CHAPTER 6

DISCIPLINE AND THE DOJO

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This chapter is concerned with the productive nature of discipline. That is, with what subjection within and to a discipline 'produces'. More specifically, I am concerned with the way a "subject comes into being ... comes to mastery, comes into existence and agency, through *subjection*" (Petersen, 2007, p. 477). I use martial arts training as a case study for my investigation because it is so frequently depicted as a site of 'serious' discipline; a somewhat 'inflexible' discipline that practitioners more or less willingly subject themselves to in order to attain mastery of the art under study. My aim is to develop an understanding of the deliberate act of subjection that is implicated in the disciplining process by which the individual is transformed through the martial arts. Resting upon Michel Foucault's (1980, 1982/1994) thesis on the 'double nature' of power, I argue in this chapter for both the constraining and enabling effects of discipline as it manifests in and through the martial arts; and investigate the way discipline is central to the act of becoming in the *dojo*. Eric Paras (2006) has argued that we should distinguish Foucault's position in the 1980s, that the individual "had the ability to pursue (or not pursue) techniques that would transform its subjectival modality", from his earlier thesis that "no individual received the choice of whether or not to undergo discipline; and only through discipline did one become an individual" (p. 123). This contrast may however be drawn too sharply. I think it is safe to argue that Foucault never abandoned the notion that Judith Butler (1997) has articulated so well, that power is not simply a force that subordinates from the outside, but must be understood as "what we depend on for our existence. . . that, paradoxically, initiates and sustains our agency" (p. 2). However, in exploring the 'voluntary' subjection to discipline that is a feature of martial arts training, I am clearly indebted to the position taken up within the later Foucault (1980, 1982/1994), that remains attached to the notion that agency arises only through subjection (a legacy of his earlier work), but that offers the possibility of deliberate and 'motivated' subjection. I am thus using 'subjection' to mean both "subordinated by power as well as the process of becoming a subject" (Butler, 1997, p.2); and it is the phenomenon of

wilful subjection in order to become a particular kind of subject that makes the martial arts an interesting alternative site to the public school classroom. Certainly there is a reason for returning to Foucault's thesis on the productive nature of power in this chapter, and it is at least partially motivated by a desire to challenge the take up of aspects of his theory.

Foucault (1977) has clearly stated that "[t]he chief function of disciplinary power is to 'train'... it does not link forces together in order to reduce them; it seeks to bind them together in such a way as to multiply and use them" (p. 170). In drawing upon Foucault's conception of self-formation through subjection to or through discipline, I seek to challenge those scholars who over-emphasise the constraining and repressive aspects of power and discipline when drawing upon Foucault's (1977) work. While I am not entirely sure why this particular use and reading of Foucault is so common, despite his claims to articulate the productive nature of power and disciplinarity, I would hazard a guess that it arises from residual commitments to an emancipatory project held by many scholars attracted to the early phases of Foucault's work. According to Dominick LaCapra (2000), Foucault "was forceful in bringing into prominence the ways in which marginalization, subjection, and abjection could take place even in the seemingly most liberal or enlightened policies and practices" (p. 16), and this has undoubtedly been the attractiveness of his work to many scholars in fields with 'social justice' ambitions, such as Education. I intend to challenge the tendency of viewing discipline as a repressive force – exhibited even within the poststructural literature whenever care is not taken to differentiate 'productive' from its everyday association with things 'positive' or 'good' – by putting forward a case that the constraining effects of discipline may be understood precisely as its enabling or productive aspects (as Megan Watkins has also argued in Chapter 5 of this volume, see also Watkins, 2005). To do so is to reject the problematic association of the constraining effects of power with repression, and its productive aspects with positive outcomes. That is to say, I will argue that there is not one set of 'disciplinary' practices (Foucault, 1977) that is constraining, and another set that is enabling. Instead, I hope to make the case that all disciplinary constraints are precisely enabling forces that operate on and through the individual martial artist as a means of selfformationⁱⁱⁱ; and that participation in a disciplinary regime or process results in the 'production' of a particular kind of person, individual, or martial artist. I do not

believe that I am presenting a new argument here, but simply using the martial arts as a case study to challenge particular interpretations of Foucault's theory.

