

‘Fighting like a *girl*’: qualitative analysis of the gendered movement learning in the Spanish Olympic karate team

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Abstract

Background: Female learning of movement in elite combat sports has not been studied enough to date. Literature on movement learning and teaching of complex skills has not, to date, focused on karate, and the scarce literature on the learning of elite karate practitioners mostly does not focus on women.

Nevertheless, women fighters participated in karate as an Olympic sport, even if such status was temporary, limited to Tokyo 2020 (2021).

Purpose: In an analogy with Iris Marion Young's (1980) publication 'throwing like a girl', our aim in this study was to investigate what it means to learn 'to fight like a *girl*' and if there is a feminine learned fighting style.

Methods: We have carried out an ethnographic project focusing, due to the unexpected impact of COVID-19, mainly on interviewing the female Spanish karate team in preparation for the Olympic Games. We interviewed 14 women athletes of the team and their four male coaches twice each and analysed 28 videos of women athletes displaying their best athletic performances, according to themselves. In this article we are focusing on the analysis of 20 videos of the *kumite* modality, then reflecting on this analysis with data from interviews of the four coaches and ten of the athletes, the *kumite* athletes. We developed a series of criteria in order to carry out the task of observation and analysis of the gendered martial-sportive movement supported by the literature, coaches' perspectives and athletes' views. The main concepts derived from the video analysis were *use of space, restricted movements; absence of melee work; and difficulty in carrying out projections/sweeps*.

Findings: Sports karate is still configured as a (hetero)normative environment, supported in tradition, be that of martial art with its pedagogy and of sport as a male preserve. This context leads to a view of women's learning to perform as inferior to men's, perpetually comparing them, in the hierarchical structure established within the field. Concepts of equality and equity are undermined, and by performing differently, or not matching the male model, women have their performance of some complex movements qualified as a *natural inability*.

Conclusion: We conclude that there is a feminine way of learning to fight, but only with generalized characteristics since there is a rich plurality of styles among these elite sporting women. For the field, to fight like a *girl* means inferior

performance in comparison with men's performance, however, for us, it means really 'to fight', not just on the mat, and we see such comparison as untenable.

Keywords: gender; martial arts; video analysis; women's embodiment; elite female sport.

Introduction

In the competition, it is very easy for the boys to become 100% competitive; it costs girls more. (Coach Francisco)

There is an extensive literature on movement learning in physical education (for example, Nyberg, Barker, and Larsson 2021; Janemalm, Barker, and Quennerstedt 2020; Larsson 2021), as well as studies proposing better ways of teaching students complex movement skills (Ni Chróinín, Fletcher, and O'Sullivan 2018; Light and Clarke 2021). To some extent, analogous research has been carried out in a select set of sports, such as rugby (Llobet-Martí, López-Ros, and Vila 2017), action sports (Ellmer and Rynne 2021), cricket (Lascu et al. 2020), football (Mason, Farrow, and Hattie 2020) and dance (Mattsson and Larsson 2021). However, there is a gap in the literature related to martial arts and combat sports, specifically karate, where neither the teaching of complex skills has been studied, nor the learning of gendered movement. Even though various pedagogical models were developed aiming at some facilitation of learning (see Barker et al. 2017), applying such models requires coaches who have the experience and expertise to use them (see Ni Chróinín, Fletcher, and O'Sullivan 2018). Besides, athletes should be able to achieve a condition of high embodied awareness (see Standal and Bratten 2021), which can be a challenge especially when women athletes experience athletic and social situations of objectification of their bodies (Mason 2018).

*Karateka*¹ women often find their performance judged as inferior to men, even though they do not compete against men. They are assumed, by male *karateka*, to not be

fully able to learn to perform some complex karate movements due to the fact they were born female, since their practice of alternative movements to the norm for men is read as *inability* (see Salvini 2017; and Tjonndal 2017). Karate is a martial art in which generally a normative and binary gender order is in place. It is typically taught under a traditional pedagogy. Such pedagogy proposes the achievement of an *elevated moral level* through the development of the character of practitioners (Cynarsky, Obodynsk, and Zeng 2012)². However, in the gender binary organization followed by this pedagogy, men and women correspond to different places in terms of morality, as can be historically seen in societies that based themselves in chivalry and are assumed to have a cultural heritage of martial artists' groups. Then martial tradition, originally a way of resistance (White 2014), was and is built mainly on male masters. This leads to studies most often focusing on male performances of techniques (for example, Chaabène et al. 2014; Petri et al. 2016). Tabben et al. (2018) included women *karateka* in their research, however, they did not focus on possible differences that can be found in the fighting styles of women and men. In this article, we plan to contribute to filling the knowledge gap we have identified around female learning of complex karate skills in elite competitive sport within what is, ostensibly, a 'male preserve' (Theberge 1985).

By analysing videos of competitive high-performance women *karateka* members of the Spanish Olympic team we found some general distinctive features of female styles of fighting. This does not mean inferiority of performance, we will argue, in comparison to men. These differences do, however, become the site of women's struggles for their fighting ability in karate to be taken seriously, by men and by some women *karateka*. This amplifies its relevance once the environment is built on hierarchy and a stream of tradition that is passed on by *sensei*³ to practitioners and coaches to athletes. It means that traditional teachings were and are going to be retransmitted with

priority over science, for example. Then, there are posed educational practices besides informal teacher/coach education. We take this as justification for our paper since the common position given to women in the field, that of *inability* in performing some movements and, therefore, inferiority, is spread, passed on as well, and (often) embodied by the women themselves. Due to the stream of tradition, this does not end with athletes' retirement. The interaction among martial and sportive cultures, traditional martial pedagogy, and the place given to women socially in terms of motility and spatiality so well described by Young (1980), reinforces the social problem around women, positioning them as 'other' and their sport as inferior to men's (Mason 2018; Roth and Basow 2004). Although they are taking part in the Olympic Games, the apex of the sports world, the problem remains and cannot be denied.

In order to make a contribution in this direction, we carried out the task of observation and analysis of learning within a gendered martial-sportive movement, developing a set of criteria for doing so. We did not construct an 'objective' measurement scale with these criteria. We instead used these criteria qualitatively to describe and discuss the fighting styles of the women, looking for the obvious and not so obvious aspects of combat in karate from a gender perspective. Thus, in the next pages, we start by presenting some peculiarities of a karate competitive modality, *kumite*, and its general characteristics to be taken into account when analysing women's movement learning. Next, we describe our methods and the set of criteria adopted for the video analysis. Finally, we present our findings in order to fulfil our purpose, which was, in an analogy with Young's (1980) 'throwing like a girl', to investigate what it means to learn 'to fight like a *girl*' and if there is a feminine fighting style evident among these women.

