Social Stratification in Japanese and Some Other Martial Arts: A Comparison and Discussion of Changes

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ABSTRACT

Using the humanistic theory of martial arts and martial arts sociology, the author attempts to describe and explain the relationship between social stratification and martial arts.

He asks whether a person's position in the martial arts environment is, today, dependent on social background. He asks: Who could practice with weapons, and which weapons, a hundred years ago? Who can study in the ancient fencing schools today? The analysis includes martial arts in ancient Japan, Europe and Brazil as well as today. He finds that positions originally went to those in the privileged classes or social strata.

Today, this does not matter. It can be concluded that there is simply a generational transmission of interest within families. Position in the martial arts, as in many other areas, is part of a person's long-term effort to determine their own position in society, or "position developed independently". Martial arts are part of the far-reaching democratization and leveling of society. Positions inherited from father to son arise only very rarely. This mainly now happens only in the ancient ancestral schools.

KEYWORDS | martial arts, social stratification, social position, warrior, weapon

Introduction

A complex conceptual and analytical landscape is situated between the Humanistic Theory of Martial Arts and the sociology of martial arts on one hand (a part of the martial arts science) and a general sociology and some theoretical conceptions on the other hand. From the Humanistic Theory of Martial Arts we use a definition of martial arts and an understanding of the phenomenon in systemic and holistic approaches. From the second perspective, the conceptual framework builds particular conceptions of Bourdieu (habitus and cultural or embodied capital) and Wohl (his dialectical, historical-sociological method).

What is a novelty of this work? It is an attempt to approach the relatively broad spectrum of martial arts with an indication of some general regularities. It is more a synthesis approach than analytical. The work does not include figures and quantitative indicators as discussed issues. It is rather prolegomena for larger purely empirical studies.

Martial arts that are practiced and the way to practice them are in line with the thinking of Pierre Bourdieu, a habitus, which means the generating and unifying principle that retranslate intrinsic and relational features of a unit style of life (Bourdieu, 1979; Rosa, 2012). Bourdieu draws a broad vision of the class hierarchy based largely on cultural domination. Cultural capital includes the upper classes: for example, the concept of honor (Bourdieu, 1991). The notion of cultural capital (Bourdieu, 1986; Golka, 2008) can also be discussed in relation to the theory of symbolic violence. In the world of sports and martial arts, we meet both – ethos and forms of fighting (Cynarski, 2004; Zarycki, 2009).

As Bourdieu used the concept of social class, in Marxist dialectics it is derived from the methodology of comparative historical research as a key category. A Polish sociologist of sport, Andrew Wohl, took it for his theoretical framework of research.

In the sociology of sport, studies of social stratification and the impact of social stratification on participation in physical education have been undertaken for a long time. Andrew Wohl pointed to the origins of sport and described sport as a class privilege (Wohl, 1985, pp. 28-30). As he wrote: "Many sports come directly from the activities of warfare and many other sports serve these activities" (Wohl, 1961, pp. 84-85). Warriors and knights engaged in warfare. This state of combat alertness and agonistics influenced, to a great extent, the development of physical culture (Wohl, 1961, 135). Today's martial arts and combat sports developed from warriors' exercise or, in some cases, from ritual (e.g., sumo, Indian wrestling, Nuba wrestling).

Basically, the theoretical perspectives for this analysis are the humanistic theory of martial arts and martial arts sociology (Halbrook, 1974; Cynarski, 2004, 2012). As the practice of martial arts is a cultural activity, it is necessary to provide relevant cultural explanations and the application of instrumentation in the areas of cultural anthropology and the sociology of culture.

The work focuses about origins of social stratification of martial arts in Japan, social patterns, and changes. In the second part, the author tries to lead comparisons of the old and new Budo with capoeira, European traditions, and today's martial arts of Asian origin in the West.

To describe and explain the relationship between social stratification and martial arts (in diachronic and synchronic perspectives) the author uses two basic qualitative methods: his own, long-term participant observations and content analysis of literature, also known as analytic analysis.

It is the long-term participant observations for 36 years of practicing martial arts and combat sports, mainly of Japanese origin (hard and soft styles; old and modern). The author remains after 26 years a trainer and activist various martial arts organizations (aikijutsu, jujutsu, karate, kenjutsu, and kobudo) in Europe and Asia. He knows many grand masters – expert level – and he has reached high master's degrees in several varieties, styles, and schools. Observation leads an international community of martial arts, especially its socio-cultural contexts. The social-cultural contexts regard social stratification, cultural patterns, and changes.

