

Chapter 10

Traditional Art Education: The Case of Tea Ceremony (*Chadō*)



Kaeko Chiba

Abstract This chapter examines current issues surrounding traditional arts education in Japanese compulsory education. The historical background of traditional arts education is discussed to elucidate its interaction with issues of nationalism, gender, and social class. Rather than being offered as a regular subject in Japan, traditional arts tend to be taught in class time dedicated to non-subjects, particularly integrated studies (*sōgō gakushū*), moral education class (*dōtoku*), and special activities (*tokubetsu katsudō*); and as curricular club activities (*kurabu katsudō*) or extracurricular club activities (*bukatsudō*). The chapter further analyses two case studies to consider regional variation. In order to explore effective teaching styles, the chapter shares comments from teachers and administrators of traditional arts education in public schools. These case studies are then discussed in relation to issues of gender and class, before summarizing the potential for traditional arts education in Japanese compulsory education and its future challenges.

Keywords Traditional arts education · Tea ceremony · Class · Gender · Cultural nationalism

10.1 Introduction

Traditional arts, such as tea ceremony, *ikebana*, Japanese dance, and *noh* have been practiced for centuries, sustained by the *Iemoto* system in Japan, which refers not only to the grand master of a school of art but also to the structure and hierarchy amongst students and teachers¹ the systems of Japan's schools of art (Hsu, 1975;

¹ In this chapter, tea ceremony 'teachers' are advanced practitioners with non-governmental certification to teach tea ceremony. Typically, they teach adults and young people in private classes, though this chapter discusses their (less common) activities in schools. To avoid ambiguity, in this chapter, full time school teachers are consistently referred to as 'school teachers'.

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Mori 1991; Nishiyama, 1982). These traditional arts have enjoyed great attention from tourist industries fuelled by foreign interest. In Japanese higher education, there has been an emergence of opportunities to study traditional arts courses for international students. In contrast to increasing interest from foreign tourists and international students, the number of practitioners with sufficient expertise to hand down traditions is drastically decreasing due to a lack of sustained interest from the younger generations permanently resident in Japan.

This chapter focuses on current issues surrounding traditional arts education in Japanese compulsory education. It will first introduce the historical background of traditional arts education; how it has been valued and guided in relation to issues of nationalism, gender, and social class. The focus of this chapter is traditional arts education in compulsory education. Traditional arts education is not offered as a regular subject in Japan but tends to be taught in class time dedicated to non-subjects, particularly integrated studies (*sōgō gakushū*), moral education class (*dōtoku*), and special activities (*tokubetsu katsudō*); and as curricular club activities (*kurabu katsudō*) or extracurricular club activities (*bukatsudō*). Based on two case studies, the chapter analyses how this education differs according to varying teaching styles and regions in Japan. To best explore effective teaching styles, the chapter shares comments from teachers and those who engage with traditional arts education in public schools. Along with direct insights given by tea ceremony teachers, school teachers, school staff, and students, the chapter will conclude by introducing the potentials of traditional arts education in Japanese compulsory education, in relation to the previously discussed issues of gender and class.

As discussed above, there are several traditional arts practiced in Japan. Besides calligraphy, perceived as an extension of the Japanese Language subject (*kokugo*) (Beomjin, 2012), tea ceremony is the most actively taught in compulsory education, and is thus leveraged as the primary focus of this chapter.

10.2 Tea Ceremony for Ideal Women, for a Strong Country

Traditional Arts, including tea ceremony, were established and practiced before the Meiji period (1868–1912), with tea ceremony being formalized in the 16th century by Sen no Rikyū (1522–1591). These art forms were practiced in private lessons by upper middle-class or middle-class male practitioners, but rarely taught in educational institutions until the Meiji Period (Varley, 1989; Corbett, 2018).

The Japanese tea ceremony was first taught at girls' schools (*jogakkō*) after the Meiji period (Sen, 1979; Varley 1989). The Meiji government first perceived traditional arts rather negatively, as they resonated with outdated feudalistic ideals, but then due to a lack of finance caused by the loss of patrons, the grandmaster (*Iemoto*) of the Urasenke School, named Gengensai (1810–1877), convinced the Meiji government to open tea ceremony courses to girls' schools (Anderson, 1991; Kumakura, 1991; Sen, 1979). In reference to two principles of governance promoted by the government of the day, Gengensai convinced the Meiji leaders that tea ceremony

practice would encourage girls to learn how to embody the ‘good wife, wise mother’ (*ryosai kenbo*) ideal, and would in turn demonstrate the notion of ‘rich country, strong military’ (*fukoku kyohei*) (Chiba, 2010; Kato, 2004; Stalker, 2018). He emphasized that tea ceremony practice provides appropriate etiquette, manners, and mental discipline (*seishin shugyo*) to students and insisted that this training would produce and promote ideal wives and mothers who would support their husbands, sons, and the nation (Corbett, 2018). Stalker (2018) also states that the support of the Meiji government to encourage teaching girls arose from the desperate desire for Japan to be recognized as a developed nation by leading men in the USA and Europe, where Japanese traditional arts were already regarded as feminine pursuits.