Performing kumite in practice and in the literature

Karate is a modality within the group of Martial Arts and Combat Sports (MACS). It has roots in Eastern martial art, being attached to tradition (Williams 1977), *straight* pedagogy (Fitzpatrick and McGlashan 2016) and (hetero)normativity. At the same time, karate embarked on a journey westward (Krug 2001), taking part in the sporting process (Elias 1992). The apex of the karate sporting process was to achieve the status of an Olympic sport, a condition already achieved then lost, since it participated in Tokyo 2020 (2021), but no longer is included in Paris 2024. As an Olympic modality, karate presented athletes in *kumite*, which is the fight itself, structured by weight categories; and *kata*, understood as a fight against an imaginary opponent, performed as a choreography of martial movements. In this paper we are focusing in the analysis of *kumite*. We have researched the Olympic Spanish female karate team in their preparation for this unique event, even though the final inclusion of athletes in the Games was not guaranteed, given the extremely high level of international competition and difficulties in filling requirements of the classificatory system. In addition, the pandemic scenario generated by COVID-19 also may have caused shifts in athletes' ranking.

Nevertheless, in our research we have analysed videos of the athletes from the Spanish Olympic team where they were presenting their best performances in competitions, according to their own view. This is relevant to be said since, as pointed out by Nyberg (2015, 111), 'In analysing movement capability, movements as they are objectively performed, and as they are subjectively experienced, must be brought together.' We also delimited general characteristics around categories of weights for fighting, taking into account for this specific task not only the Spanish athletes but international high-level women athletes as well in order to have a broad range of fighters.

In general, karate does not require a specific kind of physique for practice, as other sports can do. *Karateka* people of different physique will be allocated to different weight categories. Notwithstanding, the different body types need to be able to learn to perform the same martial techniques, though women are often stereotyped as *naturally* bad fighters because of the ways in which they carry out these techniques. With different body types, it could be expected that different ways of learning and performing the same techniques would be the norm among athletes. However, there seems to be an ideal (male) pattern to be achieved by all fighters from which women have restricted access due to their *natural* situation of women, recalling Young's (1980) critique, of a supposed feminine essence. Some karate movements are quite complex and require the observation of other factors (social, psychological) in interaction with biology, and a specific didactic in teaching them. The literature says that decomposing (martial) techniques into steps, using video feedback, with a combination of practice with pedagogical theory, improves the embodiment of complex skills (Ni Chróinín, Fletcher, and O'Sullivan 2018; Light and Clarke 2021). However, as we report in the findings section, several times the traditional pedagogy practiced by male coaches is justified by the idea of *natural inability* of women to fight or, more specifically, to learn particular techniques such as sweeps⁴. Traditional martial pedagogy seeks the improvement of character, widely promoted by Funakoshi (2003), accepted as founder of karate, leading to perfect morals (Cynarsky, Obodynsk, and Zeng 2012). Women performing *kumite*, by being seen as having a *naturalized inability* to fight, end up exempting coaches from responsibility to coach them technically to the highest levels of skilled and fully able fighters, and remain in an unequal place in terms of character development.

Nevertheless, within each weight category there may be general characteristics of the fighting style of different body types, then we briefly describe the main features

for each female weight. They are based on the observation of international elite fighters through several videos and alive competitions, added to the experience of the first author as a practitioner, sharing practices with people in the diverse weights in training sessions and amateur competitions in different countries.

- -50kg: usually characterised by short and fast movement; they bounce quickly, staying more in the air than on the ground. They can rotate a lot through the *koto*, or mat, with no limitations on direction. They perform very fast entries (attacks) and exits. Fighting position with legs closer together, practically 'standing'.
- -55kg: athletes enter and exit explosively, in general. They usually occupy the mat moving constantly, since they tend to be, like the previous weight, relatively *small*. They fight more 'on their feet' to gain height, and move nimbly, with short bounces and remarkable use of feints.
- -61kg: This appears to be a transitional weight as the athletes are not 'standing' and neither are with their base/stance low. They are explosive to enter and can be explosive to exit, even though the emphasis is on attack. The movement/bounce is no longer short, but neither are the bounces as long as those of the next weight.⁵
- -68kg: what draws the most attention in this weight is the occupation of the mat, since generally the athletes are tall and the base/stance they use is wide, using, therefore, more space. They do not fight 'standing', and they tend to move with relatively long, high bounces, which makes it feel like they move a little slower.
- +68kg: usually have a more solid form of fighting, with the feet on the ground, although the bounce/jumps can also be short. But they are more on the ground than in the air. The position of the legs is wide, open, lowering the centre of

gravity and giving greater stability to the body. They usually place the front arm extended away from the body to keep distance from the opponent. They present an attack explosion, without exiting with the same speed.

Regarding published studies using video analysis in karate there are not so many, and specifically considering women fighters, even less. To what is being discussed here, we were able to find two studies, by Ross (2009) and Tabben et al. (2018). Ross (2009) analysed eight female and 19 male final fights from the 2004 and 2006 WKF Championships. Among his conclusions, it is relevant here that male fighters revealed a higher number of initiated attacks than female fighters. Tabben et al. (2018), in turn, analysed 120 elite *kumite* athletes, 60 men and 60 women, during the 2012 and 2014 WKF Championships, seeking to evaluate the 'decisive-moment' (DM) in each fight. 'DM represents the moment from which one of the two opponents dominates uninterrupted the other until the end of the fight' (Tabben et al. 2018, 3). This notion resonates with our findings related to the 'start' of the blows in a fight as will be seen later in this paper. Now we proceed to describing our methods.

Methods

We have conducted an empirical study of women's embodied subjectivity in karate as an Olympic sport. In so doing, we have combined ethnographic techniques of data collection with autoethnographic elements, considering that the first author has been a sportive karate practitioner for several years, not taking part, though, in the elite context. The COVID-19 pandemic affected the Tokyo Olympic Games, as is known, and also our initial research design, especially regarding the observation of training sessions of the team, and following them to the Games, which was not possible due to the various restrictions on movement during the pandemic. Nevertheless, we have adapted research procedures in order to keep trustworthiness of data contrasting with literature (Colás

and Buendía 1992), applying observation technique in video analysis of the athletes' performances in competitions, since in the course of our fieldwork, especially in conducting interviews, that showed that women had their performances characterized as inferior to the men's in the Spanish Olympic team. Furthermore, there is the question at hand as to whether there is a distinctively feminine way of learning to fight.

