2007

This Sporting Life: Sports and Body Culture in Modern Japan

William W. Kelly
Yale University

Atsuo Sugimoto
Kyoto University

Recommended Citation

This Sporting Life

Sports and Body Culture in Modern Japan

Edited by

William W. KELLY

With

SUGIMOTO Atsuo

This Sporting Life

Sports and Body Culture in Modern Japan

YALE CEAS OCCASIONAL PUBLICATIONS

VOLUME 1

This Sporting Life

Sports and Body Culture in Modern Japan

Edited by

William W. KELLY

With

SUGIMOTO Atsuo

Council on East Asian Studies
Yale University
New Haven, Connecticut

2007

Table of Contents

PART TWO
Contemporary Cases

Foreword

This volume began over ten years ago with a conversation that I had with Professor Kiku Kōichi, then of Nara Women's University, when I first began to research Japanese baseball. It was he who so kindly introduced me to the scholars and scholarship of Japan sport studies and thus began a fruitful, continuing association.

I owe a very special debt to Professor Atsuo Sugimoto of Kyoto University of Education, who joined me in organizing an international conference on "Sport and Body Culture in Modern Japan" at Yale University on the weekend of March 31-April 2, 2000. Through his energy and his experience, we were able to bring together scholars from Japan, North America, and Europe with active research interests in the topic of the conference. Our aims were to foster closer dialogue between Japanese and foreign scholars of sport in Japan and to broaden the appreciation of sport's formative role in contemporary Japan. In this, it was remarkably successful, and much of the credit goes to Professor Sugimoto, who has assisted me with the editing of this volume.

The conference itself and the expenses of preparing this volume for publication have been generously borne by Yale's Council on East Asian Studies and its Sumitomo Japan Research Fund. I thank my Japan colleagues at Yale for many years of support and for their constant encouragement and good humor, and Abbey Newman of the Council for her keen design eye and helpful suggestions. Professor Susan Brownell read a full version of the manuscript and offered some astute commentary about the contributions and their connections to one another that has been most helpful in the final product. I also am indebted to Dr. Yuka Suzuki, who assisted me mightily in revising translations of Japanese drafts, and to Allison Alexy, who helped me prepare the volume. Formatting and design of the volume was done at Yale's Reprographics & Imaging Services, and I particularly thank graphic designer Lynne Reichentahl for shepherding the project through to publication.

We are honored that the volume has been chosen to inaugurate a new publications series by the Council on East Asian Studies that will make available such international scholarly collaborations as ours. Professor Mimi Yiengpruksawan, long-serving (and long-suffering) chair of the Council, has been a cheerleader of this project from the start.

For Japanese personal names, we follow the Japanese convention of "Family Name First Name."

Introduction
Sports and Sport Studies in Japan

William W. Kelly

The organized sports of contemporary life are high public drama and grinding anonymous routine. They are imbued with deep emotion, constant mental calculation, and enormous physical exertion. Sports are watched and played throughout the world with passion and partisanship. They are pursued for profit, patriotism, and personal compulsiveness. They are spontaneous moments of pure action and visceral performance, but they are always embedded in long chains of stories and statistics. And sports are everywhere implicated in structures of power, both personal and collective—the variable powers of an athlete to compel her body with her spirit, of an owner to command a team with his financial clout, of fans to will a victory with their cheers. For any scholar of modern life, they offer splendid conjunctures of embodied actions and institutional forces.

This is as true in Japan as in the West. Despite prevalent images of a nation resolutely and exclusively at work, modern Japan has also been a nation at play. And within the worlds of leisure, recreation, and entertainment, sports have loomed large throughout the twentieth century. The broad contemporary sporting landscape includes indigenous sports that have been significantly reshaped from premodern practices of village and temple rituals (like sumo wrestling and field day events), from aristocratic pursuits (such as archery), and from martial training (like kendo). Equally prominent in contemporary Japan are sports that have been introduced from the West, sometimes in their original form and sometimes strikingly domesticated and reformed (like bicycle racing, mountaineering, baseball, and soccer).

Sports have long been embedded in community life, the educational system, the mass media, the corporate structures, and the nationalist sentiments of modern Japan. For over a century, they have been a crucial intersection of school pedagogy, corporate aims, media constructions, gender relations, and patriotic feelings. The chapters in this book highlight a wide range of sports, and together, they offer a significant window on to the ways that the sporting life animates the institutions of modern Japan.

The Japanese sportscape

National sportscapes can be roughly divided into those few countries in which a number of spectator sports vie more or less equally for attention and pres-

tige and those more numerous countries where a single dominant spectator sport overshadows others of more limited attraction. The United States is an example of the former type, as baseball, basketball, and football rival one another as "center sports" for time and resources. Japan is one of the many more numerous nations that have a single dominant sport and a penumbra of secondary sports. For much of the world, this center sport is soccer; occasionally it is cricket (as in South Asia and some Caribbean nations), even more rarely, ice hockey (for Canada).

For Japan, like several non-cricket Caribbean nations, the center sport has been baseball for the last sixty years, played at the youth level as Little League and secondary school teams, in universities and in semi-pro industrial leagues, in the Japanese professional leagues, and as adult recreation across the country. In participation, spectatorship, and media attention, then, baseball has dominated the sportscape as soccer dominates England and Brazil and cricket dominates India.

Nonetheless, we must immediately recognize this center sport is surrounded by a vast periphery of spectator and participant sports—perhaps most notably, sumo, whose year is organized around six fifteen-day tournaments, and more recently soccer, especially the J.League. Beyond this, the longstanding popularity of swimming, track and field, and other Olympic-inspired sports, together with tennis, golf, Formula-1 motor racing, and motocross remind us that despite national stereotypes of group-consciousness, Japanese have long been attracted to individual sports as enthusiastically as team sports!

Even this does not exhaust an enumeration of sports that have been popular in education and entertainment for over a century, including team sports of limited followership at the college and company level (rugby, American football, volleyball, ice hockey); outdoor adventure and endurance sports like mountain climbing, Arctic exploration, and sailing; martial art sports like judo and karate; and professional wrestling, both men's and women's. Finally—and at many points in the twentieth century the most popular and lucrative of all—there is the shadow sector of the Japanese sportscape, the unholy trinity of gambling sports: horse racing, velodrome cycling, and motorboat racing (e.g., Furukawa 1998).

The state of sport studies in Japan

Given their centrality in modern life, it is odd that sports, and what Susan Brownell (1995) has called more generally "body culture," were neglected for so long by mainstream social theory in the West. In Japan, too, the earliest

academic attention to sports was limited to those working in physical education, whose priorities were practical, pedagogical, and policy-related. The National Research Institute of Physical Education was formed in 1924, but its studies and surveys were intended to assist physical education policy planning and coordinate the training of teachers. Only recently have sociologists and historians taken the lead, broadening the focus on school physical education to sports and body culture across the society and shifting the perspective to critical, academic research.

Modern sports studies in Japan may be traced to the 1950s after a Faculty of Physical Education was established at the Tokyo University of Education in 1949.[1] The impetus for this was the postwar educational reforms, one of which was to require two years of physical education at the university level (in addition to its place in primary and secondary school curriculums). This created an immediate demand for PE graduates, and the first class (of what was called "sports sociology") graduated in 1952. In 1950, the Japan Society of Physical Education, Health and Sport Science (JSPEHSS) was formed, and much of its members' early research related to exercise and recreational programs for schools and corporate settings.

It wasn't until the 1960s that specialist sports research and advanced training emerged. In 1962, a Physical Education Sociology Section was created within the JSPEHSS, and with the rapid expansion of university education in this decade, graduate programs were established in a number of universities across the country. In 1965, Takenoshita Kyūzō and the urban sociologist Isomura Eiichi co-edited the first text, *Sport Sociology.* Asai Asa'ichi of Nara Women's University used the small-group dynamics of social psychology to explore the group dynamics of physical education instruction. However, there was little research on cultural or historical topics at this stage.

The 1964 Tokyo Olympics were a major impetus to sport studies as well as to national sports awareness and to government and corporate investment in sports and leisure facilities and programs. This national sports boom meant that much of this early research and publishing were shaped (and funded) by government policy directions. Especially common were surveys and analysis of sports activities and facilities in cities, especially Tokyo, in order to formulate effective citizen and school sports policies. Takenoshita's survey of academic research (1967a, see also 1967b) is instructive of the state of the field in that decade; much of the essay is an effort to distinguish a nascent sociology of sport from the dominance of physical education.

Thus serious academic work in sport sociology was not common until the 1970s, and it was influenced in part by translations of two classic European

texts. Roger Caillois's *Man, Play and Games* (French original, 1958) appeared in 1970, and Johan Huizinga's *Homo Ludens* (German original, 1944) in 1971. Both books directed Japanese scholarship to the cultural meanings of sports as play, and this was reflected in works such as Sugawara's *Introduction to Physical Education Sociology* (1975). Through the decade, university departments initiated graduate courses in sport sociology and sport history, and in 1972 the Research Journal of Sport Sociology was begun as an annual by the Physical Education Sociology Section.[2] Representative publications of the decade were Kinoshita's comprehensive history of sports (1970), Takenoshita and Sugawara's *Physical Education Sociology* (1972) and Takenoshita's 1972 *Play, Sports, and Physical Education.* Much of the research on the time was statistical analysis of survey data using Parsonian systems theory to analyze sports as a social subsystem. An exception was Tatanō Hideo, who was the first to propose a cultural model of sports.

The 1980s saw an impressive increase in the volume of research and in the range of more cultural approaches, including semiotic, phenomenological, and symbolic analyses and structuralism. We can see this reflected in the comprehensive three-volume series on sports sociology published in 1983 (Kumeno 1983, Saeki 1983, and Sugawara 1983) and in the later survey by Morikawa and Saeki (1988). Translations of books by important Western scholars like Allen Guttmann and Eric Dunning stimulated international comparisons and historical sociological inquiries (see, for example, Nakamura 1981 and Odagiri 1982).

In 1991, the Japan Sport Sociology Society (JSSS) was organized, marking the full ascendancy of academic sociological approaches to sport, leisure, and exercise. The first JSSS president was one of Japan's most eminent cultural sociologists, Inoue Shun. The Society has included scholars from social science and humanistic disciplines, including sociology, cultural anthropology, media studies, and philosophy. Its annual journal, *Supōtsu shakaigaku kenkyū* (its English title is *Japan Journal of Sport Sociology*), quickly became the leading outlet for critical sports studies. Many of the Japanese scholars represented in our conference and in this volume have been active in JSSS. The Society has been especially committed to enhancing international academic exchange, especially through hosting foreign scholars at its annual meetings and publishing their work in the meetings proceedings (e.g., JSSS 1998).[3]

This was the decade, then, when a mature social science of sport developed in Japan, centered on the JSSS and within the disciplines of sociology and history, but also including scholars from other perspectives (see Fujita and Ichimura 1993, Inoue 1993, and Kiku 2000 for brief overviews). Several of most well-known studies of the last ten years or so that offer some flavor

of range of interests are Kiku Kōichi's 1993 study of the professionalization of baseball in the early twentieth century, a striking application of Norbert Elias's figurational sociology; Sugimoto Atsuo's deployment of Goffman's frame analysis in analyzing recent transformations of modern sports (1995); Inagaki's historical approach to the postmodernization of sports (1995); Shimizu Satoshi's 1998 ethnographic study of a small rural high school that made it to the national high school tournament at Kōshien; Takahashi Yoshio (1994) overview of soccer sociology; Kuroda Isamu's 1999 study of the origins of the national radio broadcast morning exercises; and Yoshimi Shun'ya's cultural historical analysis (1999) of the school and community athletic field days that have been important physical competition festivals since the Meiji period. Two representative collections that draw together these and other scholars are those edited by Inoue and Kameyama on sports culture (1999) and by Sugimoto on body culture (2001). Kameyama's edited volume (1990) demonstrated the power of a phenomenological approach, Taki Kōji (1995) is a more speculative essay on sports cultural history (1995), and Tatano (1997) offers a broad introduction to method and theory in sports studies.

Given their creative deployment of Western social theory and critical sports studies, it surprising that so little of this scholarship has appeared in English. One exception is Abe Ikuo, who has published a number of articles through the *International Journal of the History of Sport* (e.g., Abe 1991, 2006; Abe, Kiyohara, and Nakajima 1992; Abe and Mangan 1997, 2002), but this is changing rapidly, in part occasioned by the 2002 World Cup (e.g., Kiku 2002; Nogawa and Maeda 1999, 2002; Ogasawara 2004; Shimizu 2002; Yamashita and Saka 2002). Of particular note is a recent volume edited by Joseph Maguire and Nakayama Masayoshi (2006), which samples Japanese sports work through ten short contributions, including chapters by several of the authors here (Kiku 2006, Takahashi 2006, and Yamashita 2006). The appearance of that volume and the present collection should finally make accessible to English-language readers something of the breadth of Japan sport studies.

The state of Japan sport studies outside of Japan

Foreign research and writing on sports in Japan have also accelerated significantly in the last decade or so, but many of the publications are so recent that they have yet to have much impact either in Japan studies or sport studies. William R. May (1989) and Gordon Daniels (1993) have provided useful articles that survey Japanese sports, based on both Japanese- and English-language

sources. Most importantly, Allen Guttmann and Lee Thompson (both of whom contribute here) have written a comprehensive book (2001) of sports history that is now the essential reference. Two recent articles by John Horne (1998, 2000) survey Japanese sports in terms of body culture and national policies of physical training, and in a more recent paper (2005), he offers a valuable overview about sports and the media in Japan.

Given baseball's place as center sport, Western fascination with sumo, and the international spread of Japanese martial arts, these three have long drawn most scholarly and journalistic attention. For baseball, the prolific writings of Robert Whiting for thirty years, in English and in Japanese, have had enormous influence on interpretations of the sport (see especially 1977, 1989, and 2004). Among more academic studies is the 1984 article by Brian Moeran that analyzes idioms of spirit and effort in the national high school baseball tournament and several valuable essays by another anthropologist, Charles Springwood (1992, 2000).Donald Roden's study of Ichikō, the First Higher School (1980a), contains a wealth of material on the emergence of sports clubs at the school in the 1880s and 1890s. His companion article (1980b) has been much cited for twenty-five years for its details of the exploits of the famous Ichikō baseball club, whose victories over American teams in the late 1890s essentially made baseball Japan's national pastime and defined the first era of the sport in Japan. An article by historian Sayuri Guthrie-Shimizu (2005) is a fascinating account of the trans-Pacific world of baseball in the early twentieth-century, and my own work is centered on the history and contemporary forms of baseball in the Kansai region, especially through a case study of the Hanshin Tigers professional baseball club.

Sumo and the martial arts have also drawn enormous popular attention in the West. If Japanese baseball is of interest for how Japan has absorbed a Western sport, these practices are of inverse curiosity as Japanese contributions to modern sporting form. Among the few academic studies of sumo in English are the articles by Harold Bolitho on sumo's role in Tokugawa popular culture (1987, 1988) and Yamaguchi's essay (1998) on its place in contemporary mass culture. Kenji Tierney and Soon-Hee Whang, contributing to this volume and elsewhere, are also doing important scholarship. The fascination of the so-called "martial arts" is suggested by the oxymoronic term; even in their original forms as military training practices many of them had aesthetic and spiritual overtones, and as modern body disciplines, they now conflate self-defense, sporting competition, and spiritual training. Several of Inoue Shun's writings on the creation of martial arts as organized regime of physical discipline in the late nineteenth century have appeared in English (see especially 1998). Among so-

cial science studies, John Donohue's ethnographic study (1991) of dojo training in several different martial arts schools is especially insightful. Richard Friman (1998), Stephen Chan (2000), and Kris Chapman (2004) offer recent analyses of violence and gender, Andreas Niehaus (2006) analyzes the cultural politics of including judo in the Olympics, and Frühstück and Manzenreiter's chapter (2001) is an example of another major theme in martial arts studies—the proliferation of hybrid and local forms as these practices globalize.

Soccer is yet another way in which Japan is inserted into a global sporting scene. Soccer actually appeared in Japan as baseball was developing, but it languished for much of the twentieth century as a minor school and company sport. The formation of a full professional league in 1991 with much commercial fanfare has raised its profile (Horne 1996, Moffett 2002, Watts 1998). The journalist Jonathan Birchall (2001) wrote an engaging account of following the Shimizu S-Pulse team over the 1999 season. The recruitment of several Japanese stars by European clubs and Japan's co-hosting of the 2002 World Cup with Korea have placed the sport on an even firmer footing, and recent frictions in matches with China portend ever more fervent interest in the run up to the 2008 Beijing Olympics. The collections edited by Horne and Manzenreiter 2002 and Manzenreiter and Horne 2004 are especially valuable for recent scholarship on Japan soccer.

Japan has been sending athletes to the Olympic Games since 1912 and won the rights to host the 1940 Games in Tokyo until its military aggression forced its withdrawal from sponsorship. The Games it later hosted in 1964 were hugely important in marking a self-confident return to a normal position in the international sports world, and it later hosted the Winter Olympics twice, in 1972 at Sapporo and in 1998 in Nagano. There is surprisingly little foreign scholarship thus far on Japan's participation in the Olympics and in the Asian Games, although there is some useful discussion in the Guttmann and Thompson history and in articles by James McClain (1990) and Morris Low (1999). Sandra Collins has written recently on the Olympics Games that weren't—the "missing" Olympics of 1940—and other aspects of Japan's early Olympism (2006, in press). Igarashi Yoshikuni's book on "bodies of memory" (2000) is a far-reaching exploration about the politics of memory in quarter of a century after World War II, and especially how the body was constructed and deployed for temporal (wartime and postwar time) and diplomatic (Japan/US) realignment across diverse arenas, including sports figures like the pro wrestler Rikidōzan, sports teams like the Yomiuri Giants, and sports mega-events like the 1964 Tokyo Olympics. The 1964 Olympics is also the subject of a German-language study by Christian Tagsold, who analyzes the intersections of ritual, politics, and cultural nationalism at the Games and beyond (2002, see Niehaus 2004 for an English-language review).

As an example of sports and leisure studies more generally we should note the ethnography of a Japanese mountain basin village that was the site of a ski development that was done by the Korean anthropologist Ok-pyo Moon. A recent series of articles by Richard Light on high school and university rugby in Japan explored its role in shaping and demonstrating notions of masculinity (1999a, 1999b, and 2000). Thomas Blackwood's 2005 dissertation also analyzed gender socialization through the lens of high school baseball clubs, and Peter Cave (2004) places school sports clubs in a more general context of extracurricular (but nonetheless required) activities. Apart from Spielvogel's work on aerobics (this volume and 2003), anthropologist Eyal Ben-Ari has examined sports as body culture in preschool activities (1997), in school sports days (1986), and in corporate golf (1998).

Finally, Wolfram Manzenreiter's published German-language dissertation (2000) on Japanese mountaineering is of great value (see Guttmann 2000 for an English-language review). Historian Kären Wigen (2004) looks at Meiji mountaineering as sporting adventure, scientific ambition, and religious tourism. The anthropologist Nagashima Nobuhiro is one of the few to treat gambling and gambling sports in Japan, and his 1998 article is a rare English language view of horse racing and its aficionados.

While this brief survey does not exhaust the existing academic work on Japanese sports and does not include work of the volume contributors that will be noted in the next section, it does attest to an increasingly sophisticated range of critical sports studies. Unfortunately, almost all of the Japanese scholars remain unfamiliar to English-language readers, even those within sports studies. And Western-language work is only now appearing in sufficient range to attract wider attention. What is emerging are channels of communication, a full comparative perspective, and a mutual conditioning of Western and Japanese sports research, and this is where this volume seeks to play a role. Let me now introduce the chapters of the volume and some of their main themes.

The contributions of the volume

The fourteen chapters of this volume are divided very roughly into those that emphasize some of the central questions in the emergence of sports and body culture in late nineteenth and early twentieth-century Japan ("Modern Themes") and those that offer more detailed analysis of particular sports at the present time ("Contemporary Cases"). Underlying much of the debate about the history of sport in modern Japan has been the understanding that two processes were occurring in tandem in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. On the

one hand, certain indigenous practices (especially sumō and martial exercises) were reshaped into rule-governed physical competitions; at the same time, new Western sports introduced during the Meiji period (especially baseball) were spiritualized with newly articulated Japanese values. Sportification and samurai-zation went hand in hand. In an important sense, this is merely the sports version of *wakon yōsai*, the selective adaptation of Western practices and their ideological domestication with Japanese "spirit." But lest it be dismissed as yet another instance of Japanese particularism, it is worth remembering that the same tensions were evident in England and America, where folk games and gambling contests became regularized and regulated physical competitions appealing to new national populations, and, when they were located in schools, often imbued with a moralizing ethos of personal character. Muscular Christianity and muscular Confucianism shared much, including being equally unsettled by the competitive pressures (and pleasures) that were enabled by the new sporting practices themselves.