In crafting my argument, I inevitably follow in the footsteps of Claudia Eppert and Hongyu Wang (2008), initiating a dialogue between Eastern and Western perspectives on pedagogy and curriculum, as I engage with Foucault's (1977, 1982/1994) claim regarding the productive nature of power and discipline. This approach registers the Nietzschean strategy of "estranging one's own by means of the foreign" (Scheiffele, 1991, p. 41); and the selection of the martial arts as an educational enterprise worthy of being cast as an object of analysis, is a manoeuvre expressly designed to expose "deficiencies and weaknesses that are not simply seen within one's own horizon" (Scheiffele, 1991, p. 41) when examining taken-for-granted educational sites such as the public school classroom. I am aware that there is always a danger of romanticising the other when enacting this particular kind of scholarly tactic. However, it is not my intention to make a case for the superiority of an Eastern mode of discipline over Western disciplinary forms. I do not use the concept of 'self-transformation' through martial arts discipline in any utopian sense (where the discipline is expected to lead to some form of final liberation). Nor is this study performed in some uncritical celebration of the martial arts (as my discussion of the effects of different martial arts on self-formation should reveal). In fact, I hope to avoid romanticism altogether – including the enduring educational Romanticism of Rousseau and his legacy that would be at best ambivalent towards discipline as pedagogy, particularly when 'discipline' is viewed only through the lens of restriction or constraint. Rather, I am interested in using the martial arts as a case study to understand the complex ways in which discipline and desire interact to produce particular kinds of subjects, and both make available and limit possible subject positions. My adoption of the Nietzschean strategy of "looking back" from a foreign or counterposition (Scheiffele, 1991, p. 42) is designed to enable us to re-examine our understanding of 'discipline' itself, from the perspective of the foreign, in order to better grasp its often misunderstood productive, and seductive, aspects. Thus, using the martial arts, I hope to be able to better articulate a productive view of disciplinarity that might have purchase beyond martial arts training.

Before I begin the task I have set myself in this chapter, informed by the turn towards transgressive methodologies in poststructural educational research (Davies, 2004), it would seem appropriate to acknowledge that much that finds its way onto the page, even though not always stated explicitly, arises from my twenty years of involvement with the martial arts, as both student and instructor. iv Further, the main thrust of my argument is more philosophical than empirical, though I do where relevant and necessary, draw upon the published instructional manuals and treatises of martial arts instructors, and supplement this material with comment upon popular representations of the martial arts in commercial film media in a couple of places where I think this will help provide wider access to the point I am attempting to articulate. I confine my terminology to that used in the traditional Japanese martial arts, unless otherwise stated, so this chapter doesn't become too confusing. Similarly, for the most part, I will focus my examples on the traditional Japanese martial arts, in order to provide high contrast via the examination of related traditions, that would be lost if I attempted a more panoptic overview of martial arts from around the world. Finally, I will use the understandings developed through my martial arts case study as a lens for exploring the problem of discipline generally, and 'educational' discipline in particular.

Discipline as the Way: Subjection and Desire

"You must be very disciplined?" is a question I've been asked many times, almost the instant after I've revealed my years of involvement in the martial arts. It rehearses a popular perception of the martial arts (Greenberg, 2000), and is frequently the motivation of many a parent who has brought their child to the *dojo* in order to "become more disciplined". It might be said that the *dojo*, the place where 'the martial Way' is taught and followed, does not exist without discipline (Lovret, 1987). But a desire for discipline is rarely the reason any adult or teenager begins the training. Their desire is usually for what would seem to be something else entirely. The most common reasons for involvement in martial arts, in addition to their perceived benefits as forms of self-defence, have often been found to centre on the 'interesting nature' of the arts, their health benefits, and their effectiveness as a means of personal

cultivation, or physical and psychological development (Zaggelidis, Martinidis, & Zaggelidis, 2004). A study of martial artists in the West Midlands region of England found that a sense of affiliation, friendship, and fitness were among the highest ranked motives behind martial arts study (Jones, Mackay, & Peters, 2006). This same study also found that status or reward (what we might describe as 'recognition seeking') may certainly be another factor motivating involvement in the martial arts. However, the martial arts present a contradiction in this regard. The members of a *dojo* are not equal in rank, and their status is often marked out publicly by the donning of different coloured belts that mark their level of attainment. So it may take some time before the desired status is achieved. Certainly, a testamur or coloured belt in a traditional martial art are hard to attain, and are only achieved through repeatedly subjecting oneself to the discipline of the *dojo* and its martial traditions.