We conducted two interviews with each of 14 women athletes of the Spanish Olympic team and their four male coaches between June to September 2020, and in January 2021, as an adaptation forced on us by the pandemic restrictions, we asked all of them to indicate us two videos where they showed the best performance of their sporting careers. All 14 of the women responded promptly and positively. This request to them was made taking into account their own subjectivity in the choice of videos. Some ended up sharing videos that are not available online, and some shared more than two videos, which we watched, but only two from each woman were included in the analysis to comply with the stipulated criteria. In order to make the analysis somewhat transparent and perhaps allow for the dependability criterion (Colás and Buendía 1992) of the research, we present a table of the videos analysed below.

Table 1. Videos provided by athletes for analysis

[Table near here]

In order to protect participants' identification in case of links among studies could be made, here we have adopted different procedures. Our procedures here were to summarize the table of videos, and not link them to pseudonyms used in other works when quoting interviews, naming them in this study under random common Spanish names.

To carry out the analysis, we used a set of criteria established by the first author with the help and supervision of the last author. Other authors in the paper worked as well as experts assuring the trustworthiness of the analysis and findings, in a triangulation process of checking information (Colás and Buendía 1992). We checked in the literature for possible observation and analyses of gendered movement videos and they are, in this specificity, absent. Our way of using the observation technique follows what Geertz (2008) recommends, being governed by *guidelines of meanings*, more open than systematic and structured. However, for the analysis of videos, direct observation, with defined criteria of what is taken into account, is pertinent. Considering this, we selected some verification criteria from the sociological literature:

- **Use of space** made in different ways between men and women (Maclean 2019), possession by men of symbolic space (Scott 2020), with purpose of domination, whether territorial or enforcing submission of the other (Wood and Stanton 2012).
- **Expansive male movements** (Young 1980) with long sequences of strokes, leading to forceful occupation of space and presupposing skill (Connell 1995).
- **Restricted female movements** (Young 1980), with defences very close to the body in a contained and modest way (Bordo 1997).
- **Kiai**⁶ as a revealing element of restraint and embarrassment of women (Maclean 2019).

Among coaches, the criteria used to emphasize differences between the way men and women fight reported through interviews, were:

- Difficulty for women to perform **sweeps, projections and melee work**.
- They tend to **risk less**, holding on to known and mastered techniques.

- They are **less aggressive** than men, making mistakes more often than men do when completing attacks.
- Women have difficulty doing **tactical work**.
- Women find it difficult to get **complex time-gesture coordination** (peculiar agility in *deai*/anticipation time⁷).
- Women's way of expressing ***kiai*** does not match the expected patterns (it is usually a shriek, long and sometimes yelled before the blow, unintentionally acting as a warning to opponents, according to coaches' view).

The predominant criteria listed by athletes were:

- They see themselves as **careful and assertive**, attacking less impulsively or hot-headed than men.
- They do not waste techniques or seek volume of points, but do what is **necessary to score**.
- They do not create or test new things at the time of the competition; they do not seek to 'make a show' or attractive fight, but **to do the basics that work**.
- They feel they do **less projection work** than men because other things are more effective for them.
- They are **aesthetically more zealous** than men.

Taking into account these 15 observational criteria for the analysis of gendered movement, we, as observer-researchers, but also without completely detaching from the experience of the first author as a *karateka*, watched the 20 videos that *kumite* athletes sent us. For the purposes of reporting the video analysis data, we grouped some criteria where they could match and the comments around them would be not specific but general, finally resulting in six criteria sets. It also must be said that we used data from athletes' and coaches' interviews in this section.

Regarding ethics considerations, our research obtained approbation of the Ethics Committee of the XXX University in 2019.

Findings and Discussion

In this section, we are presenting two topics, each of them answering to one of the questions we raised in the introduction. The first topic, in an analogy with Young's (1980) 'throwing like a girl', exposes the analysis according to the described criteria, bringing together comments made by participants in the research across their interviews. The second topic addresses if there is a distinctly feminine fighting style and reflects on embodied and gendered learning among these women.

Fighting like a girl

I had no intention of being the female coach, because I always said that I was not a girls' coach. (Coach Juan)

Coach Juan and coach Francisco (at the beginning of the introduction) are telling us about their view on fighting *girls*.⁸ There are general considerations of how a woman fights and implies inferior performance according to the interpretation inside the male-dominated field. It is indicated by the criteria used for analysis, and brings us to a complex analysis. To answer to the question what it means to learn to fight like a *girl* is not about classifying 'good' or 'bad' performance, but it requires to look at concepts that overlap and to consider contrasting perspectives, of coaches and athletes, about same issues. We now describe the analysed criteria, individually or in sets by proximity, in relation to the gendered movement in elite karate.

➤ *Use of space, expansive male movements, and restricted female movements*

(Training with) the boys places demand on you and that in the end is positive. The size is different; their wingspan is different. (Encarnación)

The comment of Encarnación is about how mixed training can be helpful since it forces adaptation to demands made by (usually) bigger bodies. Such demands will pose themselves in terms of motility and spatiality. Female elite athletes use the space quite extensively in comparison to *karateka* women in their training in non-elite *dojos*⁹, who Maclean (2019) reports usually just move back and forth. Videos of Concepción and Ángeles, for example, show this. Even though these athletes are in light categories, they occupy the space with their relatively small bodies strategically and in different directions. However, in relation to high-level male athletes with whom female elite athletes are compared, men fill the space with their bodies more easily, given that the *koto* remains the same size for men and women, and male bodies are usually bigger than female bodies or at least 'different', as pointed out by Encarnación.

This difference in size can produce something like an optical illusion of more movement. If the mat for women's fights was smaller, perhaps this would alter the brain's perception of female combat. Also, as Young (1980) points out and Mason (2018) updates the critique, men tend to develop a sense of confidence given the education they received since boyhood, which inclines them to feel entitled to occupy space more freely than girls and women, and to use their bodies unrestrictedly. Social burdens count for female and male resourcefulness, the former receiving a place of *object* in a wide range of environments, and the latter of *subject*. Taking into account the normative context of karate pedagogy, women could keep a position of self-consciousness about their bodies and ways to move to a point of inhibiting or at least diminishing their possibilities for performance, while men could build their embodied awareness relatively more easily (Mason 2018; Standal and Bratten 2021). We present a comment from Inmaculada to illustrate this point, which also could be related to tactical work, reported later:

Maybe the placement, that is, it depends on how you place yourself on the *tatami*¹⁰.

