Understanding Authenticity and the Globalization of Cultural Products:

A Case Study of Japanese Tea Ceremony in Germany and Switzerland

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<u>Abstract</u>

This paper attempts to investigate the role of authenticity in globalization processes of cultural products. While research in the relatively new field of globalization studies has so far been mostly limited to analyzing its economic and socio-political dimensions, an anthropological approach will be applied here in order to further investigate cultural globalization. As both the concepts of cultural products and authenticity are still under-explored, the author aims to contribute to a broader understanding of the origins of both concepts and their significance by examining Japanese Tea Ceremony in Germany and Switzerland as an example of a globalized cultural product. The paper will present the results of a fieldwork research in both countries, conducted in the form of an interview series and a set of field observations. The research has shown that authenticity in the context of a global cultural product can be understood as a set of aesthetic cultural values that allow for the reinterpretation and glocalization of the cultural product and has the potential to overcome the threat of cultural Othering. Furthermore, its has opened the door for further research in the field of cultural globalization, specifically about cultural products and the new global authenticity.

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<u>Introduction</u>

Since the late 19th century, the world has experienced a tremendous acceleration in the development of global networks. Technological innovations like the advancement of aerial transportation and the interconnection of once nationally confined economies through free trade agreements have contributed to a process that Theodore Levitt has coined Globalization (Levitt, 1993: 209). Historically, the exchange of goods and the search for new trading routes has been the foremost driver for the establishment of international relations (MacGillivray, 2006). But in the age of global citizenship and with the internet an increasingly important social sphere for young people across the globe, cultural exchange is shaping up as the new heart of globalization.

With the advent of globalization, the concept of the Nation State, a sovereign country surrounded by a national boarder that confines a single people with a single culture, composed of a national language, religion and set of common traditions, a concept which still dominates the political understanding of our world, has become far from being representative of the lived realities of today's world population (Omae, 1995). Many of the factors that differentiate nations have lost significance. In a world where Japanese Hip Hop and Californian sushi thrive, and where refugees and globetrotters cross oceans to look for a better life elsewhere, national borders appear to be mere obstacles, limiting people's freedoms. Religion has, in the secularized world, become relegated to the personal or communal, rather than the national level, and inherited local traditions are in many places losing relevance against the backdrop of global trends.

In the early 21st century, North American culture, backed up by the dominance of the US Capitalist economy is the primary force that has been shaping these global trends through the dissemination of economic products, as other cultural centers such as China, Japan and the European Union are struggling to increase their presence in the global cultural market through exports, international aid programs and new political alliances (Ritzer, 2009).

This monopolization of the new global market for cultural goods by US corporate interest has been extensively researched by scholars from an economic perspective (Van Elteren, 2003; Rodrik, 1997) as well as from a foreign policy perspective (Rothkopf, 1999; Desai, 2013). Yet, there is still a noticeable gap in the understanding of globalization from a cultural-anthropological point of view. While scholars such as Kraidy (2017) are beginning to explore new concepts such as Hybridity, key questions still remain unanswered: Why and how do certain cultural products become globally popular, while others fail to reach an audience outside their place of origin? What factors contribute to the disproportionate success of US products in a market where similarly advanced countries struggle to make an impact?

This paper will attempt to tackle this topic by analyzing the case of one non-US cultural product, Japanese Tea Ceremony, which has received little research attention yet. Specifically, it aims to give an overview over Japanese Tea Ceremony as it is being practiced in Germany and Switzerland in 2017.

Japanese Tea Ceremony has not been a globalized cultural practice for very long. Even though the philosophy of Japanese Tea Ceremony and the idea of the existence of a tea way had been introduced to audiences outside Japan since the opening of the country in the early 20th century by Okakura Kakuzo (The Book of Tea, 1906), later followed by detailed descriptions of some of the physical elements of a tea ceremony by A. L. Sadler (Cha-no-yu, 1933); it was not until the 1980's that the practice became more widely known in Europe. Driven by the country's foreign policy orientation towards internationalization at that time, the Japanese tea ceremony school started deploying teachers in many foreign countries, led by the Urasenke's agenda 'A Bowl of Tea for the World'. Until the early 2000's, Germany and Switzerland experienced a surge in popularity of Japanese Culture and Tea Ceremony in particular and many non-Japanese people became interested in the practice at that time and began to learn about it, at first locally and later in Urasenke's special foreigner class in Kyoto. Those first pioneers would then become teachers of Japanese Tea

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Ceremony in Germany and Switzerland, following in the footsteps of their Japanese masters, opening tea rooms in many different cities.

Using the case of Japanese Tea Ceremony in Germany and Switzerland as an example, this paper is attempting to contribute to answering the following question: What role does authenticity play in the globalization process of a cultural product?

How did Japanese Tea Ceremony develop from a locally practiced tradition to a cultural product that is now becoming increasingly popular in Germany and Switzerland? How did this shift affect the perceptions of its new practitioners, in terms of its local specificity and authenticity? What does this case teach us about the relationship between a cultural product and its place of origin? These questions will guide us through the analysis and will contribute to solving this puzzle.

The objective of this research is to transfer the lessons learned from analyzing the case of Japanese Tea Ceremony in Germany and Switzerland to a better understanding of Cultural Globalization Processes as a whole. As mentioned, globalization has historically been almost exclusively understood from an economic perspective and this paper is attempting to contribute to a broader recognition of the importance of cultural exchange and the process by which certain cultural practices attain popularity outside of their country of origin.

First of all, the relationship between Cultural Products, Cultural Globalization Processes and the struggle for authenticity will be introduced on a theoretical level. The analysis will then summarize what concepts can be inducted from the case of Japanese Tea Ceremony to the general field of Globalization Studies.

Chapter I

The Role of Authenticity
in Processes of Cultural Globalization

The history of human civilization has always been one of exploration and exchange. Curiosity has moved individuals and nations to search for new continents, find new trade routes and conquer new lands. After millennia of pushing the known boundaries, cultures that have historically been divided by linguistic and spatial barriers are becoming increasingly interconnected in a global network, through a process coined globalization. This process already has led to significant changes in our economic understanding of the world, as the global availability of physical goods has become almost an unshakable truth in the 21st century. But with saturation of economic demands, the focus of globalization has also shifted to traditions and cultural knowledge, commodities that are much harder to grasp. Two of the main questions that these new cultural exchanges pose are: How can we transform local culture into global culture and how does global culture affect local culture?

In order to comprehend the scope of the problem, it appears at first necessary to understand what is meant by cultural products, globalization and local interpretation. In order to make the concept of local interpretation more graspable, it will be explored through the dichotomy of authenticity and adaptation, following the academic debate of whether a cultural product should be copied and reproduced in a different location or rather adapted to a certain degree in order to better fit the local conditions. Once these debates have been introduced, a case study about Japanese Tea Ceremony as a Cultural Product in Germany and Switzerland will be presented, in order to discover how the spatial translocation has affected the cultural product in this particular case.

1.1 Unique Features of Cultural Products

Despite the term Cultural Product being of a simple etymological background, created by combining product, the result of economic activity, and culture, a local specificity made visible through traditions and objects; it encompasses quite a difficult concept.

The most commonly accepted understanding of cultural products is a result of debates at UNESCO, which categorize cultural products as inherently special products that should be treated differently from other common economic products (UNESCO, 1998: Recommendation 3.12). Product is used here in the widest sense, encompassing both physical goods such as movies, photos, and books, as well as intangible ones such as literature or music and even services, including performances and pieces of media like certain TV shows (UNESCO in Dayton-Johnson, 2000: 6).

The first difference that these products have from conventional economic products is that, while their costs can essentially be measured just like with regular products, their benefits are much harder to calculate (Dayton-Johnson, 2000: 6). At the example of an art museum, the costs for all stakeholders are relatively easy to assess: The operator has to cover the costs for the facility, specifically rent, utilities and costs for the preservation and purchase of exhibits, while the visitor has to pay the ticket price, which compensates for the operator's expenses. The benefits of the existence of this art museum, however, are virtually impossible to pin down in exact mathematical terms. How is it possible to measure the amount of knowledge that is spread through the museum or the heightened cultural understanding among its visitors and the community around it, let alone the contribution of the art museum to the local art scene?

But only because the benefits from these Cultural Products are hard to quantify, they are anything but trivial. Having an excellent museum not only contributes to a city's social cohesion by bringing together people from different backgrounds for an intellectual and recreational experience, it also furthers the general interest into other cultural activities (Dayton-Johnson, 2000: 21).

Secondly, cultural products create "network externalities", which means that, rather than

being bought and spent by a single person, their consumption actually creates social bonds, because it encourages a shared experience. Movies gain additional value for the viewer from being watched with peers, art galleries and historical sights are not only places of individual study, but offer and encourage social encounters that even expand to an inter-generational time frame as they become common touchstones for a culture, further encouraging artists to create more cultural products like statues or photographs based on the original. (Dayton-Johnson, 2000: 4)

Finally, a promotion of a particular cultural product is likely to increase the market for cultural products as a whole, because cultural products are likely to exist in multiple equilibria, where the strength and importance of a given cultural product leads to the boom of other cultural products in that field (Dayton-Johnson, 2000: 35). For example, in a city where judo has become a popular pastime activity of high school students, other martial arts such as Karate or Taekwondo are more likely to become popular as well.

In summary, cultural products are economic goods that are special, because they possess intangible, but important inherent benefits, because they further social cohesion and because they spread in a society by creating multiple equilibria. Yet, there are limitations to the term cultural product. By implying that culture can be entirely conceptualized as merely another type of economic product, it neglects that culture spans more than just this economic dimension.

The current understanding of cultural products has developed in the context of the World Trade Organization. With many member countries abolishing trade protectorates and adopting free trade policies since the 1950's, there was a justified fear for cultural homogenization, the domination of the global cultural market by a singular force. As the last remaining global economic superpower in the 1990's, the USA and its increasingly international franchises became the face of what was termed MacDonaldization, global US American cultural imperialism. (Voon, 2008: 11-12). To counterbalance US cultural dominance, member states initially proposed the reintroduction of tariffs and bans as cultural protection measures.

The US lead opposition to these protectorate policies argued that culture and cultural products were not precisely defined terms and that allowing countries to create cultural protectorates would not only be a severe hindrance to global cultural exchange, but also open a loophole for countries to deny imports for economic reasons, based on loose claims that the foreign product would affect their national culture. Consequently, the WTO has implemented a policy that regards culture merely as another product and does not allow its members to limit the import and export of products based on claims for cultural protection. (Voon, 2008: 11-18)

Currently, most WTO member states have implemented some form of widely different national policy to encourage the consumption of local or national cultural products over foreign cultural products, such as the French quota on how many French films, in relation to foreign movies, should be shown in cinemas (Voon, 2008: 18-22).

The next chapter will investigate why the discussions about cultural products have been so problematic and politicized, by looking at how globalization has fundamentally changed our modern understanding of culture.

1.2 Globalization and Glocalization

Globalization, understood in its most basic form as the existence of networks that connect different parts of the world via relationships of trade, information exchange and human migration, has been a reality since the rise of the first over-regional empires of ancient Greece, Babylon, Rome and China. But according to Manfred Steger, the last 100 years have brought an unprecedented tightening of these relationships to the point where we are today living in a condition he refers to as "globality", "(...) a social condition characterized by the existence of global economic, political, cultural, and environmental interconnections and flows that make many of the currently existing borders and boundaries irrelevant." (Steger, 2009: 7).

Arjan Appadurai famously described our world as "fundamentally characterized by objects

in motion", meaning that "ideas and ideologies, people and goods, images and messages, technologies and techniques" are undergoing drastic change and displacement, on the one hand being spread out to even the most remote parts of the globe and on the other hand radically altering their form during this process (Appadurai, 2000: 2).

Among those interconnections and flows, the economic dimensions of this state of globality have been most widely researched[1]. Essentially, the existence of a global financial market that operates mostly independently from the control of national governments, in combination with the promotion of free world trade, have led to a multi-layered interdependence of Nation States, global super-conglomerates and private investors in the 21st century. But besides the many benefits of this new condition, such as an accelerated flow of money and goods across the globe, there are just as many new dangers, such as the loss of regulation power on the national level, the rise of global economic crime such as tax aversion and the oppressive dominance of certain companies who have created global monopolies in their respective markets. (Rodrik, 1997 and Mupepi, 2017).

Consequentially, the process of establishing this global economic network has led to drastic changes in the political field. National governments have become incapable or have resigned to desperate measures to control large scale developments in their national territory, such as the migration of economic and political refugees, activities related to global crime and corruption and the free flow of information via global media, foremost the internet. This has, on the one hand, led to a substantial increase in regional cooperation, with the establishment of regional groups such as the Arab League, the BRICS states or the ASEAN group and even a regional government complex in the European Union. On the other hand, the fear of a loss of control over immigration and economic policy, has also brought upon a surge of neo-nationalism, fueling the surge of right-wing extremist parties in all parts of the world.

Rather than continuing the economic and socio-political discourse on globalization, this

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1 for more information, the author recommends *The globalization of world Politics* by John Baylis et. al. The volume includes an impressive collection of theories and case studies related to the topic of economic globalization.

paper aims to investigate the field of cultural globalization. Culture has historically been understood as the link between the local and the national, as it gave context to local practices and traditions. But in the age of globalization, which sees the recession of national influence and the transnational dispersion of people and ideologies, culture is increasingly defined as global. (Held, 2004: 44)

When analyzing culture in the global space, scholars have emphasized understanding how they affect the local. The most fundamental development may be that spatial divisions, between regions, peoples, and most importantly nations, the way they have been historically experienced are losing importance (Sassen, 2000: 231). Not only are cultural lines between nation states being dissolved by migration and the spread of information by mass media, the fact is that the concept of cultural division that differentiates peoples from another as a whole is becoming increasingly obsolete. In the age of high speed information exchange and the availability of almost all of the world's collective knowledge on the internet, mutual understanding is no more bound by geographical limitations, but solely by the degree to which people want to engage with one another.

The term glocalization refers to the adaptation of globalized trends to local conditions (Befu, 2003: ii), both in the passive sense of the trend evolving to fit into the local cultural confines as well as in the active sense of the local population trying to appropriate the trend, to develop a new form. This adapted local form in turn, often reflects back to the origin of the trend or cultural entity, as in South African Hip Hop influencing artists from the USA.

Where does glocalization lead to? One possible result is what can be coined 'cultural globality'. Cultural globality is most easily understood by the spread of global media and with it, the spread of global trends and cultural phenomena. Some scholars believe that globalization will lead to a form of "'MacDonaldization", which sees the "whole world homogenizing" (Ritzer, 2009), with US American culture likely becoming the dominant global cultural force.