What is interesting in the example of the martial arts, is the extent to which the desire to attain mastery – or what we might describe after Nietzsche and Foucault as 'the will to martial arts power' – so obviously drives the process of subjection. This stands the martial arts in contrast with many formal educational settings, where students are frequently unwilling or resigned participants in the pedagogical enterprise, and have never committed themselves to the system's goals or intended outcomes. The desire motivating a person who subjects themselves to the training regime of the martial arts, to become someone more confident and capable, is probably not unique to the martial arts. It would undoubtedly be true of many extra-curricular settings, like for example music or dance practice. Further, whereas discipline is experienced as an imposition by many students in mandatory public education, it becomes a key feature of the educational journey in the traditional martial arts. However, the desire for some sense of personal mastery or status attainment comes at a cost, which is not always known to a student when they start, but becomes clear as they progress. It can be attained only if the student demonstrates the 'proper attitude' of nyunanshin (Lovret, 1987), of surrender to the authority of the Sensei and the traditions she or he embodies (Lovret, 1987; Schine, 1995). In practice this manifests as a willingness and commitment to embodying the techniques and tactics of the ryu (or 'family tradition') as accurately as possible. The body operates as a malleable substance during the training, which is shaped through 'self-discipline' (and instructor feedback) into a mirror-image of the tradition, and gains in legitimacy and status as its approximations of the seitei kata

(standard form) improve. The familiar line of Karate students practicing precise *kata* (patterns) in perfect time (as one sees inside the Cobra Kai Dojo in the Karate Kid, and in Jim Kelly's 'black power' dojo during the introductory scenes of Bruce Lee's Hollywood epic, Enter the Dragon; where the syncopated strikes of the students is so well-done that the snap of their uniforms make the sound of a shotgun loading), is one of a number of disciplinary technologies that reinforces this principle. Thus, typical of disciplinary power as Foucault (1977) has described it, legitimacy and status are obtained only through subjection, through disciplining oneself to (re)produce precise technical forms. Stephen K. Hayes (1983), influenced by his Tantric Buddhist training, describes this process as "taking refuge" in the ryu (the path or tradition), the ichi-mon (family or community of practitioners) fellow travellers on the journey, and the sensei (the teacher), the one who has already travelled the path (pp. 31-33). Importantly, the self that emerges from this process could hardly be described as a 'docile' body (Foucault, 1977), if we understand that to mean submissive. Rather, subjected to discipline, the docile body achieves "efficiency of movements" (Foucault, 1977, p. 137), and in Foucault's (1977) example of the soldier, drawn from the writings of the general Montgommery, develops "an alert manner, an erect head, a taut stomach, broad shoulders, long arms, strong fingers, a small belly, thick thighs, slender legs and dry feet, because a man of such a figure could not fail to be agile and strong" (p. 135). Thus, through discipline a transformation occurs that produces a subject who is simultaneously more 'capable' and perhaps more 'independent' than they were before (Schine, 1995), but also someone who has been shaped and constrained by the features of the discipline that they have come to embody. I will come back to this point in more detail later.

The curriculum of classical martial art *ryu* is typically organised into three levels: *Shoden,* or basics that embody general principles and prepare the student for serious training; *Chuden,* or middle level teachings, that dramatically expand the student's repertoire and give the martial art style its distinctive character; and finally *Hiden,* or so-called 'secret teachings' that are not taught in any regular sense (Lovret, 1987). Certainly, no *Sensei* instructs his students directly in the *Hiden.* Rather, the *Hiden,* as sets of strategies and dispositions, are learnt during the conduct of the training, through what the Japanese masters sometimes call *Shinden,* which literally means something like 'divinely transmitted' but might be more comfortably translated as

'heart teaching'. Such heart-to-heart transmission can be understood as an instructional metaphor for modelling oneself on the conduct of an accomplished practitioner. It is one of the reasons students are encouraged to seek out instruction from a recognised master practitioner, and presents an interesting contrast with martial sports like Boxing, where the coach is neither expected nor required to be an accomplished practitioner. Within martial arts training, this process of modelling oneself on the conduct of an accomplished practitioner would seem to be frequently achieved without conscious deliberation, although it is explicitly advocated in many traditions (see for example, Hatsumi & Hayes, 1987). Certainly, the student comes to embody these unspoken heart teachings through a process that couples intense desire and subjection. The desire is for the perceived benefits of martial arts mastery – including self-confidence, greater autonomy, higher self-esteem, emotional stability, and improved physical capability (see the review of the literature conducted by Lakes & Hoyt, 2004) – which drive the student to subject themselves to the rigorous schedule of training offered in the dojo. They quickly learn in this process that approximating the movements of their seniors is the surest way to both personal accomplishment and social recognition within the martial arts community.