Maybe that really costs me a lot to see, it depends on how you position yourself. Also fighting oriented towards one judge or another; is true that coach Juan told me that in a championship. The best thing would be to be oriented towards the two who are scoring my points, because if I change the orientation for whatever and I am doing the same, they do not score my points. (Inmaculada)

According to Joy and Larsson (2009), it is not difficult to notice the trend towards territorial domination that men seek to exert, taking over spaces, or even performing swaggering movements, which is linked to stereotypically masculine ways of moving. Coach Martín commented on that direction, according to our interpretation, that

Our way of walking, our gestures... maybe those things differentiate us, right? Women have a way of being (performing in life) different from men. (Coach Martín)

Traditional martial pedagogy supported by a male tradition naturalizes such a dominant behaviour, once the mat is felt as male ground, while women in *kumite* can find the experience of being watched there to some extent uncomfortable (see Author, 2022).

- *Less risk taking, less aggressive, and difficulty in complex time-gesture coordination*

Some of the athletes notably prefer to wait for the opponent's attack to anticipate their blows or counterattack, which can be seen in the videos of Belén and Encarnación, for example. This could be related to the fear of losing the so called golden point, or *senshu*¹¹, if mistaking an attack, since according to Tabben et al. (2018, 9) '72% of the winners scored the first point'. Or yet such wait could be related to hesitation or lack of initiative, as pointed out in the study by Ross (2009). This study predates the introduction of the golden point, officially established in 2010. Often the fear of losing the golden point and being at a disadvantage is something that inhibits competitors, who

contain their attack initiatives. Ross's study predates the *senshu*, then Tabben et al.'s study is probably a better point of reference here, since it was conducted considering the *senshu* insertion, affecting athletes' tactics. For one or another reason, women are sometimes hesitant to initiate an attack in the videos we analysed. In some cases, such as in Dolores and Consuelo, they do not perfectly complete attacks, which happens, we venture to say, because they are already thinking about exiting as they are attacking and avoiding suffering a score which, in turn, avoids the harsh experiences of shame (Ryall 2019). This also relates to the long-pointed out observation by Young (1980), of the female tendency to perform short movements close to the body, a point which complements the previous criterion.

The preference of some athletes for anticipation reveals, however, that complex time-gesture coordination can be a successful experience for them, denying general assumptions made by coaches. This is observed in many of athletes' performances. In the videos provided, successful anticipation is performed by Concepción, Inmaculada, Almudena, and Amparo.

In the line where athletes' view opposes coaches' perspective, we bring an example, of Rosario, who consider herself to be an active fighter:

When I fight I am not passive at all, the truth is that sometimes I exaggerate a punch, I do admit it, sometimes they give me 'contact' (penalty). It is true. But I do want to be a person in a 'live' combat, who does not only *jump* (move without blows) the full fight, no, I like that there are things (*action*, blows). For me it is what interests me the most, that things happen in the fight. (Rosario)

On the other hand, even if she sees herself as an active fighter, her coaches may consider that that is not enough, usually asking for more aggression. Recalling Nyberg (2015) on the subjective experience of movement, this relies on a matter of perspective

to some extent, which diverges among different hierarchical and social positionings, though seems to be fixed within the perspective of traditional martial pedagogy.

Nevertheless, it is possible to notice in the videos certain tension, nervousness and fear on the faces of some athletes. In one video of Ángeles, her opponent seems to be very scared, and that gets worse when she finds herself losing the fight. She appears so anxious that her mouth protection keep falling out. It seems that until the fight 'starts' it is not possible to release the tension, and it appears that the fight only begins after scoring or giving away the first point, as in the case of Inmaculada and Belén videos. The 'start' of the fight is marked by blows or activity understood as 'things happening in the fight' as said by Rosario; but the activity of the competitors in the initial seconds of the fight is undeniably the fight too.

For an untutored observer, there seems to be 'nothing' happening; but athletes are immersed in tension, adrenaline, concentration and obviously fighting, studying each other. When the blows themselves begin in the fight, however, athletes become more aggressive, out of confidence or out of necessity. Although they may sometimes want to protect the point, if they have scored it first, they fight harder. Tabben et al. (2018, 9) state that 'after DM, winners demonstrated a higher offensive/defensive ratio. (...) After DM, losers increased the rate of combination techniques compared to before DM'. This leads us to think that it would be better to 'start' landing blows in the fight early, in the cases this does not happen, even though we recognize that being on the mat, with the feeling that you are about to go to slaughter, is quite different of analysing from outside.

Tabben et al. link DM with domination of one athlete over the other. We instead are considering the start of blows in the fights since the domination of one over the other has not to do only with scores, for example. There can be the domination of the

space, but the submission of the same person to the opponent's techniques. There are several elements to be taken into account and, besides that, we think that do exist the possibility of winning a fight without dominating the other, or of losing it without being dominated. Results and polarities (dominator/dominated) are not strictly related as much as domination is not the only possible path.

➤ *Less projection work, sweeps, melee work*

Even though Petri et al. (2016) found in their analysis of the 'anticipation' criterion in men's fights that the attacking technique of the jabbing punch is the most used, sweeps, projections and melee work are the movements considered to be the most complex in karate. These complex skills occupy a superior position in the field as well as meeting parameters of good execution, it is considered, by male fighters (see Author 2022). In the videos we analysed, there are few attempts of *karateka* women at sweeping, precisely eight attempts. Of these, a half are performed unassertively; for example, when the opponent 'forgets' the leg after the kick and this is not used in the own benefit. We observed this in particular in one video of Consuelo.