In recent years, the idea of glocalization or creolization has become an increasingly important antithesis to homogenization in the debate about cultural globalization. These concepts

emphasize the preservation of the local but see it intermingling with globalized culture in the local space. While it is unlikely that either homogenization or creolization will completely eclipse the other, scholars now are not certain which processes is more likely to take the dominant position, due to a lack of anthropological data on this relatively new research subject. (Steward, 2016:67).

Instead of speculating which direction cultural globalization may take from here, it might be more fruitful to analyze how culture is traveling from one location to the other. Befu suggests that culture has historically traveled via two different paths. The "sojourner route" describes the process through which immigrants or temporary foreign residents or visitors bring some elements of their foreign culture, often embodied as a cultural product, to a new location and the "non-sojourner route" explains that either "structure" or "agency" related factors influence the spread of a culture beyond its point of origin. Structural factors include export and import policies, cultural exchange programs, the formation of city partnerships and similar official projects. Agency factors, on the other hand, refers to conditions that ease or hinder cultural flow, such as the existence of a wealth gap, religious or social differences, a discrepancy in access to media sources, and different value systems in the place of origin and the place of cultural reproduction (Befu, 2003: 4).

It is important to recognize that structural and agency factors, while not necessarily depending on one another, are heavily interconnected. A migrant might choose a certain country of origin because they have experienced or heard of cultural cooperation between the destination country's government and the government of their country of origin. Similarly, governmental organizations often specifically try to improve international cooperation and cultural exchange with the countries of origin of their major immigrant population.

To further investigate cultural globalization, the next chapter will introduce the debate about authenticity, which exemplifies the difficulties of trying to reconcile the local and global.

1.3 Authenticity in the Globalization of Cultural Products

The first major concept that shall be tackled in examining how cultural practices develop in a foreign environment is that of authenticity. Authenticity is a somewhat problematic concept to work with because, as Larsen explains, "the search for authenticity is universal, but [...] the ways and means to preserve the authenticity of cultural heritage are culturally dependent" (Larsen, 2016: 1). Essentially, authenticity is commonly used as a catchword, eluding to some superior quality or originality of a cultural entity, but without further explaining why this superiority applies. The closest to an explanation on how authenticity can be guaranteed, is given in article 24 of the 1988 UNESCO Operational Guidelines for the Implementation of the World Heritage Convention, which demands the application of a "test of authenticity" in relation to the "design, materials, workmanship or setting [understood as context]" of a cultural entity, but without further elaborating on how and by whom this "test of authenticity" should be conducted (UNESCO, 1988: article 24). It is crucial to understand that the UNESCO resolution is deliberately vague here. The intention behind making authenticity a programmatic term in the realm of heritage preservation is not to discriminate the worthy or 'real' from unworthy or 'fake' cultural entities, but its goal is rather to foster respect for and cultivate diversity of the world's cultural heritage (Larsen, 2016: 1). Yet, authenticity does not necessarily equal historicity or originality, because, as further stated in the 1994 Nara document on Authenticity, beyond the initial cultural form, any changes over time that equate "artistic or historic value" also fall under the category of authenticity. So in summary, authenticity can be defined as an artistic or historic value inherent to a cultural entity, stemming from its unique design, materials, setting or the workmanship behind its creation. In the widest sense, any cultural entity that has been recognized as a cultural heritage, architecture, physical objects, as well as cultural practices like rituals and even people, possess a certain kind of authenticity, since with the inclusion into the UNESCO World Heritage charter, it has passed the test of authenticity. (UNESCO, 1988: article 24)

As mentioned by Starn, the term authenticity was not widely used in the context of heritage preservation, let alone cultural studies, until the 1960's debate at UNESCO, which resulted in the formulation of the 1964 Venice chapter that became the groundwork for all further discussions on Authenticity (Starn, 2002:1-2). The Venice chapter was heavily influenced by the conditions of the time, as its promoters had seen the destruction of large parts of Europe during the Second World war, followed by vastly unorganized and financially under-supported efforts to reconstruct or replace pre-War architecture. Rather than a dogmatic demand to restore pre-War conditions, the member states emphasized an integration of post-War city development schemes and restoration efforts in the definition of authenticity (Starn, 2002:3-8).

After the Venice chapter had been updated in the 1988 resolution, the concept of authenticity came under protest again in the 1990's and was discussed in the 1994 Nara Conference. In order to enlarge the definition of authenticity, the participants agreed to include any changes made to the piece of cultural heritage after its initial creation into its authenticity (Starn, 2002: 8-10). This helped in moving away the discussions about authenticity from what was perceived a tool of cultural imperialism towards a more open concept, but is failed in finding a definition.

Since the inception of the Nara document of authenticity, the term has not been widely discussed among scholars, who have maybe perceived the task of finding a comprehensive understanding, while avoiding the trap of cultural imperialism, as too daunting.

But, while philosophically, authenticity is a contested concept at best, on a practical level, being authentic is of paramount importance for the preservation of a cultural entity, because its classification as an authentic piece of heritage often ensures its protection from decay and obsolescence (Starn, 2002:1).

An old building standing in the center of a growing metropolis, for example, is constantly faced with the threat of falling victim to urban restructuring, but by being attributed with authenticity, with an importance beyond its practical function that justifies its preservation, may

manage to be sustained. Furthermore, the classification as an important piece of heritage creates new economic opportunities of reinventing the structure as a tourist attraction, further solidifying its place in the city, in contrast to the thousands of houses that were not deemed authentic enough to be worth preserving, consequently being forced to make place for new urban development.

Similarly, a traditional cultural practice, removed from the everyday lives of modern citizens, would die out after some generations, were it not for the importance attributed to it by the classification as an authentic art. Instead, places and people where the practice has first been practiced, receive special protection and recognition, often beyond their local boundaries.

Related to the concept of authenticity is the idea of adaptation, or "the process of changing to suit different conditions" (Cambridge Dictionary, 2017: "adaptation"). This definition of adaptation contains two perspectives. On the one hand, the active form of adapting, or changing, something to fit a new condition, hints to a conscious process of alteration of a cultural entity to fit the needs and demands of a new local or temporary state. It implies that adjustments, sometimes even improvements, are actively added to a cultural practice, enlarging its overall scope. Hip Hop as an art form, for example, may have been born in the ghettos of US cities, but its appropriation by black people in South Africa under the Apartheid regime extends its original message of struggle for equality and against a corrupt system to a new level of meaning.

On the other hand, in the passive form, being adapted or being forced to adapt due to a change of conditions, signifies that the introduction of a cultural entity to a new space entails a cultural conflict, often conceptualized as a cultural shock. Introducing sushi, as a traditional Japanese meal consisting of raw fish, to the American market, was certainly met with resistance, potential misunderstandings and concerns about health issues, before finally entering the new space as a product altered enough to please the American taste. Eventually, this kind of Americanized sushi became a known quality and opened up the space for more Japanese foods.

Combining both perspectives, adaptation describes the thought that cultural practices that are

performed and cultural products that are introduced in a location differing from their historic origin, are likely to be exposed to some amount of changes. The reason behind those changes are diverse, sometimes the original entity has some qualities that are not understood in the new space. Sometimes elements of the practice are theoretically understood but practically deemed inappropriate or unnecessary to the local form and therefore omitted. Whatever the reasons for the change may be, the fact is that every cultural product or practice is likely to observe some amount of adaptation when brought out of its original time and place of origin.

From the previous explanations, it might seem easy to infer that authenticity, the idea of preserving a certain kind of superior quality, and adaptation, the change of at least some elements of an entity to a new condition, are in conflict. Indeed, forces trying to keeping an authentic cultural entity exactly as it has historically been conceived and those trying to appropriate the same entity for an applied use in a new condition, often clash. There is no agreed upon notion on how to deal with such conflicts, should a historic tomb be left exactly as it was found, repaired and restored to be opened to the public, or even reconfigured as a living museum? The logic underlying this debate however, is not that any change is bad, but that consensus must be found on which elements to preserve and which elements to alter in order to explore the potential for a cultural entity under a new condition.

It has been argued that authenticity, while being a highly ambiguous and subjective theoretical construct, can carry significant practical meaning and power as an economic tool. What are some of the other perspectives worth exploring when discussing authenticity? Beyond its economic significance, authenticity becomes a forceful signifier in the realm of cultural anthropology. The process of Othering, whereby cultures create somewhat arbitrary guidelines to identify themselves in contrast to a perceived Other, has been the cornerstone not only of the formation of Nation States, but in our understanding of the world around us as a whole. (Dervin, 2012: 188-189)

While from today's perspective, many of the borders between the states and regions of the world seem somewhat arbitrarily drawn, historically, they can be traced back to Cultural Othering. Through common agreement, those parts of the world where rice was the primary food source and where spirits were regarded as the gods, eventually were understood as Asia, whereas the parts of the world where Christianity and bread were the foundation of life, became known as Europe. Authenticity is important for this process of Othering, since not only does an authentic representation of ones perceived identity matter in differentiating oneself from the Other, it fundamentally determines what the key characteristics of a given culture are and thereby grants this culture a greater degree of cohesion. By realizing that they were surrounded by people who spoke a similar language, prayed to the same beings and ate similar food, many ethnic groups decided that they would form bigger unions with people who lead an 'authentic' alternate version of their own lifestyle, leading to our modern understanding of the world as separated into cultural areas.

Even in the 21st century, people still heavily rely on stereotypes of what they believe are authentic representations of a culture to identify it (Dervin, 2012:187). This process of cultural Othering becomes especially relevant in relation to the fine arts.

Unlike craftsmanship or sports, the fine arts are characterized by a high degree of subjectivity. With regards to paintings, cuisine or dance, it is hard to find legitimate quantifiable measurements of quality. Whether a piece of art is 'good', 'superior' or 'recommendable' depends entirely on the recipient, or more precisely, their predisposition. Here, authenticity serves as a quality indicator, since the recipient, confused by their inability to adequately the quality of the product in front of them, can rely on the context of the piece to make their conclusion: Was this dish cooked with ingredients that taste like those found originally in France, was it prepared by a French chef, who has mastered methods of preparation that have traditionally been used in French cuisine and, most importantly, does the finished product resemble in smell and taste something that would be served in a high-class restaurant in Paris? If so, at first the established restaurant critic, and later

the customer, maybe an avid reader of culinary reviews and magazines, may be convinced of the high quality of the product at hand.

This evaluation through the lens of authenticity lends itself to some issues. First of all, it restricts artistic freedom to step outside the boundaries of conventionalized artistic standards. A lesser known artist will have problems promoting their mixed use of utensils or innovative style, not because their work necessarily lacks artistic merit, but partly because it breaks with the tradition of authentic artistic production, which inherently becomes a threat to the artist's credibility.

Here is where the concepts of authenticity and authentic reproduction become relevant. The most narrow definition of authenticity requires that a product needs to be produced in its original location, by a group of its original creators or their descendants and with its original materials in order to be declared authentic. So does that mean that a theater play of the same original source material with the same dialogue that takes place in a different city and is played by different actors becomes unauthentic? While some scholars would argue so, especially since historically, authenticity has been confined by national boundaries, philosophically, and in the age of globalization, a carbon copy of the original that is reproduced elsewhere could potentially be appreciated as just as authentic as the original. Even though it cannot be called the authentic original piece, this new product may well be called an authentic representation. In some cases, the original may have disappeared, a building destroyed by a natural disaster for example, and the representation is the closest faithful depiction that remains, in turn, evoking a new sense of authenticity of the representation. Finally, even an interpretation of the original entity that differs in some critical aspects from its point of reference can be awarded the seal of authenticity.

As stated in the UNESCO Operational Guidelines, any supplemental additions can become part of the authenticity of the original entity, if they are deemed valuable (UNESCO 1988: article 24). Arguably, the same is true of supplemental versions of the original that are reinterpreted. A dance popularized by Brazilian immigrants that is reminiscent of the Brazilian tradition may

become regarded as an authentic Brazilian dance, even though it does not conform with all the standards of the old traditional dance clubs in Brazil and even though its origins are in another country. It becomes a creolized piece of art, but also an authentic one at the same time.

As this evaluation has shown, there exist different, conflicting interpretations of authenticity. Whether only the original piece, a carbon copy, or even a re-imagination become regarded as authentic depends largely on the cultural context of the process of transformation, the consensus among opinion leaders in the respective field, and also differs significantly on the level of the individual producer and consumer.

So, if authenticity is such an ambiguous concept, who is the target audience? To whom does it matter if a cultural entity is regarded as authentic or not? There are three interest groups that are particularly concerned with whether their actions are considered authentic. First, there are the producers. For them, recognition and appreciation are very important, since their trustworthiness constitutes a vital, if not the quintessential resource of their work. They will take every step deemed necessary to make sure that their products are considered authentic, from reinforcing the connection between their inventory and the high level of craftsmanship associated with the place of origin of their goods, to collecting and presenting certificates that identify them as worthy and official representatives of a certain culture. Furthermore, this sense of authenticity becomes ingrained in the producers own mindset, making them judge the next generation of producers or their business competitors along the same lines.

Then, there are the consumers. For them, authenticity is important as a seal of quality, since they do not want to be coerced into purchasing low quality products. Especially for artistic products, as previously mentioned, there are often hardly any objective measurements for quality, so the tradition that a certain producer follows and their claim of an accurate representation of a certain culture become valuable hints for the consumer when making their purchase decision, and even after they have made the purchase, in feeling validated in making the right choice, even though the

benefits of their purchase may not be immediately obvious.

At last, the general public has an interest in authenticity too, since for any society, a realistic portrayal and appropriate understanding of both its own and foreign culture is an educational necessity. It is only after clearly identifying where one's own culture and the culture in other places originate and how they both interact that people can understand how the world around them works. If the public is subjected to a multitude of exciting, but unauthentic representations of a foreign culture, such as the idea that the indigenous people of Africa and the Americas are savage and uncivilized, which was popular in Europe until the 19th century, the people will form stereotypes and develop a fear of the foreign, which is hard to correct, as exemplified by the still rampant racism among some ethnically white communities in Europe. Misrepresentation of cultural features does not only hinder the spread of globalization, but directly conflicts with the process of intercultural communication on even the most basic level.

This part has attempted to define the terms Cultural Product, Globalization, Glocalization, Authenticity and Adaptation. It has clarified that cultural products are generally understood as special economic goods with somewhat intangible benefits such as their contribution to social cohesion and their potential to create multiple equilibria. These cultural products become increasingly important in the age of globalization, which sees the world converging into a unified space through the dissolution of economic, political and cultural boarders. At the same time, the local space becomes the crucial arena for social interaction and conflict, highly influenced by globalization in the process of glocalization. Glocalization emphasizes the preservation of local culture, but also encourages the spread of culture across boarders. Along this spatial transformation, a cultural product will be exposed to a pressure to adapt, sometimes by legal or normal forces, other times by the creativity and unique demands of its users in the new space. Yet, authenticity and adaptation are not polar opposites and both play an important role in the process of local interpretation, in which local producers and consumers become co-creators of a new local form.

