td>5.33</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>4.67</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Hypothesis 1, which states that advanced students will exhibit more overt aggression in sparring than beginning students, is supported by the data. The obtained t of 3.70 is statistically significant at the .01 level, more exacting than the .05 level of significance the researcher adopted for testing. We can be reasonably confident, therefore, that in general advanced students were more
aggressive than beginning students in sparring.

The combined data from Tables 12, 13, and 14 were used in testing hypothesis 2, which states that students adhering to values will have a higher social ranking within the school than those who do not. In order to test hypothesis 2, it was necessary to determine what values existed in the school. This information was acquired through student responses to items 13 and 14 on the initial questionnaire, and compared with item 15 responses concerning student opinion as to who the best students in the school were, along with their attributed values. The assumption made in Chapter I that aggression in sparring was an accepted form of behavior, and not a value in itself, is further supported by its exclusion in student responses indicating values.

Item 13. What is the most important thing for Sifu to teach a student.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>TABLE 12</th>
<th>MOST IMPORTANT VALUE TAUGHT BY SIFU</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>self-control</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>B (N=10)</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A (N=9)</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>% Tot. Responses (N=23)</td>
<td>35%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Item 14. What do you think are some important qualities or ways of behavior a student should have in this school?

TABLE 13
VALUES STUDENT SHOULD HAVE

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>respect</th>
<th>self-control</th>
<th>patience</th>
<th>self-awareness</th>
<th>confidence</th>
<th>other</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>B (N=10)</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A (N=9)</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>%Tot. Responses</td>
<td>22.5%</td>
<td>21%</td>
<td>18%</td>
<td>8%</td>
<td>8%</td>
<td>22.5%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(N=62)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

"Other" responses were: "a willingness to learn"; "gentleness"; "imagination"; "strength"; "honesty"; "ability to concentrate"; "wanting to improve"; "trying one's best in Karate practice" and "humility" for B's, and "learning ability" (2); "flexibility"; "joy" and "humility" for A's.

Combining responses from Tables 12 and 13 we have self-control, respect, patience, self-awareness and confidence as the values most frequently mentioned by students in the school.

Item 15. Who, in your opinion, are the five best students in this school and what qualities do they possess?
### TABLE 14

**SOCIAL RANKING**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Individual</th>
<th># of separate mentions</th>
<th>Specific qualities attributed to each individual</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>A5</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>self-control, patience, confidence, dedication, determination, teaching ability</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A2</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>self-control, patience, sparring ability</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A4</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>self-control, respect, patience, confidence, dedication, endurance, form</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A9</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>self-control, confidence, determination, strength, amount of training</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A8</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>patience, confidence, Karate knowledge, determination</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>B10</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>self-control, patience</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A3</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>confidence, intensity</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>B8</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>dedication</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>B6</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>sparring ability</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Four advanced students and four beginners (42% of students) stated they either were not qualified to answer, or declined to answer, item 15.

**Hypothesis 2**, already stated, is supported by the combined data in Tables 12, 13 and 14. The students mentioned in Table 14 (those having the highest social ranking in the school) are A5, A2, A4, A9, A8, B10, A3, B8, and B6 respectively. The most frequently mentioned values from
Tables 12 and 13 are *self-control, respect, patience, self-awareness* and *confidence*. In Table 14, the values most frequently associated with students of higher social ranking are *self-control, patience, confidence, dedication* and *determination*. *Self-awareness* was not mentioned and *respect* was only mentioned once in Table 14, while *dedication* and *determination* were associated with social ranking but not found in Tables 12 and 13. A total of nine students (47% of total # of students) composed the social ranking. The five highest ranking were A's and 3 (33% of total ranking) were B's. The data indicate that students with higher belt ranking had a higher social ranking if they adhered to values within the school. When data from Tables 12, 13 and 14 are combined, it is found that *self-control, patience* and *confidence* were the three main values associated with social ranking in the school, as perceived by the students themselves.

The results of the ASR scales (see Table 15) were used to test hypotheses 3 and 4. Hypothesis 3 states that advanced students will tend to manifest less aggression than beginning students on the questionnaire responses. Hypothesis 4 states that advanced students will show more guilt of expressed aggression and condemnation of anger on the questionnaire responses than beginning students.