The volume actually opens in premodern times, with **Allen Guttmann's** chapter on archery. Guttmann is one of the preeminent historians of sports in the West, and his Weber-inspired formulation of modern sports as a process of instrumental rationality, a "quest for records," has been enormously influential across all sports scholarship. He applies the same insight to Japan's experience, and locates archery's "anticipatory modernity" in the evidence that abstract targets, quantification of results, and a quest for records are to be found in some of its forms even in the medieval and early modern centuries. Archery is an apt choice given the popularity in the West of the religious and ritualized image of archery through Herrigel (1953).[4] Guttmann offers other applications of his perspective in his recent co-authored history mentioned above. He suggests that this predisposition for sports is an important factor for rapid acceptance of Western sports in the late 19th century, a clear parallel to arguments made about Japanese modernization by other historians

A second major orientation in sports studies was pioneered by the historical sociologist Norbert Elias and his student-colleague Eric Dunning, for whom sports emerged in the nineteenth-century as part of what Elias called "the civilizing process." Elias proposed that in the societies of Western Europe from the medieval centuries through the early modern period up to the beginning of the twentieth century, there was a successive elaboration of codes of personal conduct and standards of etiquette as emerging states pressured subjects and citizens to exert self-control and restraint in their conduct and feeling. Civility was an imposed standard and a socialized virtue.

For Elias and Dunning, sports were an important locus of this broad process by which rudeness and violence were not eliminated but rather regulated. Thus, earliest in England and later elsewhere, sports became more rule-governed, the rules became standardized, and timekeepers, umpires and referees were introduced, with "penalties" and "free kicks" at their disposal to punish. At the same time, spectators began to be separated from the field of play, confined behind ropes or in seats, and expected to exercise more self-restraint.

Sport sociologist **Kiku Kōichi** skilfully applies this formulation to reinterpret a perennial issue in Japan sport studies: the role of martial spirit, encoded as Bushidō (the "Way of the Warrior"), in shaping sports in twentieth-century Japan. The sociologist Inoue Shun has identified two patterns in the development and modernization of sports in the Meiji era (1998: 225-235). The first he called "the modernization of budō," by which older military practices ("bugei" and "bujutsu") were reconfigured to the modern era[5]; the second, he termed the "invention of traditions," in the sense that Western sports were subject to "Bushidō-ization," or injection with a Bushidō spirit. Through these parallel processes, the Japanese developed a national consciousness through sport, allowing them to have contact with Western nations while continuing to preserve elements of what they considered to be an indigenous martial ethic.

A number of scholars have written of the former process. Inoue himself has an instructive article on Kanō Jigorō, the Meiji figure who systematized and codified earlier Tokugawa practices. Kiku here takes up the second process, by which this "modernized" notion of a warrior spirit was then used as an idiom for adopting Western sports—or rather for taming them in Dunning's notion of providing civil frames for their potentially disruptive violence.

Even today at any Japanese school, when a teacher or visitor enters a classroom or assembly, the students will be called to attention with the command 'Kiotsuke! (Attention!).' The third chapter, by sport sociologist **Shimizu Satoshi,** profiles the Meiji educator, Nagai Michiakira, who created the command, as well as its body posture. At the outset of the new Meiji state, organized calisthenics (*taisō*) had strong associations with military drills, and given official concern for a strong soldier-citizenry, calisthenics were introduced into the schools as physical training. Mori Arinori, who became Japan's first Minister of Education in 1885, mandated gymnastics as a required subject in school curricula through the Normal Schools Act of 1886. Shimizu shows Nagai, whose manual on taisō gymnastics became the template for most physical training, was at odds with a narrow military objective. Nonetheless he fashioned a format that created strong resonances between school taisō, military taisō, marching, Field Days, and school fieldtrips that continued into wartime mobilization.[6]

Shimizu then takes his argument in a very intriguing direction, by finding further parallels (a "synergism") between disciplining of the body as part of the state's educational project and the self-fashioning of young urbanites as they consumed the gaze of others and watched themselves moving through the burgeoning metropolitan avenues of early twentieth-century Tokyo and Osaka.

The anthropologist **R. Kenji Tierney** begins his chapter with a dramatic moment in the Opening Ceremonies of 1996 Olympics Winter Games at Nagano: the appearance of a Hawaiian-born sumo wrestler, the then-Grand Champion Akebono, in the specially constructed sumo ring to demonstrate the entrance rituals that a champion performs at tournaments. But Tierney shows that what many now see as Japan's national sport was neither national nor a sport in its origins and history—first as shrine ritual and later as a rather gaudy but decidedly plebian spectacle among urban commoners. Much of sumo's modern history has been the process of fashioning it into a respectable national showcase and into a rationalized competitive sport. And as Akebono's presence demonstrated (and replaced by the Mongolian grand champion Asashoryu), sumo now must rework itself to incorporate and domesticate foreign wrestlers at the highest levels.

Like Kiku, the sociologist **Sugimoto Atsuo** relies on the Elias-Dunning perspective that the modern sports spectator is placed in a precarious emotional balance between agitation and control. The modern stadiums became zones for what Cas Wouters (1989) termed the "controlled decontrol of emotions," although the modalities of expression and control vary across societies according to political circumstances. Thus, what Sugimoto finds distinctive about the development of sports body culture in Japan was how intensely the state utilized sports as an educational means for shaping "modern emotions" of affiliation, loyalty, and regret. In particular, he draws attention to school programs of physical education and the importance of cheering squads and clubs in the history of sports.

It is a very long step from the thuds of sumo titans and the student cheering of amateur athletes to the grunts and groans of professional Western-style ring-wrestling. However, professional wrestling has been an enormously popular mass entertainment in Japan since the early 1950s (with an earlier pre-World War II history as well). In fact men's professional wrestling was Japan's biggest spectator sport in the 1950s; even more than baseball it was the vehicle for early television's rapid spread. Women's professional wrestling (known in Japanese as *joshi puroresu*) developed more slowly and more unevenly, but it too has been enthusiastically received in arenas and on television.

But is it really a sport? As **Lee Thompson** describes, the analytical fascination of professional wrestling is that it pushes the limits of what we usually call sports (as organized physical competitions). It is organized like a sport (with

matches, teams, tournaments, and titles) and it requires well trained, highly skilled athletes, whose training and matches are physically demanding, often brutally so. However, unlike amateur wrestling and sumo, these matches are almost always rigged and their outcomes predetermined ("choreographed" is a more charitable term). So is it a sport? Not really. It elides sporting practices and show business in a gaudy, immensely popular, and hugely profitable form of entertainment. And do fans see through the pretense of open contests? Some do and some don't, Thompson finds, although for most the attraction is the spectacle and skill by which the athletes act out certain morally-marked roles in contest narratives.

And in Japan, much of the morality on display in pro wrestling was nationalistic, and it is in this sense that it was an important vehicle in the sportification of nationalism. Thompson profiles the legendary "father" of professional wrestling in Japan, Rikidōzan. His battles with North American opponents in the 1950s electrified a population eager to regain world respect—and anxious to overlook the Korean birth origins of their new national hero. In this elision, Rikidōzan embodied many of the paradoxical demands of Japanese identity in the postwar decades, when Japaneseness was presented as a matter of naturally "being" Japanese but really required strenuous efforts at "becoming" Japanese.

The modern Olympics, as envisioned by Baron de Coubertin, were intended to be counterweights to the contentious European nationalisms at the end of the nineteenth century—a world gathering of the best individual amateur sportsmen. Yet from the start, they were embroiled in international politics and imbued with patriotic pride and state agendas. Japan was no exception from its earliest participation in the 1912 Stockholm Games. Among studies of the Olympic Games, a number of Western scholars have analyzed the opening ceremonies as an especially strategic field of symbolic meaning, especially in how host countries try to simultaneously showcase and bracket their nationalist sentiments and ambitions.

In the final chapter of Part One, the sociologist **Yamashita Takayuki** takes up the opening ceremonies of the 1998 Winter Olympics in Nagano, which presented a seemingly paradoxical spectacle of indigenous Japanese themes in the first half and an equally striking transnational mélange of images and performances in the second half of the ceremonies. His own view is that these were successfully symbolically mediated as a representation of that moment in Japan's relationship with the world, when a domestic-centered capitalism was trying to adjust to an intrusive and demanding global capitalism.

The themes of Part One are hardly absent from Part Two—they continue to shape sports and body culture in Japan—but the emphasis in this second set of seven contributions shifts to the internal dynamics of particular sport cases.

Japan is an archipelago of mountains, and it was also in the early twentieth century that mountaineering became a prestigious club activity at elite universities. Anthropologist **Wolfram Manzenreiter** has written about this social history in an important German-language monograph (2000). Here, he focuses more on the sociological processes by which this world of Japanese mountaineering is organized. Despite its popular image as a solitary contest of climber and natural obstacle, Manzenreiter appreciates its intensely social nature—the group coordination required for success and survival and the interpersonal rivalries that drive the climber athletes. He draws particularly on the American sociologist Amitai Etzioni to elucidate distinctive types of social control at work in the mountaineering world and on Anthony Giddens' concept of structuration to identify the interactions of structure and individual agency that have brought constant change to this world.

Gender is also crucial to the dynamics of fitness clubs in Japan, as anthropologist **Laura Spielvogel** shows in the next chapter. Influenced by the exercise boom in the U.S., fitness programs like aerobics and health clubs spread rapidly in Japan in the 1980s and early 1990s. As the popular notions of "working out" and "going for the burn" suggest, recreational exercise is an oxymoronic transgression of the boundaries of work and play. How much fun and relaxation is there in pushing oneself to the limit of exhaustion in a jazzercise routine or a 50K cycling event? Still, given the quite explicit work ethic in Japanese corporate culture at all levels and for men and women, one might well expect that "working out" for health and recreation would resonate effectively (and for the fitness business, profitably). But Spielvogel found otherwise, and the chapter reveals the contradictions at play in these clubs.

In stark contrast to the trim and buff body of the fitness fanatic, the corpulence of the sumo wrestler seems to stand at even greater distance from conventional Japanese body culture. How could such a gross exaggeration of physical form be taken to be so emblematically "Japanese" by the Japanese themselves? This is the question that the cultural sociologist **Soon Hee Whang** addresses, and she locates an answer in the several ways that the sumo body is read, directly and metaphorically, to reflect and to represent national body culture. Among the interpretive threads of her argument is the finding that the sumo physical archetype—huge, round and squat—could be devalued as an expression of indolence and neglect (the anti-athlete!). Instead it represents ideals of training and discipline appropriate to the physical balance and emotional control required by

the peculiar confrontation of the sumo face-off. Furthermore, the exposed body and its massiveness resonate with ritual notions of good fortune and nationalist sentiments of power. The larger lessons of the chapter, then, are the symbolic and ideological support that body culture lends to national identity.

The American anthropologist **Elise Marie Edwards** returns us to soccer but from the particular vantage point of gender. In Japan as in much of the world, sports, especially elite organized sports, have remained a male preserve, and women's participation has been limited—restricted in numbers and marked discursively. There is "soccer" and there is "women's soccer," and Edwards is concerned here with the language and policies by which educators, scientists, coaches, and the media have defined the possibilities and limitations of women playing soccer in the L-League, the top semi-professional women's soccer league in Japan. From the organization of practices and drills to coaching styles and manuals, there is a very determined and determinative gendering of women players' development and identity as athletes. A fixation on gender and sex differences not only deforms the sporting experience, but, Edwards notes, reinforces a wider gender order, one more way in which sports help to constitute society.

The irony is that the most "Japanese" of sports, sumo, more thoroughly integrates foreign athletes than those sports that Japan has adapted from the West, including soccer and baseball, the subjects of the next three chapters. Soccer is by most measures the world's most global sport, whose English origins are erased by an international organization, FIFA, with more members than the United Nations, a World Cup format, global migrations of players, and transnational corporate financing. Japan has only come lately to full and avid participation in the "world's game," as English sociologist **John Horne** explains, and there are several distinctive features to this engagement. In particular, Horne finds, Japan has embraced soccer as spectacle (to watch and support at the elite level) more immediately than it has embraced soccer as practice (to play as a popular recreation and local contest). Whether the former will lead to the latter is a fascinating, important, and still open question for future study.

Much of soccer's difficulties in establishing itself in Japan are due to the long-standing popularity and entrenched interests of baseball, which has truly been Japan's national sports pastime for over a century. Located between the national particularities of sumo and the transnational identity of soccer, representations of baseball have been framed by an exaggerated binational contrast: American baseball versus Japanese baseball, same game, antithetical styles. This is a deeply felt contrast in both societies, but this gross simplification has clouded nuanced analyses that seek to specify both the shared and distinctive features of the sport

in the two national experiences. In **my own** chapter, I am trying to identify the particular organizational characteristics of Japanese professional baseball clubs that result from factors generic to sports teams and to baseball everywhere and factors specific to Japan's modern educational and business history.

In the final chapter, the sport sociologist **Takahashi Hidesato** offers a complementary perspective on professional baseball, this time of the fans rather than the players. One reason that mass spectator sports are central to modernity is their capacity to collectivize loyalties around teams that simultaneously produce and contain solidarity and antagonism: "our" team hates "your" team though we both "love" the sport! In a society that values collective affiliation, sports team fandom would seem to be an unproblematic manifestation of the same spirit. But the organized booster clubs and supporter associations of baseball teams are actually rather different—voluntary associations rather than institutional givens, formed from and as leisure activities rather than normative obligations. They draw upon, Takahashi suggests, a late modern imperative for lifestyle affiliation rather than institutional identity, and the loyalty they incite is based on the special emotional tone and social forms of conviviality that cheering stirs (soccer fans have also drawn research; e.g., Shimizu 2000, 2001, and 2002 and Taniguchi 1997).

Collections of scholarship are just that—samplers of current research and surveys of new perspectives—and I do not wish to claim more coherence and consensus for this volume than is justified. Rather, its value lies precisely in its variety of topics and analyses, especially of a field, Japan sports studies, that has so much to offer both Japan studies and the social science of sport. One of the unanticipated pleasures of the collaboration of authors was to discover just how mutually dependent we already were on one another's work; we Western scholars were relying importantly on Japanese scholarship for guidance as much as the Japanese sports scholars were inspired by Western work. A genuinely international as well as interdisciplinary field of inquiry is opening up, and we are happy to share it with an even wider readership here.

————————

Endnotes

1 The Tokyo University of Education was reorganized as Tsukuba University and remains one of the main centers for sports research and teaching, in both Physical Education and Sociology. In drafting this section, I have been much helped by discussions with Professor Sugimoto Atsuo.

2 The literal translation of the journal is *Research in Physical Education Sociology,* but the Society signaled its movement toward a broader conception of its program with a freer English translation.

3 The 1990s also saw several regional research groups, especially the Kansai Sports Sociology Research Society, which has been very active in the Osaka-Kyoto-Nara-Kobe area and which has produced a series of important collaborative volumes (especially Esashi and Komuku 1994 on high school baseball and Sugimoto 1997 on sports fans).

4 Kushner (2000) offers a recent participant's experience, but it is important to consult the scathing critique by Yamada Shoji (2001) of Herrigel's misunderstandings and misrepresentations.

5 **Inoue's 1998 article focuses on Kanō Jigorō, the Meiji figure who** systematized and codified earlier Tokugawa practices into a modern conception of "martial arts."

6 From about 1931, *Radio Taisō Clubs* were promoted by the Ministry of Interior and the Ministry of Education and Culture in conjunction with block associations and National Youth Association groups. By 1937 they blanketed the country (Kuroda 1999). Radio taisō remains today, in communities and workplaces. In the 1980s, when I was living with a rural family in northeastern Japan, the grandmother would rise at 5 a.m. to do piecework sewing in the family room and take a break every morning at 6:30 a.m. for the national radio taisō.

_____

References

Abe Ikuo (1991) "Historical Studies of Sport and Physical Education in Japan: Recent Developments," *International Journal of the History of Sport* 8(2):291-295.

---- (2006) "Muscular Christianity in Japan: The Growth of a Hybrid," *International Journal of the History of Sport* 23(5):714-738.

Abe Ikuo, Kiyohara Yasuharu, and Nakajima Ken (1992) "Fascism, Sport and Society in Japan," *International Journal of the History of Sport* 9(1):1-28.

Abe Ikuo and J. A. Mangan (1997) "The British Impact on Boys' Sports and Games in Japan: An Introductory Survey," *International Journal of the History of Sport* 14(2):187-199.

---- (2002) "'Sportsmanship' – English-Inspiration and Japanese Response: F. W. Strange and Chiyosaburō Takeda,"*International Journal of the History of Sport* 19(2-3):99-123..

Ben-Ari, Eyal (1997) *Body Projects in Japanese Childcare: Culture, Organization and Emotions in a Preschool.* Richmond, Surrey, GB: Curzon Press.

---- (1998) "Golf, Organization, and 'Body Projects': Japanese Business in Singapore." In Sepp Linhart and Sabine Frühstück (editors), *The Culture of Japan as Seen through its Leisure.* Albany: State University of New York Press, 139-163.

---- (1986) "A Sports Day in Suburban Japan: Leisure, Artificial Communities and the Creation of Local Sentiments." In Joy Hendry and Jonathan Webber (editors), *Interpreting Japanese Society: Anthropological Approaches.* JASO Occasional Papers 3. Oxford: Anthropological Society of Oxford, 211-226.

Birchall, Jonathan (2001) *Ultra Nippon: How Japan Reinvented Football.* London: Headline Book Publishing.

Blackwood, Thomas Stephen (2005) *Through Sweat and Tears: High School Baseball and the Socialization of Japanese Boys.* Ph. D. dissertation. Ann Arbor: Department of Sociology, University of Michigan-Ann Arbor.

Bolitho, Harold (1987) "Frolicking Dragons: Mythic Terror and the Sumo Tradition," *Sport: Nationalism and Internationalism*, Number 2. Campelltown, NSW: Australian Society for Sports History, 1-22.

Bolitho, Harold (1988) "Sumo and Popular Culture: The Tokugawa Period." In Gavan McCormack and Sugimoto Yoshio (editors), *The Japanese*

Trajectory: Modernization and Beyond. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 17-32.

Brownell, Susan (1995) *Training the Body for China: Sports in the Moral Order of the People's Republic.* Chicago and London: University of Chicago Press.

Caillois, Roger (1961) *Man, Play and Games.* New York: Free Press. French original, 1958. Translated into Japanese as *Asobi to ningen* in 1970.

Cave, Peter (2004) "Bukatsudō: The Educational Role of Japanese School Clubs," *Journal of Japanese Studies* 30(2): 383-415.

Chan, Stephen (2000) "The Construction and Export of Culture as Artifact: The Case of Japanese Martial Arts," *Body & Society* 6(1): 69-74.

Chapman, Kris (2004) "Ossu! Sporting Masculinities in a Japanese Karate Dojo," *Japan Forum* 16(2): 315-335.

Collins, Sandra (2006) "Conflicts of 1930s Japanese Olympic Diplomacy in Universalizing the Olympic Movement," *International Journal of the History of Sport* 23(7): 1128-1151.

---- (in press) *The 1940 Tokyo Games: Japan, the Asian Olympics and the Olympic Movement.* London and New York: Routledge.

Daniels, Gordon (1993) "Japanese Sports: From Heian Kyo to Tokyo Olympiad." In J. C. Binfield and John Stevenson (editors), *Sport, Culture and Politics.* Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 168-187.

Donohue, John J. (1991) *The Forge of the Spirit: Structure, Motion, and Meaning in the Japanese Martial Tradition.* New York and London: Garland.

Esashi Shogo and Komuku Hiroshi, editors (1994) *Kōkō yakyū no shakaigaku* [The Sociology of High School Baseball]. Tokyo: Sekai shisō sha.

Friman, H. Richard (1998) "The Art of Regulation: Martial Arts as Threats to Social Order," *Journal of Asian Martial Arts* 7(3): 11-23.

Frühstück, Sabine and Wolfram Manzenreiter (2001) "Neverland Lost: Judo Cultures in Austria, Japan, and Elsewhere Struggling for Hegemony at the Vienna Budōkan." In Harumi Befu and Sylvie Guichard-Anguis (editors), *Globalizing Japan: Ethnography of the Japanese Presence in Asia, Europe, and America.* London and New York: Routledge, 69-93.

Fujita Atsushi and Ichimura Sōichi (1993) "Contemporary Areas of Research in Sport Psychology in Japan." In Robert N. Singer, Milledge Murphey and L. Keith Tennant (editors), *Handbook of Research on Sport Psychology.* New York: Macmillan Publishing, 52-57.

Furukawa Takeshi (1998) "**Keirin no hen'yō katei: Keirin kara mita gyamburu to supōtsu no kankei**" [Transformations in Velodrome Cycling: The Relation Between Sports and Gambling From the Perspective of Velodrome Cycling] *Supōtsu shakaigaku kenkyū* **6**:84-96.

Guttmann, Allen (2000) "Review of Manzenreiter 2000," *Journal of Sport History* 27(2):318-319.

Guttmann, Allen and Lee Thompson (2001) *Japanese Sport: A History.* Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press.

Guthrie-Shimizu, Sayuri (2004) "For Love of the Game: Baseball in Early U.S.-Japanese Encounters and the Rise of a Transnational Sporting Fraternity," *Diplomatic History* 28(5):637-662.

Herrigel, Eugen (1953) *Zen and the Art of Archery*. London: Routledge and Kegan Paul.