The next chapter will look at the example of Japanese Tea Ceremony in Germany and Switzerland to find out how the authenticity-adaptation conflict is resolved here, how the new local form of German and Swiss Japanese Tea Ceremony came into being and how it is constantly renegotiated and reinterpreted in the local space. Contrary to many other case studies that have been conducted about Japanese Tea Ceremony, this analysis will be of cultural-anthropological, rather than managerial or purely economic nature. It aims to apply the previously established knowledge about the process of glocalization and local interpretation of cultural products to the case of JTC in Germany and Switzerland in order to show how culture can be a strong driver that counterbalances economic factors in the globalization processes that shape our modern social experience.

Chapter II

Defining Authenticity in Japanese Tea Ceremony

in Germany and Switzerland

The previous chapter has introduced the theoretical framework of the terms Globalization, Glocalization, Cultural Product and Authenticity. This chapter will try to connect these theoretical concepts to the specific case of Japanese Tea Ceremony in Germany and Switzerland. It will attempt to give an insight into to the world of Japanese Tea Ceremony[2] inside and outside of Japan and explore, what general lessons about Cultural Products in a foreign environment can be gained from the case study of JTC in Germany and Switzerland.

This study has been conducted by myself in cooperation with eight different JTC schools throughout Germany and Switzerland in early 2017. I visited each school individually, took part in a tea ceremony session and took notes from my observations. In addition, I conducted interviews with both the instructors and students in groups or individually about their experience and thoughts in relation to JTC as a practice in general and about their local school in specific.

Methodology

The schools were chosen to represent the variety of JTC facilities in both countries as well as possible, with five schools belonging to the Urasenke tradition of JTC, which is by far the most prominent branch of JTC outside of Japan and the most popular branch in Germany and Switzerland, one school belonging to the Ueda Soko tradition, a smaller branch that originated in Hiroshima, and two independent schools with some amount of affiliation with Urasenke. Due to financial and time constraints, I was not able to visit more schools, but there are, as of 2017, at least

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2   Japanese Tea Ceremony will in the following be abbreviated as 'JTC' for simplicity

five more tea ceremony schools in Germany and Switzerland, with one following the Omotesenke tradition and the others belonging to the Urasenke tradition. There was a lot of variation in the organizational structure of the chosen schools, with some being merely privately built and owned tea rooms which the instructor shared with good friends and acquaintances and others being more established clubs, associations or even official branch offices of the Japanese head schools.

The tea gatherings that I chose to attend for the research were selected to check for regional differences, with one gathering of multiple schools in Switzerland, four gatherings in southern Germany and three in northern Germany, with four of the schools being located in rural and suburban areas and four schools being located inside bigger cities. The majority of the teachers that I spoke to saw their involvement with JTC as a hobby, rather than as a significant source of income, and those teachers who were below the age of retirement all had a professional career outside of tea ceremony. About half of the learners that I interviewed were between the age of 21 and 35 and either university students or young professionals. 25% of the learners were professionals in their 50's and the other 25% were pensioners above the age of 60. None of the learners were directly employed in the tea ceremony business, but some of them had professional ties to Japan or tea in one way or another, for example as art collectors or tea shop owners.

I elected to employ both an observational and interview based form of data gathering in order to both maximize the information gained from each school and to cross-verify the results of each method. In my observations, I did not primarily focus on the technical aspects of the tea ceremony, such as whether the participants movements were correct or not, but I rather tried to capture the general tone of the ceremony as well as the factors surrounding it. Some of the aspects that I was particularly interested in were how and in what places the tea rooms were set up, the clothing of the participants, the use of language, the relationship between instructors and students, the use and importance of materials and in general any observable differences from Japanese Tea Ceremony classes that I have previously attended in Japan as well as the descriptions of JTC classes

made by scholars in Japan (Sadler, 1933; Kato, 2004 and Surak, 2006).

In order to comprehend the results of this fieldwork, it is first of all important to understand how JTC came into existence from a cultural-anthropological perspective. Therefore, I will examine the history of the practice in its country of origin and with the goal of establishing how the current image of authentic Japanese Tea Ceremony has developed out of the historical context of the teachings of Sen no Rikyu and the different major schools. Then, an explanation of how JTC has evolved outside Japan as a globalized practice in the 20th century will be provided and the effects of globalization on the practice will be analyzed, connecting the case at hand with the field of Globalization Studies.

Two Cultural Concepts - Kaizen and Social Hierarchy

One of the most important concepts to understand when studying Japanese social practices like tea ceremony is that Japan, as an island nation that was essentially isolated from the rest of the world for centuries, has developed a very complex and unique social structure of norms, values and traditions. One of these values is the concept of *kaizen. Kaizen* was coined as a business strategy of Japanese companies in the 1980's, but in fact, it refers to a much older and more fundamental idea that applies to virtually all aspects of Japanese life. It represents the idea of constant improvement, striving for perfection, but without ever attaining it. It is the idea that nobody will ever be able to claim to have completely mastered something, but that humans should always strive to come as close as possible to mastery.

The second cultural value that I want to highlight is the traditional Japanese social hierarchy, specifically manifested in the student-teacher relationship. In Japanese society, traditionally, the teacher occupies an elevated authoritarian position of respect. Their words are not questioned and rather than asking about the reasons behind the teacher's actions, the students are supposed to execute orders and copy what the teacher does. In case of a misunderstanding, the oldest and most

experienced teacher is seen as the authority in the matter and even if what they are saying may not always be objectively correct, the mere fact that they are saying it means that the students are supposed to follow order. Students, on the other hand, are corrected for each and every mistake and are supposed to do the movements in the correct way, not the most natural way.

Given that both of these concepts, *kaizen* and the strict student-teacher relationship, are of fundamental importance to Japanese Tea Ceremony, it seems difficult to imagine how the practice would be able to prosper in a different local space where those ideas are unknown. German and Swiss society, specifically, fall in the tradition of European enlightenment and emphasize individualism, equality and the use of reason and logic rather than learning through repetition. Nevertheless, Japanese Tea Ceremony schools have been able to set up local branches in both countries and almost everywhere else on the globe. This introduction of JTC to a new cultural space was possible because the practice shifted from being solely a Japanese national cultural product to a globalized cultural product. How has this shift occurred historically and who are its main contributors? In the following, we will trace the history of Japanese Tea Ceremony in Japan, dive into the circumstances of its introduction to the world and examine how the practice has evolved both in its country of origin as well as in the global arena.

2.1 *Sado* – From a National to a Global Cultural Product

Drinking tea together with others as a social event has existed as a universal human practice for thousand of years in all major human civilizations, from China over India to the Middle East and later all across the British Empire. In 2017, tea is still the most frequently consumed beverage in the world (MacFarlane, 2004: 32). China, which is commonly referred to as the birthplace of tea (Heiss, 2007: 6-7) was probably also the first civilization to conduct ritualized tea gatherings and to formalize a certain tea ceremony. With the migration of the Chinese people across Asia, tea as a beverage that was also drunk at formalized gatherings spread to Japan around the 9th century A.D.

(Ben, 2015: 42 and Iguchi, 2002). However, historians agree that Japanese Tea Ceremony in its modern form, which is still practiced in today's Japan, was not standardized until the 15th century, when Zen Buddhist monks reinterpreted the common ritual of drinking tea as a spiritual practice and connected it with the philosophy of Zen (Iguchi, 2002).

Among them, Sen no Rikyu[3], who became tea master at the court of Oda Nobunaga and Toyotomi Hideyoshi, two of the most important historic figures of Japanese history and founding fathers of the Japanese empire, became accepted as the leading authority on tea ceremony. Because of his extraordinary political, spiritual and religious influence, he became a major figure of respect in Japanese history and he used his position to develop a tea ceremony that encompassed the physical activities of preparing, giving and receiving tea and sweets with the spiritual elements of meditative silence and the social roles of the host and guests. Because of his close relationship to Nobunaga and Hideyoshi, Sen no Rikyu is today not only seen as the most important tea master in Japanese history, but also a central figure in the unification of Japan. Furthermore, the tea ceremony that he promoted became associated with the process of Japanese national unification and is still seen as a symbol of Japanese national culture. Philosophically, Sen no Rikyu is also credited with the idea of making tea a tool for peace, since the ceremony that he developed asked the participants to take off arms and enjoy tea together in silence, as well as promoting the concept of *wabi-sabi* (imperfection and simplicity) that many associate with Japanese aesthetics. (Sadler, 1933: 2-10)

After Rikyu's death, tea ceremony lost much of its importance as a political tool for the Shogunate, the Japanese warlords, but it continued to exist among many social classes and within his family tradition. Eventually, his great grand sons revitalized the tradition of teaching Japanese Tea Ceremony in the 17th century, but each of them either inherited or built an own tea house in Kyoto and founded a separate branch of tea ceremony education, which would become the three major modern tea schools Omotesenke, Urasenke and Mushakojinosenke (Surak, 2013). Slowly,

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3   I have chosen to write Japanese names as well as terms like *sado* (Japanese Tea Ceremony) in their westernized form, without pronunciation marks, and order, for better comprehension of English speaking readers.

they began to offer their services not only to the nobility, but also to the growing class of affluent merchants, who bought expensive bowls and ingredients from China, though the shogunate patrons remained their most important financial supporters. Over time, many smaller tea ceremony schools formed, some of which, like the Ueda Soko Ryu in Hiroshima are still active today.

However, during the Meiji restoration in the late 19th and early 20th century, the tea ceremony schools were facing two major challenges: With the end of the shogunate, the schools lost their most important financial supporters, so they had to find a new source of income. Secondly, the introduction of foreign economic and cultural goods and the general spirit of reform and modernization made it difficult to promote among the public what was seen by many as an old and overly traditionalist practice controlled by the pre-Meiji elites. (Surak, 2011: 187-188)

It was not until the 1900's that tea ceremony really became popular among the the newly forming Japanese middle class. After many wars with the neighboring countries, a cultural shift took place in the country, away from the enthusiasm for the new foreign influences back towards skepticism of other cultures and a new nationalist agenda. The major schools took this opportunity to promote their art as a traditional national cultural good and emphasized the importance of Sen no Rikyu in the creation of the modern Japanese state and the Japanese *wabi-sabi* aesthetics.

The opening of the boarders and the introduction of modern transportation systems in the previous era had meant a much easier access to raw materials, tea and pottery, which finally made the practice more accessible to common people. Soon, the tea schools, first and foremost the Urasenke, began to advertise tea ceremony as a social etiquette and specifically targeted women, traditionally the protectors of national culture, as new potential students. A woman would have to master tea in order to become a proper housewife, so classes were set up in the curricula women's colleges. (Surak, 2011: 188-191)

During the early 20th century, tea was politicized even more as a traditional nationalist culture and cherished as a source of national pride and a cultural good worth protecting by force

(Surak, 2011: 193-194), not dissimilar to Wagner's music and national sports in Nazi Germany at the time. The emerging genre of *Nihonjinron*, literature occupied with defining the national Japanese spirit, often referenced Sen-no-Rikyu and tea ceremony as the quintessential Japanese national cultural practice, as it combined Japanese virtues such as patience, diligence and an elevated sense of aesthetics (Kuki, 1933; Benedict, 1946).

After its loss in the Second World War, Japan was forced to submit itself to US governance and give up all of its military power and ambitions. This meant the end of the countries strong military focus, so a new national identity and a source of national pride had to be found.

The Japanese government turned to its cultural heritage and the country's unique history, so over a span of about 40 years, Japan would develop into a country of modern technology and high culture (*bunka kokka*). The *iemoto* (headmasters) of the major tea schools (which had been transformed into capitalist corporations), rose as representatives of this cultural revolution, spreading Rikyu's idea of tea as a messenger of peace. Unlike other traditional Japanese arts like Kabuki or poetry, tea ceremony was both relevant in the public arena and accessible to the broad public. Furthermore, tea ceremony had at that point incorporated many other forms of Japanese culture, such as Ikebana with the use of seasonal flowers in the tea room and calligraphy, represented by the unique scroll in each tea house, becoming an all-encompassing national cultural practice (*sogo bunka*). Through this kind of networking with related high arts and the publishing of periodicals by scholars, teachers and the schools, *sado* became regarded as the quintessential Japanese practice in an age of increasing westernization of the country. (Surak, 2011: 196)

In the 1980's, Japan reached its economic peak and internationalization became the new keyword formulated by the government moving the country forward. The idea was to bring Japanese culture out into the world, including technology like cars, video games, food such as Sushi, and especially the fine arts. All of the major tea schools, but especially the Urasenke took this opportunity to broaden their membership numbers and the motto of the 15th headmaster of the

Urasenke, Iemoto Sen Sōshitsu XV, who is said to have traveled abroad on more than 300 occasions, became 'Peacefulness through a bowl of tea' (The Urasenke Konnichian Web Site).

Ever since the economic stagnation of the 1990's, the Japanese economy has been dipping down, so efforts to promote tea ceremony abroad and financial resources to put into the project of globalizing Japanese Tea Ceremony abroad by the Japanese government and the tea schools have decreased significantly. In many places, schools that were founded in 1980's are today left to their own. In Japan, the membership numbers of the JTC schools are falling as well, as the country suffers from both a severe population decline caused by an over-aging society and the loss of interest of younger generations in the traditional arts, often in favor of western leisure activities.

Many schools and universities have made tea ceremony classes non-compulsory or dropped them from their academic schedule entirely. Similarly to the Meiji period, these traditional arts are now regarded as old fashioned and out of tune with the zeitgeist. I will be up to the current *iemoto* of the different schools to make tea appealing to both young Japanese and the increasing numbers of foreign tourists and permanent residents that have come to Japan.

The chances for change are good, as Japan in the early 21st century is finally experiencing an economic recovery and more importantly, Japanese culture is becoming increasingly popular and sought after all over the world, always well being represented at Japan fairs and food fairs in countries across the globe (Goldstein-Godini, 2005: 162-172 and Horita, 2017). The government is trying to capitalize on this trend by introducing a policy of globalization and the Cool Japan campaign has been initialized to boost cultural and technological exports, not only to neighboring Asian countries, but to a wider global network (McLelland, 2017).

Reviewing the history of Japanese Tea Ceremony shows that the practice has been understood at various times as a traditional Japanese cultural practice, if not the quintessential national cultural practice. Different groups have claimed this image for their own purposes, such as the Japanese government, promoting the image of Japan as a nation of high culture or the major tea

schools, defending their claim of authority over the practice by referencing Sen no Rikyu as one of the creators of Japanese national identity.

