

Diffusion, transformation and hybridization: Taijiquan body culture in the United Kingdom

Ma Xiujie ^{a,b}, George Jennings ^c and David Brown ^c

^a Chinese Guoshu Academy, Chengdu Sport University, Chengdu, China; ^b School of Martial Arts, Chengdu Sport University, Chengdu, China; ^c Cardiff Metropolitan University, Cardiff, United King.

E-mail: ma.xiujie@outlook.com

ORCID iD: <https://orcid.org/0000-0002-2422-3351>

Biographical notes

Ma Xiujie is an Associate Professor at Chinese Guoshu Academy and the School of Martial Arts at Chengdu Sport University. His research focuses on the international spread of Chinese martial arts culture.

Word Count: 7327

Diffusion, transformation and hybridization: Taijiquan body culture in the United Kingdom

This study analyzes texts in British books, journals, newspapers, magazines, and websites alongside field research, interviews and visits to training institutions to document the history and expansion of Taijiquan (also known as Tai Chi) in the United Kingdom (UK). By applying Eichberg's "body cultures" model and suggested methodology, this paper explores the spread and change of Taijiquan, and the communication-based dynamics of its diffusion and transformation. This UK-focused research seeks to understand how the cross-cultural spread of Taijiquan contributes to cultural diffusions as part of the globalization process.

Keywords: Taijiquan; globalization; transformation; hybridization; body cultures

Introduction

Taijiquan (also known as Tai Chi) is understood as traditional Chinese martial arts-based calisthenics, supplemented with a range of related exercises and physical practices (stretching, self-massage and Qigong) that can be regarded as a constitution and integration of traditional Chinese philosophy and health principles through breathing techniques and martial arts. Despite the globalization of Taijiquan, it remains strongly associated with China, frequently standing out as a special symbol of traditional Chinese culture.¹ Taijiquan has attracted millions of domestic and overseas practitioners because of the widely held view that its gentle movements offer distinctive ways of achieving good health and give access to elements of Chinese body culture.²

Studies of the cross-cultural communication of Taijiquan have focused on its implications,³ theorizations,⁴ communicational paths and strategies,⁵ and transformation in the diffusion process.⁶ While the dissemination of Taijiquan has a long history, the theoretical research on the international communication of Taijiquan started relatively late. In ancient times exposure was limited to China's neighboring countries, but in recent history, the dissemination

of practices can be linked to the creation of the Jingwu Sports Association, which institutionalized them. Additional factors include the role of immigrants and the rise of Kungfu cinematography, which exposed the public to the teachings of Taijiquan. This combination of factors gave rise to international cultural events that included Taijiquan as part of the Chinese cultural exchange promoted by the government.

However, it was not until after 2001, when Beijing successfully bid for the 2008 summer Olympic Games, that research on Taijiquan became a “hot topic” for Chinese scholars. By then, Taijiquan had also become one of China’s most successful cultural exports. As a result, the emerging literature on Taijiquan is dominated by Chinese language publications and follows this rise in interest. This scholarship is guided by four general themes. The first is international communication research related to the entry of Wushu (also known as Kungfu) into the Olympics. The second theme is linked to the development of the Confucius Institutes in 2004, which led to research in the field of educational and cultural exchanges. The third theme involves China’s “11th Five-Year Plan,” which included a cultural and economic strategy intended to direct national development from 2006-2010. It included the strategy of China’s “Going Global” that had a mission of changing China’s international image and declared that culture was the third pillar of China’s diplomacy after politics and economy. The fourth theme is associated with the Belt and Road Initiative, an international infrastructure plan proposed by the government of Xi Jinping in 2013, which involved further spread of cultural and educational centers. Consequently, the research of Chinese scholars follows national policy development and introduces Taijiquan as one of the major tools of cultural diplomacy linked to these policies.

In view of all this, the UK is an important case due to the legacy of the British Empire. Its history of colonization of Hong Kong and the consequent immigration and emergence of

Western practitioners propelled the global dissemination of Taijiquan practices. As a result, the UK not only has one of the longest histories of exposure, but is also an ideal case to trace the evolution and stages of the “localized” dissemination of Taijiquan culture. The spread of Taijiquan to the UK created the early de-territorialized and hybridized Taijiquan communities. Moreover, although many scholars have studied the international diffusion of Taijiquan,⁷ this research is mostly derived from platforms originating from, based in, or relating directly to the People’s Republic of China (PRC), such as the Confucius Institutes.⁸ This research focuses on the current development and diffusion of the practice in specific regions. In comparison, the history of Taijiquan within a particular country, as an example of cross-cultural communication, remains under-researched.⁹ Therefore, this article examines Taijiquan’s diffusion in the UK as a historically significant case by tracing and identifying three overarching phases of development to explain the process of diffusion and interaction with local culture. These phases of development allow us to trace the stages of the inception, transformation, and maturity of the cultural practices.

This study begins by introducing Henning Eichberg’s “body cultures” model, which underlies the theoretical framework for analysis. Next, it presents the methodology and configuration used for the analysis and provides a commentary on the historical details of this development. I interpret the details in relation to the sociological concepts of body culture and its cultural globalization and glocalization, highlighting prominent figures and their genealogy. Then, I outline six concepts that emerge and discuss Taijiquan’s transformation in the UK.

Taijiquan as globalized body culture

Due to its diffusion, Taijiquan means different things to different people, organizations, and cultures. For some, it is an ancient and esoteric martial art tied to Taoist religion and

philosophy created by a wandering sage (purportedly Zhang Sanfeng). This interpretation is often mentioned in popular texts¹⁰ and scientific articles.¹¹ Taijiquan also connotes a form of modern sporting competition tied to the development of the PRC state-sponsored Wushu martial art and related practices like Qigong. Taijiquan is also considered a well-being practice to deal with the stresses of everyday life in modern society and has been adopted as a preventative and rehabilitative exercise for clinical populations.¹² There is no single perspective or practice of Taijiquan. Making sense of this diversity requires concepts that illuminate processes of diffusion and pluralization through comparison.

Henning Eichberg's "body cultures" model¹³ encourages historical and cultural sensitivity about how the moving body is organized and experienced in a given physical and social space. Like physical culture,¹⁴ body cultures are subdivisions of society devoted to the living and moving body. These cultures include dance, sport, physical games, and wrestling. The body culture model is closely tied to material culture (such as uniforms and equipment) and the spiritual and symbolic culture (such as chants, prayer, and flags) of a given nation or people. Eichberg's model is triadic (tripartite), constantly examining the relationships between three forms of broader culture over time. For example, one could examine body culture in conjunction with popular and literary culture.

Body cultures themselves can be conceptualized as a triad of *modalities*. For Eichberg, the three modalities of body cultures can be examined through the symbiotic and ever-changing relationships between: 1) "achievement" or "performance sport" (e.g. modern Olympic Games); 2) "fitness sport" (e.g. Zumba); and, 3) "experience sport" (e.g. parkour). The mutual comparison/contrast allows for the focus on co-influence and gradual change between modalities. For example, parkour, which is described as a post-sport physical culture,¹⁵ could one

day become an Olympic activity (as is the case for skateboarding and surfing) or situated between the modalities of experience sport and achievement sport. Fitness sport is concerned with public health and wellness and is tied to international government interests in the fit and “normal” body, elements which are then individualized in Western consumer capitalist culture. The Zumba fitness craze, meanwhile, draws on far older Latin American forms of partner dance to become individual exercises performed as a collective. Achievement sport focuses on a hierarchical organization for recorded and peak performance within clearly demarcated and sanctioned spaces. Thus, body cultures carried by activities such as Taijiquan may vary across cultural time and space, with all three modalities continually influencing one another, and a given activity straddling two or three modalities at the same time.