There are frequent admonishments during traditional martial training that to attain mastery one must be guided not only by the attitude of *nyunanshin* (or surrender, like the bamboo in the wind) described above, but also by an attitude of "mushotoku – without any goal or desire for profit" (Nakano, 1995, p. 58). This may seem to contradict the claim I am staking around the interaction of desire and discipline. However, it is important to understand, as Helen Nakano (1995) notes, that it is the "twin demons of obsession and compulsion" (p. 57) that are to be targeted by adopting mushotoku as a frame of mind, and getting past these impediments is actually tied to achievement of mastery in most martial arts traditions. Thus, the goal is attained, in part, when the desire that has fuelled the journey is extinguished. There is a Buddhist or Zen logic that is operating here, that challenges dualistic understandings of the education of a martial artist (see Lu, 2003, for a discussion of the non-dualist philosophy that underpins the martial arts). Desire fuels involvement and motivation for the training, but a discipline of 'letting go' aids attainment. This is often taught physically during freeform sessions, where students are instructed to immediately 'let go' of a failed technique and move on with some other technique or

tactic. Such a training principle is explicitly advocated in Ninjutsu training for example (Daniel, 1986), and works as a disciplinary technology to instil this particular attitude or mindset in practitioners. Certainly the proposal from many traditional Sensei like Nakano is ironically, that the desire motivating the quest for mastery must ultimately be overcome or dissipated as part of the process of attainment. Failing to do so is perceived by martial arts instructors to leave desire as a distraction that operates as an impediment to spontaneous action in a combative situation. In other words, over-confidence or obsessive commitments produced by an intense desire to attain mastery are to be avoided by the ideal warrior, by acknowledging and letting go of one's desires in the heat of combative exchange. Practitioners who are successful at this process of technical and tactical attainment, and are capable of maintaining a calm and relaxed frame of mind, are said to have attained mushin or 'no mind' (Daniel, 1986). It is this complex relationship between discipline, desire, and subjection that has led many Sensei to draw on the Buddhist roots of the martial arts traditions, and represent the martial arts as a warrior path to enlightenment (Deng, 1990; Hayes, 1981b; Lovret, 1987; Westbrook & Ratti, 1970). While I make no judgements on the truth-value of such a claim, there is undoubtedly a relationship between the goals of a martial art and the operation and effects of its specific forms of discipline.

Disciplines and their Disciples: Subjection as Self-Formation

As we explore the effects of discipline on the martial artist, it is important to understand that all martial arts are not the same. Within some martial art circles, the ideal outcome or telos of the training is the scholar warrior (as exemplified by the Samurai ideal of *Bunbu Itchi*, or "pen and sword in accord"). However, one can find a rival conception of the ultimate goal of martial arts training in the autobiography of Dave Lowry, a well-known American Kenjutsu practitioner, where it is described as the attainment of *shibumi*, "the aesthetic quality of severe simplicity. . . quiet, graceful, and hidden beauty" (Lowry, 1995, p. 172; see also pp.133-148); and another in the semi-autobiographical instructional manual of Stephen K. Hayes, an American Ninjutsu master, where the goal is expressed as the achievement of a level of

"freedom and effortless power experienced as the ku no seikai (realm devoid of specific recognizeable manifestation)" (Hayes, 1984, p. 154). Derived from historically and culturally diverse contexts, martial arts forms and traditions have decidedly different goals, practices, rules, and structures (see for example, the overview of different martial traditions in Draeger & Smith, 1974), and it is precisely the distinct teleology and practices of Karate-do and Aikido, for example, that has inspired their selection as examples later in this chapter. Sports scientists engaged in establishing the 'benefits' of martial arts training have often ignored such distinctions. However, they have often used their own measures to contrast contemporary and traditional martial arts, and have made the claim that higher self-esteem, greater autonomy, emotional stability, assertiveness, self-confidence, physical confidence, improved self-perception of physical ability, and enhanced body image (Lakes & Hoyt, 2004), have only been found among individuals who study in a 'traditional' dojo, once the 'gravitational effects' of self-selection – particular personality types being attracted to particular types of martial arts training – have been controlled and accounted for (Nosanchuk & MacNeil, 1989; Seig, 2004). That is to say, studies that have been conducted from within an empirically-oriented 'scientific' research paradigm upon the effects of martial arts training on the development of character and personality traits, have mostly been inconclusive, unable to distinguish whether personality features that correlate with long-term martial arts practice were the result of self-selection and attrition or training effects. vi In terms of the operational effects of discipline this is not particularly problematic, as I hope to demonstrate later. However, in his examination of this 'scientific' literature, Brandon Seig (2004) has revealed that there are a few benchmark longitudinal studies that suggest that the martial arts can indeed have positive effects on personality development through a training effect, but such an outcome is contingent upon the adoption of particular approaches to teaching found in so-called 'traditional' martial arts.