In this specific case, we consider that the athlete does not believe she is capable of carrying out the projection, even though she was bigger than her opponent, which seems not to be related to a crucial physical barrier, like an insurmountable inability; but perhaps to an inbuilt limiting belief that leads to a muscular/somatic and psychological restraint, an outcome from the contention on the character or moral, as Reich (1995) reported. In such social building of beliefs can be relevant to note that Consuelo narrated in her interview that she suffered bullying in childhood and started practicing a martial art in order to overcome violence episodes from school. She stated that

Above all my parents pointed me out because they wanted me to do a martial art to be able to defend myself. (...) They wanted no less than a black belt for me. (Consuelo)

However, there are other athletes who throw their opponent with confidence and vigour, such as Encarnación and Amparo, which attests to the capability of women of learning such complex movements. It seems that the more experienced the athlete, the more conviction she has to perform this type of technique effectively. Moreover, the close support these specific two athletes receive from family members who are also *karateka* possibly increased their confidence. And, certainly, the more the athlete exceeds in technical training and applies as tacit knowledge the laws of physics and biomechanics, the more qualified she is to sweep. This is evident in the video of Amparo, who performs sweeps often in her fights. This event led a coach to comment on female progress:

There was no female (competing) until four days ago, it is normal that there are many girls who have a worse job than boys. Now you are improving. (Coach Pascual)

He is referring to the short amount of time that women are in fact performing as fighters, given that this is for him and his colleagues not a *natural* condition of women. Then woman need to learn and improve, which is going to happen over time, he says, while men would bring it as *natural*, proper of their *essence* of male, point to which we will return later. Therefore, the theme of learning to fight is something applicable specifically to women, and perhaps some men that not fit in the heteronormative scene.

Therefore, even though this male coach mentions improvement, what seems to prevail is yet the view of inability in *karateka* women learning complex movements in contrast to the supposed innate or *natural* ability of boys and men. However, it is important to note that Chaabène et al. (2014, 307) state that 'karatekas (*sic*) predominantly use upper-limb karate techniques. Karate's nature is intermittent, with

fighting activities representing ~6% of total combat duration and ~84% of actions lasting less than 2s, with ~21-s mean time interval in between'. Considering that they analysed only men, it is relevant to observe the predominance of upper limbs, something also verified by Tabben et al. (2018), and not legs or sweeps and, especially, the time of the fight that is used in attacks. In other words, men are in attack/defence only approximately 6% of the time of the fight, even though it is said in the *karateka* field that they act much more than women. In addition, the attacks themselves are temporally short, less than two seconds, with a very long interval between them, which is not so visible when watching the fights, that seem much busier than the female fights due to, maybe, some optical illusion, as pointed out in the *use of space* topic.

A comparison with these previous studies was not our goal, however, we did look at the frequency of attacks, and if they were upper or lower limbs, in order to find out whether women have similar marks to men or not in such topics. As we are stating, fair comparisons are not possible, and a few reasons for this is that some female analysed videos had the fights lasting two minutes (until 2018) and others three minutes (from 2019). Some of the videos were about fights performed in the national context, while others were in international events. However, by doing a generalized consideration of the final amount of fighting time (51 minutes), and the number of attacks displayed in this time (total of 497; 288 upper limbs, 209 lower limbs), we can show how women are active in fights. On average, there were ~25 attacks per fight or ~10 attacks per fighting minute. As we said, the comparison is just to illustrate our argument, since in the national setting elite fighters will usually perform powerfully, and obviously not all those 497 attacks scored points, but they were undoubtedly evidence of initiative.¹² Besides that, the attacks that led to scores were usually those in a sequence of blows, and mostly performed by upper limbs as well.

Regarding movement capability, Nyberg, Barker and Larsson (2021) have proposed knowing, learning, and developing it in different ways. To try alternative approaches to the very traditional practices typical in the martial field, considering specificities in an equitable manner regarding whom is being taught could arguably improve learning and, ultimately, performance. In high-level sports karate results and performance matter the most, and *karateka* women need to be effective in sweeping if the aim is the higher score using this resource. Thus, we are proposing that by applying different strategies in practicing such complex skills, not following the normative pedagogy, therefore proved to be inefficient, new paths could be effectively built.

➤ **Kiai**

From our analysis, performance of *kiai* was a somewhat inconsistent matter. The athletes shout *kiai*, sometimes with nervousness, given the competitive context, and in some cases of shyness, perhaps considering that they reported not feeling comfortable being watched, but it is *kiai* anyway. A coach will point out a problem there:

There is an issue because the *kiai* does not come out, which is because of shyness, I think. (Coach Juan)

Maybe the athletes could make themselves more imposing through using *kiai* in a strategic attitude, since together with aggression, particularly when the fight 'starts' with blows, the *kiai* also tends to be freer and confident or desperate, as can be slightly seen in the videos of Inmaculada. We say slightly because, in fact, problems to perform *kiai* at this level of performance are not so evident. Athletes reported that the process of embodiment of *kiai* was uncomfortable for them, since, again, socially it is accepted that polite girls do not scream. And they are taught to emit *kiai* in a standardized way; by not

achieving that, their *kiai* is classified as 'wrong'. However, as we say, this seems inconsistent as they just perform the *scream of power* as Concepción exposes:

My *kiai* has changed over the years. I don't know what I'm screaming. (...) People always say, 'I know Concepción is out there screaming', because I keep screaming loud. (Concepción)

➤ *Tactical work*

Some athletes sent videos of fights from earlier in their careers, when the women fought for two minutes, equalling men's time, three minutes, only in 2019. In those fights of five or more years ago, it is possible to see how they fought more modestly, as in the case of Inmaculada, even though she won the title on the occasion. From our point of view, this is evidence that women are obviously enabled to follow the sport evolution as long as they are not deprived of (proper) training. Currently, some of them have learned tactically to show the point to the referee, for example, attesting that they are 'on top of the game' (see Ellmer and Rynne 2021). A coach provides explanation about this game:

I always tell them that the point is what referees score. 'What is a point and what is not a point?' Well, point is what the referee scores and it is not point what he does not score; whatever you have done, I don't care. (Coach Juan)

One of the athletes, Encarnación, sent a video where she repeatedly moved herself to punch always in the same position, because those referees, from that angle, were scoring her points. She explained about her tactical work:

My husband studies all the rivals and I know what I have to do in each case, I also know how I am and I know how I compete in one corner, in the other corner, if I win, if I lose, everything is studied. (Encarnación)

However, contradictorily perhaps, coaches consider women to have too much 'in the head', which could make understanding of tactics more difficult:

Let's see, women are more complicated (than men), because there are more things. We (men), as someone said about the drawer, we have a drawer (compartment in the head), there we tighten all things. You (women) have a lot (of specific compartments) there.
(Coach Juan)

This comment implies that men, as *natural* fighters, could find solutions to situations in the course of a fight, in the moment, because their heads are uncluttered, while women would need to figure solutions out previously, having a repertoire to appeal to according to the situation presented; this demands study of opponents, predicting situations and training them in advance exhaustively to the point of reactions becoming embodied.