Atomi School was founded in 1875 as Japan’s first private girls’ school. Tea ceremony and *ikebana* were taught as compulsory subjects along with Japanese, Chinese, math, calligraphy, painting, and sewing (Kido, 2007). Atomi Kakei (1840–1926), the founder of this school, offered these traditional arts lessons and students learned not only how to serve tea and sweets but also how to accommodate guests in a befitting manner. At first, Atomi started Etiquette and Manner classes in the Ogasawara style (Ogasawara, 1999), but later changed it to Tea Ceremony class. She strongly believed that tea ceremony was a practice more suitable for promoting girls’ talent in multiple ways, including their mental discipline (Sekine, 2007). The Atomi School greatly influenced other schools of a similar nature, such as Gakushūin, Keio Girls, and Seiken Girls schools in Tokyo and the Horikawa School in Kyoto, all of which also established tea ceremony classes. Tea ceremony classes were offered for the first time at a public girls’ school in 1888 in Kyoto. Yukako Sen, the wife of the 12th *Iemoto* of the Urasenke tea house and daughter of the 11th *Iemoto*, taught the class. Fukuzawa Yukichi (1835–1901) commented on the importance of tea ceremony education for girls and encouraged families to let their daughters engage with this art form for as long as they could in his book *Women’s learning* (Fukuzawa 1899). Supported by the well-recognized advocacy of Fukuzawa, tea ceremony education for girls began to be adopted elsewhere in Japan. However, it is significant to note that not every child in Japan went to elementary school, thus only a limited number of upper-middle and middle-class girls were able to attend a girls’ school (Sugimoto, 2015). Whereas mixed compulsory education started for those aged 6–12 later in the Meiji period, *jogakkō* was considered as optional subsequent education (Andressen & Gainer, 2002).

After the Pacific War, the Japanese education system was reformed and became universal (Hendry, 2019; Hirota, 2004). Many traditional arts and cultural values were re-examined, under the fear that elements of the traditional culture might reignite nationalistic and feudalistic sentiments. *Terakoya no dan* is one example of a kabuki play forbidden by GHQ (General Headquarters of the Supreme Commander for the Allied Powers) out of concern that it promoted absolute loyalty to outdated feudalistic sentiments. As a result, the Ministry of Education ascribed less importance to the teaching of traditional culture (Kokubun, 2007; Ozaki, 1999).

Although traditional arts education was not promoted in compulsory education, the image of *ryosai kenbo* was upheld through the continued practice of tea ceremony. It was perceived as bridal training (*hanayome shugyo*), for upper and middle-class

women and taught mainly at the houses of tea ceremony teachers (Plutschow, 2001). It was common that women in their early twenties would practice tea ceremony for a couple of years before their arranged marriage (Chiba, 2010; Kato, 2009). It was commonly understood that a lot of time and patience is needed to acquire and understand the skills and philosophy required to perfect the art. In addition, it also costs a substantial amount of money to become a licensed practitioner (Mori, 1991). By stating that a person was engaging in tea ceremony practice was to affirm their social standing and so tea ceremony became categorized as high culture for the upper and middle-classes.

A woman who practices the art maintains a good social standing and can therefore hope to be selected by a commensurate family to marry into (Chiba, 2010). As a result of tea ceremony upholding these social expectations, more opportunities arose during the 1950s for tea ceremony practice to be undertaken as an extracurricular club activity, particularly in private girls' schools. For instance, at Toshimagaoka Joshi Gakuen Junior High School for Girls, based in Tokyo, the school has offered *bukatsudō* tea ceremony instruction since 1960. A graduate student, Haruyo Yashiro, was asked to teach tea ceremony *bukatsudō* in 1959 by the school and since then, she has taught this art form with five other graduate supporters (Kokorocomyu, 2019). Iwaki Public Junior High School in Akita prefecture offered tea ceremony education as one of its *bukatsudō* activities from 1950 (Tankokai Akita Branch, 1981). It is significant to note that there were only a limited number of schools offering this education. At the time, there was only one junior high school out of around 100 in Akita which offered tea ceremony instruction (Akita Prefectural Government, Compulsory Education Division, personal communication, 2020).