However, history also shows that many of the key elements of Japanese Tea Ceremony, from the ritualized consumption of tea to the use of special pottery, are objectively not Japanese in origin. They originated in China and have developed mostly independently in other places like Taiwan, East Frisia or Russia. Also, it seems incorrect to describe *sado* as a national Japanese cultural practice when, for much of its history, enjoying tea as a social event was not a widespread phenomena but reserved for the privileged classes and tea education was not made available to the public until the late Meiji period.

Nonetheless, in the minds of many, *sado* represents Japanese culture because it embodies many values that are often attributed to Japanese society, such as tranquility, harmony, closeness with nature and the seasons, minute attention to detail, the importance of hierarchy and last but not least hospitality, key-worded as *omotenashi* in Japanese. Also, JTC has become a melting pot of many other Japanese traditions that it has incorporated over the centuries like *ikebana* (flower arrangement), Zen (specifically Zen meditation, which has become more and more absent from modern day JTC), *shodo* (calligraphy), craftsmanship (represented by the pottery used and the carefully constructed wooden tea house), kimono (which are still worn during official tea ceremonies) and even *shakuhachi* (the traditional Japanese flute).

After understanding how Japanese Tea Ceremony became a national cultural practice, it is important to also locate its economic dimensions, which has become increasingly pronounced since the beginning of the 20th century, in order to fully understand why JTC can be considered a cultural product and how this product has been shaped by various actors throughout its history.

Like all pieces of art, JTC has a price. Building tea houses, producing and purchasing tea, sweets and the necessary specialized utensils is an economic process and happens to be a relatively expensive one. Similar to other services, modern day JTC has customers and producers, has supply

and demand and follows the rules of the capitalist market system. But it used to be different.

During the time of Sen no Rikyu and the shogunate, tea ceremony was politicized and reserved for the higher social classes, but it did not yet have a significant economic dimension. Rather than the price tag, social status used to be the distinguishing factor between those who could afford to participate in a tea ceremony and those who could not. Yet, even in its early days, tea was associated with power and was tailored to the affluent and powerful members of society, which in the pre-Meiji era also meant the wealthy. Merchants, who strove for social ascend, would copy what the warlords did and create their own tea ceremony sects, some of which would later become smaller schools. Following the Meiji restoration, which spelled the end of the shogunate rule, the tea schools lost their most important financial supporters. But rather than leading to the tea ceremony families' bankruptcy, this offered them an opportunity to become financially independent. Instead of being restricted to solely serving the ruling class, they were presented with the opportunity to commodify their trade and to try and make tea ceremony appeal to the wider public.

The tea schools went about this in two ways. First, they had to find a way to prove that they were the only ones who could offer knowledge over the secrets of tea ceremony to their customers, so they invented a system of rigid standardized education for instructors, comprised of exams covering different procedures of tea ceremony known as the *temae*. Only someone who could show that they had passed all of these exams and knew the different *temae* would be qualified to teach tea ceremony in the name of their respective head school. Many of these *temae* were consequently refined to the point where an uninitiated person would not be able to copy them without properly learning all the steps in what was promoted as a life-long learning experience. This trademarking strategy also furthered the differentiation among the three major tea schools, Omotesenke, Urasenke and Mushakojinosenke, but it also legitimized each school as the protector of "real, legitimate" Japanese tea ceremony. The rigorous instruction of the teachers would give them a sense of accomplishment, binding them closer to their respective head school and it would help as an

argument to legitimize the often significant cost of membership in a tea ceremony circle.

Secondly, the tea ceremony schools started working more closely with producers of other traditional Japanese products and formed a supply chain. Tea, sweets, pottery, craftsmanship, calligraphy and flower arrangement all became interwoven in this conglomerate which still today offers customers the whole traditional Japanese cultural experience, often at a premium price.

In many ways, these two strategies are what has kept JTC relevant across the centuries and what has contributed to the creation of *sado* as a brand and by that, Japan as a brand. Fine arts, including JTC, fall into the category of cultural products, which means that they often have difficulties justifying their costs to new consumers, because they are fundamentally not based on objective physical benefits. The idea that learning about tea opens up social opportunities was promoted for young women and future wives up until the Showa period (which ended in the 1980's), but over the course of its history, objective benefits have only played a minuscule role for the success of the product Japanese tea ceremony. Rather than immediate physical benefits, JTC has always promised more ephemeral gains, such as harmony with nature and other people, access to traditional Japanese culture and knowledge about social manners.

Since the 1980's, the promotion of these values through sado has rapidly accelerated outside of Japan, partly because of government policies to promote Japanese culture abroad in order to facilitate Japanese companies to enter new markets and partly out of the initiative of the tea schools, most importantly Sen Soshitsu XV, former headmaster of the Urasenke school. Through their efforts, JTC became more commonplace outside Japan and as such, a new demand for materials sprang up, furthering the export of Japanese goods to all parts of the world.

In the following, let us take a look at Germany and Switzerland, as an actual example of how JTC has developed outside of Japan and what kinds of challenges it had to face.

2.2 Interpretations of Japanese Tea Ceremony in Germany and Switzerland

Japanese Tea Ceremony has captured the imagination of visitors to Japan ever since the country opened itself to the world during Meiji Restoration. One of the first accounts of Japanese Tea Ceremony that was published in the West was Arthur L. Sadler's *Cha-no-yu* from 1933, which describes the practice as being "practiced by a very large number of the most cultivated people in the land (...)" (Sadler, 2011: 1). Yet, most foreign scholars have limited themselves to merely describing how Japanese Tea Ceremony was physically conducted in Japan, what kinds of tools were used and in what order certain *temae* were exhibited.

Research about Japanese Tea Ceremony outside Japan on the other hand, and specifically the non physical aspects of conducting JTC abroad has been very limited so far. Most notably, Surak (2006) attempted a psychological analysis of JTC in the Los Angeles area. Her conclusion was that practitioners, often first generation emigrants from Japan, had discovered JTC classes as a way to bond with their cultural heritage. Once they had left their home country and had been living in the US for a while, they developed a longing for people with the same cultural background and a loss of their cultural orientation, which they were able to overcome by joining tea ceremony classes. Interestingly, many of the schools in the LA area that were founded this way opted for a very traditionalist approach to Japanese Tea Ceremony, avoiding any adaptations to the local conditions wherever possible and even promoting some elements, like always wearing a kimono in class, that had already grown out of fashion in Japan by then, in an attempt to conduct JTC as close to the original and as authentic as possible.

Da Rocha (1999) analyzed the situation of JTC in Brazil with an emphasis on the generational differences within Japanese immigrant communities in the country. Her conclusion was that with the development of Brazil in the 20th century, values changed within the Japanese minority communities. The first generation workers who, during their later days remembered the Japan of their youth and wanted to imitate what they presumed to be the life of the rich Japanese

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elite, introduced tea ceremony more as an educational and social tool than a recreational activity. Their children, the second generation, were the first to have experienced life in Brazil from their youth and they were resenting what they experienced as their parents regressive attitude towards the Brazilian society and many of them strove for full integration, leaving behind all of their Japanese cultural roots. The third generation, finally has been and is trying to find a more moderate approach to their cultural heritage, with some picking up tea ceremony as a chance to get to know other Japanese people or Brazilians interested in Japan, as well as an economic opportunity in times of globalization and a perceived Japan Boom in the 1980's and 1990's. Similarly to the Japanese people practicing it, tea ceremony has found a better balance between reproducing an authentic atmosphere and conveying a traditional Japanese flavor to its participants and adapting to the local conditions, with many schools using local flowers, wood and sweets for the classes and focusing on creating an open and friendly atmosphere for students and teachers.

Physical Dimensions of the Practice

How does the situation in Germany and Switzerland compare to these other examples? The first major difference between *sado* in Germany and Switzerland, when compared to Japan, is obviously the lack of a preexisting infrastructure. In Japan, cities like Kyoto have actively encouraged the preservation of Edo period upper class wooden houses and temples, many of which historically encompassed a traditional Japanese garden and a tea house. Except for the rare instances when the Japanese head-schools have set up a tea house for a cultural fair and then donated it to the host city, Europe does not have any houses built in the traditional Japanese style.

So for many schools, the only option for creating the right environment for a tea ceremony is to build a tea house or tea room from scratch and set it up somewhere. This method comes with many difficulties though, since neither tatami mats or wooden slide doors are easily available in Europe, let alone entire tea rooms. Instructors often have to go to great lengths in order to create the

right environment for the tea ceremony and many have found creative solutions. Living rooms are being redesigned to fit tatami mats and a *ro* (the hearth and fireplace), rooms in public buildings or shopping malls are rented and furnished with tea equipment and some teachers have even learned about the basics of wood processing in order to design and build their own tea houses at great financial expense and over the course of many years. Improvisation does not stop there, pages of calendars are cut out to appear like the scrolls that can traditionally be found in Japanese tea houses and artificial lighting is installed to create the right atmosphere in the tea room.

Once the tea room is set up, schools are faced with the issue of obtaining the necessary materials. In Japan, traditional handicraft is still very popular and many middle class families own at least tea bowls and a *fukusa[4]*, if not an entire tea set and a kettle in their family possessions or even if they do not, such items are easily accessible in handicraft stores and more recently over the internet as well. Until the early 1990's, literally the only way to get access to these tools for European instructors was to go to Japan or have an acquaintance go to buy them and send everything back to Europe at a high shipping cost, which is still how some schools acquire most of their materials. Schools with Japanese members have a big advantage since most of those members return to Japan frequently and bring objects from their own possession or from purchases in their home country back to Europe. A German instructor describes the situation as follows: 'Sometimes we use old objects that our teacher still owns or we just improvise and use something else.' This 'something else' may manifest in tea bowls made from German pottery, electric heat plates instead of charcoal hearths or washing the utensils in a regular kitchen instead of a traditional *mizuya[5]*.

For German and Swiss schools, the advent of the internet and specifically of online second hand market places like E-Bay and Yahoo has opened many more options. Now, teachers do always not need to go to Japan in person and study Japanese to purchase all of the materials. Instead, they can often acquire family owned objects that young Japanese people, who are no more interested in

4 A *fukusa* is an often rather expensive piece of fabric made out of silk, used for cleaning the tools during a tea ceremony.
5 *Mizuya* is the name of the preparation area inside a traditional tea room. It is usually physically separated from the main room.

their family's tea ceremony tradition, are selling on these websites, sometimes specifically to foreign customers. A similar development can be retraced for the tea itself, as one instructor recalls:

'In 1986, you could not even buy *matcha* in Europe, period. Today, not only have Japanese vendors created direct links to the schools in Europe, which regularly order online, but there are even subbranches of Koyama-En in Germany and Switzerland.'

Some of the tea producers, specifically Kyoto based Iyemon and Koyama-En were quick to establish trade organizations in Europe and even a plantation for *matcha*, the traditional type of green tea used in *sado*, has been built in the Monte Verita region in southern Switzerland, followed by a second, smaller plantation in Portugal.

Sweets, special tools like the *chasen* (bamboo whisk) and *chashaku* (tea scoop) and especially more valuable items like the *ro* have been and are to some degree still hard to acquire for European tea masters, so they are still either imported, personally brought from Japan or sometimes replaced by local items. The furniture and flowers are almost entirely made locally and the traditional kimono is most of the time replaced by other, more comfortable pieces of clothing. Up to this day, some items are almost impossible to acquire for European tea schools, due to their high price or regulations that limit their export, such as *sumi*, the traditional Japanese charcoal used for some *temae*. Those *temae* are then either not practiced at all or the objects are replaced with local items. For example, instead of real charcoal, many tea schools have been using electric heat plates.

Since setting up and maintaining a Japanese Tea Ceremony schools in Germany and Switzerland is so time and cost intensive, the number of active schools is still relatively small in 2017, less than 20 schools with a total of no more than 100 members in both countries. Precisely because opportunities to practice JTC are so rare and schools are so dependent on constant support from their members, both students and teachers in Germany and Switzerland are very highly invested in keeping the classes going. They will drive many hours every month or even every week to attend the class and pay not only any mandatory fees but also voluntary contributions. They will

buy personal tools and even build personal tea rooms at great financial expenses. As the number of years that practitioners have been actively practicing JTC increases, they are becoming more and more personally and financially invested in the tea ceremony. Responses from the participants showed that after about two years of involvement in the world of JTC, none of them even considered quitting it and many students and teachers would go out of their way adjusting their personal and professional life so that they could manage to continue practicing.

Nevertheless, Japanese Tea Ceremony instructor is not a viable career path in Germany or Switzerland. Virtually all instructors saw their involvement with JTC more as an expensive hobby rather than a notable source of income. The money they receive from their students is often barely enough to finance the running costs of their classes, such as rent for the tea house or the cost of the tea and sweets. The initial investments of buying tools and building the tea house are almost always paid for by the teacher, as one German instructor states:

'Any contributions that I get for offering this room and teaching is just to help keep me afloat. I know very well that I could never begin to recoup all the money that I have put into this tea room, not by teaching the way I am. But since I see this as a hobby, rather than a profession, it is all good.'

Since JTC is seen by its practitioners as a hobby, many are facing time constraints and are not able to attain classes on a regular weekly basis. So tea ceremony in both countries is often practiced in weekend-long seminars from morning to evening. Many participants travel explicitly to these seminars to have a weekend full of tea, searching for a chance to be surrounded by like-minded enthusiasts. This situation is quite different from Japan, where even in 2017 it seems almost impossible to escape tea ceremony, which is still practiced in many universities, after school clubs or community centers.

The final observation that I have made during my visits to the different tea schools is related to the use of language. In Japan, obviously, Japanese is used in the classes. While a small part of

that is to contribute to the authenticity of class, to the formal atmosphere, I believe that it mostly just serves to simplify comprehension. Since Japan is a very linguistically homogeneous country, tea classes have historically only been conducted in Japanese, since that was the only language that all participants understood. During the Meiji period, for the first time translators were called upon to help the rare foreign guests understand the procedures. Now, with the current boom of the tourist industry in Japan and more visitors entering the country from South Korea, China, the USA and Europe, some schools have started to offer exhibitions or even entire courses in foreign languages or in a bilingual setting. In these, some Japanese terms like *ocha-wo-choudaiitashimasu* or *osaki-ni-shitsureiitashimasu*[6] are still used, once again partly for preserving the authentic solemn atmosphere, but also to some degree because there is simply no easy and appropriate translation for these honorifics in other languages.

In Germany and Switzerland, the approach to language use varies from each school. In those few schools where almost all participants are either Japanese or speak Japanese fluently, everything is said in Japanese. Now these are the rare exception and most of these classes are seminars specifically targeted at very advanced learners, usually instructors themselves, who want to improve their knowledge of the more difficult and rare *temae*. In mixed classes, honorifics like *osaki-ni-shitsureiitashimasu* are usually repeated in Japanese, in order to create an authentic and formal atmosphere in the tea room. Tools are also mostly referred to by their Japanese names. Verbal instructions and corrections by the teacher however are usually done in the language or languages that all participants are most confident in, usually German in Germany and German, English and French in Switzerland, to ensure optimal comprehension. In classes with mostly non-Japanese participants, sometimes virtually everything is said in the local language, including translated versions of the tools and honorifics.