With regard to old or current fights, athletes pointed out those of their best self-perceived performance. They can skilfully make a sweep in some other recent combat, and they do, but they, Inmaculada and Encarnación specifically, indicated those earlier videos to us. We must analyse those, but we cannot help relating this to Nyberg's (2015) point quoted earlier about subjective experience of movements. Those old fights, performatively perhaps not so complex, generated sensations or self-perception of the movement in flow (Csikszentmihalyi 2000); the context, the moment, the difficult opponent, the victory with a special flavour, all these subjective factors need to be taken into account in addition to analysing movements objectively.

➤ *More careful and assertive, do the basics necessary to score*

Especially the girls, yes, we look more professional and more cared for. (Encarnación)

Women fighters consider themselves to take their tasks more seriously than their male counterparts, as observed by Encarnación. There is another point seen through a

controversial prism, to some extent at least, by athletes and coaches. Women athletes defend their careful preparation as a good thing, while coaches view such feature as an indicator of inferiority, once women would take less risks than male fighters, and this could correspond to some kind of excessive and boring control of things. Then, this reinforces social-*karateka* construction, building women and men fighters normatively, following the traditional martial pedagogy. Ángeles comment on her process of production as a woman athlete:

I had to correct it, because I was a bit like the boys. (...) So I had to correct and slow down because my instinct was pushing me forward a lot and I had to stop myself to be able to compete internationally. (Ángeles)

Concepción also remember her journey:

When I was little I fought a lot, I was very angry and they always kicked me out (expelled her from school, for example), then I had to learn to control it because they always kicked me out. So I learned. I had to learn mandatorily. (Concepción)

However, despite such normative production of athletes, they are expected to perform not-normatively, it means, overcoming the inbuilt restrained female style of fighting. Even though they are not always aware of it, we dare to say that precisely due to this contradiction at times they become at odds with it, as Belén lets us know by explaining that she stands her way of fighting:

I'm quite cold, fighting. I am aggressive, but I am... (past *sensei*) often tells me 'you have done nothing; you always control yourself.' No. It is that I am always thinking about the failure of the rival, I do not throw 28000 million techniques to fail and they score off me. I try to see the failure of the opponent, and if I have to use only one technique, I will use one technique. (Belén)

It seems to be of fundamental importance to achieve embodied self-knowledge (Standal and Bratten 2021) in order to develop movement capability and be sure of the person's own potentialities in a mixture of resisting and giving in. Women need to know themselves and self-produce themselves as subjects in order to resist some opinions. However, they need to give in on some issues, since they cannot always oppose and confront, otherwise they just do not have a place on the team.

Other than that, there are several examples of assertive and confident attacks that leave the opponent helpless, such as in Concepción, Ángeles, Almudena and Amparo videos. They move very well, keep a good distance, playing with this distance element frequently, using it as a device to approach and depart at the right time and cancel an opponent's work. It is clear who are the athletes who study their adversaries and train in very close quarters, with a personal coach, for example.

Keeping in mind the issues approached here, we proceed to develop a brief topic on women's learning of movement specificities, answering to the second part of our research objective.

Specifics of girls' embodied 'knowing' in movement

Our analysis of the two videos of fights of each of the athletes indicated that there are feminine features in the styles of the women. However, these are general considerations, and in relation to this specific group of women. In other words, to say that a distinctive feminine universal form of fighting exists would be mistaken. Some women's performances can come closer to the dominant and traditional male model, others less so, and there cannot be a completely fixed pattern. However, after learning socially to perform as a woman, it is difficult to stop performing as one, even for a moment. Thus, as Young (1980, 144) observes, 'one can nevertheless sensibly speak of a general

feminine style of body behaviour and movement'. But outside the general, the way someone fights, to be precise, must take into account the individual, in their biological, emotional, cultural, and social composition.

This said, Nyberg (2015) explains that an individual's epistemological perspective of their ability to carry out a movement is not necessary for the movement to be well-performed. Nyberg says that tacit knowledge of movement is personal, often unarticulated knowledge, and developed with practice. This means that knowing theoretically the laws that govern the displacement of body mass and centre of gravity according to different techniques during combat does not guarantee technical effectiveness. Embodied knowledge is required and, in karate, as we already commented, a wide range of bodies can meet requirements to perform the sport, even though such knowledge through the body will be converted into expertise, or not, due to extreme dedication to training. However, we believe that tacit knowledge that also contains 'theory' in the background is ideal to avoid reproductions based only on tradition or martial pedagogy, a risk of the extremely hierarchical environment of martial arts. Nevertheless, it is with the body that one learns to perform, in a process of embodied learning, of 'knowledge in use', 'a knowing, integrated through experience' (Nyberg 2015, 112).

Women elite karate athletes in this study started training very early in childhood, specifically between 3-9 years old. They have certainly embodied the movements and developed 'practical knowledge', 'physical literacy' and 'kinaesthetic intelligence' (Nyberg and Carlgren 2015). So the fact that they are said to be not able to perform some techniques, especially sweeps, is intriguing. What kind of knowledge or learning through the body do they lack? The movements they perform are repeated countless

times, to the point that they become automated. Automation refers to reification, but it also reflects a state of mastering, of knowing through the body as pointed out by Belén:

It is true that what you train and what you automate, later (...) when you least expect it, it comes out. (Belén)

What is incorporated is not universal, but varies according to the teachings received. Therefore, the role of the coaches has a highlighted importance. The background of martial art with its traditional pedagogy is not fully detached in this sportive scenario, since both coaches and athletes practiced and still keep links with the martial art aspect of karate as they themselves proudly emphasized.

