# What is the Driving Force Behind the Globalisation of Karate? From a Chinese Viewpoint

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#### Abstract

Although scholars have discussed the globalisation of karate and its spread worldwide. However, the current study only discusses the spread of karate in the West through the logical reasoning of the researchers, based on scattered evidence. Thus, in this study, the authors collected 40 karate books written by Chinese people and extracted their views on it with the aim of clarifying the force responsible for the globalisation of karate from a 'non-Western' perspective. This study analyses their views using reflexive thematic analysis and suggests, first, the modernisation of karate was accelerated by the introduction of tournaments, and some Chinese martial artists noticed karate techniques and the rules of a contest, expecting to learn from its success. Karate became an Olympic sport in 2016, which led the Chinese to reflect on and study in depth the model of promoting the globalisation of karate. This implies that karate is recommended and actively introduced in China by the Chinese. Second, the Chinese believe that karate is a 'one-hit kill' (一擊必殺), implying that a single movement can kill the enemy. However, they firmly believe that the practice of karate over time not only reduces this potentially dangerous and violent nature but also promotes the health of the practitioner's body and mind. Thus, in their perception, karate is likely to exist and function as a 'Dao' (道) of both the literary and martial arts.

Key words: martial artists, sports culture, Chinese viewpoint, globalisation of karate, 2020 Tokyo Olympics.

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## Introduction

The transmission of sport to foreign societies and the associated cultural phenomena remain central themes in the study of sports culture (Inoue & Kiku, 2018; Nakamura, 1993). For example, the American sports scholar Gutman's Games and Empires: Modern Sport and Cultural Imperialismclarified the process of propagation and diffusion of sport such as cricket, football, and baseball from the 'West' to the 'West' and 'non-West' (Gutman, 1997). Inaddition, the Japanese sports scholar Nakamura's *Theory of Sports Culture Series* ① and ②clarified the process of the spread and diffusion of the concepts of baseball, gymnastics, and sport from the 'West' to Japan of the 'non-West' (Nakamura, 1993, 1995).

However, much discussion has occurred in recent years about the 'back propagation' of various sport originating in Asia from the 'non-West' to the 'West'. Sakaue (2010) studied the spread of Japanese judo/jujutsu to Europe, Asia, North America, and South America. Moenig and Kim (2021) studied the spread of Korean taekwondo to America and Europe. Several other studies have focused on the spread of Asian sport to the 'West', such as karate, tai chi, and yoga (Hjortborg & Ravn, 2020; Lachina, 2018; Lawton & Nauright, 2019; Li & Dai, 2021; Thurston & Bloyce, 2020; YoungII, 2016). Therefore, the traditional view that modern sport were born in the 'West' and spread worldwide along with imperialism has been reassessed in recent years. Since karate was recently included as an official competition at the 2020 Tokyo Olympics and 2022 Dakar Youth Olympic Games, the widespread interpretation that all sport originated in the 'West' and were brought to the world needs to be revised as soon as possible.

Karate originated in the Ryukyu Kingdom (Okinawa) of the 'non-West'. It has spread worldwide and currently has approximately 130 million karatekas (Aina, 2017; Kaz, 2017). The number of member organisations of the World Karate Federation has reached 200 countries and regions (Word Karate Federation, 2023). Thus, this study aims to answer the following question: What is the driving force behind the globalisation of karate?

There is ample literature discussing the process of the globalisation of karate. For example, Krug (2001) examined why karate became a part of European and American culture. He mentioned that karate's credibility as a sport is underpinned first by its construction in relation to existing Western practices and ideas about Asia and later in relation to Western understandings and appropriations of Traditional Chinese Medicine. Lawton and Nauright (2019) examined the globalisation of the traditional Okinawan art of Shotokan karate. They mentioned that karate spread worldwide through a combination of mass media and the experiences of spectators and practitioners. International karate competition began in 1970. This initiated the popularisation of karate, introducing more changes to the sport based on the preferences of spectators. Other scholars have referred to karate when discussing the

globalisation of Asian martial arts. For example, Lachina (2018) mentioned that karate escaped the fate of judo and kendo in both the pre-war and post-war periods. The fact that it was always represented by a myriad of styles and schools and was never fully incorporated into force structures prevented it from being militarised in the 1930s and 1940s. Therefore, after Japan's defeat, its practice was not forbidden, as the occupying American forces viewed it merely as a form of physical education and thus deemed it 'harmless'. This is why it could continue its expansion in Japan without much disruption and be exported to other countries, particularly in the West, without being associated with Japanese war machinery.