Horne, John (1998) "The Politics of Sport and Leisure in Japan," *International Review for the Sociology of Sport* 33(2): 171-182.

---- (2000) "Understanding Sport and Body Culture in Japan," *Body & Society* 6(2): 73-86.

---- (2005) "Sport and the Mass Media in Japan," *Sociology of Sport Journal* 22(4): 415-432.

Horne, John and Wolfram Manzenreiter, editors (2002) *Japan, Korea and the 2002 World Cup*. London and New York: Routledge.

Huizinga, Johan (1949) *Homo Ludens: A Study of the Play-Element in Culture*. German original, 1944. Boston: Routledge and Kegan Paul.

Igarashi Yoshikuni (2000) *Bodies of Memory: Narratives of War in Postwar Japanese Culture, 1945-1970*. Princeton and London: Princeton University Press.

Inagaki Masahiro (1995) *Supōtsu no gokindai: supōtsu bunka wa doko e yuku no ka* [Postmodern Sports: Where Is Sports Culture Going?]. Tokyo: Sanseidō.

Inoue Shun (1993) "Supōtsu shakaigaku no kanōsei" [The Possibilities of Sports Sociology], *Supōtsu shakaigaku kenkyū* 1:35-39.

---- (1998) "The Invention of the Martial Arts: Kanō Jigorō and Kōdōkan Judo." In Stephen Vlastos (editor), *Mirror of Modernity: Invented Traditions of Modern Japan*. Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 163-173.

Inoue Shun and Kameyama Yoshiaki (1999) *Supōtsu bunka o manabu hito no tame ni* [For Those Who Study Sports Culture]. Kyoto: Sekai shisō sha.

Japan Sport Sociology Society, editor (1998) *Hen'yō suru gendai shakai to supōtsu* [Sports and Changing Modern Society]. Kyoto: Sekai shisō sha.

Kameyama Yoshiaki, editor (1990) *Supōtsu no shakaigaku* [Sport sociology]. Kyoto: Sekai shisō sha.

Kiku Kōichi (1993) *"Kindai puro supōtsu" no rekishigaku* [The Historical Sociology of "Modern Professional Sports"]. Tokyo: Fumaidō.

---- (2000) "Japan." In Jay Coakley and Eric Dunning (editors), *Handbook of Sports Studies.* London and Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage, 542-544.

---- (2002) "Soccer Fans and Violence in Japan: Is it Possible for Japanese Soccer Fans to be Hooligans?" *Nara joshi daigaku bungakubu kenkyū nenpō* 46: 147-164.

Kiku Kōichi (2006) "The Japanese Baseball Spirit and Professional Ideology." In Joseph Maguire and Nakayama Masayoshi (editors), *Japan, Sport and Society: Tradition and Change in a Globalizing World*. London and New York: Routledge, 35-53.

Kinoshita Hideaki (1970) *Supōtsu no kindai Nihon shi* [A History of Sports in Modern Japan]. Tokyo: Kyōrin shoin.

Kumeno Yutaka, editor (1983) *Gendai shakai to supōtsu* [Sports and Modern Society]. Tokyo: Fumaidō.

Kuroda Isamu (1999) *Rajio taisō no tanjō* [The Birth of Radio Exercises]. Tokyo: Seikyūsha

Kusaka Yuko (2006) "The Emergence and Development of Japanese School Sport." In Joseph Maguire and Nakayama Masayoshi (editors), *Japan, Sport and Society: Tradition and Change in a Globalizing World*. London and New York: Routledge, 19-34.

Kushner, Kenneth (2000) *One Arrow, One Life: Zen, Archery, Enlightenment*. Boston, Rutland, VT, and Tokyo: Tuttle Publishing.

Light, Richard L. (1999a) "Regimes of Training, Seishin and the Construction of Masculinity in Japanese University Rugby," *International Sport Studies* 21(2): 39-54.

---- (1999b) "High School Rugby and the Construction of Masculinity in Japan." In Timothy J. L. Chandler and John Nauright (editors), *Making the Rugby World: Race, Gender, Commerce*. London and Portland, OR: Frank Cass, 105-127.

---- (2000) "A Centenary of Rugby and Masculinity in Japanese Schools and Universities: Continuity and Change," *Sporting Traditions* 16(2): 87-104.

Low, Morris (1999) "Japan, Modernity and the Tokyo Olympics," *Humanities Research* (2): 33-51.

Manzenreiter, Wolfram (2000) *Die soziale konstruktion des Japanischen alpinismus*. Wien: Abteiling für Japanologie, Institut fur Ostasienwissenschaften, Universitat Wien.

Manzenreiter, Wolfram and John Horne, editors (2004) *Football Goes East: Business, Culture and the People's Game in China, Japan and South Korea*. London and New York: Routledge.

May, William R. (1989) "Sports." In Richard Gid Powers and Kato Hidetoshi (editors), *Handbook of Japanese Popular Culture*. New York: Greenwood Press, 167-195.

McClain, James L. (1990) "Cultural Chauvinism and the Olympiads of East Asia," *International Journal of the History of Sport* 7(3): 388-404.

Moeran, Brian (1984) "Individual, Group and Seishin: Japan's Internal Cultural Debate," *Man* 19(2):252-266.

Moffett, Sebastian (2002) *Japanese Rules: Why the Japanese Needed Football and How They Got It*. London: Yellow Jersey Press.

Moon, Ok –pyo (1989) *From Paddy Field to Ski Slope: The Revitalisation of Tradition in Japanese Village Life*. Manchester: Manchester University Press.

Morikawa Sadao and Saeki Toshio (1988) *Supōtsu shakaigaku no kōgi* [Lectures on Sport Sociology]. Tokyo: Taishūkan shoten

Nagashima Nobuhiro (1998) "The Cult of Oguricap: Or, How Women Changed the Social Value of Japanese Horse-Racing." In D. P. Martinez (editor), *The Worlds of Japanese Popular Culture*. Cambridge and New York: Cambridge University Press, 167-180.

Nakamura Toshio (1981) *Supōtsu no fūdo: Nichi-ei-bei hikaku supōtsu ron* [The Environment of Sports: A Comparative Theory of Sports in Japan, England, and the U.S.] Tokyo: Taishūkan shoten.

Niehaus, Andreas (2004) "Book Review" (Tagsold 2002), *Monumenta Nipponica* 59(3):425-427.

---- (2006) "'If You Want to Cry, Cry on the Green Mats of Kōdōkan': Expressions of Japanese Cultural and National Identity in the Movement to Include Judo into the Olympic Programme," *International Journal of the History of Sport* 23:1173-1192.

Nogawa Haruo and Maeda Hiroko (1999) "The Japanese Dream: Soccer Culture towards the New Millennium." In Gary Armstrong and Richard Giulianotti (editors), *Football Cultures and Identities*. Hampshire and London: Macmillan, 223-233.

---- (2002) "Building Mega-Events: Critical Reflections on the 2002 World Cup Infrastructure." In John Horne and Wolfram Manzenreiter (editors), *Japan, Korea and the 2002 World Cup*. London and New York: Routledge, 177-194

Odagiri Kiichi (1982) *Amerika supōtsu no bunka shi: Gendai supōtsu no teiryū* [A Cultural History of American Sports: The Wellspring of Modern Sports] Tokyo: Fumaidō.

Ogasawara Hiroki (2004) "'Back to the Pitch, Reclaim the Game': Is That Only What Matters? An Outer-National Reading of the World Cup," *Inter-Asia Cultural Studies* 5(1): 28-41.

Roden, Donald F. (1980a) *Schooldays in Imperial Japan: A Study in the Culture of a Student Elite*. Berkeley: University of California Press.

---- (1980b) "Baseball and the Quest for National Dignity in Meiji Japan," *American Historical Review* 85(3): 511-534.

Saeki Toshio, editor (1983) *Gendai supōtsu no shakaigaku* [The Sociology of Modern Sports] *Supōtsu shakaigaku kōza* series. Tokyo: Fumaidō.

Shimizu Satoshi (1998) *Kōshien yakyū no arukeorojī* [The Archeology of Kōshien Baseball] Tokyo: Shinhyōron sha.

---- (2000) "Sapōtā: Sono hyōshō to kioku, soshite ima tsukurarete iku mono to shite" [Supporters: The Symbol and the Memory and How They Continue to be Constructed] *Gendai supōtsu hyōron* 3: 75-90.

---- (2001) "Sapōtā karuchazu kenkyū josetsu" [Introduction to Research on Supporter Cultures] *Shakaigaku kenkyū* 9: 24-35.

---- (2002) "Japanese Soccer Fans: Following the Local and the National Team." In John Horne and Wolfram Manzenreiter (editors), *Japan, Korea and the 2002 World Cup*. London and New York: Routledge, 133-146.

Springwood, Charles Fruehling (1992) "Space, Time, and Hardware Individualism in Japanese Baseball: Non-Western Dimensions of Personhood," *Play and Culture* 5(3): 280-294.

---- (2000) "'America' in Takamiya: Transforming Japanese Rice Paddies into Corn Stalks, Bleachers, and Basepaths." In Noel Dyck (editor), *Games, Sports and Cultures*. Oxford and New York: Berg, 201-219.

Sugawara Rei (1975) *Taiiku shakaigaku nyūmon* [An Introduction to Exercise Sociology] Tokyo: Fumaidō

Sugawara Rei, editor (1983) *Supōtsu shakaigaku no kiso genron* [Basic Theories in Sport Sociology] *Supōtsu shakaigaku kōza*. Tokyo: Fumaidō.

Sugimoto Atsuo (1995) *Supōtsu bunka no hen'yō: Tayōka to gakuitsuka no bunka chitsujo* [Transformations in Sports Culture: The Cultural Processes of Diversification and Standardization]. Kyoto: Sekai shisō sha.

Sugimoto Atsuo, editor (1997) *Supōtsu fuan no shakaigaku* [The Sociology of Sports Fans]. Kyoto: Sekai shisō sha

---- (2001) *Taiiku kyōiku o manabu hito no tame ni* [For Those Studying Physical Education]. Kyoto: Sekai shisō sha

Tagsold, Christian (2002) *Die Inszenierung der kulturellen Identität in Japan: Das Beispiel der Olympischen Spiele Tokyo 1964*. Munich: Iudicium.

Takahashi Hidesato (2006) "Voluntary Associations Through Sport: Spectatorship: A Case Study of Professional Baseball Fans." In Joseph Maguire and Nakayama Masayoshi (editors), *Japan, Sport and Society: Tradition and Change in a Globalizing World*. London and New York: Routledge, 98-112.

Takahashi Yoshio (1994) *Sakka no shakaigaku* [The Sociology of Soccer] Tokyo: Nippon hōsō shuppan kai.

Takenoshita Kyūzō (1967a) "The Social Structure of the Sport Population in Japan," *International Review of Sport Sociology* 2(1):5-18.

---- (1967b) "The Sociological Research Work of Sport in Japan," *International Review of Sport Sociology* 2(3):179-186.

---- (1972) *Purei, supōtsu, taiiku ron* [A Treatise on Play, Sports, and Physical Education] Tokyo: Taishūkan shoten.

Takenoshita Kyūzō and Isomura Eiichi, editors (1965) *Supōtsu no shakaigaku* [Sociology of Sport] Tokyo: Taishūkan shoten.

Takenoshita Kyūzō and Sugawara Rei (1972) *Taiiku shakaigaku* [Exercise Sociology] Tokyo: Taishūkan shoten.

Taki Kōji (1995) *Supōtsu o kangaeru* [Thinking About Sports] Tokyo: Iwanami shoten.

Taniguchi Masako (1997) "Supōtsu fuan no ittaikan: Nichi-ei no sakka fan o [The Solidarity of Sports Fans: A Comparison of Soccer Fans in England and Japan] In Sugimoto Atsuo (editor), *Supōtsu fuan no shakaigaku*. Kyoto: Sekai shisō sha, 173-190.

Tatano Hideo (1997) *Supōtsu shakaigaku no riron to chōsa* [Theory and Investigations in Sport Sociology] Tokyo: Fumaidō.

Watts, Jonathan (1998) "Soccer *Shinhatsubai*: What Are Japanese Consumers Making of the J. League?" In D. P. Martinez (editor), *The Worlds of Japanese Popular Culture*. Cambridge and New York: Cambridge University Press, 181-201.

Whiting, Robert (1977) *The Chrysanthemum and the Bat: Baseball Samurai Style*. New York: Dodd Mead and Company.

---- (1989) *You've Gotta Have Wa: When Two Cultures Collide on the Baseball Diamond*. New York: Macmillan.

---- (2004) *The Meaning of Ichiro: The New Wave From Japan and the Transformation of Our National Pastime*. New York: Macmillan.

Wigen, Kären (2005) "Discovering the Japanese Alps: Meiji Mountaineering and the Quest for Geographical Enlightenment," *Journal of Japanese Studies* 31(1):1-26.

Wouters, Cas (1989) "The Sociology of Emotions and Flight Attendants: Hochschild's *The Managed Heart*," *Theory, Culture and Society* 6(1):95-123.

Yamada Shoji (2001) "The Myth of Zen in the Art of Archery," *Japanese Journal of Religious Studies* 28(1-2):1-30.

Yamaguchi Masao (1998) "Sumo in the Popular Culture of Contemporary Japan." In D. P. Martinez (editor), *The Worlds of Japanese Popular Culture*. Cambridge and New York: Cambridge University Press, 19-29.

Yamashita Takayuki (2006) "The Changing Field of Japanese Sport." In Joseph Maguire and Nakayama Masayoshi (ed.), *Japan, Sport and Society: Tradition and Change in a Globalizing World*. London and New York: Routledge, 157-176

Yamashita Takayuki, and Saka Natsuko (2002) "Another Kick-off: The 2002 World Cup and Soccer Voluntary Groups as a New Social Movement." In John Horne and Wolfram Manzenreiter (editors), *Japan, Korea and the 2002 World Cup*. London and New York: Routledge, 147-161.

Yoshimi Shun'ya, editor (1999) *Undōkai to kindai Nihon* [Athletic Field Days and Modern Japan]. Tokyo: Seikyūsha

PART ONE

Modern Times

Targeting Modernity: Archery and the Modernization of Japan[1]

Allen Guttmann

Japan was the first Asian society to cross the cultural boundary that separates traditional societies from modern ones. One aspect of the transition to modernity was the swift diffusion within nineteenth- and early-twentieth-century Japanese society of baseball and other modern sports invented in Europe or North America. One reason for this swift diffusion, for this quick acceptance of new sports, may have been that some of their characteristics may not have been all that new. I am not about to claim that Japanese aristocrats of the Heian and the Kamakura periods played baseball or soccer, but I am intrigued by some aspects of Japanese archery.

As early as the seventeenth century, Japanese archery had several of the most important characteristics of modern sports—and at least one of these characteristics can be traced as far back as the thirteenth century. I do not mean to imply that the modernization of Japanese society was in any sense "caused" by the sport of archery. Far from it. I do mean to say, however, that Japanese archery—*kyūjutsu*—is a clue to a predisposition within Japanese culture that made Japan especially receptive to modern influences from the West.[2] I should add that historians have been more or less blind to the modern aspects of Japanese archery because they have been dazzled by archery's religious aspect. In his book, *Zen in the Art of Archery* (1975), the German philosopher Eugen Herrigel tells a good story, but it is not the only story that can be told about Japanese archery.

Let me now state very briefly, without the evidence that I have offered elsewhere, three of the characteristics of modern sports (which are also generally characteristic of modern society). Modern sports display a high degree of what the German sociologist Max Weber (1964) called *zweckrationalität*—"instrumental rationality." Abstractness and standardization are two forms of this rationality. One of my favorite examples is the gymnast's pommel horse. Originally, of course, the horse was a real horse, mounted by real riders who then demonstrated their equestrian skills as they do even today in a sport like dressage. Now, as everybody knows—many to their great sorrow—some horses are better than others, stronger, faster, more easily managed, which confers a distinct ad-

vantage upon their fortunate riders. Standardization equalized the competition. The equestrian's stallion became the gymnast's wooden horse. In the nineteenth century, it still looked reasonably equine. In addition to its four wooden legs, the apparatus had a wooden head and a horsehair tail, neither of which has survived the impulse to rationalize. The point of this not-quite-Platonic version of a horse was that it was a standardized piece of equipment that advantaged none of the competitors. A triumph of ludic rationality and a splendid example of what Georges Vigarello (1988) calls "deréalisation."

A second and more remarkable characteristic of modern sports is the impulse to quantify achievement. This characteristic deserves a little more in the way of comment. We live today in a world of numbers—the Earned Run Average and the Gross Domestic Product, Yards Gained Rushing and the Grade Point Average. In track and field sports, we measure distances to the centimeter and times to the hundredth of a second. In Munich, in 1972, the German organizers of the Olympic Games measured the swimmers' times to the thousandth of a second, which meant in at least one case that the winner of the silver medal actually swam faster than the winner of the gold medal. (The explanation is that the spatial difference, that is, the difference in length between the swimmers' lanes, was much greater that the temporal difference.)

When the Olympic Games were revived, in 1896, an American observer commented that gymnastic contests were not especially popular because they were not amenable to precise measurement (Richardson 1896). Today, we measure gymnastic scores to three decimal places. Nadia Comaneci's 1976 total at the Montreal games was 79.275, which means—we think—that her performance must have better than Ludmilla Touresheva's at the Munich games four years earlier. After all, Touresheva scored a mere 77.025.

We live in a world of numbers, but the Greeks did not. Although Pythagoras, Archimedes, Euclid, and others made great contributions to mathematics, Greek civilization was not obsessed with the need to quantify. For them, man was still the measure of all things, not the object of endless measurements. At the Olympic Games, there was no attempt to measure times, which would have been difficult. And there was no attempt to measure distances, which would have been easy. The Romans paid somewhat more attention to the numbers, especially at their chariot races, but the quantification of every conceivable sports achievement—from the height of a pole vault to the speed of a tennis serve—is a distinctly modern mania.

The quantification of performance provides the basis for the quantified sports record, a concept unknown before the emergence of modern sports at the end of the seventeenth century. What exactly *is* a sports record? Let me

quote from my own formulation. The sports record is a mechanism that allows the present to compete against the absent and the living to compete against the dead. The record is a number in the *Guinness Book of Records* and in the upper-right-hand-corner of your television screen. It is a stimulus to unimagined heights of achievement and a psychic barrier that thwarts the athlete's efforts. It is an occasion for frenzy, a form of rationalized madness, a symbol of our civilization. In a lyrical moment, a French athlete hoped that his daughter might "one day recite the litany not of our battles but of our records, more beautiful than the labors of Hercules" (Obey 1924: 35). Among the characteristics of modern sports, the quest for records is perhaps the most significant. For me, the quest for records represents the rationalization of the romantic impulse to surpass the limits of possibility (Guttmann 1978: 51-52).

And now, back to Japan. In ways that strike me as quite extraordinary, some forms of Tokugawa-period Japanese archery exhibited these three characteristics—rationalization, quantification, and the sports record. Rationalization occurred most strikingly in the form of the modern archery target, which was apparently invented in Japan centuries before its appearance in the West. The very earliest archery contests probably involved living targets—like the turkey shoots of the American frontier. Eventually, however, in Japan as elsewhere, living birds and animals were replaced by mimetic targets, that is, by targets whose shapes imitated the shapes of birds and animals. In medieval Europe, for instance, archers shot at the popinjay, a wooden bird mounted on a tall pole. The next step on the path to modernity was to replace the simulated animal with a purely geometrical shape, with a rationalized "animal" that symbolized—rather better than George Orwell's pigs—the equality of all animals. That purely geometrical shape is, of course, the modern archery target. The English term "bull's eye" is a residual reminder of the modern target's premodern origins.

The Japanese began the transition from mimetic to abstract targets as early as the tenth century. I should add, before I go any farther, that not all Japanese targets took this modern, abstract form. In *inuōmono,* a sport popular in the Kamakura period, thirty-six mounted archers shot blunted arrows at one hundred fifty yapping dogs. In *yabusame,* mounted archers shoot at wooden targets that are abstract but not composed of fields formed by concentric circles. There is no need to discuss these forms of archery. It is enough for my purposes that the modern target emerged side-by-side with other kinds of targets (see Guttmann and Thompson 2001: 48-52).

The *Dairi Shiki*, which chronicles court ceremonies from 646 to 930 A.D., contains accounts of the courtly archery ritual known as *jarai,* which was performed annually in the middle of the first lunar month. Standing on mats made

of calfskin, aiming at deerskin targets, noblemen shot at a deerskin target. A gong rang once to indicate that an arrow had hit the target's outer ring. The gong rang twice if the arrow lodged in the middle ring, thrice if the innermost ring—that is, the bull's eye—was struck (Moller 1993: 41-45; Imamura 1970: 36-37; Koyama 1982). The account given in the *Dairi Shiki* indicates clearly that the archers shot at an abstract target made of a bull's eye surrounded by two concentric rings.