This direct experience implies a choice of specific martial arts and countries/cultures. But the selection contains some other martial arts that are especially interesting for comparative analysis.

Reflections will concern bujutsu (martial arts) in ancient Japan, the chivalric tradition in Europe, other non-European martial arts (for example, in Brazil), and the present situation in international martial arts circles (Tokarski, 1989; Green & Svinth, 2010). Is position in a martial arts environment today dependent on social background? Does it still play a role in today's democratic society? Before we answer these and other questions, let us explain the basic concepts.

Other basic concepts

"Stratum is defined as a community singled out by similar lifestyle, customs, income level and awareness of the barriers separating this group from the rest, especially inferior communities" (Szczepański, 1970, p. 410).

In the 1930s, an American, William Lloyd Warner (1898-1970), conducted research on the social and economic life of the town of Yankee City. It was a typical town with a settled American community. For the assessment of stratification he adopted the following criteria: education, occupation, wealth, titles, club membership, and place of residence. So he took into account both economic and social prestige factors. He said that by strata he meant two or more groups of people who they think they occupy higher or lower positions in society. He distinguished three layers in the town community (higher, middle, and lower), which he further divided into sub-layers.

Social structure, also known as stratification, refers to a multi-layer system. It is measured according to the availability of five basic social resources: power, money, prestige, education, and health. The stratification system of a society is determined by the location of various groups and communities, the sum of assignments within the strata, and the relationship between the strata.

Cultural identity and socio-cultural characteristics are a set of genealogical features, the relationship to their own group, and cultural symbols, i.e., anything that provides a sense of purpose and a value system (see: Golka, 2008, pp. 116-7). This identity influences individual self-identification.

In the culture of warriors, among the knights and nobles the practice of fencing and other martial arts stemmed from a sense of cultural identity, both with their own class or status and with a national tradition. This was, and still remains, a factor in maintaining a link with that tradition.

The "way" of martial arts (as in Japanese budō) can be defined as follows: the way of martial arts is various forms of physical, or to be more precise, psychophysical, instruction, which on the basis of the tradition of the warrior's code and in training fighting techniques, leads to psychophysical mastery and self-fulfillment. At the same time, these are processes of education and positive asceticism. Positive asceticism combines bodily exercise with conscious self-discipline; it focuses on moral and spiritual progress (Cynarski, 2004, 2013).

In ancient Japan

In the United States, initial researchers on social determinants of martial arts in their origins were Ratti and Westbrook (1991). They pointed to historical social division in Japan, which allowed the aristocracy to practice different varieties of martial arts with or without weapons, fighting on horseback, strategy, the art of fortifications, etc. Less well-to-do nobles mainly practiced archery, spear fighting, fencing, and jūjutsu. The lower strata had limited access to the secrets of martial arts. Samurai were obliged to follow the bushidō code of chivalry. However, the half-legendary ninjutsu, the art of espionage and assassination, was practiced by ninja living outside society.

Japanese aristocracy practiced archery, and horse archery in particular (kyuba-jutsu, as in the Takeda clan), fencing (kenjutsu), and horse fencing (kiba-battojutsu), and spear fighting. The Takeda and Aizu clans practiced aikijutsu, the subtle art of harmonizing energy in hand-to-hand fighting, from which contemporary aikido originates. Other practices involved throwing rods and sharp needles – shuriken-jutsu, which is still practiced in schools of daito-ryu and takeda-ryu.

Bushi (the Japanese nobility) also practiced fencing and archery as well as fighting with a stick, a spear, and a naginata glaive. The martial art of naginata-jutsu was traditionally practiced by samurai women. In addition, the samurai had to be able to fight without a weapon, or using only "small kinds of weapons" in jujutsu (Mol, 2001, pp. 53-68). This refers to teaching the classic school styles of old budo as well as katori shinto-ryu. Samurai were obliged to master different fighting techniques and wielding weapons (Tanaka, 2003; Cynarski & Szajna, 2012b). Kuno Mauer (1981) indicates that in the society of ancient Japan the nobles spent their free time fencing and practicing archery.