So far, the historical background of tea ceremony education has been explored. It has been valued and guided by Japan's complex relationship with its own nationalism. The notions of *fukoku kyohei*, *ryosai kenbo*, and *hanayome shugyo* variously reflect: skepticism towards feudalism and nation-building from the Meiji period, marriage politics, and gender and social class issues in the post-war period. As described above, these traditional arts were taught at schools only for upper-middle or middle-class girls and women. During the post-war period, tea ceremony education was mainly available as an extracurricular activity, *sadō-bu* (tea ceremony club), targeted predominantly towards middle-class girls' schools. How has this tendency changed? The following section focuses on current trends of traditional arts education in Japan to explore the different approaches towards it, drawing on the cases of Kyoto and Akita City, supported by seven interviews.

10.3 Special Occasion

Through the latter half of the twentieth century, the rapid decline of interest towards traditional arts became ever more concerning. Kokubun (2007) suggested that Japanese people had stopped hearing the Japanese harp (*koto*), and guitar (*shamisen*)

in their daily lives. However, a revision was made to the Fundamental Law on Education in 2006, which provided that ‘Japanese education aims to respect its tradition and culture, respect the other nations, and promote peace and development to the globalized community’. The same statement was inserted into the School Education Law in 2007, and into the 2008 course of study. Thereafter, the Ministry of Education began to provide extra support for traditional arts education, together with other educational reforms, from 2006 onwards (Kokubun, 2007). The subsequent course of study required an emphasis on education related to tradition and culture to promote the desired Japanese person for a globalized society. It further described traditional arts related education in detail, with reference to Japanese instruments in music class, traditional lifestyle and culture in home economics, and Japanese painting in art class. Moreover, the guidance states that every local board of education should create their own education plan considering the local conditions. The increased emphasis on traditional arts was well received in tea ceremony circles (Yoshida, 2016).

Kokubun (2007) argued to the Urasenke Tea Ceremony Practitioners’ Conference that this reform was related to the significant concern that the traditional arts were at risk of dying out. He also states that the reform was relevant to the global context: Japanese traditional arts promotion for increasing the number of foreign tourists. He suggested that the government emphasized the significance of Japanese identity to interact with global business and trade (Kokubun, 2007). Due to this reform in 2006, music classes were encouraged to teach more traditional music forms including Japanese harp, guitar, and drum (*taiko*) music in compulsory education, as only western music had been taught since the Meiji period (Yoshida, 2016).

And what of tea ceremony? It is not designated as a subject in compulsory education. However, traditional arts classes have gradually offered it as a part of integrated studies, special activities, as a club activity, and in moral education class (Kido, 2016). Integrated studies were promoted under the *yutori* education philosophy, which encourage a form of education with ‘room to breathe’, by MEXT from 2000. Club activities are held once per week for 45 min from 4th grade in elementary school and students can select their favourite club activities offered by their school. Moral education is a compulsory subject for every year group. It is offered once per week for 45 min at elementary school. Students are encouraged to learn respect towards rules, justice, family, groups within society, local communities, the nation, international groups, and traditional arts (Yoshida, 2016). There are numerous *bukatsudō*, extracurricular activities, especially in junior high schools in Japan and it is common for students to attend. Japanese students are well known to engage with these *bukatsudō* after class and during weekends and holidays. There are several sports and art *bukatsu* clubs: baseball, soccer, tennis, basketball, *judo*, *kendo*, art, science, and music. Some of the schools also include a tea ceremony club as an option (Hendry, 2019).

According to Kido (2016), the number of schools teaching tea ceremony has not changed much at the junior and high school level, but this number is increasing in the elementary school and preschool levels. Kido (2016) states that about 6,500 educational institutions are engaged with tea ceremony education, of which more than

300 began this education in 2011. The latest revision to the course of study renewed its emphasis on education related to traditional arts, along with new pursuits such as computer programming and more hours for English education (MEXT 2017).

10.3.1 *Kyoto*

The number of traditional arts club activities and classes varies depending on the region. Kyoto, recognized as Japan's centre of the traditional arts, emphasizes teaching traditional arts and offers more traditional art classes than other regions. Kyoto City constructed a strong volunteer system using local communities to provide traditional arts instructors and supporters. With these support systems, the city provides traditional arts classes (Kyoto City Board of Education 2020). As an example, in 6th grade elementary integrated studies, students were taught about tea ceremony, *ikebana*, and the '*sumi-e*' ink painting style based on their history studies of the Muromachi period, by instructors and supporters from the local communities (Tooyama, 2016).