Unfortunately, I am unaware of any contemporary illustration of the *jirai* target. The earliest extant illustration that I have found is from the *Kitano Tenjin-engi,* a scroll owned by Kitano Shrine in Kyoto. It shows Sugawara no Michizane in the courtyard of another ninth-century aristocrat, Miyako no Yoshika. As Yoshika and his attendants look on, Michizane aims at a painted target consisting of five concentric rings around a bull's eye. The archery contest took place in 870, and the scroll was produced in 1219 (see Figure 1). The same incident appears in other scrolls, including one dating from 1319.[3] An archery target-shooting also appears as a detail in a fourteenth-century scroll depicting courtiers crossing a mountain pass between Kyoto and Kameoka. In the upper half of the picture, courtiers ascend and descend the Ōinosaka pass; in the lower half, a boy aims at a six-ring target and his companion prepares for his turn.[4] There are countless other images of similar targets, the most accessible of which is a seventeenth-century illustration to Murasaki Shikibu's eleventh-century classic, *The Tale of Genji.* A woodcut by Yamamoto Shunshō, first published in 1650, shows two mounted bowmen shooting at a multi-field target carried on a pole by a running man.
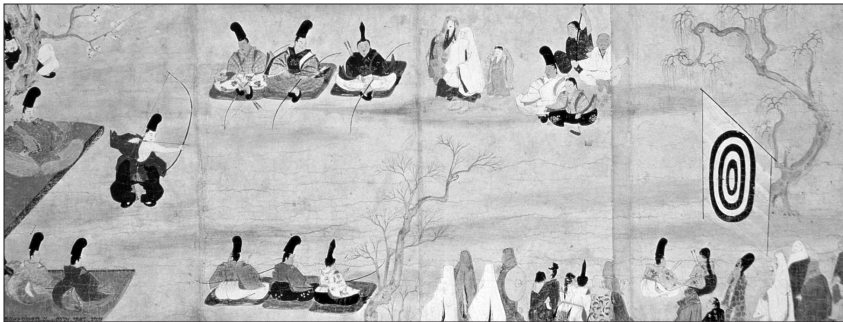
Figure 1. Archery at the Kitano Shrine in Kyoto. From the Kitano Tenjin-engi, circa 1219, illustrating a ninth-century event. Owned by the Kitano shrine and reproduced in Hempel 1983: 167.

With these Japanese examples in mind, let us consider European developments. The European abstract archery target seems first to have appeared in a broad territorial band that ran from Switzerland through Germany to north-

eastern France and the Netherlands.[5] Figure 2, drawn by an anonymous fifteenth-century artist, shows a crossbow contest at Ghent. Compared with Japanese targets in use centuries earlier, this one is primitive. It seems to consist of a single paper disk affixed to a butt. The contest seems, quite literally, to be a hit-or-miss affair. The same sort of target appears in the portrait of a sixteenth-century German *Schützenkönig,* dated at 1585 (see Figure 3).[6] A half century later, David Teniers the Younger drew a group of village archers shooting at a target that seems to have consisted of a diamond-shaped piece of paper affixed to a stone wall.[7] Figure 4 is another painting that Teniers did several years later, which shows another group of

Figure 2. Crossbow archery in Ghent, sixteenth centruy. From a reproduction in the archives of the Instituut voor Lichamelijke Opleiding, Leuven, Belgium.

village archers aiming at a single circle inscribed in a square sheet of paper pinned to the butt. Abstract targets with four concentric rings were known in England as early as 1673 (Hardy 1976:146). In 1754, the Stewards of the Finsburg Archers were asked to provide "a target or square pasteboard, covered with cloth; [in] the centre of which should be drawn a circle, and about that circle four concentric rings, to be visible and exactly distinguished by colours" (Heath 1973:77). At the end of the centu-

Figure 3. German target, from a sixteenth-century match in Nurnberg. Portrait owned by the Germanisches Nationalmuseum (Nürnbert) and reproduced in Braun 1981 [Plate 27].

ry, the Prince of Wales decreed that the bull's eye and the four concentric rings should have standardized point values: 9, 7, 5, 3, 1 (ibid.). Despite the invention of increasingly abstract targets, mimetic targets continued to be popular throughout the nineteenth century. At times, the two kinds of target were combined, as can be seen from

Figure 4. David Teniers the Younger (1610-1690), "The Archers." From a reproduction in the archives of the Instituut voor Lichamelijke Opleiding, Leuven (Belgium).

an amusingly composite nineteenth-century target from the German town of Wissenbourg *(see Figure 5).*

Figure 5. A lithograph of a nineteenth-century German target, combining the mimetic and the abstract. Reproduced in Braun 1981 [Plate 2].

Who borrowed from whom? European missionaries arrived in Japan in the sixteenth century, but it should be obvious that the Japanese, who had been shooting at abstract targets for over three hundred years, were not inspired by them. One might recklessly speculate that it was the other way around: that it was the Dutch merchants on the tiny island of Dejima in Nagasaki harbor who observed the Japanese target and introduced it to their dim-witted countrymen. More likely, the modern target was independently invented by the Japanese and—much later—by the Europeans.

Beyond rationalization, the second and third qualities of modern sports are quantification and the quest for records. The evidence for these two characteristics in archery can be seen most clearly in a contest, known as *tōshiya* ("clearing arrows," see Guttmann and Thompson 2001: 54-56). First recorded in 1606, the contest continued until 1861. Although entirely secular, it was held at Kyoto's Rengeō-in temple, which is popularly known by the name of its main hall, the Sanjūsangendō, where the contest was held. Sitting at one end of the long veranda on the west side of the Sanjūsangendō, a single archer shot a series of arrows that were supposed to traverse the 120-meter length of the veranda without touching the roof, pillars, or wall (hence the term "clearing arrows").

Since ordinary arrows shot from ordinary bows flew in too high an arc for the low corridor of the Sanjūsangendō, shorter bows and lighter arrows were developed specifically for use in tōshiya. These bows and arrows were unsuitable for warfare because the arrows struck with much less impact than those propelled by the long bow. For this reason, traditionalists who wanted to maintain archery as a martial skill criticized the competition as impractical and militarily useless (Hurst 1998: 140). The Ogasawara family, for example, which played such an important role in the development of ritual archery, refused to compete in tōshiya. "Tōshiya," writes G. Cameron Hurst, "which began as a simple test to see if an archer could

shoot an arrow or two down the long veranda at Sanjūsangendō, was thus developed into a well-organized competitive sport" (ibid.: 138).

In the 255 years during which the event was held, a total of 823 archers (counting repeaters) tested their skills at tōshiya at the Sanjūsangendō. The first was Asaoka Heibei, who was apparently satisfied with clearing fifty-one arrows. His record, set in 1606, was quickly surpassed. By 1623, Yoshida Okura had raised the record to 1,333 arrows. Starting with Okura, the total number of arrows shot was also recorded (in his case, 2,087 arrows). That number allows us to calculate the percentage of his successful shots (63.4%). Visiting Kyoto during his 1690-1692 sojourn in Japan, Engelbert Kaempfer expressed astonishment that the archers were able to shoot "several thousand arrows…in a day's time" (quoted in Rogers 1990: 257).

In time, the contest became more complicated and evolved into four main categories: the *ōyakazu,* which lasted for twenty-four hours; *the hiyakazu,* which lasted twelve hours; the thousand-arrow contest; and the hundred-arrow contest. A proliferation of different distances and separate categories for men and for boys eventually produced an array of eleven different events. Several officials oversaw the contest. There were three judges—one from the archer's own school, and two from rival schools. They held flags with which they signaled the success or failure of each shot.

From 1606 to 1861, ōyakazu was held 598 times, but over half of those contests—54% to be exact—took place in the first thirty years, which suggests that the sport's popularity leveled off as records reached new and intimidating heights. In 255 years, the record for ōyakazu was set forty-one times. A memorial tablet from 1669 marks the achievement of Hoshino Kanzaemon, who scored 8,000 successes with 10,542 arrows. A second tablet commemorates the feat of Wasa Daihachirō, who surpassed Kanzaemon's record in 1686 when he achieved 8,133 successes with 13,053 arrows (see Figure 6). In order to do this, he had to shoot nearly six arrows a minute for twenty-four hours, from sunset to sunset. At the right of the painting that commemorates his record is the exact number of arrows shot (in Japanese numbers).

The competition in Kyoto became known to archers throughout Japan, not all of whom were able to journey to Kyoto in order to compete. To accommodate the skilled archers in Edo, a Sanjūsangendō was constructed in that city in 1642. There, between 1645 and 1852, 544 archers (counting repeaters) tested their skills at tōshiya in twenty-one different events over varying times, distances, arrow limits, and age limits. The most spectacular achievements were those of the legendary Kokura Gishichi. In his first appearance, at the age of eleven, in 1827, he missed only five of his thousand shots at the "half-hall" distance.

Figure 6. *Painting (seventeenth century?) commemorating the achievements of Wada Daihachirō.*

Edo was not the only place where a replica of the Sanjūsangendō was constructed. The Sendai and the Shōnai clans, for example, built their own more or less authentic Sanjūsangendō on their domain land and held their own tōshiya contests. Other domains held similar contests in existing facilities. The Aizu clan, for instance, used a warehouse with a long veranda located on their castle grounds in present-day Fukushima Prefecture (Imamura 1970: 179-181).

Two historians, Sasajima Kōsuke and Homma Shuku, maintain that the tablets placed at the temple to commemorate the achievements of Hoshino Kanzaemon and Wasa Daihachirō are proof that the seventeenth-century Japanese understood the concept of the quantified sports record. The evidence seems to support their claim. Another assertion seems less persuasive. According to Sasajima (1989), ōyakazu "went out of vogue" because "people found it difficult to break the record." This may have been the case, but I am skeptical. After all, the contest continued for one hundred fifty-six years after Daihachirō set the record. Whatever the reason for the sport's eventual loss of popularity, *tōshiya's* quantified achievements were all but completely forgotten as the Japanese and their foreign admirers became fascinated by the mystic allure of Zen in the art of archery.

Thus, centuries before modern archery emerged as a European sport, one form of Japanese archery involved the use of abstract targets. By the seventeenth century, another form of Japanese archery, one which did not use the multi-field target of concentric rings, emphasized quantification and the quest for records. This form of archery appeared in Japan at precisely the same time

that European sports began to manifest a similar mania for numbers and for the quantified sports record. If all three of these characteristics of modern sports—rationalization, quantification, and the quest for records—were present in Japanese sports two centuries before Meiji-period modernizers began to borrow from the West, then Japan's amazingly quick acceptance of baseball and other modern sports is somewhat easier to understand. Indeed, Japanese modernization—in general—is somewhat easier to understand. The seeds of modernity were already present in 1853 when Commodore Matthew Perry's unwelcome ships cast anchor in Japanese waters.

———————————

Endnotes

[1] This chapter was delivered as the keynote address for the Yale Japan Sport Conference. It has since appeared under the same title in *Sport History Review* 35(1):20-35 [May, 2004]. It was copyrighted in 2004 by Human Kinetics Publishers, Inc. It is reprinted here with expressed permission from Human Kinetics (Champaign, IL).

[2] Richard Mandell has made the same point: "Some special characteristics in Japanese sport also suggest that certain prerequisites for modernization were present in Japan long before her striking modernization at the end the nineteenth century" (Mandell 1984:100). Two years before that I offered the same suggestion (Guttmann 1984). Mandell and I are close friends and have discussed sports history on innumerable occasions. I am not sure which of us was the first to be intrigued by what might be called the anticipatory modernity of Japanese archery.

[3] The scroll, illustrated in Tokugawa Bijutsukan 1994: 10-11, is owned by the Maeda Foundation.

[4] The scroll, also illustrated in Tokugawa Bijutsukan 1994: 10-11, is owned by the Tokyo National Museum.

[5] The abstract target never entirely supplanted the mimetic target. Archery guilds continued to shoot at the popinjay, a wooden or metallic bird placed atop a tall pole. The popinjay was made of as many as 50 different pieces, each of which had a different value. Archers received various prizes for shooting away the head, the tail, a wing, etc. See Feldhaus 1918, Hartmuth 1975, and Müller 1982.

[6] Contemporary with this primitive target as a complicated, diamond-shaped Glücksscheibe divided into 25 squares whose point values were arbitrary except that the four corner fields were scored for 22, 23, 24, and 25 points while the center field was scored for one point. Winning was truly a matter of luck. See Braun 1981: 102.

[7] This painting, owned by the Prado in Madrid, is reproduced in Lewille and Noel no date: 100.

———————

References

Braun, Anne (1981) *Historische Zielscheiben*. Leipzig: Edition Leipzig.

Feldhaus, Franz M. (1918) "Zur Geschichte der Schießscheiben und Schießbäume," *Zeitschrift für Waffenkunde* 8 (1918): 84086.

Guttmann, Allen (1978) *From Ritual to Record*. New York: Columbia University Press

---- (1984) "The Sociological Imagination and the Imaginative Sociologist." In Nancy Theberge and Peter Donnelly (editors), *Sport and the Sociological Imagination*, Fort Worth: Texas Christian University Press, 1984, 4-20.

Guttmann, Allen and Lee Thompson (2001) *Japanese Sports: A History*. Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press.

Hardy, Robert (1976) *The Longbow*. Cambridge: Patrick Stephens.

Hartmuth, Egon (1975) *Die Armbrust*. Graz: Akademische Druck- und Verlagsanstalt.

Heath, E.G. *A History of Target Archery*. Newton Abbbot: David & Charles.

Hempel, Rose (1983) *Japan zur Heian-Zeit*. Stuttgart: Kohlhammer.

Herrigel, Eugen (1948) *Zen in der Kunst des Bogenschiessens*. Reprinted by Otto-Wilhelm Barth (Tübingen, 1975).

Hurst, G. Cameron, III (1998) *Armed Martial Arts in Japan: Swordsmanship and Archery*. New Haven and London: Yale University Press.

Imamura Yoshio (1970), *Nihon taiiku shi* [A History of Japanese Physical Education] Tokyo: Fumaidō.

Koyama Takashige (1982) "Nihon kyūdō gairon" [An Outline of the Japanese Way of Archery] In Uno Yōzaburō (editor), *Gendai kyūdō kōza*. Tokyo: Yūzankaku.

Lewille, Léon and Francine Noel (no date) *Sport in de belgische Kunst van de romeinse Tijd tot Nu*. Gemeentekredit van Beglie.

Mandell, Richard (1984) *Sport: A Cultural History*. New York: Columbia University Press.

Möller, Jörg (1993) *Spiel und Sport am japanischen Kaiserhof*. Munich: Iudicium.

Müller, Helmut (1982) *Von Schützenvögeln und Vogelschützen*. Greven: Eggenkamp.

Obey, André (1924) *L'Orgue du stade*. Paris: Gallimard.

Richardson, Rufus B. (1896) "The New Olympian Games," *Scribner's Magazine*, 20 (September).

Rogers, John M. (1990) "Arts of War in Time of Peace," *Monumenta Nipponica*, 45(3): 253-260.

Sasajima, Kōsuke (1989) "History of Physical Exercises and Sport in Japan." In Horst Ueberhorst (editor), *Geschichte der Leibesübungen*, Volume 6. Berlin: Bartels and Wernitz, 106-113.

Tokugawa Bijutsukan, editor (1994) *Bijutsu ni miru Nihon no supōtsu*. Nagoya: Tokugawa Bijutsukan.

Vigarello, Georges (1988) *Une Histoire culturelle du sport*. Paris: Robert Laffont.

Weber, Max (1964) *Wirtschaft und Gesellschaft*. Johannes Winckelmann, editor (original 1920). Cologne: Kiepenhauer & Witsch.

Bushidō and the Modernization of Sports in Japan

KIKU Kōichi

When studying Japanese sport and its history, many foreign researchers focus on the strong influence of Bushidō (the "Way of the Warrior"), and they point to this supposedly 'non-modern' ethos in differentiating Japanese sports from a modern, global standard. For example, Robert Whiting's books on Japanese baseball (1977, 1990) draw on Ruth Benedict's famous distinction (1946) of Japan as a culture of "shame" as opposed to Western cultures of "guilt." Whiting contrasts Western individualism with Japanese collectivism and depicts the group ethic in Japan as falling far short of modern principles with its irrational emphasis on group allegiance and harmony ("wa"). He argues that group orientation arises from the spirit of Bushidō spirit, which continues to strongly influence Japanese society. Whiting explains that Bushidō is particularly vibrant in defining the mental approach and patterns of action in baseball, the most popular sport in Japan. Playing upon the Japanese word for baseball, *"yakyū,"* Whiting refers to this dimension of baseball as Yakyū-dō, the "Way of Baseball."

Whiting argues (1977:14-16) that Japanese baseball players are compelled by Bushidō to follow principles of allegiance, self-discipline, hierarchy, and modesty. This frame of mind, he claims, is widely accepted by the Japanese themselves as reflecting their traditional ethnic identity. It is essentially a pre-modern mentality, if we assume that individualism is the defining value of modernity. Against this, diverging styles are often regarded as inferior, falling short of the fully modern, as with Japanese sporting style (Tatano 1997:129-149). This chapter re-examines this formulation of sports modernity to question whether in fact the modernization of Japanese sport, which has been distinctively shaped by the "Bushidō spirit," nonetheless really differs from the global standard of modern sport.

In reality, many Japanese scholars studying the phenomena of sport in modern Japan also draw a distinction between the Bushidō spirit and modern sport as two different modalities (e.g. Kado 1975:139-174, Kinoshita 1976:97-120, Kusaka 1985:23-44, Sugawara 1984:136-145). In the context of Japan's modernization, which began in the late nineteenth-century Meiji period, the modernization of many institutions, including sport, was characterized as wakon yōsai (or "Japanese spirit, Western technology"). For sports, this meant that adoption of the techniques and formal rules of modern sport while retaining

an indigenous, pre-modern playing mentality. Japanese sports have thus been thoroughly shaped by the Bushidō spirit, preventing them from achieving the level of true modern sports.

However, in reconsidering the question of what is modern and what is modern sport, we must be skeptical of arguments that focus on what makes Japanese sport distinctive. For example, how could the Japanese have created a style of modern sports with uniquely Japanese characteristics if the premises of Bushidō and modern sport are so different? To attempt to explain the growth and expansion of Japanese modern sport simply by external pressures to modernize is too simple. Instead, we must first establish the commonalities of Japanese and Western sports before delineating the specific differences between Japanese and more "global" forms. In this chapter, I focus on the character and relationship between sports modernization and Bushidō in Japan. I will make particular use of Norbert Elias's formulations of the "civilizing process" to appreciate their common beginning and to show their subsequent divergence through the construction and disciplining of the body.

Elias's theory of the civilizing processes and the modernization of sport

Norbert Elias held that the modernization of sports occurred first in eighteenth- and nineteenth-century Great Britain (Elias 1986b:150-174). Although sports involved the direct confrontation of bodies, violence was controlled or excised entirely from sport, and rules were imposed to restrict physical contact. "Sportization" was his term for the shift from pre-modern sports that included savage and violent uses of the body (e.g., mob games and early football) to civilized sport. This change occurred not only in sport, but throughout society, as in the move towards a parliamentary system in British politics. The practice of attempting to reach resolutions without violence is assumed in contemporary politics; however, Elias saw this as the result of a long historical process through which the tendency to employ political violence was repressed, and the foundations of trust and good will were established in negotiation. Thus, what we call sport today could not have emerged if not for this broader "domestication of violence" (Dunning 1999) that was central to the civilizing process. Elias saw sport as "a form of practice which symbolizes, through use of the body, the trends toward non-violence that occurred throughout history" (Taki 1995:29-30). In this sense, we can say that civilized sport equals modern sport.

It is important to note, as Chris Shilling among others has elucidated, that Elias's formulation of civilization departed from more conventional definitions:

> "'*Civilization*' has traditionally been used in evaluative contexts as a way of describing and ranking hierarchically the economic, moral and political progress of societies. However, by examining the changing historical uses of terms for civilization, and the forms of behaviour underlying them, Elias attaches a different meaning to the term. Instead of referring to the relative merits of different societies, Elias is more concerned with civilization as a set of processes which encompass the degree of internal pacification in a society; the refinement of customs; the amount of self-restraint and reflexivity involved in social relations; and the experiences of growing up in a society… Furthermore, in describing individuals and societies as 'civilized', Elias is not using this term to denote a static pinnacle of achievement. Instead, 'civilized' is a relational term which, while providing a means of comparison, always refers to ongoing processes of change" (Shilling 1993:151).

In other words, there is no beginning or end to the civilizing process. In examining sports from the perspective of controlling violence, we can identify two aspects—the sports themselves and the body performing the sport. As a consequence, the civilizing process of sporting forms occurs as part of the broader trends toward non-violence in the modern nation state. At the same time, this sportization helps to transform the people taking part in the sports into "modernized" bodies. In this way, the civilizing of sports is a double operation on the sport itself as well as the body (Kiku 1999:15-26).

