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Power and Politics in Brazilian Jiu-Jitsu Teams

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CONTENTS

GLOSSARY

Affiliation: The formal membership of a gym in a BJJ-team, or the term used for a BJJ-team itself.

BJJ: Abbreviation for Brazilian Jiu-Jitsu.

Blackbelt: A practitioner with the rank of black belt. A bluebelt is a practitioner with the rank of blue belt, whitebelt one with white belt etc.

Crosstraining: Training at other gyms than one's regular home gym.

Gi: Training clothing, similar to a karate-kimono, looks like a pyjama.

Instructor: The person leading the training, often the owner of the gym. Sometimes also called coach, master, or professor.

Lineage: A practitioners "pedigree", meaning which instructor promoted the practitioner. Especially important in the case of black belt promotions. A blackbelts lineage can often be traced back to those who established the sport as BJJ.

Patch: Piece of fabric sewn onto the gi, with the gym's or team's logo on, a picture, a phrase etc.

Promotion: A practitioner gets awarded a higher belt rank by his/her instructor. This happens mostly by the instructor's discretion, there are no established criteria.

Rashguard: Tight-fitting shirt worn during training, of synthetic fabric.

Rolling: Live sparring/freestyle practice.

School: A singular BJJ gym.

Student: BJJ practitioner of a certain gym or instructor.

Team: An organisation of gyms, often international and for-profit. Varying in formalisation and structure.

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1. INTRODUCTION

This is a study about politics, power, and a martial art called Brazilian Jiu-Jitsu (abbreviated BJJ). People who practice BJJ are aware of the role physical power plays in the sport, while the focus on power in social relations is less prominent. There is a debate about politics in the BJJ community, however, many practitioners seem unaware of the link between politics and social power. According to Hay (2002), *"...all events, processes and practices which occur within the social sphere have the potential to be political and, hence, be amenable to political analysis."* (Hay, 2002, p. 3). Events, processes and practices are political if they have to do with *"the distribution, exercise and consequences of power"* (Hay, 2002, p. 3). This study will analyse the power components of phenomena in BJJ teams, and through this gain insight into the internal dynamics of the teams.

BJJ has its roots in Japanese martial arts, was adapted technical and marketing-wise in Brazil, and is practiced across the globe today. BJJ practitioners train in local gyms, gyms are in turn organised in international teams, which for the most parts are privately owned businesses. Teams are in competition with each other for members (and their membership revenue) and competition results (which give glory and a good reputation). Due to this structure, as well as the personal history and rivalries between prominent practitioners in the sport, "BJJ politics" have evolved.

BJJ politics is a term used for a number of practices and events, for example the isolation of a team's members from other teams, rules on what practitioners are allowed or forbidden to do while training, and what sanctions are employed if such rules are broken. The term is often used in a derogative manner, by people who regard the phenomena referred to as BJJ politics as immoral.

One person who is very critical to BJJ politics is Christian Graugart. He started a BJJ team in 2012 called BJJ Globetrotters, which aims to be:

> *"A community of Brazilian Jiu Jitsu practitioners of all levels from around the world, who agree on spreading a message of a non-political, open minded and positive approach to training and life."* (BJJGlobetrotters, 2014).

Is it possible to have a group of humans, with no politics involved? Social relations without any power? Works on power by great minds such as Foucault, Lukes, and others, makes one sceptical to this endeavour. Intrigued by these questions, the debate on BJJ politics, and the creation of a "politics-free" team, I wanted to find out more about the dynamics of BJJ teams and the way they relate with their members.

1.1. RESEARCH QUESTION

There is no consensus on what legitimate and illegitimate practices are in BJJ teams. I am not in a position to decide what is legitimate and what is not. The BJJ teams steer their members, and there is disagreement on the legitimacy on some ways of governing. The research question for this study is:

How do different types of BJJ teams steer the behaviour of their members?

How do the teams make their members do what they would otherwise not do? To change someone's behaviour, an actor needs power. I will use the three dimensional view of power to analyse how the teams do so.

As BJJ Globetrotters promise to be an alternative to the traditional way of running a BJJ team, I will compare two categories of BJJ teams; the alternative team category consisting of BJJ Globetrotters, and the traditional team category consisting of Gracie Barra, Gracie Humaitá, Gracie Academy, and Alliance. To go more in-depth into especially relevant issues, I propose the following eight hypotheses. They were developed based on theoretical considerations and insight into the empirical field.

Hypotheses				
Traditional teams		**Alternative team**		
TH1	The traditional teams steer the behaviour of their members through rules and formalized relations.	AH1	The alternative team steers its members through values, not rules.	
TH2	The traditional teams isolate their members from the influence of other teams.	AH2	The alternative team does not isolate its members from other teams.	
TH3	The traditional teams have a strong hierarchy.	AH3	The alternative team has a flat social structure.	
TH4	The values of the traditional teams reinforce the structures facilitating hierarchy and isolation.	AH4	The values of the alternative team support inclusiveness and a flat hierarchy.	

Table 1.1-1: Hypotheses.

1.2. ACTUALISATION

BJJ Globetrotters seeks to be free of politics – taken to the extreme; this would mean that its relations are completely free of power. The wish to be free of power is not a new one or unique to BJJ teams. Jeffrey Pfeffer wrote in 1992 the article "Understanding Power in Organizations", where he talks about ambivalence to power. According to Pfeffer, people had negative experiences or heard about the misuse of power, and to avoid similar situations, seek to establish organisational structures and mechanisms that are free of power. However, instead of succeeding in this task, they create organisational structures where power is used, but its use is not acknowledged. This lack of acknowledgement might lead to misuse of power going undetected or being ignored, because one believes that there is no power at play.

Misuse of power is often associated with direct, highly visible, and authoritarian power mechanisms. To avoid such mechanisms, structureless and non-hierarchical modes of governing are often advocated by those sceptical to the use of power in their organisations.

There are different opinions on the success of structureless organisations' ability to abolish harmful or exclusive power mechanisms. According to Freeman (2013) structurelessness might lead to the evolvement of informal elites, which take over the control of the organisation. These elites then exclude other groups from decision-making processes. Leach (2013) on the other hand, says that too much structure would marginalise some groups in the organisation.

It seems clear that BJJ Globetrotters was motivated by a wish to abolish the harmful practices the founder saw elsewhere. To remedy the situation he established an organisation with a flat organisational hierarchy where the members are supposed to be free to do as they wish. However, is it possible to have an organisation that does not use power or steers its members?

Sports and politics and power have been intertwined for as long as sports have been practiced in an organised manner. "Games and bread" were used by Roman emperors for political purposes, and organisations such as FIFA and the IOC have been involved in scandals due to corruption and other misdemeanours, which resemble scandals that state leaders sometimes are involved in. Because sports are not politics in the form of government policy or political parties, it might be easy to overlook issues of power in these contexts as a student of political science. However, sports have a tremendous impact on many people's lives, and as such, should be researched and looked at. Because something looks apolitical or absent of power relations does not automatically make it so. To understand the dynamics will make practitioners more able to use the sport to their benefit.

BJJ is a great empirical field for a political study, as it has some peculiarities that are unique and interesting. As a research field it combines cultures, organisations, personal histories, regulation and the lack thereof, and a range of theories from the social sciences. The organisations in the community share parallels with cults, protest movements, dynasties, and networks. The topic is mostly untouched by scholars; it is thus an opportunity to fill some of the white holes on the map of academic literature. The practitioners of the sport are aware of physical and social power and its consequences, and practices surrounding this are contested and discussed.

1.3. RESEARCH AND STUDY PLAN

The research question will be answered by a mix of quantitative research methods; an online survey, and qualitative research methods; a document analysis. Through this combination I am able to look at both how the teams intend to steer their members, and how the members experience and respond to this. Chapter 4 on research methods will explore in greater detail how this is done.

To analyse the findings presented in chapter 5, the three-dimensional view of power described in chapter 3 will be employed. Chapter 2 gives an overview over the empirical context of the study, and chapter 6 discusses and analyses the findings. Chapter 7 rounds up the paper, and speculates on the development of BJJ teams and their applicability as subjects for future studies.

2.   CONTEXT[12]

2.1. BRAZILIAN JIU-JITSU (BJJ)

Brazilian Jiu-Jitsu (abbreviated BJJ) is a full contact martial art that can be described as submission grappling practiced with and without wearing a gi (traditional training clothing). Techniques include takedowns, holding positions and submission holds such as joint locks and chokes. The ultimate goal of a competition match is to force the opponent to give up (submit) by threatening to break a joint or choke them unconscious. The sport can be trained and used for self defence and sportive competition. The Gracie family and others adapted techniques from Japanese martial arts and advertised them as BJJ in Brazil from the beginning of the 20th century (Pedreira, 2015).

BJJ practitioners (also called students) come from all walks of life, but most are adults. In Brazil the sport was considered for the upper class, while the poorer people trained Luta Livre. Approximately 90 % of the practitioners are male; in fact Kavanagh's (2013) "most common profile" of a BJJ practitioner was a 30 year old male, with the rank of blue belt, who had been training for 3.5 years, for 6 hours a week. For some of the practitioners the sport is just a sport, a way of working out, a hobby. Others are more serious about the sport and seek to become professionals.

2.1.1.   HIERARCHY IN BJJ

The hierarchic belt system begins with a white belt, going through blue, purple, brown and black belts, with some very select few having a black and red, white and red, or pure red belt. In contrast to Judo and other martial arts, where the black belt symbolises that the practitioner has achieved a minimum of knowledge in the sport (judoinfo.com, 2016), in BJJ the black belt symbolises that the practitioner is competent to become an instructor (GracieUSA, 2000). Consequently, it normally takes 10-12 years of consistent training to achieve a black belt in BJJ (Aesopian, 2013). Due to the hard work that lies behind a black belt, and the authority that accompanies the position of instructor, black belts hold an important position in the BJJ-universe. Many consider the black BJJ-belt to be one of the hardest belts to achieve in martial arts (Huni, 2015). The black belt is also important because it gives the holder the authority to promote practitioners to all ranks (NABJJF, 2016). This gives the holders significant independence, since they no longer needs to have relations to other blackbelts. This is the general outline of the ranking system, although it can differ from team to team and gym to gym.

There are gyms where one needs to perform a test to get a new belt rank, but mostly, the promotions are up to the instructor (Kavanagh, 2013a). When instructors deem one of their students worthy of a rank, they

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[1] This chapter contains elements that are based on the paper Aorg 323 – Forskningsfelt, that I wrote and submitted the spring of 2015.
[2] This chapter is to some extent based on experience in the BJJ community and knowledge assembled through training and interacting with practitioners from many teams.

simply award this rank to the student. Different instructors have different standards for belts, but competitions prevent students being promoted too quickly; one of the most effective ways of showing instructors' competence, is by referring to the competition records of them and their students. If the instructor has a habit of promoting early, the students will not do well in competitions against more experienced competitors.

BJJ in its current form is a young sport, although the fighting techniques have been around since humans started fighting each other, as there is only a limited amount of ways to combine two human bodies (technical parallels have been found in how apes and bears fight). The quality of the instruction received by the practitioners of BJJ is perceived to be guaranteed by lineage, as there is no official standard setting organisation. Lineage is the term used for knowing from which instructor a practitioner has received their black belt. The instructor that gave the belt is often mentioned when introducing a blackbelt (e.g."This is Oliver Geddes, he is a Roger Gracie black belt", here Roger Gracie being the one that gave Oliver the belt). A good lineage gives the practitioner authority and respect.

There are no specified standards set for a black belt; each instructor can hand out belts at their discretion. However, as their students' abilities become ambassadors for their own knowledge and quality of teaching, the standards that instructors have are generally high, and instructors only promote practitioners whose skills they know well. When a practitioner receives a black belt from an instructor, it normally means that the practitioner has spent many years training with that instructor. It is expected that this has formed a bond of loyalty and friendship, and this bond continues after the black belt has been handed out, although the new blackbelt now is considered to have more independence.

2.1.2. "ALIVENESS"

BJJ is by many considered very effective because the techniques that are acquired in the gym are put to a test against training partners in live sparring, where the participants use up to all of their attributes (technical knowledge, weight, strength, mental attitude, physical flexibility, willingness to stand pain and discomfort). This way the practitioners know how effective they are against a fully resisting opponent, this amounts to the "aliveness" of the sport. This is by many deemed superior to a sport where the emphasis is on "kata" (fixed patterns of movement with or without a partner), where one rarely receives feedback on the effectiveness of one's skills in the form of a resisting opponent.

Competitions between practitioners are commonly divided into categories according to age, gender, weight and belt rank (IBJJF, 2016b, IBJJF, 2016a). There are many BJJ competitions every year, and many instructors encourage their students to compete. Competitions are seen as an excellent way of testing the skills developed in training under pressure, against unfamiliar opponents from other teams (Brown, 2016).

2.1.3. ON GYMS, TEAMS, AND AFFILIATION

People who decide to take up BJJ normally join a BJJ-gym. The gyms (also called "schools" or "academies") are often owned by the head instructor (also called coach, instructor or professor, and often a black belt). The gyms are organised in large international, federation-like structures called teams. This is the most common setup, although there are practitioners who are not part of any gym, and gyms that are not part of any team. The daily training of the practitioners is conducted in the gym they belong to, and when they compete in tournaments, it is for and under the name of the team. The practitioners don't compete for their country, but for their team, and at many big competitions the team with the most medallists gets an additional trophy. As members of different teams face each other in competition, teams and instructors are tested by proxy of the practitioners. Teams often organise training seminars, training camps, and belt promotions internally.

A team can also be called an affiliation, and member gyms of the team are called affiliates. Who one is affiliated with is of some importance, as there is competition between the teams for recognition, competition results, and members (members lead to more revenue). This, combined with the respect practitioners are expected to award their instructor, makes changing teams sometimes a quite contentious act depending on how long they have been in one team. There are many different opinions on this topic in the BJJ-community.

2.1.4. MORE THAN A SPORT

There has evolved a whole industry around BJJ, including organisations that organise competitions, companies that produce and sell training and lifestyle gear, companies that produce nutritional supplements, immigration lawyers (for black belts from Brazil who want to become instructors outside of Brazil), BJJ magazines, blogs, internet forums, and tourism operators that offer BJJ-themed vacations to Brazil.

BJJ is a source of income for many of the actors in the community. Instructors run their gyms for financial profit, to produce gear and arrange competitions can be good business, there are full-time competitors who earn their living through sponsorships and teaching seminars. There is a surplus of qualified instructors in Brazil, and a demand for them in many other places (popular destinations for instructors are Europe, the United Arab Emirates and the USA), which leads to instructors leaving Brazil and starting gyms in other countries.

The BJJ-subculture is partly blended with surf culture, as one can see among other things from the clothing used for no-gi (training without the gi), which often is rashguards and board shorts. Other parts of the BJJ lifestyle are; wearing BJJ t-shirts in your daily life, BJJ-specific comedians (like Renato Laranja), acai bowls, podcasts, people are adhering to diets especially developed for BJJ, looking for gyms to train at even when on vacation, and meeting up with training partners to watch BJJ events like Metamoris, Copa Podio or Polaris. The lifestyle accompanying the sport as well as emotional ties to other practitioners has the potential to make the sport an important part of practitioners' life.

2.2. "POLITICS" IN BJJ

An ongoing debate in the BJJ community is about the so-called "BJJ politics". "BJJ-politics" mean different things to different people, but the term is commonly used derogatorily, referring to illegitimate use of power. Practices regarded as political often started due to conflicts between instructors or organisations as the sport was gaining momentum in Brazil.

From the early days of the sport in Brazil, rivalries and power struggles were part of the scene. Different instructors tried to prove that their specific style of teaching and fighting was superior, and this was done through private and public challenge matches, media confrontations, and public discussions. It was often contested who had learnt from and trained with whom, which gym and sport a fighter and his techniques belonged to, and who had the superior moral standards of the fighters and instructors (Pedreira, 2015)

In those days, techniques were only showcased to other gyms during competitions, and even then it was hard to know as a match was going in what the participants were doing. So if a practitioner who had trained at a gym and learned all the techniques they were using there, switched gyms and taught the practitioners at the new gym everything he knew, the practitioners from his old gym would lose much of their edge at the next competition. This was a reason why isolationist policies were developed, including that training at multiple gyms was discouraged, and why important details of techniques were kept hidden from outsiders. Now, where one can record competition matches, and Youtube.com is flooded with them. Consequently there are no more secret techniques. The knowledge is available to everyone who has the time to absorb it (Young, 2014, Pedreira, 2015).

Some BJJ-politics have been formalised into rules, for example rules that regulate crosstraining. As the great majority of BJJ-gyms are owned by individuals (often the head instructor), and organized in teams that also are (for-profit) private enterprises, the owners of gyms and teams hold great power over what rules they want to create and enforce.

There is no official, collective governing body that regulates the sport. Authority in BJJ is derived by position in the belt hierarchy, closeness to the source (to the first practitioners of the sport, often documented by lineage or family name), and competition results (shows that the techniques are actually working against fully resisting opponents and a proof that the belt rank is legitimate and well deserved), as well as personal and charismatic features.

2.2.1. SANCTIONS

Among sanctions that practitioners who break the written and unwritten rules of the BJJ community experience are social stigmatisation, exclusion from training or social settings, people getting a bad reputation, and non-sportsmanlike conduct. Practitioners who leave their gym or team for another gym or team, risks getting marked as a "creonte". The term is used for people seen as traitors, and is the name of a character in a TV-show that Carlson Gracie Sr., a prominent figure in the BJJ scene, used to watch. The

TV-character, Creonte Silveira, would betray his allies and change sides regularly. Carlson Gracie Sr. called Vitor Belfort a "creonte", when Vitor left Team Carlson Gracie for the Brazilian Top Team in 2004 (Rodriguez, 2014). Being marked as a "creonte" may lead to exclusion by the team one has left. Former teammates may refuse to interact with the "creonte" anymore, although they were good friends before.

Other misdemeanours like claiming a false lineage, or being on the "wrong" side of debates (such as BJJ for self defence vs. competition, or on the topic of online belt promotions), may also lead to exclusion. Breaking BJJ norms could also lead to public ridicule, especially online on forums and Facebook. Stories about episodes like the exposure of a "fake black belt" (someone who claims the rank, but doesn't have the necessary skills or a legitimate lineage) or misconduct in a gym spread like wildfire, the more dramatic, the more attention the stories receive (examples at Nuclearchainsaw, 2015).

Practitioners who are sanctioned may even experience unsportsmanlike conduct in training and competition, such as opponents using more force and speed than necessary while performing submission holds (known as "cranking a submission"), which may lead to physical injury. A reason why sanctions as extensive as these occur, is that BJJ for many practitioners is more than a sport (Huni, 2016), and the instructors and gym owners are more than sports instructors (as acknowledged by the Gracie Barra *Code of Conduct* for instructors). The sport is a community, with its own norms and rules, and the instructors are deemed to have great authority, which can exceed the technical aspects of the sport.

2.2.2. THE PRO-POLITICS SIDE

Many of the practices termed "BJJ-politics" have the consequence that members of a team are isolated from other teams. Different arguments are used to uphold these practices. One argument is that training at multiple gyms would lead to confusion as to which belt rank a practitioner should wear (Young, 2014). As belt rank standards are mostly decided upon by individual instructors (sometimes there are organisation-wide standards), they can differ greatly between two gyms. A practitioner training at two gyms might be considered a different rank at the two gyms, and this might lead to problems if the practitioner wishes to enter a competition, and does not know which belt category to sign up for. Holding two different ranks simultaneously is unheard of, and would cause great confusion and debate. Training at multiple gyms might force a practitioner to refuse a promotion from an instructor, and this is often considered rude or strange. Practitioners wearing a different rank than what they have been awarded according to the norms of the sport often experience sanctions from the community, especially when someone is perceived to wear the rank of black belt without having been awarded it (examples at Nuclearchainsaw, 2015).

Another argument used to prevent practitioners from training at multiple gyms simultaneously is that the instructor knows what is best for the practitioner. The reasoning here is that the practitioners, with limited knowledge of the sport, should trust their instructor with knowing which techniques the practitioners should learn, and when (Young, 2014).

As the primary test for the knowledge of the sport is competitions, and the practitioners are considered the representatives of an instructors' competence, how the practitioners do in competitions bears importance in the community. If a practitioner trains at multiple gyms, representing the one and not the other in competition might cause problems or hurt feelings with the gym that was not represented (Young, 2014).

BJJ can be an intimate and intimidating sport. The practitioners spend a lot of time entangled with each other's bodies, and literally put their health and lives in each other's hands when doing submission holds. To be able to thrive and learn under these circumstances, most need a training environment where they feel safe. A good relationship with other practitioners and the instructors might be flawed if a practitioner spends much time at multiple gyms.

2.2.3. THE ANTI-POLITICS-SIDE

Critiques of the isolationist policies question the legitimacy of the authority invoked to justify political practices. They criticize that many of the signs of respect are compulsory. They say that respect should be earned, not demanded, therefore it makes no sense that people who come in on their first day of training need to bow to a picture of a member of the Gracie family (who were very influential in the development of the sport).

Other critiques are that the isolationist practices are bad for the sport, as technical development would increase if everyone shared their techniques and trained with each other. This would encourage creativity and the development of new techniques and combinations. As a result, practitioners' skills would increase faster. Isolationist policies can also be seen to be infringements on people who are of full age and legal capacity to do as they please.

The political practices can also harm the practitioners of the sport, with practitioners not doing what they prefer due to fear of the sanctions. An example would be casual practitioners driving one hour to training instead of 15 minutes, because they fear being called a "creonte" for changing gyms to the gym closer to their home, or practitioners stopping to train because they don't enjoy that their freedom of choice is limited.

2.3. BJJ GLOBETROTTERS

Different teams have different characteristics in size, geographical location, philosophy, and organisational structure. A team considered different from the mainstream is BJJ Globetrotters, which was established in 2012 after the founder, Christian Graugart from Denmark, had completed a trip around the world while training BJJ. On this trip he trained at many gyms, and found some aspects about them he liked and some he disliked. He founded the team BJJ Globetrotters to create a team that was different from the other BJJ teams. He wanted a team free of the political practices he found harmful and immoral (Graugart, 2014).

Membership in BJJ Globetrotters is open to individual practitioners, as well as entire gyms. The only additional requirement for membership of a gym is to offer every visiting member of BJJ Globetrotters one

week of free training, never deny gym members to train at other gyms, and to never deny anyone of training with the gym because of their affiliation (BJJGlobetrotters, 2014).

Communication among members happens directly through personal contacts, through the Facebook-group, and the Facebook-page. Members have a chance to meet at camps that are arranged several times every year, or through the matsurfing-service (like couchsurfing, but with opportunities for training (BJJGlobetrotters, 2015)). Every month Graugart sends out a newsletter to the members, with news from the organisation, information about upcoming camps, promotion of new gear, sponsored athletes etc.

The boundaries of the organisation are not clearly defined, as membership is not a requirement for participation, and participation not a requirement for membership (BJJGlobetrotters, 2014). That means that there are people involved in the organisation that are not members, like instructors teaching at camps, who are members of other teams. Since one has to be a member of a team to compete in many international tournaments, some practitioners become a member of the organisation to be able to write "BJJ Globetrotters" on the tournament registration. Other than that, they do not participate in the organisation; they only use the free membership for competitive purposes.

The main values of the organisation have been unified in this *Mission Statement*:

- *"We don't pay each other any affiliation fees*
- *We wear any patches we like on our gis*
- *We are free to represent any (or no) team in competition*
- *We encourage training with anyone regardless of affiliation*
- *We are willing to promote anyone who deserves it—members or not*
- *We arrange camps, seminars and visit each other for training and fun*
- *We believe everyone is equal both on and off the mats*
- *We strive to enjoy life, people and the world through Brazilian Jiu Jitsu"* (Graugart, 2014).

There is no formalised hierarchy between gyms or individuals, and the hierarchy of the belts is played down through statements like "Whitebelts are people too" (printed on the clothing tags of the gear produced by BJJ Globetrotters) and the rejection of the term "professor" for the founder Christian Graugart (Graugart, 2014).

2.4. TRADITIONAL TEAMS

Traditional teams often place value in hierarchy, lineage, and honouring the history of the team. Many teams have roots all the way back to the first BJJ practitioners; this can be traced through the lineage of practitioners awarding black belts to their students. As the Gracie family produced many children (34 children between the brothers that started to develop BJJ (GracieAcademy, 2016)), many of which became BJJ fighters, many teams are lead by a Gracie. Examples are Gracie Barra: lead by Carlson Gracie Jr, Renzo Gracie team; lead by Renzo Gracie, Gracie Academy; lead by Rener and Ryron Gracie, Gracie

Humaitá; lead by Rolker Gracie. Traditional teams emphasise this relation to the source of the sport more than the less traditional teams. The history is often presented by pictures in the gyms, and is referenced to in communication from the teams.

In the more traditional teams there is often a strong informal hierarchy. The respect that is expected to be shown to more senior members of the same team can be illustrated through the practice of closing out. This happens mostly at black belt level in bigger international competitions. When two members of the same team reach the finals of the same division, they do not fight each other; the win is awarded to the more senior practitioner (the one who has had the black belt longer). Also, many places one is expected to not deny a practitioner with a higher belt to spar (sportive fighting in training, also referred to as "rolling") with him or her when they ask, and a practitioner with a lower belt is not supposed to approach a higher belt to spar. During sparring, if a pair of lower ranked practitioners rolls into the same space as a pair of higher ranked practitioners, the lower ranked practitioners are required to move so that the higher ranked pair has enough space.

Many traditional teams have some sort of compulsory uniformation, either with patches on the gis, or with team-branded gis or other training clothing. Traditional teams often focus on old-school techniques, and self-defence, as opposed to more modern techniques that work best in competitions.

3. THEORY

Theory is the basis of scientific research. Without theory, research would be storytelling or journalism. There have been told many stories about the political nature of the organisation of the BJJ-community, but what can be found when applying scientific concepts and methods on these empirical phenomena? When BJJ practitioners use the term BJJ-politics, what they talk about are essentially issues of influence, conflicts of interest, decision-making, and ideology: in short, of power. Politics and power are intricately linked, and present from the buildings of government and between states in the global arena, to the realms of economics and religion, in every social group, in sports, and in martial arts.

Common connotations to the concept "politics" are the state, government, public governance, etc., and to place an analysis of politics within the realm of sports might seem curious for some. But: "*All events, processes and practices which occur within the social sphere have the potential to be political and, hence, to be amenable to political analysis.*" (Hay, 2002, p.3). Sports organisations are actually subject to some of the same challenges as are governments, think for example of the corruption scandals that shocked the Fédération Internationale de Football Association (FIFA) in 2015 (BBC, 2015). In addition, sports have been used as entertainment and governing tool for many centuries (the phrase "bread and games for the people" comes to mind (AHD, 2011)).

Hay (2002) defines politics and the political as *"concerned with the distribution, exercise and consequence of power"* (Hay, 2002, p.3). He goes on to say *"A political analysis is, then, one which draws attention to the power relations implicated in social relations"* (Hay, 2002, p.3). The analysis in this study, then, would draw attention to the power relations in the BJJ teams. Some issues treated in this study might surprise BJJ practitioners as not all of them are what they might think of as BJJ-politics. However, all aspects of power in the teams are part of the politics of the teams and their practitioners.

All events, processes, and practices that happen in a social community, and that have a component of power in them, are political. This includes rules, norms, what is considered right and wrong, how these understandings come to life and are contested, what are considered legitimate issues (and solutions to these issues) in the public debate, traditions, sanctions, in short: everything that has to do with how individuals and groups in society regulate the inter- and intraplay among themselves. The power-components in these events, practices and processes can be more or less hidden or overt, and actors can use them consciously or unconsciously.

Power is a fundamental aspect of human life; it permeates all social relations and all areas of society. It is so ever-present that one often doesn't even think about it or notices it. The definition and description of power has been long debated, and many renowned scholars still disagree on the topic. This might make it seem like research on power is doomed to fail from the beginning, as one cannot even agree on what it is.

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3.1. POWER FROM THE CONTROL OF RESOURCES

Where does power come from? It seems convenient to look to concrete and visible sources to identify power. Resource dependence theory acknowledges this source: *"Control over resources critical to the organization provides a person or subunit with power in the organization."* (Pfeffer, 1978, p.17). When an organisation sees that it is dependent on the resources of another actor in its environment, it tries to tie this actor to itself to get more control over the resource. Control over a resource is important, because if the organisation does not have this control, it would spend a lot of time and energy pleasing the actor that has (Drees and Heugens, 2013).

Anything can be recognised as a resource. Mentioned by some scholars are information, expert knowledge, uncertainties, status, prestige, physical resources, budget allocation, and contact to important persons. The exact empirical context decides which resources are important in a specific organisation (Richter, 2014). The pragmatism in what aspects to study as a resource makes this theory very attractive for an empirical field that has not been explored much yet, as the BJJ-community is. It would not make sense to ask about who has the best office in a BJJ-setting, as it would make little sense to inquire about belt colour in a corporate setting. However, both of these can be valuable indicators of power and position in the right context. Pairing the pragmatism of the resource dependence theory with the holistic nature of this study, could have lead to an interesting analysis.

Resource dependence theory is concerned with which interorganisational arrangements (joint ventures, alliances, mergers etc) arise out of resource interdependencies (Drees and Heugens, 2013), and this is the main reason why I did not choose this theory for this paper. Resource dependence theory is mainly concerned with relations between organisations, and my research question is concerned with relations within organisations. It would have been possible to adapt the resource dependence theory to fit the research question, but this would have lead to theoretical capers that I am not comfortable with being merely a master student.

3.2. LEGITIMIZING PROCESSES

Moving on from a business-centric approach to one more often used in public policy processes to ensure democratic qualities. Deliberative theory is a normative theory about how a decision-making process should be organised to ensure that the decisions that come out of it (and that are binding for the participants in the process) are legitimate. According to Thompson (2008), the core of all deliberative theories is the "reason-giving requirement":

> *"Citizens and their representatives are expected to justify the laws they would impose on one another by giving reasons for their political claims and responding to others' reasons in return."*(Thompson, 2008, p.498).

According to Thompson, for a political discussion to be a deliberative process, there needs to:

➢ be a disagreement about something

➢ the decision that is to be the result of the process is binding to all participants

➢ the decision is legitimate (if the process follows these standards, the decision is morally justified for those bound by it). The elements in the process are *"public-spiritedness, equal respect, accommodation, and equal participation. "*(Thompson, 2008, p. 504).

Public-spiritedness implies that the arguments that will be used are formulated to ensure the common good of the group. Equal respect means that all participants and their arguments are respected and responded to, and that the process is accessible to all participants. When the possibility for cooperation on other issues is ensured, accommodation is covered. And although the participants are unlikely to be equal in power and prestige, the process should not be dominated by one group or person at the expense of others to ensure equal participation (Thompson, 2008).

To apply this theory on BJJ teams would shed light on many decision-making processes, the result of which often are criticised as being illegitimate (for example, the organisation that acts as the main organising body of the sport, the IBJJF, is often criticised for being undemocratic and not for the common good of the community). To see the IBJJF through the lens of deliberative theory could expose if there truly is a lack of legitimacy, and where this lack comes from (are the participants not respecting each other, are not all that are affected by the decisions part of the process etc).

Although deliberative theory could give some fruitful insights into BJJ, I don't think the empirical field is ready for this theory yet. As there has not been much research on BJJ teams, to analyse the democratic quality of the processes in the teams would be too hasty, and establishing a solid basis of knowledge of the politics going on in the teams before employing deliberative theory would make the latter analysis more solid and grounded. In addition to this, none of the teams in the study have made a commitment to have a democratic and accountable decision-making process including all members of the team. Even the alternative team is a privately owned business (CVR, 2016). A more general theoretical framework could be useful.

3.3. THREE DIMENSIONS OF POWER

To gain insight in how BJJ teams steer their members, I must look at the distribution, exercise, and consequences of power. The "faces of power", or the three-dimensional view on power, is a comprehensive framework that was developed in the second half of the 20th century. It allows a detailed yet simple analysis. It catches most aspects of political and social life, and facilitates great insight into the mechanisms at play, as well as tools to understand and describe them. As opposed to the resource dependence theory, the three-dimensional framework is on the micro-level, and thus focuses on individual actors and relations

between them, not on organisations and their environment. This allows for an analysis more precisely tailored to the research question.