Guards had to master the skills of jujutsu while protecting third parties, which we could compare to today's "intervention techniques" that are practiced by security guards and uniformed services. For bushi warriors, fighting skills were the main skills related to their professional and social role. Interestingly,

Buddhist or Shinto shrine clergy, despite the formal prohibition of fighting and killing in Buddhism, successfully practiced various martial arts.

The middle class practiced self-defense using fans, sticks knives, ropes and simplified jujutsu, also known as folk yawara (Mol, 2001, pp. 41-2). Peasants and fishermen, for example, in Okinawa, perfected wielding weapons of agricultural origin such as sticks, flails, sickles, oars, and sai – a device for planting rice. The inhabitants of Okinawa, under the direction of their nobility created karate and kobudo, i.e., combat techniques of hand-to-hand fighting and the use of these popular folk weapons. It was not so much an expression of an Okinawan peasants' revolt against the Japanese nobility as a conspiratorial national struggle by the inhabitants of the former Ryukyu kingdom against the Japanese occupation.

In addition to the law and social systems, there were families of ninja assassins who used all the known techniques of martial arts. In ninjutsu they also used weapons for silent killing such as needles, blowguns, steel cords and poisons (Ratti & Westbrook, 1991; Cynarski, 2004, p. 340).

It was only after the Meiji reform that a gradual democratization of the arts and the opening of schools for representatives of other states took place. This happened as a result of the introduction of budo, especially judo and kendo, to the public education system (cf. Inoue, 1998; Matsuyama et al., 2009). The origins of the creators of today's budo, J. Kano and M. Ueshiba and sensei G. Funakoshi's teachers, were noble (Stevens, 1995; Rżany & Cynarski, 2001), so the tradition of the military ways of bushi was passed on to the next generation in only a slightly altered form.

Even today, some martial arts are somewhat elitist. For example, tenshin shoden katori shinto(-ryu) school, as a national cultural heritage is protected from commercialization. Japanese institutions, such as "Japanese Embassy or an authoritative body" would take action such men who have taken the system as a living national cultural treasure and are using it in commercial gain (Finn, 1982, p. 20).

European chivalric tradition

As in other cultures, including Europe, the kind of weapon used was specific to representatives of a certain social class. The weapons used by knights or the nobility in Western Europe were first: a sword, then a rapier and later an epee, while in Central Europe, in Poland and Hungary it was a sabre. Specific weapons used by peasants included a scythe with a blade knife set "endways" (Cynarski, 2008a,b), pitchforks, and flails. A knight and a nobleman had the right to bear arms at their side. Other classes used weapons at war. The only kinds of fighting used by lower classes were hand-to-hand fighting. Wrestling and fistfights were popular among the peasantry in Europe.

As was noted by Piwowarczyk (2007, p. 6), "riders were the elite, not because of their skills, but their wealth and privilege. The high cost of military troops seriously limited the circle of persons capable of military service in the cavalry". This took place at the beginning of the European knighthood. A knight could also, however, be a warrior from a poorer background if he showed special heroism and virtue.

Heavily armored horse riding troops usually consisted of the rich nobility; in the infantry or archers, peasants were often called up. Horse riding and fencing were for centuries the basic components of a noble youth's education. A Polish nobleman carried a sword at his side from the sixteenth to the late eighteenth century. The Polish Sabre Hussars and 'Winged' Hussars (as a combat formation) became famous as the best in the military history of Europe, or even the world (Zablocki, 2000; Cynarski, 2008a, 2009b; Sawicki, 2011, 2012; Cynarski & Szajna, 2012a).

The Sicilian Cefali Sebastiano, secretary to the Grand Marshal of the Crown and the Crown hetman Jerzy Sebastian Lubomirski, wrote about Polish hussars in these words: "The best nobles who serve in war, according to the custom of the country, are a part of the army and experienced officers who commanded military units of (banners) Cossack and other regiments of lower (than hussars) status, do not consider it a dishonor to enlist (in the hussars) as ordinary soldiers (hussar companions)" (Sikora, 2012), because it was an elite unit of the Polish Kingdom and the Polish Commonwealth.

The officer corps came from the nobility and it was in the military where this unique ethos of honor was preserved the longest. Generally, the aristocracy and nobility derived from the intelligentsia complied with it. This ethos, in association with the Catholic religion, helped the Polish intelligentsia survive the difficult years of partitions and denationalization (Germanization and Russification), genocide, occupation (Nazi Germany and Soviet Russia), and the years of communism and exile. Since 1920, even Polish peasants have wanted to emulate knights and literary heroes, such as the defenders of the Republic of Poland from H. Sienkiewicz's trilogy.