However, the aforementioned studies only describe the logical reasoning of the researchers based on fragmentary evidence. The reasons for the globalisation of karate are complex and diverse and should be empirically investigated and analysed in detail according to the actual situation. In addition, the above studies essentially discuss the spread of karate in the West and ignore its spread in other countries and regions, such as Asia. Thus, to obtain a deeper understanding of what the driving forces behind the globalisation of karate are, this study analysed the reasons for the globalisation of karate from a 'non-Western' perspective — China — by identifying Chinese views and perspectives on karate from systematic primary sources.

## Methods

#### Data collection

This study analysed karate books published by Chinese authors, available from relevant databases. Karate books usually systematically summarise karate techniques and theories, and it is possible to grasp the author's views and opinions on karate through this content.

The relevant databases included the following: (1) National Library of China: comprised 42 million items as of December 2021 (National Library of China official website, 2022); (2) China Digital Library databases: comprises 850,000 e-books available in full text, over 500 newspapers and more; (China Digital Library databases official website, 2022); (3) Dongguan Library Literature Search: includes 3.1 million titles that account for over 95% of all Chinese books published in China, as well as 270 million Chinese and foreign language journal articles and other information (Dongguan Library Literature Search official website, 2022).

Thus, a search of the keyword 'karate' in the aforementioned databases revealed 44 karate books by 2022 (retrieved on 22 January 2023). Of the 44 karate books, this study collected the contents of 43 karate books owing to problems regarding copyright permissions. The 43 books included both Chinese and translated books. For translated books, this study identified the views of the original

authors and translators (Chinese authors) and focused only on the translators (Chinese authors). Finally, three translated books were eliminated through screening because they did not contain the translator's perspective, leaving 40 karate books. In this study, we focused on the content of these 40 books, the titles of which are listed in <Table 1>.

Table 1. Karate references published in China

Year	Title	Publisher	Author
1987	Karate (空手道)	Liaoning Education Press	Li Changduo
1988	The Secret of Karate (空手道秘要)	Henan Science and Technology Press	Li Shixin
1989	Karate(空手道)	Hubei Science and Technology Press	Gao Peng
1989	Modern Karate (现代空手道)	Sanqin Press	Wang Jingxiu et al.
1989	Introduction to Japanese karate (日本空手道入门)	Zhejiang People's Press	Yuan Zhenlan et al.
1990	Karate Fighting (空手道格斗术)	South Sea Press	Zhu Shige et al.
1990	Illustrated karate techniques (图解空手道击技全书)	Hunan Science and TechnologyPress	Yan Hong et al.
1992	Practical application of unarmed combat karate (徒手搏击空手道实战应用)	Beijing Sports University Press	Qin Shan et al.
1992	Modern Karate (现代空手道)	Chinese People's Public Security University Press	Yi Wei
1993	Fighting Karate (格斗空手道)	People's Sports Press	Zheng Xuxu
1993	Karate Six Weeks(空手道六周通)	People's Sports Press	Zhu Jianhua et al.
1994	Karate Wrestling Techniques (空手道摔技)	Chinese People's Public Security University Press	Yi Wei
1998	42 Days Karate Training Crash Course (42天空手道训练速成教室)	Hunan Literature and Art Press	Shi Yanhong
2002	Full contact karate (全接触空手道)	Beijing Sports University Press	Zhu Jianhua
2003	Karate(空手道)	Heilongjiang Science and Technology Publishing House	Liu Tongwei et al.
2003	Karate (空手道)	Tomorrow Press	Min Ling
2004	Karate (空手道)	Hubei Science and Technology Press	Yuan Zhenlan et al.
2005	Women's Karate	Beijing Sports University Press	Liao Jinhua
2006	Practical Karate Techniques (空手道实战技法)	Beijing Sports University Press	Zhu Jianhua
2007	Karate Tutorial (空手道教程)	Beijing Sports University Press	Wang Yongtaoet et al.
2008	Karate Techniques (空手道技法)	Chengdu Times Press	Ni Weiming
2008	Karate (空手道)	Jilin Press	Zhao Liming

