

The Constitution of a Sport Subfield: the Case of Taekwondo

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ABSTRACT: The present work discusses the relation of Taekwondo with modern sports. Historical, social and political elements involved in an eventual process of "sportivization" were identified. The option was to work with the theoretic referential of Pierre Bourdieu and Norbert Elias. A semi-structured interview technique with the "masters" was used. Considerations: a) its evidences occurred to a social evolutionary process not planned, created the configuration in which Taekwondo placed its corporal, cultural and social framework; b) its dissemination as a sports sub-field offers the diplomatic and symbolical value required to disseminate a national moral that confirms its entry to the world; c) its exposition led off to an imposing process of the Korean nationality as a symbolic violence aspect.

Keywords: Cultural characteristics. Sports. Taekwondo.

1 INTRODUCTION

Martial arts constitute today activities that, in their majority, are regarded as a sport modality. There are many tournaments, championships and sponsors willing to offer different forms of capital to the "new promises" of Jiu-Jitsu, Judo, Karate and Taekwondo. The highest expressions of these practices in the spectacle scenario today are in tournament formats called "vale tudo" [MMA] - fights between practitioners of different martial arts - constantly broadcast through means of communication, especially on TV.

The increased dissemination of these activities in form of championship broadcasts, hiring of specialized commentators, demonstrations of some techniques in soaps and movies is one of the visible factors that increases the offer of this "specific product".

Means of communication, like the TV mainly, deal with these corporal manifestations as activities of philosophical value, of mystical and transcendental characteristics, oftentimes marginalizing the historical and social processes that contributed toward the formation of this

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structure. Martial arts, in this case, those from the Far East¹, are activities of high cultural value due to their particular histories that date back thousands of years.

From a process of evolution in the structure of thought, from the mystical to the rational (which contributes toward secularization of the corporal activities and consequently of martial arts), of the advancement of capitalism (culminating in processes of valuing of physical activities as specific products directed toward accumulation of economic goods) and, consequently, of a growing increase in the broadcasting of physical activities in the means of communication, the martial arts - activities created with primitively intrinsic and local purposes like the defense of territory and obtainment of opportunities and, at the same time, obtainment of a peculiar form of religiousness - take on characteristics of sport, that is, aim at competition, rivalry, the extrinsic benefits and victory at any price. Such characteristics, in turn, are disconnected from the prime objectives of these eastern corporal manifestations, since their foundation is essentially religious.²

In this wise, the martial arts from the Far East, especially, are today part of the corporal culture as a high level sport as well as, quantitatively to a lesser extent, activities that promote a vital equilibrium and personal defense of the practitioner. This work discusses the relation of one of these corporal manifestations, a corporal practice of Korean origin: Taekwondo and its relation with modern sport.

One seeks to identify the historical, social, economic and political factors involved in its sportivization process and to look for evidences of a possible break from the eastern philosophical values of this corporal manifestation to a sport with capitalist values of competition and performance practiced today in 170 countries with more than 20 million followers KIM, 2000, p. 20), present in the group of demonstration modalities since the Seoul Olympic Games in 1988, and included in the official group of Olympic modalities in Sydney 2000.

The intention was to identify the factors and interests that led an essentially local amateur practice from seeking intrinsic benefits (defense of territory, maintenance of life balance, seeking lifestyle ruled by eastern philosophical precepts) to a mainly spectacle

¹ Martial arts from the far east are emphasized because the sequence of the work will aim at explanations of political, social and economic nature of *Taekwondo*, a Korean martial art. However, it is recognized that martial arts have as origin the middle east and west, like the Tahtib, a martial art of Egyptian origin, Krav Maga, a martial art of Israeli origin and *capoeira* of Brazilian origin, but based on African mystical referential.

² MARTA, Felipe Eduardo; PIMENTA, Thiago Farias. **The philosophical principles of Taekwondo in the discourse of the masters**. 182 f. Final report presented to the national research development board (CNPq) as requirement to conclude the scientific initiation scholarship, PIBIC. Bauru: UNESP, 2001.

practice, where the intention is also the acquisition of extrinsic benefits (money, goods, prizes, status, financial capital).

One intends to indicate the institutions and their specific agents that seek to guide this corporal manifestation as a high level sport, observing the possible changes it underwent.