At first, the civilizing process is manifest in sports by constraining the physical impulse towards cruelty and offensive **behavior, which are qualities that** conflict with the formation of Elias's notion of a "civilized" modern society. Such changes are effected in sport through the use of mimetic actions, which replicate direct physical action involving violence, and in turn evoke pleasure and excitement among those witnessing the action (Maguire 1992: 96-120). Thus, modern sport is not simply the unilateral repression of violence; rather, it embraces a mimetic form of physical violence, regardless of the degree to which self-control of violence has been achieved in the rest of modern society. This context enables researchers to study two opposing controls: the control of emotion and of post-emotions, also referred to as the "controlled de-controlling of emotions" (Elias 1986a: 44), which acts as a meta-control mechanism. These can be regarded as important ingredients in the cognitive and personality structures necessary to the formation of modern society.

From the above, we can conclude that, on the one hand, modern society accepts the presence of physical violence as a sanctioned 'enclave' in civilized sport when regulated by social norms, and on the other hand, it accepts modern sport as a symbol of the body's self-regulation in a context where violence is viewed as taboo. We can therefore identify double tendencies in the structure of modern sport, although they may appear to be moving in opposite directions (Kiku 1997:15-26). On the one hand, the civilization of sport through the control of violence in the history of modern society necessitates education in the rules of the sport, but at the same time, it also requires a conditioning of the body to achieve self-regulation as mentioned above.

When we examine the form of modern sport in parallel with the form of modern society, we can appreciate the power of Elias's theory of civilizing processes. The creation of the modern order in the body results from the interdependent relationship between the self-control of emotion, and the de-controlling of the expression of emotion in terms of physical violence. We implicitly understand that the acceptance of a certain level of violence in sports is contingent upon the rejection of violent behavior in everyday life.

Michel Foucault (1977:141-174) argued that the body in modern sport must first begin with the creation of an "obedient body," that trained in physical skills that conform to modern sports rules. Each sport requires a distinctive system of training, and the body is unconsciously moulded into a sport-specific "obedient body." This is an instance of what Foucault has theorized as subject formation in modern society. From early on, modern societies institutionalised educational facilities that utilized sport for its physical dimensions to develop the foundation of the modern ego. This was particularly true of the elite class, which actively introduced sport into the curriculum, as exemplified in the British elite public schools of the nineteenth century (Dunning and Sheard 1979: 46-62).

In Japan, the premier First Higher School in Tokyo (Daiichi Kōtō Gakkō, which was abbreviated as Ichikō) aggressively promoted baseball as a school club sport in the 1890s (Kiku 1993: 84-99). The club's "Ichikō-style practice" became notorious as extremely demanding. Practice sessions, even in the dead cold of winter, began with students playing catch with their bare hands. They continued even as the pain became intense until they finally warmed up (Chūma 1897:61-63).[1] By highlighting team discipline and austere training, this type of physical training muted the subjective self, while foregrounding the communal identity of "Ichikō."

Sports and Budō in modern Japan

The sociologist Inoue Shun has identified two patterns in the development and modernization of sports in the Meiji era (1998: 225-235). He called the first "the modernization of budō," by which older military practices ("bugei" and "bujutsu") were reconfigured to the modern era. The second he termed the "invention of tradition" in that Western sports were injected with a Bushidō spirit. Through these parallel processes, the Japanese developed a national consciousness through sport, allowing them to have contact with Western nations while continuing to preserve elements of the Bushidō spirit.

Kanō Jigorō illustrated the first pattern through his creation of the sport of judō through the modernization and amalgamation of older martial arts (Tomozoe 1993: 165-203). Baseball exemplified the second pattern, introduced at the First Higher School and later at Waseda and Keio Universities, three leading educational institutions of the Meiji era, who played against foreign teams as a way to raise their international standing (Kiku 1984: 1-26). In both of these trajectories, we can identify a determination to maintain a Japanese cultural identity in sport through invoking the Bushidō spirit.

Why, then, did the spirit of Bushidō, apparent in both pathways of sports modernization, become the basis for a distinct system of cultural identity and modern sports? I propose that this was because elements of the Bushidō spirit conveniently reinforced the civilizing process in promoting the body culture necessary for modernization. I want to demonstrate here that the formation of the two types of modern sport in Japan was a historical and social phenomenon that emerged from the early modern (Tokugawa) period that preceded the new Meiji order.

Originally, Bushidō, the spiritual philosophy behind budō, was formulated in response to the evolving social position of the warriors ("bushi" or samurai) in the seventeenth century as the Tokugawa shogunate pacified the country and consolidated its rule. The new social order was a strict stratification of four social classes, with the warriors on top, below which were the farmers, artisans, and merchants. The warrior class was sharply distinguished from the other classes, and in order to maintain its socially superior standing, it was imperative to demonstrate clearly visible cultural differences. At the same time, shogunal policy dictated a shift from the martial arts lifestyle of its warrior-retainers, in which the goal was combat-readiness and warfare, to new bureaucratic roles for these warriors in the shogunal administration. The conduct and way of comportment exhibited by the bushi class therefore became a model of physical bearing and ethical action dubbed "Shidō," which

was articulated in the seventeenth century by the Confucian scholars Hayashi Razan and Yamaga Sokō (Ikegami 1995, Sogawa 2000:42-43).

In contrast, **"Bushidō" was originally differentiated from "Shidō" and con**ceived as a type of aesthetics of death, whereby the fear of death was suppressed through the adoption of culturally distinct conduct (Naramoto 1975:86-93).[2] *Hara-kiri,* or ritual suicide, was therefore assigned an aesthetic value as the highest form of **honor and obedience to one's master. Thus, astonishingly, even** an act of suicide could be incorporated into Bushidō's code of physical conduct, such that ethical imperative could prevail over the body's senses, culminating in death (Yoro 1996:139). Although seemingly paradoxical, this follows the same dynamic that Elias described as the civilizing process, in which the refinement of manners through the body's modernization ran counter to its natural instincts and habits. In such a way, the codification of bodily conduct served to reinforce this new system of social order. Ultimately, therefore, when examined from the analytical perspective of the civilizing process, it was in fact the Bushidō spirit that provided the momentum to produce the modern body in Japan.

Regardless of the differences between "Bushidō" and "Shidō," they shared an emphasis on **"self-control." As Ikegami Eiko explains,**

> By 'control', I intended two constituent elements. The first component involves control on a personal level, that is, regulation of one's own short-term desires in order to achieve long-term goals. The second element relates to those corporate aspects of control that harmonize individuals' drives and desires with socially and organizationally defined objectives. The first form of control had clearly been embodied already in the medieval tradition of honour culture, insofar as it was focused upon the warrior's strong desire for an illustrious posthumous reputation. This early ethos, oriented toward control and military achievement, was then redirected toward a more organizationally collaborative and publicly responsible form during the Tokugawa period (Ikegami 1995:330).

In its extreme form, control was employed to overcome the fear of death, but in everyday contexts, it led to idealizing the "enduring body," in which desire and pain were subject to self-control. Thus, for example, the **grueling** sessions forced upon Ichikō students as their baseball practice were justified by the Bushidō emphasis on the value of "self-control." Moreover, the concept of the "enduring body" formed the basis for the "obedient body," which is vital to Foucault's analysis of modern society.

From the above, we can easily recognize the affinities between the form of body culture in Bushidō and that required for the modernization of sport, which in turn facilitated the social acceptance of modern sports. Thus, in Japan, both the sport-ization of budō **and the budō-ization of foreign sports** were accomplished by recourse to the spirit of Bushidō. In studying civilizational processes at the level of the body, we realize that sports could not be modernized in Japan without deploying the Bushidō spirit, which was first articulated during the Edo period.

Extracting the Bushidō spirit from modern sport

By the early 1930's, however, as Japanese militarists gained control of the government, the balance sustained between sports, Bushidō, and Japanese cultural character broke down as budō ascended in official importance. Budō's demands for self-sacrifice and endurance conveniently justified the extreme nationalism and militarism of the decade, and budō **was closely connected to the ideology of an** Emperor-state. As the nation was mobilized for war, budō became much more prominent in the physical education curriculum (Sakaue 1998). At the same time, Western sports already existing in Japan were also thoroughly Japanized under the rationale that the spirit of Bushidō constituted a unique element of Japanese culture. For example, government agencies ordered that the largely English-language terms of baseball be replaced by Japanese terms (e.g., umpires could no longer call "out" or "safe" but were ordered to the Japanese phrases "yoshi" and "dame"). Through these and many other changes, the obedient body of modern sports was transformed into a unique Japanese form invoking the spirit of Bushidō, and in the process had the desired effect of creating bodies obediently dedicated to national service as well.

As discussed earlier, budō martial sports did not emerge until the late nineteenth century, and were framed by the philosophy of wakon yōsai, which amalgamated modern elements of Western-style martial arts with certain philosophical tenets from the military practices of the Tokugawa warrior class. With Japan's rising militarism, however, the original "wakon yōsai" hybrid in budō was altered to eliminate any western influences, ignoring the affinity between the modern body and the Bushidō spirit. What was left was an ideological form without content, which only emphasized traditional Japanese character. Consequently, budō was celebrated as a symbol of ethnic culture and traditional Japanese spirit, becoming in turn the standard by which Western sports required reform (Inoue 1998:235).

Given this, it becomes easier to understand the criticisms against the role of budō and the Bushidō spirit in Japan's post-war imagery, which focus on the tendency towards national and group ethics, and their influence on modern sports and Japanese society overall. It is undeniable that the uniqueness of Japanese baseball, as described by Whiting at the beginning of this article, has been shaped by "social memories" (Ogawa 2000: 49-56) that embody the negative legacy of Bushidō.

At the same time, however, any unilateral criticism of the Bushidō spirit fails to take into account its affinity with the modern body, as well as modernism in general and the spirit of Western sports as presented in global context. When viewed from the perspective of the civilizing process, these Western principles are also in danger of collapse because of this affinity between the bodily cultural order and Bushidō. In this respect, Taki argues that, "just as Foucault insisted that individual freedom and diversification were really the premise for societal control, under modern principles and rules, the discipline required for the formation of obedient bodies in modern society has the potential for complete development" (Taki 1995: 49). In the following section I want to **analyze this point by returning** to the arguments of Norbert Elias.

The problem of modern sports as a global standard: Elias's concept of "homo clauses"

As noted above, Elias saw the formation of modern sport as carrying twin significance for the civilizing process. This twin significance diverges as follows: (a) modern society accepts the physical violence of sports because it is contained within and by the sporting enclave; and (b) society accepts modern sport as a symbol of the body's self-control in a context where physical violence is taboo. At the same time, Elias observes that the phenomenon of isolating the body in sport gives rise to a new problem of violence in civilization. Elias argues that such isolationism and individualism of the body automatically introduces a sense of "homo clausus (closed person)" (Elias 1994: 140) as a state of false consciousness in our minds. As people acquire self-control over violence, they come to recognize themselves as increasingly detached from other members of society (Elias 1991: 1-60).

This social process presents an extreme paradox. In his work, Elias suggests that a person initially has some autonomy in relation to other people, but this autonomy is never complete. People must always conform to others in some way, as well as rely and depend upon them, rendering them "homines aperti (open persons)" (Elias 1977: 50). Accordingly, if the image of plural human relationships is one of direct interdependence, or what Elias refers to as "figuration," then the social relationship is elevated to a level of mutual tolerance such that even if

a misunderstanding of emotion and physical contact occurs, there is little chance that judgement will be passed on whether or not the action is violent. One can thus safely suppose that the relationship of interdependence among pre-modern people approximates most closely the image of humans as "open persons."

In contrast, however, modern society has demanded a state of "homo clausus," and has employed a strategy involving a national monopoly in the use of violence (thus, state control of police and army). This has promoted a collective disavowal of violence, a standard which is a grounding of the modern nation-state. However, this step had the unintended effect of breaking the socially produced bonds of trust and attachment, and rendered human relationships inanimate as objects of the functional combination of various independent "homo clausus" entities. In actuality, in both modern military nations and industrial societies, what is demanded is a rigidly ordered system of competition, which results in the opposite phenomenon of exclusion from the collectivity. In this way, "violence, which was once frozen, is now unfrozen as this exclusion becomes a point of transition" (Utsumi 1998: 11), and new violence is produced. Thus, we must recognize that modern sports have the potential to lead to new violence because they create conspicuous spaces of competition necessary in the formation of the modern body, but they give rise to spaces of exclusion at the same time.

Modern sports and the advancement of the civilized body

Shilling (1993:163-167) considers the advancement of the civilized body from the three perspectives of "socialization," "rationalization," and "individualization." The first, "socialization of the body," signifies the process through which the natural functions of the body are gradually hidden and eventually governed by a social code. At times, this can completely counter the biological and natural features of the human body. These changes inevitably entail the rationalization of the body. While in the pre-modern context, people's impulses appeared spontaneously in their consciousness and actions, there is a clear boundary between consciousness and impulse in the civilized body, as well as a requisite self-control based on planning and calculation with moral, rational intent. The rationalization of the body encourages the loss of natural impulses, thereby forming an obedient body which is easily controlled by external influences. Individualization of the body becomes the physical premise upon which to construct the "modern ego," which separates one body from another, and creates the image of the individual as standing in isolation from others. This individualization is therefore a result of a person develop-

ing the recognition of himself or herself as different from other people. This state of mind is acquired through learned social manners, which primarily function to control violence in modern society among people who have the opportunity to identify themselves as objects of self-control and self-discipline. Shilling describes how these three aspects of civilized bodies interact as follows:

> "*The three main characteristics of civilized bodies involve the progressive socialization, rationalization and individualization of the body. Although the historical period of Elias's analysis of civilized bodies is of limited relevance to the study of the body in modernity, we could argue that the processes he identifies are still occurring and highlight the growing importance of the body to the modern person's sense of self-identity. The development of civilized bodies tends to leave people alone with their bodies acting as barriers to contact and meaningful communication with other people. Standards of body management demand that people monitor and control their bodies, yet the implication of this affect control is that they become stale in and with their bodies*"(Shilling 1993: 167).

The modernized body, which was destined to achieve self-control and self-discipline through a process of self-examination, established on the one hand a separate and rational modern society by forming the non- violent, enduring body. On the other hand, this establishment of modern society necessitated the presence of modern sports as a social enclave for physical violence. We could say that modern society is characterized by a bipolarization of the body, in which the enduring ascetic body and the violent desiring body exist simultaneously. An example of this dualism lies in the emergence of sadism and masochism in the urban culture of nineteenth-century Victorian England (Kobayashi et al. 1991: 160-175). In the civilizing process, the form of modern sport is always in danger of gravitating towards fragmentation when caught between the separation and isolation of the modernized body, as opposed to integration through an ordered system of rivalry and competition. This tendency is readily apparent in the rough play of football, the incidents of violence within teams, and hooliganism among fans.

Modern sports from the perspective of Bushidō

Modern sports thus develop as a double structure of sports culture in relation to violence, as the civilizing process oscillates between fragmentation and integration. Given such a complex phenomenon, we need to rethink the ques-

tion of how Japanese budō, moving in the former direction, was modernized despite the fact that the introduction of competition tended to prompt people into direct violent acts against one other. Furthermore, we must reconsider how Western sports developed in Japan by utilizing Bushidō to maintain balance with the development of the modern body.

For example, it is frequently claimed that certain set patterns (kata) came to be emphasized in learning and performing budō as a response to constantly evolving techniques (Tanigawa 2000: 44). This is a logical suggestion, but it doesn't explain why budō martial arts insist on such basic movement "kata" and require their constant use in all cases except for those involving the execution of technique. The answer is related to the modernized body of budō as discussed earlier in this chapter. Thus, it proves worthwhile to re-examine and re-evaluate historical social processes in terms of the similarities and differences between the modernization of sport and Japanese Bushidō, in order to locate the hidden problems of sports in the contemporary world.

At the very least, from our perspective as Japanese writers, the dramatic rise in the popularity of martial arts in Western countries underscores the significance of this point. I propose that this phenomenon takes as its point of departure the affinity between the modern body and Bushidō, and transforms the isolated "homo clausus" into the more open "homo aperti," while attempting to maintain a balance between the two. This chapter has thus described an operative mechanism of subjectivity different from the unique mechanism of modern societies, in which the subordinated body reverses the power of self-discipline as theorized by Foucault. This mechanism that shapes subjectivity transforms the body into a limitless state where direct subordination is possible. The operation to the subjectivity in dependence means that it "changes the body to the direct possibility of subordination which usually seems to be non-existent" (Osawa 1998: 152). In its most extreme form, the potential exists for a shift into exclusionary communities, as illustrated by the Nazis or the Aum religious cult in Japan. But on the other hand, we raise the fundamental and practical question of how this relationship is enabled when maintaining direct and open communication in the body in modern sports.

_____

Endnotes

1 Club members were not allowed to use words for hurt or pain, but instead could only talk about an "itch." For more on the First Higher School in English, see Roden 1980, Whiting 1987, and Kelly 2000.

2 Confusingly, "bushi" and "shi" are alternate readings of the same character, that for "warrior." The "dō" of each compound means "Way." Thus, both can be rendered as the Way of the Warrior.

―――――――――――

References

Akita Masami (1991) "Kurabu: Za andāguraundo" [Club: The Underground] In Kobayashi Akio et al (editors), *Kurabu to saron* [Clubs and Salons] Tokyo: NTT Shuppan Press, 160-175.

Benedict, Ruth (1946) *The Chrysanthemum and the Sword*. Boston: Houghton Mifflin.

Chūma Kaname (1897) *Yakyū* [Baseball] Tokyo: Maekawa bun'eidō.

Dunning, Eric (1999) *Sport Matters: Sociological Studies of Sport, Violence and Civilization*. London: Routledge.

Dunning, Eric and Kenneth Sheard (1979) *Barbarians, Gentlemen and Players*. Oxford: Martin Robertson.

Elias, Norbert (1969) *Uber den Prozeβder Zivilisation*. Bern and Munich. Japanese translation, 1977.

---- (1970) *Was ist Soziologie?* Munich: Juventa Verlag. Japanese translation, 1994.

---- (1983) *Engagement und Distanzierung*. Suhrkemp Verag 1. Aufl. Japanese translation, 1991.

---- (1986a) "Introduction." In Elias and Dunning 1986

---- (1986b) "An Essay on Sport and Violence." In Elias and Dunning 1986, 150-174.

Elias, Norbert and Eric Dunning, editors (1986) *The Quest for Excitement*. Oxford: Basil Blackwell.

Foucault, Michel (1975) *Surveiller et Punir-Naissance de la Prison*. Paris: Galliard. Japanese translation, 1977.

Ikegami Eiko (1995) *The Taming of the Samurai*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press.

Inoue Shun (1998) "Kindai Nihon ni okeru supōtsu to budō" [Sports and Martial Arts in Modern Japan] In Japan Society of Sport Sociology (editor), *Hen'yō suru gendai shakai to supōtsu*. Kyoto: Sekai shisō sha, 225-235.

Kado Osamu (1975) "Shakai hendō to kyōiku" [Social Change and Physical Education] In Sugawara Rei (editor), *Taiiku shakaigaku nyūmon*. Tokyo: Taishūkan, 139-174.

Kelly, William W. (2000) "The Spirit and Spectacle of School Baseball: Mass Media, Statemaking, and 'Edu-tainment' in Japan, 1905-1935." In Umesao Tadao, William W. Kelly and Kubo Masatoshi (editors), *Japanese*

Civilization in the Modern World XIV: Information and Communication. Senri: National Museum of Ethnology, 105-116.

Kiku Kōichi (1984) "Kindai puro supōtsu no seiritsu ni kansuru rekishigaku-teki kōsatsu" [A Historical and Sociological Study on the Development of Modern Professional Sports] *Taiiku supōtsu shakaigaku kenkyū* 3: 1-26.

---- (1993) *'Kindai puro supōtsu' no rekishigaku* [The Historical Sociology of "Modern Professional Sports"]. Tokyo: Fumaidō.

---- (1997) "Eriasu-ha supōtsu shakaigaku to shintai/body" [The Sports Sociology of Elias Scholars and the Body] *Supōtsu shakaigaku kenkyū* 5:15-26.

---- (1999) "Kindai-teki shintai no kyōkai to ekkyō" [Crossing the Boundaries of the Modern Body] In Nakamura Toshio (editor), *Kyōkai o koeru supōtsu*. Tokyo: Sōbun kikaku, 185-224.

Kinoshita Hideaki (1976) *Supōtsu no kindai Nihon shi* [The History of Sport in Modern Japan] Tokyo: Kyōrin Shoin.

Kusaka Yuko (1985) "Meiji-ki ni okeru 'budō' teki 'bushidō' teki yakyū shinjo ni kansuru bunka shakaigaku-teki kenkyū" [A Cultural Sociological Study of the Principles of Bushi and Bushidō in Baseball During Japan's Meiji Period] *Taiiku supōtsu shakaigaku kenkyū* 4: 23-44.

Maguire, Joseph (1992) "Towards a Sociological Theory of Sport and the Emotions: A Process Sociological Perspective." In Eric Dunning and Chris Rojek (editors), *Sport and Leisure in the Civilizing Process*. London: Macmillan, 96-120.

Naramoto Tatsuya (1975) *Bushidō no keifu* [The Genealogy of Bushidō] Tokyo: Chuo kōron sha

Ogawa Nobuhiko (2000) "Hozon no kūkan" [On the space of conservation]," *Nara Joshi Daigaku Bungakubu nenpō* 43: 49-56.