Hypothesis 3, stated above, is supported by the data in Table 15. The difference of the Total Expression of Aggression scores in the means of groups A and B is
TABLE 15
SCORES, MEANS, SD's, and SIGNIFICANCE
OF t FOR THE ANGER SELF-REPORT SCALES

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>B1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>-1</td>
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<td>2</td>
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<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>B2</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>45</td>
<td>-19</td>
<td>-16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>B3</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>-18</td>
<td>-15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>B4</td>
<td>-1</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>-3</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>-2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>B5</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>39</td>
<td>-22</td>
<td>-16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>B6</td>
<td>-11</td>
<td>-1</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>-6</td>
<td>-14</td>
<td>-4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>B7</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>43</td>
<td>-15</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>B8</td>
<td>-9</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>-19</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>B9</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>36</td>
<td>-4</td>
<td>-15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>B10</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>-5</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>-5</td>
<td>-3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>M(N=10)</td>
<td>4.2</td>
<td>10.3</td>
<td>7.7</td>
<td>22.2</td>
<td>-12.4</td>
<td>-5.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A1</td>
<td>-12</td>
<td>-21</td>
<td>-8</td>
<td>-41</td>
<td>-5</td>
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<td>-16</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>-4</td>
<td>-19</td>
<td>-17</td>
<td>-8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
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<td>5</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>31</td>
<td>-12</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A4</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>-23</td>
<td>-21</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A5</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>41</td>
<td>-12</td>
<td>-21</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A6</td>
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<td>8</td>
<td>-14</td>
<td>-11</td>
<td>-15</td>
<td>-19</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A7</td>
<td>-16</td>
<td>-16</td>
<td>-11</td>
<td>-43</td>
<td>-5</td>
<td>-12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A8</td>
<td>-15</td>
<td>-11</td>
<td>-6</td>
<td>-32</td>
<td>-7</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A9</td>
<td>-10</td>
<td>-9</td>
<td>-1</td>
<td>-20</td>
<td>-1</td>
<td>-9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>M(N=9)</td>
<td>-4.67</td>
<td>-1.56</td>
<td>-1.89</td>
<td>-8.33</td>
<td>-10.78</td>
<td>-4.89</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SD</td>
<td>10.52</td>
<td>10.98</td>
<td>8.69</td>
<td>26.03</td>
<td>7.44</td>
<td>11.05</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SED</td>
<td>5.15</td>
<td>5.38</td>
<td>4.26</td>
<td>12.75</td>
<td>3.65</td>
<td>5.41</td>
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<tr>
<td>t</td>
<td>1.72</td>
<td>2.20</td>
<td>2.25</td>
<td>2.39</td>
<td>- .44</td>
<td>-.17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ns</td>
<td>s</td>
<td>s</td>
<td>s</td>
<td>s</td>
<td>ns</td>
<td>ns</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
statistically significant by the t-test at the .05 level. Although the General Expression scale is not statistically significant (2.11 is needed at the .05 level), the Verbal and Physical aggression scores are significant at the .05 level. Zelin et al (1972) states that the General expression scale leaves unsaid how the aggression is expressed. This could possibly have been a factor in student responses affecting the difference in the means of the General expression scores. From the data, we can be confident in saying that advanced students manifested less aggression than beginning students on questionnaire responses. The investigator interprets this finding as indicating that, in general, advanced students exhibited more self-control in expressing aggressive feelings on questionnaire responses than beginners.

Hypothesis 4, previously stated, is not supported by the data in Table 15. Not only was there no statistically significant difference in the means between the A and B groups, but both groups scored low on the ASR Guilt and Condemnation of Anger scales.

An explanation for students' low scores can be made when the data from Table 15 are compared with data from general information item 19 concerning responses to injury found in Table 9. Students' lack of violence in responses to being injured in sparring indicates self-control (one of the main values mentioned in Tables 12, 13 and 14), which could have had an inhibitory effect on the Condemnation of
Anger and Guilt responses.

However, responses to item 18 concerning loss of temper (found in Table 8) showed a general disapproval of that behavior (expression of anger) within the school. Table 8 introduces contradictory evidence to data used in testing hypothesis 4. Possibly, if the questionnaire items on the Guilt and Condemnation of Anger scales focused on violent (causing intentional injury) rather than aggressive behavior, the difference between the A and B groups' responses would have been greater. Results from testing hypothesis 4 reveal that aggressive behavior did not produce guilt feelings in students. The investigator feels that further research in the Guilt/Condemnation of Anger areas is needed before a final conclusion concerning those behaviors in the Karate school can be made.

