

Katachi kara haitte, kokoro ni itaru<sup>1</sup>:  
Teaching manners at the dôjô – Case study on Yûshingi-juku  
Takada Dôjô Finland

## Introduction

The idea for this topic came from my iaidô teacher, when he concluded our training once by telling us to mind our manners even better than before on next summer's training seminar. Sensei's wife would be coming along to teach us, this would be her first time in Scandinavia and we wouldn't want to shock her too much with our barbaric loss of manners, would we? I found this an interesting remark, as I've been thinking of our training always as very formal compared to some seminars I've participated.

Iai (居合い) or battô (抜刀), drawing the sword from its scabbard, is an old Japanese martial art. It was first gathered under one school by a samurai called Hayashizake Jinsuke no Shigenobu around the year 1600, after an inspirational dream received from kami. He himself named his school Shinmei Musô Ryû, and after his death his pupils named it again as Shin Musô Hayashizaki Ryû. This school is the starting point from which the iaidô schools that are still around draw their lineages. Because it was practised by the bushi or soldiers in the time they still were around and carrying swords, it is distinguished from the modern gendai budô, like karate and judô. Even so, the iai school I did my field work upon, Musô Shinden Ryû, was renamed and modified somewhat in the beginning of the 20th century, by a renowned swordsman named Nakayama Hakudo. He also "do-ified" the art, giving it the name of iaidô, the way of iai, and though he was the headmaster, sôke, of his own branch descending directly from Hayashizake, he never named a successor. This means that the variation of techniques inside the school is great, since there's no one person who keeps it all in his hands.

The article I refer to in this report handled the growth of Austrian judo culture, and about judo's problems in global scale.<sup>2</sup> One of the biggest differences between the article and my own case study is that unlike with judo, there is no transnational iaidô culture. Iaidô is still firmly centered in Japan, and there are no international organizations with grading or quality control rights. All trainees wanting to grade must belong to a Japanese dôjô and a Japanese organization. These Japanese organizations are very loose and there are more than one of them, and they do not have international standards for dan grades that everyone would follow. This results in a situation quite opposite that there is with judo grades: while in judo the relation

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<sup>1</sup> 形から入って、心に至る: Entering through the form, reaching to the heart

<sup>2</sup> Frühstück and Manzenreiter 2001. All referrals to "the article" from now on are to this.

between the dan levels and the skill is more unified on the international level where an international standard is applied in gradings, and the most variation can be seen on national level where local federations control the gradings, in iaidô the unity is biggest between the members of the japanese dôjô, usually a local federation of Musô Shinden Ryû trainees, but on the international level there hardly seems to be any unity at all. All the finnish Musô Shinden Ryû trainees are members of one japanese dôjô, Yûshingi-juku, whose teacher is Takada Gakudo sensei.<sup>3</sup> This gives us enough unity in way of training to be able to compare all the finnish iaidô clubs in a meaningful manner.

### Aim of my fieldwork: What does "Finnish iaidô culture" mean?

The aim of my fieldwork is to study what kind of localization processes can be found in the dôjô manners taught in Finland, compared to what is taught or expected from the trainees in sensei's own dôjô in Japan. The techniques that are taught are the same, but is there a difference in the atmosphere: are things eased up for the westerners, or on the contrary, is there self-made a pressure to be more japanese than the japanese themselves? As cutting people to small bits with swords is definitely a thing of the past, is there more emphasis on spiritual growth than on the "practically useless" technique itself? Is the form only emptiness, or is there something more, maybe practical meanings under it? These were some of the questions I had in mind when I started with this assignment. I will also divide my material with the three dimensions of cultural representation as discussed in the article, ideological, material and social, and see which one of them changes most in the localization and which one stays identical with the japanese model.

My work will be mainly based on the information I gathered by sending out questionnaires to the older members of the clubs around Finland. I got responses of 17 members. They have been training Musô Shinden Ryû iaidô from 3,5 to over 20 years, and everyone has been teaching for some time, from either teaching the basics to beginners or even holding weekend seminars in Finland and acting as judges in grading ceremonies.<sup>4</sup> In the questionnaire<sup>5</sup> they were asked to tell what they taught about different fields of behaving the right way: ceremonies, right clothing, handling the sword etc. I also divided each category in the six parts according to the level of the situation, to see if there would be differences between the basics taught in the first 5 months of training, a summer seminar where sensei would be teaching or the formal situation of a grading ceremony. In addition of my gathered information, I will use my own observations from the dôjô.