I think that from the beginning the character and the way of understanding life and problems is moulded. (...) My character has adapted to karate. (BelénA6)

If I think about a *karateka*, (...) we have to have something, (...) discipline or even respect, (...) not so much in sports, but as a martial art. (Rosario)

The fostered martial pedagogy pursues an ideal moral for 'warriors' (Cynarsky, Obodysk, and Zeng 2012) not addressing women warriors though. Then, while men under the martial pedagogy would achieve an *elevated* moral development, women would be kept inside a restrictive (muscle/character) moral armour (Reich 1995), experiencing controversial feelings, as illustrated by the previous and the next comments:

I do feel undervalued for being a woman in the *dojos*, yes. (Dolores)

The embodiment of movements includes this culture and the way in which knowledge is transmitted. Nyberg and Carlgren (2015) report the experience of teaching and learning complex movements in physical education classes, which is a challenge for teachers and students. This is important to note because as martial pedagogy reinforces a restrictive

moral armour (Reich 1995; also Young 1980, on restricted female movements) that women are socially led to build, in a cycle that feeds back, they face difficulties in fully performing complex movements. The social belief of women's physical incapacity and reduced motility (Roth and Basow 2004; Young 1980), and the general sports culture that undervalues female sportive performance culminates in uncomfortable experiences, as reported by Dolores:

All the areas (environments) I am in, let's say, are men's areas (understood as proper male spaces). So in many cases they underestimate you, people with much lower level talk to you as if they know more than you (...). I remember a course that took place here in (region), and there the person with the highest level of sport was me. The person who gave the course said 'I want two people who are good at doing the examples' (showing techniques). Then the one who organized the course told him my name. But the guy said 'no', that he didn't want girls. Two boys came out to do the examples (...). The course continued and he said, as we were a lot of people, 'girls train outside the *tatami*, and boys inside.' (Dolores)

Regarding the transmission failure in teaching complex movements (Janemalm, Barker, and Quennerstedt 2020), often it is not assumed as a problem since it is attributed to the *natural* condition of *inability* of women and the accepted place of men, be it socially built or biologically given, as coach Francisco reports.

I think that in the end, with the boys, everybody has always wanted to make them macho... I think that in the end it is a bit due to genetics. (Coach Francisco)

Therefore, by the assumption on traditional martial pedagogy that the mat is not the *natural* place of women, they can fight out of the *tatami* and there is no problem in that, since they were given a concession of the *natural* male world, the world of machos, who bring it in their genes and were led to believe in it by 'everybody', as coach

Francisco explained. This justifies the supposed women's *inability* in learning complex movements and legitimizes coaches' voice in the field, liberating coaches from their part on such produced *inability*. Besides that, this evidences how women are not taken as equals to men as well as it shows that their specificities, in an equitable manner, are not considered, because there are absent concepts and knowledge of female training methods, taking into account physiology, biomechanics, and anatomy of women. In this regard, an athlete and a coach say:

(I miss) That they understand and be able to talk about menstruation, because I believe that many times you yourself notice that physiologically (...) there are different requirements. (...) And those things (female specificities) are not taken that much into account, yet. (Consuelo)

The program is practically the same, in the end the training with girls, at a physiological level it is studied that they have small differences, at a hormonal level we are not the same, at an anatomical level either, so we have to compensate for certain things, but let's say that the training proposal to general level is the same. (Coach Francisco)

Even if it is a little controversial, the comment of coach Francisco tries to point mainly to the delivery of equal training for women and men; it need to be said though that he is referring to physical conditioning training, which does not follow specific equity guidelines. It is also worth noting that he says that it is necessary 'to compensate' the differences women *naturally* present, evidencing the male model they take as standard for all.

Considering that in sports environments in general and specifically in the martial field, highly supported by hierarchy, athletes surrender their bodies to be trained and rely, often blindly, on their coaches, how they are led to the expression or inexpression of their potentials is of relevance. Athletes literally grow up being guided by

coaches/*sensei*, often becoming devoted to them. They will do what coaches say, shaping themselves, pursuing the goal given in order to achieve a place of prominence, as a coach himself points it:

Athletes do what you force them to do, because they want points. Since they get points, they are going to do it. (Coach Pascual)

Thus, their ability or *inability* could be seen as a shared achievement, with limitations and expressions allowed and built in athlete's partnership with coaches. By limitation allowed we mean the *inability* to perform complex movements, such as sweeps and melee work. In a way, it seems to be allowed, perhaps (unconsciously) fostered, for women not to be able to use these techniques, and keep their unequal place positioned as inferior within the field's hierarchy, in subordination to hegemonic power. With a built expression we mean behaviour understood as masculine, obtained from the pursuit of a considered masculine ideal of a fighter, which would be the *correct* way of fighting. For this, there is the martial pedagogy that is standard and *straight* (Fitzpatrick and McGlashan 2016), and it is not modified sufficiently to best suit some specificities of women. In turn, *kumite* women are asked to fit in a framed and little flexible pattern, not thought suitable for them. It therefore leads to a controversial use of the concepts equality and equity, as could be verified throughout the paper, often posing women who complain about such confusion as perpetually dissatisfied.

Conclusion

This analysis of videos aimed to verify what it means to learn to fight like a *girl* and if there is a distinctive feminine way of fighting in karate. We consider Young's (1980) 'throwing like a girl' current in the *karateka* context and departing from this text we approached this analysis.

In order to summarize what we learned from this analysis in relation to the specifics of the criteria, we point out that there is a shared predominance of what can be observed in the videos. From the literature, the point on restricted movements and consequently, perhaps, the way *karateka* women use the space is clearly noted. From the coaches' criteria, the point on the absence of melee work is the most observed. From the athletes' criteria, the point on less projection was highlighted, since they did sweep or tried to only eight times within the 209 attacks performed with lower limbs in the analysed videos.

Even though there is this shared predominance in the observation of the videos, empirically we found that the male coaches' view has a powerful influence, or authority, over what is conceived as *kumite* broadly speaking, and women must adapt to it. Considering coaches' point on melee work and its absence among women, besides how women take and often accept the way this theme is postulated, it becomes the most obvious to be observed, surpassing the points already made in the literature. This can possibly be explained by the fact that there are just a few publications taking karate from a pedagogical and sociological point of view into account. Regarding coaches being the loud and heard voice empirically, we state that this is due to their hegemony in the field, built by and for themselves through the traditional martial pedagogy. Then, the point on women to some extent accepting their *inability*, at least on melee work, could be explained by the embodied belief that they are taking part in a space that is not theirs. We mean, they feel they are being allowed to fight, and not making a claim for their deserved space.