Summary of the hypotheses testing

Hypothesis 1, which states that advanced students will exhibit more overt aggression in sparring than beginning students, was supported by the data obtained through the researcher's observations. The measurement criterion used in testing this hypothesis was the number of initiated attacks that each student made facing a different opponent in three separate 3-minute sparring periods.

Hypothesis 2, which states that students adhering to the group's values will have a higher social ranking within the school than those who do not, was supported by
the data. Nine students were members of a social ranking determined by student responses. The most frequently mentioned values of self-control, patience and confidence were associated with student social ranking, although other values such as respect, dedication and determination occurred with less frequency in responses.

Hypothesis 3, which states that advanced students will tend to manifest less aggression than beginning students on ASR responses was supported by the data. Differences in the means of the Total Expression of Aggression scores for A and B groups proved to be statistically significant when using the t-test.

Hypothesis 4, which states that advanced students will show more guilt about expressed aggression and condemnation of anger on the ASR responses than beginning students was not supported by the data. Both A and B groups showed low scores for those two ASR scales, possibly as a result of self-control influencing any self-reported unfavorable feelings about expressing aggression. Further research was suggested.
CHAPTER VII
CONCLUSIONS

Several conclusions can be drawn from this research. First, Karate should be considered as a culture complex (Asian) which is the product of a long period of development and diffusion. Chuan-fa, the main contributor to present-day Karate, is a "hybrid" self-defense art incorporating Ch'an philosophy and yoga exercises with indigenous Chinese boxing. Chuan-fa was not directly introduced to China from India.

Second, certain artifact types attributed Karate postures by martial arts authors are in reality representative of Asian deities in symbolic yoga positions. This does suggest a link between China and India in Karate development, especially the breathing concepts essential to Karate training.

It is strongly suggested that additional archeological and historical research is needed to arrive at a more valid presentation of Karate's origins than has been previously given in the martial arts literature.

Third, in the Karate school studied, social ranking was determined by students manifesting some or all elements of a value system in their training. That is, students who practiced the following values had the highest social ranking as determined by other students: self-control,
patience, confidence, determination and dedication to training. Other values frequently mentioned but not deciding social ranking were respect for others and attaining self-awareness. The fact that beginning students were included in 33% of the social ranking while some advanced students were not, indicates that belt ranking was not always a determining factor in social ranking.

Fourth, aggression was an accepted (and possibly expected) form of behavior in the Karate school, with advanced students exhibiting more of that behavior in sparring than beginners.

Fifth, violence rarely occurred in the Karate school due to group sanctions and individual self-control against its expression. Student concern for self-control as a "check" on the possibility that aggression might escalate into violence was similar to what Edgerton (1971:181) described in his East African study.

Sixth, there was no conflict involved between aggression in sparring and exhibiting self-control that would have resulted in students having guilt feelings about being aggressive.

Seventh, advanced students showed a greater disapproval of loss of temper and violence within the school than beginners. Although this did not reveal itself on the ASR Condemnation of Anger scale, it was evident in student responses to related initial questionnaire items. Further study in this area was suggested.
The researcher believes that social learning theory as applied to aggression studies is most applicable to the Karate school environment. Aggressive modes of behavior (Karate techniques) were learned by the beginning student by watching models (Sifu, instructors, advanced students) perform the techniques. It was after continuous repetition and successfully practicing the techniques in sparring that the beginning student incorporated them in his repertoire of fighting skills. This may account for the difficulty in developing a typology of Karate techniques based on degree of aggressiveness, since each student had his own techniques he felt was the most aggressive.

Finally, it should be stated that while this study determined values, a social ranking, and tested hypotheses concerning aggressive and related behavior, the investigator cautions the reader not to conclude that the findings presented here are representative of behavior in other Karate schools. The study was limited to only one school with certain class procedures and training methods (with specific philosophical concepts taught). However, I feel that the data gathering methods employed in this study can be reliably used in other Karate schools, expanding on this research to include comparisons between various styles or schools of Karate and even different martial arts as well.
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Zelin, M., G. Adler, and P. Myerson
APPENDIX A

INITIAL QUESTIONNAIRE FORM

The information on this questionnaire is to be used in an anthropological study of behavior in a Karate school. Your responses will be kept confidential. Answer all questions, and place your initials in the upper left hand corner of this page for recording purposes. Please begin.