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6   ocha-wo-choudaiitashimasu roughly means "I am humbly asking to receive the tea" and osaki-ni-shitsureiitashimasu can be translated as "I apologize for brashly receiving it (the tea, the sweets) first."

Intellectual and Emotional Dimensions of the Practice

In the following, I want to present the thoughts and believes of German and Swiss tea practitioners, in order to create a more in depth understanding of how they perceive the physical conditions of the ceremonies they participated in and furthermore to comprehend what practicing JTC in Germany and Switzerland means to its community. I conducted a series of interviews, utilizing a questionnaire with seven open-ended questions containing slight differences between the version aimed at instructors and the one aimed at students.[7] While working through the questionnaire together with the participants, I allowed time to stray from the specific questions and talk about their experience related to JTC in general. I tried not to control or interrupt the participants speech except for asking about clarifications and to ensure that each interview could be concluded in a reasonable amount of time, between 40 and 60 minutes depending on the number of participants interviewed at the same time as well as their answers. The questions were focused around three major areas: The participants past and current involvement with Japan in general and JTC in specific, their motivation and experience related to JTC and JTC schools and finally their future expectations.[8]

While the observation part of my fieldwork was almost entirely focused on the physical aspects of JTC in both countries, during the interviews I tried to analyze the psychological and philosophical elements of practicing tea ceremony in Germany and Switzerland. I was particularly concerned with how the participants saw themselves in relation to the world of tea as a whole, in Europe and in Japan. I wanted to know whether they thought of their activities a authentic and what they identified as the source of authentic Japanese Tea Ceremony. Finally, I tried to analyze the participants disposition towards adaptation the the world of JTC.

Like in Japan, the community of JTC practitioners in Germany and Switzerland covers people from all different ages, professions and genders, though maybe with a slight female

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7   For reference, I have included the questionnaires in the appendix.
8   The interviews were conducted in English, Japanese and German, depending on which language the participants felt most comfortable with. For better comprehension of the reader, I have translated all quotations into English.

predominance. Generally, students and pensioners are over-represented, probably because those two demographics tend to be the only ones that naturally have the free time to invest into this rather time intensive hobby.

Among the practitioners there is a very strong association of Japan with high art and tea is seen by many as the epitome of Japanese culture and aesthetics. To quote the answers of two tea ceremony students, who I asked to explain to me what they believed JTC was:

'[To me,] Japanese Tea Ceremony is hospitality with a Japanese orientation. It connects all cultural and artistic elements of Japanese culture with a spiritual background.' and

'I think sado unites all elements of traditional Japanese culture, like calligraphy, Ikebana, pottery and cooking. But even Japanese history and housekeeping practices reflect in tea ceremony.'

To contextualize why many practitioners see Japan in this light, we have to understand that Europe in general and particularly Switzerland and Germany are not typical countries of immigration for Japanese people. Of course, there are some pockets of Japanese immigrant communities, for example in the German city of Düsseldorf, but nothing close to the presence of Japanese communities as a significant minority in Brazil, the USA or East Asia. So, to many German and Swiss people, getting involved in tea ceremony opens up a rare chance to meet Japanese people. Simultaneously, Japanese people, for example exchange students and business travelers, cherish the opportunity to meet German people and form social bonds, maybe a part time job and a hobby to follow. A German teacher states:

'These days, not too many new people come to join us, except for some Japanese students, which we simply take in as part of our group. Having them around creates a fantastic balance and it is a great chance for them to meet new people and become integrated into a group of like-minded outside of Japan. I also see that as an opportunity to culturally guide them and help them to get used to tea as well as Germany.'

One result of the rareness of Japanese people is that Japanese culture is not very widely known. Japanese history is hardly taught in schools and Japan only sporadically appears in the news or on tv shows, so the average German and Swiss citizen only has a very limited exposure to what is happening in Japan. Consequentially, Japanese Tea Ceremony is either completely unknown to them or they have a vague image in their mind that is very different from actual contemporary JTC.

Historically, the cultural, spatial and linguistic barriers between Germany and Switzerland and Japan, as well as its neighboring Asian countries have prevented the spread of information and led to many misconceptions. In those parts of Germany that were once part of the GDR (German Democratic Republic), there are virtually no links to Japan that go further back than 1990. It suffices to say that not only the Japanese Tea Ceremony community, but the community of people with interest in Japan as a whole in both countries is very small. On the other hand, those people who do engage with Japanese culture are usually very enthusiastic about it. They start learning the language and make plans to go to Japan someday. They become involved in the different traditional arts like origami, tea ceremony and pottery, at first at community colleges, in private clubs and eventually as part of established groups, like the JTC schools.

So how do the tea ceremony schools explain what JTC is, with the knowledge that they are maybe the only and probably the most important source of knowledge about Japan for their students? First of all, most schools put high emphasis on silence during the class as a way to create the right meditative mood, as a tool for relaxation and letting the thoughts of life outside the tea room go. According to the instructors, silence, rather than just being practical necessity for the class becomes a tool for experiencing tea with all senses. They often reference back to Sen no Rikyu as the ultimate source of authentic tea to underline their method. Tea ceremony becomes an amalgam of physical exercise and mental relaxation, as one instructor puts it:

'Tea ceremony is the formalized, regulated process of a tea gathering. If you know and can follow the form, you become free and relaxed, a state of metaphysical cleanliness.'

Since Japanese Tea Ceremony is so far removed from the conventional popular leisure activities in Germany and Switzerland, most instructors emphasize the physical and mental experience over attempts to explain tea ceremony with words:

> 'You go into an unknown house with people you do not know and you do not talk to, and just sit together, silently, to enjoy tea.'

An important concept that ties in with this spiritual and artistic interpretation of Rikyu's teachings is *kaizen*. As a management strategy, *kaizen* has been understood as continuous improvement to the point of near perfection. Research on *Kaizen* has so far remained confined to its economic dimension, but the continuous search for improvement not only defines Japanese corporate culture, but has significant implications in virtually every other social sphere in Japan. (Surak, 2011: 198)

In the world of tea ceremony, *kaizen* refers to the idea that students are supposed to study and practice repeatedly until they are confidant with the basics. At that point, they can finally start enjoying the tea ceremony without constantly worrying about making mistakes and they can start moving to more difficult exercises. In response to what their goals were related to tea ceremony practice, a German student replied:

> 'My final goal is to reach *kaizen*, perfection, and while I know that is hard, I want to improve on my concentration and ability to focus in order to get there.'

Following the question what this *kaizen* or perfection referred to, one teacher answered:

> 'In terms of character, and this is true for both students and teachers alike, there are three major elements that you need to master: Interest, which people usually have; Dexterity, or the ability to do the movements correctly; and, most importantly, patience and stamina. You need to be able to stay in it and continue following the way, the Japanese call it *nintairyoku*.'

Once again, the reference to Japan and tea ceremony in its country of origin as the source of authenticity is very clear. The Japanese concept of *kaizen* is used, even in some of the less strict

German and Swiss tea rooms, to explain the high emphasis on the correctness of the movements. In order to adequately represent this authentic Japanese tea ceremony, students are discouraged from rearranging, simplifying and reinterpreting the movements.

Also, like in Japan, the concept of beginners, intermediate and advanced learners is very important in German and Swiss tea schools. Different classes and advanced seminars are offered, and special emphasis is put on the obtainment of official qualifications, deemed necessary for instructors who want to become official teachers of the authentic way of the tea. To quote one teacher:

> 'In terms of qualification, they [somebody who would want to teach JTC] would need to obtain the Kyojou, the official teaching qualification from either Urasenke or another school, or at least they would need to have an acclaimed expertise and be able to demonstrate it. I see that as a necessary proof of their trustworthiness.'

While in the eyes of most participants, Japan was clearly emphasized as the source of authentic JTC, many shared the sentiment that things were changing. Some of the instructors and students who were more critical of the traditionalist and conservative *iemoto* system in Japan, mentioned that, in order to make progress, their school should loosen some of the conceptual bonds with the distant and oftentimes inflexible teaching system in Japan. In the eyes of one student, authenticity could be achieved in the local space by finding an own way of conducting tea ceremony:

> '(…) my teachers and I try to work on not just reproducing whatever is done in Japan, but on finding our own unique style here in Germany. This creates authenticity, which is very important I believe.'

In many regards, I agree with this sentiment. Japanese Tea Ceremony is a historical product, and while many may regard the process through which it became what it is today as authentic in itself, I believe that the core ideas of community, relaxation, concentration and constant effort that define the practice can be reproduced in a different local setting even without copying all of the peripheral

elements. Many of the old traditions of JTC in Japan, like wearing a kimono and using real charcoal are arguably more products of the historic circumstances under which JTC was developed rather than necessary features. If Sen no Rikyu had lived and developed JTC today, he would have probably made use of modern applications, adapted and experimented with different materials. Essentially, many German and Swiss tea practitioners realize that they can do an authentic form of Japanese Tea Ceremony, while also introducing their own style.

Nevertheless, it is also important to remember that exactly because JTC references (an often idealized version of) Japanese history, many people see it as valuable. Practicing tea ceremony almost takes the form of a historic role play, in which using ancient and overly complicated methods and tools contributes to the atmosphere and ritualistic character of the ceremony. Doing tea ceremony feels authentic to many, because it is almost like going back in history, like repeating what people have done hundreds of years ago. This is part of the cultural appeal of the ceremony, as one teacher notes:

> 'There are many historic relics, like you are not supposed to bow too deeply because whoever sits opposite of you could see into your kimono, or the fact that the order of your hand movements and their angle is dictated by you needing to avoid making the guests scared of an invisible *katana* [a traditional Japanese sword] on your belt.'

These historical relics though, are arguably one reason why JTC is not as accessible to the young generation of Japanese people today anymore. Young Japanese are not used to sitting in *seiza*[9], wearing a kimono all day and following orders without questioning them. A German teacher, who learned how to do tea ceremony in Japan, and has observed many changes in the practice since, comments:

> 'Already, the Urasenke system has changed from the traditional finishing school, female only education to teaching tea to well motivated students of all genders and ages. The

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9   *seiza* is the term for a certain way of sitting, with your legs closed and your ankles flat on the ground. Until the Showa period, when western furnishing and tables became more commonplace in Japan, most Japanese houses used to be furnished exclusively with tatami mats and low tables that encourage sitting in this position.

teachers too are becoming increasingly professional and highly qualified, far removed from some of the old, mumbling, moody characters that were still around when I started. Young Japanese do not want to or cannot follow the old strict methods anymore and some have become over-westernized. You see, the catalyst for this change was the loss of interest for the students, which has caused a loss of authority of the teachers. Now, on the other hand, classes might be becoming too loose, and people start being lazy, so it is the responsibility of an *iemoto* to reform the system. Another thing that I cannot support is that some conservative teachers still do not want their students to attend classes of other teachers and get new experiences, a practice that I personally, strongly recommend.'

It appears, that most practitioners in Germany and Switzerland refer to Japan as the source of authenticity in tea ceremony. Nevertheless, the majority of them are increasingly open to questioning things, including the teachings of their respective head schools, which sometimes leads to the replacement of certain cryptic elements with others that feel more natural. The flexibility to do so depends on the organizational structure of each respective school, with some independent schools being able to develop entirely unique ways of teaching whereas schools that are more strongly associated with the Japan system are less free in doing things their way. In the next step, I asked teachers and students what they thought of changing elements of Japanese Tea Ceremony and what kinds of adaptations were done most frequently in their local school.

When imploring directly about adaptation and improvisation, the general consensus among the instructors that I interviewed was that doing things different from Japan was more of a necessary evil, rather than a feature. Many teachers would prefer to conduct tea ceremony in Germany or Switzerland as close to how it has historically been done in Japan as possible.

But from the conversations with the instructors, it seems that this answer only really applies to the physical tea ceremony. Regarding the teaching style and the social aspects of JTC, most schools have mentioned at least some things that they want to explicitly do different compared to

the Japanese head-schools in order to make the practice more accessible to their students, most of which have grown up without a Japanese cultural background. One teacher summarizes the problems of JTC in Japan:

> 'I came to realize that the Japanese schools are not perfect. Tea [in Japan] has become very standardized and formalized, but sometimes at the cost of the spirit. They still have many awkward ancient traditions and I hate how the system treats lower ranked members'

To justify any kind of adaption of the ceremony, something that at least in Japan is still considered a privilege reserved for the most experienced teachers, a German instructor mentioned that the practice of Japanese Tea Ceremony throughout history has always been improvised and adapted. They underlined their argument with the example of Gengensai, the eleventh headmaster of the Urasenke who, in the 19th century, began offering tea ceremony at a table for foreigners who were not used to sitting in *seiza*, a practice that later developed into what is known today as *ryurei* tea ceremony, a type of tea ceremony conducted sitting at a table.

Remembering that Japanese Tea Ceremony outside the established circles is still very much unknown in Germany and Switzerland, there is also a lot of potential for the tea schools in adapting the way tea schools approach new members. In Japan, where tea ceremony had been a compulsory part of education for decades and where it is still a well known cultural practice, most beginners have a somewhat clear image of what joining a tea ceremony class entails. They are familiar with the Japanese educational system which demands a lot of effort and diligence from its students.

In Germany and Switzerland however, where many people associate tea with relaxation and meditation, most new members experience an initial culture shock when faced with the rigors of having to remember exact body movements, adhering to strict rules in the tea room and controlling their body to sit in the, at first, uncomfortable *seiza* position. Their initial fascination for the "exotic" practice of tea ceremony quickly turns into frustration about the difficult and seemingly nonsensical exercises that tea ceremony demands. As multiple German instructors were able to

confirm, one of the main reasons why first time practitioners step away from tea ceremony is because they felt uncomfortable with these hardships. One student recalls her experience of starting to learn about tea in Japan: 'To me, learning tea at Urasenke in Japan felt very strict, like being in an army' and another student adds, regarding their current involvement: '[After many years], it remains quite unintuitive to me and I need to really repeat it once a week to slowly remember.'

Yet, for the German and Swiss students, it appears that, once some initial obstacles are overcome, once a student has achieved their first successes at doing tea, their motivation increases tremendously and all of the interviewees that had been doing tea for more than one year mentioned that they were seeing themselves continuing JTC from there, exemplified by one student who had at that point been studying for five years:

'Tea is a way of life, you cannot stop or leave it once you have entered. All of my experiences are centered around this way and so, as long as my body carries me, I want to continue doing it.'