As we saw, there are situations where athletes are at odds with such negative views on their performance and struggle for keeping their perspective on things. But in other situations, they cope with the established view, maybe due to a general unknown

new path to be taken, that perhaps still needs to be built. Women say, for example, that men's fights amass more points than theirs because women are more precise. However, as the analysis showed, women's fights are very active and full of attacks. This means that they attack a lot, being aggressive and taking several risks (coaches' criterion denied, therefore), but they seem to not score as much as men, not being that assertive (athletes' criterion denied). In turn, with regard to this assertiveness criterion we need to remember that athletes are under judgment of performance. In other words, a score is not given through 'yes' or 'no', like a goal in football. Even though there are specifications in the rules of *kumite* for the criteria that a blow needs to comply with to result in a score¹³, it ends being an abstract matter, since the referees are not unanimous in the application of such criteria. And maybe we can say that as well as the field is structured by a predominantly masculine view, referees follow and apply male parameters of scores to female performance. This ends up not being a matter of equality, since women are not trained equally under traditional martial pedagogy, it is not being fair, then, to make an equal judgement.

Considering all these issues, in the *karateka* environment, dominated by men, to fight like a *girl* means, for men practitioners, not only to fight differently due to social feminine construction of girls as Young explains, but also to keep the childish condition of a girl through life and not be able to throw the opponent at all. For them, to fight like a *girl* means inferior performance in comparison with men's, claims which, moreover, are constantly made. However, for us, highlighting that it is a complex topic, with concepts overlapping and perspectives opposing each other, it means really 'to fight', not just on the mat. The perpetual comparisons between male and female sport position the former hierarchically higher when the comparison itself is unworthy. Not only due to biological burdens, necessary to be taken into account specifically in sport where the

raw material to its realization is the body performance; but also because the comparison is just untenable, promoting a feeling of superiority in an unequal basis, supported on a traditional and normative pedagogy, unfair for women, therefore generating a misguided and biased feeling.

Regarding a fighting style, we conclude that there is a distinctive feminine way of fighting, but only with generalized characteristics, since there is a rich plurality of styles, as many as there are women. The gendered embodiment, cultivated throughout life, cannot be easily annulled. And even though women are magnificent in the execution of karate techniques, they perform under either the sportive or the traditional martial pedagogy that they are taught, both scenarios where the binary conception of gender is hegemonic and severely challenges them. We also drew attention to the importance of the link between what is performed objectively and what is perceived subjectively by those who perform. Sensations and the experience of moments that may not be relevant to those who judge or watch, can be for the performer what makes the difference, becoming imprinted in the person's subjectivity. Also, while *karateka* women face several difficulties to perform in the traditional and normative karate environment, they challenge the environment as well by simply being there.

In order to close this analysis in a hopeful way we highlight the benefits of having the first look at female learning in elite sports karate pedagogy. The very beginning of karate is spoken of as being a way of resistance (White 2014). Men started to fight to defend their lives and property. Currently, perhaps it can be said that women assumed and keep assuming this position, fighting to resist, discovering and trying ways of resisting domination. Even though they are often directly or indirectly invited to leave the martial-sportive field, their action of remaining is creating space for them, no matter how slow the process. This entire picture gives an interesting historical

perspective, where the pedagogical structure as much as the agents, once we keep fighting, may be at some point redesigned, hopefully in a fairer way.

Disclosure statement

The authors report there are no competing interests to declare.

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¹ Term used to designate karate practitioners.

² Cynarsky, Obodysk, and Zeng (2012) point out in their paper that the way of martial arts is not followed by combat sports once competition would replace the moral self-improvement. However, they also say that 'There are schools and systems (educational programs) that combine the way of martial arts with sport, too' (132-133), which ends up being the case of sports karate.

³ 'The one who has born before', representing tradition; the graduated teacher, coach or master.

⁴ Sweep or *ashibarai*, in Japanese, is a category of movements done to the lower limbs in order to overthrow or unbalance the opponent. Coaches say they cannot explain why, but women are just not able to perform that, which is intriguing since women in Judo, for example, perform sweeps all of the time.

⁵ Competitive World Karate Federation (WKF), body responsible for Olympic karate, presents these five categories for women fighters, besides *kumite* per team and *kata* individual and per team. Notwithstanding, for the Olympic Games they were reduced into three categories: -55, -61 and +61, and individual *kata* only. Perhaps the specificities we describe are somewhat founding criteria for the combination of weights for the Olympic Games.

⁶ Scream accompanying the blows. It is understood as a *cry of power*, not just a cry from vocal cords.

⁷ Rules have changed over time, so the athlete who scores first does not invalidate opponent's attack, if there existed an attack; both can score together. Notwithstanding, anticipation is still trained/used broadly, since it can destabilize adversary's attack in progress.

⁸ We obtained more explicit comments of coaches about their view on inferior performance and *inability* for some complex movements of women in relation to *karateka* men. We are not citing that here, however, due to the fact that it was used in previous work, and the data for this paper must be exclusive data, as we pointed out in the methods.

⁹ Martial practice location.

¹⁰ Way to call the area of practice or fight.

¹¹ *Advantage* obtained by scoring the first point. If the fight ends in a draw, the athlete holding the *senshu* wins.

¹² Table 2 here.

¹³ To be scored, a blow needs 'good form, sporting attitude, vigorous application, awareness, good timing, and correct distance' (https://www.wkf.net/pdf/rules/wkfcompetition-rules-2019_en-pdf-en-764.pdf).

Table 1. Videos provided by athletes for analysis

Video Analysis			
N.	Athlete	Video 1	Video 2
1	Concepción	WKF Junior, Cadet & U21 World Championships	National League
2	Ángeles	Premier league	Open of Paris
3	Dolores	Premier League	Series A
4	Inmaculada	Open of Paris	European Championships
5	Almudena	Spanish Senior Championships	National League
6	Belén	WKF World Championships (fight in Spanish <i>kumite</i> team)	Premier league
7	Consuelo	WKF Junior, Cadet & U21 World Championships	Premier league
8	Rosario	Young league	Spanish Championships
9	Encarnación	WKF World Championships	Premier league
10	Amparo	Spanish Senior Championships	Premier league

Table 2. Frequency of attacks in the analysed videos

Video Analysis				
N.	Athlete	Upper-limbs (V1+V2)	Lower-limbs (V1+V2)	Fighting time (V1+V2)
1	Concepción	10+9	15+7	2+3
2	Ángeles	8+20	12+11	3+3
3	Dolores	16+18	12+10	3+2
4	Inmaculada	12+10	7+9	2+2
5	Almudena	18+10	12+6	3+3
6	Belén	6+14	4+4	2+2
7	Consuelo	22+22	15+10	2+3
8	Rosario	10+10	14+11	2+3
9	Encarnación	17+13	15+3	2+3
10	Amparo	16+27	19+13	3+3
-	-	288*	209*	51 minutes

*Attacks performed for both athletes in the fight.