One sought to consider Taekwondo and the modern sport in the social, political and economic context in which it is inserted, avoiding analysis of such institutions as "machines" independent from the social beings having the habitus that created them and of which they are made up.

In order to make a more complete analysis of Taekwondo, present in the context of the sport and mainly its possible hegemonic forces, the theoretical referential of French sociologist Pierre Bourdieu and of German sociologist Norbert Elias was chosen. Their theoretical referential was used in this work due to their being pertinent and updated on discussing the manifestations of modern sports and the social agents that constitute them.

Governing the analysis of the study object on the theory of the fields of Bourdieu, it is possible to recognize the existence of a sports field that encompasses social agents, occupying specific positions and that constantly seek, through fights, economic, political and symbolic capitals.

Drawing a conceptual and methodological parallel, one sought to align the configurative criticism of Norbert Elias with the aim of understanding manifestations of interdependencies in the world of Taekwondo, the social relation that this martial art has as aggregated to the sport setting and, consequently, what its role is in the web of inter-relations.

Therefore, if Taekwondo is also understood as a sport, consequently, understanding sport as institution having hierarchic, economic, political and symbolic standards, that is, as sociologically inconstant phenomenon, one sought to: a) analyze which aspects define it as a sport; b) show the objectives of the agents of this martial art in maintaining it as a sport; c) recognize the position that Taekwondo as a sport occupies in the space of sports; d) recognize the forces that govern it and keep it in the world of sports; e) discover signs of a possible increase of the break from its philosophical, religious, eastern characteristics to a practice of capitalist values of competition and performance.

Reviewing literature alone does not answer the objectives proposed, since the bibliographical references regarding Taekwondo are limited with regard to the determinants that involve its transitions. In this wise, the semi-structured interview technique was used with the agents responsible for disseminating this martial art in the country: the "masters". It becomes pertinent to explain that these social beings are constantly called "masters", this

being a high hierarchic attribute in the world of martial arts that, in turn, denotes the symbolic importance of these agents who disseminate Taekwondo.

2 OUTLINING THE MODERN SPORT

To describe the importance of the sport in modern society, exemplifying various facts that can evidence this, can be a bit dangerous, since the immediate risk is explanation by speculations or by pre-notions. This from the fact of the constant "sportive" presence that permeates the speech of the social being affected by the various forms of sports broadcasts by the means of mass communication.

Due to constantly being present right from early in the day-to-day of individuals and existing "outside the individual consciences", an analysis indicating the historical and sociological determinants of the sport becomes difficult, since the paths to be adopted by the researcher can have the disadvantages of the ideological analyses that work as limiters of the reality, since: "They constitute [...] like a veil placed between things and ourselves, and that hide them from us the more we deem the veil transparent". (DURKHEIM^{1968, p.12})

Therefore, the studies of human sciences referring to the manifestations of modern sports, in a first analysis, proves to be pertinent to the extent in which the relation between subject, spectacle sport phenomenon and the dominant need to accumulate capital seem to be present and their modern social relations inseparable, but also, the studies that refer to sports as social phenomenon must analyze the forces - economic, political, symbolic, and the interests, made legitimate by the subjects, who maintain the sport, pertinently, in the plane of common sense.

Therefore, due to the unpredictable needs that emerged from "making complex" of the social configuration, modern sport seems to be an element of dissemination of ideas of an ascending class through secularization and rationalization of the intrinsic elements.

It is understood that introduction of the rationalized character in the manifestations of popular games contributed toward a reification of the extrinsic significances, contributing toward a break between ludicity and the sport, which Elias and Dunning (1992) would classify as a blind and unplanned long-term process.

The difficulty for corporal activities to remain in the ludic, mythic, contemplative and religious sphere is caused by conception of the bureaucratic formal structure that creates dependence. The social complexity of inter-relationships causes any institution that wishes to establish itself in the bourgeois industrial society - especially the English, to "obey", even if

unconsciously, its rules: "Despite the arduous efforts of the managing groups, the high level meetings are not held before great multitudes". (ELIAS, 1992, p. 301)

The order of the new social configuration, guaranteed by social agents with private interests in "game", hardly enables continuity of the activities in the standard of non-seriousness, creating a complex structure capable of binding any social being to its bureaucratic order. What becomes pertinent is the manifestation of this power in the distributions of functions in society, in the essence of the various fields of influences and confluences of interest of agents in maintaining a sports field.