Chinese body culture can be broadly conceived through Eichberg’s terms, as expressed in Brownell’s detailed analysis ranging from athletics to bodybuilding.¹⁶ This theory has been applied to the martial arts of Indonesian Silat¹⁷ and Mexican Xilam in their native environments.¹⁸ In terms of modern globalized Chinese Taijiquan, elements of its body culture include: 1) competitive pushing hands and training conducted through the “performance” modality; 2) simplified versions such as 24-form Taijiquan,¹⁹ which are used for elderly and “frail” populations in specialized hospital courses for victims of severe falls conducted in the “fitness” modality; and, 3) more “martial” or “internal” family styles passed between generations that are now taught to “indoor” students in the “experience” and “performance” modality. This way, Taijiquan might be practiced as a form of spiritual meditation in the “experience” modality. These elements help expose how the way of moving the body, and the meanings and benefits derived from this movement, are (re)interpreted over time, within and across cultures and societies.

Additional conceptualizations of the transmission of culture have informed this analysis, but an extended discussion is beyond the scope of this article. Generally speaking, body cultures such as Taijiquan are viewed as primarily transmitted body-to-body in conditions of co-presence. Here, the interrelated notions of *cultural* globalization²⁰ and glocalization²¹ help us to appreciate the apparent simultaneity of the intensification and interconnectedness of social relations between Taijiquan practitioners around the world, leading to the greater transnational representation of the art and its body cultures. However, simultaneously, the introduction of Taijiquan to new contexts means it becomes amalgamated with other body cultures, a process which leads to *glocalization*—the tailoring of global cultural artefacts and practices to fit local purposes and identities. This process folds back reflexively into the global body cultures of Taijiquan by creating hybrids of Taijiquan body cultures. These processes of transmission and hybridization are further supported by Sheller and Urry's notion of *mobilities*.²² Because bodies are the locus of transmission and reception of Taijiquan body culture, this analysis emphasizes the historical evidence of mobilities of practitioners into and within the UK context under analysis. Finally, following Elliot,²³ in this study hybridization is a form of cultural reinvention. Accordingly, this analysis is also sensitive to attempts by practitioners to engage in *re-invention*: the pursuit of capturing and maintaining a perceived essence of a particular Taijiquan body culture (e.g. a tradition) that needs preserving or reinstating.

A multimodal methodology and configurational analysis

Eichberg suggested a methodology for the study of body cultures,²⁴ advocating a *multimodal* data collection strategy and a *configurational* analysis for locating body culture within broader cultures, between different activities, and across different nation-states and regions. Eichberg used prolonged ethnographic fieldwork, multi-site observations, and analysis

of earlier ethnographic reports and antique books, especially those involving images, symbols, and maps of the body in movement and space. He also advocated collecting practitioner narratives through interviews and other data collection methods exploring the first-person perspective of living exponents of movement.

Inspired by Eichberg's research approaches, I adopted a multimodal qualitative research design to study the transmission of Taijiquan body cultures. Specifically, this involved one-to-one semi-structured interviews; secondary analysis of published interviews with historical figures in British Taijiquan; and documentary data collection of key texts published by British Taijiquan experts, including newspaper reports and television and internet representation.²⁵

As a PRC scholar, and due to my lack of familiarity with the British Taijiquan scene, I began the study with a pilot project in 2012 involving visits to and individual face-to-face interviews with numerous leaders and pioneers or "gatekeepers" of Taijiquan on issues related to the spread and change of Taijiquan in and across the UK.²⁶ As within Ryan's work,²⁷ this purposeful sample of expert interviews provided a geographically balanced representation of Taijiquan in the UK, thus avoiding regional bias through convenience sampling.

I undertook a second period of primary and secondary data collection and analysis during an extended stay in the UK from 2018 to 2019.²⁸ Primary data collection included semi-structured interviews, which led to additional first-hand information on the spread and development of Taijiquan in the UK provided by additional experts and scholars, senior coaches of Taijiquan clubs, and Taijiquan practitioners.

I conducted a thematic analysis around the three key stages of the development of Taijiquan in Britain that emerged from the data: *inception, development, and maturity*. The analysis distilled the historical information gathered from the dataset to outline the overall

picture of the development of Taijiquan in the UK. The identification of different stages is based on interpretations of the clustering of “key events” and “the whole outline” of British Taijiquan development. Key events were identified chronologically by attributes like traceable public exposure through mass media at the earlier stages, and the establishment of specialized martial arts societies, teaching content, and literature. These stages were then subjected to Eichberg’s configurational analysis²⁹ to contextualize the art’s transmission to and within the UK and broader UK body cultures. In particular, the process was sensitive to considerations of the role of: 1) specific forms of culture (popular, sporting, technological, spiritual); 2) corresponding elements of body culture (achievement sport, fitness sport and experience sport); as well as 3) closely related body cultures (Qigong, calisthenics and other “Eastern movement forms”).³⁰

Next, I present my analysis of the development of Taijiquan in the UK. I divide the spread of Taijiquan in the UK into three phases: 1) the inceptive phase inspired by Taoist body and spiritual culture; 2) the developmental phase characterized by the dominance of Yang-style Taijiquan body culture, and 3) the mature phase of a multi-school, pluralistic environment.

Characteristics and phases of the historical development of Taijiquan in the UK

Pre-1949 diffusion: The inceptive phase of Taoist culture

Based on colonial history, Hong Kong was an essential route for the spread of Taijiquan to the UK.³¹ In the early incipient phase, Taijiquan spread into the UK as Chan Kam Lee taught “Taoist martial arts,” including Lee-style Taijiquan, Lee-style Taoist guidance, Lee-style meditation, Traditional Chinese Medicine, and feng shui.³² They were also taught to the public by Chee Soo,³³ who provided a cultural underpinning for the later popularization of Taijiquan in the UK. Notably, he created the Manor Road School in West Ham, London, in 1948 to teach

Taoist martial arts. Chee Soo's Taoist martial arts exerted a significant influence on popular culture. For example, English television and film director Ray Austin invited him to become a martial arts director in the internationally popular 1960s television series *The Avengers*.³⁴ In addition to teaching Taoist martial arts, Chee Soo published books about Taoist martial arts and wellness, such as *The Chinese Art of T'ai Chi Ch'üan* and *The Taoist Art of K'ai Men*. Chee Soo paved the way for the diffusion of Taijiquan in the UK and also made a distinctive contribution to diffusing Taoist culture more generally.

This inceptive phase in Taijiquan's spread was about the synthesis of traditional Chinese philosophy, Qigong well-being, Chinese Medicine, and other traditional cultural aspects on which Taijiquan is based. The popularity and rise of Taijiquan in this phase indicate that the traditional Chinese methods of maintaining well-being, Qigong, and the combination of combat and well-being techniques were attractive and had a potential audience in the UK at the time. Although many critics doubted whether Lee-style Taijiquan was "authentic" Taijiquan,³⁵ what is historically clear is that the Taijiquan body culture had appeared in the UK in the 1940s and was poised to expand rapidly from the 1950s.

In sum, during the inception stage, the dissemination of Taijiquan in the UK translated it as the symbol of a physical manifestation of Chinese Taoist culture. As a result, in Charles Sanders Peirce's semiotic classification based in the triad of "representamen," "object," and "interpretant," Taijiquan can be classified as the "interpretant." That is, its classification is a result of how the "receiver" of the information understands it. In view of this, the key feature of this stage is that the symbolic value and textual meaning contained in Taijiquan are understood without interaction with the original source. Consequently, many of the activities taught were more likely to be a fusion of diverse practices and are controversial in contemporary debates

about their “authenticity.” It is also a phase where early signs of tailoring Taijiquan body culture by local identities and exigencies can be traced. Additionally, in this phase, Taijiquan body culture can be categorized as mainly a “fitness sport” in Eichberg’s three modalities of body culture, due to its strong emphasis on well-being linked to Taoist practices.