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<sup>3</sup> For the sake of clarity, from now on I will use the term "sensei" of only Takada Gakudo, and "teacher" of all our finnish trainees when they are in the role of a teacher. Sempai will of course refer to a senior trainee.

<sup>4</sup> See Appendix 1

<sup>5</sup> See Appendix 2

## Performing the ceremonies

Every training begins the same way. Trainees line up from the oldest to the youngest, and they bow for the "center" of the hall, to the teacher and to their swords. Only after this may the actual training begin. The training also ends with bows. The word for a bow, "rei" (礼), besides the physical movement of bowing, has a broader meaning of ceremonies, courtesy, etiquette and appreciation, so the bow should not be an empty movement. It is the beginning of the training, so the mindset should change at this point. After the bows it is strictly business.

The ceremonies are taught in the very beginning. The usual way of taking new trainees in is to have a special course about the basics of iaidô for the beginners only that lasts for about 5 months. After this course they should be able to participate in regular training and seminars. This means also the knowledge of proper manners, including the ceremonies. During the course they will be rehearsed step by step as long as necessary, and after the course the ceremonies should be known by heart. This is nearly never the case, and when needed the teacher will go through them in regular training, either with everybody or with the individual in need of help. With time the requirements will of course rise, and where it is enough for some years just to be able to get through it all with the least possible noise and hustle, more advanced trainees are expected to get through it silently while keeping their attention in the surroundings. If beginning students have to keep their minds in getting all the moves right, with time it should begin to come first automatically and ultimately from the heart.

I also raised the hypothetical question of what each one would do, if someone in their class wouldn't want to bow, i.e. for religious reasons. The case has never risen in Finland, but everyone who told their feelings about it told that they wouldn't take it. It's all or nothing, and if someone wouldn't be ready to bow this would be the wrong place for that person. On the other hand, as long as you performed the proper ceremonies, no one would be interested about to whom or what you were bowing to.

The importance of performing the ceremonies right can be seen clearly in the grading ceremonies. First-timers can be instructed even in the middle of their own grading if they forget something, but on the higher levels they are very much a part of the grading as a whole. Mistakes and carelessness will be reflected in the points, and sensei can disqualify an otherwise good dan level grading on the sole basis of an accidental dropping of a sageo cord. Sensei himself has told in his dôjô that both the kata and the reihô are important, and both must be done correctly and with care.

## Listening to your teacher

The rule of thumb "teacher is always higher" applies here too, in this case meaning that teacher shouldn't need to look upwards to the students when teaching. The proper way taught to trainees is to sit in seiza at all times when listening to the teacher. In formal situations this is the only possible way. However, this is one of the things western trainees seem to have problems with, so outside formalities in regular training or Finnish seminars sitting cross-legged is usually a valid alternative if and when seiza starts to feel uncomfortable. When a teacher has a long story to tell, he usually will

tell in the beginning people to sit more comfortably, but even then the posture should remain straight with no slumping, and soles of the feet should be hidden by the hakama. Sitting in seiza is always encouraged, as it can be learned with only time and pain.

Knee injuries are the only valid reason for standing up at all times, but then even the ceremonies, otherwise done from the seiza, can be done standing. The other deviation of the rule is when teacher comes to correct someone in the middle of the technique. In that case one shouldn't move from the posture before teacher has corrected it and then go on with the technique. In the regular training people can be seen listening or watching a demonstration standing up, maybe to see better, but this was seen as "bad" manners. In the home dôjô it wasn't seen as a grave mistake, even though the teachers would remind about it from time to time, but in a more formal situation it wouldn't be tolerated.

Trainees are allowed to ask questions in the middle of training, and good questions were seen as one way for the teacher to see what the student has understood. No specific rules outside normal politeness are used when trying to get the teacher's attention, normal ways being raising a hand or otherwise discreetly signal the need of help. Interrupting the teacher and arguing against him were seen as very bad manners, and not to be tolerated. Sensei's summer seminars were a different matter. There only the dan level students are expected to ask questions during the training, and lower trainees can only ask clarifying questions if sensei comes to teach them personally. Otherwise the proper way of listening is to sit straight in seiza, and at most say "hai" in proper gaps, no matter how much one understood. However there are some practical points that enforce this kind of procedure: First of all, there's the linguistic problem, as sensei speaks only Japanese and there's no interpretation in the training hall. Secondly, the training time in the basic level training is very short, and there's no time for long explanations, even if the trainee would speak Japanese. On the other hand, the best time for questions in sensei's seminars is the evenings or lectures, when there is interpretation and enough time. There all levels of trainees can and are encouraged to ask questions.