To understand the creation of a field and/or subfield, one must recognize that society becomes a space where individuals interact in search of ways that can favor them directly or indirectly.

Taking into consideration the force of this interaction, one can state that these social beings more than interact, they are interdependent. Resuming the idea of configuration by Elias (1994), any action can influence (negatively or positively) the life of another social being due to the complexity of the web of inter-relationships creating, in turn, a constellation of interdependent social beings.

Associated with the complex methodological nature of understanding of the social mechanisms are the actions that the individuals adopt on interacting. Such actions are not at random, are not taken casualness. The individuals adopt initiatives guided by their previous history, that is, what Bourdieu calls habitus affects and encourages actions.

In this wise, a contribution to the studies of sports manifestations in society is pertinent to the extent in which it becomes possible to articulate both knowledge, both objective and subjective. This praxeological notion can serve to advance sports studies and perhaps contribute toward understanding the human needs to create sports modalities and their appreciation, in their use as symbolically consolidated means and in the maintenance of structures that support its permanence in the world of practices that have objective and symbolic powers, as is the case of Taekwondo.

For this, one seeks to understand the objectives that specific agents of martial arts characterized for having mystical eastern-philosophical values based on Buddhist and Confucianist referential aimed at on inserting these manifestations in a competitive locus of fights characteristic of individuals who aim at accumulation of capitals as their ends.

Conceiving the sport as a set of specific, inter-related structures that move socially according to the interests of their agents, one therefore has the constitution of a defined space, where these are capable of disputing economic, political, social and symbolic capitals. This

space is defined as a field of disputes, a competitive field of victories and defeats. “[...] this space of sports is not a world closed on itself. It is inserted in a world of practices and consumptions, themselves structured and constituted as system”. (BORDIEU, 1990, p. 211). Such perspective constitutes the idea of field.

The "field" owns a specific autonomy, specific norms and rules that can and will be required by their agents through fights for spaces in the "field" itself, which will define the "preservation or subversion of the structure of a specific capital".

This idea remits modern sports to a set of practices and sportive consumptions offered to the social agents to meet a social demand, owner of values and its own history, with specific chronology, rules and agents.

In this wise, one notes the moment as of which there is a process of breaking away of Korean martial arts of mystical, religious-philosophical-eastern characteristics to a practice of rational, secular values, like the sport of Taekwondo.

3 HISTORICAL SUBSIDIES OF THE KOREAN MARTIAL ARTS

The first dynasty one has notice of in Korea is that of Kit-ze, a Chinese noble who established himself in its plains at about 1122 B.C.. In 193 B.C., another Chinese, Wiman, invaded the region inhabited by the descendants of Kit-ze, occupying it progressively. In 108 B.C., the entire northern range of the peninsula was in the hands of the last invaders. Lolang became the capital of the peninsula.

The tribes that escaped Chinese domination came together in three kingdoms: SILLA, to the southeast, founded in 57 B.C.; BAEK-JE (Paekche), in the southwest region, founded in 19 B.C. with its central zone near river Han , with intensive trade with Japan and China; and KOGURYO, in the Middle West region, founded in 37 A.D. by Chumong. Its capital was initially located in Hwando - San, in the year 427, later being transferred to Pyong Yang. The so-called three kingdoms period lasted up to 668.

The specific history referring to Taekwondo narrates that the Silla, kingdom, due to being the smallest among the three kingdoms, was constantly threatened by Paekche and Koguryo, until the formation of an elite troop called Hwarang (Flower of Youth Corps). Created during the reign of Chin Heung, twenty-fourth king of the Silla dynasty by philosopher and General Kim Yu Shin, the members of Hwarang-do can be compared to the Samurais of Japan and to the medieval knights of Europe due to their structure ruled by religious, honorable standards and due to being members of the high social class. They

received a strict, slow and silent preparation, permeated by philosophical values of Buddhist characteristics.

This group of warriors was trained not only in the use of traditional weapons (spears, bow & arrow and sword), but also in the practice of mental, physical discipline and in several forms of martial arts, using fundamentally the legs and feet.