Year	Title	Publisher	Author
2009	Introduction to the sport of karate (空手道运动入门)	People's Sports Press	Zhang Qiu
2010	Karate(空手道)	Beijing Sports University Press	Xu ShengHong
2011	Sports Karate (体育空手道)	Hefei University of Technology Press	Chinese Karate Association
2012	Karate Teaching and Training (空手道教学与训练)	Hunan Normal University Press	Guo Jianping
2014	Karate kata (空手道型拳)	Tianjin Science and Technology Press	Li Ming
2015	Karate kata exercises (空手道型锻炼方法)	Shanghai Jiao Tong UniversityPress	Xu Yonghai
2015	Illustrated Karate (图解空手道)	People's Post and Telecom Press	Niu Xuetong
2015	Modern Karate Movement (现代空手道运动)	Northeast Normal University Press	Ma Bo
2015	How to prepare for a karate competition (如何备战一场极真空手道比赛)	China Shiyan Press	A Ben
2016	Karate Tutorial (空手道教程)	Hubei Science and Technology Press	Pang Junpeng
2017	Karate(空手道)	Beijing Sports University Press	Ding Chuanwei
2017	Karate Foundation Course (空手道基础教程)	Beijing Sports University Press	Sheng Mengya
2018	Basic Introduction to Karate (空手道基础入门)	Chengdu Times Press	Luo Jinghui
2018	Karate kata and kumite (空手道型和组手)	Chengdu Times Press	Luo Jinghui
2019	From Fujian Martial Arts to Karate (从福建拳法到空手道)	Xiamen University Press	Zheng Xuxu
2020	Learn karate from world champion ( 跟世界冠军学空手道 )	Electronic Industry Press	Li Hong
2021	Karate Manga Kung Fu (空手道漫画功夫)	People's Sports Press	Zheng Wenlong
2022	From white belt to black belt (从白带到黑帶)	People's Sports Press	Ma Juncheng

## Data processing and analysis

This study analysed the data using reflexive thematic analysis developed by Braun and Clarke, which is a widely used method in qualitative research in sports and exercise contexts (Braun & Clarke, 2019). Reflexive thematic analysis can be used to address different types of research questions, including questions about people's views (Thematic Analysis Official website, 2023).

All the authors began reading the transcripts individually to become familiar with the content. Semantic coding, involving the labelling of text segments using a concept-by-concept (as opposed to a line-by-line) method, was undertaken by Author 1. At this point, the coding was open, and a coding

framework was not used. These codes capture observations, ideas, aspects, or features (Braun & Clarke, 2021; Pill & Abery, 2022).

The coding provided by Author 1 formed a basis to facilitate the dynamic analysis, in which the coding interpretations were fully explored by all four authors. The four authors engaged in a collaborative, dialogical, and conscious process of debating codes and organising them to identify potential themes (Pill & Abery, 2022). This was followed by a search for concepts that would underpin a theme shared across a range of codes, and thereafter review and refine the themes (Pill & Abery, 2022). Potential themes were interrogated and reviewed by the research team until there was an agreement on the final description of a set of analytically rational themes that were considered appropriate for describing the narrative of the phenomenon being considered (Pill & Abery, 2022). Thus, themes were the final 'product' of coding, followed by iterative theme development (Braun & Clarke, 2021; Pill & Abery, 2022).

Through the above work, this study identified five main themes of Chinese views on karate: (1) karate can contribute to the development of Chinese martial arts; (2) karate techniques are safe; (3) karate techniques are practical; (4) karate can be used as a means of body pedagogy; and (5) karate can be used for character building.

## **Results**

## Karate can contribute to the development of Chinese martial arts

In the karate books written by Chinese authors, eight authors believe that karate could promote the development of Chinese martial arts. Specifically, (1) they consider that karate has the potential to improve the techniques of Sanda (散打); (2) they consider the globalisation promotion model of karate as a blueprint for the promotion of Chinese martial arts.