## Behaving during the training

Interestingly this was the one thing that had the biggest difference between what is taught in the beginning and what really happens during the training, with a lot of "common sense should be used" -comments.

The only thing that didn't change according to the age of trainees was coming to and leaving the training hall. The main policy was of course that you come on time and leave only after it's over. If one gets late, he does the ceremonies quietly near the door and then sits in seiza to wait for the permission from the teacher to start training. If one has to leave early he must get a permission beforehand from the teacher, and then he performs the ceremonies again quietly by himself out of the way, and leaves the room without disturbing the others. Someone thought that in bigger seminars, even sensei's summer seminars, one could join discreetly the training without waiting the permission from the teacher, as there can be too many trainees in the hall for the

teacher to notice a lone figure sitting near the door. This is however always a special case, and as a rule everyone should come on time.

After the training has begun and everyone has taken his place, the places should be kept. All unnecessary movement, drinking, breaks, walking away from your own place, is denied without a permission from the teacher. The reason for this is the safety of everyone, as the places are usually taken so as not to be in anyone's way. The less space per trainee there is, the more important this will become. Even though walking around is not tolerated, everyone should still watch his own surroundings, so as not to hit anyone or be hit himself, and move accordingly. This is taught from the beginning as an important part of training. Even though the beginners learn the rule of not moving, the more you train, the more you're expected to use your common sense. If you cut yourself, it's better to walk straight to the bandaid than to wait for the teacher's attention and to bleed on your tsukamaki. If you need to see yourself in the mirror, you can ask to change places with the one who is currently in front of it. The older trainees can often group themselves a bit tighter to be able to get as many in front of the mirror as can easily be done, even though it breaks the symmetry a bit, or move closer to be able to see the teacher from a better angle during a demonstration. This ability to move by yourself was also mentioned as a thing that the beginners should learn as fast as possible.

Talking in the dōjō was somewhat a grey zone. Beginners are of course kept busy enough with learning the forms and movements of the kata, and except for questions talking is discouraged. For the first years the silence still holds, but again the more you train, the more the rules seem to loosen up. Everyone agreed on that while at the dōjō, you're there to train and not to hang around. Everyone also agreed on the point that with the more advanced students the need to think and discuss the technique grows compared to the beginning trainees. When the talk was about technique and training, the teachers were willing to let it go on as long as it wasn't disturbing others, but one of them clearly said that in case of questions, it is always better to ask from the person teaching the class than from you sempai. Even though this talking in the senior end was seen as necessary at times, this was also something all the teachers agreed needed some added discipline in their own dōjōs.

Though the practise taught at the beginning differed with the daily practise at the dōjō, during sensei's visits everyone stressed the importance of recalling the discipline. No one even thought about talking to each other in sensei's seminars. At his home dōjō in Japan people mostly concentrate on their own practise, and aside from the usual "it's hot in here, isn't it?" comment that you can hear virtually everywhere in the japanese summer, there wasn't too much time for talking. When someone needed a short break, they just sat in seiza for a time and then continued, but drinking breaks were forbidden.

## Dressing correctly

The right outfit for iai is a normal budo outfit, preferably with an iai-coat, as it is longer than the normal karate/judo coat, with hakama and an iai-obi. Accessories needed include of course a sword, a wooden bokken or iaitō, and kneepads.

The beginners are expected to buy the kneepads as soon as possible, preferably to their second or third class, but otherwise they can get through the course with an old budo outfit or a jogging suit. During the course a bigger order of suitable clothes is usually made, and after that the trainees are expected to show up with a suitable budo outfit and the obi. A hakama is not required in the beginning, but after moving to the regular training it should be bought as soon as possible. In special cases even older trainees can show up without the whole, like without a hakama or even without their iaitô and train with a bokken, because everyone thought training more important than what you were wearing.

Beginners can participate on seminars without an iaitô or a hakama, but in their first gradings they have to have them. Here the procedure changes with the teacher, as some teachers let their students to gradings with a loaned sword, and some require a certain time of practice with your own sword before allowing one to the gradings. The sword should be bought as soon as possible, and without it serious training is nearly impossible. The gap between the ending of the course and buying the sword seems to be the time where most of the beginners quit, leaving only few left to train longer.