Among these arts, the T'aekkion or Tekyon is highlighted. Focusing on defending their lands, the warriors climbed steep mountains, swam in turbulent rivers during the cold months to strengthen their bodies.

Their training and their lives were ruled by a code of honor, rooted in Buddhist values summarized in: a) obedience to the king; b) respect of parents; c) loyalty toward friends; d) never retreat from the enemy; e) kill only when there was no alternative.

This strict code of honor of the Hwarang warriors will condition and give the eastern philosophical/symbolical subsidies to the Korean martial arts, which crossed 14 centuries until the formation of the current philosophical structure of Taekwondo.

With the influence of the Hwarang warriors, and a military alliance with the Chinese, Silla defeated his rivals, was able to unify the country by establishing the first Korean State, Koryo, created officially in 935. These influences contributed toward the establishment of a spiritual stone that would be responsible for formation of the symbolic content of the subsequent Korean martial arts that, according to the disseminating agent of Taekwondo, "master" Yeo Jin Kim (2000): "[...] was developed together with the eastern philosophy, as it was derived from it; mainly with influence of religions and culture, such as Buddhism and later Confucianism". (KIM, 2000, p. 21).

After the Koryo era, the Chosen era began, name given to the new kingdom by king Lee, Syung Gue. This kingdom lasted for 500 years, which, in turn, did not detract practice of the Korean arts: "At this time, the dignity and morality of the Korean people reached its highest level". (KIM, 2000, p. 23).

It seems sensate to state that eastern philosophy is the principle that gives originality to its martial arts and that makes it stand out from other corporal manifestations of the west.

With the explanation of the relations between eastern philosophy and its relationship with the Korean martial arts, its function of guiding the principles that will rule the standards of conduct in the society of the first Korean State was distinguished and, more than this, the function of such Buddhist and Confucianist principles were also recognized in the

construction of a social identity, or Korean national identity and influence in its future westernization process.

This construction process is pertinently explained by Dubar (2005), who mentions how the incorporation of attitudes is subjectively recognized as a social constant that creates and modulates identities, which, in turn, will form the fundamental "stone" of inspiration of attitudes:

What matters in this process is the double movement through which the individuals subjectively appropriate a "social world", that is, of the "spirit" (Mind) of the community to which they belong and, at the same time, identify with roles, learning to perform them in a personal and effective fashion. (DUBAR, 2005, p. 118)

However, besides outlining the philosophical-religious factors that contributed toward formation of this identity, it is essential to define the need for its formation, therefore, recognizing it as a symbolic form of violence, as they continue to be "mental representations" of a people, or more subjectively, the social agents, invest their interests, guaranteeing the form through which a set of factors is created that has symbolically legitimate power, being able to assure Korean nationality.

Literature shows (KIM, 1995; 2000; PIMENTA, 2003) a growing process of relationship between the veneration of philosophical practices and martial arts. However, as of a certain moment, this conjunction existing between its practice with Buddhist and Confucianist eastern philosophy suffer a process of detraction on facing the troubled Korean past. The "path" of the Korean martial arts takes a new direction, the rules of the "game" to be played changed.

The Korean martial arts are attributed the power of being part of the construction of a national identity that for centuries was being revindicated and constructed, causing a need for universal affirmation.

4 CONSTITUTION OF A SPORTS SUB-FIELD: THE CASE OF TAEKWONDO

The Mongols remained in the region of future Korea from 1231 to 1364. In 1364, Korean General Yi Taejo defeated the Mongol forces, already weakened by the war they had been fighting with the Ming dynasty of China. In 1592, a Japanese force invaded the Korean peninsula. After seven years of war and occupancy, the invaders were expelled, thanks to the help given by China once again.

Although the Yi dynasty remained in the throne, the Manchus invaded the country up to 1637. New attempts of penetration by the Japanese were repelled. After a long period of isolation, in 1876, Japan forced Korea to establish diplomatic relations with the Tokyo government.

In 1894, China declared war on Japan, which lasted up to the following year, being defeated. The Shimono Seki treaty, signed at the end of the conflict, compelled the Chinese to give up their intensions for Korea. In 1905, the Japanese transformed Korea into a protectorate, in 1910 into a colony.