> *"...power can be said to have three faces. First, it can involve the ability to influence the making of decisions; second, it may be reflected in the capacity to shape the political agenda and thus prevent decisions being made; and third, it may take the form of controlling people's thoughts by manipulation of their perceptions and preferences."* (Heywood, 2004, p.122-123).

3.3.1. ONE-DIMENSIONAL POWER: ROBERT DAHL

Dahl's important study of power in New Haven, Connecticut, presented in the book "Who governs?" from 1967, was inspired by the question posed in the title of the book. More specifically, by the question if socioeconomic differences between citizens lead to unequal power to control government. Dahl found a political system *"dominated by many different sets of leaders, each having access to a different combination of political resources. It was, in short, a pluralist system."* (Dahl, 1961, p.86). To estimate the power of individual actors, Dahl and his team traced the official decisions made over a period of time in three selected issue-areas. Successes and defeats for the participants in the decision-making process were counted, and their total influence estimated.

This classical pluralist notion of power was widespread among Anglophone political scientists in the beginning of the second half of the 20th century, and there was not much debate about it (Hay, 2002). Dahl defined it as: *"A has power over B if A can make B do something B otherwise would not have done."* (Dahl, 1957, p. 201). This form of power is often called decision-making power, as it is visible in whose favour decisions are taken. This conception of power is present when there is a visible, overt conflict of interest, and a decision is to be taken which will favour one interest over the others. The powerful actor is the one whose interests will be realised by the decision.

Power is understood in terms of its effects, meaning that if an actors' behaviour has no effect on another actor, there is no power relation between the two. Power is also seen as behavioural, it is something that is exercised in the relation between two or more individuals. It is also associated with domination over others. It is unproductive, or zero-sum, meaning that when one actor gains power, another actor loses the corresponding amount of power. A benefit of the one-dimensional view of power is that it is intuitive and easy to understand, as it is visible and direct. Power relations are transparent, and allow for easy studying and quantification as they are identified by who realizes their preferences in a decision-making process (Hay, 2002, Heywood, 2004).

We can find this dimension of power when rules have been created in the BJJ teams or gyms, and in whose favour these rules work. Rules are the outcome of a previous decision-making process, and are the continuous manifestation of the power relation between actors. There are many rules that could have been relevant for this, but the questions in the survey were limited to rules that are especially relevant for BJJ.

This conception of power, although attractive in its methodological simplicity, has been criticised for its one-dimensionality, in which it overlooks many other aspects of power; among them that many issues never even reach the decision-making arena. This led to the creation of the two-dimensional view of power.

3.3.2. TWO-DIMENSIONAL POWER: BACHRACH AND BARATZ

The one-dimensional view was prominent for some time, until Bachrach and Baratz published an extensive critique on it. Their view does not reject power as decision-making, but argues that this does not exhaust all possible applications of power. A second dimension was added to the equation. Bachrach and Baratz' main points of concern with the pluralist conception of power were that there was no objective way of distinguishing between important and unimportant issues (or key and routine political issues), and that it ignored the fact that not all possible issues arrive at the decision-making table (Bachrach and Baratz, 1970).

This concept of power is often called the second face of power, nondecision-making power, or agenda-setting power. Nondecision-making is

> *"a means by which demands for change in the existing allocation of benefits and privileges in the community can be suffocated before they are even voiced; or kept covert; or killed before they gain access to the relevant decision-making arena; or, failing all these things, maimed or destroyed in the decision-implementing stage of the policy process."* (Bachrach and Baratz, 1970, p.44).

Power is thus exercised when a groups' or actors' grievances or issues never become part of the official political agenda or the unofficial decision-making process (depending on the context). In their article "Two Faces of Power" from 1962, the authors described how the second dimension of power is practiced, it is:

> *"exercised when A devotes his energies to creating or reinforcing social and political values and institutional practices that limit the scope of the political process to public consideration of only those issues which are comparatively innocuous to A."* (Bachrach and Baratz, 1962, p.948).

To avoid losing a decision (having the decision to be made in disfavour of one's interest), a powerful actor will influence the norms, values and practices of the social environment to exclude the issues that the actor is insecure about winning. For example, if a member of a group of friends cannot swim, he might influence the norms of the group to exclude exercise as an activity friends to together, because he might not be able to sway the upcoming discussion to a different form of exercise than swimming. This can be done in several ways, among them *"by manipulating the dominant community values, myths, and political institutions and procedures."* (Bachrach and Baratz, 1970, p.18).

This dimension of power is hard to detect, but likely to occur when a strong culture is created, and there is a strong sense of what is right and wrong.

"to the extent that a person or a group – consciously or unconsciously – creates or reinforces barriers to the public airing of policy conflicts, that person or group has power." (Bachrach and Baratz, 1962, p.949).

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It is also present when the "law of anticipated reactions" is at play, when actors anticipate the reactions of the powerful, and act accordingly to please them (Heywood, 2004).

The 2nd dimension of power is relational; it is present in the relations between actors. There needs to be a conflict of interest, values, or preferred courses of actions between the involved individuals or groups. It is only at work when one actor complies with the wishes of another actor, it is thus not present when there is no change in behaviour according to someone else's desires. Another condition for the existence of a power relation of this kind is that one party can threaten to sanction the other, and that this sanction will deprive the threatened party of some value it holds higher than the one achieved by noncompliance (Bachrach and Baratz, 1970).

According to Schattschneider, *"All forms of political organization have a bias"* (Schattschneider, 1960, p.71), and a complete understanding of power cannot ignore the norms, values, and institutions that value one group or actor over others. Different organisations thus have the potential to favour and disfavour different groups. Organisational structure, or the structure of a social community, influences the opportunities and conditions of the actors in it.

As political analysis has been conducted within the refines of public government, this aspect of power has often been exemplified by showing how one or several political parties can block decisions on an issue by simply ignoring it. This has often led to an "elitist" view on power (as opposed to the 'pluralist' quality found in the first dimension of power), as power like this often is found to be held by privileged or elite groups. But there have been examples of popular pressure overcoming the interests of the powerful elites, if many enough of the powerless actors are in opposition and question the norms that lie behind the hegemony of the elites (Heywood, 2004).

One way of "*limiting the scope of the political process*" (Bachrach and Baratz, 1962, p.948) is by establishing a strong ideology. Ideology may be explained as *"a system of thought, a fundamental view, a view of society"* (Skirbekk, 2015a). This system of thought will restrict the topics available for discussion through creating norms and rules for not only what is acceptable to talk about, but which conclusions and viewpoints are accepted. For example, in a liberal democracy, freedom of speech is highly valued and most discussions about it already settled; the opinion that women should not be entitled to a public opinion would be met with ridicule and anger and thus discouraged until it was no longer mentioned. The scope of discussion is thus limited by the prevailing ideology. As this process is mainly indirect and invisible, it is hard to discover. However, indications can be given by the document analysis on the philosophy of the BJJ teams.

As one is, in effect, studying the absence of something, the second dimension of power is not as easily studied as the first dimension; it is less visible and direct. Bachrach and Baratz reject the criticism that their approach to study power is *"likely to prove fruitless because it goes beyond an investigation of what is measureable"* (Bachrach and Baratz, 1962, p.952), because one should not dismiss the immeasurable as

unreal. In their book from 1970, they stipulate a way of empirically documenting the non-decision-making process. As Dahl does, they start with the decision-making process; identify the actors in it, and the mobilisation of bias present. Next, they look at who is disadvantaged by this bias, and to what extend the interests of the disfavoured are expressed in the political system. This analysis does require one to distinguish between key and routine decisions, which is not always easy (Bachrach and Baratz, 1970).

Under certain circumstances, though, it is impossible to identify a non-decision. This is the case of the total absence of conflict in a society. If at least the powerless are aware of a power struggle (or both the powerless and the powerful), one can identify a non-decision (Bachrach and Baratz, 1970).

3.3.3. THREE-DIMENSIONAL POWER: LUKES

Lukes, in his book "Power – A Radical View" from 1974 criticises, but does not reject, the two dimensions of power mentioned already. He also adds a third dimension. Lukes criticises Dahl's conception of power for making conclusions before the empirical research – by assuming that power is pluralist, one will find that there are many centres of power. When Dahl points out that power arises in situations of conflict of interest or preferences, Lukes responds that people sometimes are unaware or mistaken of their own interests. Lukes' critique on Bachrach and Baratz' conception of power revolves around three points: firstly, that it is too committed to *"the study of overt, 'actual behavior'"* (Lukes, 1974, p.21). Secondly, Bachrach and Baratz, as Dahl, require the presence of an actual conflict to qualify a situation as one where power is present. Finally, Lukes criticises the insistence that grievances, which are denied access to the political process, must exist (Lukes, 1974).

The second dimension of power does not exhaust the possibilities in which actors can be dominated, and the third dimension of power was developed to redress this. Lukes pointed to the situations where conflict was not visible and conspicuous, but where it was still likely that someone was being dominated (Hay, 2002). He described the third dimension like this:

"A may exercise power over B by getting him to do what he does not want to do, but he also exercises power over him by influencing, shaping or determining his very wants. Indeed, is it not the supreme exercise of power to get another or others to have the desires you want them to have – that is, to secure their compliance by controlling their thoughts and desires?" (Lukes, 1974, p.23).

It is often called power as preference-shaping, or power by thought control. If this type of power is applied, there need not be a behaviour to be studied, no visible conflict of interests, and no grievance among the actors. The conflict that is present may be a latent one, between the *"interests of those exercising power and the real interests of those they exclude."* (Lukes, 1974, p. 24-25).

Problematic with the first and second dimensions are that they regard actors as rational and autonomous, while in reality, no one is able of thinking without being influenced by something. No actor is able to free him or herself from the influences from other actors, media, school, family, environment etc. The third dimension of power reveals this mechanism, power by thought control. This kind of power can easily be

demonstrated by how we are influenced by advertisements, by the influence role models have on our lives, and by how members of the same community often share the same beliefs (Heywood, 2004).

This view on power is closely related to Foucault's work on the linkage of thought systems and power.

"Whereas Marxists associate power as thought control with the attempt to maintain class inequality, postmodern theorists come close to seeing power as ubiquitous, all systems of knowledge being viewed as manifestations of power." (Heywood, 2004, p.128).

According to Heywood, anything from institutionalised psychiatry, academic disciplines, to political ideologies can be seen as discourses, and thus be manifestations of power.

Lukes himself is of the opinion that this notion of power is *"ineradicably value-dependent"*, and thus an essentially contested concept (Lukes, 1974, p.26). This is problematic for scientific research, as the basis for the research under these circumstances always will be someone's subjective values.

Dowding (2006) resolves this issue by applying the 'intentional stance', which allows us to *"interpret and efficiently predict the actions of people in ways that may or may not coincide with their own rationalisation of their behaviour."* (Dowding, 2006, p.137). By unravelling whether the actor whose preferences one is looking at has intentionally been influenced by another actor, one avoids the minefield of judging their interests. *"The third dimension of power is only power when our belief structures are intentionally caused by others"* (Dowding, 2006, p. 143). The autonomy of actors is reduced if they are systematically affected by aspects of the world, when the aspects are intended by others to affect them. Even if the actors influencing them are not consciously intending to do so, they reduce his autonomy. So an actor is being dominated or subjected to power if he is influenced by someone intentionally influencing him, or if the actors influencing should know that they are doing so. If this is the case, the preferences he acts according to are not his real ones (Dowding, 2006).

Not every actor that benefits from someone being influenced by them is dominating them, this is only the case if the beneficiary of the situation is consciously intending the situation, or is ignorant of it, but should know (Dowding, 2006).

3.4. A FRAMEWORK TO MEASURE POWER

Abraham Kaplan describes three dimensions which can be used to measure power (not to be confused with the three-dimensional view of power). The 1st dimension is weight, the degree to which one actor can make other actors change their behaviour. Scope, the 2nd dimension, refers to how many and which behaviours of the actors are influenced by the actor with power. The 3rd dimension, domain, pulls into the analysis the other actors in the organisation, as it is concerned with which actors are influenced by one actor's power (Hickson et al., 1971).

Although this theory would have lead to a quite thorough and precise analysis of power used in the BJJ teams, it was not used in this paper due to limitations on time and resources. To document each of the three dimensions of Kaplan, in each of the three forms of power, would have meant a significantly higher workload than I could shoulder in this project. Instead of using Kaplan's framework, I will compare the two team categories to find out which findings are crucial, as well as looking at the general tendencies in the data material.

A reason for choosing such a classic and well-established theoretical framework as the three-dimensional view of power for this paper is precisely that it is well-established. The empirical field (BJJ teams) is quite unexplored in the literature yet, so coupling something established with something unknown gives the benefits of looking at the empirical phenomena through lenses that many much more experienced people than me are certain will yield solid results. This can give me the certainty that if the results are poor, this is not the product of an underdeveloped theoretical body, but rather a shortcoming of my own.

4. RESEARCH METHODS

4.1. INTRODUCTION

A research design is like a recipe for the production of academic knowledge, and even in an empirically focussed study like this one, the research design is very important. As there is little knowledge on how BJJ teams function, the study is descriptive. One function of descriptive studies can be to see if aspects of society correspond with our preconceptions of them (Grønmo, 2004). This study has this aim: there is a conception that different BJJ teams influence their members in different ways, but one cannot really know this without systematic comparison. What sets a descriptive study apart from other descriptive accounts of phenomena in society is its relation to theory. The researcher seeks to connect the observed and described phenomena to an existing theoretical body, to understand and describe them in a manner that hopefully will contribute to the established literature (Grønmo, 2004).

The research question asks how the different BJJ teams steer the behaviour of their members. To make actors do something they otherwise would not have done requires the use of power, and the three-dimensional view of power will be the theoretical framework for this study.

Most of the data for this study will come from a structured, digital, online survey of BJJ practitioners, which will be supplemented by an analysis of four documents created by BJJ teams. A survey is a quantitative research strategy, which leads to *"data that can be expressed in numbers"* (Grønmo, 2004, p.420). The units of analysis are the teams, and the main source of information is the individual BJJ practitioners. As there have been very few studies on BJJ, and as there are no datasets available on the specific aspects of BJJ teams, a survey was required to make the information available for this study. The documents that will supplement the survey are documents describing the ethical guidelines and philosophy of BJJ teams. The documents are created by the teams themselves, and are thus very relevant and authentic. There were found documents for three out of five teams in the study.

4.1.1. TEAM CATEGORIES

Two categories of BJJ teams are compared in this study; the traditional team category, and the alternative team category. The categories were created based on the history and characteristics of the teams, and in discussion with more experienced BJJ practitioners. The alternative category consists of only one team, BJJ Globetrotters. There are four teams in the traditional team category; Gracie Barra, Gracie Humaitá, Gracie Academy, and Alliance.

Team categories	
Traditional teams	**Alternative teams**
Alliance	BJJ Globetrotters
Gracie Academy	
Gracie Barra	
Gracie Humaitá	

Table 4.1-1: Team categories.

The traditional teams originate in Brazil, and many of them focus on being close to "the source" of BJJ (the Gracie family). This is illustrated by having the name "Gracie" as part of the teams name in three of four of the traditional teams. They are considered more conservative in ideology, and more hierarchical in structure. The alternative team category has only one entry, BJJ Globetrotters. This team was established to be an alternative to other teams, with a stated mission to be politics-free (Graugart, 2014). An important feature of BJJ Globetrotters is its non-hierarchical structure and its inclusive philosophy.

4.2. SURVEY

Digital, structured surveys are cheap to produce and carry out. Using one as the main source of data allowed me to reach a great number of respondents, most of which are far away geographically. It would not have been possible to work with the same number of respondents if I had to administer the interview in person, due to time and resource limitations.

The questions in the survey are about the individual practitioner's experiences in the BJJ community (cognitive questions), and their attitudes towards different norms and practices (evaluative questions). The aim is to compare the experiences and attitudes of the respondents from the two team categories. The survey has a few vignettes in it, to estimate the attitudes of respondents towards "BJJ-political" practices. It also asks for some background variables such as age, belt rank (which shows their training experience), and which team the respondents belong to. The background is essential to control for effects of factors that are expected to be insignificant. The members of the different teams will answer the same survey; they will not get different surveys. This is to ensure reliability, that the observed differences are not due to the different surveys, but due to different experiences that the respondents have had (Grønmo, 2004).

4.2.1. DISTRIBUTION AND RECRUITMENT

The survey was open to all BJJ practitioners over the age of 16, regardless of geographic location, experience level, or team membership (although the respondents later were filtered by team adherence, and only those in traditional and alternative teams were taken into the analysis). Distributing the survey online, and having no contact between the researcher and the respondent at the time of surveying leads to less influence from the researcher on the respondent than if it was done in person. An invitation to take part in the survey was published on social media, on internet forums, and through my personal contacts, see table 4.2-1. By clicking on the link to the survey, the respondents voluntarily self-selected to take part in the study.

To ensure participation from a broad range of teams, I contacted the leaders of the teams I had selected for the study. Only one traditional team answered and agreed to participate, but did not confirm that it had distributed the invitation to the survey to its members. One declined to participate. I was given permission to publish the invitation to the survey in BJJ Globetrotters Facebook-group. Personal contacts, which were more extensive in the case of the BJJ Globetrotters and other more mainstream teams, were asked to spread

the survey to as many practitioners as possible. All personal contacts agreed to help distribute the survey, although not all confirmed that they had done so.

The data source must be assessed to secure accessibility, relevance, authenticity and trustworthiness (Grønmo, 2004). The respondents in this study are considered accessible, as they are users of the social media and internet forums that were used to distribute the study. They are relevant, as they have the firsthand experiences of events and processes in their teams. They are considered authentic, because the distribution channels are aimed at BJJ practitioners. Trustworthiness might be a problem, as members of teams might want to show the teams as better than they are. Great care has been taken as to make the survey neutral, and not judge negatively any of the phenomena in the teams. Because of this, no one should feel the need to portray their team as different as it is.

It is not possible to establish an exact list of who the BJJ-population is, as there is no complete list of all BJJ practitioners. If one were to reference membership lists of all teams, one would miss the practitioners that are not part of any team. If one were to reference participation lists of tournaments, one would miss practitioners that don't compete. If one were to reference membership in internet forums or –groups, one would miss practitioners that choose not to participate in any of these. Due to this inability to establish a list of the population, one cannot draw a representative sample of the population. With the absence of a sample frame, self-selection (volunteering to participate in the study) is a viable option for recruiting respondents (Dillman et al., 2009).

To ensure that a broad range of practitioners would partake in the survey, a broad appeal was made. Several aspects were highlighted when asking respondents to take the survey, for example that it really would help the researcher (people like to help), and that the study would be publicly accessible after completion (which is an award according to social reward theory). To increase the respondents benefits of taking the survey, an appeal to group values was made, it was pointed out that the experiences of all belt levels were valuable, an effort was made to make the questionnaire interesting, and people were asked to spread the survey (which is social validation) (Dillman et al., 2009).

To decrease the respondents' cost of answering the survey, an effort was made to make the survey short, interesting, and easy to answer. The mode of distribution, through the Internet, is considered convenient for respondents, and distributing the link to the survey through social media and Internet forums is aimed at reaching respondents in their leisure time (as BJJ also is a leisure activity for most practitioners). It was also made sure that no subordinating language was used in asking the respondents to participate, which should increase their motivation (Dillman et al., 2009).

Trust is an important component of the social exchange theory (Dillman et al., 2009), and to ensure a trusting relation between the researcher and the respondents, an effort was made to convey the surveys professionalism (the Universities' template for surveys was used) and importance. Confidentiality and secure storage of information was assured.

The largest channels of communication that were used to invite respondents to take part in the study are shown in table 4.2-1.

Distribution channels		
Type of channel	Name	Members[3]
Online forum	Subreddit /r/bjj	32.872
Facebook group	UK BJJ UNDERGROUND	8.625
Facebook group	Members of Team BJJ Globetrotters	3.746
Online forum	Deutsches Kampfsportforum	2.821
Facebook group	BJJ-Wettkampf-Kalender	2.134
Facebook page	BJJ Bonanza Women's Camp	743
Facebook group	BJJ Akademie Berlin	362
Facebook group	Aalesund Brazilian Jiu-Jitsu	225
Facebook group	Bergen Grappling	222
Total		**51 750**

Table 4.2-1: Distribution channels.

In addition to these channels, the survey invitation along with a request to pass it on was sent to twelve personal contacts of mine. They had all agreed beforehand to spread the invitation to the survey. They were from different teams, so they are expected to have reached different audiences. Reminders were sent out during the time the survey was online (19 days) especially targeting the teams that had low response numbers.

4.2.2. DEVELOPMENT AND COMPOSITION OF THE SURVEY

With the exception of some very few questions, there were fixed answer-alternatives (as opposed to open-ended), and the respondents had to choose from the available answer alternatives. This benefits the data analysis, as the answers do not need to be categorised and coded. This type of question makes the answer alternatives very important, they need to be mutually exclusive, and exhaust all possible answers. The testing of the survey was an important step in ensuring this (Dillman et al., 2009).

An important part of the survey was the block of value statements, which the respondents assessed according to their own values. The answer alternatives here were scaled, and ordered ordinally. The scale was bipolar and balanced, to ensure correct measurement of the respondents opinions (Dillman et al., 2009).

The structure of a quantitative survey ensures that every respondent gets the same questions, this is important to be able to properly compare the resulting data. This way the different responses must be due to different experiences of the respondents, and not due to different questions in the survey. However, not all respondents got all the same questions; some filtration was used to ask only relevant questions. Problematic with a structured mode of surveying might be that not all the relevant data might be gathered, if a question or an answer does not capture what it is meant to capture or if the respondents have additional information (Grønmo, 2004).

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[3] Number of members at the time the survey was published.

The survey also contained three short vignettes, to estimate the attitudes and values of the respondents. A vignette is a scenario presented to the respondents (Collett and Childs, 2011), and was used to avoid answers informed by notions of what is politically correct, instead of the respondents' actual opinions (Grønmo, 2004). Vignettes are particularly useful for comparisons between individuals or between systems, countries, and teams.

Vignettes 1-3

Vignette 1

"A student joins a gym. He attends BJJ class twice a week for 6 months and during this time receives two stripes on his white belt. After 6 months, he moves with his family to another city. There he starts training at a gym with a different team, although there is a gym from his first team there. Should he have joined the gym from his first team?"

Answer alternatives:

"Yes, he should have stayed within his team"	*"No, the team and his old gym should not be a concern when he chooses a new gym"*	*Open answer alternative.*

Vignette 2:

"A student joins a gym. He trains at the gym for 7 years, becoming a part of the competition team. He receives his blue and purple belt from the head instructor. The student often trains in a small group with the head instructor, who spends much time advancing the student's game. The student and the rest of the gym regularly attend competitions, and do well. The student is a regular part of social happenings like gym BBQ's, watching the UFC and Metamoris, and Christmas parties.

After 7 years, the student decides to quit his gym, and join another gym from a big team, because he feels that this is necessary to advance his learning process further. He registers for a big competition for the new team, and faces several of his old training partners in the competition.

Should the student have stayed in his gym despite of his wish to deepen his own learning?"

Answer alternatives:

"Yes, he should have stayed"	*"No, he is not obligated to stay"*	*Open answer alternative.*

Vignette 3:

"The instructor at your gym has lately been handing out belts to people that may not be ready for promotion. One of the senior and high ranked members of your gym openly criticizes the instructor for this. Which of the statements under reflects your opinion the most?"

Answer alternatives:

"One should never criticize the instructor"	*"Voicing critique of the instructor is acceptable"*	*Open answer alternative (Many respondents that chose the open alternative answered that it was acceptable to criticise the instructor, but that one should do this in private with him/her. These answers were recoded into a value named "acceptable in private").*

Table 4.2-2: Vignettes 1-3.

The survey was tested several times before being published, first by two fellow master students, and then by several BJJ practitioners. The survey was revised after each round of testing. The aim of the testing by BJJ practitioners was to ensure that the questions were understandable and technically accurate, as there exists a vocabulary specific to BJJ, that there were no technical errors, and that the answer alternatives were relevant and mutually exclusive. Several of the testers were non-native English speakers, and to have them test the survey made sure that the language was simple enough to understand for most.

4.2.3. RESPONDENT PROTECTION

Before starting the distribution of the invitations for the survey, the project was registered with the Norwegian Social Science Data Service (NSD) and has the register number 44714. NSD is an organ that works to ensure the protection of the personal information of respondents in research projects. For more information please see NSD's website, http://www.nsd.uib.no/personvern.

The respondents were informed about the purpose of the study, how the data that was gathered would be stored, about confidentiality, and that participation is fully voluntary. The respondents had to state their age and consent before getting access to the survey.

4.2.4. ANALYTICAL STRATEGY

The analysis connects the raw data and the resulting insights that may be used for theory development or -creation. Different tools of analysis have different benefits, and will yield different kinds of knowledge.

The data from the survey was exported to SPSS, and there recoded and sorted. All variables were included, except for those mentioned in section 4.4.2, and the entry variables. The entry variables are not part of the analysis, but are a condition for being a part of the study. They are the three first questions the respondents were asked, which were if they were more than 16 years old, trained BJJ, and consented to participating in the study (after they had been given the information described in section 4.2.3). Every respondent who answered "no" to any of these three questions was deleted from the data set.

The variables were on ordinal level, meaning that there is an inherent order in them (Grønmo, 2004). A bivariate crosstable analysis was used to summarise the relationship between two variables at a time. The team category of the respondent was set as the independent variable, and whatever experience or attitude that was asked for, was the dependent variable. Statistical measures (Pearson chi-square and the corresponding p-values) were used to estimate the probability that the relationship between the variables in the sample can be found in the population. The significance level was set to 0.05, with the acceptance that I might conclude falsely in 5 out of 100 times (Midtbø, 2007). Whether the p-level is below 0.05 or 0.01is indicated in the tables and figures in chapter 5.

The survey contained a block of ten statements, that the respondents were asked to indicate whether they agreed to or not. To find out if these statements containing social values measured the same construct, they were analysed with the Cronbach's alpha, which measures their internal consistency (UCLA, 2016).

4.3. DOCUMENT ANALYSIS

Documents are used in this study to shed light on the ideology and values in the various teams. The documents are valuable as they come directly from the teams themselves (they are primary documents (Olson, 2010)), this also means that they are authentic. The documents are taken from the websites of the teams, something that would not be ideal if one was looking for objective accounts of events, but as this is not the case, the validation of the source that this selection method brings was decisive in the selection process. The documents were also selected for their relevance (which is the first step of document analysis (Olson, 2010)), and are deemed highly relevant for the research question. They were used to supplement areas of the research question that the survey did not cover well.

4.3.1. SELECTED DOCUMENTS

Documents			
Traditional category		**Alternative category**	
Team	Document title	Team	Document title
Gracie Barra	*Training Etiquette* *Code of Conduct*	BJJ Globetrotters	*Mission Statement*
Gracie University	*Philosophy*		
Gracie Humaitá			
Alliance			

Table 4.3-1: Documents.

From BJJ Globetrotters' website the *Mission Statement,* or founding values, were taken (Graugart, 2014). This 8-point list describes the values of the team, that all members must agree to and spread. From Gracie Barra's website the *Training Etiquette* (GracieBarra, 2015c) and the *Code of Conduct* for instructors (GracieBarra, 2015a) were selected. The *Training Etiquette* is a list of 25 rules for behaviour, attitude, and appearance that practitioners must follow during training. The *Code of Conduct* aimed at instructors describes 8 principles, from "Inspiration" to "Respect", that instructors should follow and use while conducting training and interacting with practitioners. From Gracie Academy's website the section called *Gracie Philosophy* (GracieAcademy, 2015a). This document consists of 4 topics; "Efficiency", "Patience", "Control", and "The Gracie Triangle". The relevance of the three first topics is highlighted both in regard to training and life in general. The last topic is a description of the logo of the team, and its spiritual foundation.

There were only documents available for two of the four teams in the traditional team category, which means only half of the teams in the category are covered. This lessens the validity, as the questions are only answered for parts of the objects that are being studied. There is only one team in the alternative category, and there was a document available for this one, making the validity for this category good. The decision was made to still use the documents, as the relevance and authenticity of the documents themselves are high, even though documents are not available for all teams.

4.3.2. ANALYTICAL STRATEGY

The analysis of the documents was conducted on a basic level, as the documents are not the main method of data collection for the study. The documents were analysed in regard to length, lingo, and content. The content was searched for an overall theme, and for specific sentences or phrases that described the ideology, or value basis of the teams. This was compared in regard to differences and similarities among the teams.

Documents have the benefit that they don't get influenced by the researcher analysing them. However, what the researchers' analysis is will be influenced by preconceptions that they have. To counter this tendency, the study has been presented in research groups at the University, and critiqued by peers and professors.

4.4. DATA QUALITY, RESPONDENTS, AND LIMITATIONS

4.4.1. SELECTION CONSIDERATIONS AND REPRESENTATIVENESS

Over 1700 practitioners answered the survey, out of these, two samples were created consisting partly of the same respondents. The two samples were used for different variables, depending on what the variable measured. The rest of the respondents were deleted.

The two samples		
	Small N	*Large N*
Requirements to be part of the sample	1. Consented to being part of the study 2. Over 16 years old 3. Train BJJ 4. Member of one of the 5 teams in the study 5. Trains at a gym that is affiliated to the same team the respondent is a part of	1. Consented to being part of the study 2. Over 16 years old 3. Train BJJ 4. Member of one of the 5 teams in the study
Sample sizes		
Traditional team category	161	224
Alternative team category	54	100
Total	215	324

Table 4.4-1: The two samples.

To ensure that the conclusions of the study can be generalised to the population, a large N is preferable. However, to provide valid answers, the sample needs to be carefully selected to ensure that the respondents have the information required to answer the research question. This is the reason why the two samples were created. The larger sample is used on variables that measure the attitudes and values of the respondents in the team categories. This will be compared to the values the teams whish their members to have. The small sample was used on variables where I needed to be sure that the practitioners answered for rules or practices that happen in the team. This is why the extra requirement is that the gym where they train is affiliated to their team. Which sample is used will be indicated in the tables and figures showing the results of the surveys in chapter 5.

BJJ practitioners are not representative for the human population as a whole. There have not been many serious studies on the demography of BJJ practitioners, so I have also used results published on platforms like private websites and blogs to estimate if the respondents my study attracts are representative for the BJJ community.

The demography in this survey was similar to the ones of previous surveys on BJJ, see tables 4.4-2 and 4.4-3, and figures 4.4-1, 4.4-2 and 4.4-3. The demography of previous surveys consists of approximately 90-95% male practitioners, leaving between 5 and 10% female (Kavanagh, 2013b, Corley, 2012, Riggsbee, 2013). Mostly bluebelts: 43% of respondents in one study (Kavanagh, 2013b), 36.2% in another (Corley, 2012)), white, blue and purple together make up the far majority (87.5% of respondents in one study (Kavanagh, 2013b), 88.4% in the other (Corley, 2012). The biggest age categories were 26-30 years old (29.5%) (Kavanagh, 2013b), and 26-35 years old (47%) (Corley, 2012). This means that most BJJ practitioners are in their 20s and 30s, male, and have one of the lower ranked belts.

Demography of other BJJ studies

Gender		Belt rank		Age		Age	
Male	90-95 %	*White*	23-32 %	*<17*	2.0%	*16-20*	5.5 %
Female	5-10 %	*Blue*	36-43 %	*18-25*	26,7%	*21-25*	15 %
(Corley, 2012, Kavanagh, 2013b,		*Purple*	20-22%	*26-35*	47%	*26-30*	29,5 %
Riggsbee, 2013)		*Brown*	7 %	*36-45*	20,3%)	*31-35*	23,9 %
		Black	3-6 %	*46-55*	(3,6%)	*35-40*	16,1 %
		(Corley, 2012, Kavanagh, 2013b)		(Corley, 2012)		(Kavanagh, 2013b)	

Table 4.4-2: Demography of other BJJ studies.