20% of National treasures, 15% of cultural heritage sites, and numerous headquarters of temples, shrines, and traditional arts are based in Kyoto City. Considering these facts, the Agency of Cultural Affairs is due to relocate from Tokyo to Kyoto in 2022. Because of this relocation, the Kyoto City Board of Education decided to offer tea ceremony classes to all elementary school students and flower arrangement classes for all junior high school students in Kyoto City schools in 2019 (Kyoiku Shinbun, 2019). This will be a pilot project until 2021, after which these traditional arts classes are likely to become mandatory subjects in compulsory education. The Kyoto City Board of Education has a budget of approximately ten million yen for equipment and hiring instructors. These traditional arts are taught as part of moral education class. There are 163 public elementary schools in Kyoto City, 32 of which had begun offering tea ceremony classes by March 2020 (Kyoto City Board of Education, personal communication, 2020). Nationally the imperative for school teachers to follow textbook content in moral education has increased, making it difficult for school teachers to find content by themselves. However, the example of Kyoto suggests potential for local variation to infuse local characteristics into the curriculum.

According to the Kyoto City Board of Education, elementary children take a 90-min lesson, with about 30 students in each group. A tea ceremony instructor hired from the local community is assigned to teach the philosophy of tea ceremony, how to partake of tea and sweets, and how to make tea. It may seem unusual to ascribe this aesthetic learning to moral education class, but the primary purpose is the fostering of a respect for traditional culture. The Board of Education (2020) states that the class also aims to enrich students' mental health and their creativity by learning the philosophy of tea ceremony.

10.3.2 Akita

Akita City, located in the Tohoku area, is the capital city of Akita Prefecture. Although this place is well known as a rice-producing farming community, 80% of its residents are now engaged in tertiary industries, which include wholesale and retail trade and services (Akita Prefectural Government Statics Division, 2015). Akita Prefecture compulsory education has been ranked as the one of the highest in Japan in results of standardized tests (Akita Prefectural Government Compulsory Education Division, personal communication, 2020). The question thus is what kind of traditional arts education has been offered in Akita City?

Akita City offers tea ceremony classes as part of integrated studies, club activities, and *bukatsudō*, but the numbers of the activities are limited. There are 41 elementary and 23 junior high schools in Akita City, five and two of which, respectively, offered tea ceremony education in 2020 (Urasenke Akita 2020). The current state of tea ceremony and traditional arts in Akita City are shared by the director of Akita City Board of Education, Tomoko Sato, and a retired junior high school teacher: Wakamatsu-sensei.

According to Sato, Akita City tends to focus on local festivals, farming culture, traditional art works, and historical events in *sogo gakushū*. For instance, Hiroomote Elementary School offers local festival studies as part of integrated studies for third grade students. Students first learn from the local residents about the history and meaning of a particular festival during the first couple classes. They also attend the festivals and carry a float to the shrine with support from the local community. This festival was historically open only to males but is now open to everybody. On the other hand, Tsuchizaki elementary school offers local history classes in integrated studies. The Tsuchizaki area is well known as the last place to be attacked during the Pacific War and the local students learn about their local history by visiting a museum and interviewing the residents who experienced the attack in preparation to make presentations. In Akita City, there are only two junior high schools offering classes in tea ceremony, which are the two combined (junior and senior) high schools. Akita Minami Combined High School offers tea ceremony education as *bukatsudō* and Goshono Gakuin School offers tea ceremony class in integrated studies.

Though the forms of traditional arts in Akita are specific to their locality, their significance resonates to many non-metropolitan areas, each of which has specific histories and forms of local traditions. Though some are discussed more than others, all regions have distinct histories, traditions, and arts.

10.3.3 Combined Junior and High School Style

Tea ceremony education seems to differ depending on the type of high school, more likely found in six-year combined high schools, than in three-year junior high or three-year senior high schools. According to a survey (Valxl, 2020), 20% of combined

high schools in Kansai and 60% in the Tokyo metropolitan area offered a tea ceremony club in 2020. This data indicates that teaching traditional arts is more accessible in combined high schools than junior high school. For example, Hakuo Public School in Tokyo changed to a six-year curriculum from 2004. This school offers traditional arts education, including tea ceremony and *ikebana*, as elective subjects (Valxl, 2020). Goshono Gakuin, in Akita City, was opened as a combined high school in 2000. It offers local studies (*kyodo-gaku*) as biweekly 100-minute classes, for which all students select a topic from 13 choices including Chinese, computing, pottery, Japanese harp, and tea ceremony. Keiko Kawaguchi, a retired school teacher and presently a tea ceremony teacher, teaches tea ceremony for about 20 students in the school's *tatami* floored room. Local studies are offered to all students except final grade seniors. Sato states that this exception is due to the high school entrance exam. Junior high schools in Japan generally start to prepare entrance exams from the autumn semester of second grade. Combined high schools' curriculums are more flexible and have more time to offer traditional arts education because the transfer to senior high school is internal and thus has no formal exam.