Today, old-style Polish fencing is practiced by thousands of young people who are members of knighthoods, groups reconstructing historic events, and sections of historical weapons enthusiasts. There are Zablocki's School and Signum Polonicum, which are restoring old Polish traditions (Cynarski, 2008a, b). Nobody asks about social background. But the leaders of these schools come from families of the Polish nobility. The same is true in other European countries. A modernized style of escrima (Newman, 2005) is taught by Sir Frank Newman, Lord of Dilish. But it is not only for noblemen: today, classical fencing can be practiced by everyone.

Among the European martial arts attention needs to be given especially to fencing. A book by Max Schroeber (1938), written in gothic style, addresses the sport of fencing in fascist Germany while mentioning old fencing traditions. Hence, it is not only Japanese martial arts that had been used in chauvinistic political propaganda in the years preceding World War II. Today, lots of German authors, for instance Andreas Leffer (2007), write about ancient German fencing and hand-to-hand fighting. Herbert Schmidt (2007) provides suggestions for modern training in traditional sword fighting. The European fighting arts of the Middle Ages and Renaissance described by John Clements (2011) and Bartłomiej Walczak (2011) owe a lot to the German ways of sword and hand-to-hand fighting described in ancient treatises.

Between Africa and contemporary Brazil

There are many types of martial arts that have been created in the West (in Europe, the United States, and Brazil) that are modeled on those of eastern Asian. For example, the technique has its roots in Japan, but it is often referred to as Brazilian or European jujitsu. Other fighting arts were created in the borderlands of Asia and Europe (Russia, Israel). Capoeira is a special phenomenon combining dancing and fighting performed by African-Brazilian slaves. Furthermore, many sports derived from Asian martial arts have appeared in countries either "in the West" or "in western countries" (vide Cynarski, 2000).

In the realms of martial arts, Brazil is famous for "Brazilian ju-jutsu" called Bjj, and capoeira. In reality, it is Japanese jūjutsu, which was developed by the Gracie family within the scope of ground-fighting techniques (ne-waza) (Gracie & Peligro, 2006). Bjj is at present practiced in Brazil mainly by people from higher social classes.

Nevertheless, for scientific analysis the phenomenon of capoeira is especially interesting. Basic interpretations of what capoeira is or is not are debatable. Is it a form of dancing (Almeida, 1993), a martial arts form (Assuncao, 2005; Reis, 2005), or a fighting art/combat sport (Araujo & Jaqueira, 2011)? Is it African Brazilian (Assuncao, 2005; Slezak, 2007; Green, 2010) or a purely Brazilian art (Almeida, 1993; Araujo and Jaqueira, 2011)? Social and cultural reality is often much more complicated than bifid divisions. In attempting to provide an unambiguous definition, such simplification can lead to mistakes.

If capoeira comes from the war dances and practices of African warriors from the area of present-day Angola, it is the fruit of the culture of warriors. In Brazil, it was once practiced by slaves, people from the margins of society, and lower classes as an expression of rebellion and for self-defense. It was mainly a fight using the legs (without a weapon). Today it is still more often practiced in this country by young people from lower social classes, but there is a process of spreading and popularizing this martial art in the whole society, e.g., it is being implemented in the educational system (Sonoda-Nunes, De Oliveira, & Wanderley, 2009; Araujo & Jaqueira, 2011).

Paulo Coelho de Araujo explores capoeira as a historian, sociologist, and cultural anthropologist. He observes and describes the phases of development of this fighting art (Araujo, 2005a, b). Together with Ana Rosa Jaqueira, Paulo Coelho de Araujo investigates the institutionalizing of capoeira instructing, portrays profiles of masters, and provides insight into capoeira iconography (from the perspective of the anthropology of an image) (Araujo & Jaqueira, 2008; Araujo, Jaqueira, & Lima, 2011; cf. Cynarski & Sieber, 2012).

According to the Szczepanski's definition, capoeira was initially practiced by representatives of the lower classes and the marginalized, the inferior communities (cf. Lewis, 1992; Araujo, Jaqueira, & Lima, 2011). Today, the combination of dance and fight is attractive for both young people from poor families, as well as the higher layers.