Gender distribution				
Sample size	N=215		N=324	
	Female	Male	Female	Male
Traditional teams	8,1%	91,9%	8%	92%
Alternative teams	7,4%	92,6%	11%	89%

Table 4.4-3: Gender distribution.

The gender distribution among the respondents in the survey is similar to previous studies, almost the same in both samples, and in both team categories.
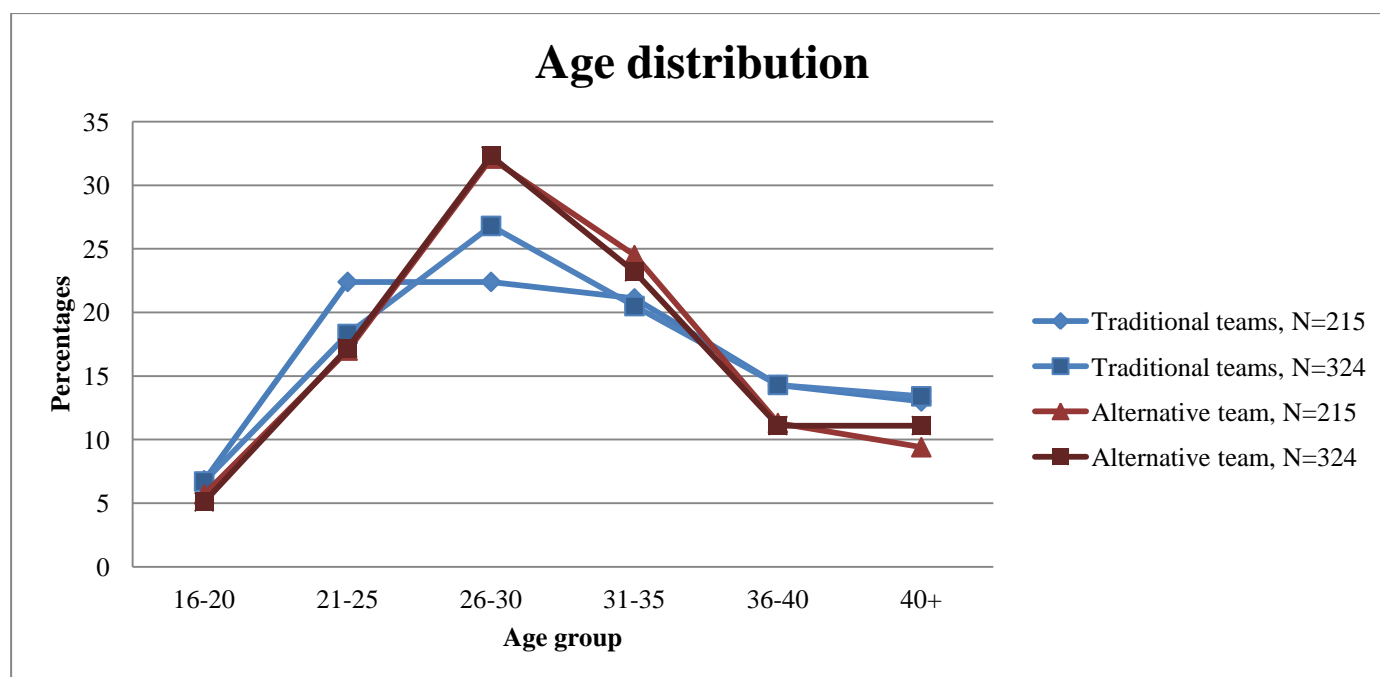
Figure 4.4-1: Age distribution.

The age distribution is similar to the one found in Kavanagh (2013), and is similar in both samples. It is worth noting that this is a sport primarily practiced by adults. This is both a consequence of and has an effect on the training mode, which is less physically intense and less taxing on the body as sports like wrestling or judo, which are more popular among younger people. It might also have an effect on the organisation of the sport.

Geographic location								
Sample size	N=215				N=324			
Area	Australia	Europe	N. America	South America, Africa	Australia	Europe	N. America	South America, Africa
Traditional teams	4,4%	53,1%	41,3%	1,3%	4%	51,1%	37,7%	2,2%
Alternative team	3,7%	85,2%	7,4%	3,8%	5,1%	80,8%	10,1%	4%

Table 4.4-4: Geographic location.

The correlation of team category and geographic location is statistically significant at a 0.01-level. The geographic location shows that most respondents are from Europe, with North America as a strong runner up. This is probably due to the distribution channels reaching more European residents, and the language of the survey favouring native English speakers. As to be discussed in section 4.4.2, the survey results will be somewhat biased as some countries where BJJ is popular (like Brazil) are not native English speakers, nor is the tradition for speaking English as prominent as in Europe. The geographic location is similar in the small and large sample, although it differs between the team categories.
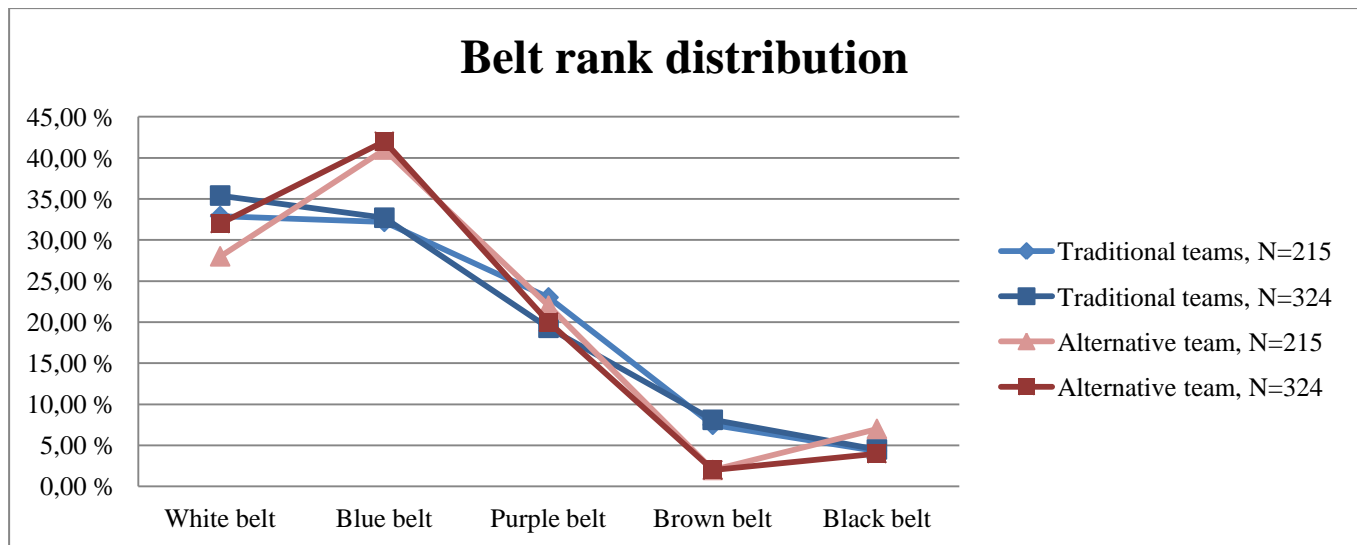
Figure 4.4-2: Belt rank distribution.

The belt rank distribution is similar to Corley (2012) and Kavanagh (2013). The higher a practitioners' rank is, the longer he or she will have had the chance to encounter political practices and assemble knowledge on how the teams work. The belt rank distribution is similar in both samples and both team categories.
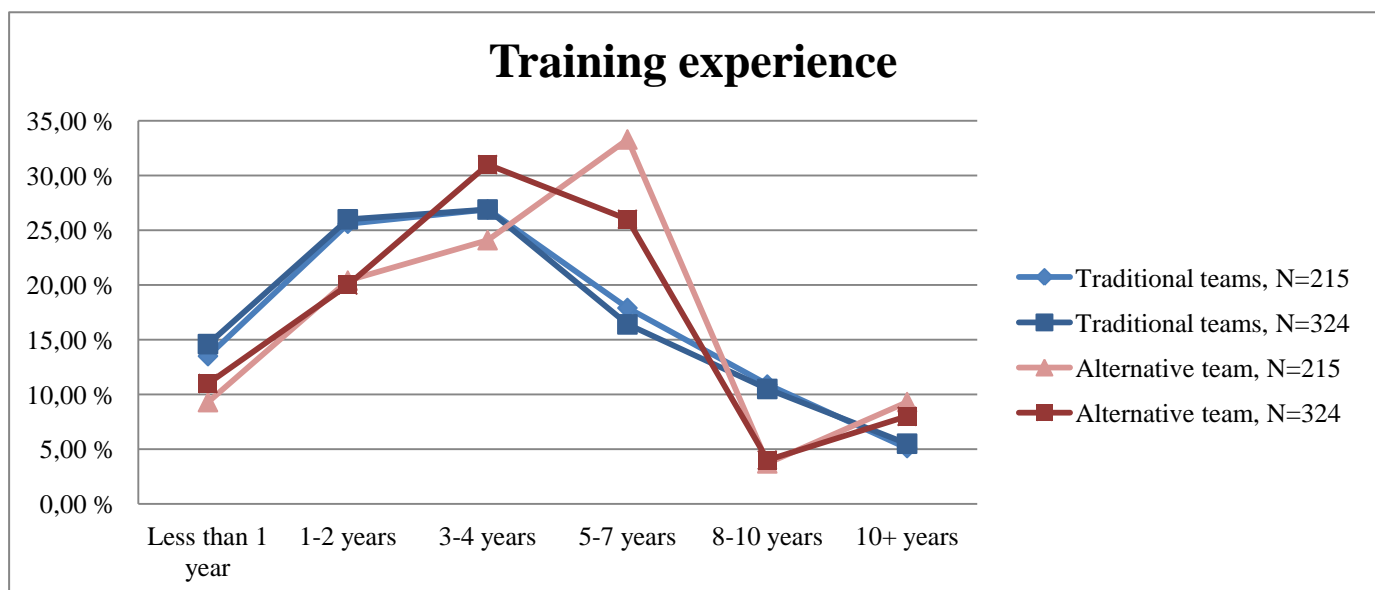
Figure 4.4-3: Training experience.

For both team categories the majority of the respondents have been training for up to 4 years. The amount of training that both respondent categories have, are similar enough to not expect any bias due to the amount of training. The training experience of the respondents is similar in both samples and both team categories.
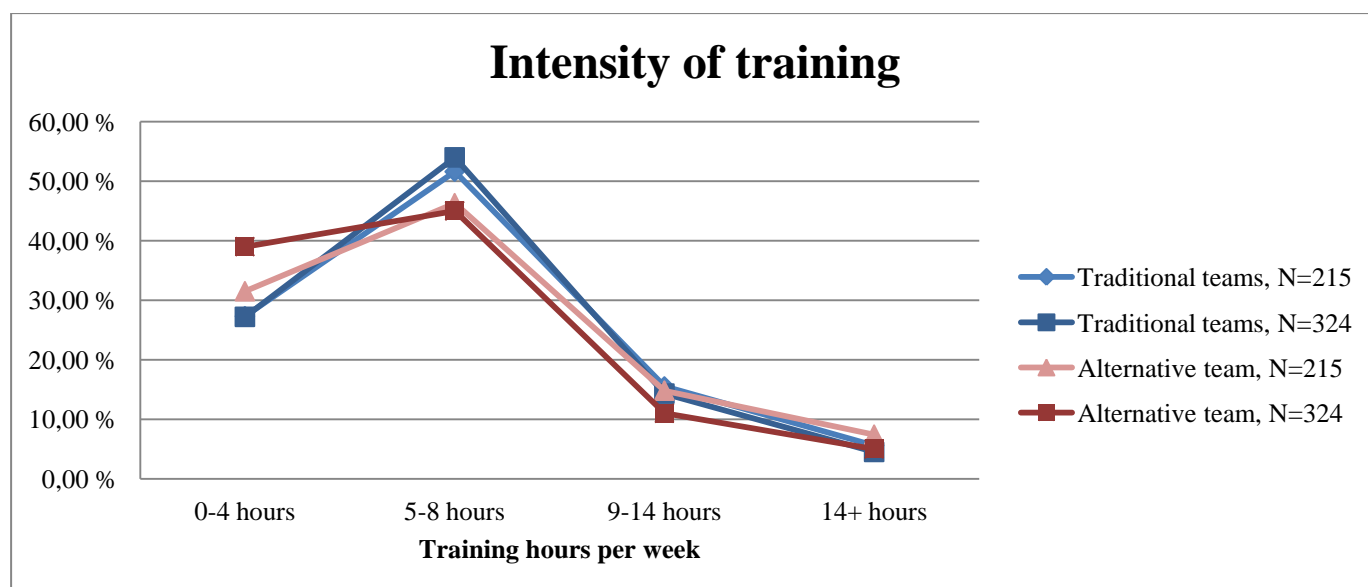
Figure 4.4-4: Intensity of training.

Both team categories have most respondents within the values for lower amounts of training per week. One training sessions normally lasts between one and two hours, this means that most respondents would be at the gym 4-8 times a week or more. This means that the probability of gaining experiences relevant for this study and representative for the gym is quite high. The training intensity of the respondents is similar in both samples.

Normally, to get a study sample that represents the population, one would draw a random sample of a list of the entire population. If one did so, one could generalise statistically, and say that there is a 95% or 99% possibility that the relationships found in the sample, also are present in real life, given p-values of 0.05 or 0.01. However, as there is no list over the entire BJJ-population, and the people that train BJJ differ from the normal population of society, it was not possible to draw a random sample for this survey. Instead, the respondents self-selected (volunteered) in response to an invitation. By looking at the demographic traits and BJJ background of the respondents to the survey, and comparing this to the corresponding values of respondents to other surveys done on BJJ, I was able to pragmatically establish that the two samples in this study are representative of the BJJ-population as a whole. Of course it would have been preferable to randomly select respondents to the survey from a list of the population, but as this was not an option, this pragmatic approach is an acceptable substitute. Although my approach is flawed compared to the randomised sampling, I am confident that I can assume the same correlations found in the data material in the population, given the p-values are below 0.05 or 0.01.

4.4.2. SURVEY ERRORS

Dillman, Smyth, and Christian mention four errors especially prevalent in Internet surveys. Coverage error is described as being a risk when:

> *"not all members of the population have a known, nonzero chance of being included in the sample for the survey and when those who are excluded are different from those who are included on measures of interest"* (Dillman et al., 2009, p.17).

Coverage error in this study might stem from the fact that not the whole population has access to the Internet, and some may not have the expertise necessary to answer Internet-based surveys. Because the population groups that have access to Internet surveys differ from those that don't, this may lead to coverage error. Two main aspects of people that don't have access to this kind of surveys is age (elder people are more likely to lack the skill and access) and socioeconomic status (low-income households are less likely to have internet access) (Dillman et al., 2009).

Age is of little concern for this specific study, as BJJ is practiced mostly by people in an age that makes them likely to have access to Internet surveys. The socioeconomic situation is more concerning, as the Internet coverage in South America is less than in other parts of the world, and many BJJ practitioners in Brazil and South America in general might be in the more traditional teams as the teams originate from the area.

The percentages of people using the Internet in the developed world, according to the International Telecommunication Union, are shown in table 4.4-5. As 82.2% of individuals in the developed countries use the Internet (and BJJ is not widespread in developing countries), most practitioners should have had access to the distribution channels. Internet coverage is thus not considered problematic for this study.

Internet coverage worldwide

Region	% individuals using the Internet	Type of country	% individuals using the Internet
The Americas	66	Developed	82.2
Europe	77.6	Developing	35.3
CIS	59.9	World average	43.4
Asia & the Pacific	36.9	(ITU, 2015)	
Arab States	37		
Africa	20.7		

Table 4.4-5: Internet coverage worldwide.

Self-selection errors arise because only people who are on the social media and forums where the invitation to the survey was published, had the opportunity to volunteer to answer the survey. This process might bias the results. Sampling error can arise because there is no way of calculating the statistical representativeness of the sample. An increase in sample size produced by self-selection will not lead to an increase in precision of predicting outcomes (Dillman et al., 2009). However, as already mentioned the representativeness of the samples was pragmatically established.

Self-selection (people volunteer to take part in the study) can lead to an overrepresentation of people that have a lot to say and are motivated to be part of the study. However, it makes it likely that to the respondents have much information and skills to share the information. One has to be strategic about where one gives the opportunity for respondents to volunteer for the study (Grønmo, 2004). The distribution channels for the survey were chosen to give a broad range of BJJ practitioners as possible the chance to volunteer. Among the channels were online martial arts forums, closed groups on Facebook, and public groups on Facebook that are open to anyone. Together with personal contacts of mine, I am confident that these distribution channels were able to reach many practitioners (an estimate of how many is in table 4.2-1).

Nonresponse error refers to what happens when not everyone who was sampled, responds to the survey (Dillman et al., 2009, p.17). Nonresponse error will arise because the survey is in English, this might lead to a language barrier as some BJJ practitioners might not possess the necessary skills in English to answer the survey. To avoid this error as much as possible, the survey was tested on several non-native English speakers.

Measurement error can be defined as *"when a respondent's answer is inaccurate or imprecise"* (Dillman et al., 2009, p.18). This will always be a risk, but is not considered more problematic for this study than for other similar studies. There was taken great care to make the answering alternatives as precise as possible, to minimize the risk of measurement error.

Most of the questions in the survey had an answer alternative that was *"I don't know / not applicable"*. The rate of respondents that chose this alternative was generally low (around 0-5%). For some questions the rate was very high, especially the questions about affiliation of the respondents' gyms.

Gym pays affiliation fees						
	N=215			N=324		
	Yes	No	Don't know	Yes	No	Don't know
Traditional teams	41%	17,4.3%	41,6%	30,9%	23,2%	45,7%
Alternative teams	3,8%	86,8%	9,4%	2%	75,8%	22,2%

Table 4.4-6: Gym pays affiliation fees.

Table 4.4-6 shows the data for the questions regarding if the respondents' gyms pay affiliation fees to the team. The high response rate on the *"don't know/not applicable"* answer alternative might be due to the respondents not understanding the question properly, this would lessen the reliability of their answers. If the respondents did understand the question, and simply didn't know the answer, this would influence the validity of the data, as they then cannot answer the research question. Due to these considerations, this variable is not included in the analysis.

The respondents were asked whether there was agreement in their gym on five BJJ-specific phenomena that there often is disagreement about. After the survey was conducted, several respondents provided feedback that indicated that these five questions had been misunderstood, and that they had answered for whether they approved of the phenomena in question or not, not if they experienced that people around them

disagreed on them. Because of this, the five variables were excluded from the analysis as their validity is low.

4.4.3. RELIABILITY

Perfect reliability of data would be if the same research design was completed twice, and the resulting data were exactly the same. Reliability can be measured in stability, how much of the variation in the data between data gatherings from two different points in time is due to the research design, as opposed to actual developments in the units of analysis. Stability is not very relevant for this study, as it will be conducted at only one point in time, and does not seek to capture development of a phenomenon over time (Grønmo, 2004).

Another measure of reliability is equivalence, how much of the difference in the data is due to differences in how the research design is conducted, when conducting it at one point in time. Equivalence can become problematic when an interview is conducted by different interviewers, as the interviewer might influence the respondent. This is not a problem in this study, as the respondents have no contact to any interviewer as they answer the survey. Equivalence might be problematic as the survey has slightly different layouts on different digital units (PC, laptop, mobile phone, tablet), but the survey was tested to make sure that the difference in layout will not influence the answers. The equivalence in the document analysis is also ensured, as the analysis of all the documents is conducted by the same researcher (Grønmo, 2004).

4.4.4. VALIDITY

The validity of the data is concerned with if the data answer the research question, if they are valid for the purpose of the study. Data can be reliable, but not valid; if they are true, but do not answer the research question. Validity requires concepts and the population of units to be defined well both theoretically and operationally, and that the operationalisation is done according to the theory (Grønmo, 2004).

The face validity of the data material from the survey is good. It is BJJ practitioners that answer questions about their experiences in BJJ gyms and teams. There is no other way these questions could be answered within this resource and time frame.

Validity of definition refers to the relationship between theoretical and operational definitions of concepts (Grønmo, 2004). The BJJ-specific concepts have not been worked on much theoretically, so I had to be pragmatic and connect them to the theoretical framework according to my best judgment.

A quantitative survey can result in a very precise analysis. Small differences in the reported phenomena can be detected. Problematic might be that not all categories or questions are relevant for all respondents. This way some respondents may leave some questions unanswered, and this might lead to a superficial result (Grønmo, 2004).

4.4.5. My own involvement in the community

I myself am a BJJ practitioner, and have been training, competing, and attending training camps and seminars since 2013. I have also been a member of BJJ Globetrotters for this time period, have attended three camps arranged by them, and have competed numerous times for them. This involvement with the community and with the sport has led to some challenges, as well as it has had some benefits in the research process.

I have always been open about my team affiliation, and as I used my own social media profiles to send out the invitations to the survey, none of it has been hidden throughout the research process. Some potential respondents might have been deterred by this, while for others my involvement with the community will have been a reason for taking the survey seriously. My personal contacts (mostly in the alternative team) were used to distribute the invitation to the survey, and I doubt I would have gotten as many answers without using my position in the community. On the other hand, I was not able to cooperate with any of the traditional teams, this might have been because they were sceptical to the study due to my affiliation.

The research project would probably not have been possible for someone with less involvement in the sport, as my experiences have given me much insight into the practices, symbolism, norms, and lingo used. This enabled me to make the questions for the survey precise and relevant, to search the documents for relevant sections, as well as analysing the findings.

4.5. OPERATIONALISATION

Operationalisation refers to how theoretical concepts are to be measured. In what specific, measurable occurrences, practices, rules, decisions, and events, the theory is present in the empirical, real world.

4.5.1. First dimension

In the first dimension of power, power is defined as: *"A has power over B if A can make B do something B otherwise would not have done."* (Dahl, 1957, p. 201).

As mentioned in chapter 3, Dahl, in his famous attempt to measure his framework of power from 1961, studied who's interests prevailed by decisions made on important official decision in New Haven, Connecticut. As I did not have direct access to the decision-making arenas in the BJJ teams I studied, I needed other ways of measuring the same theory. I arrived at the conclusion that the powers to make decisions in ones' own favour can be detected in whose interests are ensured through past decisions. This does leave the problem of the consequences of the decisions being unintended by the actors that took the decisions (due to, among other things, actors never having perfect information in a decision-making situation), or being altered by circumstances and events that took place after the original decision was taken. However, in the absence of access to the decision-making arena, to study the consequences of decisions seems like an acceptable substitute.

More specifically, I will look at:

➢ How the rules in the gyms regulate the behaviour of members.
➢ How the organisational structure of the teams is influential on the behaviour of members.

Through rules, the behaviour of the members of the teams will be steered in the direction desired by the teams. Relevant rules are those concerning crosstraining (training at other gyms than one's regular home gym), both at local gyms and while travelling to other areas. Also relevant are the rules gyms have about accepting visitors to their gyms, which is to accept crosstraining practitioners from other gyms. Crosstraining can lead to practitioners getting information on alternative gyms, and may lead to those practitioners wanting to switch gyms. This would mean lost revenue to the owner of the abandoned gym.

Also rules on the use of the gym's or team's own training gear (gis or rashguards) or logo on patches are relevant (this phenomenon will be called uniformation). Making uniformation compulsory can create more revenue for the gym owner, and stronger bonds between the members of a gym. However, it does limit the practitioners greatly in some cases, contrary to their interests. Rules on crosstraining and uniformation also strengthen the second and third dimension of power, which will be discussed shortly.

Moving on to the second part of the variables in this study relevant for the first dimension of power; the variables on organisational structure of and in teams. Organizational structure distributes power and access to resources, and position in the structure gives more or less access to subsequent decision-making processes that regulate the behaviour of all members in the organisation. To decide on the structure of the gym is to lay the foundation for future abilities to take decisions. When establishing a BJJ gym, the actors doing so take some decisions regarding the organizational structure of the gym. Three structures are the most common: a franchise system, non-profit sports clubs, and gyms owned by individuals. The different structures have different consequences for power the practitioners have access to and are subjected to.

A franchise system is to the benefit of the franchisor (owner of the whole chain), as they get income from the gym through fees. The owner of the gym will also benefit, as they get support from the franchise program, and can do what they want in the gym (within the bounds of the franchise contract). The practitioners in a franchised gym have little access to the decision-making arenas in the team, and very little influence on decisions that influence the day-to-day functions of the gym and team. In the case of a privately owned, not franchised gym, power and benefits will be even more centralised on the owner of the gym than in the franchise gym. However, as the decision-maker (the owner) is closer to the members of the gym, they might be able to influence more and thus ensure their interests to a greater degree. Having a non-profit gym does not benefit one actor distinctively more or differently than other actors. Often, many members are involved in the governance of the gym, and positions and roles are voluntary and performed without much compensation. This type of structure will decentralize formal power and distribute benefits evenly.

The relations between the gym and the individual practitioner are regulated by a membership agreement or contract (these are in some cases informal agreement, and not formal documents), described by the survey variable membership type. Different membership types give different opportunities for control and gain. Normally, the gym owner is more dependent on tying members to the gym than the members being dependent on the gym, as most gyms need membership revenues to keep the doors open. The more long-term a membership contract is, the more the owner of the gym will benefit from this. The practitioners themselves may benefit more from membership types that allow them more flexibility.

The last variable in the first dimension is "switching" (referring to a practitioner leaving a gym or team for another). Following the assumption that gym owners and teams are more dependent on members than members are on them, comes the assumption that it is against the interest of the gym or team that the practitioners leave for another gym or team (unless the practitioner was hurting the gym or team, and was asked to leave). For practitioners to change gym or team, they need to take a decision to do so. Taking this decision in disfavour of the gym or team, means that the practitioners took the decision in their own favour.

4.5.2. SECOND DIMENSION
Bachrach and Baratz define the second dimension of power like this:

> *"power is also exercised when A devotes his energies to creating or reinforcing social and political values and institutional practices that limit the scope of the political process to public consideration of only those issues which are comparatively innocuous to A."* (Bachrach and Baratz, 1962, p.948).

The second dimension of power is thus concerned with the values, practices, norms and ideologies that shape the structures and patterns of and around decision-making processes. It is at play when there is a filtration of the issues that get discussed publicly or decided upon. I have emphasised three key areas to document this dimension:

➢ If the teams have philosophies that prescribe behaviour and values.
➢ The level of debate in the teams on team leadership.
➢ If the teams limit influence from other teams on their practitioners.

If the teams have created philosophies that give instructions for the behaviour of the practitioners and the value basis of the teams, and instil them in the minds of the members, the public debate in the teams will be limited to the issues that the teams approve of. The documents selected for the document analysis will give insight into this aspect.

Powerful actors in the teams might wish to suppress critique on their person and how they choose to act. Two variables from the survey, one asking for the actual level of discussion on leadership, and one vignette estimating the attitude to critique of the instructor, will be analysed to gain insight on this matter.

If the practitioners from a gym or team are only influenced by their own team or gym, they will know no other way of doing things than the way that their own gym does it and are less likely to critique the

practices of their gym (Kavanagh, 2013a). Only being influenced by their own gym will limit which issues will be brought up, because the practitioners lack input to alternative viewpoints. Different impulses could come from visitors and crosstraining, and how susceptible practitioners are to them could be influenced attitudes towards other teams. As Dahl says:

"...leaders differ from area to area and disagree among themselves, and that because of their disagreements they actively seek support from constituents. Then the capacity of leaders to shape the preferences of citizens would – other things remaining the same – be lower. Citizens would have alternative sources of information, and the techniques of coercion and persuasion employed by one group of leaders could be countered to some extent by other leaders." (Dahl, 1961, p.165).

To avoid unwanted influence and the resulting loss of power, teams and instructors can limit the influence their practitioners are exposed to by regulating crosstraining, either by forbidding it, or by requiring practitioners to obtain permission beforehand (the answers to these questions will be compared to the reports of how much the practitioners actually crosstrain). Instructors might also encourage practitioners to not train with members of other teams, instead of directly forbidding it. Another way that practitioners can be influenced is by visitors coming to their gym, so regulating this might also be of use to those that seek to isolate practitioners. Practitioners are less likely to advocate changes in their own gym modelled on practices they have seen in other gyms or teams, if there is a strong rivalry between the gyms or teams. To cultivate such a rivalry would decrease the influence of other teams on the practitioners.

4.5.3. THIRD DIMENSION

Adding another dimension to the theories of Dahl and Bachrach & Baratz, Lukes created the three-dimensional view of power by including power as preference shaping:

"A may exercise power over B by getting him to do what he does not want to do, but he also exercises power over him by influencing, shaping or determining his very wants. Indeed, is it not the supreme exercise of power to get another or others to have the desires you want them to have – that is, to secure their compliance by controlling their thoughts and desires?" (Lukes, 1974, p.23).

Thoughts and desires will in turn determine our actions. Preferences and thought structures are shaped by the environment the practitioners train in, by the other practitioners and by practices that they go through. The practitioners are likely to have adopted some of the values that are found in the training environment after having been in the environment for a while. I have documented if the teams:

➢ Have values and philosophies and if the respondents have internalised them.
➢ Practice hierarchical rituals.
➢ Reduce the influence from other teams.
➢ Sanction their members.

The philosophies of the teams are analysed through the document analysis, and checked against how the respondents answered to ten value statements and two vignettes. Through this I can estimate how well the teams have indoctrinated their philosophies into the practitioners and through this shape their behaviour.

Values shape our behaviour, but the opposite can also be true: what we do and how we act, will influence how we think about ourselves and the world around us. *"Through ritual, beliefs about the universe come to be acquired, reinforced, and eventually changed."*(Kertzer, 1988, p.9). Hierarchical rituals will imprint the hierarchy in the practitioners performing them. The rituals commonly performed in BJJ are the use of titles for instructors, bowing, and lining up according to belt rank. The more these rituals are used, the more the practitioners will internalise the hierarchy and its values and consequences.

To limit the influence from other teams is to limit the likelihood of practitioners taking on and supporting values and interests that are not in line with the dominant party in the team. If the influences are carefully filtered to only encompass those that are in line with the dominant ideology, the ideology will not be threatened by rivalling schools of thought. Lukes says about conflict of interest between different actors: *"the most effective and insidious use of power is to prevent such conflict from arising in the first place."* (Lukes, 1974, p.23). Relevant are the same variables used to measure the limitation of influence in the 2nd dimension, as well as the practices of using the term "oss" and the greeting consisting of a handslap and a fistbump.

The team philosophy, or expected behaviour among practitioners, can be reinforced by sanctioning or punishing the practitioners that act counter to expectations. This would deter the same practitioners from acting in the same manner in the future, and, if done publicly, signal to other practitioners what is expected of them, and what happens if they don't follow through on this. Different sanctions and where the practitioners experienced them have been documented in the survey.

5. FINDINGS

This chapter seeks to look at the gathered data, and take the first step in connecting it to the theoretical underpinnings of the paper.

5.1. THE 1ST DIMENSION OF POWER: DECISION-MAKING

The 1st dimension of power is direct and visible, and often measured in whose interests are ensured through a decision. Since I have not studied specific decision making processes, I had to look at whose interests have been attended to by previous decisions. First the rules that the practitioners are subjected to are presented, then the organisational structures of the team categories.

5.1.1. RULES

	Rules								
	"Do you have to ask your instructor for permission to train somewhere before travelling?"			"Are you allowed to train BJJ at more than one gym simultaneously?"			"Are visitors allowed at your gym?		
	Not statistically significant.			Statistically significant with a p-value below 0.01.			Not statistically significant.		
	Yes	No	Don't know	Yes	No	Don't know	Yes	No	Don't know
Traditional teams	9,3%	85,7%	5%	63,7%	18,1%	18,1%	98,1%	1,3%	0,6%
Alternative teams	7,4%	92,6%	0%	92,6%	5,6%	1,9%	100%	0%	0%

Table 5.1-1: Rules. N=215.