1950-1980 Transformation: The Yang-style prominence in the developmental phase

Following the inceptive stage, Gerda Geddes³⁶ was the first significant Western Taijiquan teacher in the history of Taijiquan in the UK. A Norwegian dancer and physicist, Geddes found Taijiquan when she moved to Shanghai in 1948. She studied Yang Chengfu-style with Choy Hak Pang from 1955-1958.³⁷ Starting in 1959, Geddes settled in the UK and showed British people Taijiquan through television broadcasts.

Paul Crompton is another key figure.³⁸ Crompton, also a Yang-style practitioner, was a key contributor to and author of books on Taijiquan practice and theory in the UK.³⁹ For over 40 years, he contributed to building UK-based Taijiquan literature and theory; through this literature, he spread Chinese/martial arts culture more generally in the UK.

John Kells was also important during this phase.⁴⁰ Kells started learning Yang-style Taijiquan in 1967, first from Liang Tung Tsai,⁴¹ then from Chu Gin Soon⁴² and finally from Yang Shou-Chung.⁴³ He established the British T'ai Chi Ch'uan Association to teach Taijiquan, becoming a full-time teacher in 1977. While his approach was closely aligned with the modality of “fitness sport” following Eichberg’s model, he started to explore a deeper level of training for well-being, and in 1991 created a new approach that he called “Heart Work.” Ian Cameron⁴⁴ is also notable. Cameron is a founding member of the Tai Chi Union for Great Britain (TCUGB) and still sits as Technical Director. He first studied Taijiquan with Cheng Tin Hung⁴⁵ in Hong

Kong in 1971, and he has been teaching in and around Edinburgh since the late 1970s.

Cameron's "martial" approach is akin to a traditionalist folk or "experience" body culture.

The role of these individuals cannot be understated due to their significance as local proponents of Taijiquan body culture. They were the early "cultural ambassadors" who propelled global Taijiquan to the local audience. Moreover, the growing number of Western teachers and promoters represented a successful reception and synthesis of Taijiquan by non-Chinese actors, increasing receptivity by the general public.

Additionally, since the 1960s, Chinese overseas emigration has played an increasingly important role in Taijiquan's diffusion process. At this point, Taijiquan spread from overseas Chinese communities to a wider public. The following three pioneers provided a cross-cultural communication of Taijiquan, which was key to its further development.

The first was Chu King Hung,⁴⁶ a student of Yang Shou-Chung. He arrived in London in 1974 to establish the International Tai Chi Chuan Association (ITCCA). His curriculum included traditional Yang-style Tai Chi sword, Xingyiquan and Long Staff. Many of his students have since been influential figures in the spread of Yang-style Taijiquan in the UK. The growth of the ITCCA saw branches established in France, Switzerland, Austria, and Italy.

The second was Rose Li,⁴⁷ who was born into a wealthy family in imperial China. In 1975, she moved to the UK to work at Durham University, where she taught the closely related martial body cultures of Baguazhang, Xing Yi, and Yang-style Taijiquan. Later, she also taught in Manchester and London.

The final figure was Lam Kam Chuen,⁴⁸ who was the first Taijiquan instructor appointed to teach in the Inner London Education Authority in 1976. He is considered one of the

pioneering figures in promoting Taijiquan to Western audiences, particularly to the UK. Adding to the continuous change of Taijiquan body culture, he developed his own Lam Style.

The communicative content of Taijiquan became homogenized during the developmental phase. The Yang style was so dominant that it became synonymous with Taijiquan in the UK. Gerda Geddes mainly taught Yang-style Taijiquan that she learned from her Shi Fu (teacher), Choy Hak Pang. Paul Crompton mainly taught the 37-form Taijiquan that was rearranged by Cheng Man-Ching.⁴⁹

During this phase, the communicative form of Taijiquan was also homogenized. Taijiquan was mainly taught via personal example and verbal instruction. Although this method of teaching was not very systematic, it can be considered the core style of teaching during this stage in the spread of Taijiquan because of its unique body culture. The Taijiquan teaching program usually involves interaction between the Taijiquan teacher and student, passing knowledge from the transmitter to the learner through human senses such as the visual, the listening, and the touching.⁵⁰

During the developmental phase, Taijiquan teaching was mainly focused on the functions of well-being and aesthetics. Consequently, at this stage, the Taijiquan body culture is primarily a blend of Eichberg's modalities of "performance sport" and "fitness sport." Less attention was paid to combative or competitive performance dimensions; therefore, there are only early signs of the "experience sport" modality. For example, Gerda Geddes taught her students four different types of breathing techniques in practicing Taijiquan, in which practitioners focused on breathing to realize self-existence. This type of practice aims to unblock *qi* to extend life expectancy.⁵¹ Paul Crompton taught students there was no room for negative emotion in Taijiquan practice; the focus should all be on sensing and relaxing the body. Meditation in Taijiquan is regarded as a

pure experience of Taoist philosophy, and one can utilize Taijiquan for the realization of self in nature to achieve a level of integration of [hu]man and nature.⁵² Similarly, Rose Li placed her pedagogical focus on understanding the art and philosophy of Taijiquan. She taught her students to treat Taijiquan as a way to understand and experience Chinese culture. Li told her students that practicing Taijiquan is less about learning body movements and more about learning Chinese traditional culture and history.⁵³ The processes of glocalization, reinvention and hybridization had also begun to emerge toward the end of the developmental phase.

1981- Maturity: A multi-school environment; glocalization, reinvention and hybridization

The mature phase of the development of Taijiquan in the UK demonstrates a growing diversity, indicating a process of cultural glocalization involving the hybridization of Taijiquan body culture through reinvention of its traditional and newer forms. Moreover, Eichberg's three modalities of "performance sport," "fitness sport," and "experience sport" fully develop at this stage. During the mature stage of Taijiquan in the UK, individual agency and mobility remain central features. For example, Dan Docherty⁵⁴ became one of the most well-known and respected Taijiquan promoters and figures in Europe. During his stay in Hong Kong (1974–1984), he became a student of the Cheng Tin Hung, learning Wu Dang-style Taijiquan. In contrast to most other Taijiquan practitioners, Docherty focused on the combat function of Taijiquan and brought this emphasis back to the UK.

Gary Wragg⁵⁵ is another influential force in the spread of Taijiquan in the UK. In 1973, he learned Yang-style Taijiquan first from Gerda Geddes and then from John Kells. Wragg made a significant contribution to Wu-style Taijiquan's spread in the UK as founder and former

executive chief of the TCUGB and a committee member of the International Federation of Wu Style Tai Chi Ch'uan.

Danny Connor⁵⁶ was the first instructor to teach 24 and 48-form Taijiquan in the UK. Connor made a significant contribution to promoting the PRC's national standard pattern for Taijiquan competition, as well as contributing to UK based Taijiquan literature. Therefore, these three individuals contributed to establishing the "experience sport" modality and actively contributed to the further mainstreaming of Taijiquan. From then on, the cultural encounters increased to the point that Taijiquan's practice overcame cultural boundaries and became popularized. They were part of the earlier development of the mature stage, where individuals still played an important role in the diffusion process, yet institutionalization had started to emerge. In other modalities, organizations became increasingly central to the development, and this was particularly notable when Taijiquan became practiced as part of the healing and meditation arts.