We should certainly approach Seig's (2004) advice with some caution, given the martial arts are many and varied, and there has been little attention to the effect of studying specific martial arts. Further, determining what constitutes a 'traditional' *dojo* is far from simple. Frederick J. Lovret (1987) has argued, most martial arts schools teach a person new things, whereas "the goal of a [traditional] *dojo* is to transform the person into something new" (p. 14). Certainly a common way of

determining which martial arts or *dojo* may be considered 'traditional' has its roots in the distinction often made between jutsu and do martial forms (ie. Ju-Jutsu versus Judo). vii The argument follows that there is a relative emphasis on self-protection in jutsu arts versus an explicit emphasis on self-perfection in do arts. However, in practice, the *jutsu-do* distinction is probably loosing traction as both forms are increasingly subject to commercial modification. viii In attempting to find their own way of discriminating between martial arts, Nosanchuk and MacNeil (1989) define 'traditional' not by an arbitrary distinction based on the suffix to its name, or on its documented point of historical emergence, but by its emphasis on kata (ritualised forms) over *kumite* (sparring); the teaching of ethics and philosophy (do) alongside technique (jutsu) rather than technique alone; and the degree of restraint shown by, and respect shown to, the Sensei (often manifest through a climate of quiet and respectful etiquette). It is important to note that this definition may in fact represent a reinvention of tradition. However, using a similar set of distinctions, Twemlow and Sacco (1998) have argued that progress within a traditional martial arts program follows four distinct stages, which they define as follows: (1) Gyo – an initial stage in which the student begins identification with the teacher and the art, and starts to understand the body as a means of self-expression; (2) Shugyo – immersion in, and obsession with, the techniques of the art, in which one's enthusiasm results in intense training and often spills into everyday situations, much to the annoyance of parents, siblings, and friends; (3) Jutsu – skill mastery accompanied by a graceful calmness, and clarity regarding the underlying principles informing the techniques; and (4) Do – the emergence of a centred state of mind, where the opponent is understood to lie within and the task is to continuously work upon one's own suki or mental and physical 'weak points' (Daniel, 1986), leading to the perfection of technique and the embodiment of the values of compassion, humility, and self-awareness that are argued to be the ultimate goals of many martial arts traditions.

As noted earlier, disciplining oneself to follow the principles and practices of the *ryu* is the path to the level of embodiment and attainment symbolised by the black belt. The reward of discipline is the attainment of a specific set of capabilities and a particular kind of freedom within the constraints of the specific *ryu* that has been studied. Such constraints provide a signature or character to the martial artist's performance that marks the individual as a practitioner of a particular 'style'. More

significantly, it could be argued that these constraints shape the practitioner's mental outlook, as well as their emotional and intellectual dispositions (Brown & Johnson, 2000; Moore & Gillette, 1992); or thought about another way, limit the range of available subject positions. Some scholars have argued that the forms of disciplinary practice operating in competitive martial arts are often associated with an increase in aggression, rather than the 'positive' character traits identified as outcomes of traditional martial arts study (Nosanchuk & MacNeil, 1989). However, there are significant differences present in traditional martial arts, and it might be enough at this point to indicate that while most traditional martial arts may have some common sets of practice, there is often significant variation in the values and philosophies that underpin the training regime, and most identifiably in the area of the strategic knowledge that they adopt, which arguably reflect and construct dispositional differences.

This shaping effect of martial arts discipline is an expected outcome of traditional martial arts training (Lovret, 1987). In effect, the martial artist becomes a disciple, a practitioner of a particular discipline, who embodies the dispositional technical and tactical knowledge of their art as a result of subjection to its disciplinary forms. The disciplinary technology underlying this process is sometimes described as *sanmitsu*, or 'the triple secret' – the harmonising or alignment of thought (intention), word (strategy), and action (technique) as a single tool of accomplishment (Hayes, 1981b, pp. 143-159). Such alignment is facilitated by the way the fundamental techniques of a martial art instantiate particular strategic principles. Within martial arts traditions the kihon kata or basic techniques are not simply methods of self-defence, but frequently embody complex strategic knowledge and philosophical principles (Lovret, 1987). This is not always apparent to novices (or the parents of children who are brought to the *dojo* to enhance their self-discipline). However, repeatedly working to model one's performance on the standard form of the basic techniques shapes both the body, and the 'strategic disposition' – or the available tactical repertoire – of the martial artist. Within the Japanese art of Ninjutsu for example, there is a sense that the fundamental fighting postures and techniques are "bodily manifestations of our emotional responses" to danger (Hayes, 1989, p. 30), and that through practicing these postures "best understood as the physical embodiment of mental attitude" (Hayes, 1981a, p. 54), one develops a suite of dispositional responses to conflict. This is akin

to the 'forms of composure' Meegan Watkins discusses in Chapter 5 of this volume. Martial arts instructors have generated a range of metaphors for describing this process of dispositional development, but by far the most common is the idea that through thousands of repetitions a student will come to "internalize" the desired technical repertoire (Palumbo, 1987, p. 16). Thus, a particular type of person is produced through subjection to this disciplinary regime. The black belt may be a subject who is more 'capable' and 'independent' than they were before, but they are also someone whose technical and tactical repertoire simultaneously enables them to act in specific ways, by both its affordances and its constraints. A couple of contrasting examples might help make this point more apparent.