1. age  
2. sex  
3. marital status  
4. occupation  
5. formal education completed  
6. belt ranking  
7. length of time studying Karate at this school  
8. number of classes attended each week  
9. Do you also practice elsewhere? If yes, how much each week? 0-1hr. 1-5hrs. more than 5 hrs.  
10. Initial reasons for studying Karate  
11. Have these reasons changed in any way? If yes, please explain:  
12. Do you think your study of Karate has changed your personality or behavior in any way? If yes, how/why has it changed?  
13. What is the most important thing for Sifu to teach a student?  
14. What do you think are some important qualities or ways of behavior a student should have in this school? List as many as you can think of.  
15. Who, in your opinion, are the five best students in this school, and what qualities do they possess?
16. If there is one person in this school you respect beyond all others, who is it? Why?

17. Should a student be aggressive in sparring without intending to injure his opponent? Why?

18. How do you feel about a student who loses his temper in class?

19. If you are practicing or sparring with another student, and he injures you, what should you do?

20. Based on your knowledge, what kicks and strikes, or techniques do you believe are most powerful/aggressive?

Thank You!
APPENDIX B

ANGER SELF-REPORT FORM

We would like you to consider carefully the following statements and indicate as accurately as you can how it applies to you. There are no right or wrong answers, we just want to know how you feel.

Please mark next to each statement according to the amount of your agreement or disagreement by using the following scale:

1 slight agreement    -1 slight disagreement
2 moderate agreement  -2 moderate disagreement
3 strong agreement    -3 strong disagreement

Mark all statements!

If a statement is unclear to you place an "X" next to it in the margin but mark it anyway. If a statement somehow does not apply to you, place a "?" next to it in the margin but mark it anyway. (If you wish, you may detach this instruction sheet to help with your responses).

Please begin.
1. I am often inclined to go out of my way to win a point with someone who has opposed me.

2. I seldom strike back, even if someone hits me first.

3. People should never get angry.

4. It's right for people to express themselves when they are mad.

5. When I get mad, I say nasty things.

6. Even when my anger is aroused, I don't use strong language.

7. If I am mad, I really let people know it.

8. I will criticize someone to his face if he deserves it.

9. I rarely hate myself.

10. I get into fist fights about as often as the next person.

11. People should never get irritated.

12. I find that I cannot express anger at someone until they have really hurt me badly.

13. I think I'm a pretty nice person.

14. Even when people yell at me, I don't yell back.

15. I have many quarrels with members of my family.

16. I hardly ever punish myself.

17. Feeling angry is terrible.

18. I never do anything right.

19. If I don't like somebody, I will tell him so.

20. I have physically hurt someone in a fight.

21. Whatever else may be my faults, I never knowingly hurt another person's feelings.

22. I really wish I could be a better person.

23. I usually am satisfied with myself.
24. I find it easy to express anger at people.

25. Even when someone does something mean to me, I don't let him know I'm upset.

26. At times I hurt a person I love.

27. I couldn't hit anyone even if I were extremely angry.

28. I'm just no good.

29. I never think of killing myself.

30. Even though I disapprove of my friend's behavior, I just can't let them know.

31. I can think of no good reason for ever hitting anyone.

32. When people are angry, they should let it out.

33. I blame myself if anything goes wrong.

34. I could not put someone in his place even if he needed it.

35. It's easy for me not to fight with those I love.

36. When I really lose my temper, I am capable of striking someone.

37. If someone annoys me, I am apt to tell him what I think of him.

38. It's useless to get angry.

39. If someone crosses me, I tend to get back at him.

40. I think little of people who get angry.

THANK YOU!
### APPENDIX C

**SAMPLE SCORING SHEET FOR OVERT AGGRESSION**

**Date: 3/30/76**

<table>
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<th>Student</th>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>A8</td>
<td>x x x x x x x                7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A1</td>
<td>x x x x x x x x x             8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A8</td>
<td>x x x x x x x                7</td>
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**Date: 4/17/76**

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<thead>
<tr>
<th>Student</th>
<th># of initiated attacks in 3 min.</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>B3</td>
<td>x x x x x x x x                7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>B2</td>
<td>x x x x x x                   6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>B2</td>
<td>x x x x x                    4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>B5</td>
<td>x x x x x x                  5</td>
</tr>
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