As mentioned in previous chapters, one of the most well-known practices in "BJJ-politics" is crosstraining. As one can see from table 5.1-1, the traditional teams are more restrictive in allowing crosstraining. Crosstraining may lead to practitioners switching gyms, if they like another gym better, or it may lead to the practitioners questioning the status quo of their home gym due to influences from other gyms. The variable on the left in table 5.1-1, where the respondents were asked whether they needed their instructors' permission to train somewhere before travelling, did not yield statistically significant different distributions on the answer alternatives.

Local crosstraining means to train regularly at two or more gyms in the local area, at gyms that are so close that one can implement them in one's normal training routine, and thus train at several gyms simultaneously. The variable in the middle of the table, concerning local crosstraining, shows that only 64% of traditionals are allowed to do so, compared to 93% of the alternative respondents. This difference is statistically significant with a p-value below 0.01. This means that the traditional teams are more likely to restrict their members' licence to train at several gyms at the same time. Almost all respondents report that their gym allows visitors to train with them.

While the rules in themselves directly regulate the behaviour of the practitioners, the content of the rules strengthens the 2nd and 3rd dimension of power by limiting the influences the practitioners are subjected to. More on this in later sections.

Uniformation		
	Wear the team's or gym's patch, gi or rashguard	Are required to wear the team's or gym's patch, gi or rashguard (p=0.01)
Traditional teams	66,8%	36%
Alternative team	56,6%	4%

Table 5.1-2: Uniformation. Left variable N=324, right variable N=215.

As figure 5.1-2 shows, more than half of the respondents of the alternative team category wear either the patch, gi, or rashguard of the gym or team, as do 67% of the traditional team category. This is regardless of whether the respondents are required to wear these items or not. The correlation of being required to wear the team's or gym's patch, gi, or rashguard, and team category is statistically significant with a p-value below 0.01, with almost no alternatives training at gyms with this rule, and a third of all traditionals reporting training at gyms with this rule. The traditional teams are thus limiting the uniform choices available to the practitioners significantly more than the alternative team.

5.1.2. STRUCTURE AND FORMALISATION

When establishing a gym, decisions are made about what the organisational structure of the gym will be like. Organisational structure distributes power, and certain positions in the structure will give access to power resources (Pettigrew, 1972). Position also gives access to decision-making processes, and control over the stream of revenue.

Type of gym				
	Franchise gym	Individually owned gym	Non-profit sports club	Other
Traditional teams	42,9%	44,1%	13%	0%
Alternative teams	0%	38,9%	59,6%	1,9%
P-value for correlation between team category and gym type under 0.01				

Table 5.1-3: Type of gym. N=215.

None of the alternative respondents are in franchise gyms, and over 40% of the traditionals are. Around 40% of both team categories train at individually owned gyms, almost 60% of the alternatives are in non-profit sports clubs. Only 13% of the traditionals are.

Membership type						
	Contract 12 months	Contract 6 months	Periodical payment	Teach classes in exchange for no payment	No payment	Other
Traditional teams	28%	6,8%	42,2%	12,4%	6,2%	4,3%
Alternative teams	25,9%	3,7%	27,8%	27,8%	11,1%	3,7%
Correlations of membership type and team category are not statistically significant.						

Table 5.1-4: Membership type. N=215.

Approximately one third of all respondents in each category have a contract, but 10% less alternative than traditional practitioners pay periodically (monthly, weekly or for every individual session). The mentioned membership types (except for the 12-month contract) seem to balance well the needs for stability for the gym and stability and flexibility for the practitioners. The observed differences of chosen answer alternative and the team category are not statistically significant.
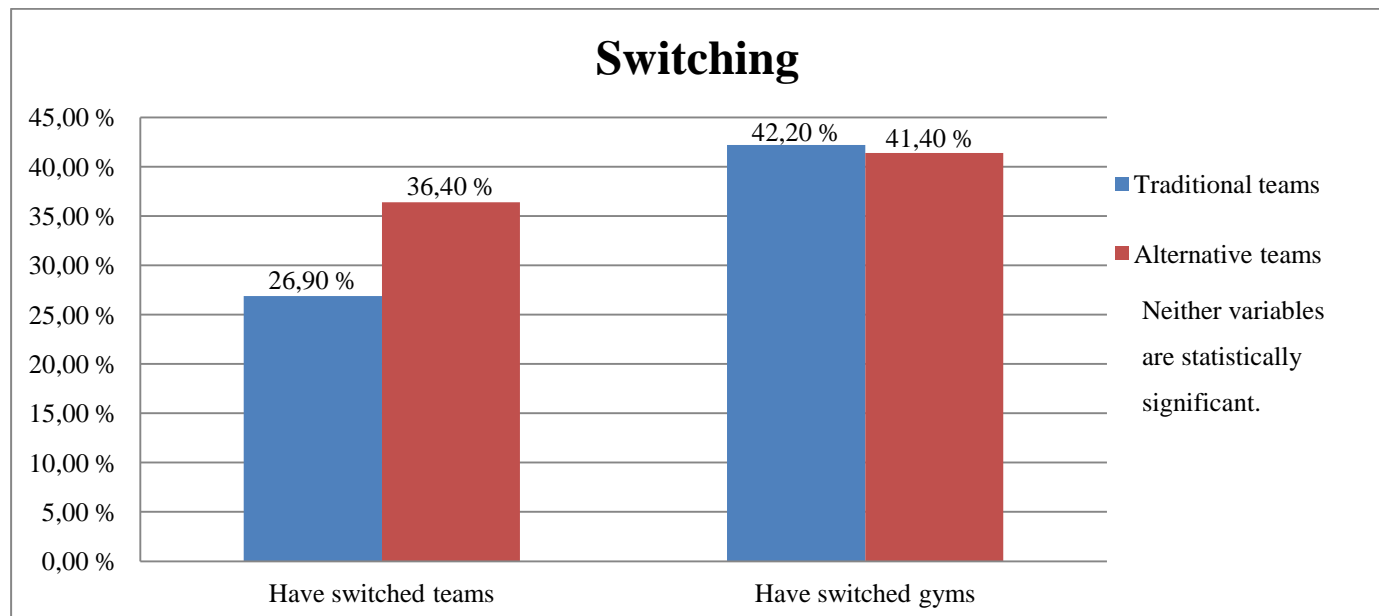
Figure 5.1-1: Switching. N=324.

To leave a team or gym and join another is assumed to be against the interests of the former gym or team, as they will lose membership revenue and experienced practitioners. Equal parts of practitioners in both team categories have taken these decisions. The organisational structure of the teams gives the alternative respondents more access to decision-making arenas than the traditional respondents. There is no difference between the categories' membership types, or how big the portion of respondents that reported having switched teams or gyms is.

5.2. THE 2ND DIMENSION OF POWER: AGENDA-SETTING

The 2nd dimension of power is displayed by the teams' philosophies, the respondents' attitudes to and experiences with dissenting opinions, and how the teams regulate their practitioners' interaction with other teams.

5.2.1. TEAM PHILOSOPHIES

Many people are of the perception that martial arts to a great degree are concerned with shaping the character of the practitioners, as well as teaching them fighting techniques (movies like "Karate Kid" where there is a clear moral of the story, or Tae-Kwon-Do advertisements promising parents to teach their children discipline and respect, come to mind). As BJJ is a modern and performance-based martial art, the focus is less on moral lessons, and more on its applicability in competition and self defence. Still, several of

the teams in the study have clear moral guidelines that are imposed on the practitioners, published in the form of documents on the team's websites.

The documents the teams have published (documents were found for three out of the five teams in the study) have different formats and titles. The BJJ Globetrotters' document is called "*a mission statement*", "*a set of defined values*", or "*a constitution*" (Graugart, 2014), and consists of eight bullet points. From Gracie Barra (one of the traditional teams) two documents in bullet points were selected, called *Training Etiquette* and *Code of Conduct* (the latter aimed at instructors). Gracie Academy, also a traditional team, has published a text titled *Gracie Philosophy*. Despite the differences in title, form and content, they all convey part of the team's ideology and values.

The alternative team's document consists of a set of values that all members are required to share (BJJGlobetrotters, 2014). These values are regarded as the binding principle, this is what makes the BJJ Globetrotters a group, this is what defines them and brings them together. 94% of the alternative respondents agree that these are good values (see table 5.3-1). The entirety of these values is as follows:

- *"We don't pay each other any affiliation fees*
- *We wear any patches we like on our gis*
- *We are free to represent any (or no) team in competition*
- *We encourage training with anyone regardless of affiliation*
- *We are willing to promote anyone who deserves it—members or not*
- *We arrange camps, seminars and visit each other for training and fun*
- *We believe everyone is equal both on and off the mats*
- *We strive to enjoy life, people and the world through Brazilian Jiu Jitsu"* (Graugart, 2014).

These are extracts (approximately 1/3 of the total text) from the Gracie Barra *Training Etiquette*:
- *"Keep a respectful posture in the training area."*
- *"If you are late for class sit by the side of the training area and wait for the permission from the Professor."*
- *"If you need to leave the mat or leave earlier you must ask permission from the Professor."*
- *"Talking should be kept to a minimum level and should relate to the class subject."*
- *"Absolutely no foul language inside the school."*
- *"The uniform must be clean at all times. A dirty uniform is a sign of disrespect."*
- *"When tying the uniform, students must face the edge of the mats."*
- *"The belt represents your progress. Keep it on."*(GracieBarra, 2015c).

These are excerpts (approximately ¼ of the total text) from the Gracie Barra *Code of Conduct*:

- *"**Brotherhood:** GB Instructors shall reinforce the family spirit among students, parents, and other instructors. Their attitude must always be positive and cooperative in order to channel their creative energy towards the strengthen and the growth our* [sic.] *family, always putting the team in front of individual selfish needs."*

- *"**Respect:** GB Instructors shall reinforce that students must act with warmth and equally* [sic] *toward one another, regardless of their differences in race, creed, gender, nationality, etc. The belt ranks hierarchy must be respected and the authority of the black belt sincerely recognized."* (GracieBarra, 2015a).

Gracie Academy published a text titled *Gracie Philosophy*, with guidelines for how to fight, and how to live. Compared to the other two examples discussed above, this philosophy is far more intrusive into everyday life. However, it does lack the commanding component, these are not rules or specified guidelines, it says nowhere that the practitioners have to follow these. An illustrative excerpt (approximately 1/3 of the total text) from the *Gracie Philosophy* follows (note: Gracie Academy uses the term "Gracie Jiu-Jitsu" instead of "Brazilian Jiu Jitsu", because they consider their style more pure than BJJ. Gracie Jiu-Jitsu is treated as Brazilian Jiu-Jitsu in this paper, due to them being almost identical in structure, history and characteristics):

"Control

The final objective in a fight is to impose your will on your opponent. Nothing achieves this more quickly than physical domination after which surrender usually follows. Physical domination means controlling your opponent. Without control, you risk losing the fight. In life, control applies not only to a simple contest between you and an opponent, but also to the struggle within yourself. Self-control reflects your personal discipline and is the foundation for every decision you make in life. Without self-control, you risk a lifetime of poor choices that invariably lead to tragic consequences.

- *Refraining from using drugs or alcohol is Gracie Jiu-Jitsu*
- *Choosing healthy, nutritious food over junk food is Gracie Jiu-Jitsu*
- *Having the discipline to engage in regular exercise and rest is Gracie Jiu-Jitsu"* (GracieAcademy, 2015a).

Even though it is not mentioned that the practitioners must follow this philosophy, it is very revealing of what is expected of the practitioners if they want to succeed in the sport, team, and life. This will set the agenda for what behaviour is acceptable in the team, and what topics are acceptable to debate. The other two traditional teams in the sample have not published any philosophy that is publicly available, but do have some implicit or explicit values, as 89% of the traditional respondents agree that the values of their team are good (see table 5.3-1).

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Having clearly stated values will limit the scope of issues up for discussion, as many of them already are predefined. In the case of BJJ Globetrotters, they are even "forever unchangeable" (Graugart, 2014), and they are the requirements for being a member of the team (BJJGlobetrotters, 2014).

5.2.2. VOICING DISSENT

Part of the second dimension of power is the suppression of topics to the general discussion that might be detrimental to actors in positions of power. An example of how a topic could hurt an actor is if that actor was to be criticised. The third vignette asked whether or not critique of the instructor by practitioners was acceptable. The observed differences between the variables are statistically significant with a p-value below 0.05.
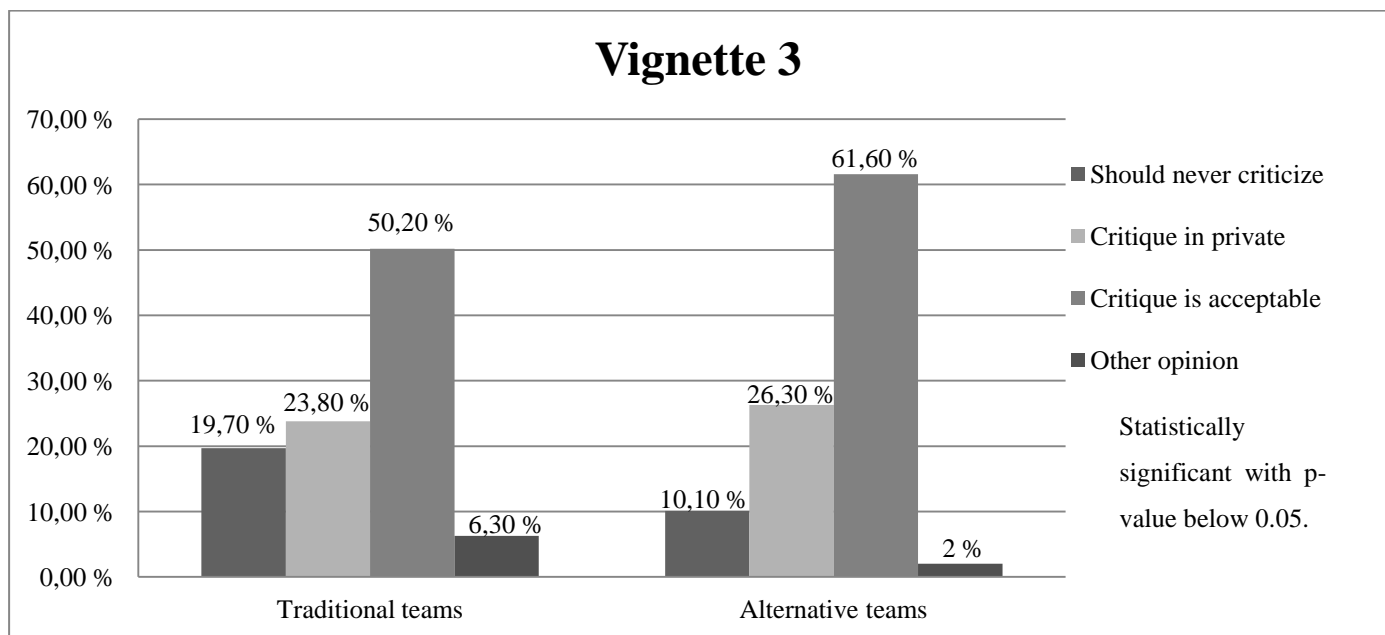
Figure 5.2-1: Vignette 3. N=324.

Every fifth traditional respondent in the sample is of the opinion that one should never criticise the instructor, contrasted to every tenth alternative. Most of them though, are of the opinion that critique is acceptable, around 1/4 of both categories qualify this opinion by saying that the practitioner in the vignette should have talked to the instructor in private. This is the variable that the most clearly shows how much the discourse in the gym is limited to issues that the instructor is sure of will be to his or her benefit.

Figure 5.2-3: Debate on leadership, traditional teams. N=215.
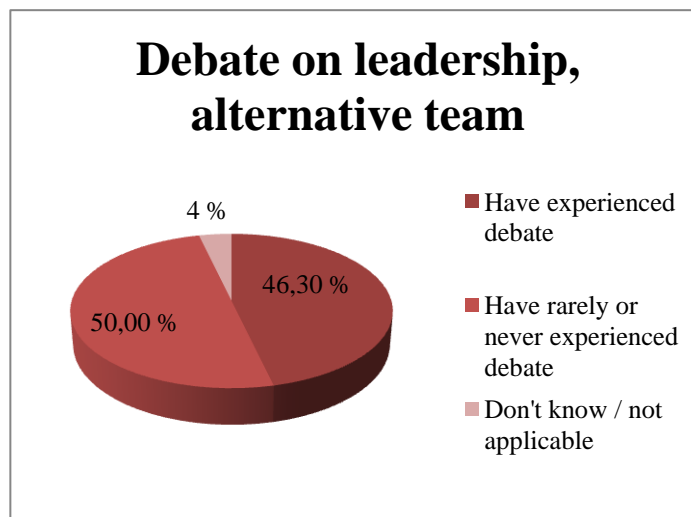
Figure 5.2-2: Debate on leadership, alternative team. N=215.

The differences between debate experienced and team category are not statistically significant.

30% of the traditionals and 46,3% of the alternatives reported that they regularly have experienced open debate or discussion about how the gym or team should be run (the differences of team category and their preferred answer alternatives are not statistically significant). This variable does not differ between practitioners being happy with the gym and team, and discussions not allowing these topics. Although the traditional teams are somewhat more restrictive in their opinions on debate and critique, the level of debate in the teams is approximately the same. This might point in the direction that there generally is not much discontent within the teams.

5.2.3. CROSSTRAINING AND RIVALRY

| Crosstraining		
	Do crosstrain locally	Do crosstrain while travelling (statistically significant with p-value below 0.01)
Traditional teams	21.3%	44.7%
Alternative teams	33.7%	66.7%

Table 5.2-1: Crosstraining. N=324.

98,6% of all respondents in the survey report that their gym allows visitors to train with them (see table 5.1-1). So the input from visitors is not restricted, but the input that could come from this source is very limited, as visitors normally are visiting for a short period (hours or a few days), and the instructor would be present to counteract unwanted input immediately.

Almost all respondents report that they do not need permission from their instructor to crosstrain when travelling. 45% of the traditional and 67% of the alternative respondents crosstrain while travelling, see table 5.2-1 (although the alternative category has a higher percentage on this answer alternative, the difference to the traditional category is not statistically significant). Crosstraining while travelling will only expose practitioners to other gyms' habits and values for a short period of time, and the visited gyms will

not pose a threat to the home gym, as the practitioner is not likely to switch to the visited gym full-time (due to a different geographic location).

The differences between the team categories are statistically significant when it comes to whether they are allowed to crosstrain locally, as 18,1% of the traditionals are not allowed to do so, while only 5,6% of the alternatives are forbidden (see table 5.1-1). 1/5 of the traditional and 1/3 of the alternative respondents crosstrain locally regularly (this difference is also not statistically significant, see table 5.2-1). There is thus not much difference between the teams in how much local input they actually receive.

Rivalry			
"Does your team or gym have rivalries with other teams or gyms?" Differences between team categories not statistically significant.			
	Yes	No	Don't know
Traditional teams	22%	61.4%	16.6%
Alternative teams	18.2%	67.7%	14.1%

Table 5.2-2: Rivalry. N=324.

The likelihood of practitioners advocating some changes made in their home gym, modelled on something seen in a gym while crosstraining, decreases with the level of rivalry between the gyms. Rivalry often springs out of the history of the teams, and is cultivated by the higher ranked practitioners that have spent much time with the team. The more rivalry between the gyms or teams, the less the practitioners will want to adopt the values and practices of other teams. As the level of rivalry is the same in both team categories (see table above), the rejection of influences from other teams due to rivalry is likely to have similar strength in both team categories.
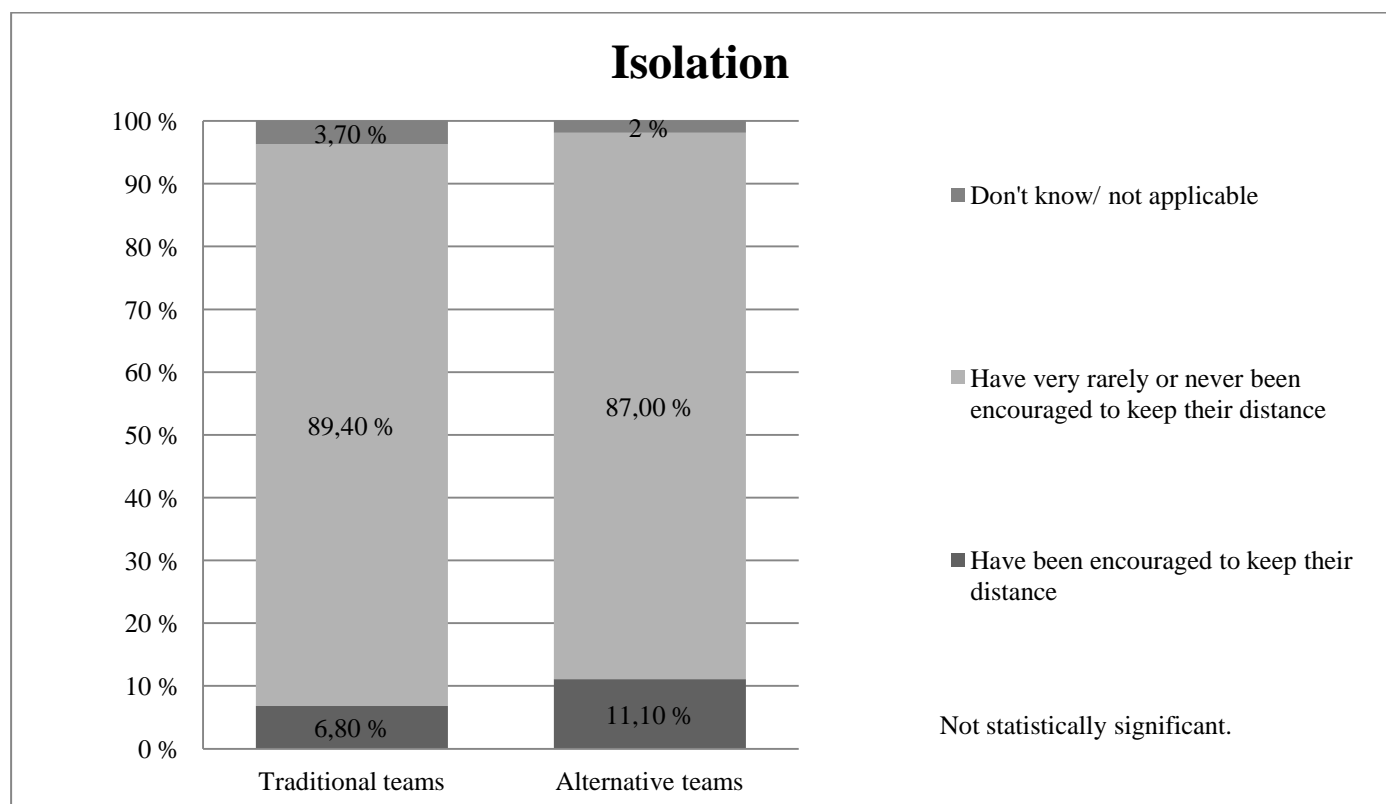

Figure 5.2-4: Isolation. N=215.

If an instructor does not want to go all the way and forbid crosstraining, he or she can informally ask their students to not train with members of other teams. The figure above shows if the respondents have been encouraged to not train with members of other teams. 6,8% of the traditionals are encouraged to not train with other teams, while 11,1% of the alternatives have experienced this.

The only three statistically significant differences between the team categories' choice of answer alternative of the variables relevant for influence from other teams are the differences in rules on local crosstraining, where the traditional teams forbid it to a greater degree, actual crosstraining while travelling, which the alternatives do more often, and encouragement to not train with other teams, which the alternative respondents experienced more. Rules on crosstraining while travelling, the actual amount of crosstraining that happens locally, rivalry between teams or gyms, and rules on visitors to the gyms all are similar in the two team categories.

5.3. THE 3RD DIMENSION OF POWER: PREFERENCE-SHAPING

The shaping of preferences and interests is the least visible of the power dimensions. It is a very effective mode of governing, as no control and oversight is necessary as soon as actors have internalised the appropriate values to guide their behaviour.

5.3.1. VALUES AND PHILOSOPHIES IN THE TEAMS

Values are the basis and motivation of our actions, and to educate practitioners in the values the team prefers, will ensure that the practitioners act that way. Relevant are values that stress the importance of the belt hierarchy and benefits that those high up are entitled to, given the loyalty and respect they are owed by those lower down in the hierarchy. Another component is the importance of the team, and to belong to it. These values have historically been more important in traditional BJJ teams, and are often presented to new practitioners through informal conversations in training, or monologues by the instructor. Through a slow process of applying the norms and rules for training (indoctrination), the practitioners adopt the values of the team as their own.

	Statements			
		% that agree	% that agree	
		Traditional teams	**Alternative teams**	P-value
1	"I am proud of my team."	89%	91%	>0.05
2	"My team has good values."	89%	94%	>0.05
3	"A member of a team should limit his or her interaction with other teams."	3%	1%	>0.05
4	"Loyalty to the team is important."	68%	59%	0.05
5	"The instructor is the most important person in the gym."	32%	17%	0.05
6	"It should be up to the black belt to decide who to roll with."	52%	36%	0.05
7	"Loyalty to the instructor is important."	76%	60%	0.01
8	"A good lineage is very valuable."	70%	41%	0.01
9	"It is important to preserve the high standards of the belt system."	94%	81%	0.01
10	"Lower belts should move when they occupy the same space as higher belts when rolling."	59%	29%	0.01

Table 5.3-1: Statements. N=324.

The teams agree on statements one and two, as one can see from the p-value being too high for the correlation between team category and statement support to be statistically significant.

Statement three, concerning keeping a distance to members of other teams, solicits very little support from both team categories. It seems as though there are rules regarding crosstraining, some rivalry between teams and stories of practitioners being punished for "cooperating" with other teams, the practitioners do not feel it is their responsibility to isolate themselves from other teams. Isolation would give the team or instructor more power over the practitioner as they would lack alternatives, both in training facilities and ideological input.

The correlation between the team categories and statements four through six are statistically significant with p-values below 0.05. The BJJ Globetrotters' respondents agree less than the traditionals that loyalty to the team is important (statement four), that the instructor is the most important person in the gym (statement five), and that it should be up to the blackbelt to decide who to roll with (statement six).

Statement four (loyalty to team) is interesting when contrasted to statement seven, where traditionals show stronger agreement than the alternatives (the difference in response rate between team categories is statistically significant with p-value below 0.01) that loyalty to the instructor is important. It can be interpreted that loyalty to the instructor is valued more than loyalty to the team in both team categories, but much more so in the traditional category. The instructor is a person who normally is in the gym every day, while the team is more of an abstract construct, and it is easier to get attached to a person. The practitioners also get more specific help and assistance (during training) from the instructor than the team. If loyalty to the instructors is important, the practitioners are likely to follow their orders without questions, and give more leeway in what they accept. The practitioners are more likely to put the instructors' wishes over their own, follow their orders, and consider the orders legitimate. Statement five conveys the same meaning as

statement four; if the instructor is the most important person in the gym, they are likely to be the most powerful.

Statement eight, about the value of a good lineage, is supported by 29% more of the traditional than the alternative respondents, and this difference is statistically significant. Lineage is, as mentioned before (see section 2.2.1), seen as a source of authority and a mark of quality. Traditional teams often place more emphasis on this than alternative teams. Not surprisingly, this is more valued by the traditionals, whose teams can be traced back directly to the origins of the sport.

The traditional teams agree to a great degree on the importance of the high standards of the belt system (statement nine). It is not surprising that the traditional teams agree more with statement nine (16% more traditionals than alternatives), but there are still very many among the alternatives that support it. It is for many practitioners a source of pride, as it is considered a more precise measure of competence than the belt ranking standards prevalent in traditional martial arts like Tae-kwon-do and Aikido.

Statement ten is concerning giving up mat space to a pair of higher ranked practitioners during live sparring sessions (rolling). The mat space is often limited, and during rolling a pair might get very close to other pairs. To avoid injuries caused by unintentional kicks or falling on someone, the pairs should separate. 30% more of the traditionals agree that it is the lower ranked pair that should move, than the alternatives. The alternatives thus show less support for the notion that the training of the higher ranked practitioners is more important, and thus should not be interrupted by moving away.

In general, the traditional category agrees to a greater degree to most of these traditional statements than the alternatives. The statements were analysed with the Cronbach's alpha, to see if they interrelate. The resulting value for all ten statements is 0.47, which is lower than acceptable. When analysing groups of variables that seem to measure the same attitudes, the highest value attained is 0.56 (for statements 1, 2, and 4), this is also very low. This means that the statements do not measure the same construct. It seems as if the values surrounding BJJ teams are more complex than that they are covered by these ten statements, and it would be interesting to explore this further in another study.
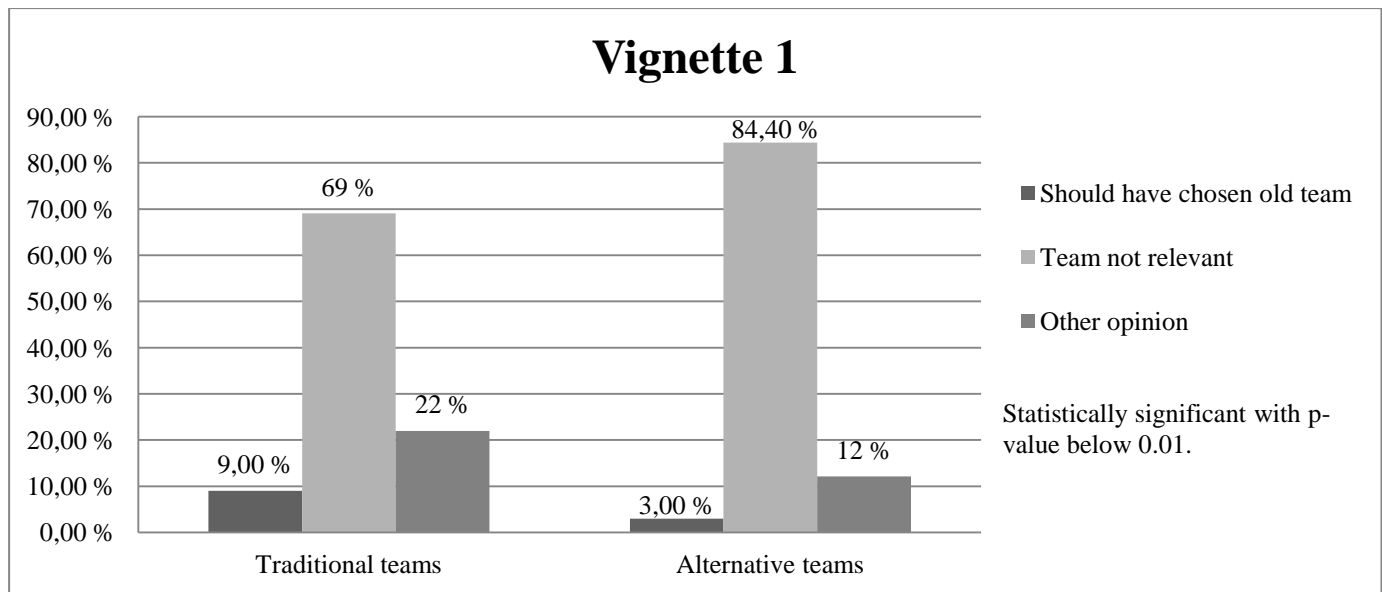
Figure 5.3-1: Vignette 1. N=324.