The Productive Effect of Aikido and Karate

Let us turn to the principles underpinning the art of Aikido. I have selected Aikido because it is a highly popular martial art with a clearly articulated telos. Gaining its name in 1941, but developing its public reputation in earnest after WWII, Morehei Ueyshiba's Aikido reconceptualised a range of armed and unarmed martial arts using the "Principle of Aiki" or 'blending' (Saito, 1975, p. 12). Aikido uses circular footwork and limb-twisting grappling techniques to blend one's own body movement with that of the attacker, redirecting the force of an opponent's grab, blow, stickstrike, or sword-slash, throwing them off-balance, and repelling an attack without necessarily hurting the aggressor. The philosophy of Aikido is centred on the idea that martial arts should focus on the compassionate protection of all beings (including some would argue, the opponent), and its strategy is based on a combination of a strong centredness, coupled with outward extension of body and perception, and the 'leading' of an opponent's force using circular motions, towards a point at which any attack is neutralised (Westbrook & Ratti, 1970). Aikido training constrains its disciples within a technical and tactical repertoire that aims at evading threats and neutralising attacks without retaliation. Its pedagogy promotes interpersonal relatedness and self-learning (Brawdy, 2001). Through the discipline of Aikido practice practitioners become less likely to initiate an aggressive move. The art literally has no attacking forms, and is silent on offensive tactics (the Aikido of Gozo Shioda, 1968, perhaps being the exception with its retention of *Atemi*, or disruptive counter-offensive striking techniques). The emphasis within the training on becoming

a good *uke* (attacker who ultimately 'receives' the Aikido technique), powerfully inscribes reception rather than initiation as the dominant strategic disposition. By virtue of practicing a form of strategic knowledge focused on artful defence, the Aikido disciple develops a disposition whose major constraint – the absence of attacking techniques and tactics – produces an individual who is calm and focused during the whirlwind aggression of a combat situation, but whose strategic principles limit their capacity for effective offence. Thus, Aikido practitioners can position themselves to ward off attacks as they arise, but may be unable to initiate a decisive attack if provoked, as they have been denied through the training any tactically offensive subject position. This constraint actually produces the productive effect of Aikido training, the development of a 'peaceful warrior'.

Now let's consider the martial art of Karate-do. I have selected Karate-do as an equally popular, high contrast example to Aikido. Originally from Okinawa, and based on ancient Chinese Kenpo (Kung-Fu), Karate-do developed into its contemporary form during the 1930s. Popularised in movies during the 1960s and 1970s, Karate became a household word throughout the world. As a martial art, Karate-do emphasises striking and kicking techniques against the 'vital points' of the human anatomy, and depending on the 'style' practiced, often involves basic grappling takedown and restraining techniques. Karate training is made up of Kihon (basic partnered techniques), *Kata* (pre-set solo forms), and *Kumite* (free sparring). The Karate practitioner aims to develop the kind of focus that would knock an opponent down with a single strike. Styles are typically strong in attack, and may be hard or soft in defence. Whereas the Aikido disciple develops a calm and quiet temperament, the Karate-do disciple will often be demonstrably assertive. The emphasis on striking and kicking techniques undoubtedly produces a practitioner who will be confident in any pugilistic exchange, but who may struggle if a fight goes to the ground and they are caught in a grappling situation. The constraining effect of avoiding mastery of the messiness of close-quarters grappling and ground-fighting, produce the productive effect of Karate training, the development of a warrior who can 'stand firm' when challenged or confronted, who may lack sensitivity in a grappling exchange, but will manifest qualities of strength and endurance in other situations.

What can we draw from these examples? Subjugation is an implicit feature of subjection. Martial artists willingly subject themselves to the discipline of the *dojo* in order to attain the promised benefits of the specific art studied. In gaining the capability to perform in certain ways by training in a particular martial art, you may come to be restricted in other ways. Further, discipline would appear to work in two different ways. Firstly, it shapes and coerces in an active sense, shaping and producing a particular kind of person with specific capabilities. Secondly, it develops and administers criteria for inclusion and exclusion as a disciple. In other words, it legitimates or de-legitimates particular practices and people, based on the extent to which they conform with the norms and standards of the discipline. Importantly, the extent to which a discipline produces through practice in some developmental sense (the training effect), versus the extent to which a discipline produces through exclusions (the selection effect), is not significant. The ultimate result is the same. The discipline produces its disciples, who are productive precisely by operating within the constraints that define the discipline.