During China's reform and opening-up period around 1978, various industries began to actively learn from advanced foreign experiences, and Chinese martial arts were no exception. In December 1982, at the National Chinese Martial Arts Work Conference, it was proposed that the development of Chinese martial arts should rely on each other to preserve their inherent characteristics while developing in a scientific direction (Lin, 1994). To chart the future direction of Chinese martial arts, some Chinese martial artists turned to the worldwide popularity of karate, expecting to learn from its success. Some Chinese writings on karate are as follows:

This karate book has been compiled to further improve the techniques of Sanda. (Li, 1987)

I expect this book will be useful for training in Sanda and to master the techniques for physical fitness and self-defence. (Qin & Ruo, 1992)

This book is intended to be useful for karate enthusiasts and provide some useful references for those involved in teaching and training in Sanda. (Zheng, 1993)

Sanda, created in the late 1970s, is an important part of Chinese martial arts (Jiang, 2010). In 1978, the General Administration of Sport of China established the Sanda Research Group. In 1979, Beijing Sports University, Wuhan Sports University, and other sports colleges introduced the sport on a trial basis. In 1982, the State General Administration of Sport formulated the first Sanda Competition Rules and Referee Law and held an annual national exhibition tournament (Jiang, 2010). Throughout the 1980s and 1990s, Sanda was in the experimental exploration phase. In contrast, the rules of karate competition have been studied at Tokyo University since as early as 1929 in Japan (Koyama, Wada, & Kadekaru, 2020). The first official karate competition, the All Japan Karate Students Championship, was held in 1957, and the first World Karate Championship was held in 1970 (Koyama, Wada, & Kadekaru, 2020). The successful karate competition attracted the attention of the Chinese, who were keen to acquire successful experience from the karate competition style to develop Sanda into a competitive sport. Moreover, some Chinese scholars believe that karate's global model could be used as a reference for Chinese martial arts; for example:

Although Japan was defeated in World War II, Japanese karate was quickly promoted and developed locally and globally and has established itself as an advanced martial art in the world today. Therefore, the successful experience of Japanese karate is worth learning from as the Chinese martial arts community strives to go global. (Zhu, 2006)

We need to analyse the basic patterns of the development of sports culture considering the development of karate to provide a reference for the contemporary development of martial arts. (Zheng, 2019)

Since 2005, when karate began its bid for Olympic inclusion, it has been on the Chinese radar as a rival to Chinese martial arts. For example, beginning in 2006, the number of research papers on karate increased annually, and the number of papers grew rapidly over the 10 years from 2007 to 2019. In 2019, the number of papers reached 48, which was the highest number in the last 10 years.

When karate officially became an Olympic sport in 2016, it shocked Chinese martial artists. The idea of promoting Chinese martial arts as an Olympic sport has always existed. However, karate, which was separated from Chinese martial arts, joined the Olympic family early. This has led several Chinese martial artists to reflect on and study in depth the model of promoting the globalisation of karate. As aforementioned, the Chinese expected to learn from the successful globalisation of karate and provide a reference for the globalisation of Chinese martial arts.

#### Karate techniques are safe

In the karate books written by Chinese authors, ten authors believe that karate techniques are safe, because they consider the 'sun dome  $(\exists \bot \&)$ ' of karate to be reasonable.

The 'sun dome' is one of the rules of modern karate and is recognised by the International Olympic Committee. This implies that an attack must be stopped before contact with the opponent's body, making it a martial art rule safe for competition. The Chinese views of the 'sun dome' are as follows:

Karate is not simply a martial art to 'knock your opponent out'. In real combat, it is not only about keeping yourself alive but also about keeping your opponent alive. (Yan, Yi, & Shi, 1990)

Karate competitions strictly limit the possibility of injury to the opponent and require a certain level of protection during the competition. Consequently, karate matches are intense and exciting, however, they do not cause fatal injury to the opponent. (Zhu & Shi, 1990)

Karate is 'one-hit kill (一擊必殺)', however, the emphasis is on the 'sun dome' in competition. This dialectical approach to martial arts has allowed karate to develop and endure. (Guo, 2012)

The main form of competition in karate is the 'sun dome', which reflects the ethics of karate and the excellence of the karate practitioner. (Ding, 2017)

In ancient times, tribes and armies used martial arts as tools for hunting and killing. However, with the passage of time, particularly in today's peaceful society, the lethality and violence associated with martial arts have been denied. After the end of World War II, Japanese Budo was completely banned as a militaristic prop by the General Headquarters, the Supreme Commander of the Allied

Powers, and karate had to exist as a sport.