Today – on a global scale

Today, in an era of global popularity of Asian, but also western (European) martial arts, a person's position in the environment of martial arts is not dependent on social background though descending from the samurai or a noble family may to some extent help someone achieve success in the martial arts. However, it is ethos that is making it easier for people to access the once elite martial arts.

Is it therefore performance that determines a person's position and social status in martial arts today? Positions resulting from social background were important in the past. In the history of martial arts, the privileged strata such as the bushi class in Japan, could and would be obliged (Bushido Code) to practice martial arts. These days it is the cost of training that serves as the main barrier to people from poorer families taking up martial arts

Nowadays we often find "positions developed independently". Namely, these are ranks and their corresponding belts, master titles (kyoshi, hanshi), licenses and positions (e.g., technical director – shihan) that are achieved. Years of solid training under the eye of a competent master-teacher, active participation in the activities of a given organization, and talent (psychomotor and character qualifications) are the major conditions for success in terms of martial arts. These in turn transfer into a professional and social position. However, these days the social position of a martial arts teacher is not very highly esteemed. Today the more prestigious and financially valued roles are those of coaches and participants in popular sports.

Are there any "inherited positions"? Sometimes there is a generational message passed on from father to son. The children of instructors, particularly boys, practice more often when encouraged by their fathers and because of this fairly early start with these exercises, they achieve good results. In the West, however, even private schools are not usually handed down from father to son. A son is not obliged to follow ancestral traditions.

It is different in today's Japan. If a martial art has been associated with a given family for generations, the head of the family is the successor and guardian of this tradition (soke) – the person responsible for its further transmission. The family also passes on the ancestral weapons. In the case of the Iizasa Family (katori shinto-ryu school) school, documents have been passed on in the family since the fifteenth century. However, at the same time, the last soke are not masters-teachers. They only appoint major shihan, masters responsible for the transfer of technical skills.

In Japan, a seniority system senpai-kohai (senior-junior) deeply rooted in society has been functioning up till now on a global scale. It is a system of degrees kyu-dan (student and master). The hierarchy is determined firstly by competence (with a certified degree), secondly by internship (e.g., 5 years after the exam to obtain 4th dan), and thirdly by age. When there are two athletes with the same degree, gained at the same time, it is only the older person who is seen as a senpai. In general, older and acclaimed people are particularly revered in Japan.

In the traditional transmission of martial arts, the organizational system corresponds to the hierarchical structure. It is (in a vertical structure):

1. At the top of the pyramid, the master – the founder of the school, style, or method.

2. Soke, the current successor or dai-shihan – the main master-teacher.
3. Masters responsible for teaching across countries, organizations, or centers (towns), i.e., the local leaders.
4. Other instructors and older students.
5. Other students.

A grand master-teacher traditionally has substantive and moral authority. In a school of traditional Japanese martial arts it is a soke or shihan. Most frequently, the grand master is also a soke but sometimes, as in the katori shinto-ryu school, this function is divided between different people. A similar model can be found in a variety of associations. The president represents the organization, whereas in matters of teaching and promotion through the ranks the person responsible is the technical director.

The system of subjection, which was originally feudal, is now changing in the direction of democratization and leveling. The process of commercialization in the field of martial arts is not without significance. Teachers teach more and more often for the money and less for the noble ideals. There is also competition in the martial arts market, which leads to incompetent individuals receiving instructor licenses. Thus, it gives rise to the creation of expert bodies such as the European Jujutsu and Kobudo Committee, whose purpose is to promote a high level of martial arts.

An organization that is an association, federation, or foundation usually appoints its own council masters of the highest rank. This is frequently connected with its independence and self-reliance in granting ranks and permits (different licenses). However, the best organizations strive to gain recognition for the real martial arts masters who are undisputed authorities (Cynarski, 2009a).

Significantly, the descendants of nobles and samurai and today's martial arts elite can even be identified by their physical characteristics. They are usually slender, proportionally built, with upright body posture (Maroteaux, 2011). This is the result of daily training and techniques once practiced only by the nobility. Dr. Roland Maroteaux, nota bene, a member of the European Nobility Club and a holder of the Order of Knighthood Homo Creator Nobilis, conducted a comparative study of dynamic balance in a variety of martial arts, with particular emphasis on those of samurai origin. An upright body posture is both an expression of dignity and a self-preservation factor against the loss of balance in a fight.

Of course, the physical dimension of the social determinants of martial arts cannot be in doubt. But a holistic study of the phenomenon of martial arts should also take into account this dimension.