As already mentioned, a lot of "BJJ-politics" revolve around people changing teams for different reasons, and reactions to this. Almost 70% of the traditionals, and almost 85% of the alternatives are of the opinion that team should not be relevant for the practitioner in vignette 1 when choosing a new gym. The observed covariations between team category and chosen answer alternative are statistically significant with a p-value below 0.01, so the traditional respondents are less supportive of the notion that team should be irrelevant in this fictive decision-making process.
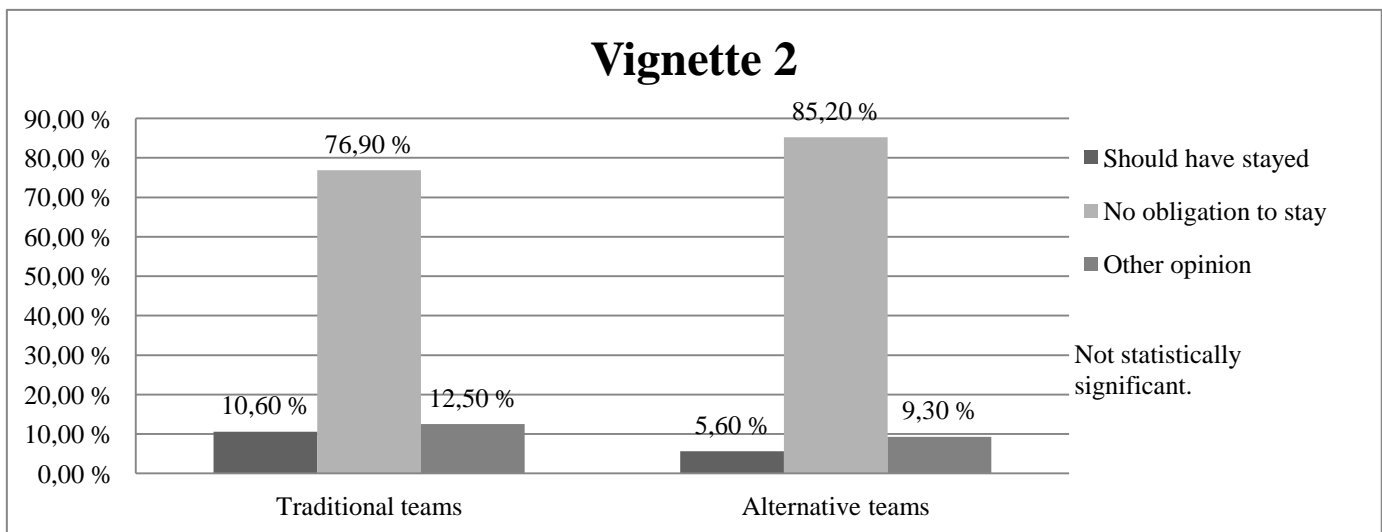
Figure 5.3-2: Vignette 2. N=324.

Vignette 2 portrayed a situation where the practitioner in question had been at a gym much longer before switching than vignette 1, and the bond of loyalty and friendship is thus expected to be stronger. The vignette led to slightly more polarisation among the traditional respondents, with 7.1% more respondents answering "No obligation to stay", and 3.6% more saying "Should've stayed", leading to a 10.7% decline in "Other opinion". This was not the case with the alternative team category, which only had a 3.6% increase in "Should've stayed", and smaller changes in the other two answer alternatives. The distributions on answer alternatives by the team categories is statistically significant in vignette 1, but not vignette 2. The great majority of respondents from both team categories do not expect of the practitioners in both vignettes to remain with their teams in the given scenarios. The real-life consequences of the values explored through the statements seem to be limited.

Declarations of philosophy or values by teams are strong indicators of what the teams want their practitioners to act, and how they want them to think. As the alternative team has published a list of unchangeable values *(Mission Statement)*, the expected indoctrination of their members is considered to be relatively strong. The ideology is one of the most important aspects of the team, it is what sets the team apart from other teams; this is what they seek to do different. The tone of the statement is collective, but it puts the individual over the group. This makes them quite different from the *Training Etiquette* of Gracie Barra, which puts the group over the individual practitioner. The *Training Etiquette* and the *Code of Conduct* aimed at instructors are also more commanding in tone, and much more extensive (35 bullet points in both documents together, vs. 8 points from BJJ Globetrotters'). The *Code of Conduct* is also interesting in that it acknowledges the role that instructors have in setting examples, and that practitioners will consciously or unconsciously copy what they do and say.

The alternative team is the only team in the sample with an evangelistic message. The team is defined as:

> *"A community of Brazilian Jiu Jitsu practitioners of all levels from around the world, who agree on spreading a message of a non-political, open minded and positive approach to training and life."*
> (BJJGlobetrotters, 2014)

Although the goal of Gracie Barra is *"establishing a school in every city in the world"* (GracieBarra, 2015b), it is not up to the individual practitioners to actively and directly achieve this goal.

The alternative team BJJ Globetrotters also makes it clear that which team the practitioners belong to is not important, neither for competition, nor training. This allows considerable more options for action available to the practitioners, compared to an ideology which puts the team above the individual practitioners' needs and interests. Gracie Barra, on the other hand, clearly states that the team should be put above the individual practitioner. The lingo of the statements is also informative, with BJJ Globetrotters adopting a more collective style ("We..."), while Gracie Barra is more direct and commanding.

The Gracie Academy *Philosophy* doesn't have evangelistic or expansionist tendencies, but it is a complete moral compass of how to live a life. It is explicitly stated that *"Gracie Jiu-Jitsu is a way of life."*

(GracieAcademy, 2015a). It says only implicitly that the practitioners are expected to follow suit in living these values, but in exchange the philosophy is far more intrusive into the practitioners' daily lives outside of training than the guidelines from other teams. The philosophy encompasses how to fight, how to eat, how to treat family and business partners.

5.3.2. HIERARCHICAL RITUALS AND PRACTICES

The social hierarchy in BJJ is derived mainly from the belt system, although some other factors such as age, social status in the world outside of BJJ, and relations to other practitioners can have a say in it. As the promotions are at the discretion of the instructor, practitioners' position in the belt hierarchy is determined by their skills, experience, athleticism, attitude, and the instructor's personal impression of the practitioners. It is important to not forget that BJJ is a martial art, and that the belt hierarchy is a way of saying "the person above you has the superior skills necessary to kill or seriously hurt you". This gives the higher ranked practitioners authority.

Among rituals normal in BJJ are bowing (this derives from the Asian origins of the sport), honorary titles for the instructors, and lining up according to belt rank. The hierarchy makes one believe that the higher ranked practitioners are always right, and that one is dependent on them (mainly for instructions, but this easily transfers over into other aspects of BJJ and life in general). Higher ranked practitioners are also role models, and less experienced practitioners model their behaviour, fighting style, and attitude towards training and other practitioners. The higher ranked practitioners have great standard-setting power, and are often given responsibility in the gym.
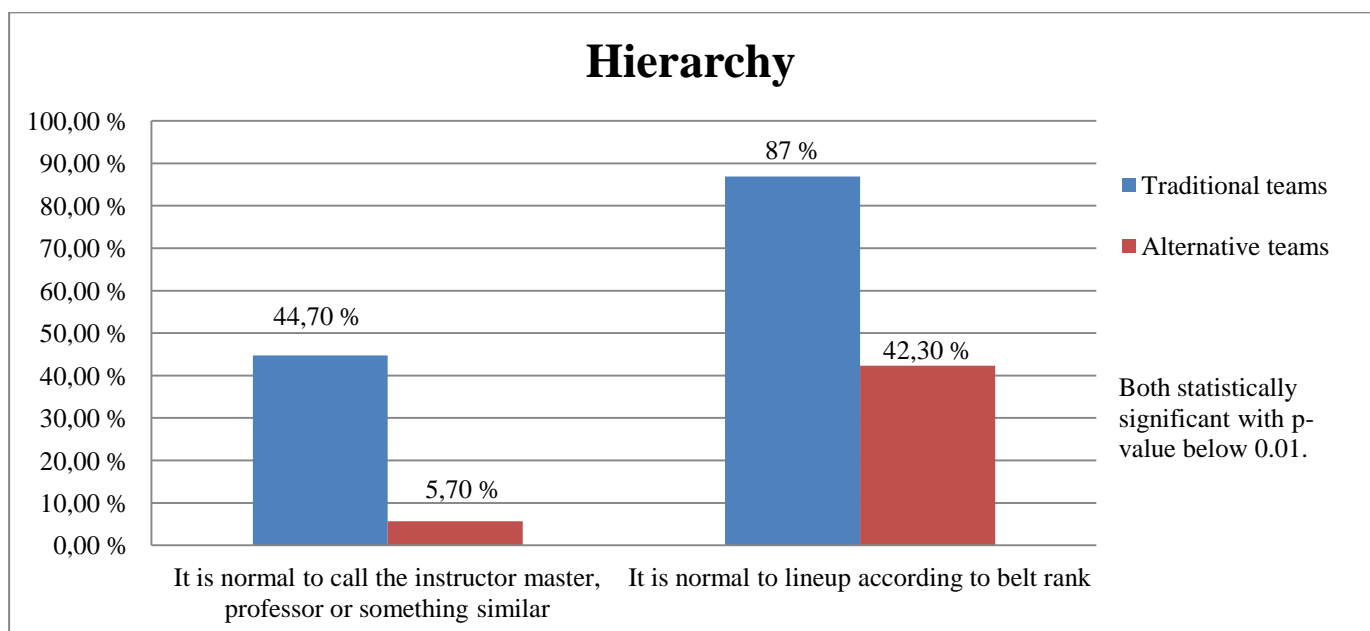
Figure 5.3-3: Hierarchy. N=215.

Calling the instructor "professor" is a practice from Brazil, and in many places it is normal to call a BJJ gym an "academy" or a "school", and the practitioners "students". Other titles that are normal for instructors are "teacher", or "master". It is normal that practitioners say they train "under" someone, not "with" someone. These are only words, but the rhetoric does have signalling effect, and power to shape

how the practitioners think. This practice of title giving is a sort of glorification or elevation of the instructor, and implies a teacher-student relationship, or even a master-subordinate relationship. In these relationships, the former will have considerable power and influence over the latter. Almost 35% more of the traditionals use titles for their instructors; this is a statistically significant difference to the alternatives (p-value under 0.01).

To line up according to belt rank is often done before and after training, to signal the start and end of a training session. It is a physical reminder to the practitioners of their position in the belt hierarchy. 45% more of the traditional respondents reported this than the alternatives (see figure 5.3-3), this difference is statistically significant with a p-value below 0.01.
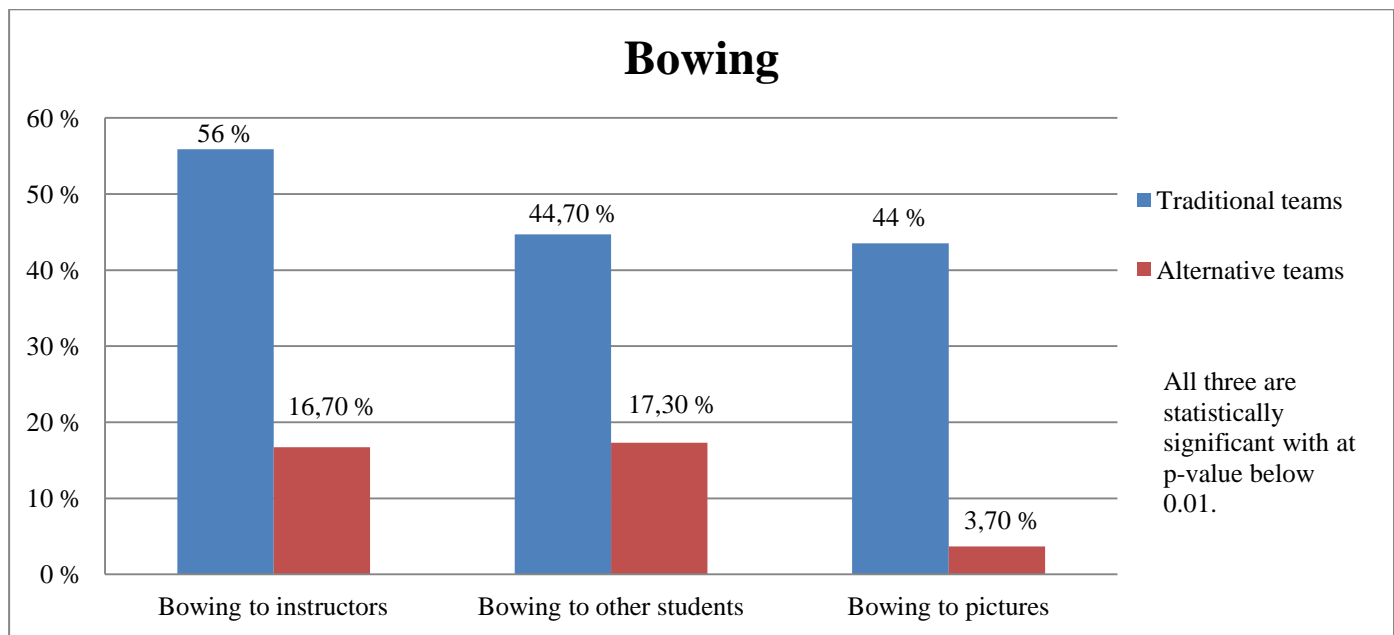
Figure 5.3-4: Bowing. N=215.

More than double of the traditionals bow to people compared to the alternatives, and ten times as many traditionals bow to pictures (see figure 5.3-4 above). It is interesting to see that less practitioners bow to other practitioners than to the instructor, this sign of respect might be reserved for the instructor.

The prevalence and rigidity of hierarchy has highly relevant consequences for power. Those high up in the hierarchy have power over those lower down, and a steep hierarchy means that power is concentrated at the top. A more flat hierarchy means a more decentralised power structure. Hierarchies are not inherently stable, they can be contested, reproduced and changed through everyday actions. Are there many routines in place to reproduce the hierarchies, they are stable and solid. Bowing, titles for instructors and lining up are practices that reinforce the hierarchy of the belt system. The traditional teams report statistically significant more of all of these practices than the alternatives. This points to a more rigid and steep hierarchy in the traditional teams, with the consequences being that the practitioners higher in the hierarchy are considered to have more influence on how the gym and team is run, they have more authority over other practitioners lower than them in the hierarchy, more formal power to take decisions and that lower ranked practitioners look more to them for inspiration and see them as role models.

5.3.3. REDUCING INFLUENCE FROM OTHER TEAMS

Comparing table 5.1-1 (rules on crosstraining) to table 5.2-1 (actual crosstraining), one can see that although most respondents are not restricted from crosstraining while travelling, there is a big difference between the team categories reporting how much they actually do so (45% vs. 67%, this has a p-value below 0.01). The reported local crosstraining is only half of what the respondents report doing while travelling. Despite the traditional teams being more restrictive in allowing crosstraining locally, the difference in actual local crosstraining between the team categories is not statistically significant.

The respondents were asked if they had experienced encouragement (by their current team) to not train with other teams, this resulted in the variable called "Isolation" (see figure 5.2-4). The alternative teams reported almost double as often that they had experienced such encouragement to isolate themselves from other teams. This difference is statistically significant with a p-value below 0.05. To encourage someone to stay away from other teams is an informal way of isolating the team, unlike the formal crosstraining-rules discussed earlier. If practitioners have been encouraged to stay away from other teams, they are less likely to adopt those teams' values, as it has been signalled to them that they do not belong there.

A possible explanation for why the alternatives have been encouraged to stay away from other teams more than the traditionals, despite their very open and including philosophy, is because alternatives have experienced more sanctions at gyms other than their own (see figure 5.3-7). Those doing the encouraging might want to shelter the practitioners from these experiences. The consequence of it, though, would be less influence from other teams.

Table 5.2-2 shows rivalries between teams, as experienced by the respondents. The observed differences are not statistically significant, there is very little difference between the two team categories in whether a team or gym has rivalries with other teams or gyms. This means that both team categories probably would experience the same level of resistance to impulses from other teams or gyms.

Rituals		
	It is normal to say "oss" (statistically significant with p-value below 0.05)	It is normal to slap hands and fistbump
Traditional teams	43.5%	98.2 %
Alternative teams	34.3%	98 %

Table 5.3-2: Rituals. N=324.

Some rituals that do not have hierarchical connotations are the ones mentioned in the table above. The term "oss" or "osu" comes from Japanese, and is uttered as a way of answering "understood" to an instruction, as a greeting, it is used as a compliment, and a show of respect. As the traditional teams emphasise the origins of the sport more than the alternative teams do, it is no surprise that statistical significantly more traditional respondents report the use of the term in their home gyms. A nearly universal ritual is the second ritual in table 5.3-2 above, the "slap and fistbump". This is done as a greeting, and to signal the start and end of a sparring round. It is an important ritual, as it prevents misunderstandings, hurt feelings, and injuries that might happen if one of the sparring partners started before the other one was aware or ready for the round to

start. It symbolises the difference between a bar fight among strangers or a play fight among siblings, and a sparring round between BJJ practitioners. Almost every respondent reported this ritual from their gym, which makes it common ground for all BJJ practitioners, and might facilitate a common understanding among practitioners from all teams.

The alternative teams members have more possibilities to be influenced by other teams, as they have less restrictions placed on them regarding crosstraining, and do so more often than members of traditional teams. They might still be more sceptical to accepting influence from other teams, as they are statistically significant more often encouraged to stay away from other teams (which is strange considering the inclusive nature of BJJ Globetrotters' ideology, but this might be due to bad experiences with other teams). Some influence might be rejected due to rivalries with other teams, but this mechanism is likely to be similarly strong in both team categories. All in all, the traditionals seem to filter influences their members are subjected to more than the alternatives.

5.3.4. SANCTIONS

Treatment

Traditional teams
Alternative teams

Neither are statistically significant.

22,20 %
19,50 %
10,60 %
6,70 %

Bad treatment when switching teams. N=96. Bad treatment when switching gyms. N=135.
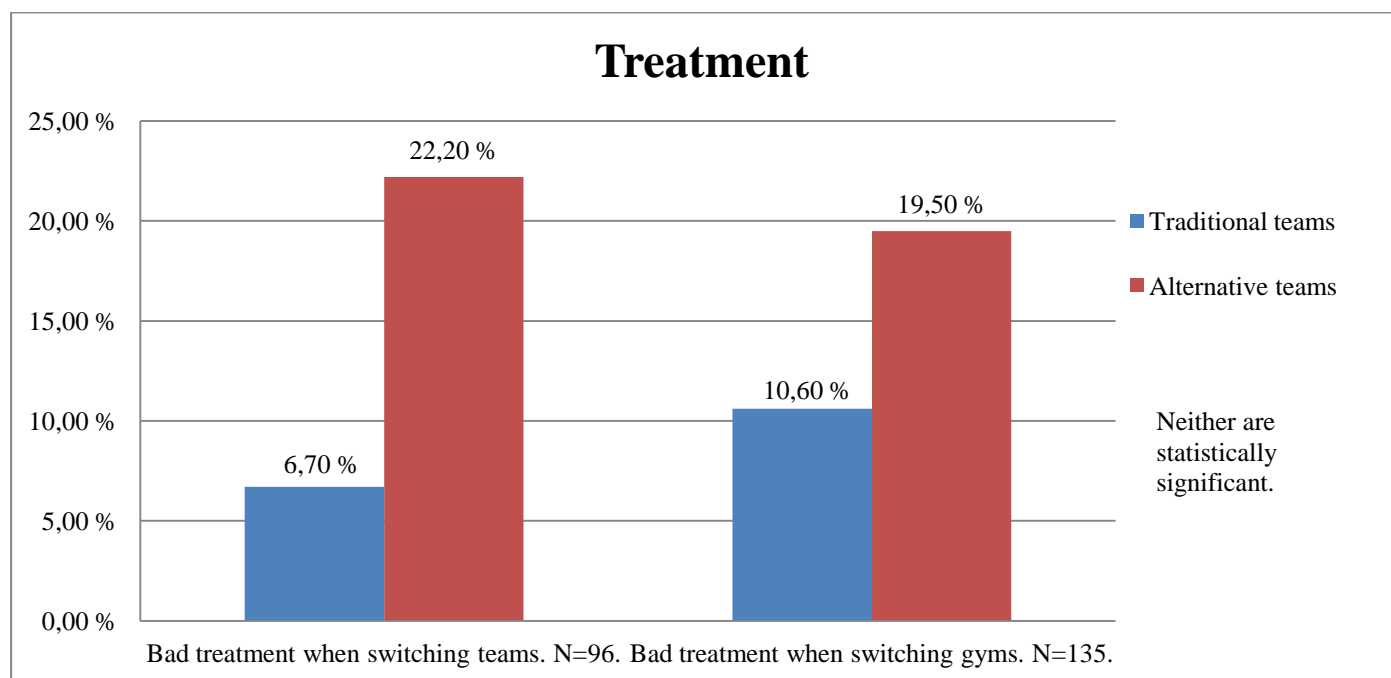
Figure 5.3-5: Treatment. N=324.

In BJJ, the loyalty to the team and gym (or the instructor of the gym) that is expected entails an aversion towards switching gym or team. To leave a gym may lead to sanctions from former team members, or other practitioners. Approximately the same portion of practitioners from both teams report having switched gym or team (see figure 5.1-1), between 27-42%. More alternative practitioners than traditionals report being treated badly due to switching, see figure 5.3-5 above. The differences here are not statistically significant, which might be due to the small N, as only those respondents who answered that they had switched team or gym were given this question.

That the alternatives report more maltreatment makes me assume that the conflict level was higher before the switch. A higher level of conflict and/or sanctions might lead to the drastic measure of switching to the

alternative team. As the alternative team promises to be different than the mainstream teams, it can attract those that have bad experiences with mainstream teams. As the N is very small for this variable, I don't give it much weight in the analysis. If it was statistically significant with a larger N, one could assume that the remaining practitioners in the teams that the currently alternative practitioners switched from, are less likely to switch teams and gyms because they saw former teammates being treated badly for switching.

Sanctions can be used to police not only practitioners leaving the team or gym, but also practitioners still in the gym. The respondents were asked if they had experienced sanctions at their current, or other gyms, for breaking the written and unwritten rules there. These rules can be about anything from intensity during training (too high or too low intensity can be considered disrespectful), who one is allowed to ask to roll, which techniques are considered legitimate, being on time for training sessions, and whether one needs to wear shoes when going to the bathroom during training. The results are in figures 5.3-6 and 5.3-7.
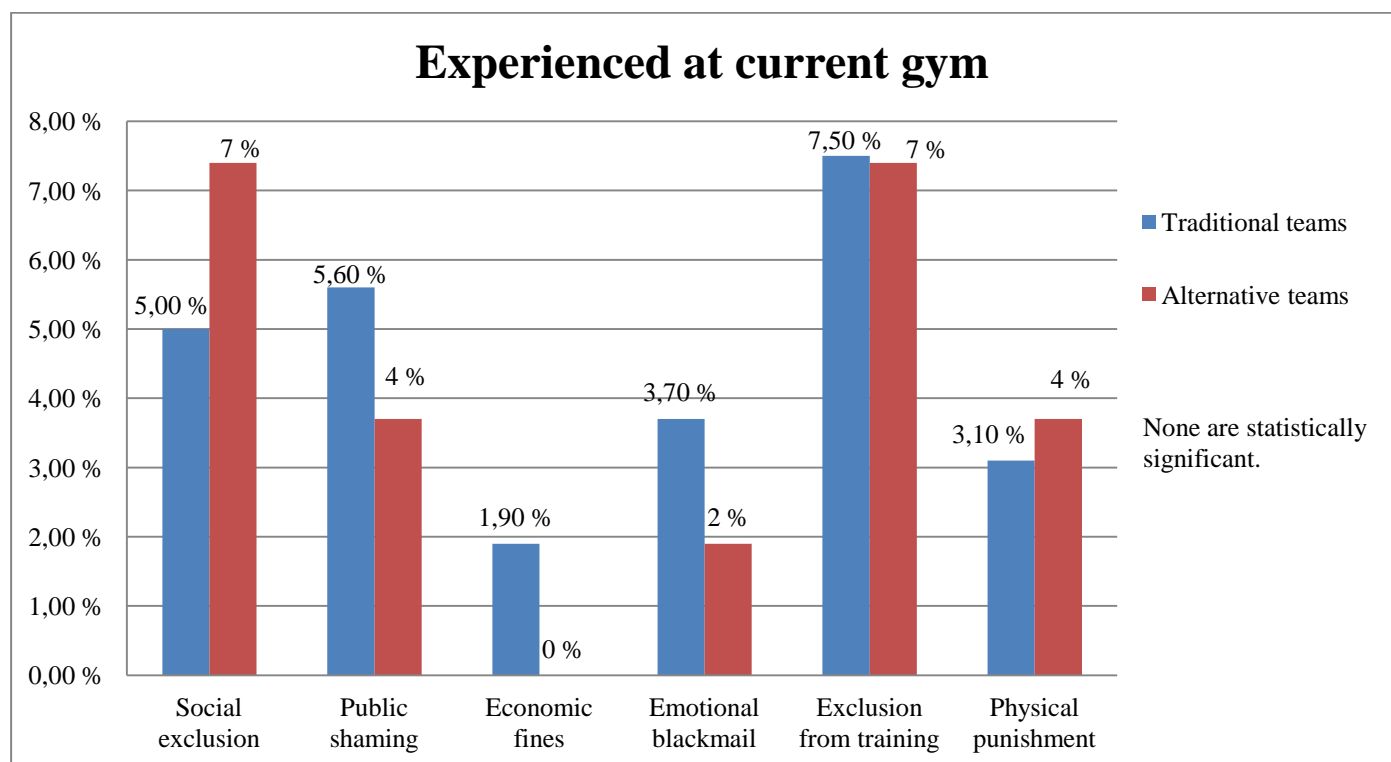
Figure 5.3-6: Experienced at current gym. N=215.

The differences between the teams in sanctions experienced at current gym are not statistically significant, and the number of respondents reporting this is very low. It seems like practitioners are seldom punished in these ways for breaking the rules of their own gyms. It is possible that this might be because they don't break the rules, but the data are insufficient to say if this is the case. The disciplining effect of sanctions on the disciplined practitioner, and witnessing practitioners, is considered the same in both teams.

Experienced at gyms other than current

Legend:
- Traditional teams (blue)
- Alternative teams (red)

The numbers indicate the p-values for the statistically significant variables.

Chart data:
- Social exclusion (0.01): Traditional teams 6,70 %, Alternative teams 16 %
- Public shaming: Traditional teams 6,70 %, Alternative teams 11 %
- Economic fines: Traditional teams 2,20 %, Alternative teams 3 %
- Emotional blackmail (0.05): Traditional teams 5,40 %, Alternative teams 12 %
- Exclusion from training (0.01): Traditional teams 3,60 %, Alternative teams 13 %
- Physical punishment (0.05): Traditional teams 2,20 %, Alternative teams 8 %

Figure 5.3-7: Experienced at gyms other than current. N=324.

At gyms other than current (at a previous gym or during visits to other gyms), the alternative respondents have experienced more sanctions (statistically significant differences between the teams in 4 of 6 types of sanctions).

6. ANALYSIS

Organisations have goals (Berg, 2014), and the concerted action of their members is necessary to achieve these goals. To achieve this directed effort, the teams must steer the behaviour of its members. As there is a multitude of ways to do this, the organisational structure and philosophy of an organisation will influence how this is done. Formalisation and hierarchy are two important principles that have a say in this. Isolation of members is especially relevant in BJJ teams due to their history, and values can reinforce these three aspects.
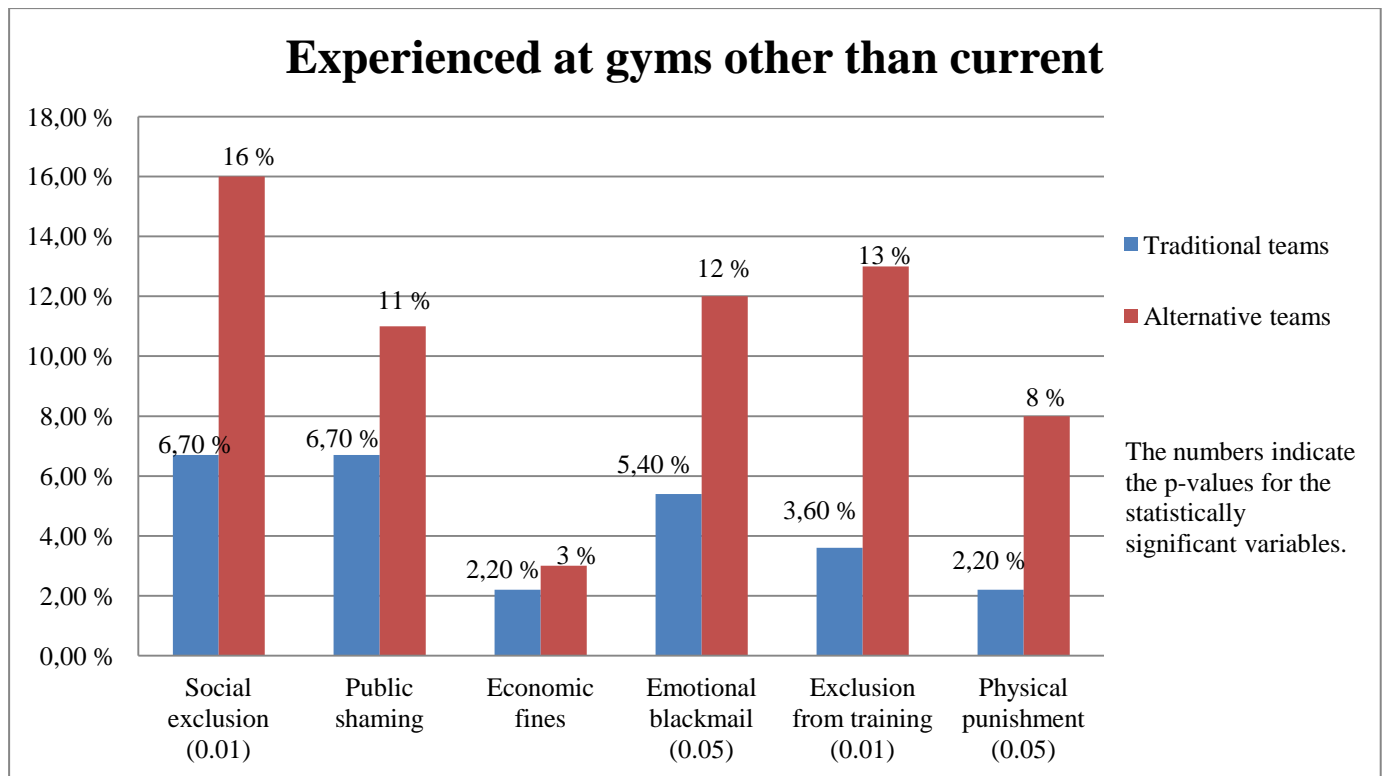
The online survey and the document analysis led to the findings that I will use in this chapter to answer the research question. The hypotheses proposed in chapter one will be the starting point for this pursuit. The eight hypotheses cover four general areas, and this chapter will treat these areas in turn, with the corresponding hypothesis (one for each team category per area) and a summary in a comparative perspective.

The lack of research done on BJJ makes this analysis a challenging task, as there is little to no data to compare my findings to. Due to this, I compare the teams in the study to other organisations that show similar traits to combine my findings with the analysis of other scholars. As to whether a finding from the survey is crucial or not, I will compare the finding to the corresponding finding for the other team category. I also have to rely on my own insight into the BJJ-community to see if a finding fits into the big picture, or if it is unusual. The findings need to be seen in relation to each other, when several variables point in the same direction, I am more confident about the correlation of team category and the phenomena in question. When one variable points in a different or opposite way of the others, I will try to find a reason for this among the rest of the findings.

6.1. FORMALITIES VS. RULES

The first area I will consider is the formalisation of relations in the BJJ teams: are they built on informal relations, which is the case when practitioners act in line with the teams' philosophy because they have internalised its values, or because they are bound by rules and instructions. The formalisation is visible in the organisational structure of the teams, and the rules that are present in the gyms. To see if the teams also steer their members through values, the findings from the vignettes and statements in the survey, and findings from the document analysis will be compared.

6.1.1. FORMALITIES IN TRADITIONAL TEAMS

The traditional teams from the outside look like conventional organisations, with formalisation, rules and a division of labour. This makes me assume that they function as such, part of this is the regulation of the members' behaviour by rules and formalised relations. An organisational form well known from corporate life is the franchise system – 43% of the traditional respondents train in a franchise gym (see table 5.1-3).