In a different interview, another instructor confirmed a similar sentiment:

'German students quickly realize that practicing tea is hard work and some also dislike the strict form and quit immediately. Most students that take on the challenge and start doing tea, however, will stay with it unless something in their lives changes and they move away or change jobs.'

Apparently, there is a tremendous difference in the perception of students regarding their tea education in Japan and Germany/ Switzerland. While in Japan, form, manner and correct execution are the main part of the lessons, German and Swiss teachers explicitly emphasize the philosophical and spiritual elements of the tea way. This shift of educational focus lends itself to a more cooperative, encouraging teaching style and German and Swiss instructors, in acknowledgment of the difficulties that their students are facing, show themselves as very supportive and helpful.

A Japanese student who started learning about tea ceremony in Japan describes her

experience as very unsatisfactory, stating clearly that she prefers the European style of teaching:

> 'Of course, tea was present in my life in Japan. I was introduced to it through family acquaintances and, out of courtesy to my mother, I attended a course. I despised the Urasenke system, because to me it was too conservative, too traditionalist and stood against my western Christian education. I never wanted to go down this old Japanese path (…)'

For her, tea ceremony started to make sense only once she was able to study about it in Germany, outside of this Japanese educational model: 'In fact, it was not until I rediscovered tea ceremony here in Europe, free from these social shackles, that I came to appreciate it.'

For every single school that I visited during my stay, I can confirm that there was a severe difference in the educational style compared to the traditionalist Japanese approach. None of the schools, not even those with a majority of Japanese members, had a strict hierarchical setting. And while one school in particular still emphasized the authoritarian role of the most experienced teacher who was eagerly correcting the students mistakes, that teacher was still willing to answer questions and admit their own lack of knowledge on some subjects. A statement from one of the students captures the general tone of this class, which was very much focused on quiet practice and learning from repetition, but at the same time underlined the social nature of drinking tea together:

> 'It [A tea ceremony class] is like a semi-formal event where you talk with guests in a comfortable atmosphere, just like a coffee table round. Yet, there is protocol, certain actions have to be performed and steps need to be followed.'

Most of the other schools were even more vocal about changing the educational style. I felt that many teachers tried to create very equal, non-hierarchical atmosphere. They planned a lot of time for answering their students' questions, even about some of the deep psychological aspects of JTC. One teacher in particular answered their students questions in a way that made clear that they were very knowledgeable and put a lot of time and effort into JTC and that they were willing to share their knowledge as much as possible with the students. Instead of simply demanding repetition, they

encouraged conversation and discussion and only interrupted their students to progress with the actual lesson. This approach was very different from the classical Japanese style, which implicitly encourages the teachers to stay quiet about some of the finer aspects of the art, in order to not "spoil the secret" about making tea the right way, which would to some extent undermine the authority of the tea school. In Germany and Switzerland, spoiling any secrets is not such a big concern since even without any secrecy and deceptive way of teaching, the students are arguably struggling enough with simply learning how to do tea correctly, as one teacher notes:

'Well see, the basic physical movements are taught to students in 5 minutes, but the process of really showing what tea is about is a slow and difficult one.'

This open approach to teaching was especially fascinating for me, given the fact that many teachers in Europe, especially the more experienced ones, had undertaken much of their training in Japan. Midorikai is a special class at Urasenke in Kyoto for foreigners who want to learn about the tea way. Classes are given in English and students can study in the program for a flexible amount of time and acquire certain qualifications. Many of the first generation of German and Swiss teachers, who started in the 1980's and 90's and even some of the newer teachers took this class.

Another key difference from Japan is that, beyond teaching the way of the tea, German and Swiss teachers realize that what they offer to their students is more than only the physical tea ceremony and the spiritual Zen philosophy. Learning about JTC in Europe, to many practitioners, also entails an element of cultural edutainment about Japan. Many instructors embrace this opportunity to share their own experiences from having been to Japan and to taste Japanese sweets and drink Japanese tea of different varieties with their students. Clearly, the enjoyable and relaxing elements of JTC and Zen are emphasized more than in Japan and rather than overcoming hardships, tea is interpreted as joyful self expression. When asked what makes a good JTC teacher, one German instructor responded: '(...) you need to be empathetic, and show genuine happiness and fun at doing tea, as well as the will to spread this happiness to others.'

To put it simple, German and Swiss students do not only have very different demands regarding the lessons from their Japanese counterparts, there is also a lot more variety of motivations and reasons for practicing JTC in Europe, compared to the relatively universal notion of learning proper social manners that still dominates many Japanese classrooms. German and Swiss practitioners see tea ceremony as a hobby, a way to relax, an opportunity to meet friends, a challenge to master, a chance to learn more about Japanese culture and language and more. To cover all of these very heterogeneous demands, teachers put a lot of effort into organizing their classes in an open and welcoming manner. Here are two examples of students with very different motivations for practicing tea who, nevertheless, were both satisfied with how tea ceremony allowed them to pursue their wishes:

a) 'I was really impressed by the fact that, over a cup of tea, people started to talk about their lives very openly and so I realized that there is something special about tea and that special thing spiked my interest'

b) 'through tea I realized that traveling is not that expensive after all. Tea helped me get to Japan, also China and Korea too. It has helped me to create international connections, and it helped me realize that, in a way, tea connects and unites Asia.'

Here is where German and Swiss teachers are really adapting tea ceremony to the local conditions. Rather than proclaiming that there is only one way of tea and only one goal at the end, many schools embrace the heterogeneity among their members and, referring back to how JTC in itself is a very heterogeneous practice with many different philosophies and exercises, they try to find a way of approaching their students' demands that works for them. The consensus among all schools that I interviewed was that you could not enforce only one way of tea the way it has been done especially in Showa period in Japan. Or, to quote a very experienced German teacher:

'tea teaches you to live with the imperfections of others and that is why, in an actual Tea invitation, the guests are never to be corrected. Japanese teachers often over-correct, but in

fact, there is no right or wrong during an invitation, there is just tea.'

As a result of this very cooperative approach, the vast majority of students in Germany and Switzerland see their teachers as far more than just instructors. In their eyes, they are not merely paying a salary for the received service, but rather they accept their teachers as travel guides, mentors, friends and counselors. Any money exchanged for classes is seen more as a donation for the teachers' overall efforts and running costs, rather than as a professional fee:

'We think that the money we give is so little compared to what we receive, especially since our teacher is so dedicated and nice. For them, having fun, not making money is the focus.'

Another student puts it like this: 'money is not in the center of attention for me, the experience and the lifestyle that tea ceremony has shown to me are invaluable.'

Finally, one question remains unanswered: If on the one hand, the services offered by the teachers and the motivations and demands of the students differ so widely and on the other hand, a major goal of the class is still to reach *kaizen*, or perfection, then what does *kaizen* mean in the context of Japanese Tea Ceremony education in Germany and Switzerland? Unlike in Japan, there does not seem to be an unanimous answer. Rather than giving a guideline as to how one can become a perfect tea practitioner, teachers in the schools that I interviewed encouraged their students to reflect about tea in a self-critical manner and to define what perfection meant to them individually. Some of the exercises the students are given are very demanding, like remembering the correct timing and orientation of movements or sitting in *seiza* for a long period of time, certainly challenges that far surpass what is usually considered a leisure activity in both countries. Rather than enforcing these specific elements, many teachers explicitly said that it was fine to make mistakes or to not sit in *seiza* if it was too painful. Their idea of *kaizen*, rather than perfection through repetition, encompasses the idea that genuine effort and individuality have value too. Rather than searching for an all encompassing definition of success in the way of the tea, the teachers want their students to find an own definition of perfection, an own goal, and then to pursue it. When asked this question,

one of the teachers that had been active for a long time replied:

'In terms of style, we think that everyone has to strive for perfection on their own, so we do not really model our lessons after anybody's example. Of course, respect for the other teachers and anybody who walked the tea path before you is important, but you should not go so far as to worship them. Try to be happy and in harmony with your self, rather than envying someone else for their skills.'

In a similar vein, another teacher answered to the question of whether there was anyone in particular in the world of tea that they took as an inspiration:

'Really, there is no organization that we admire. In the world of tea, there are no 'stars'. Instead, we respect all the people we have ever gotten to know through tea.'

Both quotations exhibit a very pragmatic approach to tea and the concept of *kaizen*. Pragmatism is traditionally considered an American concept, but it has huge implications on the contemporary European philosophical mindset. Essentially, pragmatism claims that human experience and thought are more than just a reproduction of reality. Instead, it demands people to use their thoughts and their philosophical understanding of the world as a tool to make changes (Foust, 2015). Furthermore, contemporary pragmatism emphasizes the importance of pleasure as a source of creativity (Shusterman, 2002:105-109).

By understanding that learning about tea is more than just reproducing what other masters and schools have done, that it encompasses the ideas of self-content and self-criticism as well as spontaneous adaptation, both instructors and students in Germany and Switzerland exhibit the potential to create new forms of tea ceremony.

This realization has led me to rethink the concept of authenticity. As mentioned before, some tea practitioners still explicitly mention Japanese culture as the only source of authenticity in Japanese Tea Ceremony, even outside Japan, but there is an increasing number of practitioners that refuse this notion and attempt to find authenticity in their local practice.

It seems that, rather than seeing it as a fixed cultural feature, stuck to a standardized form, authenticity should be considered as an inherent aesthetic value of a cultural entity, which changes alongside it. In this case, the transformation of Japanese Tea Ceremony from an exclusively Japanese national cultural product into something that is practiced in places as far away as Germany and Switzerland, has led to the surfacing of doubts about the concept of *kaizen*.

By refuting the idea that *kaizen* is merely the repetition of pre-established forms, discussions on what perfection means for the individual tea practitioner has been opened up. By pursuing individual success and satisfaction, rather than institutionalized progress, German and Swiss tea practitioners have taken a pragmatic approach to Japanese Tea Ceremony, which has enriched the global understanding of what authentic JTC is about.

The last point I want to touch upon related to the interviews is the fact that there does not seem to be a real network among the many different small tea schools in both countries. There are some collaborations on the big "spotlight" events like Japan fairs or museum exhibitions, where some tea schools come together to both win potential new members and to make the public more aware of their, still relatively unknown practice. These occasions are often also sponsored by the Japanese head-schools, the Japanese government through the Cool Japan program, or the cultural fund of the European, national or local government. In recent years, the number of these high profile events, where kimonos are worn and expensive materials exhibited, has certainly declined, but they are still important meeting places for people from the tea world like researchers, tea shop owners, art collectors and of course Japanese natives. At these events, *sado* plays a minor role, and *chaji*, official tea invitations with important guests from the tea world, basically do not exist in Europe.

What stands in their place is a loose network of personal contacts and occasional over-regional seminars. In some places with multiple tea schools like Berlin and Zurich, tight-knit communities have formed, with bonds that often go beyond the traditional boarders of the

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individual schools. Whereas an event cooperatively run by both Urasenke and another tea school would even today be unheard of in Japan, it is possible in the less confined and less controlled environment of tea schools in Germany and Switzerland. The reality is that, because of the small number of members and associations that offer tea ceremony in these countries, those few who do exist need to work and stick together in order to survive. Yet, for the most part the spatial distances and the fact that the Japanese head-schools discourage this kind of cooperation have prevented the schools from developing a bigger network. One teacher remarks on the subject: 'Right now, there is quite a low rate of exchange among tea ceremony practitioners in Germany. There are many schools, but hardly any form of a national network.' After interviewing the different schools, I am not sure how to approach this issue. On the one hand, more over-regional cooperation seems beneficial for setting standards and exchanging ideas. On the other hand, it might lead to the loss of the schools' individual freedom to adjust their style of teaching exactly to their students demands.

After reviewing how JTC, a globalized cultural practice, is being interpreted in Germany and Switzerland, the next chapter will use inductive reasoning in order to transfer some of the lessons learned to the field of cultural globalization studies.

Chapter III

The Importance of Cultural Interpretations

for Processes of Globalization

From the previous chapter, it has become increasingly clear that Japanese Tea Ceremony in Germany and Switzerland is a multilayered practice that has combined a Japanese national cultural background with unique local elements to form a new local interpretation. This new local interpretation is distinctly different from the Japanese Tea Ceremony practiced in Japan, as it emphasizes a different student-teacher relationship and sense of community.

Furthermore, JTC in the two European countries appears to be quite removed from the managerial and business side of the practice. The huge financial and personal involvement required to run a tea ceremony school, combined with the unreliable and small monetary return on the initial investment of building a tea room and buying the required objects make the prospect of teaching JTC in Germany and Switzerland professionally (or even as a part-time job) unreliable. The receding support from the Japanese head-schools for the expansion of JTC in Europe since the 1990's has contributed to the fact that dedicated teachers in Germany and Switzerland are today mostly continuing with their practice as a hobby or in the form of a regular private group activity.

So, instead of tea ceremony classes being established and rather strict lessons about social manners, as it is still often the case in Japan, JTC in Germany and Switzerland is mostly interpreted as an aesthetic community experience, a fine art that is enjoyed in a group of friends and shaped in accordance to the participants individual abilities and motivations.

In this chapter, I will try to capitalize on these findings to investigate related fields. How has globalization affected other fine arts? Do conventional economic products respond differently to processes of globalization? And finally: What philosophical implications does globalization have on

the perception of the world for the people affected by it, beyond the economic dimensions?

3.1 Interpretations of Cultural Products in the Fine Arts

What is considered a fine art? The classical definition of fine arts only considers the visual arts to be fine art, but in the mind of most critics until the mid-20th century, the term has always encompassed all five major forms of art: painting, sculpture, architecture, music and poetry. In an even broader sense, additional forms of art like theater, dance and literature have been named fine art as well. (Kristeller, 1951: 497).

This perspective has become somewhat antiquated. In the age of post-modernism, which emphasizes the fact that there is an artistic potential in all things, and in times of ever accelerating technological progress that allows artists to work with completely new media, such as 3D film, video games, digital screens and animation programs, fine art in the 21st century is generally seen as a term that surpasses the five original types of art named by Kristeller. For the purpose of this paper, fine art is going to be defined as any work of art that has been created primarily for its aesthetic purpose (l'art pour l'art) instead of a practical use.

All fine art encompasses cultural elements, since art can never be created void of any cultural background. In fact, many pieces of fine art are seen as so embedded in their culture of origin that they are regarded as part of a national culture. Many forms of fine art have grown out of very specific national historical contexts, such as the Latin dances of South America, which have developed as an amalgam of native American, Spanish and African influences or Hip Hop in the USA which combined Caribbean rhythms with Afro-American aesthetics and a sense of community reminiscent of a Muslim ummah. Furthermore, fine arts have historically often been used as a vessel for national pride; positively, such as the opera being regarded as a great representation of Italy as well as negatively, exemplified by the propagation of Wagner's music in the Third Reich. Consequently, fine arts are often equivalenced to national treasures, as is the case with French

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cuisine, Russian Literature and German traditional architecture. What is the process by which a fine art ascends into the realm of national culture?