Since the 1960s, many practitioners in the UK have explored the potential synergy between Taijiquan and other healing and meditation arts. Linda Chase Broda,⁵⁷ who designed the first dedicated Taijiquan pattern for patients aiming to *restore* their health, was a prime example. Ronnie Robinson⁵⁸ was another important figure in teaching and developing Taijiquan and Qigong. Robinson was an editor of *Tai Chi Chuan & Oriental Arts* magazine and a Secretary of the TCUGB and the Taijiquan & Qigong Federation for Europe (TCEF). For years, Robinson was the most active networker of the European Taijiquan and Qigong scene and a committed volunteer in different positions both in the TCUGB and in the TCEF. Robinson published 49 issues of the magazine.

Furthermore, the 1990s saw the emergence of Complementary and Alternative Medicine along with more scientific research attesting to the health benefits of Taijiquan and Qigong. Qigong was increasingly attracting people's attention,⁵⁹ although many Taijiquan practitioners had long been exploring the potential healing effect of Qigong and Taijiquan. In this health-related context, former boundaries between Qigong and Taijiquan became blurred, especially as both practices shared the same double functions of combat and well-being. Many audiences in the UK continue to believe the main functions of Taijiquan to be meditation, Qigong and well-being; these emphases are reflected in numerous teaching curricula in Taijiquan training clubs and organizations.

The teaching diversity in schools and styles can also be linked to the individual teachers' origin in Hong Kong or the mainland of the PRC. Respectively, their teaching styles are what created the distinction between the "traditional style" and "simplified style" Taijiquan. The first key influence in this era of Complementary and Alternative Medicine was Michael Tse,⁶⁰ formerly a policeman in Hong Kong. Tse created the Tse Qigong Centre in Manchester with the help of Danny Connor and *Qi Magazine*. Tse mainly taught the Wild Goose Qigong, Chen-style Taijiquan, and Wing Chun. He became one of the most well-known Qigong masters in the UK in the 1990s. The second influential figure with origins in Hong Kong, Jason Chan, taught Wing Chun and Taijiquan in the UK.⁶¹ He later created a new form of training for well-being that he called *Infinite Tai Chi*. This was an integration between Taijiquan and Qigong within an explicitly Taoist framework. Therefore, due to this link it is considered to be "traditional style" teaching.

At the same time, the political reforms undertaken in the PRC since 1978, the "Open Door Policy" by the government of Deng Xiaoping, increasingly allowed people from the PRC

to communicate with the outside world. It commenced a new wave of migration including some martial artists who brought martial arts to the countries to which they immigrated. Faye Li Yip⁶² and Yue Liming⁶³ are two prominent representative examples. Faye Li Yip was the daughter of Li Deyin, who was a prominent disseminator of Taijiquan.⁶⁴ In 2009, Yip set up the British Health Qigong Association in collaboration with the Chinese Health Qigong Association. She is now a committee member of the TUGB and The International Health Qigong Federation and Chair of the International Wu Dang Culture. Yue Liming was one of the early Taijiquan promoters from the PRC and the first disseminator of Chen-style Taijiquan in the UK. Liming settled down in the UK in 1995 and set up a Chen-style Tai Chi Centre in Manchester in 1997. Afterwards, Chen-style became the “new” school of Taijiquan in the UK in the twenty-first century, and Manchester has been the main city from where Chen-style Taijiquan has spread. These individuals and the respective institutions lay the foundation of what is known as the “simplified style” Taijiquan.

Following all these developments, the contents in this phase exhibit diversity and hybridity connotative of global localization. More schools of Taijiquan successively appeared in the UK, including Chen, Yang, Wu, Sun, Li and Wu Dang. There also have been more varieties of patterns. For example, Yang-style Taijiquan was mainly divided into Cheng’s simplified version of the 37-form, traditional Yang-style (Yang Shou-Chung) and Dong Style (Dong Ying Jie). Chen-style Taijiquan was mainly divided into the old form (Lao Jia), the small form (Xiao Jia), and the new form (Xin Jia). There was also diversity in the form of training that mainly includes hand forms (Tao Lu), weapons forms (Qi Xie), scattering hands (San Shou), pushing hands (Tui Shou), Taiji well-being, and sparring.

Although traditional classes remain the most common venue for the spread of Taijiquan in the UK, the mature phase has introduced various other supplementary forms of diffusion, including competitions, charrette research workshops, and retreats. Changing forms of diffusion diversify Taijiquan communication in the UK while opening mechanisms of cultural communication that bridge different Taijiquan-related organizations and communities globally. Advances in media technology and social media culture mean communicative channels have also become diversified and more hybrid in the current phase. Notably, interactive Internet communication and smartphone apps increasingly replace traditional book publications, television, and radio broadcasts. The diversity and hybridization of communicative channels shortens the distance between Taijiquan promoters and audiences.

In the mature phase, organizations, rather than individuals, play increasingly important roles in Taijiquan's spread in the UK. For example, the TCUGB has become a powerful independent organization that covers various schools and styles of Taijiquan. In 2000, Linda Chase Broda set up the TCKKF (Tai Chi and Chi Kung Forum). This forum strove to promote the health functions of Taijiquan through the sciences including anatomy, physiology, and biomechanics. In 1987, the UK's first Taijiquan pushing hands competition, organized by Dan Docherty, was a turning point for the re-capitulation of combat Taijiquan. Subsequently, many schools have started to pay attention to the combative as well as the artistic, well-being aspects of the art. This hybridization means that Taijiquan audiences can practice the martial art for different purposes, illustrating how UK Taijiquan has developed to accommodate the diverse interests of practitioners in an increasingly commercialized environment.

Contextual factors influencing diffusion of Taijiquan body culture in the UK

Given these historical phases of *inception, development, and maturity*, Taijiquan has undergone a continuous process of development and change, shifting from family heritage to diverse forms of international consumption, from rural to urban contexts, and from nationalist popularization to cultural globalization and glocalization. As a result of following the processes of diffusion (people-to-people communication), glocalization (blending of Taijiquan cultural artefacts and practices to fit local purposes and identities), and hybridization (cultural reinvention and integration with local culture) over time, it can be extrapolated that successful establishment of Taijiquan body culture in the UK was generally influenced by a group of six contextual factors.

The first group of factors is related to *health, well-being and lifestyle*. The rise in health-related issues connected to sedentary lifestyles, increasing levels of mental illness, and increasing lifespans in the UK have been strong influences on the development of Taijiquan. In different phases of diffusion, Taijiquan's reputation in the UK as a meditation and well-being body culture is reflected in a demographic survey that shows Taijiquan practitioners are concentrated mostly in groups of women and people 40 years old or older.⁶⁵ The dominant gender and age distinction implies that while some Taijiquan instructors comprehensively integrate combat, well-being, and meditation, in the UK, audiences tend to pay most attention to the non-combative dimension of well-being and meditation derived from traditional Chinese philosophy. Since the 1990s, a few thousand scientific studies have suggested the effectiveness of Taijiquan as a complementary and alternative treatment.⁶⁶ Studies in reputable medical journals have further strengthened Taijiquan's status in public health discourse in the UK.⁶⁷ Well-being and meditation have been highly promoted in this context.

The second group of factors is related to *the proliferation of cultures of combat*. The combative function of Taijiquan remains a significant consideration in terms of the transmission and changes in Taijiquan's body culture. The broader context of the proliferation of combat sports such as kickboxing, Taekwondo, Muay Thai and Mixed Martial Arts and the emergence of "reality" styles such as Krav Maga and Sistema means that questions over Taijiquan's status as a combat body culture have never completely vanished and in some cases have been reinvigorated. For example, Wu Dang-style Taijiquan was established in the UK by Dan Docherty. The practicability and effectiveness of combative Wu Dang-style Taijiquan have attracted students; as a result, many schools in the UK have shifted their focus to include these aspects.