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A franchise program is a very business-oriented way of organizing a BJJ gym, and one that gives the franchisor (the owner of the entire franchise program) power over the franchisee (the owner of the individual franchise unit/gym). The contracts are detailed and well worked out, all relations are formalised, and there are fees and rules and defined plans for how things should look and be run (example: GracieBarraAssociation, 2015). In a franchise, the opportunities the practitioners have to influence those who make the decisions are limited, as they do not have direct, daily access to them, which they would if the gym was controlled fully by the instructor. The decision-making power is also concentrated to a few actors inside and outside of the gym, depending on the concrete franchise arrangement (Fredriksen, 2009). The franchisor can impose strict rules on the gym, and the gym would have to follow.

Franchises concentrate the power to take decisions on very few hands, and allow only a few actors into the decision-making process. While Dahl (1961) looks at public political processes in a city, which involve many actors (all that are eligible to vote have formal access to it) decision-making processes in a franchise will be a lot smaller and concentrated. Most of the actors in the system are excluded from decision-making as a default.

The decision-making process is assumed to be a bit wider in an individually owned gym, where 44% of the traditional respondents train. This organisational structure gives the practitioners somewhat more influence on the decisions in the gym. The power to take these decisions is concentrated on few hands, as in the franchise gym, but the practitioners have more opportunity to influence those who take the decisions as they are assumed to be more often present in the gym. To influence those who take decisions would be an indirect way of realising one's own interest in the process. The 13% of traditional respondents training at non-profit sports clubs probably have direct access to the decision-making processes, as these often have a more democratic governance structure. These will be discussed more in the next section.

Of the rules inquired about in the survey, significant amounts of the traditional respondents report that rules are in place in two of four instances; 18% are not allowed to crosstrain at another local gym, and 36% of the traditional respondents report that they are required to wear the gyms or teams gi, patch or rashguard (there are no rules against visitors, and almost none are required to obtain the instructors' permission to train somewhere before travelling, see table 5.1-1). Apart from directly steering the behaviour of the members of the teams to not train with other gyms locally, the crosstraining-rule has the effect of isolating the practitioners from influences from other teams. By isolating the practitioners, the team strengthens the effect their philosophies have on the practitioners' minds.

What the practitioners wear to training is subject to different considerations, and different practitioners have different preferences. Among considerations for which training outfit to get are fashion trends, price, functionality of the clothes (light vs. heavy material, easy to grip or not, wide or narrow sleeves), how they fit a practitioners body type, and maintenance requirements (light vs. dark colours, easy to dry or not). To illustrate the industry that has arisen around BJJ gis, the complex choices available can be compared to football shoes, where one can get a wide variety, with different qualities and attributes including

personalisation of style and fit. Some gis or belts can be very expensive, with belts upwards of 100 $, and gis upwards of 600 $. Having a rule in place that requires the practitioners to wear the gym's or team's own gi or rashguard, is a big infringement on their options to choose what to wear to training. Many, especially the more experienced practitioners, that have had time to get to know their preferences would probably not exclusively choose to buy and wear the gym's or team's gi or rashguard, unless required to do so.

Another aspect to consider in this issue is self-expression. Having a rule in place that regulates what the practitioners wear to training is to limit their self-expression through clothing. Clothes are used to show a part of one's identity, and requiring someone to wear a uniform is putting the group (gym or team) over the individual (the practitioner). There are many different styles of BJJ gis and nogi-clothes, from rashguard with superhero logos to gis with embroidered golden snakes or military-style camouflage patterns. The items that gyms or teams require their practitioners to wear are typically simpler than the examples mentioned above, in the colours legal in the biggest competitions, and with only a few logos as decoration. To limit which clothing the practitioners can wear, may also prevent them from accepting sponsorship deals with gear companies, which normally require the practitioner to wear the gear of the sponsor.

Enforcing a rule that dictates what practitioners should wear is a direct form of governing their behaviour. As it is very unlikely that the branded gi or rashguard available will fit the preferences of most practitioners in a gym, making uniformation mandatory is likely to be against the preferences of at least some of the practitioners. As the heads of teams and gyms often earn money on the sale of their gear, mandatory uniformation is considered to be in their economic interest, in addition to other possible interests (advertisement, for example).

The question in the survey about this does not differentiate between which of the items (gi, rashguard, patch) the respondents answer for. Requiring the practitioners to wear a patch does not alter the qualities of a gi considerably or prevent the practitioners from accepting a sponsorship deal. It still does infringe their available range of self-expression.

36% of the traditional practitioners have to wear the team's or gym's gi, patch or rashguard (see table 5.1-2), this is a practice that is considered very intrusive into the lives of practitioners. Although the majority of traditional respondents don't report this rule at their gym, the percentage is high enough to be able to say that this is a rule that is normal at traditional gyms.

The *Training Etiquette* by Gracie Barra consists of 27 rules on uniform, hygiene, titles, bowing, and other things related to the training situation that the individual practitioner must follow. In addition, the *Code of Conduct* has 8 sections on how the instructor must behave and act in training and in the BJJ-community. These rules not only govern the behavior of practitioners in the training situation, but also convey to the practitioners and instructors what values are expected from them. For example, the rules on titles for instructors convey to the practitioners that the instructors are superior to them, and must be respected. The *Code of Conduct* explicitly recognizes the power the instructor has as a standard-setting authority, and that

this power must be used to imprint the values of the team in the practitioners. Is the instructor successful in this process, the team will have many members that act and think in the direction that the team desires them to.

The Gracie Academy *Philosophy* does not contain specific rules, but is a complete guide to live a life – from how to eat to how to do business. The two other traditional teams have not published any philosophical documents, the analysis is somewhat flawed in that it does not fully cover all four teams in the traditional category.

Formal relations and rules are direct and visible ways of governing the members of an organisation. The existence of these structures can be beneficial to the members of the organisation, as it is easy to see who is in power, and who uses power to achieve which ends. One can also easily identify who to influence or which mechanisms to use to get one's voice heard or interests fulfilled. According to Freeman (1970) a formal structure will give marginalised actors access to the decision-making structure. On the other hand, Leach says that too much structure can lead to the marginalisation of some groups:

> *"Freeman rightly warns us that too little structure can (although it does not necessarily) serve to mask informal hierarchies and marginalize people, but it is important to recognize that too much structure can have the same effect, even when the structure is explicitly designed to equalize power."* (Leach, 2013, p. 183).

Regardless of the consequences of the structure, there might be different reasons for why the structures at hand were created. One is the size of the teams; bigger organisations can be more difficult to control and steer, unless one has stricter and more direct governance mechanisms. This might be a reason why the big teams use the mechanisms often referred to as BJJ politics: because these are the mechanisms that allowed them to grow this big. If this is the case, the BJJ Globetrotters would also start to employ mechanisms such as these when they grow bigger. Time will show if this is the case.

Most of the traditional respondents do train in gyms that have structures that resemble normal businesses where the practitioner is the customer, and thus has fewer opportunities to influence the leadership than if it were a collective organisation. They also have more rules in place that directly guide the behaviour of their members. Through this I am confident to say that the traditional teams steer their members through formal structures.

6.1.2. (LACK OF) FORMALITIES IN BJJ GLOBETROTTERS

The BJJ Globetrotters portrays itself a team that gives its members much freedom of choice, and that has no interest in controlling detailed aspects of their lives. But without the members of an organisation working towards the same goals there is no organisation (Berg, 2014), leading to AH1; the BJJ Globetrotters steer their members, but they do so through values, not rules and formal relations. This is a mode of organisation that requires little hierarchy, as the members of the organisation internalise the values and act according to them, instead of waiting for commands coming down the hierarchy-ladder. This is Lukes third dimension of

power, which is *"... to secure their compliance by controlling their thoughts and desires..."(Lukes, 1974, p. 23)*. Governing mainly through values means the absence of rules and formal relations, and as such, in the manner I understand the term, the absence of structure.

This non-hierarchical mode of organisation is not a new invention by or exclusive to BJJ teams. Such mechanisms are often used by organisations protesting against or wanting to be an alternative to modes of organisation that they find deemed immoral or abusive. They have been prevalent in civil rights-, women's, peace- and environmental movements (Leach, 2013). As the BJJ Globetrotters are in opposition to the traditional BJJ teams, it is no surprise that they seek to pursue this strategy.

In 1970 Jo Freeman wrote about the "tyranny of structurelessness" that she saw in the women's liberation movement, especially the "rap groups". According to Freeman, there would never be a movement or an organisation without structure, as relations between humans automatically will become structured. The only way to avoid structure from evolving, is by not relating to each other. The consequence of not creating a formal structure would be the evolvement of an informal one, which could not be controlled, nor held accountable for its actions. An absence of formal structure would not lead to the absence of decisions, or the absence of arenas where decisions were to be made, but to the exclusion of some members of the group from these arenas:

> *"For everyone to have the opportunity to be involved in a given group and to participate in its activities the structure must be explicit, not implicit. The rules of decision-making must be open and available to everyone, and this can happen only if they are formalized."*(Freeman, 1970, p. 233).

When there is no formal structure, an informal structure of elites will evolve. Freeman sees especially two problems with this; the first being that the group will not be able to achieve much of note, the other that those in power cannot be held accountable for their actions, they are not required to act for the good of the whole group (which is not to say that they not often act for the common good, only that they are not required to do so). Their power has not been given to them by the group, it cannot be taken away from them by the group. The use of power does not disappear by the rejection of formal structures, it just pushes the use of power into the shadows;

> *"The informal groups' vested interests will be sustained by the informal structures which exist, and the movement will have no way of determining who shall exercise power within it. If the movement continues deliberately to not select who shall exercise power, it does not thereby abolish power. All it does is abdicate the right to demand that those who do exercise power and influence be responsible for it."*(Freeman, 1970, p. 243).

While the BJJ Globetrotters does not specifically say that it wants to be structureless, it does say that it wants to be politics-free to avoid the misuse of power it has witnessed in the established organisations. Its wish is similar to the wish of the structureless movements. It is a protest to the established way of organising, which is seen as too structured, too political, involving too much use of power for illegitimate

ends leading to *"bad karma"* (Graugart, 2014). This is the same wish that informs the managers' in Pfeffers article "Understanding Power in Organizations" from 1992 who want to manage without power. Freeman warns about the dangers of assuming structurelessness, Pfeffer warns of the illusion of assuming to be able be a successful manager without using power. It seems as though many agree that to assume that one can run an organisation without the use of power, rules, politics and the like is naive at best and dangerous for the people in and around the organisation at worst.

But how much structure and use of direct power is there actually in the BJJ Globetrotters? Of the four rules on crosstraining and uniformation the respondents in the survey were asked about, no significant portion of the alternative respondents reported that these rules were present at their gym. More than half of the alternative respondents train at non-profit sports clubs, which typically have inclusive governance structures and an egalitarian decision-making structure, the rest trains at individually owned gyms. These latter gyms have the potential to have a more centralised power distribution, but as the distance between those at the top of the hierarchy and those at the bottom is small, the practitioners at the bottom have ample opportunity to influence those who take the decisions. However, this democratic structure does not aggregate to team level; there are no democratic practices in place in the governing of the team. Christian Graugart owns the team, it is his private enterprise (CVR, 2016).

Under the relative absence of formal rules and structures, values and philosophies can be effective governing tools. The values of the alternative team, presented in the *"forever unchangeable"* M*ission Statement* (Graugart, 2014), create a framework or filter for which attitudes and opinions are acceptable in the group (which the reader might recognise as the 2nd dimension of power). The values inherent in this document form the way the practitioners act and think when they internalise these values as their own (3rd dimension of power). Through the values, the team steers the actions of its members without having to create formal relations and overseeing the member's adherence to the rules. The absence of formal rules does not mean that the team does not use power to steer its members, but the power in use is less visible, and one can hold accountable those in positions of power to a lesser degree than if the relations were formalised.

> *"If the movement continues deliberately to not select who shall exercise power, it does not thereby abolish power. All it does is abdicate the right to demand that those who do exercise power and influence be responsible for it."* (Freeman, 1970, p.243).

Some aspects of the group that do require more concrete decision-making, such as the organisation of camps and the production of training gear, have not been a part of the study due to limitations in time and resources. I assume that the "informal elites" of Freeman will be found here.

In the light of these findings, I can say that the BJJ Globetrotters use very little formalisation in the governing of its members. It does, however, have intentional attempts at steering them through the values in the *Mission Statement*. When comparing the values from the *Mission Statement* to the opinions of the

respondents, they are only partly overlapping: 17% agree that the instructor is the most important person in the gym, 36% that it should be up to the blackbelt to choose a partner for rolling, 60% that loyalty to the instructor is important, 81% that it is important to uphold the high standards of the belt system, and 29% that lower ranked practitioners should move when occupying the same space as higher ranked practitioners during rolling (see table 5.3-1). Although there might be different reasons for the practitioners to be supportive of these statements, the practices that are approved of have the effect of strengthening the hierarchy. So although a blue belt practitioner might invoke a safety concern for moving away from two black belts during a rolling session, the consequence of this practice will be that the respect for and authority of the black belts will be strengthened. A strong hierarchy is contrary to the BJJ Globetrotters *Mission Statement* point nr. 7: *"We believe everyone is equal both on and off the mats"*(Graugart, 2014). It has thus not succeeded in steering its members in the desired direction.

6.1.3. COMPARATIVE: VALUES VS. FORMALITIES

The BJJ Globetrotters doesn't have many rules in place to govern its members. The *Mission Statement* consists of eight points, three of them are specifications that there are no limitations (no affiliation fees, can to wear any patches, can represent any team in competition). The other points are quite general; for example, how are you going to prove that someone is breaking the rule of *"We strive to enjoy life, people and the world through Brazilian Jiu Jitsu".* As so much discretion is necessary to judge if the points in the *Mission Statement* are fulfilled, it has to be considered more a guideline than a body of rules. It is similar to the Gracie Academy *Philosophy*, which is a complete blueprint for life (covering aspects such as nutrition, moral behaviour in business, and how to treat family and friends), but too general and not commanding enough to be considered a list of rules. The Gracie Barra *Training Etiquette* and *Code of Conduct*, on the other hand, are very specific and detailed rules as to what to wear and how to behave in the training setting and outside of it, both for practitioners and instructors.

In addition to the *Mission Statement* being the only thing that the BJJ Globetrotters has that could resemble some governing by rules, no significant amount of its respondents reported that they are subjected to rules in the gyms they train at. This is different for many of the respondents from the traditional teams – their options to crosstrain locally, and what they wear to training are regulated by rules.

In addition to the rules present in gyms, the traditional respondents also are more likely to train in franchise gyms, which have a far more rigid structure than the non-profit sports clubs that most of the alternative respondents train at. Approximately the same portion of both team categories' respondents train at individually owned gyms.

The formal relationship between the practitioner and the gym is regulated by a membership contract. Part of the contract is the membership fee, a commitment from the practitioner to the gym, and necessary to cover the gyms expenses. Different gym types have different expenses, making them more or less dependent on the members. Non-profit sports clubs often have low membership fees because they have low expenses (the instructors often don't get paid, no-one is taking out any profit), individually owned gyms have

expenses for rent, maintenance and for the instructors to live off, franchises have these expenses, and additional fees to the franchisor. Membership contracts formalise the rights and obligations of both the gym and the practitioner. Both assumedly enjoy flexibility and stability; the members want to be sure that they have a place to train and that the quality of the training will be stable, but they also don't want to be tied down for a too long period as other opportunities or obligations might arise and make them want to change gym. The gym requires a steady flow of income to pay all bills, and long-term contracts provide predictability. The gym could still benefit from being able to filter to a certain degree who can train there. Those who are in the category that they teach in exchange for not having to pay membership fees probably have more influence in the gym, because they are in a position of authority and practitioners pay attention to them. Despite the difference in what type of gym they train at, both team categories have the same kind of memberships at their gyms; mostly contracts and periodical payment. It is difficult to say which is more important for the power structure in the gym; the structure of the gym, or how the practitioners are tied to it.

Although it seems pointless to assess if the structure and formalisation of BJJ teams is "good" or "bad", as these terms are very much subjective and thus will lead to different conclusions for different analysts, one can speculate if the structure in the teams is likely to lead to the misuse of power (which was the motivation for the establishment of the BJJ Globetrotters).

If there is no structure at all in a social group, there is no structure to abuse. But as Freeman (1970) argues, it is very unlikely that there will be no structure at all in a group where humans interact. This leads to the evolvement of some informal structure, which is unlikely to be equally accessible to all members of the group. An informal structure is also not very visible, and there are no mechanisms to hold accountable the actors in the structure for their actions (not saying that they will necessarily act in ways that hurt other members of the group). It can look like this is the case in the BJJ Globetrotters: the existence of values are an informal structure, and might support a highly invisible system of influence and power. Although the motivation for both the establishment and the joining of many members of the team is assumed to be that they wanted to avoid situations where structure gave others power over them, they may have ended up creating and contributing to a system that has invisible power structures that are only accessible to few.

The traditional teams have a significantly more formal structure than the BJJ Globetrotters. According to Freeman, this is better for inclusiveness, as more actors will have access to the structure if it is visible. However, this can only be the case if the structure is aimed at inclusiveness – which an organisational structure like a franchise is not. The structures in the traditional teams are likely to exclude most of the practitioners, and allow access only to the most senior and compliant practitioners to the decision-making arenas. While this framework makes some actors very vulnerable to the whims of others, and has the potential for the abuse of power, the actors are highly visible and it is thus easier to demand accountability from them. Whether they change their actions accordingly, is a different story.

According to Freeman the more structure, the more voices will be heard – Leach argues the opposite; that above a minimum level of structure, more structure will hinder alternative voices. Which of these will be

true is, in my opinion, dependent on more factors than just the amount of structure in the team, for example also on the organisational culture.

The cultural context of the team is likely to be a factor in the organisational culture of the team; the BJJ Globetrotters with Danish origins will have different premises than the South- and North American teams. Geographic location is in fact the only demographic aspect where the team categories differ with a p-value below 0.05 (see table 4.4-4). The traditional teams' respondents are mostly from North America, the alternative respondents from Europe. Leach (2013) recommends developing an organisational structure that prevents informal elites from developing. This organisational culture will be influenced by the national culture of the members of the organisation, and its inherent sympathy or antipathy to hierarchies and egalitarianism. Northern Europe is more egalitarian than the USA (Meyer, 2015), this might be a reason for why the BJJ Globetrotters have less structure or formalisation. However, this is contradicted by the alternative respondents support for hierarchy that will be discussed shortly.

The goals of the organisation are another aspect to be considered. BJJ teams are not known for trying to be democratic and allowing all members to have a say in the decisions affecting them. There is also no democratically elected global governing body like the International Olympic Committee (IOC) or the Fédération Internationale de Football Association (FIFA). Although these two organisations have been involved in scandals concerning corruption and non-democratic practices, there are at least mechanisms in place to hold those responsible accountable for their actions. The closest thing the BJJ-community has to a global governing body is the International Brazilian Jiu-Jitsu Federation (IBJJF), which is a private corporation created and chaired by Carlson Gracie Sr., who also created and is in charge of the team Gracie Barra (and son of Carlson Gracie Sr., the creator of the term "creonte" used derogatorily about practitioners perceived to lack loyalty to their team) (GracieBarra, 2016, Rodriguez, 2014). The IBJJF organises some of the most prestigious competitions (especially for the lower belt ranks), and through this, their rules on legal techniques, belt rank promotions, and uniform requirements become standard at many gyms over the globe. There are no mechanisms in place, however, to ensure that these rules benefit the majority of BJJ practitioners or the sport in general. One is dependent on the goodwill of the people in charge of the organisation.

6.2. CROSSTRAINING AND ISOLATION

Isolation of members of BJJ teams, in the form of forbidding them to train other places than their home gym and with other people than their teammates (known as "crosstraining"), is often credited to a concern that crosstraining might lead to the loss of a gyms' competitive edge in competitions, as the crosstraining practitioners would reveal their gyms' techniques during training at another gym (Spriggs, 2014). Some feel that the practitioners have a moral obligation to their team and instructor to not weaken the team in this way for their personal profit. In addition, if practitioners were to train at several gyms simultaneously, they might not know under which gym to sign up for competitions. As competitions are used as a way to

estimate the level of a team through its members, competing for one gym and not the other might lead to hurt feelings and tension. Another reason to establish isolationist policies is that crosstraining might lead to confusion in regards to what rank a practitioner should have, if the gyms apply different standards (Young, 2014).

A reason why local crosstraining is still forbidden in some instances, might be that to crosstrain would provide the practitioners with long-term alternatives for training. The knowledge gained by crosstraining at a local gym might inform the decisions of practitioners to change to another gym in the local area. This would lead to a loss of revenue for the gym they switched away from. This would have greater consequences for teams that have a majority of gyms operating on an organisational structure that is heavily dependent on membership revenue, like a franchise gym.

On the other side of this debate are those that say that adults should not tell other adults who to (not) train with, and that this isolationist mentality is an outdated mechanism unfit for the modern world (Graugart, 2014). Isolation and its counterpart, inclusiveness, are important in other organisations and fields than BJJ and its teams. These principles have played a role in, among others, cults and protest movements.

6.2.1. CROSSTRAINING AND ISOLATION IN THE TRADITIONAL TEAMS

Scholars do not agree on a definition of a cult, and the everyday use of the term is even more diverse than the academic. Common to most definitions is that "cult" refers to an exaggerated admiration or awe for someone or something (Norbø, 2009), this "something" does not need to be holy or divine. There are different schools of thought about cults, those that are positive to them, and those that emphasise the harmful effects cult-membership has on its members (Arteaga, 2014). There have been teams that functioned as abusive cults (see Rossen, 2013 for the most well-known example), but it would be a stretch to call all BJJ teams cults. The traditional teams do have some cultic traits. Arteaga (2014) pointed out these three traits of cultic groups:

1. *"Cults are established by charismatic leaders who control power hierarchies and material resources.*
2. *Cults possess some revealed 'word' in the form of a book, manifesto, or doctrine.*
3. *Cults create fortified boundaries, confining their membership in various ways and attacking those who would leave as defectors, deserters, or traitors; they recruit new members with ruthless energy and raise enormous sums of money; and they tend to view the outside world with increasing hostility and distrust as the organization ossifies."* (Arteaga, 2014, p.8).

Especially point number three about the boundaries of the group are relevant for BJJ teams – the isolation of members, and the importance that is placed on staying within one team, is visible through the emphasis placed on crosstraining and forbidding it. Stories have been told about practitioners being ostracised for leaving or trying to leave a team, and about strict rules concerning who one can train with and not.

Sometimes these boundaries have spilled over into the life outside of BJJ as well, where socialising with other teams has been frowned upon.

The impression that the traditional teams like to isolate their members from other teams, more specifically, that they don't like them training at other gyms (sometimes going so far as to discourage people from participating in competitions) is quite prevalent in the BJJ community. The survey results show that this rumour is only partially true – there are very few restrictions on crosstraining while travelling, almost all respondents report that their gym accepts visitors, and very few of the respondents report informal discouragement from crosstraining (see figure 5.2-4 and table 5.1-1). But 18% report not being allowed to crosstrain locally, and the traditional respondents report only half of the actual crosstraining than what the alternative respondents report.

18% is not a very big portion of the respondents. However, it is statistically significantly higher than what the alternative respondents report, it is apparent that the team categories have a different approach to this issue. While this finding is no proof that all traditional teams isolate their members from other teams, it is an indication that as assumed, isolation is more highly regarded in the traditional teams.

While the rule that forbids local crosstraining is a direct infringement of the courses if action available to the members of the team, it will also have indirect consequences that strengthen the ideological hold that the team has over its members. The isolation will lead to the members being less influenced by other teams, so the philosophy and values that the traditional teams peddle to their members will have undisturbed opportunity to become part of the members' own thought structure.

A reason often given for why crosstraining was forbidden in the past was the use of "secret techniques" to win matches between practitioners from different gyms, and that practitioners that changed gyms or trained at several gyms where seen as a liability to the team as they would reveal the secret techniques to future opponents. This concern has become less relevant with the rise of information technology– one can now watch videos of instructors teaching all their favourite techniques in detail, and recordings of competitions are available down to the lowest belt rank level. There is thus nothing secret to be revealed anymore. This might be a reason for why crosstraining is not forbidden to a greater degree than what the findings show.

Regardless of the motives for forbidding crosstraining, rules forbidding crosstraining are likely to benefit the teams. Practitioners that never crosstrain are less likely to leave the gym for another (leaving would mean a loss in membership revenue for the gym), and are less likely to advocate for changes in the status quo modelled on things they have experienced at other gyms (Kavanagh, 2013a). Being free to crosstrain would benefit the practitioners, as they would have more options for training (more training sessions, geographic locations and training styles). This means that they could get a training regimen that better fitted their schedule, travel plans, and stylistic preferences.

76.5% of the traditional respondents do not crosstrain locally, although only 18% are forbidden to do so (see table 5.2-1). This might be due to the practitioners believing that their team does not want them to

(they believe the rumour or myth), thus following the "law of anticipated reactions" (Heywood, 2004). According to this theory, actors change their behaviour to one they anticipate pleases those in power.

Rivalry between teams and gyms would mean that the emotional distance to other teams is bigger – which would discourage the adoption of opinions and practices from these other teams. Increasing rivalry would lead to a more polarized BJJ community, and would isolate the teams. The level of rivalry is the same as what the alternative team reports – around 20% of the respondents report this (and the philosophy of the BJJ Globetrotters is very inclusive and should have the effect of reducing distance to other teams).

According to the findings from the survey, the traditional teams do not totally isolate their members from other teams. Some respondents cannot crosstrain at gyms in their local area, but there are no restrictions on crosstraining while travelling. Despite this, the traditional respondents don't crosstrain as much as the alternative respondents, perhaps due to the "law of anticipated reaction". I cannot say that hypothesis TH2 holds true, but I cannot fully discard it either – there is a certain level of isolation going on in the traditional teams.

6.2.2. CROSSTRAINING IN BJJ GLOBETROTTERS

Crosstraining and other ways of interacting across team boundaries has been one of the main issues of the debate on BJJ politics and forbidding it has been vehemently protested. To forbid crosstraining and to otherwise isolate the members of one's team is a direct use of power, and has several indirect consequences for other dimensions of power, most importantly among them the reduction of influences from other teams. Not restricting crosstraining is one of the aspects that the BJJ Globetrotters most decidedly want to do different from other BJJ teams (Graugart, 2014).

To reduce influence from other teams could have the effect of ensuring that the process of instilling the preferred values or preferences in the practitioners can take place without any interruption. In the extreme event that practitioners don't even know about the existence of other teams, they will not know that to belong to another team might be an alternative. When not having knowledge of what belonging to another team might consist of, practitioners are unlikely to choose to leave their team for another. When there is little to no influence from other teams, the practitioners will have less input and ideas on to how to change the structures and practices in the gym. They are less likely to criticise practices in their home gym (Kavanagh, 2013a). For example, for practitioners who train in a gym where it is compulsory to wear the team's gear, and this is the only team they have knowledge of, they are unlikely to question this rule as it just is "the way it always has been done".

The philosophy of the BJJ Globetrotters specifically encourages crosstraining across team boundaries, and has a generally positive cross-border sentiment (geographic and team borders). So it comes to no surprise that the respondents report almost no restrictions on their options to crosstrain, both locally and while travelling (see table 5.1-1). 100% of the respondents report that their gym welcomes visitors. One of three respondents reports that they regularly crosstrain at local gyms, and two of three report that they regularly

crosstrain while travelling (see table 5.2-1). These two last numbers are double of what the traditional respondents report.

Despite the absence of rules restricting crosstraining and a philosophy that encourages it, 11% of the respondents from the BJJ Globetrotters have been regularly encouraged by their team to NOT train with members of other teams (see figure 5.2-4). Although this is a small number, it is more than the traditional teams' respondents report. It also is in complete opposition to what the team otherwise features in terms of rules and the respondents' experiences. The reason for this finding being opposite of the expected result might be due to the higher level of sanctions that the respondents from the BJJ Globetrotters have experienced at gyms other than their home gym. What might have happened is that members of the BJJ Globetrotters were sanctioned when they crosstrained somewhere, and want to spare their teammates of the same experiences, so they encourage them to stay away from other teams. This is in complete opposition to the team's philosophy, which states that: *"We encourage training with anyone regardless of affiliation"* (Graugart, 2014), and statement 3 which says *"A member of a team should limit his or her interaction with other teams.".* Only 1% of the alternative team respondents support this (see table 5.3-1).

As there lacks a baseline for comparison of how much crosstraining is normal or average due to the lack of research on BJJ, I can only compare how much the alternative respondents crosstrain to how much the traditional respondents crosstrain. The respondents from the BJJ Globetrotters report that 65% of the crosstrain while travelling, and 34% crosstrain locally, this is double the extent of crosstraining than the traditional do (see table 5.2-1). This is probably an effect of the encouragement contained in the philosophy to do so, and that practitioners who already like to crosstrain while travelling join the team to take advantage of the contacts and services the team provides to enable crosstraining.

While the amount of crosstraining conducted is in line with the team philosophy, the effects of it can be that the philosophy is weakened due to influences from other teams. While training at other gyms than their home gym, the practitioners will be subjected to other influences, and the second and third dimension of power will be weakened. As practitioners are influenced from other instructors or schools of thought they are able to more coherently formulate dissenting opinions in their home gyms, and the forming of thoughts and preferences might be muddled by other influences. The influences from other teams might also have the effect of strengthening the influence the home team has on its practitioners, if they experience things at the gyms they visit that they do not approve of.

The hypothesis that the BJJ Globetrotters doesn't isolate its members from other teams holds up. Although 11% of alternative respondents have been encouraged to stay away from other teams, the data does not say if this encouragement came from someone acting as an individual, or a representative of the team. It would be interesting to investigate this issue further, but at the time being the finding is not significant enough to counter the other findings that strongly show that the BJJ Globetrotters does not isolate its members from other teams.

6.2.3. COMPARING CROSSTRAINING AND TEAM CATEGORIES

Part of the motivation behind the formation of the BJJ Globetrotters was a wish to establish a team that did not isolate its members from other teams, this goal is also present in the *Mission Statement*. It seems as though opinions of members and practices in the teams are mostly in line with this policy, except for one variable: 11% of the BJJ Globetrotters have been encouraged, by their own team, to not train with members of other teams. This is statistically significantly more than what the traditional respondents report (and the traditional teams have the reputation of having far more isolationist policies than the BJJ Globetrotters). As already mentioned, this might be because the BJJ Globetrotters have experienced more sanctions at gyms other than their own. Despite this discouragement from crosstraining, the BJJ Globetrotters crosstrain more than the traditional practitioners, who have not been subjected to the same discouragement.

Apart from this contradiction between philosophy and practice, when comparing the rules on crosstraining vs. the amount of crosstraining being done and the team categories, one meets a conundrum. The traditional teams restrict local crosstraining (the BJJ Globetrotters don't), but the practitioners from both team categories report that they crosstrain locally equally much. The traditional respondents report no restriction on crosstraining while travelling (there are no restrictions from the BJJ Globetrotters either), but here the alternatives report doing so statistically significantly more than the traditionals.

There are some possible explanations for this conundrum. One possible reason for why not more practitioners from both team categories crosstrain locally is that the rules are unimportant, the practitioners have no wish to crosstrain locally even if they're allowed to. Many gyms have more training sessions than a casual practitioner can possibly attend in one week, and many prefer training in an environment that is known to them and where they feel safe. An explanation for why the alternative respondents crosstrain more while travelling may be that the members of the BJJ Globetrotters joined the team because they wanted to find opportunities for training while travelling. The team markets itself as a very travel-friendly team, and this image might have drawn the members to it. Another reason may be that because the BJJ Globetrotters facilitates crosstraining while travelling, the members take use of the services provided. Lastly, the members of the BJJ Globetrotters may have been influenced by the *Mission Statement*, and do as they are asked when crosstraining while travelling. If this reasoning holds up (more studies would be necessary to see if there is support for these causalities; that the traditional practitioners don't crosstrain more because they don't want to, and that the alternative practitioners do because they do want to), it would mean no steering from the teams. It may be a result of indoctrination, which would be steering through the 3rd dimension.