National culture plays an important role in the formation of the fine arts, as exemplified by the fact that fine arts frequently reflect social values important to the respective culture of their country of origin. Commercial Hip Hop artists often depict themselves as living the American Dream, having ascended from poverty to material wealth. Even more importantly, the fundamental core of Hip Hop, the struggle for freedom of expression, resonates with the traditional American value of freedom to pursue happiness, as postulated in the US constitution.

Importantly, the relationship between national culture and the fine arts is not one sided. Reviewing how interwoven the history of tea ceremony has been with the history of the Japanese nation state, the figure of Sen no Rikyu is of particular interest. Posthumously he has been identified as a crucial contributor to Japanese national unity, directly through his political actions and, maybe even more importantly, indirectly through his creation of modern Japanese Tea Ceremony. Rikyu's tea ceremony resonated with commonly held values among the elites of his time, like diligence and constant effort, but it success is also based on the fact that drinking tea as a social event promoted harmony and peace in times of endless wars and violent conflicts. Yet, Japanese Tea Ceremony did not become regarded as a national culture until the merchant class and later the middle class began practicing it. This cultural shift from upper class culture to national culture had opened up the way for processes of heterogenization of the practice. Once the merchant class had picked up tea ceremony, individuals began to experiment with it, using new materials like different types of tea or bowls imported from China and they began to redefine the rules of tea ceremony, fundamentally reinventing it based on their personal preferences. This process would later enable the creation of the many different smaller Japanese tea ceremony schools.

The example of tea ceremony shows a pattern also found in other fine arts, many of which had historically existed at a small scale or in a different form in a given location. At some point, a

key event, like the revolution of the practice by an important social figure, led to the popularization of the art form among the wider society, furthered by the fact that the art form reflected commonly held perceptions and ideologies. Because these key events often occurred during a particularly crucial time of a nation's foundation, the art form would henceforth be associated with the process of national unification and become regarded as the quintessence of the new national spirit, embodied by the person that made the practice popular, the new national hero. From that point, any debates about authentic representations of the art form in the national context inevitably have to lead back to this idealized hero figure and their interpretation of it.

Another example for this process can be found in the Brazilian art of capoeira, a game that combines martial art with dance and acrobatics. Capoeira originally developed among African slave communities in Brazil as a covert form of self defense against the colonial masters. With the end of slavery, many former slaves who had never been given a proper education had difficulties integrating into Brazilian society and ended up becoming criminals and mercenaries. Capoeira became a useful skill for members of this social milieu and its practice was eventually prohibited by the Brazilian government, though it did not completely cease to exist. Similar to Japanese Tea Ceremony, it took a key event, in this case the gradual change of the Brazilian government to once again allow and later even promote the practice of capoeira, but as a sport rather than a style of street fighting. Maybe the most important figure for the promotion of capoeira as a national cultural good was Vincente Pastinha, who first popularized it regionally and later on a national level. His traditionalist, passionate and dynamic style became synonymous with the Brazilian national spirit of the 20th century, which saw the country's accelerated economic development and the spread of the ever positive Brazilian lifestyle outside of the country's borders. Around the same time as Pastinha taught his style of capoeira, other teachers began to develop new and alternative styles, but always taking reference to Pastinha's Capoeira Angola. (Capoeira, 2002:197-203)

What happens to a fine art after it has been popularized by a key figure? As we have seen

with Japanese Tea Ceremony and Capoeira, once a practice becomes nationally spread, different social groups and individuals begin to interpret it differently, depending on their preferences. But that leads to a dilemma for the main branch of the art form. Because of the nature the fine arts as cultural products, they do not primarily offer physical benefits to their practitioners, but instead rely on the promise of more ephemeral gains like spiritual and mental health or an opportunity for social exchange with other practitioners. Essentially, a fine art draws its value from the fact that the people involved with it believe in its inherent importance. As long as the art form remains on a relatively small scale, this is not an issue. But at the point where the practice is about to be expanded to an over-regional, national or global level, there needs to be a differentiation between authentic or 'real' practitioners and those that want to profit by pretending to be authentic, thereby endangering the overall trustworthiness of the fine art form as a whole. This differentiation is achieved through processes of standardization. For Japanese Tea Ceremony, the three major tea schools Urasenke, Omotesenke and Mushakojinosenke took upon them the task to develop a system of movements, gestures and qualifications that function as a code to differentiate the initiated teachers from counterfeiters. For painters, the power of authenticity is spread out more diffusely, but it essentially lies in the consensus of the most renowned contemporary art critics, art museum and artists that have developed an unspoken code of deciding whether a painting can be classified as valuable or not. This process of arbitrarily assigning value to something might seem paradoxical, but in fact, the believe that money and economic goods have a certain standardized value, as opposed to counterfeits, is the most essential part of any economic system (Pigou, 1917: 38-40). Essentially, by standardizing and codifying a cultural product, it gains an economic value, which allows its practitioners to build an individual career or a business upon their practice.

At this point, the fine art has been developed into a national practice, standardized and commodified. The next step in its life cycle is the spatial relocation, which begins the transformation from national to globalized cultural product. Despite their strong association with

the national, all fine arts possess qualities that appeal to a universal audience. They promote concepts that are understood beyond national boundaries, such as the idea of natural beauty present in Japanese Ikebana or wealth in Chinese pottery or love and joy in Indian cinema. These qualities are what allow fine arts to travel the world and become popular abroad. In the age of Imperialism, foreign arts were seen mostly as entertainment for the social elite abroad. But since the beginning of the 20th century, the century of modern globalization, fine arts from all over the world have been becoming increasingly more accessible to an ever growing number of recipients. Free Trade Agreements and an exponential acceleration in logistics and communication technology have significantly benefited the export of cultural products.

The key problem has been shifted to the introduction of the cultural product into the new market. A common feature among the fine arts is that they heavily benefit from high profile public events at this step. Art shows or fairs, such world expositions or world food fairs, which are often supported by the cultural ministries of both the host country and the exporting country, play a tremendous role in raising the profile of a fine art outside its country of origin. For tea ceremony, the promotion of *sado* at various Japanese fairs since the 1980's has been critical for the spread of the up to this point almost unknown cultural practice in Germany and Switzerland. The inclusion of Taekwondo into the Olympic program has ensured a high visibility of the sport outside Korea and inspired many young athletes to begin their training (Kazemi, 2006: 114-115).

Once media coverage of these high profile events has created a certain level of attention, early pioneers will begin to pick up the cultural practice. At this point, the newly introduced fine art has achieved a niche presence in the new local space. Due to the widespread information about the high profile events, a large part of the public has come in contact with it, but only a handful of pioneers are actively pursuing it. Because of the volatile situation of this niche practice, however, the pioneers' investment into keeping it alive tends to be very strong, which manifests in small but strong communities centered around the practice, that may or may not eventually converge to an

interconnected network. The results of my research have shown that Japanese Tea Ceremony in Germany and Switzerland can be described as being in this very stage in 2017.

Ever since the many high profile events of the 1970's and 80's, like those initiated by Japanese and German twin cities like Hannover and Hiroshima, or the donation of the Kanshoan tea house to the German city of Munich in celebration of the 1972 Olympic games, Japanese tea ceremony has been a somewhat known quantity in Germany. Yet, except for a few pioneers, the majority of Germans have never actively participated in a tea ceremony. With the decline of financial support from Japan and the reduction of high profile events, the German and Swiss tea schools have had difficulties in acquiring new members. Yet, those members that decide to join a school enter a tightly knit community that has strengthened through fights for its survival against the many financial and organizational obstacles. A major reason why the German and Swiss tea schools have not been able to expand their membership is in my opinion the lack of a stable over-regional network to connect all schools on a national or even European level. Lack of communication among the schools and the fruitless search for Japanese guidance has hindered the formation of a European based head organization for Japanese Tea Ceremony.

One fine art that has managed to step beyond the niche status in its new spatial locality is French cinema in Singapore. Since the 1940's, the International film festival at Cannes has raised the profile not only of Hollywood movies, but also of French films on the global stage. In cooperation with the French government, French film producers have started to approach the Asian market at least since the 1980's. While at first, only a small number of film connoisseurs privately enjoyed French movies in Singapore, with governmental support from both sides and sponsorships from French companies, a regular French Film festival was established which has been drawing in an increasing number of visitors for ten days every November. The festival is organized cooperatively by the French Embassy in Singapore and the Alliance Française de Singapore, a group dedicated to promote French culture in the city state and has made French cinema a well

known form of entertainment especially among young Singaporeans.

What both Japanese Tea Ceremony in Germany and Switzerland and French cinema in Singapore have in common is that they have never existed as singular entities in their new localities. Once a fine art has been introduced into a new spatial sphere and picked up by some local practitioners, these pioneers would inevitably expose it to some form of adaptation, diversifying the scope of the art. Part of the reason for this diversification is simply the need to substitute some of the physical elements of the practice. Germany and Switzerland lack wooden tea houses, *matcha* plantations and the special tools and objects used in the traditional Japanese Tea Ceremony, so instructors replaced them with locally available materials. Many schools started using electric fireplaces in stead of the traditional *ro*, one school set up their tea house inside a community center and another one began to buy charcoal in the local home improvement shop and prepare it to resemble the Japanese charcoal. Some of these changes were abandoned once the schools got the opportunity to create an environment closer to the original and others still remain in effect.

Even more interesting than these, often involuntary, physical changes, may be the philosophical shifts to the exported cultural practice. Being somewhat outside of the sphere of influence of the place of origin, practitioners in other places have a lot more freedom to reinterpret and individualize an art form. Instead of simply copying the original, some philosophical aspects are questioned. Japanese Tea Ceremony in Germany and Switzerland is conceived by its practitioners as a social event that combines relaxation with learning about Japan as well as physical exercise. Rather than the strict student-teacher relationship and the *kaizen* oriented mentality of traditional Japanese tea schools, German and Swiss instructors have opted to emphasize the spiritual and artistic elements of the practice, leading to a very different atmosphere in the tea room. These diversifications are further supported by the fact that foreign producers and consumers of the fine art form, as well the wider public tend to have different expectations. In Germany and Switzerland, the expectations of what constitutes a communal leisure activity are very different from Japan, and

in turn the expectations of practitioners differ as well, leading to potentially significant changes of the practice, exemplified by the shift from a professional business to a hobby-like entertainment.

Similar diversifications of a fine art in a new location can be traced in the case of Indian cinema. Removed from the pressure of appealing to the US audience and faced with the new challenge of satisfying the Indian viewer's demands, local producers have turned to topics like nostalgia for Indian history and love in a society based on arranged marriages and compartmentalized social classes for new film ideas (Radjadhyaksha, 2003: 30-31).

The last step in the process of the globalization of a fine art is the seamless integration of original elements and elements from the new local space into a new glocalized, or creolized, form. The case of Japanese Tea Ceremony in Germany and Switzerland has shown that the various adaptations to the original that the practice has been exposed to have led to very diverse interpretations of what Japanese Tea Ceremony is supposed to be. Instead of accepting that the ceremony that is practiced in Japan is the only legitimate version, schools in Europe are starting to claim authenticity as producers of new and unique forms of Japanese Tea Ceremony, with significant differences in terms of teaching style, educational goals and motivations. This creolization is yet incomplete though, as the tea ceremony that is practiced in Germany and Switzerland has not nearly differentiated itself enough to qualify as an entirely new practice.

An art form that can be described as a real creolized cultural product is Hip Hop. Hip Hop in its entirety combines elements from music, art, dance and design and has taken inspiration from many genres within these categories. Furthermore, its creation in the ghetto's of New York and Los Angeles reflects the convergence of many different ethnic groups, including Black Americans, Latinos, Muslims and Whites, which does not only make it fundamentally US American, but truly glocalized. Hip Hop sprang out of a very specific local context as a new form, an amalgam that has in itself become copied numerously all over the globe.

This chapter has, based on the knowledge previously gained from the case of Japanese Tea

Ceremony in Germany and Switzerland, explored the process by which a cultural product, more specifically fine art, experiences globalization. Only after first becoming a significant piece of national culture, which entails standardized and commodification, most fine art will reach the opportunity of being exported. This export usually introduces the cultural product into a niche market in the new local space, a position from which it may diversify and adapt to the point at which an entirely new cultural form is created at the glocalization stage. Certainly, this process is not as linear or simple as it has been explained here and in fact most cultural products experience a life cycle which differs at least slightly from this model. Nonetheless, it may become a good concept of understanding how and why cultural products behave when they are introduced into a new local space.

3.2 Cultural Interpretations of Globalized Products

The previous chapters have established the process of glocalization of cultural products as a general thought model. In the next step, it is time to look beyond the boundaries of the fine arts and try to find out if any of the previous concepts can be applied to globalized economic products.

Similar to the fine arts, there is as of yet no universal model or established business strategy for the local interpretation of globalized products. It appears that each individual case depends entirely on local, temporal and product specific conditions.

Yet, it is possible to make some generalizations. First, it is clear that all products fall somewhere on the scale of how much cultural background it takes for the user to fully appreciate them. Fine arts are at the high end of this scale because, due to their explicit focus on the aesthetic, even on the most basic levels of interaction, the recipient is required to have some cultural knowledge in order to appreciate the piece of art. Electronics and technological products, on the other hand, often fall on the low end of the spectrum because they are deliberately designed to be universally applicable without requiring the user to have any specific cultural background

knowledge. Consumer products like cosmetics fall almost exactly in the very middle because, while they do not require cultural knowledge at the most basic level of use, the consumer will be able to enjoy them more with a more refined understanding of, for example, cultural beauty standards.

However, the distinction between cultural products and products unrelated to culture is not absolute. Essentially, every product can be advertised with a varying emphasis on its cultural background. A piece of fine art can be advertised as void of any cultural references and as very universal. Similarly, technology, as the case of the I-Phone shows, can be advertised in a way that emphasizes cultural values or even creates a new culture around the product. Generally, products that integrate the body tend to be more universal, because physical exercise is in some form or another present in all human cultures. Practices with a bigger emphasis on the ephemeral or spiritual, on the other hand, tend to require more cultural understanding. The efforts that they require and the benefits that they offer are less tangible and practicing them requires more than just following moves and instructions, but active mental involvement.

When producers introduce products into new local markets, they can strategically decide to either copy them from the home market, maybe with some slight adjustments or to develop entirely new products, tailor-made for the local circumstances. When making these decisions, companies are frequently faced with cultural obstacles that they are not well set up to deal. Standardized business education does not teach how to cope with cultural dissonance. The results are sometimes product failures due to an inability of the producer to predict local consumer needs.