Nonetheless, for martial arts to become a safe sport, the safety of its opponent must first be ensured. Specifically, martial artists devise various methods to showcase the lethality of techniques without harming their opponents. Some have developed and enforced the use of protective gear, whereas others have banned certain dangerous techniques in competition. In the context of karate, several traditional schools have adopted the rule of the 'sun dome', which means to stop before a direct hit. The 'sun dome' represents a spirit of 'no killing'. This implies that, although martial artists have the ability to harm their opponents, they opt not to. This spirit is in accordance with the spirit of Buddhist thought of 'not killing', which has deeply influenced the development of Chinese martial arts. Thus, the 'sun dome' rule is in accordance with traditional Chinese aesthetics.

## Karate techniques are practical

Although some Chinese authors approved the safety of karate, the majority indicated more interest in the 'practicality' of karate. In karate books written in Chinese, 30 authors believe that karate techniques are practical. Specifically, (1) they consider that karate has the ability to knock out an opponent with bare hands without using a weapon; (2) they consider that karate is a 'one-hit kill' (一擊必殺), meaning a single movement can kill the enemy. The examples are as follows:

Karate is the direct use of the human body as a weapon. Even a karate master who is slightly-built can defeat a well-built man in a single blow. A karate master can break a brick with a wave of his hand. (Qin & Ruo, 1992)

Karate masters can turn any part of their body into a weapon. Although they are bare-handed, they can employ 'one-hit kill' and instantly kill the enemy. (Luo, J. H., 2018)

The techniques of karate are flexible and versatile, both offensive and defensive, with a strong emphasis on practicality, and a powerful 'one-hit kill'. (Ni, 2008)

The Chinese believe that by practising karate, various organs of the body can be honed into effective and deadly weapons. They use the phrase 'one-hit kill' to describe the destructive power of this weapon, meaning that in karate, a single move can kill an opponent. The Chinese have never seen a karate master kill a man in one move as such an act is forbidden in today's society. Therefore, it can be argued that the Chinese idea of the 'practicality' of karate was exaggerated.

Statements such as, 'Karate has much in common with the Chinese Sanda, Muay Thai, and Taekwondo; however, there are clear differences in power, speed, and technique, and karate is highly lethal' (Zhu & Shi, 1990); and 'Unlike Sanda, karate must knock down the opponent or make him lose his sense of defence to score' (Zheng, 1993) among others, lead this study to suggest that the Chinese view karate as more 'practical' than any other Asian martial arts, including Chinese martial arts. This impression testifies to the success of the Japanese karate masters in spreading karate in China.

# Karate can be used as a means of body pedagogy

In the karate books written by Chinese authors, 22 authors believe that karate can be used as a means of body pedagogy. Specifically, they refer to karate as a means of promoting healthy internal organ functions and improving external body shape and posture. The examples are as follows:

Regular practice of karate enables all the organs of the body to develop in a proportionate and coordinated manner. In particular, karate regulates cardiorespiratory function, improves central nervous function, strengthens the body, and reduces illness. (Li, 1987)

Karate plays a positive role in the improvement of physical fitness, the maintenance of health, and the preservation of a fit body (Liu, Dai, & Jia, 2003).

The practice of karate improves cardiopulmonary and cardiovascular functions, stimulates the cerebral cortex, nerve function, and internal organs, and promotes metabolism in the body; it provides a comprehensive workout for the body's joints, tendons, and ligaments. (Zhang, 2009)

Despite a significant number of empirical studies conducted in Europe, Japan and the United States, on the benefits of karate as a form of body pedagogy (Nakamura, 1982; Pavlova & Jaroslav, 2018; Souza et al., 2021), the majority of them are quantitative studies that were conducted by academics utilising a pre-designed questionnaire and a top-down approach. Conversely, this study used a bottom-up viewpoint and discovered via the qualitative content of the feedback provided by the Chinese authors that karate practitioners experienced a strong sense of physical achievement owing to their training in the art. This suggests that people from various countries understand the positive effects and advantages of practising karate as a type of body pedagogy.