Conclusion: Multiple disciplines and liquid subjectivity

Throughout this chapter I have explored the 'serious' disciplinary practice of the martial arts, in an attempt to make the case that the constraining effects of discipline are precisely the forces that provide its means of capacity building. Although I have discussed discipline frequently in terms that emphasise its technical, tactical and dispositional aspects, these features are paralleled by a training aspect that emerges from the rules of etiquette and behaviour that construct the atmosphere of the *dojo* (such as bowing on entering and leaving the training hall; addressing instructors exclusively by their titles; adopting a formal sitting or standing posture while watching a demonstration or receiving instruction and correction). The martial arts student will typically embrace aspects of discipline in a *dojo* that might be unpalatable in the absence of a desire to attain mastery of the art being studied (ie. standing silently while the *sensei* demonstrates a technique; or receiving a full speed demonstration of a technique because you were caught not paying attention). Erica Southgate's chapter in this volume is focused precisely on such a problem. This is a point at which classroom education and *dojo* discipline dramatically diverges. The

discipline of the martial arts is 'serious' precisely because it manifests in forms that are impartial, inflexible, and immediate (for those transgressing its limits), and it is understood to lead to somewhere in particular, to an optimal endpoint that involves some sense of self-mastery. Students who come to dislike the *dojo*'s discipline are free not to return. This again places it in contrast with discipline as it operates in the public school, where participation is not in any absolute sense, an outcome of personal motivation. Thus, the discipline of the *dojo* is reproduced as much through self-exclusion as through that which Jennifer Gore (1993) has termed 'self-styling'.

I have, of course, argued that within the martial arts, individuals voluntarily subject themselves to discipline in order to attain its promised goals. It might be argued that the voluntary subjection to disciplinary power that has been a focus in this chapter implies a rational subject who is able to choose the path they wish to follow. I would agree with any critic who suggested it is unlikely that every parent who takes their child to the door of the dojo understands that each martial art has its own distinct telos, and will therefore subsequently attempt to mould their child into a particular kind of person. I know in my own trajectory through the martial arts that I was initially attracted by one type of martial art (Pa Kua Chang, one of the so-called Chinese 'internal' traditions with an explicit spiritual orientation) but found myself studying something else entirely (the art of Wing Chun Kung-Fu, with its aggressive in-fighting methods and 'scientific' orientation to self-defence). This happened because the nearest martial arts training hall to my home was a Wing Chun school, and I had not fully registered at that point in my life that a profound difference existed between various Chinese Kung-Fu systems. ix Much later, when I sought instruction in Togakure Ryu Ninjutsu, I was making a much more informed decision. However, the voluntary subjection that I have been discussing should not be equated unproblematically with some notion of a rational choice. Rather, I have attempted to show that voluntary subjection to discipline, at least in the martial arts, is underpinned and motivated by desire (often for some vague sense of self-worth or self-mastery), whether or not the end-goal is fully understood.

Finally, I believe it is worth addressing the problem of the liquidity of subjectivity that is apparent when switching between disciplines. Using the martial arts as my case study, I have argued that disciplines provide sets of limits that enable thought and

action of a particular kind, shaping individuals by applying rules for recognition as a disciple (and thus excluding those who do not meet the standards set); and by providing intellectual and / or strategic resources for thought and action, that work like signatures, shaping a disciple's performance into a recognisable 'style' or form. These resources and practices provide a path for thought and action that may not exist without them, while limiting the possibility of a disciple to think or act otherwise. Thus, disciplinary subjection provides the capacity for agency, while simultaneously shaping that agency in particular ways; and following the argument in this chapter, it is precisely the shaping or sculpting effect of various constraints that provides the basis for forming particular capacities, working like a jelly mould for a much more liquid subjectivity. The liquid metaphor actually has a long legacy in the martial arts, and remains popular in certain contemporary martial arts circles, since being powerfully advocated by Bruce Lee (1975) in the late 1960s and early 1970s as an antidote for what he saw as the 'classical mess' perpetuated by subjugation to stylistic convention. Lee implored the martial artist to become like water, which adapts to the shape of any container it finds itself in, but is able to switch containers as the need arises. Underlying Lee's conviction was an image of the self as a free-floating subject, and his (at the time) revolutionary philosophy might be interpreted in retrospect as the beginnings of a postmodern turn in the martial arts (see Bowman, 2009). Despite the appeal of Lee's postmodern appropriation of Taoist imagery, undoubtedly there can be difficulties for a martial artist who attempts to change 'styles', not the least being the residual effects of one's previous discipline. This has not affected the popularity of switching or collecting disciplines that has become a feature of the contemporary martial arts scene since the permission provided by Lee as popular 'cinematic pedagogue' (Morris, 2002) and 'oriental master' almost forty years ago. However, the possibility that a martial artist might be subject to more than one discipline does little to challenge the main thesis of this chapter. If the self is liquid, then its capacities are formed precisely when it is moulded into shape through subjection to discipline. The purpose of subjecting oneself to multiple disciplines is most likely to be a desire to develop new capacities, and the new capabilities one attains and new subjectivities that emerge will be formed in the same crucibles of stylistic constraint.