The third group of factors is linked to *colonial Hong Kong and the de-territorialization and hybridization of Taijiquan communities*. Colonialism in Hong Kong (1841-1997) created an important foundation for the spread of Taijiquan to the UK and Europe by allowing for increased mobilities of practitioners through this colonial "outpost." Yang-style Taijiquan provides an important foundation for the spread and development of Taijiquan in the UK. The period of colonialism, with its dual influence of Chinese and British culture, helped forge a bridge between the UK and Hong Kong for Taijiquan communication and created globalized, de-territorialized, and hybridized communities of Taijiquan practitioners, each sharing similarly oriented configurations of body culture.

The fourth group of contextual factors leading to the spread of Taijiquan in the UK is related to *the popularity of Bruce Lee's Kungfu*. In the 1970s, Bruce Lee brought a revolutionary change in Hong Kong through Kungfu cinema and related popular culture.⁶⁸ Not only did Lee influence global cinema, but he also drew the attention of global audiences to Kungfu, including the UK. However, during this period, PRC was undergoing the Cultural Revolution. Taijiquan

teachers who wanted to learn Chinese Kungfu found it difficult to find a training center, so they chose to learn the more easily accessed Japanese and Korean martial arts.⁶⁹ In comparison with China at that time, Japan and Korea had stronger economies and were more open and internationalized. Hence, Japanese and Korean martial arts became available internationally much earlier than the martial arts of the PRC. Therefore, the “Kungfu Craze” of the 1970s, headed by Bruce Lee’s films, promoted not only Kungfu, but other Asian martial arts in the West.⁷⁰

The fifth group of factors is related to the *PRC government policy change*. Political culture has always had an impact on Taijiquan’s developmental process, which caused a rift between developments in the UK and the PRC. During the Chinese Republican era (1912-1949), martial arts were labelled as Guo Shu (National Arts); and the Central Guo Shu academy was founded and facilitated the development of multiple schools of Taijiquan. Since the “New China” was established in 1949, in line with support from Chairman Mao, Taijiquan in the PRC era has rapidly developed towards standardization and simplification. In contrast, in the UK, Taijiquan developed and established its teaching styles and autonomous organizations such as TCUGB and TCKKF and the myriad independent schools and organizations, which facilitated hybridization.

Shifts in political culture are particularly significant at later phases of maturity. The PRC’s “Cultural Going Out” (2004-present), which both responded and contributed to cultural globalization, is now significantly promoting the popularization of Chinese martial arts abroad. This includes the promotion of the 48- and the 24-form and other combative patterns devised by experts of the National Sports Committee.

The sixth and final group can broadly be generalized as the effects of *globalization and immigration*. The factors highlighted above allowed martial artists greater mobility, including temporary mobility through visits or permanent relocation through immigration. Globalization tends to increase people's ability to move around which contributes to increasing cosmopolitanism. Social mobility and the ability to travel, which leads to increased emigration and immigration, is possibly the single most important process of internationalization of martial arts.⁷¹ Not only have immigrants understood the cultural differences between the East and the West, but they have been aware of the demand of local audiences to learn martial arts and their interest in understanding the body culture of the societies they originate from. This has been advantageous for martial arts communication. By spreading Taijiquan in the UK, immigrants contributed to a favorable impetus for martial arts transmission, intercultural communication and ultimately the de-territorialization of martial arts communities. For example, Faye Li Yip set up the Devin Taijiquan Institute to promote Taijiquan in the UK and to organize annual traveling events such as Taijiquan and Qigong trips to China. Yue Liming set up the Chen-style Tai Chi Centre in the main city from where Chen-style Taijiquan spread. A student of Chen Zhenglei, the eleventh-generation successor of Chen-style Taijiquan, Yue Liming annually organized cross-cultural events such as Taijiquan cultural trips to China. These trips to China facilitated the spread of Taijiquan while promoting people-to-people communication between China and the UK, creating "glocal communities." This narrowed the distance between the two cultures, and UK visitors were offered more direct and immersive encounters with Chinese culture and vice versa.

Glocalization and hybridization of Taijiquan body culture in the UK

Following from these historical developments and contextual findings, it is also possible to trace

key changes in the diffusion of Taijiquan's body culture in the UK in comparison to the PRC. Currently, the forms of Taijiquan's expansion can be categorized as hand form (Tao Lu); weapons form (Qi Xie); pushing hands (Tui Shou); and scattering (San Shou).⁷²

In terms of hand form development, different schools have changed their sequences from those that are long and complicated to those that are short and simplified. For example, the most popular Cheng's simplified 37-form Taijiquan (rare in the PRC) was rearranged from the Yang-style 108 posture form.

Next, from the perspective of hand form use, Dan Docherty's practical combat Taijiquan was based on Cheng Tin Hung in Hong Kong's Wu Dang-style Taijiquan that was rarely known in the PRC. In essence, it is based on a different concept from the Wu Dang-style Taijiquan in the PRC. There are also some changes in the composition of hand forms. Some Taijiquan teachers have introduced new hand forms for different purposes. While some innovations increased teaching efficiency (e.g. efficiencies of space) and minimized repetitive postures and movements (e.g. efficiencies of time), others were devised to address the needs of special groups. For example, Linda Chase Broda rearranged patterns for psychiatric patients. In terms of pushing hands, although the dual practice was a very common method of combat technique, in practice, the combat element in the UK is largely reduced. Similarly, weapons and combat teaching programs have also been reduced in favor of more accessible health-oriented Taijiquan.

Many people in the PRC perceive Taijiquan as a type of martial art that innately has a combative function.⁷³ In the UK, public perception of Taijiquan is more about meditation and health cultivation. Since the 1960s, publicity about Taijiquan in the UK has heavily stressed meditation and well-being, which has shaped a stereotype of Taijiquan's *raison d'être*. This is reinforced by scientific intervention studies published in medical journals⁷⁴ on Taijiquan

mechanisms and fitness outcomes. These studies have further drawn public attention to the health benefits of Taijiquan, while the combat function has tended to be downplayed. The perception in the UK is that Taijiquan is principally a pathway towards well-being, while only a small number of people pay attention to its combat dimension.

In the UK, Taijiquan organizations were set up separately by different schools, which encouraged diversity and hybridization. The main functions of these organizations are for internal communication and support of Taijiquan's spread and development. Nevertheless, they tended to be quite autonomous and lack regulative powers. Additionally, significant autonomy is granted by the UK Sports Council that regulates Taijiquan development in the UK. For example, the autonomy of the TCUGB keeps Taijiquan's development in order, which is part of the administrative culture in modern UK society, yet it is not structured to fulfill this function. Nevertheless, it remains the sole and most reputable certification institute for Taijiquan instructors in the UK. It ranks Taijiquan instructors through four levels: senior (normally 20 years' experience of Chinese Nei Jia Quan practice), advanced (eight to ten years' experience), intermediate (acceptable level practice), and basic (basic level of practice, and periodically trained for further improvement).⁷⁵ The number of registered instructors increased from 55 in 1993⁷⁶ to the current 656 (Table 1). By contrast, Linda Chase Broda's TCCKF organization is focused on health, and has been providing scientific support for Taijiquan's connection to well-being.⁷⁷ The emergence of TCUGB and TCCKF highlights the dual function of combat and well-being for Taijiquan's comprehensive development and hybridization.