An example can be found in Japanese martial arts in Germany and Switzerland. There exists a serious cultural dissonance between the traditional Japanese perfectionism with its glorification of hardships that have to be overcome on the one hand and western ideals of what a leisure activity should be like on the other. Schools that do not account for this dissonance, risk losing some of their members, who are not willing to put in such considerable amount of physical and mental effort into something that they perceive as a practice designed for relaxation.

How to tackle these cultural misunderstandings? In an age, where the borders between producers and consumers are dissolving, where customization and public product reviewing gives customers the opportunity to co-create and shape the products, it seems that companies and globally active organizations have plenty of opportunities to try and meet local demands. Especially in the service sector, which traditionally encourages particularly high levels of customer integration and requires co-production to achieve the greatest value possible, adaptations seem very possible.

One possible answer to why the cultural side of glocalization is so hard to access is that global organizations still work in a system defined by the historical division of the world into relatively isolated nation states. Yet, this structure is becoming increasingly less relevant, as global migration and communication increasingly affect people and systems across these arbitrary borders. As the global organizations are trying to adjust to this new reality, they often fall back to the one size fits all model of globalization, often referenced as MacDonaldization. Yet, this concept is rapidly losing relevance as it cannot appropriately address the heterogeneous demands that coexist in the new local spaces.

Possibly, the creolization and glocalization model can offer a better solution even outside the space of cultural products. Essentially, conventional economic products can be described as following the same general process as cultural products. After becoming popular in their place of origin, economic products will be subjected to standardization which enables their export as a more coherent unit. Economic products do not generally need to reach the level of popularity of cultural products to gather enough financial support for the export process to be successful, since their performance is supported by corporate advertisement. These corporate channels also explicitly enhance the standardization of an economic product, since advertisement is based on the idea of selling a comprehensive product concept to customers, unlike a cultural product. Once introduced into the foreign market, advertisement furthermore simplifies the step from being a niche product to becoming a popular good tremendously. Up to this point, it seems that conventional economic

products are easier and faster to adapt to globalization processes than cultural products. Yet, the steps of diversification, adaptation and creolization reveal a different picture. Cultural products and especially the fine arts are a result of many changes throughout their existence and the reason why they have been successful is their ability to adapt to these changes. Similarly, cultural products allow users in different local spaces the flexibility to adjust them to the specific local demands. With conventional economic products, however, there is less room for adaption and diversification since they have been created and perfected to basically fulfil one specific customer need. Sometimes, users will be creative enough to find new usages for a product that the creators had not thought of, but in most cases, economic products will show suboptimal results when used outside their intended framework. Furthermore, their restriction as physical products severely limits their ability to change as well.

After dissecting what glocalization means for economic products and how cultural globalization affects producers and consumers, the final part will dive into the psychological and philosophical dimensions of globalization and re-evaluate the field.

3.3 Anthropological Dimensions of Globalization

Globalization has traditionally been categorized as a foremost economic and political process, associated with the disappearance of borders, trade liberalization, global accessibility and transportation and an ever growing omnipresence of global media (Appadurai, 2001). The ongoing dissolution of spatial limitations and the ever-accelerating technological progress have enabled a convergence of global cultures of unknown dimensions. Global media has raised the awareness of global differences and enabled communication between formerly unrelated regions, whereas the revolution of the transportation industry since the early 20th century has made fast and safe travel over long distances possible. The result is an unprecedented dispersion of masses of people traveling, migrating or fleeing from one country or even one part of the world to others.

This continuous mass-circulation hints to an important anthropological dimension of globalization, since alongside the people, philosophical concepts and ideologies are dispersed into new spaces, challenging established world views and clashing in the local arena.

Essentially, globalization has led to a clash of cultures at different levels that, taken together, can be interpreted as a Culture War. New conflicts are arising around concepts like Human Rights, questioning any claims for universality. The state of globality and the dissolution of borders that Steger and Sassen have theorized, seem to be still far from reality, in a world where national and global interest diverge significantly, on what has been postulated as common ground. (Brems, 2001)

Another cultural clash can be observed in conflicts between the economic interest in the principle of intellectual property and the individual interest in the freedom to share and use common goods. Both positions clash on questions of the validity of patents and trademarking. How can any institution or individual claim possession over a piece of creativity when ideas never exist in a vacuum but are born out of a specific cultural context, taking inspiration from many previous forms? An example for this conflict is the debate at UNESCO about authenticity. How valid is the test of authenticity in the face of the fact that authenticity is such a fluid concept? Is declaring something as authentic anything more than just another process of cultural imperialism, of arbitrarily differentiating between valuable and expandable culture? (Starn, 2002)

Then, there is the conflict between supporters of a world of free trade and those that emphasize the importance of local, regional and national sovereignty. Does the right to have access to all kinds of global products and ideas outweigh the right of protection of local ecosystems? How should we value food sovereignty versus the Human Right of access to food? (Beuchelt, 2012)

Essentially, globalization has shown that there are important, unresolved issues in the global debate, specifically in the fields of responsibility allocation, governance and ideology. But what lies at the heart of all of these conflicts is the process of cultural Othering. Cultural Othering is based on the idea that each culture has developed as a separate entity, largely independent from other

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cultures, to form an inherently unique space that is hard to access or understand from the outside (Weiguo, Q., 2013). The problem that lies in cultural Othering is that it implicitly promotes racism and intercultural conflict, because perceiving cultures as separate entities lends itself to a categorization between cultures similar to one's own and 'strange' or 'foreign' cultures. The previously mentioned debates on Human Rights, free trade and authenticity are problematic, because they have been born out of a US-centric world view, which emphasizes individual freedom and a capitalist perspective on property over values emphasized by other cultures.

How to combat cultural Othering? Richard Shuhman has theorized that the concept of *somaesthetics* may prove to be a possible solution. According to Shuhman, the problem of cultural Othering lies in its visceral and emotional nature. The feeling of estrangement in the face of what is perceived as the Other supersedes any purely logical explanation. So instead of arguing away cultural differences, he proposes to pay close attention to our physical sensations in these situations, in order to overcome the feeling of estrangement. To him, feelings and tastes are results of experience and socio-cultural education, rather than instinctual features. Consequently, he postulates that tolerance is similarly an educable character trait. (Shuhman, 2002:109-110)

The major problem I see in Shuhman's proposal is that it seems overly centered on the individual's experience. Certainly, there is an individual dimension to cultural Othering and awareness raising exercises can prove as an effective tool in transforming fear and repulsion in the face of the Other into tolerance. However, in order to tackle racism and cultural misunderstandings at large, individual efforts need to be preceded by solid cultural education at the social level.

I believe that one of the most promising tools for introducing more tolerance into cultural education can be found in the notion of global authenticity and in the understanding of global cultural products. As discussed in the previous chapters, the term authenticity has so far been used, especially in relation to the UNESCO debate about cultural heritage, to vaguely describe the special features of cultural products. I have proposed a more streamlined understanding of authenticity as

the inherent aesthetic value of a cultural entity. Consequently, cultural products are the carriers of authenticity, as they, on the one hand, give their users access to the aesthetics of their embedded culture and, on the other, allow for the transformation of the embedded culture through processes of globalization and creolization. Once a cultural product becomes exposed to globalization, in the form of spatial relocation, its embedded authenticity, or cultural aesthetic, similarly becomes transformed, reinterpreted and adapted, to create a new, spatially independent, global authenticity.

This new notion of global authenticity and global aesthetics allows for the destruction of the concept of the Other, as it combats the notion that authenticity is merely a static signifier of originality. Global authenticity allows us to understand that there is no Other, that culture only ever gets reproduced and reinterpreted in new forms and that this change to a cultural form, the transformation from local to national to global authenticity, diversifies the aesthetic properties of the cultural product rather than estranging it.

The best way to promoting this notion of global authenticity and of loosening the stranglehold that nationalism and racism hold in the global arena may be social movements. Once the protests against US American cultural and economic dominance grows louder, change is bound to happen. The strengthening of other centers of globalization can only be furthered by a stronger commitment to global authenticity and a more vocal fight to accept new forms not as threats but as contributors to a bigger aesthetic diversity.

<u>Conclusion</u>

This research has attempted to add to the knowledge pool in the field of globalization, by reviewing the relevant theories about processes of globalization, introducing the concept of glocalization and then looking at cultural products and how they are transformed when exposed to glocalization. At the case of Japanese Tea Ceremony, challenges and opportunities that arise from the globalization of a cultural product have been examined. As a result, this analysis has brought forward a new model of glocalization that can help understand how globalization processes affect certain cultural products and why.

The steps highlighted in this glocalization model, the transformation from a local to a national cultural product, its standardization and commodification, the process of spatial relocation into a new niche in a foreign market, and finally its diversification and adaptation in that foreign market, have been outlined. Furthermore, the analysis has shown that through the successful introduction of a cultural product into a foreign market and its active engagement with the locally specific cultures, the groundwork for the creation of an entirely new, creolized, cultural good is laid.

From an anthropological perspective, this research has proven that the globalization of a cultural product fundamentally alters the relationship between the product and its spatial limitations. Throughout the process of globalization, the cultural product changes from a local to a national, towards a global and eventually glocalized product. Alongside the cultural product itself, the authenticity attributed to it, defined as the sum of its aesthetic values, similarly surpasses the correlation with its place of origin. Rather than remaining immanently tied with a certain local space and a certain specified form, globalization allows authenticity to become a diversified, independent value, open to adaptation and reinterpretation.

For the case of Japanese Tea Ceremony in Germany and Switzerland, it has been shown that the practice in 2017 is still at the stage of a niche practice in both countries. Some pragmatic

adaptations, specifically to the physical elements of the practice, as well as the social elements like the teacher-student relationship and the concept of *kaizen* in the classroom have been made. Yet, tea ceremony in Germany and Switzerland is still far from developing as an independent cultural practice, let alone a creolized practice solidly integrating elements from the local general culture. Nevertheless, students and instructors in both countries have shown a willingness to continue and further their interpretation of Japanese Tea Ceremony, explicitly as not a mere copy of the national cultural product of Japanese Tea Ceremony, but as a legitimate alternate version, made authentic precisely by the unique changes to its social and philosophical core.

At this point, it is important to realize that this project has been hardly more than a starting point for further research. In the attempt to identify some of the key elements that characterize the globalization process of cultural products, I have intentionally focused solely on one cultural practice in Japanese Tea Ceremony, in one specific local environment, Germany and Switzerland. With both regards to research about Japanese Tea Ceremony abroad specifically, as well as other fine arts and cultural products in a wider sense, there is still a lot of unexplored potential to verify or criticize common theories in the field of globalization studies. Furthermore, both the research case at hand and cultural practices in general deserve further analysis not only from an anthropological, but also from geopolitical, historical and sociological perspectives.

Temporary and financial constraints have hindered me from following up this research at this point, but it seems apparent that breaking the stranglehold that economic perspectives have been holding over the field of globalization can only be beneficial in creating a broader field of interest open to cross-disciplinary analysis. The 21st century may be the period when cultural interests overtake economic allures as the major driving force of globalization processes. Especially with the advent of the internet, as not only a library of the cultures of the world, but a new market space and network for cross-cultural interaction, the importance of cultural globalization as a research field will only keep growing from here.

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Annex 1 – Interview Questionnaire A

Date: Nationality: Name of Participant:
Name of the School: Age: Gender:

Fieldwork Interview and Observation Sheet; A – Teachers

1. Imagine someone who has never heard about Japanese Tea Ceremony. How would you explain to them what it is?

2. How and when did you first come in contact with Japanese Tea Ceremony? What is your involvement now?

3. Briefly, what role do you think you and your school play in the world of Japanese Tea Ceremony (in your region, nationally, worldwide)? Are you involved in some kind of tea ceremony network?

4. If somebody would want to become an instructor in your organization, what training and or qualifications would they need? What character traits are neccessary for this job?

5. How does your school get access to products needed for the tea ceremony? Have you ever had problems procuring certain items or are there any things that you just cannot get access to? How are you dealing with these issues?

6. What organizations and/or personalities in the world of Japanese Tea Ceremony do you look up to? Do you want to become like them someday?

7. Where do you see yourself in 5 years? What are the main goals for you personally and for your organization in regards to Tea Ceremony?

Annex 2 – Interview Questionnaire B

Date: Nationality: Name of Participant:
Name of the School: Age: Gender:

Fieldwork Interview and Observation Sheet; B – Students

1. Imagine someone who has never heard about Japanese Tea Ceremony. How would you explain to them what it is?

2. How and when did you first come in contact with Japanese Tea Ceremony? Why did it seem interesting to you?

3. Were you interested in Japan and Japanese Culture before you started engaging in Tea Ceremony? Did you for example study Japanese or participate in other Japanese practices like calligraphy?

4. Now, being engaged with tea ceremony, are you interested in visiting Japan someday? Has tea ceremony sparked an interest in Japan in you?

5. How much does it cost for you to participate in regular tea ceremony lessons? Do you think it's expensive? Do you feel the cost is justified?

6. During your tea ceremony lessons, have you ever encountered something that you thought was strange or that you cannot fully agree with?

7. Do you still see yourself continuing to practice tea ceremony in 5 years?

Annex 3 – Consent Form

Research Project Title: Difficulties and Chances of Marketing Japanese Tea
                            Ceremony in Europe - A Transcultural Case Study

Researchers name: Fabian Philippczyck

Research participant: _____

We do not anticipate that there are any risks associated with your participation, but you have the right to stop the interview or withdraw from the research at any time. This consent form is necessary for us to ensure that you understand the purpose of your involvement and agree to the conditions of your participation. We therefore ask you to read and then sign this form to certify that you approve the following:

- an interview will be recorded and a transcript will be produced
- you will be sent the transcript and given the opportunity to correct any errors
- the transcript will be analysed by the abovementioned researcher
- access to the interview transcript will be limited to the researcher and academic colleagues with whom they might collaborate as part of the research process
- all or part of the content of your interview may be used in academic papers
- any summary, interview content, or direct quotations from the interview made available through academic publication will be anonymized so that you cannot be identified, and care will be taken to ensure that other information in the interview that could identify yourself is not revealed
- the researcher will record and analyze part of the practice on video
- the actual recording will be destroyed after submission of the thesis
- any variation of these conditions will occur only with your further approval

_____   _____
       Participant's signature   Researcher's signature

Annex 4 - Ethics Statement

Hereby I ensure that I have written this Master Thesis entirely by myself, have not used any sources or materials except for those mentioned and that I have marked any direct or indirect quotations from printed and electronic sources.

The permission to record and anonymously publish excerpts of their speech has been obtained from all interview partners.
I have been given written consent to conduct research at the tea ceremony schools, the Japan External Trade Organization offices and the manufacturing site of the tea producers referred to in my thesis and I have not violated any privacy or secrecy regulations during my study.

This paper has not yet been handed in, in this or a modified version, for any other class.

Kyoto, 19th January 2018

Fabian Philippczyck