In 1945, Japan was obliged to withdraw from Korea, since the peninsula was occupied by its adversaries at the end of World War II - soviets to the North and Americans to the South. On August 8 of the same year, the Cairo declaration established that the Japanese surrender to the Russians to the north of parallel 38 and to the North-Americans to the south. The country was structurally divided into South Korea of capitalist influence and North Korea of communist influence.

In-depth analysis of these associated factors brings elements to explain the changes in the conjuncture and creation of Taekwondo and, consequently, of its practitioners.

With Japan's defeat in World War II, the Koreans were able to resume practicing and openly training their martial arts like Tekyon, and, with less emphasis, Subak, , creating duels with the students who returned from Japan and who practiced Karate. Several schools were founded, like Chong-do Kwan (the most ancient), Mu-Duk Kwan, Ion-Mu Kwan, Chang-Um Kwan and Song-Um Kwan.

In 1955, a group led by the General of the Korean army Choi Hong Hi joined efforts and was able to unite the different schools and styles of Korean martial arts, adopting the name of Taekwondo.³ Besides the merger of names, a sequence of philosophical principles and values to be followed by its practitioners was standardized: a) courtesy; b) integrity; c) perseverance; d) mastery of oneself; e) indomitable spirit.

The obedience to the king was extended to courtesy, the respect for parents became integrity, loyalty to friends became perseverance, never retreat from the enemy became indomitable spirit, only kill when there is no alternative broadens the concept to mastery of oneself.

From a critical evaluation of the elaboration of such principles, it is possible to elucidate that they are the fruit of a change of scenario, with influence from nationalist and

³ *TAE* means legs, *KWON* means arms and *DO* means the vital path that the practitioner must follow, therefore: the path of the legs and hands.

patriotic values and, at the same time, showing a need for world dissemination of Taekwondo due to its expression in the Korean political/social and economic scenario, being products of changes of ancient philosophical codes that governed the Hwarang, making their ancient philosophical principles easily assimilated.

The need to make such principles more "assimilable" apparently does not correspond to a simple strategic maneuver of dissemination only, but answers the longings of a group of specific agents in the field of Korean martial arts that, aware of a new social/national conjuncture, created a set of rational norms for the practice. This "new need" is the fruit of a social evolutive process. The result of a Korean sociogenetic process.

Similar to the old medieval Europe, the Korean region would tolerate countless fights for the search of opportunities. Different family cells would dispute among themselves (measured since 193 B.C.) lands and forms of different capitals. With the constant elimination and aggregation of opportunities, resulting in the creation of feudal monopolies and violence, the individuals became more inter-related and interdependent, which will contribute toward a constant need to contain attitudes, exactly because such individuals are intrinsically aware of the reactions brought about by the sharp changes in the board of the social game.

The awareness of the needs to maintain emotional balance among the individuals due to a functional interdependence and mainly among the agents of Korean martial arts, contributed significantly toward the formation of the five values and philosophical principles of Taekwondo.

"Simplicity" as we knew it, the simple opposition between "good" and "bad" and between compassionate and cruel had been lost. People faced things with more differentiation, that is, with a stronger control of their emotions. (ELIAS, 1994, p. 84)

That is, to the agents of the fields of Korean martial arts, there was the need to adapt to the new forms of social life. The martial arts that were used for bellicose purposes and, combined with a vital alliance of enchanted precepts, begin to take on the form of a practice aimed at individual corporal and mental well-being through physical exercises and its transcendental values since: "In later societies, different opportunities, different ways of life emerged, to which the individual had to adapt". (ELIAS, 1994, p. 202).

Therefore, the creation of the sport Taekwondo, consequently of its philosophical principles, respects the idea of a civilizing process. The change in the Korean social scenario evoked a new picture, inciting agents of the field of Korean martial arts to create a manifestation, modeled according to the national conjuncture. The Korean State deals with its

sociogenesis. It evolved from a feudal society full of family cells willing to maintain and acquire portions of opportunities for a more complex society based on the precepts of monetarization and industrial ethics. The obligation of corporal training aiming at abstraction from the world through spiritual lifting - characteristics of the eastern martial arts, was gradually abandoned to give place to the valuing of methodical, calculated training aiming at victories in the sports field.