Osawa Masaichi (1998) "Shintai gihō no gendai-teki gyakuten" [The Contemporary Reversal of Body Techniques] In Saeki et al (editors.), *Iwanami kōza gendai no kyōiku 3: Kyōjū to gakushū no tenkan* Tokyo: Iwanami shoten, 113-156.

Sakaue Yasuhiro (1998) *Kenryoku sōchi to shite no supōtsu* [Sport as an Instrumentality of Power] Tokyo: Kōdansha.

Shilling, Chris (1993) *The Body and Social Theory*. London: Sage Publications.

Sogawa Tsuneo (2000) "Budō to kyōiku" [Budō and Education], *Taiikuka kyōiku* 48(1): 42-43.

Sugawara Rei (1984) T*aiiku to supōtsu no shakaigaku* [The Sociology of Physical Education and Sport] Tokyo: Fumaidō.

Taki Koji (1995) *Supōtsu o kangaeru* [Thinking about Sports] Tokyo: Chikuma shobō.

Tanigawa Ryosho (2000) "Bugei kara bushidō e" [From Bugei to Bushidō] T*aiikuka kyōiku* 48(3): 44.

Tatano Hideo (1997) *Supōtsu shakaigaku riron to chōsa* [Theories and Studies in Sport Sociology] Tokyo: Fumaidō.

Tomozoe Hidenori (1993) "Judō to Judo no aida" [Between Judō and Judo]. In Nakamura Toshio (editor), *Supōtsu o torimaku kankyō*. Tokyo: Sōbun kikaku, 165-203.

Utsumi Hirofumi (1998) "Noruberuto Eriasu to bōryoku no mondai" [Norbert Elias and the Problem of Violence], *Soshioroji* 43(2): 3-18.

Whiting, Robert (1977) *The Chrysanthemum and the Bat: Baseball Samurai Style*. New York: Dodd Mead and Company.

---- (1989) *You Gotta Have Wa: When Two Cultures Collide on the Baseball Diamond*. New York: Macmillan.

Yoro Takeshi (1996) *Nihonjin no shintaikan no rekishi* [A History of Japanese Views of the Body] Kyoto: Hōzōkan.

Synchronizing Body States: Training the Body at School and Performing the Body in the City

SHIMIZU Satoshi

The Japanese term taisō, or "body exercises," is of modern origins and carries military associations. The historian Ōba (1991) noted that the famous Meiji-era philosopher Nishi Amane, who was commissioned by the Ministry of the Army in the 1870s to draft a code on moral law for soldiers, first coined the word as an equivalent to several foreign terms: *gymnastiek* (Dutch), gymnastics (English), and *gymnastique* (French). Ōba surmised that Nishi translated the expression, *'art d'exercer le corps,'* in the 1868 edition of Noël's French-Japanese Dictionary – which carries the seals of both the Army Library and Army College of Japan – into a new term, *taisō-jutsu* (literally, the art of body exercises). This was then shortened to taisō or *taijutsu*.

As Ōba explains further, the Japanese army at the time introduced 'art d'exercer le corps' as a physical training method. Used in combination with military drill commands, the aim was to improve the basic physical caliber of the nation's soldiers. As with the French-Japanese dictionary, some of these training manuals carry the official seals of the Numazu Military School, the Army College, or the Army Library. Ōba thus finds such materials significant for determining the origin of taisō in Japan. In reality, Nankō, the first university established in Japan in 1871, used the word taisō in its 1872 text, *Shachu taisōhō zu* (Illustrations of the Body and Gymnastics). In July 1874, the Ministry of Education published *Taisō-sho* (The Book of Gymnastics), using the term frequently. Compulsory use of the term began with the "Revised Curriculum of Elementary Schools" implemented on May 19, 1873. Significantly, Nishi held concurrent positions in the Ministry of Education and in the Ministry of the Army.

Thus, at the outset taisō was strongly associated with military drills, and it can be argued that these gymnastics were deeply embedded in government concern for building a modern national army. The primary emphasis in constructing a modern nation at the time was to improve bodily physique and cultivate a strong soldier-citizenry. For this purpose, one of the country's highest priorities was to improve the physical strength of its youth. As a result, taisō was to become closely linked with disciplinary education and physical training, particularly in schools.

Taisō as a disciplinary tool:
Mori Arinori and Nagai Michiakira

Mori Arinori, who became Japan's first Minister of Education in 1885, adopted a national education policy which emphasized physical training and discipline of the body. He made gymnastics as a required subject in school curricula through the Normal Schools Act of 1886, with the objective of educating students in 'the importance of obedience and friendship, while maintaining dignity in behavior' (Taga 1960:191). Under this law, all students attending Normal Schools underwent military-style taisō training, and were required to live in dormitories with regimented lifestyles. Mori believed that the three elements essential to education were being obedient to rules and orders, exhibiting friendliness to others, and maintaining a serious attitude. As a result, he assigned priority to physical training, complemented by discipline. Article 11 of the 1891 Curriculum for Elementary Schools prescribes, 'The objective of taisō is to provide balanced growth for school children, enabling them to maintain their health and have cheerful, strong spirits. And it is also to cultivate the practice of obeying rules (Takenoshita 1951:30). That is, taisō became a tool for improving health and hygiene in society, as well as heightening group consciousness and strengthening awareness of obeying rules and superiors.

It was Nagai Michiakira who gave specific form to taisō as a tool. In middle school, he had been trained in taisō by a teacher who had graduated from the National Institute of Taisō, the birthplace of physical education and sport education in Japan (known today as the University of Tsukuba). The teacher practiced 'normal taisō,' which had been introduced by George E. Leland, the first person to bring gymnastics and sports to public organizations in Japan. 'Normal taisō' was a combination of taisō without apparatus, taisō with apparatus, and recreational activities, including various sports (Nagai 1940:8). After Nagai finished middle school in 1886, he entered Ibaraki Normal School, where he underwent military drill training (ibid.:11).

Nagai criticized the Ministry of Education for its strong dependence on the Army, because he believed the primary responsibility of schools lay in 'training the youth.' Following his graduation from Ibaraki Normal School, he entered Tokyo Higher Normal School's Department of Natural History, where he learned military discipline, military taisō, and normal taisō. His body was therefore significantly shaped by the process of discipline. Even after graduating in 1893, he maintained his devotion to taisō through steady self-training. He was hired soon afterwards as an assistant teacher of taisō, in addition to English and calligraphy, at a middle school attached to Tokyo Higher Normal

School. Only six short weeks later, he enrolled in the army for further military training. Through his experience in the army, he became even more firmly convinced that nurturing strong soldiers was an essential national priority, and for that reason it was critical to incorporate physical training (taisō) into school education (Nagai 1940:15-16).

The disciplined body

With this thorough training, Nagai Michiakira again returned to teaching. In 1896, he joined the faculty of a branch of Nara Unebi Middle School, and in 1899, he was promoted to be the school's principal and dormitory superintendent. The school's first fieldtrip was implemented according to his plans. Following the success of the outing, the middle school decided to make school fieldtrips a regular event, and it soon became customary for teachers and students to visit the Imperial Tomb of Emperor Meiji each November 3 (on the Emperor's birthday) and the Kashihara Shrine on the anniversary of the legendary first Emperor Jimmu's accession to the throne.

Visiting the imperial sites was the main purpose of these fieldtrips, and Nagai's intense dedication to emperor worship was no doubt greatly influenced both by his career and the social conditions of the time. However, the following excerpt from a student's reminiscence of one such fieldtrip suggests an important additional purpose.

> *We left our school early in the morning and crossed over ridges. It was almost evening by the time we reached the inn. I was very tired because I did not sleep well the night before, and in addition, we walked on dusty roads all day long. Upon arriving at the inn, we dashed to the bathhouse without even unpacking our baggage. After dinner, we were having a pleasant conversation amongst the students, and the teacher in charge of our class came in and scolded us for going out without permission and ordered all of us to keep standing until midnight. He accused us of violating school regulations, but none of us had ever heard of such a regulation. We were sure that the teacher chuckled to himself as he watched us running to the bathhouse. A maidservant whispered to us, "How unfortunate for you! Your teachers are drinking sake in a separate room"* (Nara Prefectural Unebi High School 43).

The fieldtrips of that time strongly resembled marching exercises. The students experienced the pains of marching—the rough roads, the blisters, the

dust—and the unreasonable punishments inflicted as a result of actions made to be the responsibility of the entire class. Thus, they served the dual objectives of teaching students discipline and training by encouraging them to act as a group and by inculcating a deeper reverence of the Imperial House through visits to the Imperial Tomb and the Kashiwara Shrine.

At that time, Unebi Middle School promoted 'sincerity,' 'eagerness,' and 'patience' as the core characteristics essential to producing young men through educational mechanisms, and its teachers regarded the ethics classes, other subjects, and indeed the classrooms and playgrounds themselves as important sites for teaching and learning (Nara Prefectural Unebi High School 41). The school extended this philosophy to every possible dimension of student life: to their studies, conduct, and recreational activities. Nagai's activism thus exerted much influence in shaping the school's spirit. Through him, the school developed its own distinct culture, one which emphasized educating and training students through taisō classes, as well as fieldtrips and field days *(undō-kai)*. It can be argued that Nagai's activism helped to further disseminate among local middle school students Mori Arinori's philosophy: "Students must have serious dispositions, as well as an understanding of the values of obedience and friendship" (Taga 1960:191).

Of course, some people objected to the messianic activism through which he spread his philosophy. When he moved to his next post at another middle school, he applied his methods so rigorously that he acquired the nickname of the 'Taisō Principal,' and in the end, the students went on strike against his efforts. However, such voices of objection faded when the Russo-Japanese War broke out in 1904. The experience of the war strengthened Nagai's belief in the critical importance of enhancing the physical strength and morale of soldiers, stressing in particular the practice of taisō in order to train students on both physical and spiritual levels (Nagai 1940:20-21).

The discourse of the body

In the years following the war, Nagai went abroad to study gymnastics exercise and other sports in Sweden, Britain, and the United States. Upon his return, he was given professorships at Tokyo Higher Normal School and at Tokyo Women's Higher Normal School. In these two schools, he introduced Swedish gymnastics revolving around a core of taisō. In 1913, he took the initiative of creating a "Teachers' Curriculum for Taisō." In addition, he wrote a Manual for Teaching School Taisō, in which he describes the following four objectives for taisō as a school subject:

1. To achieve a well-balanced development of all parts of the body;
2. To achieve full development of each bodily function;
3. To develop the capacity for quick and lasting action, and to cultivate a strong and cheerful spirit; and
4. To acquire the values and habits of discipline and cooperation.

These four objectives, he insisted, could only be achieved in combination, and their potential was not realized when exercised individually (Nagai 1913:11-12).

One aspect of Nagai's philosophy was the significance of keeping the chest straight since this is the most fundamental and important part of the human body (Ibid: 38). It was Nagai who created the command, *'Kiotsuke!* (Attention!),' as well as the associated position of attention that we often witness in physical training classes and other occasions of school life. He gave detailed explanations of the proper way to deliver commands and to come to attention using various illustrations, such as that in Figure 1 (Ibid: 54-55).
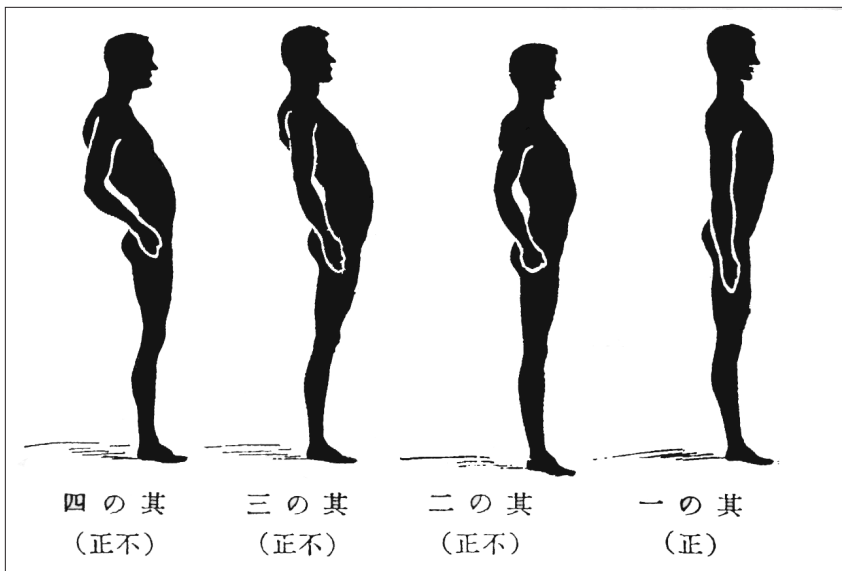

Figure 1. Correct and incorrect ways of holding the body at attention. From Nagai 1913:56.

The body in schools and cities

Nagai's theory and promotion of taisō as physical discipline stood in sharp opposition to the philosophy of Kanō Jigorō, the president of Tokyo Higher Normal School. Kanō was aware of the spread of sports through the world and

thought that sports and recreation were the ideal means of improving people's physical strength conflicted. However, after Nagai attained his professorship and published his curriculum and manual on taisō, his ideas came to be well accepted and widely practiced as the basic form of physical training in Japan. His ideologies dealt not only with school taisō, but were commonly applied to military taisō, military discipline, marching, field days *(undō-kai),* and fieldtrips. Furthermore, they regulated school cultures and deeply resonated with the social conditions at the time, including nationalism spurred by the Russo-Japanese War. At one level, schools were places of book learning, but with disciplinary techniques and physical training, they can also function to shape children's bodies and spirits into a form desired by the nation while the true purpose remains hidden. From 1928 onwards, people also regularly practiced radio taisō, which became another important tool for the making of the disciplinary body. It was established as one of the memorial enterprises at the time of the enthronement of Emperor Showa (1901-1989) and was introduced by the Department of Simplified Insurance of the Ministry of Mail and Communication together with the Japan Broadcasting Association, the Ministry of Education and Culture and the Association of Life Insurance Companies.

In 1931, Radio Taisō clubs came into fashion, a trend that expanded quickly in juncture with block associations and National Youth Association groups. They first became popular in the Tokyo metropolitan area, but soon afterwards they were widely accepted throughout Japan, sponsored by the Ministry of Interior and the Ministry of Education and Culture. In 1933, Radio Taisō club participants numbered 44 million in total, 75 million in 1935 and some 122 million in 1937. Although Radio Taisō clubs were primarily formed to assemble people for morning mass exercises during summer vacation periods, these clubs also performed when raising the national flag, bowing towards the Imperial Palace, singing the national anthem and during patriotic marches (ibid.:93-94).

Radio Taisō thus inserted itself into everyday life and promoted a self-awareness of nationality through physical drills and calisthenics. As the Japanese war machine accelerated, patriotism rose at a fevered pitch, and Radio Taisō was held at shrines throughout Japan, including the famous Meiji Shrine. It was then that Radio Taisō was elevated to the heights of spiritual ceremony to worship the Late Meiji Emperor through bodily movement and became a 'prayer performance' to overcome national crises. In order to condition the populations of occupied countries, such as Manchuria, Taiwan, New Guinea, to Japan's colonization, Radio Taisō dominated the airwaves. Even today, the Japanese overseas often gather to practice Radio Taisō as a confirmation of their national identity.

Apart from the contribution to national identity building, Radio Taisō can be seen as a bodily expression of modernity. "Radio Taisō is the means of mobilizing an individual's body for society as a blind effort towards modernity, decorated with such key words as health, rationality, efficiency and home" (Kuroda 1996:111-112). It will be necessary more closely to investigate the connection of body and identity, modernity and nationalism in Taisō.

Radio Taisō is currently practiced widely at kindergartens, schools, factories, corporations, hospitals, prisons, meetings and festivities. Its main practitioners are primary school pupils during summer vacation through Radio Taisō Clubs at schools, shrine gardens and local festivities. Taisō and Radio Taisō became convenient tools to create a subordinate spirit through physical exercises to unify the nation under the Emperor. This was emphasized particularly during the wartime, and Taisō and Radio Taisō became tools of Japanese colonial administration, although their effects among the colonized may have remained superficial.

Developing the bodies of urban consumer society

For all the emphasis placed on taisō, however, we must realize that the physical training programs implemented in schools were not the only mechanisms regulating citizens' lifestyles in the early twentieth century. Although the metropolitan centers of Tokyo and Osaka had grown rapidly in only a few decades, nonetheless, other physical modes of being were evident which were significantly different from taisō. Gonda Yasunosuke was one of the first astute scholarly observers of this new metropolitan scene: "massive demand was repeatedly created: at first by the wars (the Russo-Japanese War and World War I), then by post-war business expansion, and finally, by the indirect effects of these wars. This necessarily led to new processes of mass production, the centralization of capital, and finally, the emergence of modern capitalism in Japan" (Gonda 1974a:314).

Gonda went on to argue that the populations which constituted the cities created new forms and structures of mass amusement (Gonda 1974b:274). Among Gonda's examples were the cinema, plays, ballad reciting, and sports, which were performed regularly at cinema houses, theaters, storytellers' halls, and stadia (ibid.:264-265). As part of his study of popular amusement as the 'expression of popular urban lifestyles' (ibid.:318), Gonda examined the behavior of the young so-called 'modern boys' and 'modern girls,' who did little actual labor and instead led lives of consumption as they belonged to the classes of the idle rich, or at least the petty bourgeois:

> *Modern girls dress nicely, just as popular American film actresses do. Some of them wear showy patterned kimonos like those of barmaids. They paint their lips with thick applications of lipstick. Their rouged cheeks resemble those of monkeys. Their eyebrows are shaped narrow and long and their eyelashes curl excessively. Simply put, it is a parade of coquettish faces! After cinema houses close, crowds of people throng on the street, cafe lights glitter, and cheerful jazz music drifts outside from dancing halls. It is time for modern boys and girls to make themselves be seen.*
>
> *However, such people are seen only in limited areas of the city, such as Ginza, Hibiya, Shinjuku, Kagurazaka, etc. They can be seen only in the dance halls, cafes, and the tearoom of Senbiki-ya, all of which are located inside buildings. The only other places in which this kind of lifestyle is evident are the cinema houses, concert halls, restaurants, etc. …*
>
> *In short, the people who participated in this lifestyle did not live or work in the areas in which they are seen. They only gather there to demonstrate their membership in a unique lifestyle. In other words, this "modern lifestyle" is a lifestyle of the street, of the boulevards and avenues. These spaces extend to cafes, bars, restaurants, cinema houses, and dance halls, all of which constitute places for the performance of this modern lifestyle. … The modern lifestyle is thus a lifestyle on the streets. Consequently, the lifestyle is the product of modern urbaneness, which creates streets and makes them prosperous'* (Gonda 1974b:241-242).

It is undeniable that young people walking on the streets of a big city turn their gazes upon one another. It is this natural awareness of other watching individuals that cultivates an individualized state of body and mind. Gonda further elucidated:

> *"The modern lifestyle…we feel that there's something cheerful, airy, sweet, and pleasant in it. It's great! Nobody can resist this kind of feeling. This is the bright side of the so-called modern lifestyle. It is because of this that modern people cannot stay away from it despite the fact that it has a variety of disgusting aspects"* (Gonda 1974b:245).

Young men and women walking on the streets are always checking their physical appearance as reflected in a window display, thinking to themselves, 'Ah, that's pretty good,' and then they attempt to adapt their actual state to what they see. In this process, individuals create false images of themselves on the assumption that they are always being watched (see Figure 2).

出所：「現代化粧百態繪端書」（1935年）［『美と知のミーム，資生堂』資生堂，1998年，56頁］

Figure 2. Shiseido advertising art of middle-class female recreation, 1930s. From Sakai, Saito, and Miyake 1998.

The synergism of bodily states

Nagai Michiaki occupies the central position in the history of physical education in Japan, and this chapter has sketched his career during which he systematized the program of group exercises (taisō) that became its core in the national educational system. Both taisō and its extension as radio taisō were critical as disciplinary tools for emperor-centered patriotism, for wartime mobilization, and in Japan's colonial administration. But the media-zation of taisō through the new national radio broadcasts also signals a parallel process in the early decades of the twentieth century, an attention to style and to a physical comportment by new urban consumers that resonated uncannily with the taisō body.

Yamamoto Tetsuji argues that "power is hidden, and usually takes the appearance of a norm to disguise itself as something realistic and concrete" (Yamamoto 1984:200). It is clear that there exist several potential states in each individual's body. As an articulation for these states, we can think of the 'body' as an entity conditioned and nurtured by school cultures through a focus on disciplinary education and physical training methods such as Taisō. In this sense, I propose that Japan's distinctive mechanisms of consumer society, which include conformism and control by market capitalism, have interacted deep within each individual's body, with the course of their disciplinary education and school training.

I believe that this perspective on the historical development of the Japanese body offers us the opportunity to reexamine such Western perspectives as Michel Foucault's formulations of subjectivity and power, Jean Baudrillard's associations of education and training (or taming) for consumption, and Pierre Bourdieu's concepts of social space, tastes and interests. Moreover, if we question the effects triggered by Japan's past wars along the lines of Gonda's observations, it can be argued that some wars have changed the country's socioeconomic structure and deeply influenced the trajectory of capitalism in Japan. At the same time, however, it is clear that the process of disciplinary education and physical training taught in schools and the army has formed the basis of the hidden political power built in Japanese people. This will, I believe, lead to the opportunity to investigate the questions of individuals and freedom, as well as the basis of Japan's existence.