10.3.4 Private Girls School

99% of elementary schools and 93% of junior schools are public schools in Japan (Valxl, 2020) and most private schools are based in the Kansai area and the Tokyo Metropolitan area. According to the survey from Valxl, 53% and 52% of private schools in Kansai and the Tokyo metropolitan area, respectively, offered a tea ceremony club in 2020. For public schools, the proportion is zero and 9%. This data indicates that traditional arts education is more popular amongst private schools than public schools. Sawako Kadowaki is an elementary school teacher in Akita City who suggests that this disparity indicates that tea ceremony is still perceived as a pursuit that enhances social status in Japan.

In terms of gender, 31% and 7% of boys schools and 56% and 70% of girls schools in Kansai and in the Tokyo metropolitan area, respectively, offered a tea ceremony club in 2020 (Valxl, 2020). This indicates that tea ceremony continues to be associated with girls and women. It is significant that tea ceremony club or class is attended by more girls than boys in mixed schools. For instance, Kawaguchi-sensei commented that tea ceremony class of the mixed Goshono Gakuin in Akita had 22 students in 2020, all of whom were girls. Moreover, most of them are girls every year. Wakamatsu-sensei comments that 16 students joined the tea ceremony club at Akita Minami Junior High School in 2020, and again all of them were girls. According to Wakamatsu-sensei, the school never comments that it is only for girls but, commonly, students and their parents have a strong mental image that tea ceremony is only for girls. Takumi Yamamoto, a student taking the Traditional Art Course at Akita International University shared his experience of school sometimes pushing the image that this art form is only for girls. His private junior high school in Kobe City established a Japan Culture Club, in which students can learn tea ceremony, calligraphy,

flower arrangement, and cooking. For the first year, the school clearly stated that this club is only for girls.

This section has described how traditional arts have been taught in Japanese compulsory education. These art forms tend to be taught mainly as special classes, aside from compulsory subjects. Additionally, the number of the traditional arts classes are varied depending on the region in Japan. Some extent of education content and policy are decided locally by the board of education. The case studies reveal that more opportunities are provided in private schools leading to a class gap, and more opportunities are offered in girls' schools leading to a gender gap. Where opportunities are offered to both genders, girls are significantly more likely to participate, with some indication of differentiated encouragement favouring participation by girls.

10.4 Teaching Style

10.4.1 *Anedeshi and Anideshi: Senior Apprentices*

The Goshono Gakuin tea ceremony classes first explain calligraphy, flower arrangement, and other elements for about 15–20 minutes, then they practice tea procedure for the rest of the class. When students practice tea procedures, Kawaguchi-sensei comments that the more advanced students help the beginner students. Traditional arts and martial arts training tend to assign the learning of some basic styles and techniques from advanced students instead of their teachers (Cox, 2003). This training style is also seen in tea ceremony practice and other *bukatsudō*. Senior learners are called *senpai* in school and in the workplace; and *anedeshi* or *anideshi* in the craft workshop, traditional arts, or martial arts school. However, the principles permeate Japanese learning, and manifest in *bukatsu* and to a lesser extent in other extracurricular activities. Thus, students also comment on a tight bond developing not only with teachers but also with other students.

10.4.2 *The Spirit of Tea, cha no kokoro*

Tea ceremony club teacher Yashiro-sensei, at Toshimagaoka Joshi Gakuen Junior-High School for Girls, commented in an interview that the most important element that she offers in the class is the spirit of tea (Kokorocomyu, 2019). Tea ceremony is considered a composite art form that consists of learning the correct tea procedure, manner, etiquette, and the philosophy of tea ceremony (Tachiki, 1998). During the class, the spirit of tea, *cha no kokoro* is emphasized. It is considered as a disposition giving respect to others, represented towards those who prepared the tea, the tea bowl, and respect towards nature; a part of tea ceremony emphasized in moral education class. *Cha no kokoro* is related to the Zen Buddhism training style *seishin shugyo*, which can be seen in other martial arts training.