Reproducing what Elias stated, Dunning (2005) in an interview with Professor Ademir Gebara (2005) reports that the change, the constant of the relation of the civilization process, is not limited by simplified explanations or unilateral analyses, but encompass processes that, far from constituting deliberate attitudes of social agents, are fruits of interdependent social procedures:

[...] However, the concept of social change is much more encompassing to capture it, because what we are describing is change in a specific direction, is change from something relatively simple into something more complex, from something relatively wild and uncontrollable to something more controlled, more civilized. (GEBARA, 2005, p. 52)

According to the agent disseminator of Taekwondo, the Brazilian "master" Fabio Goulart (2006), the "change" results from a need resulting from social processes that inspire the dissemination of Taekwondo, processes that caused adaptations in the perspective of its agents:

The martial art was created with what purpose? Any martial art. Defense of one's territory, defense of one's family and complete annihilation of the adversary or one's opponent. You cannot have this, it is like a gladiator. The gladiator is already a martial artist because he would enter the arena and he had to kill or be killed, so you cannot do this. Nowadays, rules have been created so that you can show to the world how that martial art is and the people who practice it.⁴

Elias (1994) calls attention to the adaptation process. But in the case of Korean martial arts and their agents, where does this adaptation become relevant? For the universalization of a sequence of philosophical principles, making them assimilable and accessible? The answer to the question can be found on examining the sequence below.

⁴ GOULART, Fabio. **"Master" Fábio Goulart and Taekwondo**: testimony [Jan 2006]. Interviewer: PIMENTA, Thiago. Santos: Academia de Taekwondo Fábio Goulart, 2006. 1 audio cassette (30 min). Interview granted for masters dissertation in sociology from Universidade Federal do Paraná – UFPR.

After its official creation in April 1955, there was in 1961 reformulation of the name Taekwondo definitively, 1963 – Park Chung-he became president of South Korea; 1964 – in Korea, the first Taekwondo world championship was held. In 1965, the “Korean Taekwondo Association” was created, whose first president was General Choi Hong Hi, which in 1966 founded the International Taekwondo Federation (ITF), the first Taekwondo federation. In 1967, there was the first change of management of the Korean association of Taekwondo. In 1968, there was the first Asian continental competition and a process of westernization of this martial art began, with its dissemination to Europe and the United States, in 1970, it was introduced in Brazil. In 1971, the president of South Korea, Park Chung-hee proclaimed Taekwondo as a Korean national sport; in 1972, General Choi Hong Hi was expelled from South Korea to Canada; in 1973, the World Taekwondo Federation (WTF) was created by Un Yong Kim.

A chronological order of not very distant events that move toward an end: the creation and legitimation of a sport. The Korean martial arts leave a bellicose and contemplative sphere to be inserted in a locus of competition through forms of appropriation of spaces defined in a now more secular field: the field of sports.

The new categories and social classes emerging present in the field of Korean martial arts will reaffirm secular principles with the aim of creating a new sport that has influence on the popular disposition and, consequently, plays the role of mediator and disseminator of the image of the new Korea, especially South Korea, with the aim of disconnecting it from the characteristics of its "mother country", China, and its former master, Japan, which left it a cultural legacy, including in the Korean martial arts, and to disconnect it from the negative communist image that affected the east.

Politics even wanted to place martial arts 55, place a martial art as continuation of Tekyon, Subak, has varieties of martial arts that existed and also during the time that the Japanese dominated Korea, bringing Karate, so it is mixed. So they wanted to place martial arts in Korea, which was developing and then came the war of Vietnam and Taekwondo became famous, then intellectual part, I do not know from mind went out to disseminate Taekwondo as a sport. Disseminating Taekwondo to disseminate Korea, disseminate sport disseminate Korea.⁵

⁵ BANG, Kun. “**Master**” **Kun Mo Bang and Taekwondo**: testimony [Oct 2003]. Interviewer: MARTA, Felipe. Marília: Academia Bang, 2003. 1 audio tape (30 min). Interview granted for monograph of conclusion of graduation in Physical Education from Universidade Estadual de São Paulo – UNESP/Bauru. 2006.

According to Bourdieu (2005, p. 138), there is a reason for the agents to have certain attitudes:

[...] reason that should be discovered to transform a series of apparently incoherent, arbitrary conducts into a coherent series, into something that one can understand from a single principle or from a coherent set of principles. In this wise, sociology postulates that the social agents do not perform free acts.