Conclusion

This study found that the diffusion of Taijiquan's body culture in the UK exhibits key themes that can be chronologically categorized as inception with Taoist culture, development

with the dominance of Yang-style, and maturity with the establishment of a multi-school environment. In this process, various factors influenced the evolution of British Taijiquan body culture. The first factor was the demand for the promotion of well-being in Taijiquan which emerged from the developments in health and lifestyle research and policymaking. The second factor is the proliferation of cultures of combat in the UK and elsewhere, necessitating that Taijiquan's combative function was always considered. The third is the colonial relationship between Hong Kong and the UK, which allowed Taijiquan to spread to the UK and create de-territorialized and hybridized Taijiquan communities. The fourth was Bruce Lee's popularity, which introduced global audiences to Chinese martial arts. Fifth, government policy change in the PRC initially contributed to separate institutional developments of Taijiquan in the PRC and the UK, but later contributed to a spread of the PRC's standardized hand forms in the UK. The final element is the role of globalization, mobilities, and immigration as a driver of hybridization and de-territorialization of Taijiquan body culture and communities.

In the analysis, the study applied Eichberg's three modalities of "achievement/performance sport," with its hierarchical organization for recorded and peak performance; "fitness sport," with more emphasis on public health and wellness; and "experience sport," that is more martial arts and bodybuilding. Based on the data, it was found that British Taijiquan body culture went through different modalities during the phases of inception, development, and maturity. The inceptive phase inspired by Taoist body and spiritual culture included early signs of tailoring Taijiquan body culture by local identities. Therefore, it involved the modality of "fitness sport." The developmental phase, characterized by the dominance of Yang-style Taijiquan body culture, was focused on the functions of well-being and aesthetics. Therefore, it involved the modalities of "performance sport" and "fitness sport." The mature

phase of a multi-school, pluralistic environment, indicated a process of cultural glocalization involving the hybridization of Taijiquan through reinvention. At this final phase, Eichberg's three modalities of "performance sport," "fitness sport," and "experience sport" are fully developed and exist in symbiosis through different combinations.

Consequently, the study illustrates the development of Taijiquan body culture in the UK as understood through its relationship to wider forms of culture (political, popular, spiritual, etc.), other body cultures, and its different modalities (for health and well-being, as a combat and performance sport, as a family tradition). This study illustrates the key features in the diffusion of the body culture of Taijiquan in the UK, contributes to the literature on Taijiquan's diffusion and transmission, and provides insight as to what Taijiquan represents as a globalized, glocalized and hybridized body culture.

Acknowledgements

The author thanks Paul Bowman, David Brown, George Jennings, and Mina Sumaadii for their helpful advice, edits and proofreading of this article. The author also would like to express their gratitude to Robin Boylorn and the two anonymous reviewers for their consideration and constructive recommendations.

Funding

This research was funded by Sichuan Social Science Fund, grant number SC21ZW003.

Disclosure statement

No potential conflict of interest was reported by the author.

Notes

- ¹ Douglas Wile, *Lost T'ai Chi Classics of the Late Ch'ing Dynasty* (Albany: State University of New York, 1996); Adam Frank, *Taijiquan and the Search for the Little Old Chinese Man: Understanding Identity Through Martial Arts* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2006).
- ² Baili Wang, "Tai Ji Quan: A Mark of Sign Cultural Code," *Journal of Xi'an Physical Education University* 31, no. 1 (2014), 70–4.
- ³ Xilian Sun, Xiaohui Yu, and Linqi Mei, "Taijiquan's International Publicity and China's Soft Power Promotion," *Journal of Wuhan Institute of Physical Education* 42, no. 6 (2008), 72–5; Xiangquan Yang and Xiangguo Yang, "Thoughts on Dissemination of Taijiquan's Internationalization," *Journal of Tianjin Institute of Physical Education* 19, no. 2 (2004), 62–5; Nan Jiang, Qinchao Liang and Yuan Li, "Application of Taijiquan Cultural Symbols in Construction of China's National Image," *Journal of Wuhan Institute of Physical Education* 50, no. 1 (2016), 54–8.
- ⁴ Zhaoyang Chang, "Theoretical Research and Problem Solving of Taijiquan Culture Overseas," *Journal of Xi'an Physical Education University* 35, no. 3 (2018), 338–44; Youkuan Shi, "The Practice in the International Communication of Sports Culture and Concept Innovation," *China Sport Science* 33, no. 05 (2013), 13–24+73; Jiyuan Li and Zhiyu Guo, "Culturally Expounding on the Spreading Phenomenon of Taiji," *Journal of Xi'an Physical Education University* 27, no. 2 (2010), 186–9.
- ⁵ Qinghua Song and Guoqing Shen, "International Communication Strategies of Tai Chi under China's National Cultural Strategy of 'One Belt and One Road'," *Journal of Wuhan Institute of Physical Education* 52, no. 03 (2018), 61–6; Feng Ren, "Cross-Culture Communication of Taiji Based on Skopos Theory," *Journal of Shenyang Sport University* 33, no. 1 (2014), 137–40.
- ⁶ Baofeng Zhu, "The Research of English of Taijiquan," *Sports Culture Guide*, no. 7 (2014), 188–91; Suxiang Yang, "The Communication of Tai Chi in America: An Empirical Study Based on American Mass Media Corpus," *China Sport Science* 37, no. 4 (2017), 68–78; Tao Li and Xiujie Ma, "The Translation Evolution of Taijiquan Westward Propagation and The Promotion of Chinese Cultural Soft Power," *Jiangxi Social Sciences* 37, no. 4 (2017), 242–9.
- ⁷ Jingjing Zhang, "Research on the Spread of Taijiquan in Japan" (Master's thesis, Chengdu Sport University, 2014); Junkang Guan, "The Spread of Taijiquan in Pakistan" (Master's thesis, Shandong Sport University, 2014); Jie Zhang, "The Spread and Cultural Influence of Tai Chi in the United States" (PhD diss., Beijing Sport University, 2012).
- ⁸ Xiujie Ma, "The Empirical Research of Tai Chi Chuan's International Spread based on the Platform of Confucius Institute," *Journal of Handan University* 26, no. 2 (2016), 88–92+105; Yufang Zhou,

“The Path Exploration of to Spread Martial Arts Rai Chi on Platform of Confucius Institute,” *Sports Culture Guide*, no. 1 (2015), 199–202.