6.3. HIERARCHY

Hierarchy means to rank phenomena in relation to each other. Most organisations and groups of people have some sort of hierarchy (Skirbekk, 2015b). Hierarchy in BJJ is based on the belt rank hierarchy (as well as organisational structure in some cases). Belt rank, in turn, is based on the practitioners' technical knowledge, ability to apply this knowledge in live sparring against a fully resisting opponent, competition records, and sometimes training discipline and morals as well as good relations to the instructor in charge of deciding on belt promotions. The ability to apply techniques against a fully resisting opponent (and succeed) is the most important of these aspects, and BJJ is thus said to be a performance-based martial art. This is contrasted to traditional martial arts like Aikido or Tae-kwon-do, where rank is mostly based in the practitioners' ability to perform techniques on a cooperative partner, or without a partner in a pre-set pattern of movements (often called kata). The belts in BJJ are considered to be measures of the practitioners real competence in the sport of BJJ. The opposite would be people with a masters degree, that are given the rank of second lieutenant and can move up to lieutenant within three weeks of starting in the Norwegian Armed Forces, their rank would then not be a measure of their competence as a soldier (Forsvaret, 2015). The hierarchy in BJJ is considered to be not an artificial construction, but a natural and logic consequence of the belts being symbols of real competence in the sport.

6.3.1. HIERARCHY IN THE TRADITIONAL TEAMS

The traditional teams paint a picture of themselves as being quite hierarchical and rigid in their social structure, and the findings from the survey supports this notion (as well as the documents from Gracie Barra). Starting with the gym type; the traditional respondents train mostly in franchise gyms and individually owned gyms. The franchise gym is, as mentioned, the most rigid and hierarchical organizational form of the gym types in the survey. The relations are formalized through franchise contracts, and the hierarchy with the franchisor (team) on top, the franchisee (gym) in the middle and the individual practitioners at the bottom (Fredriksen, 2009). The distance between the top and the bottom is large, and there are few possibilities for the individual practitioners to climb the ladder fast to get an influential position in the organization.

The individually owned gyms have a shorter hierarchy, but here too, all power is concentrated in the hands of the gym owner. This often falls together with the position as head instructor – a position which comes with great authority and influence over the practitioners.

The power structures established by the gym type can be supported and made more effective by values the team dissipates to its members. Gracie Barra in its documents emphasizes and details the importance of the hierarchy in their team. 11 of 27 rules of the *Training Etiquette* regulate how the practitioners must behave towards their instructors (they must treat them with utmost respect and obedience). The *Code of Conduct* specifically states that *"The belt ranks hierarchy* [sic.] *must be respected and the authority of the black belt sincerely recognized."*. Gracie Academy does not touch the topic of the social structure in their *Philosophy*, they are mostly concerned with how individual practitioners should live their life both in and outside of

training. This does not mean that a hierarchy is not a part of their daily functioning or affairs, but I cannot infer its importance from the *Philosophy*.

As the Gracie Academy *Philosophy* does not touch the subject of hierarchy, and the other two traditional teams have not published any documents with the values of the team, I cannot be completely sure that the traditional teams all distribute hierarchy-supportive values to their members. But there is strong agreement among the traditional respondents on statements 5, 6, 7, 9 and 10 in table 5.3-1, suggesting that the hierarchy stands strong in all the traditional teams.

Among these statements is statement 9, *"It is important to uphold the high standards of the belt rank system."*(see table 5.3-1). There might be multiple reasons why respondents might support this statement. One is pride; practitioners want to be proud of their belt and those they hope to achieve. If they feel that the standards for the ranks are high, and it takes a lot of work to achieve them, they will be proud when they do so. If the standards of the belts are lowered, their value and the value of the work put in to achieve them would be devalued. The phenomenon is often called "belt inflation", and gyms that give out belts at low standards are called "McDojos". Dojo means "the place where to study the way", and is the name for a martial arts training room (Bryhn, 2009), a "McDojo" is a gym which lowers standards to attract members and collect their membership fees without any regard to the sport as a whole. These belts and gyms are not held in high regards in the community. Practitioners are also proud of their performance based belts, which make them more prepared for self-defence situations than holders of belts from traditional martial arts, which are said to train unrealistic scenarios (McLure, 2014). Another reason for why practitioners might prefer high standards for them personally, is that high standards heighten the chance of being successful in competitions. It is not an attractive thought to be given a new rank too early, and end up losing badly to practitioners from other gyms with higher standards.

Regardless of the motivation behind supporting the integrity of the belt ranks, the consequence of high standards is that high ranked practitioners have significant authority and power. If the belt rank hierarchy was unrealistic or an imprecise measure of the practitioners competence, lower ranked practitioners would not be compelled to listen to the teachings of the higher belts (like a sergeant with 5 years experience in the armed forces would be doubtful to listen to a medical doctor on his first day in the service on a matter of military strategy if the latter's rank was based on his medical education).

The same mechanism is at play in statement 10, *"Lower belts should move when occupying the same space as higher belts when rolling."*. Although the reason for supporting this statement might be a safety concern ("Someone has to move to avoid injuries which might occur if two pairs collide"), but the consequence is higher respect for higher ranked practitioners and their training time.

Those in charge of the gym are in a position to introduce and implement hierarchical rituals. Kertzer in "Ritual, Politics, and Power" (1988) writes about rituals in politics, political rituals, symbolism, and how rites are used to create and change power relations and hierarchies. Among rituals he talks about are

coronations, manhood rites, funerals, and the transferral of powers and authority from one member of a political body to their successor. BJJ has a symbolically rich culture, most prominent in the belt system. The belt in itself is only a piece of fabric that does a rather poor job at keeping the gi closed, but in the context of BJJ it becomes infused with emotional value, it signals the practitioners' position in the hierarchy, their competence, and the progression through the ranks shows the development a practitioner has in the sport.

Through rituals new members are introduced and socialised into the expectations, values, and norms in an organisation, and through this the existing order of things is upheld. Kertzer says: *"Through ritual, beliefs about the universe come to be acquired, reinforced, and eventually changed."*(Kertzer, 1988, p.9). Repeating the same actions again and again leads to an eventual adoption of the values and positions inherent in these actions. The meaning and symbolism inherent in the rituals in BJJ convey a lot about the value-basis in the teams. To create rituals, and to expect or push practitioners to take part in them, is an intentional attempt at changing the practitioners worldviews, thoughts, and attitudes.

One of the rituals common in BJJ is lining up, which entails to stand in one or several ordered line(s) facing the instructor before and after a training session. A practitioners' position in the line is determined by the practitioners' belt rank – the highest ranked practitioners are at the beginning of the line, and closest to the instructor in the case of several lines. This ritual reinforces the hierarchy as it shows the practitioners where their place in the hierarchy is, who is above them, and who is below them. The line is adjusted as practitioners move up through the ranks. This ritual is very common in the traditional teams, 87% of their respondents report it (see figure 5.3-3).

Bowing came to BJJ through influence from Judo, which BJJ originates from. Bowing can be a greeting (the german term for bowing before a training session in Judo is "angrüssen"), a sign of respect and gratitude, and is more common in Asia then in Western countries these days. Bowing to instructors commonly happens during the line-up, with the instructor standing in front of the practitioners. Bowing to other students is a more reciprocal event that often happens at the end of a training session. Bowing to a picture is the least reciprocal of the bowing practices, as a picture is not able to pay the respect back, or even acknowledge what is happening. Depending on the reciprocality of the bow (two practitioners bowing to each other is very reciprocal, if one bows it is less, if the bow is to a picture it is completely one-sided), the ritual more or less supports the hierarchy. Bowing to pictures of the first practitioners of BJJ teams can be seen as an exaggerated admiration (a cultic trait, see section 6.3.1.), although it is much up to interpretation what is exaggerated, and what is normal or standard. Figure 5.3-4 shows that 56% of the traditional respondents bow to instructors, 45% bow to other students, and 44% bow to pictures. Bowing practices are thus prevalent in the traditional team, and support and strengthen the hierarchy.

It is common rhetoric in the BJJ-community to use terms implying a certain relationship to other practitioners, see table 6.3-1. The terms for instructors and practitioners refer to a special relation with varying implications, especially in the case of "master" and "follower". Someone belongs to a master, and a

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follower follows a leader, both implying a strict command and obedience-structure. 45% of the traditionals report using titles for their instructor (see figure 5.3-3), and three rules from the Gracie Barra *Training Etiquette* details the use of titles for instructors.

Titles commonly used	
Instructor	**Practitioner**
Teacher	Student
Professor	Follower
Master	
Grandmaster	

Table 6.3-1: Titles commonly used.

A strong hierarchy can also contain an unwillingness to criticize the instructor. 20% of the traditional respondents are of the opinion that one should never criticize the instructor (and 24% say it is only okay if done in private) – a quite dramatic notion of obedience. A certain level of obedience is necessary when training a contact sport like BJJ, as the instructor is responsible for the practitioners' safety during training. However, to never criticize the instructor is far more than just a recognition of this concern for the safety of training partners, it is a limitation of the public debate to issues that don't challenge , doubt, or question the instructor. Despite this unwillingness to criticize, 30% of the traditional respondents report having experienced debate on how the team or gym is run. This is the same number that the alternative respondents reported, and their philosophy specifically downplays the hierarchy. Perhaps the practitioners from both team categories have little to criticize.

All findings from the survey support the assumption that the traditional teams have a strong hierarchy. Rituals and rules lay the foundation of indoctrination of practitioners, and the support of hierarchic statements show that the teams in general have succeeded with this process.

6.3.2. THE FLAT SOCIAL STRUCTURE OF BJJ GLOBETROTTERS

A flat social structure would evenly distribute power, rights and duties in the team. One point of the BJJ Globetrotters' philosophy states that *"We believe everyone is equal both on and off the mats"* (Graugart, 2014). The picture the survey paints from the team is not entirely confirmative of the philosophy in this instance, as there is some support among the alternative respondents for statements supporting the existence and value of a hierarchy, and there are hierarchical rituals being used in the team.

For example, 81% of the alternative respondents agree that *"It is important to uphold the high standards of the belt system"* (see table 5.3-1). The higher the standards of the belt system, the more authority the practitioners at the top of it have despite the respondents motivation for supporting the statement. The holders of the rank will, by possessing a belt rank, show that they have fulfilled the instructors' standards for the rank, among them technical knowledge, ability to apply this knowledge in live training and competition, and in some instances adherence to moral and ethical standards (these standards are subjective, up to the discretion of the individual instructors who might choose to add or remove standards at their whim). The higher the standards, the more agenda-setting and thought-shaping power they have.

Another example, 36% of the respondents from the BJJ Globetrotters agree to the statement "*It should be up to the black belt to decide who to roll with*" (see table 5.3-1). It is thus the right of the actor at the top of the hierarchy to choose a sparring partner. In some teams and gyms, it is considered rude and disrespectful for a lower ranked practitioner to ask a black belt, or in some cases any practitioner who is ranked higher than oneself, to a live sparring (rolling) round. As BJJ is a very physical sport, where weakness is considered negatively, declining to roll with someone can be seen as a sign of fatigue or being afraid of losing to the "challenger". By leaving it up to the black belt to decide who to roll with, the black belts will never be put in the situation of risking to look weak by declining someone's request. Through this, the highest ranked practitioners can avoid situations where their abilities and position in the hierarchy are tested and contested.

Singh (2012) in Leach (2013) found that even in very egalitarian, leaderless, and inclusive movements like the Occupy Wall Street-movement, some people are denied to voice their opinions if they are contrary to the opinions of the dominant group. 10% of the alternative respondents in vignette 3 are of the opinion that a practitioner never should criticize the instructor (see figure 5.2-1). If the support for this statement were higher, it would not only be a sign that the authority of the instructor is highly valued, but would have the consequences of silencing voices critical to the instructors and the way they do things. This would reinforce the processes that can give even more authority and power to the instructor. Despite some unwillingness to critique the instructor, 46% of the respondents have regularly experienced debate on how the team or gym should be run (see figure 5.2-2).

Part of the reason why the members of the BJJ Globetrotters partially support the hierarchy despite the philosophy, might be that they perform hierarchical rituals as part of their training. The repetition of rituals will lead to the internalisation of the values the rituals present (Kertzer, 1988) as already mentioned in section 6.3.1. Rituals with hierarchic connotations are expected to imprint the hierarchic notions into the practitioners by repetition. More than 40% of the practitioners from the team report lining up (see figure 5.3-3), 17% of them bow to other practitioners, and 16% bow to their instructors (see figure 5.3-4). Very few of them bow to pictures or use titles for their instructors.

The gym type most prominent in this team are non-profit sports clubs (60%, see table 5.1-3), which can be University BJJ groups, gyms on military bases, or sports teams that have a more communal governance structure (contrasted to franchised gyms, which have a very business-oriented structure). As these gyms are non-profit, the member revenue is not very important, and thus attracting and keeping members becomes less important for the gym. There will be little incentive to control the members for financial reasons (many opponents of BJJ politics are of the opinion that the primary reason for forbidding crosstraining is to avoid losing the practitioner's membership fees to other gyms). Non-profit gyms, especially those at education facilities and military bases, are influenced by a large membership turnover, as the students finish their education and move, or servicemen and -women are transferred. A large turnover will leave little time to establish a strong informal hierarchy, or a strong opposition. As these gyms often have a communal

governance structure with steering bodies or committees elected from the members, or volunteers holding honorary offices which rotate among members, many of the members have access to decision-making processes. This means that most of the alternative respondents will experience a less controlled and less hierarchical training environment.

An individually owned gym (39% of the respondents of the BJJ Globetrotters train in one, see table 5.1-3) might be officially part of a team, and thus have various degrees of restrictions placed on it by the team, but probably not to the same extent as the franchise gyms. The owners of the individually owned gyms have more discretion on how they want to run their gym, and the practitioners have more direct access to them. Here, as in the franchise gym, the decision-making power is concentrated on a few hands.

The attitudes revealed by statements 5,6,7,9, and 10 (see table 5.3-1) and the vignettes 1-3 (see figures 5.2-1, 5.3-1 and 5.3-2) show that the practitioners in the BJJ Globetrotters have a certain level of respect towards the belt hierarchy, this makes it easier for those in high positions in it to effectively get support for the policies they introduce than if there were no support for the hierarchy. However, as the attitudes of the respondents are somewhat contrary to the philosophy, it seems as if the team has not been able to fully form the practitioners in the direction it wishes. It might be that the members of the BJJ Globetrotters are influenced by other teams or the general BJJ culture (perhaps through the high level of crosstraining), and thus have some of the hierarchy-supporting attitudes.

There are scholars who found that non-hierarchical structures are hard to maintain in heterogeneous groups (Rothschild and Whitt, 1989). One can thus assume that non-hierarchical structures are easier to maintain in homogenous groups. The BJJ Globetrotters is a quite homogenous group (as are most BJJ teams), the members are mostly young and adult men from the western world (see section 4.4.1) who like martial arts. This might be the reason for why hierarchical structures have not evolved to a greater degree in the team than those that exist now. Freeman (1970) argues that the relation of people will automatically lead to structures evolving – maybe some structures need to evolve as the team consists of people relating, but not much hierarchy is necessary as the group is relatively homogenous. Perhaps a hierarchy is impossible to avoid in BJJ, where the belt system is regarded as a realistic estimate of a practitioners competence in the specific context.

Another reason for why more structures have not formed or do not encompass all members can be because not all members participate – structurelessness is only possible if actors don't relate. Participation in the BJJ Globetrotters is not a requirement for being a member, it is thus possible that there are many members who never participate much in the team. There are members in as remote places as Greenland, Bolivia, and Guam (BJJGlobetrotters, 2016b), which are more unlikely to participate in meetings of the team due to their geographic location. However, there are other ways of participating apart from physical meetings, and as social media are avidly used in the team, these members might participate in the general discussion online. It would be very interesting to look at the effect of social media interaction on the evolvement of structures and informal elites in an organisation, unfortunately I don't have data to delve into this topic at this point.

The BJJ Globetrotters might not have a choice in if the team should have a hierarchy or not due to the belt ranks' nature and the nature of human interaction. If these are the reasons for why a hierarchy is present, or if there are other reasons, I cannot say confidently. However, the social structure of the team is not completely flat.

6.3.3. HIERARCHICAL TEAMS VS. LESS HIERARCHICAL TEAM

Hierarchy is the aspect where the two team categories differ the most, although it is not absent in the BJJ Globetrotters. As mentioned, hierarchy has a sensible function in martial arts, as the training by nature has the potential to be harmful for the practitioners, and having a responsible and authoritative instructor in place can prevent injuries from happening. In addition to this concern, it might be impossible to eradicate as long as the belts are seen as such precise and relevant estimates of competence as they are now, as long as teams consist of relating humans, and as long as hierarchical rituals are performed. Hierarchy has an important place in the traditional teams; it is emphasised in the documents from Gracie Barra, hierarchical rituals are performed in the teams on a broad basis, and the opinions of the practitioners support it.

The situation in the BJJ Globetrotters is a different one. In their document, egalitarianism is emphasised, and the respondents report less hierarchical rituals being performed in the gyms where they train. Despite this, the alternative respondents partly express opinions which support a hierarchy in a BJJ setting. These opinions are not as widespread as in the traditional teams, but they are prominent enough to question whether the BJJ Globetrotters can be said to successfully govern its members through values. Our values are very influential in shaping and controlling our actions, as Lukes acknowledges in *"Power – a radical view"* from 1974.

The presence of a hierarchy facilitates control and better opportunities to steer the members of a team. The actors at the top of the hierarchy have access to decision-making arenas, and can exclude others from the same arenas. They are able to exclude topics that might lead to decision that they don't agree with from the public debate, and function as standard-setting role models for the actors lower down in the hierarchy. So while the BJJ Globetrotters has failed to steer its members in the desired direction, it has gained more control over them as a consequence of this failure.

6.4. VALUES SUPPORTING OTHER ASPECTS

Although it is convenient and simple to put variables in groups and boxes and analyse them one by one, the reality of the empirical world is different; events, practices, rules, people and their opinions all change, influence each other, and can increase or muffle the effect of each other. The opinions people hold, being expressions for the values they have internalised, are especially important in this regard as they inform our actions and reactions to experiences or influences. In addition to the values of practitioners, the official values of the teams are relevant on this topic. If the values of both teams and practitioners coincide with each other and the practices and rules, they will support and reinforce each other.

6.4.1. VALUES AND TRADITIONAL TEAMS

The team's heritage and hierarchy in the team are highly valued in the traditional teams. The first trait of cultic groups by Arteaga (2014) focuses on the leaders of cults, who are charismatic and control the power hierarchies. Regardless of the traditional BJJ teams leaders' charisma, they do control the power hierarchies, and are very well known in their teams. As mentioned in section 6.3.1, the traditional respondents show strong support for the hierarchical statements in table 5.3-2. Gracie Barra emphasises hierarchy strongly in their documents, and 43% of the respondents are of the opinion that public critique or any critique at all of the instructor is not acceptable. In addition, 32% of the traditional respondents agree that the instructor is the most important person in the gym, and 76% that loyalty to the instructor is important. The hierarchy looks solid and stable in the traditional teams, and should not meet much opposition.

Arteaga (2014) also mentions that cults have a "revealed word". Although BJJ teams have no holy book or scripture, some of them do place great emphasis on the techniques they teach to be "pure" (GracieAcademy, 2015b), something that is verified by the instructors being close to the source. Close proximity to the source is estimated through the concept of lineage – lineage is the connection between a specific practitioner and the first practitioners of the sport, in the form of a family/practitioner tree.

Lineage gives power and authority to those who are close to the source (a good lineage is one with few links between the original practitioners of BJJ and the practitioner in question). Black belts have the power to add practitioners to a lineage (and give them access to the privileges associated with this): belt rank promotion is completely subjective in most places (Kavanagh, 2013a). Those who possess or have access to the "revealed word" in the cults are powerful, as are those who have technical knowledge and a good lineage or reputation in BJJ, even more so in a team that values lineage and the heritage of the team and sport. Not surprisingly, lineage is valued by the traditionals (70% agree that a good lineage is very valuable, see table 5.3-1), whose teams can be traced back directly to the origins of the sport (BJJHeroes, 2016c, BJJHeroes, 2016b, BJJHeroes, 2016a).

The (small) degree to which the traditional teams isolate their members from other teams has been discussed in section 6.2.1. Isolation could also be enforced through creating strong boundaries and sanctioning those who try to leave the team. Vignettes 1 and 2 showed the respondents two scenarios in which a practitioner left a team for different reasons. Approximately 10% of traditional respondents expressed the opinion in both vignette 1 and 2 that the practitioners should have put the team over their own preferences, and stayed within the team – this meagre support leads to the assumption that leaving a traditional team is not as punishable as leaving a cult. This assumption is supported by other variables from the survey which show that of the 27% traditional respondents that have switched teams, only 7% had been punished for it (see figures 5.1-1 and 5.3-5). This means that only 4 of the 96 respondents that had switched teams were treated badly for doing so.

The traditional respondents are proud of their team and loyal to it and their instructors (see table 5.3-1). 67% of the traditional respondents wear the team's or gym's gi, patch or rashguard without having to (see table 5.1-2), which suggests an identification with the team. Part of why practitioners might choose to wear the gi, rashguard or patch of the team while not being required to do so, might be that they try to emulate the important practitioners in their team. 44% of the practitioners of the traditional teams have also adopted the term "oss". The term "oss" or "osu" comes from Japanese, and is uttered as a way of answering "understood" to an instruction, as a greeting, it is used as a compliment and a show of respect. This copying of what practitioners see being worn and done in the team can be seen as a cultic trait – where members adopt the sayings, hairstyle, clothing style, or other traits of the main actors in the cult (Norbø, 2009). Seen in relation to each other, these findings support the notion that belonging is important in the traditional teams. This might lead to less influence from other teams, as the traditional practitioners prefer their own team over other teams.

The strong sense of belonging to and identification with the practitioners' teams, coupled with some restrictions on crosstraining might lead to a subtle isolation of the practitioners from the influence of other teams. While partly being a result of, it also leads to a reinforcement of the 2nd and 3rd dimension of power, by reducing the influence other teams or instructors might have on the practitioners. These are good conditions to establish and promote structures and values that give further power to those high up in the hierarchy. The hierarchy has a strong position in the traditional teams, and is supported by both the documents from Gracie Barra, and opinions of the respondents.

6.4.2. BJJ GLOBETROTTERS, INCLUSIVENESS, AND A FLAT HIERARCHY

Inclusiveness can have different meanings, and I will here focus on two; being inclusive in who one trains and socialises with across team boundaries, and inclusiveness in matters of allowing many practitioners in the decision-making processes.

The BJJ Globetrotters is inclusive in that its respondents crosstrain a lot; 34% crosstrain regularly in their local area, and 66% while they travel (see table 5.2-1). Inclusiveness can be decreased by a high level of rivalry to other teams or gyms. If there is a lot of rivalry and animosity, practitioners are less likely to train or socialise with practitioners from their rival teams. Compared to the reputedly less inclusive traditional teams, the BJJ Globetrotters does not have significantly lower levels of rivalry to other teams and gyms (see table 5.2-2).

To be able to include someone in an organisation, one must be able to recognise the organisation. Recognition of a group is done through symbols:

> *"No organization – whether Ku Klux Klan or General Motors – can exist without symbolic representation, for organizations can be "seen" only through their associated symbols."*(Kertzer, 1988, p.15).

The symbols most relevant for BJJ teams are their logos, which are featured on the patches and the team gis. The symbols show which team the practitioners belong to, and who is not a member. Wearing a teams' patch might be especially important when mixing with practitioners from other teams; at public (open to all, regardless of affiliation) training camps or training sessions and at competitions. In competitions, the practitioners represent not their geographic area, but their teams, there are even trophies for the teams that have the most medallists, and competition results are the testimony of the quality of training one can receive in specific teams and from specific instructors. To showcase the symbol of one's team is to show the whole world which team one belongs to, it is a sign of allegiance. To wear the symbol of the team voluntarily is a sign that the practitioners are comfortable with showing to the world which team they belong to. This requires a certain level of support for and identification with the team. The continuous wearing of the symbol of the team makes the practitioner more and more comfortable with it, and makes the bond of belonging to the team stronger. See table 5.1-2, over half of the alternative respondents wear their team's or gym's gi, patch, or rashguard. It can also be regarded as a cultic trait, to copy the symbols and clothes of other actors in the group.

Despite the inclusiveness emphasised in the BJJ Globetrotters philosophy, 11% of its respondents report being encouraged to not train with practitioners of other teams (see figure 5.2-4). This number is low, but statistically significantly higher than what the traditional respondents reported. The alternative respondents' reports might be explained by the higher amount of sanctions they experienced at gyms other than their current (at previous gyms or while crosstraining, see figure 5.3-7).

Sanctions, like values, can have the effect of strengthening other policies (and the values) of the teams by making the breaking of rules or acting contrary to the consensus less attractive. Sanctions are assumed to have a disciplining effect on both the perpetrator and the spectators (unless the sanctions are deemed too harsh, or unjustified, which could lead to dissent or practitioners leaving the gym or team in protest). The alternative team category reports approximately double the level of sanctions when they switched gyms or teams in the past, but this is not statistically significant (probably due to the small N in this variable). The alternative team category also experienced more sanctions at gyms other than their current gym, with 4 out of 7 types of sanctions yielding statistically significant correlations to team category (see figure 5.3-7). This might be the reason for encouraging other teammates to stay away from other teams.

To highlight the other way inclusiveness can be understood, I compare the BJJ Globetrotters to the Occupy Wall Street-movement that protested the way Wall Street controls governments and uses this control to assemble wealth on few hands (OccupyWallStreet.net, 2016).

The BJJ Globetrotters and the Occupy Wall Street-movement are similar in several aspects; both are in opposition to the status quo that they are dissatisfied with, both make extensive use of social media as a communication and organisational platform, and both have inclusive philosophies. The battle cry of the Occupy-movement is "We are the 99%" (OccupyWallStreet.net, 2016), the BJJ Globetrotters says in its *Mission Statement* that *"We encourage training with anyone regardless of affiliation."* (Graugart, 2014).

There are some vital differences between the two groups though, the Occupy Wall Street-movement operates as a leaderless movement making decisions through general assemblies, while the BJJ Globetrotters are led by founder and de facto leader Christian Graugart who takes all decisions in regard to the team. Inclusiveness in the Occupy movement means that everyone has access to and a right to participate in the decisions that are made (Maharawal, 2013), while inclusiveness in the BJJ Globetrotters is more about the right to participate in training and meeting members of the team. While alternative or protest movements often involve very democratic and inclusive decision-making mechanisms (Leach, 2013), inclusiveness in the BJJ Globetrotters does not lead to more accountability and democracy but to a growth of the organisation and number of members. The team is still a private enterprise owned by Christian Graugart (CVR, 2016) and he has the formal decision to take all decisions, regardless of how big the team grows. It seems as the BJJ Globetrotters, although trying to be inclusive, ignore the issues of power and exclusion that it could eradicate through being more inclusive also in matters of decision making.

6.4.3. COMPARING VALUE-MATCHES

The traditional respondents express opinions showing that they support the hierarchy in their teams. They also show a strong sense of pride and loyalty to their teams and instructors (see statements 1,4, and 7 in table 5.3-1). They are, however, not of the opinion that the members of a team should limit their interactions with other teams (see statement 3 in table 5.3-1). These results lead to the conclusion that the hierarchy probably does not meet much resistance, while isolationist policies are mildly contested in the traditional teams.

The values that the BJJ Globetrotters stand for, and its respondents' values are more of a mismatch than what is the case in the traditional teams. This is especially prominent for the hierarchy, and might be a result of the alternative practitioners being subjected to more influence from other teams due to their propensity to crosstrain, especially while travelling. Another explanation might be that perhaps BJJ is a naturally hierarchical sport.

The hypotheses stipulate that the BJJ Globetrotters steers its members mainly through values, and the that the traditional teams do so through rules and formal relations. The findings show that the BJJ Globetrotters does use mostly values to influence the behaviour of its members (the second and third dimension of power). However, the traditional teams do so as well – in addition to rules and formalities. In the case of the traditional teams, the values will support and strengthen the rules that they employ. Through this, the first dimension of power will be reinforced by the second and third, creating conditions which in turn create a better ground for the indoctrination of members. The BJJ Globetrotters seems to have had less success on matching its goals for the organisation with the opinions of its members.

7. CONCLUSION

7.1. WHAT HAS BEEN

Through this study I have researched the internal dynamics of BJJ teams, more specifically relevant events, practices, and processes in the teams. By coupling these findings with the 3-dimensional view on power, I have inferred how these event, practices and processes steer the behaviour of BJJ practitioners.

7.1.1. SUMMARY OF THE STUDY

Inspired by a debate in the BJJ community on "BJJ-politics" and BJJ Globetrotters' goal of being "politics-free", I wanted to find out if the team truly was free of politics. As I understand the term, BJJ politics are the illegitimate regulation of practitioners' behaviour to the gain of the teams. As I did not want to get involved with the subjectivity of what is legitimate or not, I formulated my research question to: *how different BJJ teams steer the behaviour of their members.* The teams chosen for the study were chosen due to their image and position in the BJJ community. They were divided into two categories; the alternative team category, and the traditional teams category.

Guided by my insights into the empirical field and the theoretical framework, I developed eight hypotheses that proposed my expectations for what I would find. These hypotheses where tested through the answers to an online survey of practitioners of the teams and a document analysis of documents published by the teams. The findings have been analysed using the three dimensions of power by Dahl, Bachrach & Baratz, and Lukes. In the analysis I have focussed on the topics hierarchy, isolation, and formalisation, and how the values of and in the teams coincide with these three topics.

I have found that the traditional teams use all three dimensions of power actively to uphold a strong hierarchy in the teams, they are formalised, and isolate their members from other teams to a small degree. The values of the team and their members overlap to strengthen these aspects. The alternative team, on the other hand, does not isolate its members from other teams, and has formalised very few relations. The power dimension employed the most is the 3rd. The values of the team call for an egalitarian structure, but its members support a hierarchy. The team can thus not be said to successfully steer its members, although it seeks to.

7.1.2. ANSWER TO THE RESEARCH QUESTION

"BJJ politics" is steering of practitioners' behaviour. Some say the practices are illegitimate, other support them. Regardless of their morality, they can be analysed through theories on power, as power is to regulate the behaviour of actors. The three dimensions of power showcase different mechanisms through which the behaviour of actors can be influenced or regulated.

The two team categories differ somewhat in which power dimensions they use, and how. The dimensions in real life are not as clear cut as the theory makes them out to be, the picture is muddled and not transparent.

However, the analytical categories of the theories are helpful in providing insight and analysing the phenomena.

As one can see from the chapters 5 Findings and 6 Analysis, the traditional teams use the 1st dimension of power (which is to ensure that decisions are taken in one's interest) more actively than BJJ Globetrotters does. This tendency is visible in the document analysis, the gym types, and rules the respondents report being present in their gyms. Both team categories use the 2nd and 3rd dimension actively – although BJJ Globetrotters seems less successful in using the 3rd dimension (the forming of actors' thoughts and preferences), as the opinions of the respondents contradict its philosophy.

The 1st dimension lays the formal foundations or framework that the two other dimensions will fill. The rules and organisational structure present are the preconditions for how much influence from others can be limited, and what influences the practitioners thought structures. For example, the lack of rules and isolation in BJJ Globetrotters, coupled with its practitioners' propensity to crosstrain, means that they will be influenced from more directions than only their team. Is the 1st dimension very active in a well developed and formal system of rules and organisational structure, and these structures don't allow for much influence or participation from the practitioners, the practitioners will have little chance to form them according to their wishes. Instead, they have to adapt to the structures and the teams' wishes.

The 2nd dimension of power, the limitation of the public debate to issues not harmful to the powerful actors, can strengthen the 3rd dimension, the forming of thoughts, and lessen resistance to the 1st dimension, the taking of decisions to realise ones interests. For example, the unwillingness of practitioners to criticise their instructor is part of the 2nd dimension: critique, which would be detrimental for the instructor, is not allowed in public debate. If most practitioners are unwilling to criticise the instructor they are unlikely to protest his or her decision, and more easily follow his or her example and adopt the portrayed habits and values.