Taekwondo's recognition as a sport modality and its consideration by the International Olympic Committee (IOC) in 1980 gives the element required for its official affirmation in the high performance sport field, as it exerts a symbolic violence over its spectators, practitioners and practitioners of other martial arts, since the obtainment of status of national sport and Olympic sport is legitimized by the legal mechanisms that support the existence of a sport field, in turn, of a sport subfield.

[...] I do not know in Brazil today anyone who trains Taekwondo as a martial art, because training the sport as martial art requires a series of routines that are no longer practiced, for example, formerly, we would harden the hands, in some way prepare the musculature of the abdomen and forearm, we would hit forearm against forearm and besides all this we would fight without vest, without protection. Taekwondo practiced as martial art is heavy, it hurts and as a sport it is not so much, because you use protections, there are modern techniques and such.⁶

In this case, "master" Carlos Negrão (2006) exposes that Taekwondo trained strictly, that is, "hardening the hands and feet", shows the strong connection with a bellicose or martial training. This "ancient" form of training seems to be the link between the remote Korean martial arts to Taekwondo.

The change of the name to Taekwondo marked the birth of a typically Korean corporal and cultural manifestation. It is in this interest, also, that the agents from this specific field established the idea of a sport Taekwondo .

This investment of economic, symbolic and social capitals by a group of agents from the field of Korean martial arts resulted in the affirmation of Taekwondo as a sport, since: “[...] the investment in a field results from the interaction between a game space that defines the challenges and a system of dispositions suitable to this game”. (BOYER, 2005, p. 278).

⁶ NEGRÃO, Carlos. “**Master**” Carlos Negrão and Taekwondo: testimony [May 2006]. Interviewer: T. F. F. Pimenta. São Paulo: DEF Baby Barion, 2006. 1 audio tape (30 min). Interview granted for masters dissertation in sociology from Universidade Federal do Paraná – UFPR. 2006.

With all the historical/social process explained up to the creation of Taekwondo, one notes that this new institution is still maintained by those with the greatest amount of economic, social, cultural and symbolic capitals. Such structures give contributions for the recognition of inter-relational actions, which take Taekwondo to be recognized as a sport subfield.

It is in this wise that the agents of this recently constituted subfield will affirm a need to define new principles for Taekwondo, due to it already being established as a sport:

Quite a difficult situation when I learned Taekwondo, when I brought Taekwondo to Brazil I thought it was martial arts, but then came this world federation directed by Un Yong Kim and it became a sport. Today, Taekwondo is a sport. With this change, I believe that the philosophy must also change. [...] Still today, I have doubts if we have philosophy or not, right?⁷

This strategy did not draw an abstract path. One cannot use this tactic without a substantialist attitude created and moved by the movement itself. The movement of ideas in the web of inter-relationships and interdependences of the juridical, political, sports field, of the field of Korean martial arts and of the field of Taekwondo was given by a group of agents of capitals, led by an individual with the aim of disseminating the country of Korea.

Every process of creation of Taekwondo – being recognized as a process not only the recent unfolding of denomination, but also the sociogenesis, walked in direction of the creation of a space of the possible. In the space of subjectivities, one recognizes this space of the possible as a functional place where the symbolic imperatives associated with the values acquired are verified:

The space of the possible characteristic of each field, religious, political or scientific, etc., works, and virtue of the principle of specific division (nomos) that characterizes it, as a structured set of biddings and requests and also of prohibitions; it acts as a language, as a system of possibility and impossibilities of expression that prevents or encourages different psychic processes among it and completely different from those of today's world; [...]. (BORDIEU, 2005, p. 16)

Its creation gave way to the formation of a recent field of work, increasing the reach of influence of Korean corporal and cultural manifestations, including its principles and values inspired by eastern religious ethics.

⁷ BANG, Kun. “**Master**” **Kun Mo Bang and Taekwondo**: testimony [Oct 2003]. Interviewer: MARTA, Felipe. Marília: Academia Bang, 2003. 1 audio tape (30 min). Interview granted for monograph of conclusion of graduation in Physical Education from Universidade Estadual de São Paulo – UNESP/Bauru. 2006.