# Karate can be used for character building

In the karate books written by Chinese authors, 26 authors believe that karate can be used for character building. Specifically, they consider that practising karate develops a sense of etiquette and morality in its practitioners. If we consider the previous section (karate can be used as a means of body pedagogy) a pragmatist group, then one can also consider this section (karate can be used for character building) an idealist group. Clearly, the latter outperformed the former. This indicates that the Chinese perceive karate as an activity that will improve their physical health, and they expect more character-building and spiritual benefits. Some examples are as follows:

Karate emphasises hard work to perfect the practitioner's character. The philosophy of karate rejects bullying and aims at defending oneself. (Shi, 1998)

Karate cultivates a strong will and high spiritual beliefs in the practitioner. Rigorous karate training leads to a perfect personality, which is the 'Dao' (道) of karate. (Luo, 2018)

Anyone who trains in karate will not only learn the techniques of karate but also learn good manners, education, character development, form a correct outlook on life, and develop good habits of respect for others, courtesy, and social ethics. (Liu, Dai, & Jia, 2003)

The practice of karate imparts to the practitioner a spirit of resilience, determination, patience, and humility in life, work, and study, as well as a spirit of hard work and self-improvement. (Zhang, 2009)

The previous section revealed that the majority of Chinese people consider karate dangerous and violent (based only on data from this study). However, the above examples indicate that the Chinese also believe that the long-term practice of karate can not only reduce this potential for danger and violence, but also contribute to the development of the practitioner's personality and thus make a positive contribution to society. Indeed, this view is consistent with that of the people of Japan, the birthplace of karate.

The All Japan Karate Federation's karate charter (2010) sets out the following: 'We must not be preoccupied with merely acquiring techniques, but must never forget the essence of karate, which is based on the spirit of budo, and contribute to the maintenance and development of traditional Japanese

culture with high ethical standards. As Japanese citizens, we must respect courtesy and moderation, observe social rules, contribute to society, and strive to foster talented individuals who are respected by society' (All Japan Karate Federation, 2021). The All Japan Karate Federation aims to contribute to the development of society and humanity by promoting traditional culture through the techniques and spirit of karate. Although written for the Japanese, it is almost identical in content to the Chinese view of karate. It can be said that the rhetoric of the All Japan Karate Federation is universally applicable in various countries because political stability is important for the state and society in all national political systems, and speech that contributes to political stability is welcomed by political power.

It can be argued that the rhetoric of the All Japan Karate Federation is a moralising strategy to eliminate the violent nature of karate. This strategy not only provides karate the opportunity to be accepted in modern society but also for the karate artist to be appreciated as a polite and respectable person, which provides them self-confidence. This creates a virtuous circle: <improvement of technique + moralisation  $\rightarrow$ good evaluation by society $\rightarrow$  self-confidence  $\rightarrow$  teaching and education  $\rightarrow$  spread and development of karate  $\rightarrow$  political stability of society $\triangleright$ . Thus, the dangers and violence of karate are fundamentally eliminated. This will facilitate the spread and development of karate in China.

## **Conclusions**

In this study, the authors collected 40 karate books written by Chinese people and extracted their views on it. This study analysed their views using reflective thematic analysis to identify five main themes of Chinese views on karate: (1) karate can contribute to the development of Chinese martial arts; (2) karate techniques are safe; (3) karate techniques are practical; (4) karate can be used as a means of body pedagogy; and (5) karate can be used for character building. Through the specific content of these five themes, the question, 'What is the driving force behind the globalisation of karate?' can be explained from a 'non-Western' perspective, particularly from the Chinese perspective. The two primary answers are as follows:

First, after the Meiji Restoration, Japan was the first Asian country to modernise. The modernisation of karate was accelerated by the introduction of tournaments, and some Chinese martial artists noticed karate techniques and the rules of contests, expecting to learn from its success. Karate officially became an Olympic sport in 2016, which led the Chinese to reflect on and study in depth the model of promoting the globalisation of karate. This implies that karate is recommended and actively introduced in China by the Chinese. Second, the Chinese believe that karate is a 'one-hit kill' (一擊必殺), meaning a single movement can kill the enemy. However, they firmly believe that the practice of

karate over time not only reduces this potentially dangerous and violent nature but also promotes the health of the practitioner's body and mind. Thus, karate is perceived to function as a 'Dao' (道) of both the literary and martial arts, and through the practice of karate, practitioners may polish their skills and develop their spirits.

However, these conclusions are based solely on the Chinese understanding of karate. Further questions that require research include: What impact does karate have on its practitioners? How does karate actually play a role in the development of both the literary and martial arts and the advancement of practitioners? Future analyses should involve field interviews and research.

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