10.4.3 *One Directional Teaching*

Most traditional art classes are conducted only as a special event in schools, rather than as a continued class. Most of the class is focused on teaching how to bow and how to receive tea and sweets. *Bukatsudō* also tends to focus on teaching the tea procedure. Goshono Gakuin in Akita offers continued classes, in which the primary focus is tea procedure. Thus, the teaching style is one directional; students listen to the instructors' guidance, and imitate their performance. This is the typical teaching style in traditional arts influenced by Zen Buddhism. Such training largely requires practitioners to learn the style of procedure in the form of 'how to' (*kata*) from observation, imitation, and repetition (Chiba, 2010; Cox, 2003). The traditional art teaching style emphasizes bodily discipline: learning through the body by simple repetition. Students are discouraged from asking questions to masters and teachers.

Continued classes, however, have some scope for learning beyond procedures. Details such as history, aesthetics, and architecture can also be explored. Here, an active learning style can be used involving discussions directed by and continued by students. Students constructing their own research questions can be introduced here. Asking questions to teachers is here encouraged to deepen students' knowledge. From a practitioner perspective, many questions arise about the continuation and possible expansion of traditional art education in Japan.

10.5 Future Agenda

10.5.1 *Ryūha (The Various Schools of the Art)*

Traditional arts, including tea ceremony, have numerous schools of teaching and are based on the *Iemoto* system (Nishiyama, 1982). The *Iemoto* system has a rigid hierarchy and its training style, skills, and information are, to a significant degree, closed to the public. The partly closed system promotes division between *ryūha*, the schools of the art. Nonetheless, the Agency of Cultural Affairs (2018) states that the networking system between *ryūha* should be improved to promote traditional art education more broadly. Such collaboration would require adaptation (Nishiyama, 1982), and ironically would require a break in certain traditions. There are at least fourteen schools of tea ceremony in Japan (Kato, 2004: 39). Urasenke (mentioned above), Omotesenke, and Mushanokojisenke are the branches of tea ceremony which have descended from the family of Sen no Rikyū. To promote further education, a tight network, information sharing, and collaboration projects between the various *ryūha* should be encouraged.

10.5.2 *Instructors*

The Agency of Cultural Affairs (2018) states that the lack of instructors for traditional arts presents a problem. Kobayashi (2003) and Shiroma (2013), discussing the possibility of teaching Japanese traditional performing arts, also highlight this issue. For this reason, Kyoto City organizes an elaborate volunteer system. Around 8,000 local residents are registered who can teach not only tea ceremony, but also *ikebana*, *noh*, *kabuki*, art works, and festivals, many of whom offer to teach these art forms at schools (Kyoto City Board of Education, personal communication, 2020). On the other hand, NPO Musubinokai offers similar support. The latter was founded in 2010 and aims to promote traditional art education at schools and has organized with researchers, school teachers, and local residents who can teach traditional arts (Morita, 2020).

In terms of improving instructor quality, the Urasenke *ryūha* offers training for those who teach in schools in Kyoto. Since the Meiji period, this school has provided training which includes, for example, how to teach a large number of classes. This provides a significant advantage in the public education system since traditionally the traditional arts, including tea ceremony and *Ikebana*, are generally taught to small groups of apprentices in the instructors' private home.

There is disagreement in the tea ceremony community, including within Urasenke, when evaluating current policy trends of local boards of education. The promotion of traditional arts coincides with the interests of tea practitioners. Moreover, Yoshida (2016) comments that the current compulsory education policy promotes engagement between schools and local communities. On the other hand, Sekine (2016: 99) calls for increased support for traditional arts education. He criticizes the insufficient financial support given to each traditional art institution which supports this policy. Indeed, seemingly committed policies without funding are perpetuated by the binding of traditional arts teaching in schools to volunteer mobilization, as is the case in both Akita and Kyoto.

10.5.3 *Continuation*

Tea ceremony *Iemoto* are concerned about the lack of continuation after engaging with tea ceremony education in compulsory education. According to Sekine (2016), there are about 200,000 practitioners registered as members of Urasenke school, and 130,000 students engaging with at least one tea ceremony class or club activities in 2016. Amongst this large number of students, hardly any students continue practicing tea ceremony after their graduation. In fact, most traditional arts courses are one-time events, hence some instructors are concerned about communicating the art sufficiently in such a short time and are discussing possibilities for expanding the number of classes.

10.5.4 *Parents Understanding of Traditional Arts*

A survey was conducted in Kyoto City to investigate parents' ideal weekend activities for their children. Based on responses from 2,700 elementary school parents and 700 junior high school parents in 2016, traditional art activities including tea ceremony and *Ikebana* ranked 21st out of 23 selected activities including sports and outdoor activities. Tooyama (2016) stated that even in Kyoto City, which has a strong connection with traditional arts, parents have less interest in these art forms. Cross (2009) claims that this lack of interest in tea ceremony is related to the 'cyberpunk generation', who lives on efficiency and productivity with less interest in slow culture and aesthetics. Tooyama (2016) comments that, regardless of these preferences, schools should engage with the subject which they believe is appropriate for students.