These principles, or religious/philosophical values, by necessity, support the formation of recent structures of values updated by a recent social/political conjuncture of Korean society, leading it to affirm that these values suffered a breaking away.

The development of a spiritual side by martial art becomes a secular search for appropriation of titles and objective and symbolic assets, finding in the sport the functional means to this end.

5 CONSIDERATIONS

The science of a sports field, associated with the idea of webs of interdependence, brings the notion of movement to the fields. In this wise, the agents of capitals who, besides being in constant conflict due to appropriations, remain dependent on the attitudes of other agents because, due to the complexity of the structure of their fields, each movement in its interior has a negative or positive result, from the social point of view in which a determined agent is found.

The notion of sports field, inserted in the understanding of Taekwondo as historically and socially constructed corporal expression, gives room for the idea of a sports subfield. It is in this wise that this study focused its analyses that were during the work being confirmed to Taekwondo. Analyses that go through the ideas of habitus, agents, capitals, power and interests.

These evidences coming from an unplanned social evolutive process will form the structure in which Taekwondo set its corporal, cultural, economic, political and social framework, to the extent in which its develop shows a long-term social process.

The initial hypothesis is that Taekwondo is a martial art born from a breaking away from the philosophical religious values was not supported.

Taekwondo is attributed to a recent trajectory. According to literature, it was "officially created" in 1955. The word "official" bears a possible process of breaking away; from a martial art of bellicose, religious and contemplative values to a sport of performance where the search for maximum results becomes the search of its practitioners. However, on analyzing the interviews, inspired on the idea of field and in light of an understanding referring to a civilizing process responsible for the constitution of a sports subfield, one learns that the word "official" could be removed from the records referring to its creation. Taekwondo was created as a sport modality. It was created to be a sport.

Processes of breaking away from Korean religious philosophical values occurred, but to Taekwondo these values can be characterized as continuities or followings, since the breaking away from Korean social values, permeated by the religious referential to a structure of thought permeated by ruled, bureaucratized, institutionalized industrial competition is not the result of a strategic action by the agents of this martial art, but the result of a blind social, unplanned evolutive process.

It was founded as sports corporal manifestation with the aim of leveraging a process of social valuing through a specific symbolic structure due to the history of its country of origin having been permeated by a series of bellicose conflicts.

The dissemination of a Korean sport gives the symbolic value required for publication and development of a national moral. The diplomatic nature of the sport guarantees its passage through the world, assuring its transmission as a recognizably patriotic product, together with the government support that makes explicit the need for a global dissemination. Victory of a group of agents who saw the national and personal importance of being part of a sports subfield responsible for disseminating the image of the capitalist new Korea - South Korea.

The exposition of Taekwondo leveraged a process of imposition of Korean nationality. A symbolic form of violence demanded as a constant necessity. The training locations spread throughout the planet, the importance of counting the strikes and the exercises in Korean language and the need to salute its national flag are manifestations of this imposition.

The values that governed the practitioners of Tekyon owed their transformation to a process of adaptation and uniformization of attitudes, where the process of interdependence among individuals became more solid.

The creation of philosophical principles in Taekwondo is linked to a past of submission to the religious manifestations that a set of social beings were supposed to follow.

To show knowledge of such acts, without recognizing the meaning of the game in which this group of specific agents is inserted, is to scratch the surface of the process. In Bourdieu, it was possible to exceed this perspective by seeking "the meaning of the social game". Meaning of the game created by the habitus of the meaning of the game. To have this meaning is to have it in one's skin; it is to notice its future in the practical state; it is to have the historical sense of the game.

The view of these processes as a "game to be played" confirms the idea of movement in the fields, specifically in the field of Korean martial arts until its fusion as a sports subfield. These movements, far from being without interest, constituted the line of interpretation that

leads the researcher to recognize in this martial art its social character and construction of identities that today reproduce its dominant sports image.

Therefore, there is the need to consider Taekwondo as belonging to a sports field. To not only recognize its technical, economic, social and symbolic attributes that guarantee its permanence in the space of sports, but to also recognize the specific movement, started by agents with interests defined in the field of the Korean martial arts, inspired by a sociogenetic process and that led this recent practice to establish itself as a sport.

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