The body in modern society is imbued with a variety of social meanings. As Chris Shilling argues, it has been transformed into a "'blank screen,' or a 'sign receiving system,' always open to construction and reconstruction by external texts or discourses" (Shilling 1993:39). The body is therefore a receptor (ibid.:70), giving rise to many struggles in history over how the body is to be signified. This is why we can conceptualize the body as an 'arena of conflicts.'

References

Gonda Yasunosuke (1974a) *Minshū goraku mondai* [Problems of Popular Amusement] Original, 1921. Reprinted in *Gonda Yasunosuke chosakushū* Volume 1. Tokyo: Bunwa shobō

---- (1974b) *Minshū goraku ron* [Popular Amusement Studies] Original, 1931. Reprinted in *Gonda Yasunosuke chosakushū* Volume 2. Tokyo: Bunwa shobō.

Kuroda Isamu (1996) "Rajio taisō to kenkō kyampēn" [Radio Taisō and the Campaign for Health] In Tsuganesawa Toshihiro (editor), *Kindai Nihon no media ibento*. Kyoto: Dōbunkan, 89-114.

Nagai Michiakira (1913) *Gakkō taisō yōgi* [A Manual for Teaching School Taisō]. Tokyo: Dai Nihon tosho.

--- (1940) "Yo ga rokuju nenkan no taiiku-teki seikatsu narabi ni kaisō [Reflections on My Sixty-Eight Years Devoted to Physical Education]. In Ōishi Mineo et al. (editors.), *Taiiku shi no kenkyū* [The Study of the History of Physical Education] Tokyo: Kenbunkan, 2-49.

Ōba Kazuyoshi (1991) "'Taisō' kigen kō ni tsuite" [A Study on the Origins of Taisō] In Nihon taiiku supōtsu shi kenkyū shitsu (editor), *Nihon taiiku shi kenkyū no kiseki* [Traces of Research on Japanese Physical Education] Tsukuba: University of Tsukuba.

Sakai Tsuyoshi, Saitō Keisuke, and Miyake Naomi (1998) *SHISEIDŌ 1872-1998*. Tokyo: Shiseidō.

Shilling, Chris (1993) *The Body and Social Theory*. London: Sage.

Shimizu Satoshi (1996) "Taisō suru shintai: Dare ga moderu to naru shintai o tsukutta no ka" [The Body Practicing Gymnastics: Who Made the Model of the Body?], *Nenpō Tsukuba shakaigaku* 9:119-150.

Taga Shugorō (1996) "Shiryō 15: Kihan gakkō rei Meiji 19.4.10." In Taga Shugorō (editor), *Kindai gakkō no rekishi* [A History of Modern Schooling] Tokyo: Chūō daigaku shōhi seikatsu kyōdo kumiai shuppankyoku, 191.

Takenoshita Kyūzō (1951) *Taiiku gojū nen* [Fifty Years of Physical Education]. Tokyo: Jijitsushin-sha.

Nara-kenritsu Unebi kōtō gakkō sōritsu hyakunen kinen jigyō iinkai (1997) *Unebi hyakunen shi* [A Hundred Years of Unebi History]. Nara: Nara Prefecture Unebi High School.

Yamamoto Tetsuji (1984) "Fūkō 'Kenryoku' ron no zenbō" [A Full Perspoective on Foucault's Theory of Power]. In Kuwata Noriaki et al. (editors), *Misheru Fūkō, 1926-1984: Kenryoku, chi, rekishi* [Michel Foucault 1926-1984: Power, Knowledge, and History] Tokyo: Shinhyōron, pp. 190-232.

From Popular Performance to National Sport: The 'Nationalization' of Sumo

R. Kenji Tierney

On a cold day in February 1998, the first foreign-born *yokozuna* (grand champion) of sumo, Akebono, ascended the stage at the center of the cherry blossom shaped stadium. In front of a packed stadium and millions of television viewers, he performed the sumo ring-entering ceremony in a special ceremonial loincloth *(kesho-mawashi)* while facing the emperor of Japan. In a re-presentation of Japan, this ritual was reinterpreted in the media guides to "create a sacred space that will serve to bless the Winter Olympics and connote the sportsmanship to be displayed by the athletes at the Nagano Games" (NOOC 1998: 24). As Yamashita notes in this volume, this seemingly nationalistic display was in the middle of a trajectory from localizing/historicizing displays (the ringing of an ancient temple bell, erecting of local festival pillars, etc.) to international/ postmodern motifs (the English landmine victim, Chris Moon, jogging in with children, a five-continent satellite-hook-up singing of Beethoven's 'Ode to Joy', etc.). Meanwhile, other wrestlers, dressed more sensibly in 'traditional' Japanese formal attire and accompanied by a 'snow child' *(yuki-no-ko),* lead the various national teams. Finally, and perhaps not coincidentally, on this day the IOC granted provisional status to the International Sumo Federation's ambition to have sumo designated as an Olympic sport.

The spectacle raises some immediate questions. How is it that Akebono and the other wrestlers are standing in front of the athletes and not with them? Where does sumo wrestling fall within these imagined trajectories – from local to national to the global and from past to present to future? And finally, why does it make sense that sumo can seemingly stand as an example of a pure Japanese tradition, when it is obviously not so. This chapter considers these questions while examining the concepts of both tradition and sport in Japanese culture and society.

During Japan's modernization, the wrestlers and their performances were transformed from bawdy, marginalized entertainment into purified, symbolic acts for the nation, the military government, and the emperor. Between the 1850s and the 1930s, sumo was involved in a complex transformative process. While the basic activity did not change – two people grappling in a ring – it has assumed greater cultural significance through the mapping of these two

imported cultural formations onto the same activity. This chapter explores how sumo has undergone fundamental changes that are, however, naturalized so that discontinuities are introduced as continuities. While tradition and sport are often seen at odds (one seen conservative and unchanging while the other progressive and modern) and identified as different activities, sumo presents an imbricated situation – where the historical processes of 'sportization' and 'traditionalization' can be identified and interpreted. Importantly, sumo did not become a 'neutral' sport or tradition; rather it became explicitly a 'national tradition' and the 'national sport.' In this process, then, larger meanings and implications were applied to sumo like so many layers of lacquer, and the wrestlers and their bodies assumed larger national significance for the Japanese body and Japanese culture.

Sumo in the Tokugawa Period (1603-1868)

Prior to Commodore Perry's arrival on Japanese shores in 1854, numerous forms of sumo wrestling existed, including shrine rituals, court performances, local contests, etc. During this period of political stability, sumo radically changed. In stark contrast to the preceding Warring States period, this relatively peaceful period was marked by a steady and rapid urbanization of the three main cities: Edo (present-day Tokyo), Osaka and Kyoto. As the largest city in the world, Edo's population of over one million was an eager audience for the numerous forms of urban entertainment that developed. Edo's popular culture was centered on the performers and entertainers who lived in peripheral spaces at the edges of the city and who occupied the socially marginal spaces of the strictly enforced status system.

One of these forms of entertainment was sumo. The Edo period saw the general introduction of the *dohyō*[1] ring as an enclosure around the wrestlers. Originally meant to contain freewheeling bouts, the *dohyō* became a fundamental part of sumo. The *dohyō* effectively created a stage for the wrestlers while dividing people between participants and spectators. Similarly, the *dohyō* reduced the martial applicability of sumo, changing it from a form of hand-to-hand combat where opponents could be kicked to death to a display of skill and technique, granting victories to those who push their opponents out of the ring, rather than kill them.

Negotiating between public demands for entertainment and frequent restrictions and bans by the authorities, a myriad of forms and participants appeared and disappeared. Bands of professional wrestlers toured the land, converging on the main cities for larger tournament. On the more entrepreneur-

ial level, some street corners featured strong men who took on all challengers, while in other parts of the city, solitary men shadow wrestled imagined opponents for the delight and tips of the audience. Sumo was also not exclusively male. Huge crowds came to see female wrestlers – some troupes traveled the country featuring feats of strength and wrestling (providing a similar program to the men's groups), while other groups showcased topless wrestlers engaged in various erotic displays (Omatsu 1993). As a result of unruly crowds and various sumptuary laws, sumo was banned numerous times throughout this period.

In this milieu, organized groups of 'professional' male wrestlers formed throughout the country, with the top wrestlers gravitating to the main groups in the largest cities of Edo, Osaka and Kyoto. At first, *tsuji-zumō* (street corner wrestling) appeared where groups performed in various open spaces (street corners, fields, riverbanks, etc.) for tips from spectators. Through authorization by various feudal lords, these bands or guilds retained the hereditary right to tour and perform in certain domains and areas (Furukawa 1968). Known as *'kakae-rikishi,'* many of the top wrestlers were retained by feudal lords *(daimyō)* serving as official representatives of domains. Paid a stipend (similar to members of the samurai class), the top wrestlers wore decorative aprons *(keshō-mawashi)* with the mark of the domain that sponsored them. Appearing in the court as representatives of the lords, at commercial meets in the three main cities, in countryside tours and in their 'home' domains, the wrestlers and their attendants achieved great fame as they continuously circulated throughout the country.

For the biannual commercial meets in Edo put on by sponsors *(kanjin-moto)*, the gate receipts were split with the host institution (usually shrines and temples). As financial success resulted from popular attendance, these tournaments were heavily promoted throughout the city. As such, this period saw the introduction of the ranking sheet that listed the wrestlers appearing in the upcoming tournament, the drum tower whose drum announced the start and end of the day's wrestling, and the practice of roaming the streets of Edo banging a drum to announce the start of a tournament. All of these practices exist today, though they no longer constitute sumo's main form of advertisement.

These meets *(basho)*[2] were largely outside of Edo 'proper' in the exceedingly popular and fashionable 'floating world,' the liminal space where the strict status differences enforced by the Tokugawa authorities were subverted and a 'popular' culture developed. The wrestlers were part of the celebrated trinity – geisha, kabuki and sumo – and sumo's stars were vastly popular. Spurred by developments in printing, their fame extended and intensified; the stars were written about extensively in the emerging forms of cheaper mass-produced media such as the numerous popular novels and the hundreds of

thousands of woodblock prints. Less a "sport" than a spectacle, often the main attraction varied, as promoters would often put obese children and men with gigantism into the ring to increase attention and attendance. In fact, some of these 'champions-for-a-day,' such as Daidōzan[3], the child 'wrestler,' achieved greater fame than their harder-working ringmates.

Their fame was vastly increased both by the extensive travels of the wrestlers themselves (as mentioned above) and by the countrywide[4] circulation of the aforementioned novels and prints which were bought as souvenirs by the enormous numbers of pilgrims who participated in the domestic tourism boom (Graburn 1983). Similarly, these novels and prints were circulated throughout the country by the increasing numbers of traveling merchants, performers and priests.

The fame of the wrestlers (along with kabuki stars and famous geisha) created a Japanese popular culture that was based outside of the status system. The wrestlers' combination of social marginalization and popular culture would be important during Japan's modernization period. Similarly, these nascent forms of advertisement and many other elements would play an important role during the post-restoration period where the appropriate of sumo's fame for political and commercial purposes was foreshadowed.

It is important to note that not only was sumo important to the birth of 'popular' culture in Japan, but it was neither explicitly 'traditional' nor 'national.' The displays were extremely varied and did not tend to fall within the modern concepts of 'athletics' or 'sport.' These concepts of tradition, nation and athletics/sports were introduced in the succeeding period.

1854-1884: 'Naked embarrassment'

When Commodore Perry returned to Japan for his second visit in 1854, he and his men were shown a sumo display at the end of the treaty negotiations. As sumo meets held at the imperial court were used by competing feudal lords to show off the strength of their domains, it is not surprising that the Japanese authorities held a sumo display as part of their larger presentation of the Japanese self. The sumo display was part of a larger exchange of presentations and gift. In the writings of Perry and his men, the Japanese presents of lacquer ware and handicrafts failed to equal the United States' "technological" gifts, such as the telegraph set and miniature train (Perry 1857). Nonetheless, the sumo display did leave an impression, although not the favorable one that the Japanese official had intended. While the immediate impressions by Perry and his men were cursory and not wholly unfavorable, later interpretations of the sumo display,

especially Perry's official account (1857), roundly criticized the wrestlers as uncivilized and barbaric.

Ranking the world's 'civilizations' was part of the Western colonial project at the time, and various schemata were employed. Soon after Perry's second visit, Darwin's *Origins of Species* (1859) was published and was influential in the thinking of many social evolutionists, such as Herbert Spencer (see his 1873 *The Study of Sociology)*. Widely accepted at the time were theories such as the 'Great Chain of Being' that also attempted to link conceptions of race and to those of the nation. In these attempts to measure the relative stage of civilization achieved by peoples, cultures and societies, not only were 'exotic' bodies in distant lands receiving attention, but also Europe's own underclasses were subject to examination (see Elias 1994, Caplan 2000). In this way, the civility of societies began to be assessed by their lowest members, and Japan was not exempted. Thus, there was international focus on the body not only as a measure of civility, but also as a testimony to individual personal development. Indicative of this view were the World's Fairs (starting with the 1851 Great London Exhibition) that became hugely popular as venue for nations to compete on a multitude of levels – as 'modern' nation in displays of industrial advancements and accomplishments, sporting venues (some Olympics were held at World's Fairs) and 'cultural' displays. Among these were displays of primitives against which spectators could measure their own progress such as the 1904 St. Louis Exposition that featured collections of exotic foreign tribes or domestic aborigines such as Ainu, Navaho, etc. Developments in photographic reproduction lead to an explosion in the circulation of images of the 'otherness,' first in the form of photographs, and the later in the mass circulation of postcards. Numerous photographers, such as Felice Beato and Baron Raimund von Stillfried und Ratenitz, produced numerous photographs of Japan. Their work was widely circulated in the west.

Beginning with Perry's published critiques (1857), foreign observers regularly wrote about sumo wrestling as indicative of Japan's backwards and uncivilized position in the evolution of cultures – explicitly reflecting the *national character* of Japan. Perry, himself, noted that sumo was 'athletically suspect' and "neither wrestling nor boxing". Although impressed by the strength of these 'stall-fed *bulls*,' he also remarks that "[O]ne of them was especially brought to me that I might examine his massive form; massive because his frame was covered with a mass of flesh, which to our ideas of *athletic qualities* would seem to incapacitate him from any violent exercise" (Pineau 1968: 190; emphasis added). In the critiques of sumo, later observers, such Rutherford Alcock, the first British representative to Japan, noted: "wrestling is to the Japanese what the ring is to us, and *something especially national*" (1863: 282-3, emphasis added). As

Europe was also attempting to regulate and clothe the bodies of its lower classes, the wrestlers were lumped in with the dockworkers, rickshaw drivers (who worked in close proximity to foreigners) and other 'naked trades' to place Japan in a lower social evolutionary position.

This image of Japan was further reinforced by the worldwide travels of Japanese acrobats. After the restrictions on foreign travel were relaxed in the Meiji period, numerous troupes, partially inspired by early visits by European circuses, traveled to the United States and Europe at the end of the 19th and early 20th century. Sumo wrestlers were among them, as observed by Perry:

> From the brutal performance of these wrestlers, the Americans turned with pride to the exhibition – to which the Japanese commissioners were now in their turn – invited of the telegraph and the railroad. It was a happy contrast, which a higher civilization presented, to the disgusting display on the part of the Japanese officials. In place of a show of brute animal force, there was a triumphant revelation, to a partially enlightened people, of the success of science and enterprise (Perry 1857: 433).

And Alcock, the first British minister to Japan and whose collection of items he had gathered formed the core of the exhibition of Japan at the 1862 International Exhibition held in London, used animal similes to describe the wrestlers:

> This so utterly confounds all our ideas of training, that I am at a loss to understand how such masses of flesh and fat can put out any great strength. They strip, and then, squatting opposite each other, look exceedingly like a couple of white-skinned bears or well-shaven baboons (Alcock 1863: 282-3).

The use of animal similes reflects a concern with social evolution. As articles and photographs of the wrestlers quickly circulated in the west, the wrestlers became a central trope in the larger imaginings of Japan. Numerous succeeding writers reproduced the language of the previous publications, as phrases such as 'mountains of muscles and fat' and simian tropes. Published as both travel guides to Japan and in general interest magazines and journals, these writings on sumo achieved wide circulation in the west and within Japan.

Amid this context of the internationalization of Japan, many people, including politicians such as Kanda Kōhei (a prominent Meiroku[5] intellectual), echoed these foreign critiques:

> *Sumo is inescapably an ugly, barbarian custom notwithstanding its popularity among large numbers of our countrymen. That is, men should pit wisdom against wisdom since using strength against strength is the way of beasts. It is not becoming demeanor for men to enjoy watching other men perform like beasts* (Kanda Kōhei, translated in Braisted 1976: 237).

Not surprisingly, as sumo quickly fell out of favor, many called for its complete ban.

These critiques of sumo came during a time of changing attitudes towards the body. As numerous Japanese traveled abroad (politicians, students, etc.) and many foreign advisors, missionaries and educators came to Japan, the shifting attitudes towards the body were intensified through governmental regulations. As their fellow citizens became westernized, the social space assigned to the wrestlers was suddenly changed – from being, in a sense, 'excessively' normal to internally 'foreign' or 'exotic.' We are reminded that while many of the top wrestlers during in the Edo period were marveled for, and promoted for, having unusual body shapes (see above), the majority of wrestlers were similar to, if not larger, stronger and more fashionable versions of, their fellow countrymen.

One of the most significant shifts was the 1871 *Sanpatsu Dattōrei* edict that outlawed both the native topknot (in favor of western hairstyles) and the sword. This was part of a larger reformulation of the countrymen as modern citizens, with the government ridding the country of the symbols of the Tokugawa class system (Ryu 1990). The wrestlers, arguing that the hairstyle was basic to their presentation, were able to call on their supporters in the government to gain exemption from this regulation. At first, everyone associated with sumo retained their old hairstyles, but the stablemasters and support staff (e.g., referees and name-announcers) soon cut their topknots. Similarly, the kabuki actors, who had also received the exemption, gave up the old style. In the end, the wrestlers were the only organized group in Japan with the topknot. They also differentiated themselves somatically by refusing to grow moustaches, which had become extremely popular as an embodied symbol of westernization (see Taki 1988, Fujitani 1996: 191, Oku 1993).

The foreign advisors and missionaries also introduced various sports and body techniques into Japan, shaping new Japanese bodies and a new concern with the body (see Shimizu, this volume). As part of the modernizing project, this boom in the popularity of sports among the "civilizing classes" was based in a conception of sports and athletics as a means to improve bodies, spirits, and souls. Although foreigners quickly labeled sumo as a "native sport," its critics viewed it much the way Kanda did, that sumo was less concerned with partici-

pation (and hence a means to self-improvement) and more a display of bodies. Thus it was a display of beastly activities and not a means to self-improvement. In these ways, early in the Meiji periods, the wrestlers quickly came to embody a past too recent to be recalled positively.

1884-1909: The internationalization and nationalization of sumo

Starting in the 1880s, there was an interest in the West in the body through athletics, body maintenance techniques, and a concern with the health of the social body. As citizens came to *embody* the nation, their bodies were the sites for progressive modernism, as theories of the body and athletics were set within larger issues of race, heredity, eugenics, diet/nutrition, sanitation, etc. With the movement centered in Europe and the United States, societal and governmental attention was focused on ways to improve the body and, by extension, the nation. In terms of sports, numerous amateur and professional sporting organizations were established, resulting in the creation of many international competitions and venues such as the 'modern' Olympics in 1896 (FIFA in 1904, Tour de France in 1903, etc.). While the Olympics were a venue for nations to come together, they came to compete against one another on many levels besides sports (see Guttmann 1992). As opposed to certain earlier Victorian attitudes linking the covering of the body with civilization, the modern Olympics (and athletics in general) uncovered the body for examination and as a site of contestation and 'progress.' On the more 'practical' level, sports and athletics were also seen as ways to healthier citizens and, by extension, healthier soldiers. Born in the era of the World's Fairs, the Olympics both included a cultural component to the displays, and, in some cases, they were held at the World's Fairs (2nd Olympics in Paris 1900 & 3rd Olympics held at the St. Louis Exhibition of 1904). Included in this new venue of inter/national competition were developing theories of race sciences, eugenics and various displays of native peoples such as the St. Louis Exhibition's Anthropology Hall. These World's Fairs featured symbolically opposed displays of modern people (cultural and athletic displays) and traditional or native peoples such Ainu, Inuit, and Navaho, presented in "primitive" counterpoint.