10.5.5 *Comparing with Other Traditional Arts*

Calligraphy is practiced as part of the compulsory subject Japanese-language (*kokugo*) in elementary and junior high school (Beomjin, 2012). Generally, this class starts from the 3rd grade, once a week for 45 minutes in elementary school. Calligraphy was amongst the traditional arts discouraged after the Pacific War owing to the fear that it might reignite nationalistic and feudalistic sentiment, and only rehabilitated from 1971 onward. Other traditional arts such as *noh* and traditional dance are rarely taught as subjects or club activities in compulsory education. Mihoko Chiba is a tea ceremony teacher involved in the Tea Ceremony Teaching Association (*gakkō sadō*), which organizes tea ceremony education at academic institutions in Akita prefecture. Chiba-sensei explains the tendency to omit other art forms from compulsory education as more of a historical contingency. These art forms were not introduced as subjects for girls' schools during the Meiji period. The Tea Ceremony Teaching Association was established on this assumption of a lack of teaching experience close to and adapted for the public school system.

Other traditional arts are also searching for means to maintain traditional forms whilst innovating to enter school education. Yoshimura (2013) reports on an elementary school in Nara prefecture which incorporates *noh* into English class, where students learn the *noh* movements with basic English. Sato-sensei comments that school teachers in the compulsory education system struggle to find class topics in English and moral education classes. As such, school teachers of English welcome such innovation, which simultaneously provides teaching in aspects of traditional arts.

10.6 Discourses & Analysis

10.6.1 Discourses

There have been various discourses supporting traditional art education in Japan. The Agency of Cultural Affairs (2018) emphasizes the risk of traditional arts dying out, due to a lack of interest from the younger generations in Japan. This is closely connected to the commitment of statements made by the Agency of Cultural Affairs (2018) on the importance of traditional art education at schools. Ishii (2016) stated that due to the education style established after the Pacific War, Japanese students are not acquiring the appropriate discipline, for example in attitude, etiquette, and manners. Ishii (2016) insisted that the traditional arts, which consist of a way (*dō*) to train the spirit, would improve the quality of Japanese students. Kita (2015) emphasizes the importance of *kata* in traditional arts, which encourages mental discipline. Kita (2015) also explained that traditional arts education is necessary to generate students' awareness of being Japanese and their ability to survive in the globalized society independently. He also claims that this is achieved by having an interest in culture and tradition, deepening one's understanding towards them, and nurturing attitudes of respect. Sumioka (2016) further emphasizes that traditional arts education promotes students to acquire an appropriate identity. Does this constitute cultural nationalism?

10.6.2 Cultural Nationalism?

Applying Befu's (2001) characterization of cultural nationalism as focusing on a national identity shaped by cultural traditions and by language, it appears that this education is related to cultural nationalism. Traditional arts education is related to identity. As stated above, the course of study from 2010 requires traditional arts education to promote the ideal *Japanese person* in the globalized society. Prof Toyota, a public university professor (personal communication, 2020) states that traditional arts education is indeed relevant in constructing a Japanese student's identity. To explore these identities, the concept of *dō* philosophy in tea ceremony is also highlighted to enhance its 'Japaneseness'.

Discussions of the connection between traditional arts and national identity have continued for a long time. As discussed above, the Meiji government was seeking to establish mainly a forward-looking 'modern' and possibly Western-like identity, at a time when modern discourse discriminated between male and female roles. The Meiji government attempted to utilize arts and language to unite national identity (Surak, 2012). It appears that similar tendencies are seen in this Reiwa period. Organizations such as the Japan Conference have argued for traditional arts to instil national identity. The Nippon Kaigi was established in 1998 and works to promote cultural nationalism (Fujiu, 2017). Former Prime minister Abe is a special advisor to

Nippon Kaigi. According to Fujii (2017), Nippon Kaigi has six major goals. One of them is to promote Japanese identity through education. Their promotion of tradition dovetails with the reinforcement traditional gender roles (Fujii, 2017) to an extent which is seen as discriminatory to some contemporary sensibilities. Nonetheless, they were a visible and effective vehicle promoting the 2006 to the Fundamental Law of Education, which emphasized the respect of the nation. Abe also used the idea of tradition to castigate alternative educational reforms proposed by the Japan Teachers' Union (Fujii, 2017). The Japan Teachers' Union, for its part, gathered 8 million signatures to oppose the education reform.