In regular training the outfit should be in good condition, but only in grading ceremonies, formal situations and sensei's seminars this was seen as absolutely necessary. In gradings a shabby outfit would affect the points, and as soon as a trainee gets himself a white "undercoat", he usually starts using it in gradings and formal situations. The teachers said they will make the point about the importance of a neat outfit from time to time to their students, but wouldn't throw anyone out for that. If it would continue it was seen as a different matter, but I got the feeling that it wasn't really a problem anywhere. Wearing of any kinds of jewelry was discouraged, as "dôjô isn't a nightclub", but they also said that it isn't necessary to take off all your piercings at your own dôjô. Someone wouldn't object small rings or necklaces, another would allow small earrings in his training, but everyone agreed that it can be dangerous, as in all budo training, and should not be done. One teacher raised also the problem of tattoos, as due to yakuza connotations they're not seen as proper to any budoka in Japan, but "what can you do about it here?"

There are proper colors and improper colors to be worn, and the only way to be out of trouble is to listen to your elders before you buy anything. Of the overall outfit, black is favored and a white budo outfit with a black hakama is also common. An all-white outfit divides opinions due to its symbolism of being prepared to go to the very end and die, so some teachers do not encourage buying one. All-white is still on the list of accepted colors, but no one would let people train in any color they wanted. Here it was stressed that it's the teacher's job to tell their students what is accepted and what is not. If someone goes and buys a sword with a red scabbard, it will be very unpleasant to go and tell him that he can't train with that after his put all his money on it. This was one thing that the teachers were not ready to give up on. While talking about the right outfits, some did tell their students about the various meaning of different colors, but most often one hears just that "dark and subdued colors are to be favored" and that "you should always ask before putting your money to something".

## Handling your sword

Handling the sword<sup>6</sup> was seen as one of the most important ways for a trainee to show his education in manners. The answers were the same: you **don't** step over a sword, you **don't** touch someone else's sword, you **don't** leave it anywhere where it can be in other's way. These rules are taught to beginners, and after the course they are rehearsed as long as needed, just like the ceremonies. The common sentiment was that when you get your own sword, you should know how to take care of it. Small mistakes in handing a sword to someone were tolerated, but again with time everyone should learn to do it correctly.

I didn't find any "spiritual" or "samurai" values attached to the sword in my answers. One person quoted Nitobe<sup>7</sup> and mentioned that a real sword must be handled with respect since it is "the soul of a samurai", but another told that it must be handled with care because it is the most important tool of your trade, and therefore must be kept in the best possible condition to be able to use if needed.

One problem that was raised was the tendency of trainees not to see bokken as a sword and handle it more roughly, even though it should be handled with the same care, being just as much a substitute for a katana that an iaitô is.

## Sempai-kôhai relations

Many people answered that in their opinion they taught only a proper attitude between a teacher and student, not any special sempai-kôhai attitudes, but still in every answer the internalization of that system, no matter by what name they called it, was clearly seen.

The only person who was clearly seen as sensei at all times and all places, was Takada sensei himself. In Finland there aren't any sensei-status teachers<sup>8</sup>, only sempai of different levels. In the dôjô the teacher is formally the sensei, and students are expected to behave accordingly, and the formality was seen as making the teaching more easy, for both the student and the teacher. Outside the dôjô or the teaching situation the relations come back on the level of the finnish society. Many stressed the point that we are not japanese, and this kind of thing is not inherent to our society, but in the dôjô there are different rules.

Even outside the dôjô everyone felt their kôhai-position towards some of their sempai, mainly their own teachers. The easiest way to see this was when their sempai asked them to do something training-related, teach a beginners class, help with arranging events etc. In these situations many would do what they were asked to, even when they weren't too enthusiastic about it. The teacher should be respected as an elder with more wisdom, but also as a representative of the tradition you were training in.

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<sup>6</sup> Bokken, iaitô or a live blade/katana

<sup>7</sup> Inazo Nitobe 1905, Bushido: The Soul of Japan

<sup>8</sup> Officially the teaching grades in iaidô begin from 6<sup>th</sup> dan, and the oldest teachers in Finland are currently 5<sup>th</sup> dan

As one person put it down, in iaidô there is a master-apprentice system, and if you want to receive teaching, you must behave accordingly. The beginners are told to respect the older sempai, but otherwise the proper attitude is shown by your own example. Even though this is a foreign notion in our culture, there hadn't been bigger problems with it.