Worked out position

The article by Alain James and Richard Jones (1982) is one of the first empirical studies that analyzed the "social world of karate-do" designated by the traditions of the school, status positions, and the hierarchy of values and principles of conduct (cf. Sieber, 2011). Today, karate is practiced by representatives of all social strata. Karate and the like, the traditional martial arts, are quite commonly cultivated for their educational value, which is repeatedly ascertained (Vertonghen & Theeboom, 2010).

Similar studies in the circles of people practicing capoeira were conducted by a Brazilian sociologist and capoeira teacher, André Luiz Teixeira Reis (2005). His experimental research was undertaken in Poland during a stay of several months in Warsaw. Capoeira improves health, harmonizes social relations, and enhances social well being. Reis observed this during social research (Reis, 2005; Kolbowska, 2005). Today, especially outside of Brazil, capoeira is practiced by representatives of all social classes.

Also, it is difficult to clearly identify in the case of judo, karate, and taekwondo the social conditions of their practice. In addition to being the pioneer period in Western countries, they have developed mainly in academia. Force combat sports , like boxing and wrestling, are being replaced by more and more popular Asian martial arts (Cynarski et al., 2002).

L. Wacquant's work on boxing contains a reference to Bourdieu's concept of 'embodied capital' (Wacquant, 2006). It is specific for lower classes or layers, going hand in hand with the popularity of sport in

mass culture and design tough guy. On the other hand, Clément (1995) pointed the difference between aesthetic martial arts (e.g., aikido, iaido) and the upper middle classes versus wrestling and the lower classes. Both boxing and wrestling are power combat sports.

Iaido and other forms of traditional martial arts are more likely cultivated by the representatives of the middle class (adults of both sexes) in Europe for their recreational value and health. There is no competition and direct combat, but only very specific sequence of movements that participants seek to perfect (Finn, 1982; Cynarski & Obodyński, 2006; Pańczyk & Cynarski, 2006).

Hapkido, a Korean martial art, is related to aiki-jujutsu. It refers to the tradition of Korean nobility. Sterkowicz (2003), who studied interpersonal relationships in a group of people practicing hapkido, pointed out that efficiency and level of skill in particular determine social positioning in the group. The same thing applies to other east Asian martial arts (Halbrook, 1974).

Generally speaking, in a group of students practicing a given martial art social position depends on skills and knowledge and indirectly on the level of seniority and rank. However, in relation to the rest of society, it is associated with the position occupied in the organization. The leader of a larger and longer lasting organization is usually better perceived than the representative of a small group of enthusiasts that have functioned for a short time.

Summary and theoretical insights

There are big differences, but some similarities, between social contexts of practicing the varieties of martial arts mentioned above. Similar is the development of martial arts by the warrior cultures, as in Europe, Japan, Korea and Thailand, with the dominant class or status. Social factor determined the possession of horses and weapons, educational opportunities, transfer of tradition, and the social elite for the majority of classic martial artists.

Social contexts of feudalism in Japan and Europe (as with today's social relationships) created different groups of conditions. Feudalism blocked access to certain goods to people outside of the class or status. Today, these barriers have almost completely disappeared. The traditions of African warriors were probably primitive for capoeira dropped further in Brazil by slaves and the margin. Today, capoeira and other martial arts are subject to democratization and dissemination. Of course, various social layers and groups prefer different specific martial arts. Martial arts, where the fight is a convention (aikido, iaido, capoeira), require different motivation than the particular contact combat sports. Some varieties combine the arts and sports, and their social participation is the most diverse.

In studies of the stratification system of society, the following are generally distinguished: 1. Positions resulting from social background; 2. Positions developed independently; 3. Inherited positions.

One can similarly describe the positions held in martial arts organizations. In the past, positions related to background referred to classes or social strata (the knights, nobility, and the Japanese bushi). Today it does not much matter. There is, however, some evidence of inter-generational transfer within families. The situation in martial arts, as in many other fields, is determined mostly and to the greatest degree by an individual's own long-term efforts. Martial arts have undergone far-reaching democratization and leveling. Social positions inherited from father to son are now very rare and are connected mainly with the old ancestral schools.

This raises the following theoretical indications:
1. Further testing, in taking into account the more detailed cultural differences of various countries, the emergence of martial arts should be implemented in a similar theoretical perspective and also
2. With respect to the theory of social change (e.g., by P. Sztompka).

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