10.6.3 *Reproduction of Class and Gender*

Tea ceremony and other traditional arts can be analysed as reproducers of class and gender. Oya (1999) argues that tea ceremony is categorized as what Bourdieu (1984, 1987) calls high culture, defined as the taste of the dominant class. He further states that this cultural form is used as a tool of social distinction. The analysis in section three illustrates that access to tea ceremony is dominated by private schools, elite combined high schools, and girls' schools, which support the analysis based on Bourdieusian cultural capital. The learning of tea ceremony will allow others to distinguish girls and young women with a higher-class pedigree. Kadowaki-sensei comments that parents of private school children have more understanding of culture, such as traditional arts, which does not directly contribute to the market economy. Bourdieu (1984, 1987) also comments that middle-class people tend to engage with tastes which do not directly improve their financial position. Regarding gender reproduction, the term *hanayome shugyo* is dying out. However, Japan is still recognized as a society which continues to hold clear gender role assigned roles and concepts of ideal masculinity and femininity (Bullock, 2018; Chiba, 2010; Liddle, 2000; Miyajima & Tanaka, 1984). As can be seen from understanding the term *joshi ryoku*,² ideal Japanese femininity is related to a girl or young lady who has substantial etiquette and manners, skills for cooking, sewing, cleaning, and other domestic work (Chiba, 2010; Kondo, 1990; Roberts, 1994). This ideal femininity seems to remain, however, as a catchphrase for tea ceremony education in private girls' school which can *josei no hinkaku wo sodatemasu*: 'cultivate dignified femininity'. Indeed, traditional art education seems to be related to gender and elitism.

² This phrase literally means 'girl power' or 'girl's strength', which should not be misinterpreted as gender empowerment. It defines what a girl's strengths *should* be, limiting those outside that sphere.

10.6.4 What Is Tradition?

This phenomenon also highlights how the ‘traditional’ is perceived differently in different regions of Japan. Though MEXT states that a local board of education has to provide education promoting ‘tradition’, it appears that their interpretation to ‘tradition’ is varied. As discussed above, Kyoto City clearly recognizes traditional art, tea ceremony, as ‘their’ tradition. Akita City seems to identify their tradition in the festival and farming cultures. How about in Okinawa, where their culture and history are distinctive from mainland Japan? Do they perceive tea ceremony as their ‘tradition’? Do they consider Okinawan dance (*Ryukyu buyo*) in relation to their identity? Further research would be required to address such questions when time allows and when COVID restrictions decrease. Conducting fieldwork and building networks becomes more important for educational research in Japan as regional variation increases. Sato-sensei and Wakamatsu-sensei states that even though there is a moral education textbook and guidance from the MEXT, the content of *sogo gakushū*, club activities and moral education in local communities are different from the national standard, though these are not always documented.

10.7 Conclusion

This chapter focuses on current issues surrounding traditional arts, and especially tea ceremony in compulsory education, drawing on the voices of people who engage directly with this education. Numerous issues related to traditional arts education, including the contents of integrated studies and moral education, are not officially recorded or documented at the local board of education. Thus, direct voices from tea ceremony teachers, school teachers, school staff, and students were crucial for this study. I am deeply indebted to my informants.

Traditional arts education is not offered as a regular subject in Japan. It tends to be taught in integrated studies, moral education, special activities classes, club activities, and extracurricular activities. Tea ceremony education is increasing after the revision of the Fundamental Law of Education and related reform efforts since 2006. Using the example given by Kyoto City, it appears that this education has increased to a significant extent. However, the approach towards traditional arts education varies greatly depending on the region and style of school. Tea ceremony is practiced more at combined high schools, private schools, and girl schools in Japan. For this reason, it can be argued that this traditional art education still serves reproduction at the intersection of class and gender. Attempts are also made to connect traditional arts to cultural nationalism.

Nonetheless, despite concerns, there are few who wish to see tea ceremony disappear. It is interesting to consider how traditional art education will be maintained or be developed in the future. It appears that the number of classes will increase in the short term. Whilst the current trend is towards one-time events, practitioners

are working towards continuation. Current tea ceremony education is supported by local senior residents who learned tea ceremony in relation to their bridal training, though tensions exist in the current symbiosis between traditional arts education and volunteer mobilization. Training qualified teachers for the next generation in traditional arts will be a significant agenda to consider in the future. Will this traditional art education in schools serve to preserve the traditional arts? Will we still see these art forms in 100 years' time? And if so, which traditions will remain and where will innovation be found?

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