- ⁹ Xiu Li, Guoliang Yang, and Qun Wang, “The Spreading and Development of Tai Chi Chuan in Malaysia,” *The Journal of Fighting* (Sports Forum) 3, no. 5 (2011), 85–7; Tao Meng, “The Research on the Dissemination of Chinese Wushu in US under Cross-cultural Background” (PhD diss., Shanghai University of Sport, 2013).
- ¹⁰ Wong Kiew Kit, *The Complete Book of Tai Chi Chuan: A Comprehensive Guide to the Principles and Practice* (Kehad: Cosmos, 2016).
- ¹¹ Catherine Fetherstone and Li Wen, “The Benefits of Tai Chi as a Self Management Strategy to Improve Health in People with Chronic Conditions,” *Journal of Nursing and Healthcare of Chronic Illness* 3, no. 3 (2011), 155–64.
- ¹² Roger Jahnke, Linda Larkey and Carol Rogers, “A Comprehensive Review of Health Benefits of Tai Chi and Qigong,” *American Journal of Health Promotion* 24, no. 6 (2010), 1–25.
- ¹³ Henning Eichberg, *Body Cultures: Essays on Sport, Space and Identity* (London: Routledge, 1998).
- ¹⁴ Pirkko Markula and Michael Silk, *Qualitative Research for Physical Culture* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2011).
- ¹⁵ Michael Atkinson, “Parkour, Anarcho-Environmentalism and Poesis,” *Journal of Sport and Social Issues* 33, no. 2 (2009), 169–94.
- ¹⁶ Susan Brownell, *Training the Body for China: Sports in the Moral Order of the People’s Republic* (Chicago: Chicago University Press, 1995).
- ¹⁷ Henning Eichberg “Force Against Force: Configurations of Martial Art in European and Indonesian Cultures,” *International Review for the Sociology of Sport* 18, no. 2 (1983), 33–66.
- ¹⁸ Jennings, George. “From the Calendar to the Flesh: Movement, Space, and Identity in a Mexican Body Culture,” *Societies*, 8, no. 3 (2018), 66.
- ¹⁹ With its competing histories, modalities and philosophies, Taijiquan includes different family styles (Chen, Yang, Wu (武), Wu (吳), Sun) and their various combinations. The 24-form Taijiquan, also known as the simplified Taijiquan, was organized by the National Sports Committee of China (now the General Administration of sport of China) in 1956 to organize Taijiquan experts. It is based on the Yang family style Taijiquan and includes 24 movements (forms). Compared with the other traditional Taijiquan routines, the content is more concise, the movements are simplified and standardized. Therefore, they were more suitable for all age groups and easier to popularise.
- ²⁰ Leslie Sklair, “Globalization,” in *Sociology: The Key Concepts*, ed. John. Scott (London: Routledge, 2006), 76–79.

- ²¹ Victor Roudometof, “Transnationalism, Cosmopolitanism and Glocalization,” *Current Sociology*, 53, no. 1 (2005) 113–35.
- ²² Mimi Sheller and John Urry, “The New Mobilities Paradigm,” *Environment and Planning A*, 38, no. 2 (2006) 207–26.
- ²³ Anthony Elliot, *Reinvention* (London: Routledge, 2013).
- ²⁴ Henning Eichberg, “How to Study Body Culture: Observing Human Practice,” *Idrottsforum* 6, no. 6 (2007), 1–12.
- ²⁵ This multimodal design included: 1. Starting with the 50 issues of Tai Chi Union for Great Britain magazine *Tai Chi Chuan & Oriental Arts* to identify some of the most important figures in British Tai Chi circle. 2. Referring to the “Meet the Teacher” column on the website of the Tai Chi Union for Great Britain to further study British communicators of Tai Chi. 3. Author interviews with Liming Yue and Faye Li Yip to introduce the development of British Taijiquan and the important local figures in the spread of British Taijiquan. 4. The key communicators of British Taijiquan were identified. The list included: Chan Kam Lee, Chee Soo, Gerda Geddes, Ian Cameron, Paul Crompton, John Kells, Rose Li, Chu King-Hong, Lam Kam Chuen, Dan Docherty, Gary Wragg, Danny Connor, Linda Chase Broda, Michael Tse, Marnix Wells, Ronnie Robinson, Janson Chan, Faye Li Yip, Yue Liming, Adam Mizner, John Bolwell, Peter Ballam, Anthony Ulatowski, Mark Peters, Barry (Man) McGinlay, and Kam Lau.
- ²⁶ The author visited local overseas Chinese organizations and also visited some Tai Chi schools and clubs in cities such as Glasgow, Edinburgh, Liverpool, Birmingham, London, Manchester, etc. in 2012. The visited sites included: Glasgow: Practical Tai Chi Chuan, Chiron Tai Chi & Qigong, Chen Tai Chi Chuan Scotland, Tai Chi & Qigong Classes; Edinburgh: Five Winds School, Practical Tai Chi Chuan Edinburgh, Wenli Taichi Qigong School; Liverpool: Kam Lau School of Tai Chi Chuan, Yang Style Tai Chi School; Birmingham: Kai Ming Association for Taijiquan, Cloud Gate Tai Chi & Qigong, Wu's Tai Chi Chuan Academy, Mei Quan Academy of Tai Chi, Tai Chi Life School; London: London South Bank University Confucius Institute; Manchester: Chen Style Tai Chi Centre, Lishi Tai Chi Classes.
- ²⁷ Alexandra Ryan, “Globalization and the “Internal Alchemy” in Chinese Martial Arts: The Transmission of Taijiquan to Britain,” *East Asian Science, Technology and Society: An International Journal* 2, no. 4 (2008), 525–43.
- ²⁸ The author received a one-year fellowship from the China Scholarship Council from 2018 to 2019 to conduct the study of Chinese martial arts in the UK. Under the guidance of his supervisor Paul Bowman and his links to the Martial Arts Studies Research Network, the author gathered information about the development of Taijiquan in the UK.

- ²⁹ Henning Eichberg, “Efficiency Play, Games, Competitions, Production – How to Analyse the Configurations of Sport?” *Physical Culture and Sport. Studies and Research* 72, no. 1 (2016), 5–16.
- ³⁰ David Brown and Aspasia Leledaki, “Eastern Movement Forms as body-Self Transforming Cultural Practices in the West: Towards a Sociological Perspective,” *Cultural Sociology* 4, no. 1 (2010), 123–54.
- ³¹ This article adopts different PinYin systems for individual’s names because some of them were from Hong Kong and others were from the PRC.
- ³² Chan Kam Lee was a Taoist teacher who brought Taoist Arts to the West. According to Chee Soo, Chan Kam Lee established a Taoist Arts school in Red Lion Square in Holborn in 1930 teaching Lee-style t’ai chi ch’uan, Qigong, Traditional Chinese Medicine and Feng Shou ‘Hand of the Wind’ Kungfu and used his knowledge of Chinese Medicine and Herbalism to adapt the Ch’ang Ming diet for Westerners. Chan Kam Lee is referenced in several books written by Chee Soo and published by HarperCollins but there is no corroboration of his existence independent of Chee Soo’s accounts.
- ³³ Amazon, “Chee-Soo,” https://www.amazon.co.uk/Chee-Soo/e/B001KIFC04%3Fref=dbs_a_mng_rwt_scns_share (accessed August 25, 2019).
- ³⁴ Ray Austin (1932–) is an English television and film director, television writer, novelist and former stunt performer and actor who has worked in both the United Kingdom and the United States.
- ³⁵ Alexandra, “Globalization,” 525–43.
- ³⁶ Taiji Forum, “Tai Chi Interview – Gerda Geddes,” <https://taiji-forum.com/tai-chi-taiji/tai-chi-interviews/gerda-geddes/> (accessed August 25, 2019).
- ³⁷ Choy Hak Pang (1886–1957), he had learned the Yang style of Tai Chi from the famous third generation master Yang Cheng Fu, as well as his student Chen Wei Ming.
- ³⁸ Taiji Forum, “Tai Chi Interview – Paul Crompton,” <https://taiji-forum.com/tai-chi-taiji/tai-chi-interviews/tai-chi-interview-paul-crompton/> (accessed August 25, 2019).
- ³⁹ Paul Crompton’s Taijiquan publications include *Tai Chi Workbook* (1987), *Tai Chi for Two: The Practice of Push Hands* (1989), *Tai Chi Combat* (1991), *The Art of Tai Chi* (1993), *The Elements of Tai Chi* (1994), *Tai Chi. A Practical Introduction to the Therapeutic Effects of the Discipline* (1996), *Tai Chi: A Practical Introduction* (1998), *Tai Chi: An Introductory Guide to the Chinese Art of Movement* (2000), *Tai Chi for Beginners* (2003).
- ⁴⁰ Ronnie Robinson, “An Interview with Gary Wragg,” *Tai Chi Chuan & Oriental Arts* 30, winter (2011), 18–24.
- ⁴¹ Liang Tung Tsai (1900–2002), was a senior disciple of Cheng Man Ching, but also studied Taijiquan with various other teachers, such as Li Shou Chen and Hsiung Yang Ho (disciples of Yang Shao Hou) and Chang Ching Ling (Disciple of Yang Ban Hou).