The relation was not seen as only one-sided, but there's also the duty of a sempai to his kôhai: to teach, give advise and kick one forward when needed. I mentioned the need of advise when buying training gear already, but another important point that was mentioned was to tell how sensei's summer seminars worked, how you must behave with sensei, and to drag the students there<sup>9</sup>. Teacher's job is also to tell his students when they should go grading and when it would be best to rehearse a bit longer.

On top of everything said, this is the way the system works. If sensei notices shortcomings, he will mention about them for his main students, who will in turn mention it to the teacher of the club, who will then take it to the individual or to the whole group, depending of the situation. Also, if someone noticed shortcomings while visiting another dôjô, he would inform a sempai of that dôjô, but a sempai who was younger than himself.

## Besides the physical

Everyone agreed that there is something in iaidô besides the physical performing the kata. They didn't agree on exactly what is is. One set of answers were of the ethical side: pacifism, the ability to solve situations without drawing your sword, ethical thinking and honesty. The other side talked about learning patience, thoroughness, responsibility and consideration. It is something that is needed to be able to continue training. When the beginners class starts, there's always plenty of people, but it was mentioned that teachers can often easily see who will drop out. If someone starts with thoughts about some kind of spiritual training, he will probably quit as the training is very repetitive and physical, and jewels of "spiritual wisdom" are very very scarce during the training. Trying to have a different hobby than everyone else reaches as a motivation for a bit longer, but even that is not enough to keep one training for very long. To keep going, you must find your own "thing" from it.

Where is this side taught, then? Besides some stories and copies given out to beginners about the history and culture, most were against any special lecturing about the right morals during the training. Most told that they teach by their example, not by words. It is learned from the problems that rise during the training, and addressing them, like being able to keep your composure and perform the kata during the grading, even while forgetting to breathe and making mistakes. It comes through the internalization process of the ceremonies and good manners taught at the dôjô. It can be learned by meeting different sensei, training with them and listening to their stories

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<sup>9</sup> It costs more and lasts longer than normal weekend seminars, so often there are students who don't come for one reason or another. It is still the most important seminar of the year, so the older students try to speak reason and encourage their kôhai to come.

and replies after training. But most importantly, it is learned by doing, training and suffering one's way through it all.

## Conclusions

### 1. Summary of the material

As I expected, there wasn't any big variations in the answers between members of different clubs. Some differences in attitudes, discipline etc, but the basic opinions were the same.

The base is built during the first months of training, as after that the beginners need to be able to participate the regular training with older students. During their course there is a strong discipline held, and the beginners don't have time for fooling around. In the beginning technique and repeating movements are emphasised, and this tendency can be seen in the lower end of trainees in all training, at all places. This will have the effect of narrowing down students, who more often than not come with wrong ideas of what iaidô practise really is, including notions from cool samurai skills to zen-like spirituality.

After the trainee has started to train with others, he is expected to learn to use his common sense by watching his elders. In sensei's dōjō this was one of the main channels of teaching dōjō manners, but in Finland the basics are taught explicitly for the beginners, and only after that the learning of each club's practical (as opposed to the formal) rules will be done by watching the more advanced trainees. One informant compared the atmosphere of the Japanese dōjō to a family, but told that the Finnish dōjōs have a more military-like feeling. As most of Finnish trainees are males and have been into army, I'm not surprised. This could certainly be one reason for the very formal atmosphere during sensei's seminars, which is different from all the other budō seminars with high-ranking teachers I've been attending. The regular training in each club was seen as the most informal training situation, and this informality was also felt as a problem from time to time.

Iaidô has another side on it besides the dull physical training, that is needed to keep the motivation up, but also without which the trainee will never mature or grow as a practitioner of iai. Without exactly agreeing what it is, everyone agreed that it comes only by doing and training. They did talk about it to their students from time to time even in the beginning, but any "preaching" or "guru-like" manners were looked hard upon as that kind of attitude didn't in their opinion have a place in budô.

I return to the questions I asked in the beginning of this research:

Is the form only emptiness, or is there something more, maybe practical meanings under it? I found that there were reasons behind every move and every rule. Safety was one of the most common reasons, but after the trainees were able to understand the meanings behind the rules, they were expected to behave according to the meanings using their common sense, not the written form of the rule. During sensei's visits the rules were again observed with great discipline and according to some comments, military-like precision.