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¹ In italicising Japanese words drawn from the lexicon of martial tradition, I mean to make the point that each of these terms carries a rich array of meanings that are not easily replaced by a single English word. Thus the word dojo, which implies the place where the way is taught, means something more substantial than "training hall"; and Sensei, although used in everyday Japanese to mean "teacher", carries within martial arts circles the notion of one who in being born before, as the kanji for Sensei imply, is further down the path.

- iii Although I don't elaborate on this, the idea of self-formation being described here can clearly be understood as depicting disciplines and disciplinarity as the means to engage in what German scholars have called *Bildung* (see for example, Masschelein & Ricken, 2003).
- iv I began my martial arts training in Wing Chun Kung-Fu, and was quickly exposed to Kickboxing, and a variety of Wushu forms. I later studied Togakure Ryu Ninjutsu, in which I hold a 5th degree black belt, and which informs many of the incidental references in this chapter. Along the way I also picked up skills in Filipino Arnis (stick and knife fighting). I ran my own martial arts schools from the late eighties through the decade of the 1990s, until the academic life took over.
- YA somewhat more esoteric model of progression through the stages of martial arts mastery has been provided by Stephen K. Hayes (1984), the first American to be awarded the rank of Shidoshi (licensed teacher of the 'warrior ways') in Bujinkan Kobudo. Hayes' scheme consists of five stages, moving from: (1) a basic foundation in which emphasis is placed on learning the kihongata or fundamental principles and physical forms of the art; (2) the development of nagare, a flowing responsive relationship with an attacker, achieved by learning to apply the fundamental principles and techniques with a live opponent, in order to improve timing, distancing, and spontaneous decision-making; (3) concentration on your ability to control and direct the energy of the conflict; (4) concentration on developing an ability to conceal oneself safely in the very centre of the conflict, through mastering principles of kyojitsu tenkan ho the strategy of altering the opponent's perception of truth and falsehood; and finally (5) the attainment of a state of freedom and spontaneous self-expression described as the ku no seikai or realm devoid of specific recognisable manifestation.

ⁱⁱ I am also following Luke (1996) here, in exploring pedagogies of everyday life that occur outside the confines of the public school education system.

vi In some martial arts, such as *Bujinkan Kobudo*, attrition is understood to be an important factor in the training, that means "that kind of person, the ones with the wrong motivations, disappear by themselves" (Hatsumi & Hayes, 1987, p. 159). Thus, the training is seen to 'weed out' students with undesirable characters, and the tradition understands this as part of its pedagogy.

vii According to prominent martial arts practitioners and scholars it is important to distinguish between bugei or bujutsu "martial arts" and budo "martial ways" (Draeger & Smith, 1974). According to this schema, jutsu forms such as Kenjutsu (the art of the sword), Jujutsu (the art of unarmed combat), Bojutsu (the art of staff fighting), and Ninjutsu (the art of stealth), emerged from the tenth century onwards as family or clan traditions of armed and unarmed self protection. The do forms, such as Aikido (the way of harmonising force), Kendo (the way of the sword), and Karate-do (the way of the empty hand), developed from these earlier military and fighting arts as methods of self perfection, commencing their evolution in the eighteenth century with the decline of the Samurai class, but quickening after Japan's defeat in WWII when the nation had to come to terms with its martial past. Stephen K. Hayes (1981b) in one of his early books introducing Ninjutsu to the West, described the Zen-influenced do arts as 'ritualised forms', seeking to make a case for the effectiveness and vitality of the ancient jutsu combat forms.

viii One contemporary conception is that *jutsu* describes self-defence techniques or the art studied, and *do* signifies self-perfection or the lifestyle practiced.

ix I should note that it was fortuitous that I attended the particular Wing Chun school that I did. Under the tutelage of both Sifu Bob Spano, and Sifu Glenn Turner, I was exposed to a much richer martial arts education than might have been the case had I attended a more 'exclusive' Kung-Fu school. I have fond memories of my teenage years training in their Meadowbank training hall.