- ⁴² Chu Gin Soon (1932–2019), was a disciple of Yang Shou-chung, he moved to the United States in 1968 and opened the Gin Soon Tai Chi Club in Boston, Massachusetts in 1969 where he taught the traditional Yang style of Taijiquan for 50 years.
- ⁴³ Yang Shou-chung (1910–1985) started learning the family-style from his father Yang Cheng Fu when he was eight and also learned from his famous uncle Yang Shao Hou (1862–1929). After the death of his father he became the successor in the Yang Family lineage.
- ⁴⁴ Taiji Forum, “Tai Chi Interview – Ian Cameron,” <https://taiji-forum.com/tai-chi-taiji/tai-chi-interviews/tai-chi-interview-ian-cameron/> (accessed August 25, 2019).
- ⁴⁵ Cheng Tin Hung (1930–2005) was an influential Taijiquan master and the founder of ‘Wudang Taijiquan’. Taiji Forum, “Tai Chi Interview – Gary Wragg,” <https://taiji-forum.com/tai-chi-taiji/tai-chi-interviews/tai-chi-interview-gary-wragg/> (accessed August 25, 2019).
- ⁴⁶ International Tai Chi Chuan Association (ITCCA), “Master Chu King Hung,” <https://www.itcca.com/en/original-yang-style/master-chu-king-hung> (accessed August 25, 2019).
- ⁴⁷ Rose Li, (1914–2001). Robert Smith, *Martial Musings: A Portrayal of Martial Arts in the 20th Century* (Erie, PA: Via Media Publishing, 2013), Kindle Edition.
- ⁴⁸ Lam Kam Chuen (1949–). http://www.lamkamchuen.com/News_%26_Events/News_%26_Events.html (accessed August 25, 2019).
- ⁴⁹ Cheng Man-Ching (1900–1975), he was one of the first who taught Taijiquan in the West and his Taijiquan style is spread all over the world. He learned Taijiquan in the tradition of the classical Yang style from Yang Chengfu in Shanghai. After the death of his teacher Yang Chengfu in 1935, Cheng Man Ching developed the so-called “short form”, in which 37 positions are counted, from the well-known long form with 85 or 108 positions, depending on how they are counted.
- ⁵⁰ Timothy J. Nulty. “Gong and Fa in Chinese Martial Arts,” *Martial Arts Studies* 3 (2017), 50–63.
- ⁵¹ Taiji Forum, “Tai Chi Interview – Gerda Geddes.”
- ⁵² Taiji Forum, “Tai Chi Interview – Paul Crompton.”
- ⁵³ Smith, *Martial Musings: A Portrayal of Martial Arts*.
- ⁵⁴ Taiji Forum, “Tai Chi Interview – Paul Crompton.”
- ⁵⁵ Ronnie Robinson, “An Interview with Gary Wragg.”
- ⁵⁶ Bey Logan, “Daniel in the Dragon's Den,” *Traditional Karate* 2, no. 2 (1988), 16–24.
- ⁵⁷ Ronnie Robinson, “Lina Chase Broda,” *Tai Chi Chuan & Oriental Arts* 29, summer (2011), 21–7.
- ⁵⁸ Taiji Forum, “In Memoriam Ronnie Robinson,” <https://taiji-forum.com/memoriam-ronnie-robinson/> (accessed August 25, 2019).
- ⁵⁹ David A. Palmer, *Qigong Fever: Body, Science and Utopia in China* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2007).

- ⁶⁰ Tse Qigong, “Grandmaster Michael Tse,” <https://www.tseqigongcentre.com/michaeltse.html> (accessed August 25, 2019).
- ⁶¹ Infinite Arts, “Jason Chan,” <https://www.theinfinitearts.com/team/jason-chan/> (accessed August 25, 2019).
- ⁶² Ronnie Robinson, “An interview with Faye Li Yi,” *Tai Chi Chuan and Oriental Arts* 43, Autumn, (2013), 6–11.
- ⁶³ Tai Chi Centre, “Grandmaster Liming Yue,” <http://www.taichicentre.com/masterliming.php>. (accessed August 25, 2019).
- ⁶⁴ Li Deyin (1938–) in one of China’s most famous Taijiquan Masters and creator of a number of modern-day competition routines such as 24 Step Taijiquan, 48 Step Taijiquan, Taiji Kungfu Fan. He is also the highest authority on 24-step simplified Yang style Taijiquan, 88-Step Traditional Yang Style Taijiquan, Wudang Taiji Sword and 32-step Yang Style Taijijian.
- ⁶⁵ George Jennings, “Transmitting Health Philosophies through the Traditionalist Chinese Martial Arts in the UK,” *Societies* 4, no. 4 (2014), 712–36.
- ⁶⁶ Xiujie Ma, Wei Wang, “Dynamic Analysis of International Researches on Tai Ji Quan,” *Journal of Handan University* 28, no. 1 (2018), 48–64.
- ⁶⁷ Chenchen Wang and others, “A Randomized Trial of Tai Chi for Fibromyalgia,” *New England Journal of Medicine* 363, no. 8 (2010), 743–54; Fuzhong Li and others, “Tai Chi and Postural Stability in Patients with Parkinson’s Disease,” *New England Journal of Medicine* 366, no. 6 (2012), 511–19.
- ⁶⁸ Paul Bowman, *Theorizing Bruce Lee: Film-Fantasy-Fighting-Philosophy* (Amsterdam: Rodopi, 2010).
- ⁶⁹ Ma, Xiujie, Min Wu, Zizheng Yu, and Chuanyin Jiang. “An Empirical Study of the Understandings of Chinese Martial Arts Symbols Among German University Students,” *Journal of Martial Arts Research* 2, no. 1 (2019), 19.
- ⁷⁰ Paul Bowman, *Beyond Bruce Lee: Chasing the Dragon through Film, Philosophy, and Popular Culture* (London: Wallflower Press, 2013).
- ⁷¹ Tao Meng and Zhonglin Cai, “Dissemination Process and Cultural Clues: Exploration of the History of Chinese Wushu Dissemination in the America,” *China Sport Science* 33, no. 10 (2013), 78–88.
- ⁷² In “Globalization and the ‘Internal Alchemy’ in Chinese Martial Arts,” 525–543, Alexandra Ryan lists five technical components that include ‘qi-based’ exercises (Qigong) as a fifth component in addition to the four listed here. In the PRC, Qigong is completely separate from Taijiquan, so the author decided not to list it.
- ⁷³ Wang Gang, Guo Huashuai. “Taiji as a Typical ‘Water’ Culture,” *Journal of Wuhan Institute of Physical Education*, 43, no. 3 (2009), 81–6.

- ⁷⁴ Holly Blake and Helen Hawley, “Effects of Tai Chi exercise on physical and psychological health of older people,” *Current Ageing Science*, 5, no. 1 (2011), 19–27.
- ⁷⁵ Tai Chi Union, “Instructors Grades,” <https://www.taichiunion.com/instructor-grades/> (accessed August 25, 2019).
- ⁷⁶ Alexandra, Ryan “Globalization,” 525–43.
- ⁷⁷ George Jennings, “Transmitting Health Philosophies through the Traditionalist Chinese Martial Arts in the UK,” *Societies* 4, no. 4 (2014), 712–36.