Are things eased up for the westerners, or on the contrary, is there a pressure to be more Japanese than the Japanese themselves? Many answers emphasised the point that even though the art itself is Japanese and very culturally bound, we are Finnish, not Japanese. Though understanding some areas of Japanese culture was seen as important in giving reasons for doing things the way we do and understanding the art itself, I could see a distinctive "Finnish Iaidô-culture" in the responses, accentuated by the need of "getting back in shape" before sensei's visits every year.

As cutting people to small bits with swords is definitely a thing of the past, is there more emphasis on spiritual growth than on the "practically useless" technique itself? The final aim of practising Iaidô was seen as some sort of character building, but the main emphasis is still on the physical training, as it was seen as the only way to get to that final destiny. As Takada sensei is told say in end the training at his dôjô: "Tadashiku, tadashiku, katachi kara haitte, kokoro ni itaru".<sup>10</sup>

## 2. Which elements are the most persistent, and which are prone to change?

As in the article, the cultural representations that Finnish trainees need to handle with during their training can be divided in three different dimensions. They are the ideological, the material and the social.

The ideological dimension refers to entities and processes of the mind, everything that has to do with thinking. Of my material it would cover the moral or ethical side, the common sense and understanding the rules, and understanding the meanings of different ritual forms. The material dimension refers to the various modes and artifacts that make the meanings accessible to the senses, and I would label the clothes, the sword and the physical movements of the ritual as belonging to this class. The last, the social dimension is about social structures and how the cultural ideas are implanted and distributed thorough the community, and it would cover the sempai-kôhai relationships.

Of these three the material dimension was the most strictly upheld. The ritual form was seen as inviolable, most so with the ceremonies in the beginning and the end of the training, but also in the ways to handle a sword or how to dress in different situations. As long as it looks good, no one cares to whom you are bowing to. In this sense the ideological side would seem to be the one dimension with least importance. This is not so, however. Even though variation was big, it was agreed that without understanding and having this ideological dimension, one wouldn't either get forward or even continue with the training.

The social dimension was both Japanese and local. It wasn't taught as strongly to the beginners as the material side, but with time it was a clear case of self-colonization. Everyone agreed that the system works differently from the western style of learning and teaching, but everyone was willing to uphold and respect the Japanese style of teacher-student -relations. Iaidô was seen as culturally bound tradition, and the

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<sup>10</sup> 正しく、正しく、形から入って、心に至る: Correctly, correctly, (Iaidô's influence) enters through the form, reaches the heart

learning had to be sought within the rules of the tradition, not by your own whims. This is probably enforced by the Japan-centeredness of iaidô, as the only way to really learn is through the Japanese, as an international federation is not an option, as it was with the jûdôka.

### 3. Well, what is a Finnish iaidô culture?

The Finnish iaidô culture seems to be very conscious and proud of its Japanese-ness and relations to Takada sensei's dôjô, all the while it has its own way of doing things here in Finland. Some answers mirrored this: there are some customs that are known to come from outside of Yûshingi-juku but which sensei hasn't yet changed. Is it because he eases up things for us as foreigners, or because the customs are sometimes over 20 years old predating his career in Finland, and it's easier for him to let us continue with them, that no one could say. Whatever the answer may be, it is clear that besides the Finnish culture and Takada sensei, there are many other traditions, persons and ideas affecting the Finnish Musô Shinden Ryû –scene.

Compared to the article's transnational judo culture, and its strength over the Kôdôkan, the case in Finland is not so clearly cut. There is a strong national iaidô culture in Finland, of that there are no doubts. The difference is that the Finnish trainees are still very much dependant of Japan, as technically we're Finnish trainees of a Japanese dôjô, so we are still conforming ourselves and playing by the Japanese rules. On the other hand, this was seen mostly as a desired thing that would need no changes. In a way we are still in the self-colonization phase, and as iaidô hasn't a global agenda as Kanô Jigoro seemed to have, I doubt that the situation won't be changing soon. The change might still be needed, as the amount of iai trainees is low both in Japan and internationally, so I don't see the change of focus from Japan to the international arena as impossible. Another question is, if the change is desired or not, and how it will affect the whole.

### Referred articles:

Frühstrück, Sabine and Manzenreiter, Wolfram. "Neverland Lost. Judo Cultures in Austria, Japan and elsewhere struggling for Cultural Hegemony at the Vienna Budokan" in Befu, Harumi and Guichard-Anguis, Sylvie (eds.). *Globalizing Japan. Ethnography of the Japanese Presence in Asia, Europe and America*. London and New York: Routledge Curzon, 2001, pp. 69-93.