The 2nd and 3rd dimension, due to their invisible nature, are harder to document and analyse than the 1st dimension. This does not make them less important, on the contrary: as already mentioned are less visible power structures easier to misuse and it is more difficult to ensure that the actors in them act responsibly in regards to the organisation and other actors in it. On the other hand, the structures that ensure the 1st dimension are, when first in place, clearer and more resistant to change than the norms that manage the 2nd and 3rd.

This interaction is also the case for variables. The rules regarding crosstraining, for instance, are both the 1st dimension (instructors or gym owners taking the decisions that the practitioners are allowed or not to train other places), and 2nd dimension in that they set the standards for what is acceptable and not. As with the dimensions, it is difficult to say which variables are more important than others. They all play their part in the grand picture.

The findings support for some of the hypotheses. There is support for TH1 (the traditional category steers through formalities), TH3 (traditional category has a strong hierarchy), and AH2 (alternative team does not isolate its members). There is some support for TH2 (traditional category isolates its members). TH4 must be nuanced: there are few structures facilitating isolation in the traditional teams, but several establishing hierarchy, so the values of the traditional teams can be seen to reinforce the structures for hierarchy and the lack of isolation. Regarding AH1, BJJ Globetrotters does seek to guide its members through values, but fails at doing so. Consequently, AH4 is not supported, as the values of the team and the values of its members don't overlap on the topic of hierarchy.

There are several reasons that can explain why BJJ Globetrotters is not successful in creating an egalitarian social structure in the team. I have mentioned the possible naturally hierarchical trait of the sport, with the belt ranks as symbols of context-specific competence. Another reason might be that there are portions among the alternative respondents that do perform hierarchical rituals, and that they crosstrain so much that they often are influenced by other teams' practices and values.

7.1.3. Limitations

To establish that the two samples of respondents to the survey are representative for the population, I compared their demography to the demography of other surveys on BJJ. The demography of my samples was very similar to the demography of previous surveys. If these previous surveys had a biased or skewed demography, mine would have too, and the samples would not be representative of the whole BJJ-population. If this were the case, I could not assume that the correlations I found in the data material would also be found in the population. However, as there are several surveys that have found a similar demography, and none that have found a different one, I am confident that my samples are a representative picture of the BJJ-population as a whole (see section 4.4.1).

Although there were some studies that I could compare the demography to, the topic of these studies were so different from mine (topics ranging from performance enhancing drugs, belt promotions and psychology, to gi preferences) that I could not compare the findings from these surveys to mine, other than the demography. Due to this, I had to compare the findings from the team categories to each other and identify where they differ significantly, as well as identify findings that are solid, such as when large portions of the respondents answered in the same manner. Individual findings were strengthened if several findings pointed in the same direction, and weakened if some variables pointed in the opposite direction. Due to the lack of data on the empirical field, this was a viable solution. As it was pragmatically established that the demography is representative of BJJ practitioners, I am certain that the findings can be generalised to the traditional and alternative teams.

While the survey covered the experiences of all kinds of practitioners, there were only documents from 2 of 4 traditional teams available for the document analysis. So I cannot know for certain if their values are hierarchical or isolationist. However, they do have a traditional reputation and image for a reason, and the values of the whole category of respondents were clearly supporting hierarchy, and hierarchical practices

are prevalent in the traditional teams. It seems as though not all traditional teams publish guidelines with hierarchical connotations, they clearly establish a hierarchy internally through practice and rituals.

My involvement in martial arts in general since I was a child and BJJ through the last three years has given me invaluable knowledge about the phenomena in the community and the meanings the practitioners attribute to them. This insight was useful in the creation of the survey, as I was able to formulate the questions in ways that aimed at the specific phenomena I was interested in, in ways that the practitioners understood. It was also very useful in the analysis, as I was able to see different sides of phenomena, different justifications for practices and different consequences. Personal contacts proved valuable in the distribution of the survey.

Investigator bias refers to the bias that researchers can possess while planning and conducting a study. Because of the researchers' previous experiences and beliefs, they are unconsciously biased towards seeing phenomena in a certain light, or coming to a certain conclusion. One might also be biased towards finding the things one expects to find. This might be especially dangerous in this case, as I myself am a member of BJJ Globetrotters. However, as mentioned in section 4.4.5, precautions were taken to minimise any effects on the survey questions and the analysis. The survey was tested rigorously before publishing by fellow master students and BJJ practitioners from different teams. The analysis was critiqued by the research group at the University consisting of Professors, Doctorate and Masters' students, and practitioners with long experience in the sport. I am thus positive that I have avoided most pitfalls and arrived at a well-balanced and objective conclusion on the research question.

Even if I as the investigator was unbiased, I as a person might have biased some people to respond or not respond to the survey. The reason why I never received an answer or confirmation from the traditional teams that they had invited people to the survey might be that they did not trust me for being part of the alternative team, even though I did my best to explain the motivation for the study and its objectives. However, my involvement in the community might have been a reason that so many did answered the survey.

7.1.4. GENERALISATIONS
Can generalise to traditional and alternative BJJ teams

As the demography of the survey was pragmatically established to be representative of the BJJ-community (except for the geographical location of the respondents), the findings from the survey can be generalised to be representative for the traditional and alternative teams that are in the study. I am certain that the picture that the survey paints is representative of the dynamics in the teams.

As I have covered all the most traditional teams, and all alternative teams, I assume that the rest of the BJJ teams are somewhere on a spectrum of what I have found. However, I cannot say for certain that the conclusions from this study will hold true for all teams in the community. As we have seen in some

instances (see Rossen, 2013) sometimes teams start to develop in an unexpected direction that is not representative of the development in the community in general.

Can generalise to organisations submerged in a different culture

BJJ Globetrotters tries to establish a flat social structure in a sport which can be argued to be naturally hierarchical. The opinions of many of its respondents are in opposition to the team's goal. This raises the question if it is possible to establish an organisational culture that contradicts the surrounding culture, especially as large portions of the members regularly interact with the surroundings. Perhaps this dynamic could be altered if the team established more structures that reinforced its values, and isolated its members more. One can safely assume that other organisations which want to have a different organisational culture than the surrounding culture will have difficulties establishing this without formal structures. Especially if the members of the organisation still interact with the dominant culture.

Can generalise to organisations that use all three power dimensions

It can be generalised that organisations that use all three dimensions of power actively, are likely to be successful in controlling the behaviour of their members in the direction the organisation wishes. The three dimension of power create a net of checks and balances, and reinforce each other (given that all mechanisms steer the organisations members in the same direction). If there are areas where one dimension lacks impact, another can make up for this. Like the traditional teams, organisations using all three dimensions are likely to govern their members as desired.

7.2.   WHAT MAY HAVE BEEN

Alternative and traditional BJJ teams share parallels with more organisations than cults and protest movements. The traditional teams often transmit leader positions in the teams within the family or belt lineage, which makes them resemble dynasties. To compare traditional teams to dynasties could have been fruitful, as it could help highlight the role of personal characteristics of prominent actors involved in the organisations, and the role of historic occurrences and random events. To follow certain central actors over time would have given more insight into the processes in the teams, how alliances are formed, and power structures develop and change with the actors in the organisations.

Such an endeavour would have required more data and documents of events that have already passed, or a longitudinal study. Unfortunately the history of BJJ and its teams is not overly documented, and many of the books and reports produced are biased as they are created by people closely involved with the actors and organisations they describe. To get more information directly from the teams themselves could have been very difficult, as the correspondence with the traditional teams proved difficult (only two teams answered my emails: one declining to distribute the survey to their members, and one accepting, but later

failed to confirm they had done so). A longitudinal study, where I would have started now and followed the teams over a period of several years, was not possible due to time constraints.

The alternative team could have been analysed through a network framework, as its proposed egalitarian structure should allow for network-like communication, especially through social media channels. Analysing online and face-to-face encounters in a structureless organisation would have given insight on communication and organisational forms that become more and more common and fashionable. However, as the methodological tools for an analysis of online communication are not yet as developed and familiar to me as other methods like document analysis and survey, it would have been very challenging for me to combine a new empirical field, with new methodological approaches.

7.3.   WHAT MAY BE

7.3.1. GOOD INTENTIONS ARE NOT ENOUGH[4]

There is no doubt that BJJ Globetrotters has well-meant intentions, and that it does have a positive impact on the BJJ community. It provides an alternative for the practitioners that seek this, and give access to a network to share experiences and knowledge with practitioners that might otherwise not have access to this due to their geographic location. The establishment of BJJ Globetrotters, and the debate it created, has positive impacts on the community as a whole. No matter how much success an alternative organisation has, or how long it functions, it creates a debate. A debate or conflict is not necessarily a negative occurrence, but can be helpful in creativity, renewal, and in making other actors in the field more resilient or stable by surviving the conflict. However, the picture is not purely positive.

The intent of BJJ Globetrotters is to provide an alternative to something it sees as immoral. However, it must be careful that its non-formalised relations and lack of control not facilitates for and hides misuse of power. Power is argued to be in all human relations (Hay, 2002), and to not acknowledge and address its existence head-on can lead to misuse as one is unaware of its existence. The lack of structure in the team means that it cannot control if its *Mission Statement* is followed, or if other general customs for good behaviour are kept intact. Without structures or formal mechanisms there are no ways of holding members accountable for their actions.

I do not know of any instances of severe power misuse in BJJ Globetrotters. I am not saying that there are. I am only saying that to ensure that there are not, the team should have mechanisms in place to hold accountable the people that misuse power, if there are any. This advice is geared at BJJ Globetrotters as it has a mission to do something different, it has already started. It can be a good example for the whole BJJ community.

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[4] Due to the BJJ Globetrotters intent to be an alternative to other teams, this section with advice is mainly aimed at this team.

How to fix it

Part of what led to the establishment of BJJ Globetrotters was that the freedom of the practitioners in some of the established teams was too restricted by rules and rivalries and old conflicts that did not involve the practitioners presently in the teams, but led to the restriction of their actions. According to deliberative theory, rules that are binding for everyone would be more legitimate if the people bound by them were included in the decision-making process (Thompson, 2008). The legitimacy of rules and structures in BJJ Globetrotters, as well as in other teams, could be made more legitimate if the process resembled more a democratic, inclusive process with clear structures that provide transparency, and where the result was a consensus. This would yield rules that all practitioners agreed to, and not just rules that one individual deems more legitimate than others due to his perception of right and wrong. This would also increase the probability that most practitioners would follow the rules, as they agree on their rationality. This would make an effective governance structure.

Will the BJJ Globetrotters grow?

Will the BJJ Globetrotters keep growing as a team in terms of membership numbers and impact on the community? Moses (2013) expressed scepticism that the Occupy Wall Street-movement would have extensive consequences for the participants in it, and gave the reason for this being that they don't have it bad enough, they are too content:

> *"With our access to education, to the internet and to social media, we see more injustice all the time and many of us get angry when we see it. We are, however, not* hungry *on a 'mass' scale."* (Moses, 2013, p. 128).

According to this line of thought, BJJ Globetrotters will not majorly change the BJJ scene unless the practitioners are unable to fulfil their basic needs by to the current situation. Freeman expressed scepticism if the women's liberation movement would keep growing if they didn't allow the evolvement of some structures:

> *"If the movement is to grow beyond these elementary stages of development, it will have to disabuse itself of some of its prejudices about organization and structure. There is nothing inherently bad about either of these. They can be and often are misused, but to reject them out of hand because they are misused is to deny ourselves the necessary tools to further development."* (Freeman, 1970).

BJJ Globetrotters experiences great popularity, many training camps are sold out in advance (BJJGlobetrotters, 2016a), and the number of members keep growing. It will be interesting to follow the team in the coming years to see how it develops, which structures evolve (if any), and how it tackles challenges related to the governance of members.

This paper does not judge which organisational form is better for BJJ teams. There are benefits and drawbacks with both the more controlling (and supportive) traditional model, and the more free (and less

supportive and effective) alternative model. If a Gracie Barra gym has legal trouble, they can get help from the main corporation. A Globetrotter-member can only count on help to find somewhere to train and sleep while travelling, and this is not guaranteed either. Both models can be misused by actors with the will and abilities to do so.

7.3.2. NEW RESEARCH

While answering some questions, this study opens for many more. Among these is for example how mainstream teams regulate the behaviour of their members, and how unaffiliated practitioners (those not part of any team) regard the issues of hierarchy and isolation. When having the answers to these, one could delve further into the topic by exploring the topic of the IBJJF, the organisation acting as the official governing body while being controlled by the same people that own Gracie Barra (GracieBarra, 2016).

It would also be interesting to look at the level of power abuse in teams, especially in regard to gender. BJJ is a very male-dominated sport, and the discussion about how women should be met and what their role in the sport is, are prevalent. There have been instances where a teams' culture was very harmful to the women in the team (see Rossen, 2013), and systematic research on the prevalence of these problems could be very helpful in making the sport more welcoming to newcomers, and to redress issues that present female practitioners are dissatisfied with.

It is possible that the individual instructors have more influence on the culture surrounding power relations in their gym than the teams have, as gyms vary in how much interaction they have with the teams. Many critics of "BJJ-politics" are of the opinion that the behaviour of practitioners is restricted only to bind them to one gym, in order for the gym to collect their membership fees. Dahl (1961) gives a more nuanced picture:

> *"The goals and motives that animate leaders are evidently as varied as the dreams of men. They include greater income, economic security, power, social standing, fame, respect, affection, love, knowledge, curiosity, fun, the pleasure of exercising skill, delight in winning, aesthetic satisfaction, morality, salvation, heroism, self-sacrifice, envy, jealousy, revenge, hate – whatever the whole wide range may be."* (Dahl, 1961, p.95).

According to this quote, many things can motivate the actions of people, and this can result in many different modes of steering members. Although there are some clear differences between the traditional and alternative team categories, it is possible that the range of phenomena is even more extreme when looking at the situations in the individual gyms. Perhaps a survey with fixed answer alternatives is unable to catch the nuances of some extreme cases.

Although it does look like geographic differences and national culture could influence the organisational culture in BJJ teams, the findings from this study would suggest otherwise for this context. As BJJ Globetrotters' respondents are mostly Europeans (see table 4.4-4), which have a more egalitarian society than North and South America, one would assume that these values have spilled over into their opinions on

the dynamics in teams. Still, the alternative respondents show support for hierarchy in the sport. More studies could find out if this is a general tendency in the sport, or if my findings are based on methodological errors or a misguided analysis. To add another nuance to such a study, one could compare BJJ to another performance-based martial art, but one without belt ranks to signal competence (like boxing or wrestling). This could control whether the existence of such a ranking system artificially inflates hierarchical tendencies.

To research such mechanisms in BJJ teams might be very interesting and insightful, especially if comparing them to religious groups, which also have symbolically rich cultures. It could also be interesting to apply deliberative theory to the decision-making processes in the teams, and see if they hold up – my guess is that they won't impress anyone who values democratic processes.

7.4.   WHAT HAVE WE LEARNED?

This was an exploratory study into the social aspects of the BJJ community. I have found that although there are significant differences in how the traditional teams steer their members compared to how the alternative team does it, the alternative team falls short in fulfilling its potential of being a truly democratic and accountable organisation in a community of privately owned businesses without any publicly accountable global governance. A reason for why BJJ Globetrotters may have difficulties in instilling egalitarian values into their practitioners might be that BJJ can be argued to have a very context-relevant and natural hierarchy in the performance-based belt ranks. This might make most BJJ practitioners who see the value of the belt ranks supportive of hierarchy in the sport, as it serves an important function in facilitating good training environments. This might be despite their national culture, which is more egalitarian in cultures like northern Europe than the USA and Brazil (Meyer, 2015).

We have also learned that organisations that use all three dimensions of power establish a system of checks and balances where the dimensions reinforce and facilitate each other (given that they steer the behaviour in the same direction). This cumulative effect of the power dimensions and mechanisms is likely to prove quite effective in the steering of members, where one dimension can pick up the slack where the others are lacking.

Although the study has not been aimed directly at gouging the level of BJJ-politics in the teams, an indication can be given by the use of power in them. BJJ Globetrotters aims at being politics-free, but its *Mission Statement* is a clear indication that there is, in fact, some power at play in the team and in their intent to steer their members. BJJ Globetrotters is thus not completely free of power and politics.

How do different BJJ teams steer the behaviour of their members? The traditional teams do so by using rules and formalised organisational structures (the 1st dimension), by limiting the public debate and influence from other teams (2nd dimension) but only to a small extent, and by instilling their values into their members (3rd dimension). The alternative team, BJJ Globetrotters, uses the 3rd dimension and tries to

steer its members through forming their values to be in line with the teams', but as they are somewhat contrary to the opinions the respondents in the survey express, the team seems to fail at this endeavour.

More generally, and interesting for BJJ practitioners, the survey shows that the impression that crosstraining is majorly limited and frowned upon is mainly a myth. Although the traditional respondents crosstrain significantly less than the alternative respondents, this seems to not have a connection to the rules present in the teams: there is a statistically significant difference between the team categories if their respondents crosstrain while travelling, but rules against doing this are equally absent. More traditional respondents are restricted from crosstraining locally, but there are no statistically significant differences between the team categories in if the practitioners do crosstrain locally. It seems as though there are other reasons for why the practitioners choose to crosstrain or not – perhaps that they do not wish to, or that there is a culture in the teams that discourages it. Further investigations would be needed to get a fuller grasp of this picture.

Despite of the challenges mentioned in section 7.1.3, I am confident to present a solid piece of academic work. Most methodological difficulties come from the fact that BJJ is a relatively new topic for academic enquiry. However, this is also what makes it so interesting to study: before starting a study one does not know what one will find, and how this might contribute to the literature. With my knowledge of the sport and some methodological considerations I have been able to work around the challenges mentioned, and have contributed to documenting and analysing phenomena in an interesting and growing community. Parts of the analysis are also generalisable to organisations outside of the BJJ-context. Although I have answered some questions, more have been opened, and more research would be necessary to get a full grasp of the power dynamics internally in BJJ teams. It is an interesting time to be involved in both the academic field and the dynamic and changing world of BJJ.

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THE SURVEY

This survey is a part of a master thesis on culture in Brazilian Jiu-Jitsu organisations, at the department of Administration and Organisation at the University of Bergen, Norway. The target group is people that train BJJ, and are over 16 years old. The survey will be distributed through internet forums, social media, and via BJJ-organisations. The questions pertain to your experiences and attitudes towards different phenomena in the culture of BJJ.

Participation in the study entails answering this online survey. Participation is voluntary, and will only take 7-10 minutes. All levels of BJJ experience are welcome, the responses of all perspectives are valuable. The study is registered by the Norwegian Social Science Data Services (NSD), to ensure that guidelines for data protection are followed.

No personal or identifying information will be asked, and the answers you provide will be stored confidentially. At no point will anyone be able to find out who provided which answers. The project is scheduled to be finished the 01. June 2016.

If you have any questions about the study or survey, please contact Barbara Ruiken at +47 96 01 96 79, or on email bru009@uib.no. Supervisor Marit Skivenes, +47 55 58 25 87.

By continuing, I give my informed consent, and state that I am over 16 years.

(1) ❑ I agree and am over 16 years old.

(2) ❑ I do not agree or I am younger than 16 years old.

Do you train Brazilian Jiu-Jitsu?

(1) ❑ Yes

(2) ❑ No

How old are you?

(1) ❑ 16-20 years old

(2) ❑ 21-25 years old

(3) ❑ 26-30 years old

(4) ❑ 31-35 years old

(5) ❑ 35-40 years old

(6) ❑ 40 + years old

What gender are you?

(1) ❑ Male

(2) ❑ Female

(3) ❑ I prefer not to answer

BJJ Background.

Where do you train BJJ most of the time?

(1) ❑ Africa

(2) ❑ Asia

(3) ❑ Australia

(4) ❑ Europe

(5) ❑ North America

(6) ❑ South America

What is your belt rank?

(1) ❑ Other

(2) ❑ White

(3) ❑ Blue

(4) ❑ Purple

(5) ❑ Brown

(6) ❑ Black

For how long have you been training BJJ?

(1) ❑ Less than 1 year

(2) ❑ 1-2 years

(3) ❑ 3-4 years

(4) ❑ 5-7 years

(5) ❑ 8-10 years

(7) ❑ More than 10 years

How many hours of BJJ do you normally train per week?

(1) ☐ 0-4 hours

(2) ☐ 5-8 hours

(3) ☐ 9-14 hours

(5) ☐ More than 14 hours

In this survey the term "gym" is used for an individual school or club, and "team" for the organisation that connects the schools. For example, Marcelo Garcia's gym "Marcelo Garcia Academy" is part of the team "Alliance".

What team are you a part of?

(1) ☐ I am not part of any team.

(2) ☐ Alliance

(3) ☐ American Top Team

(4) ☐ Atos

(5) ☐ BJJ Globetrotters

(9) ☐ Brasa

(6) ☐ Brazilian Top Team

(8) ☐ Carlson Gracie Team

(10) ☐ Checkmat

(12) ☐ GF Team

(11) ☐ Gracie Barra

(13) ☐ Gracie Humaita

(14) ☐ Nova Uniao

(15) ☐ Renzo Gracie Team

(7) ☐ Roger Gracie Team

(16) ☐ Other team, please specify: _____

The following questions are about your gym and team. Please answer based on your **current** team or gym, no matter what gym or team you have been a part of in the past.

What type of gym do you train BJJ at?

(1)   ❑   A franchise gym that is part of a chain of gyms

(2)   ❑   A non-profit sports club

(3)   ❑   A gym owned by an individual, not part of a franchise

(5)   ❑   Other, please specify: _____

What type of membership do you have at your gym?

(1)   ❑   I don't pay

(2)   ❑   Contract, 6 months

(3)   ❑   Contract, 12 months

(4)   ❑   I pay monthly / weekly / for every individual session

(6)   ❑   I teach some classes, so I train for free

(5)   ❑   Other type of membership

Is your gym part of your team?

(1)   ❑   Yes

(2)   ❑   No

(3)   ❑   I don't know / not applicable

Does your gym pay affiliation fees to your team?

(1)   ❑   Yes

(2)   ❑   No

(4)   ❑   I don't know / not applicable

Please assess the following statements. Please answer based on your current team/gym.

	Agree	Disagree	I don't know
I am proud of my team	(2) ❑	(3) ❑	(4) ❑
My team has good values	(2) ❑	(3) ❑	(4) ❑
Loyalty to the team is important	(2) ❑	(3) ❑	(4) ❑

	Agree	Disagree	I don't know
Loyalty to the instructor is important	(2) ❑	(3) ❑	(4) ❑
The instructor is the most important person in the gym	(2) ❑	(3) ❑	(4) ❑
A good lineage is very valuable	(2) ❑	(3) ❑	(4) ❑
It is important to preserve the high standards of the belt system	(2) ❑	(3) ❑	(4) ❑
It should be up to the black belts to decide who they want to roll with	(2) ❑	(3) ❑	(4) ❑
Lower belts should move when they occupy the same space as higher belts during rolling	(2) ❑	(3) ❑	(4) ❑
A member of a team should limit his or her interaction with other teams	(2) ❑	(3) ❑	(4) ❑

You will now be presented with 3 scenarios, and some questions related to these scenarios. Please choose the answer alternative that best fits your opinion or reaction.

Scenario 1:

A student joins a gym. He attends BJJ class twice a week for 6 months and during this time receives two stripes on his white belt. After 6 months, he moves with his family to another city. There he starts training at a gym with a different team, although there is a gym from his first team there.

Should he have joined the gym from his first team?

(1) ❑ Yes, he should have stayed within his team

(2) ❑ No, the team of his old gym should be of no concern when he chooses a new gym

(3) ❑ Other opinion, please specify: _____

Scenario   2:

A student joins a gym. He trains at the gym for 7 years, becoming a part of the competition team. He receives his blue and purple belt from the head instructor. The student often trains in a small group with the head instructor, who spends much time advancing the student's game. The student and the rest of the gym regularly attend competitions, and do well. The student is a regular part of social happenings like gym BBQ's, watching the UFC and Metamoris, and Christmas parties.

After 7 years, the student decides to quit his gym, and join another gym from a big team, because he feels that this is necessary to advance his learning process further. He registers for a big competition for the new team, and faces several of his old training partners in the competition.

Should the student have stayed in his gym despite of his wish to deepen his own learning?

(1) ❑ Yes, he should have stayed

(2) ❑ No, he is not obligated to stay

(5) ❑ Other opinion, please specify: _____

Scenario 3:

The instructor at your gym has lately been handing out belts to people that may not be ready for promotion. One of the senior and high ranked members of your gym openly criticizes the instructor for this.

Which of the statemets under reflects your opinion the most?

(1) ❑ One should never criticize the instructor

(2) ❑ Voicing critique of the instructor is acceptable

(4) ❑ Other opinion, please specify: _____

Please answer the following questions based on the team/gym you currently are a part of.

	Overall yes	Overall no	I don't know
Do you wear the gym's / team's patch, gi, or rashguard?	(1) ❑	(2) ❑	(3) ❑
Are you required to wear your gym's / team's patch, gi, or rashguard?	(1) ❑	(2) ❑	(3) ❑
Are people from other teams allowed to train at your gym?	(1) ❑	(2) ❑	(3) ❑
Do you have to ask your instructor for permission to train somewhere when traveling?	(1) ❑	(2) ❑	(3) ❑
Are you allowed to train BJJ at more than one gym simultaneously?	(1) ❑	(2) ❑	(3) ❑
Does your team or gym have rivalries with other teams or gyms?	(1) ❑	(2) ❑	(3) ❑

Which of the following practices, if any, are normal at your current gym?

	Normal at my gym	NOT normal at my gym	I don't know
Bowing to instructors	(1) ❑	(2) ❑	(3) ❑
Bowing to other practitioners (not instructors)	(1) ❑	(2) ❑	(3) ❑
Calling the instructor "master", "professor", or something similar	(1) ❑	(2) ❑	(3) ❑
Bowing to pictures of	(1) ❑	(2) ❑	(3) ❑

x

	Normal at my gym	NOT normal at my gym	I don't know
members of the Gracie family			
Lining up according to belt rank	(1) ❑	(2) ❑	(3) ❑
Saying "oss"	(1) ❑	(2) ❑	(3) ❑
Slap and bump hands	(1) ❑	(2) ❑	(3) ❑

Please assess the following statements. Please answer them based on your current gym.

	Agree	Disagree	I don't know
Most people in my gym have similar games	(2) ❑	(3) ❑	(4) ❑
There is only one right way of doing a technique	(2) ❑	(3) ❑	(4) ❑
People in my gym have the same views on the legitimacy of the IBJJF rules	(2) ❑	(3) ❑	(4) ❑
People in my gym agree in the "BJJ for self defence vs. for competition" debate	(2) ❑	(3) ❑	(4) ❑
People in my gym agree whether one should wash the belt or not	(2) ❑	(3) ❑	(4) ❑

The following questions are about experiences you have had as a part of your **current** team.

Have you visited gyms from other teams while traveling?

(1) ❏ Never

(2) ❏ Very rarely

(3) ❏ Regularly

(4) ❏ Very regularly

(5) ❏ Always

(6) ❏ I don't know / not applicable

Do you train BJJ regularly at gyms with different teams in your town/area?

(1) ❏ Never

(2) ❏ Very rarely

(3) ❏ Regularly

(4) ❏ Very regularly

(5) ❏ Always

(6) ❏ I don't know / not applicable

Have you been encouraged to not train with members of other teams?

(1) ❏ Never

(2) ❏ Very rarely

(3) ❏ Regularly

(4) ❏ Very regularly

(5) ❏ Always

(6) ❏ I don't know / not applicable

Have you experienced open debate or discussion about how the gym or team should be run?

(1) ❏ Never

(2) ❏ Very rarely

(3) ❏ Regularly

(4) ❏ Very regularly

(5) ❏ Always

(6) ❏ I don't know / not applicable

Have you ever switched teams?

(1) ❑ Yes

(2) ❑ No

(3) ❑ I don't know / not applicable

Have you ever switched gyms?

(1) ❑ Yes

(3) ❑ No

(2) ❑ I don't know / not applicable

Were you treated badly due to switching teams?

(1) ❑ Yes

(2) ❑ No

(3) ❑ I don't know / not applicable

Were you treated badly due to switching gyms?

(1) ❑ Yes

(3) ❑ No

(2) ❑ I don't know / not applicable

Have you ever experienced any of the following for breaking the written or unwritten rules of a gym or team? You may choose several alternatives.

	Yes, at my current gym	Yes, at a gym other than my current gym	No
Social exclusion	(7) ❑	(8) ❑	(9) ❑
Public shaming	(7) ❑	(8) ❑	(9) ❑
Economic fines	(7) ❑	(8) ❑	(9) ❑
Emotional blackmail	(7) ❑	(8) ❑	(9) ❑
Exclusion from training	(7) ❑	(8) ❑	(9) ❑

	Yes, at my current gym	Yes, at a gym other than my current gym	No
Physical punishment	(7) ❑	(8) ❑	(9) ❑

Do you have any comments on the survey, or stories from your team you would like to share?

Thank you for taking time to submit this survey. If you have any questions, or would like to have the study sent directly to you upon completion, please contact Barbara Ruiken at bru009@uib.no.

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Vår dato: 27.10.2015   Vår ref: 44714 / 3 / HIT   Deres dato: Deres ref:

TILBAKEMELDING PÅ MELDING OM BEHANDLING AV PERSONOPPLYSNINGER

Vi viser til melding om behandling av personopplysninger, mottatt 16.09.2015. Meldingen gjelder prosjektet:

44714	*Brazilian Jiu-Jitsu Politics*
Behandlingsansvarlig	*Universitetet i Bergen, ved institusjonens øverste leder*
Daglig ansvarlig	*Marit Skivenes*
Student	*Barbara Ruiken*

Personvernombudet har vurdert prosjektet og finner at behandlingen av personopplysninger er meldepliktig i henhold til personopplysningsloven § 31. Behandlingen tilfredsstiller kravene i personopplysningsloven.

Personvernombudets vurdering forutsetter at prosjektet gjennomføres i tråd med opplysningene gitt i meldeskjemaet, korrespondanse med ombudet, ombudets kommentarer samt personopplysningsloven og helseregisterloven med forskrifter. Behandlingen av personopplysninger kan settes i gang.

Det gjøres oppmerksom på at det skal gis ny melding dersom behandlingen endres i forhold til de opplysninger som ligger til grunn for personvernombudets vurdering. Endringsmeldinger gis via et eget skjema, http://www.nsd.uib.no/personvern/meldeplikt/skjema.html. Det skal også gis melding etter tre år dersom prosjektet fortsatt pågår. Meldinger skal skje skriftlig til ombudet.

Personvernombudet har lagt ut opplysninger om prosjektet i en offentlig database, http://pvo.nsd.no/prosjekt.

Personvernombudet vil ved prosjektets avslutning, 01.07.2016, rette en henvendelse angående status for behandlingen av personopplysninger.

Vennlig hilsen

Katrine Utaaker Segadal

Hildur Thorarensen

Kontaktperson: Hildur Thorarensen tlf: 55 58 26 54
Vedlegg: Prosjektvurdering

Dokumentet er elektronisk produsert og godkjent ved NSDs rutiner for elektronisk godkjenning.

Personvernombudet for forskning

Prosjektvurdering - Kommentar

Utvalget informeres skriftlig om prosjektet og samtykker til deltakelse. Informasjonsskrivet er godt utformet.

Personvernombudet legger til grunn at forsker etterfølger Universitetet i Bergen sine interne rutiner for datasikkerhet.

Forventet prosjektslutt er 01.07.2016, jf. informasjonsskrivet. Ifølge prosjektmeldingen skal innsamlede opplysninger da anonymiseres. Anonymisering innebærer å bearbeide datamaterialet slik at ingen enkeltpersoner kan gjenkjennes. Det gjøres ved å:
- slette direkte personopplysninger (som navn/koblingsnøkkel)
- slette/omskrive indirekte personopplysninger (identifiserende sammenstilling av bakgrunnsopplysninger som f.eks. bosted/arbeidssted, alder og kjønn)