Beyond the sporting and cultural expositions that served to expose various kinds of bodies, technological advances facilitated the reproduction of bodily images. With the widespread use of cameras starting in the middle of the 19th century, numerous photographic images of Japan were produced and circulated soon after Perry's visit to Japan. These images, in picture books and later

as postcards, fixed certain images of Japan, in which sumo wrestlers figuring prominently. Although the 'geisha' appeared in nearly every travel book (some devoting half of the book to geisha), wrestlers consistently appear. Many of these descriptions and images of Japan blurred the line between ethnography and pornography (see also Alloula 1986). The wrestlers were just some of the 'naked bodies' embodying the Oriental otherness (alterity), including rickshaw drivers, longshoremen, bathing women, and geisha. These photographic representations were not without precedence, as there was a worldwide increase in the production and circulation of pornography in Europe, the United States, etc.

The worldwide fascination with the body was not merely absorbed wholesale by Japan. Rather, in this period of rapid increase in the popularity of sport in Japan, various Japanese bodily practices appeared. Most famous of these is judo, which was invented by Kanō Jigorō. Culling the best techniques from the various schools of fighting that had died out with the end of the Edo period and the feudal system, Kanō refashioned *jujutsu* (better known in English as jiu-jitsu) into a modern form of body culture emphasizing physical conditioning and spiritual cleansing. Kanō would later found the Japan Athletic Association and became the Japan's first International Olympic Committee member. He successfully negotiated the granting of 1940 Olympics to Tokyo (which Japan later refused due to the war; then they were switched to Helsinki, and finally cancelled). Like Kanō, judo's popularity was not confined to Japan, but rather his theories of the body and his judo practices gained great prominence throughout the world. He traveled extensively and his teachings were translated into numerous languages. In the United States, numerous judo clubs sprang up along with the accompanying literature aimed at teaching judo to every member of the family. This 'judo boom' was so great that it even counted President Roosevelt as an avid participant. He wrote numerous letters to his children about the benefits of judo (Roosevelt 1919). After his presidency, Roosevelt had Kanō send his right-hand man, Yamashita, to personally teach judo to all of his family.

Judo gained prominence throughout the world and changed the image of the Japanese body. Hancock states in the introduction to one of his numerous books on judo that 'the kind of athletic work that has resulted, undoubtedly, in making the little Japanese women the strongest and most cheerful members of their sex to be found anywhere on earth' (Hancock 1904b: xi). While judo was praised internationally for the benefits achieved by its foreign practitioners, renaming it as 'judo' signified a cultural reorientation away from techniques (jujutsu roughly translates as 'gentle techniques') into a spiritual or moral path (judo translates as the 'gentle way') that draws on the resurgent idea of *Bushidō* ('the Way of the Warrior'). The development was part of a rise of nationalism

in Japan. In 1899, Nitobe Inazō, one of the foremost Meiji intellectual leaders, published his book *Bushidō*. In presenting this as the moral base of 'the Japanese,' Nitobe asserted Bushidō to be the Japanese equivalent to Christian morals and European conceptions of chivalry and a guiding force in Japanese society (Nitobe 1899). Nitobe quite explicitly and aggressively extended these samurai values to all Japanese, including commoners, thus proposing a class-specific code as a national ideology.

After judo, the concept of *"sumō-dō"* ("the way of the wrestler") gained currency and appeared regularly in publications on sumo. While sumo itself did not change radically, this attachment of the Bushidō ideology reinterpreted sumo to locate it at the root of the nation. Just as the sumo body had changed from a contemporaneous one into a symbol of the past, this attachment of a re-fashioned Edo-period ideology served to make sumo as "history embodied." In mid- and especially later-Meiji, numerous articles and texts invoked the Way of the Wrestler and proclaimed it as the pride of the nation. For example, Kitagawa wrote in his book, *Sumō to Bushidō* (1912):

> Sumo is our kokugi and is a special skill that we should be proud of to the world. Yet, there are people in this world who view it as but an ordinary performance. This book was written with the intent of refuting these wrong beliefs, of informing the reader of sumo's proper history, and of assisting sumo, together with bushidō, to greater prosperity (Kitagawa 1912: 1).

Asserting a moral and national basis of sumo, the professional wrestlers' lives and actions took on larger cultural meanings. Just as Nitobe shifted samurai ideology to all Japanese, the rise of amateur sumo as a *participation* sport signaled sumo's radical cultural repositioning. What was once a popular display to be watched now became a moral ideology and the 'way' to both bodily and spiritual improvement and purity. The wrestlers who had once been an embarrassment of Japan were now role models for their fellow citizens – the embodiment of a primordial Japanese spirit.

These developments were part of a turn to 'tradition.' While these imbricated categories of 'sport' and 'tradition' have often been contrasted, it should be noted that the Japanese word for tradition, *dentō,* was resuscitated at this time and mobilized for nationalist projects. For the sumo wrestlers, their biggest break came when they were granted permission to perform an ancient-style *(sechi-e-zumō)* in front of the emperor in 1884. Unfortunately, the officials involved were not able to figure out how it had been performed, forcing them to revert

to Edo-style charity sumo *(kanjin-zumō)* – the style they had been performing a mere 30 years before. In the end, this viewing of "traditional" sumo by the emperor led to a boom in the popularity of sumo (Yumoto 1998: 286).

As a result, a profound transformation in the way that sumo was conceived took place. Now, instead of a display of strength performed by unusual and remarkable bodies, the wrestling came to represent larger ideologies that were emerging with bifurcated formations of sport and tradition. The matches were now honorable contests between warriors upholding a samurai's honor. The underside of Bushidō also first appeared during this era – *yaochō*[6] – the practice where wrestlers arrange ahead of time who would win. Previously, when sumo was not based in western sporting conventions of tournaments (e.g. winners of tournaments were not declared), fixed matches were not necessarily a concern. It is only during this period when a code of ethics was attached to sumo and numerous articles criticized wrestlers for *yaochō*. What were once displays that did not particularly emphasize the outcome gradually became honorable competitions between sides (and later, individuals). Later with the building of the *Kokugikan* ("national skill hall," see below), numerous measures were introduced to make sumo more similar to the emerging ideas of sports in the west. As Thompson (1989) has convincingly shown, in terms of rules, sumo became more and more 'sport-like' as the modern period continued. Numerous sporting conventions were introduced including starting lines, time limits, etc. Similarly, the sumo association got rid of the ties, absences from matches, and draws, replacing them with rematches and defaults. These changes restructured the tournaments to allow for a champion to be chosen. Initially the winner was one of the two sides, but later this evolved into an individual championship system.

1909: The building of the Kokugikan (National Stadium)

The sumo stadium, called the *Kokugikan,* was built in 1909 causing some of the most significant changes to sumo in the modern period. Built in the extremely nationalistic period following the Japan's victories in the Sino-Japanese War (1894-5) and the Russo-Japanese war (1904-5), it reflected a newfound pride in things Japanese. Sumo was also enjoying unprecedented popularity surrounding the intense rivalry between the Grand Champions *Hitachiyama* and *Umegatani* along with numerous other popular wrestlers. While sumo had been criticized previously, the association had been able to retain and generate many important patrons. It was through the efforts of these powerful political and business patrons that the completion of this stadium was achieved, plac-

ing sumo on the national stage, and thus transformed sumo's presentation and larger cultural context. Initially, an important patron, who was the head manager for Yasuda Bank, granted the Association an unsecured loan of 400,000 yen. At first, Itagaki Taisuke's suggestion of *Shōbuka*'(military spirit hall) was the favorite for the stadium name, but the association official Oguruma saw an essay by Emi Suiin entitled "Sumō wa Nippon no Kokugi nari" (sumo is the national skill of Japan) and chose the name *Kokugikan*. His choice of Kokugikan was extremely important. Roughly translated, *kokugi-kan* means 'national skill hall,' but the term, *kokugi*, has gradually come to be translated as the national sport. Although other activities such as judō, kendō or kyūdō (archery, see Guttmann, this volume) could have claimed the title of national sport, the Kokugikan pre-empted them in permanently linking sumo to the nation.

Until the construction of the Kokugikan, the sumo association had erected temporary structures in shrine and temple compounds for its biannual meets – often canceling the day's matches when it rained. In extreme contrast, 'Sumo's Palace' (*sumō no dendō),* as it came to be known, was designed and built by Tatsuno Kingo, one of the most important early Japanese architects. Inspired by western motifs, this new venue was celebrated as the seventh wonder of the world[7] and could hold large crowds – over 13,000 paying customers filled its seats (previously sumo's audience had been limited to a mere 2,000). Not only was this sumo's largest audience, but also it was its most distinguished. For the opening ceremonies, the Meiji oligarch Itagaki Taisuke, who was the chairman of the Tokyo Sumo Association, personally greeted the foreign dignitaries who had been invited to the opening. The major newspapers covered the event, reporting over 3,000 members of the aristocracy, heads of business and industry, local and national politicians, and cultural figures to have attended. The novelist Natsume Soseki was unable to attend due to a funeral, but he noted the opening ceremony in his dairy. While the Tokyo Sumo Association's new stadium was very successful, various other Kokugikan were built throughout Japan, but they were largely unsuccessful and soon went out of business.

While foregrounding the traditionalization of sumo, the Tokyo Sumo Association made fundamental changes in the rule of sumo, transforming it into a 'modern sport.' The most noticeable change was that the top wrestlers *(maku-no-uchi)* wrestled on the final day of each meet. For over hundred years, they had only performed the ring-entering ceremony and not wrestled. This contributed to the second change – the introduction of a championship system. With the Kokugikan, the Association instituted a system of proclaiming a winning side and presenting the side with a championship flag. To emphasize a history of sumo, huge framed paintings of the winner of each tournament

were hung on the walls of the Kokugikan. Of course, this was not the practice before, because there was no clear-cut conception of a tournament champion and, of course, there were no walls in their temporary quarters. In 1925, the crown prince gave money to the Sumo Association after watching sumo. At first, the cup was named the Crown Prince's Cup, but it was soon renamed the Emperor's Cup when Hirohito ascended the throne later that year. This event served to finally induce the struggling Osaka Sumo Association to join together with the Tokyo Association to create a single, national sumo association called the Greater Japan Sumo Association.

Among other less conspicuous changes were to the referees' outfits, which had been the formal wear of the time, the *hakama* and *haori*. With the new Kokugikan, a firm was hired to design a new costume. Although it took a year for the outfits to be made, they were based on the elaborate 14th century *Hitatare* hunting outfits of the Ashikaga family (Nitta 1994: 277-283). While the carrying of swords had been banned less than four decades before, the *tate-gyōji* (top referee) was allowed to carry a short sword as a symbol of his rank. With these new outfits and the re-addition of the short sword, the referees were transformed from contemporary Japanese to historical figures.

Similarly, the way that sumo was the way that the wrestling was framed. While unnecessary for their new indoor venue, the Association retained the roof (with four pillars) over the ring. Significantly, the style was changed from the standard and plainer *Hisashi* style to a new one based on the famous seventh-century Hōryū-ji temple in Nara. As Hōryū-ji is the oldest wooden structure in the world and a famous and highly touted tourist destination for foreign and domestic tourists, these steps to historicize or traditionalize the presentation of sumo furthered the link between sumo and a primordial Japan.

In addition, in order to regulate the behavior of the wrestlers, numerous steps were taken. A main change came at the suggestion of the top wrestler, Hitachiyama. Through this change, the wrestlers were required to be fully clothed when traveling to and from the stadium. In other words, they bracketed the newly created 'tradition' in the framework of modernity. Similarly, in another attempt to make sumo more modern, they banned the previously common practice of spectators throwing money and articles of clothing (later to be exchanged for money) on to the ring to express support for their favorite wrestlers[8]. The payment and support of wrestlers moved behind the scenes. Fan/patron interactions were hidden as the wrestlers now became performers for the anonymous fan. In a sense, this allowed their performance to be interpreted as for larger causes such as the nation, eliminating, at least on the surface, the fabric of personal relationships.

The yokozuna

Along these lines, as Thompson (1998) has noted, the rank of the *yokozuna* was now recognized for the first time. Originally, this was not a separate rank but was just a superfluous honorific attached to the top rank of *ōzeki*. The creation of the *yokozuna* rank was an attempt by the Yoshida family of Kyushu to assert its authority over sumo and force the sumo association to recognize its power, but it also reflects a larger contradiction that appeared during this period (see below). This rank is different from all other ranks in that it is permanent. With the *ōzeki* and lower titles, a losing record(s) assures immediate or eventual demotion. In contrast, the rank of *yokozuna* is permanently granted to those champions considered to have dignity *(hinkaku).* The honored position of the *yokozuna* furthermore requires him to win by only strength and pure technique without tricks and sleights. If the top ranking wrestler cannot perform well enough to honor the position of Grand Champion, he is expected to retire from sumo altogether.

In this sense the Grand Champion rank succinctly captures the contradiction that emerged during this period between sport and tradition. The sporting side of sumo demands the natural rhythm of sporting competition, as the athletes get stronger and weaker and rise and fall accordingly. Tradition, on the other hand, demands that the strong stay strong and preeminent—all powerful and always honorable.

Women's sumo

Throughout the Meiji period sumo was the target of continuous criticism, but the attaching of conceptions of Bushidō, tradition, and athleticism allowed professional sumo to survive. This was not the case with other forms of sumo. Most notable were the criticisms aimed the various troupes of female wrestlers that continued to tour throughout Japan. While men's sumo was culturally repositioned as an activity for participation (as a sport) and as the embodiment of Bushidō, these avenues were not open for women's sumo, which remained a spectacle. This happened at a time when the rising political and military nationalism produced an ideology that dictated women be 'good wives and wise mothers,' reducing them to the reproductive body – one that could produce soldiers. Women's sumo was officially banned in 1925, although curiously, this period saw a rising popularity for the newly formalized amateur sumo, which included a newly created amateur women's sumo. Emphasizing the physical benefits of participation, this new form was part of the international boom

in women's sports, spearheaded in Japan by the judo's inclusion of women. Imbedded in a general concern with the health of the nation, the newly re-invented women's sumo was seen as a promotion of healthier women (and, by extension, healthier babies and healthier soldiers).

Setbacks and rebellions

The Kokugikan was a major success for the Tokyo Sumo Association but in a context of setbacks and failures. In 1911, in the so-called Shimbashi Club Incident *(Shinbashi Kurabu Jiken),* the wrestlers demanded higher salaries before the start of the spring meet. For this, the Tokyo wrestlers retreated into the Shimbashi Club. Their demands included the introduction of retirement moneys and similar reforms. In 1923, the top wrestlers and support people demanded higher salaries and retirement pay in an incident called the Mika-washima Incident. It was finally settled through the arbitration by the inspector general Akaike Atsushi, but resulted in the retirement of the top wrestler Ōnishiki. One of the last, and most successful, rebellions occurred in 1932, when thirty-two of the top wrestlers from the Dewanoumi stable went to the Restaurant Shunjūen and issued a list of demands for better control of the Sumo Association's finances, the ending of the teahouse system, life insurance and higher salaries for the wrestlers. When they were not satisfied with the Association's response, the wrestler Tenryū led a large contingent of the other wrestlers to form their own organization called the New Greater Japan Wrestlers Association. He attempted to 'modernize' sumo by cutting off their topknots and basing the organization around the principles of other sports. At first they were popular (Tenryū, at one point, advertised their meet by dropping leaflets from an airplane), but by the end of the year, many of the wrestlers had returned to the main association. Within five years, Tenryū's organization was finished and so were major rebellions within sumo.

While these were problems for the Tokyo Sumo Associations, the problems for the other association (Kyoto and Osaka) were much worse. As the gap in ability between the Tokyo wrestlers and the Kyoto/Osaka wrestlers gradually became obvious, the Osaka and Kyoto Associations became dependent on joint tournaments that featured the Tokyo wrestlers. The Kyoto Association suffered its largest blow when, in 1910, the top Kyoto Grand Champion Ōikari took all of the main Kyoto wrestlers to the Japan-British Exhibition in London. Heavily advertised in the newspapers ("First time out of Japan") and well received, the troupe extended their stay. Eventually they traveled throughout Europe, performing at various exhibition, venues and locales. In the end, numerous wres-

tlers dropped out and returned to Japan while Ōikari took the remaining men for a tour of South America – where Ōikari eventually retired and died. With the loss of the majority of its wrestlers, the Kyoto Association eventually joined with the Osaka Association.

Sumo wrestlers' prominence abroad was met with ambivalence back home. Sumo wrestlers often appeared in the World's Fair and Exhibitions, but looking at the official books and brochures, produced by the Japanese government or its designated committee, one would not know it. Even though wrestlers, such as Ōikari went to the Japan-British Exhibition in London in 1910 and Hitachiyama's troop went to the Pan-Pacific Exposition held in San Francisco in 1915, neither of them appears in the official book. Nonetheless, within the host country, their performances were widely advertised and held a prominent spot in the ads for the exposition. At home their presence was hotly debated. Because the World's Fairs were venues to carefully construct a positive image of Japan, the Japanese government wanted to present an upper-class image to the visitors to the fair. Many politicians in the Diet complained that there were too many low-class Japanese at the fair (see Hotta-Lister 1999 for more). In a curious mix of modernist tropes and self-Orientalization, the Japanese government's displays always combined an emphasis on industry (shipping, tea, silk, etc.) with popular images of Japanese "culture" (geisha, Japanese gardens, teahouses, etc.).

The wrestlers themselves traveled for a variety of reasons such as Hitachi-yama's goodwill missions (sponsored by his personal patrons), lack of success at home (Ōikari could not successfully make the transition from being Grand Champion in the Kyoto Sumo Association to the tougher Tokyo Sumo Association), or as a money making tour negotiated through the behest of Japanese emigrants living throughout world (such as Tachiyama's trip to Hawaii in 1914). Both in 1907 and 1909, Hitachiyama was quite enthusiastically received by President Teddy Roosevelt, who was an avid sportsman and an enthusiastic judoist (Roosevelt 1919, 1929).

The militarization of sumo

Even before the official annexation of Korea by Japan, sumo wrestlers began traveling to Korea (and then later to Manchuria) almost annually. As the Japanese empire expanded, the wrestlers toured Korea, Manchuria, Taiwan and the South Pacific islands. Performing mainly for Japanese troops and settlers, the wrestlers also performed for non-Japanese such as the emperor of Manchuria. The wrestlers also presided over dohyō opening ceremonies at schools and

shrines – their stamping in the ring symbolized Japan's claim over the colonies as their space. This foreshadows the governmental policies to require sumo in both military training and in the school. What was once an embarrassment to Japan, sumo now played a central cultural role. Indicative of its new position as a part of Japan to present sumo to the world, numerous foreign dignitaries were invited to the Kokugikan, including Charlie Chaplin (1932). Thus, there was a dramatic change in the status of sumo whereby it was openly displayed to both Asian and international leaders.

These changes mirrored the Sumo Association's increasing ties to the military (government) throughout this period. While the wrestlers performed at the biannual army and navy commemoration days, the most obvious were the two military leaders who served as chairmen during the 1930s. Similarly, the numerous wrestlers who had been drafted were listed on the sides of the ranking sheets (*banzuke*). Because many of the top wrestlers' bodies were so shaped for sumo[9], their large bodies precluded service as actual combat soldiers. Thus, many symbolic gestures were made, such as performing army drills (in custom-made uniforms) in local parks and numerous performances for soldiers at army and navy days. This was made possible through the close relationship that the Sumo Association had with many top political and military leaders. For a time, the sumo association adopted the navy's symbol of the anchor and cherry blossom as their symbol, but this was later changed to be a cherry blossom surrounded by the outline of the dohyō.

The close relationship to the emperor continued and strengthened through wartime. The wrestlers performed numerous times for the emperor – both privately and at public events (such as the previously mentioned army and naval days). The Shōwa emperor was an avid sumo fan, and his patronage greatly contributed to the success of sumo.

Sumo's successes ended with the war. When the Allied forces landed in Tokyo, sumo was banned and the stadium was taken away to be renamed "Memorial Hall." The wrestlers were eventually allowed to start performing again and they took up their position as the national tradition once again.

Conclusion

By the 1930s, sumo had fully transformed into a reified tradition. What had been a marginal popular performance at the center of popular culture was turned into a central symbol of the Japanese nation. Although during the Edo period, sumo had been at the cusp of fashion, Japan's modernization served to freeze sumo in time, emphasizing its roots in Edo culture and adding historical elements to it.

This process was not a simple one. Rather, it was through the efforts of numerous historical agents that sumo was transformed into a hybrid between sport and tradition.

Although sumo's present day cultural role was a result of the interaction between global and local forces, sumo's position as a national tradition has served to elide the complex transformative process. Insisting on the historical fiction that sumo has 'not changed' denies how 'not changing' actually changes its cultural meaning and points to larger contradictions that can be seen today with the poignant image of Akebono (Chad Rowan) standing in the winter chill and blessing the spirit of amateur sportsmanship.

Endnotes

1 Reflecting sumo's insider/outsider status, the dohyō served two different functions. For imperial and shogunal displays, the dohyō permitted spectators (the shogun, etc.) to view two concurrent contests. Meanwhile, in the city and on the street corners, the dohyō (originally consisting of large rice bales placed around the wrestlers) was used to separate the participants from the spectators as numerous incidence of public brawling had forced its introduction by authorities.

2 The term 'basho' is often translated as 'tournament' but this reflects both changes within the structure of sumo to be more tournament-like (see below and also Thompson 1989) and sumo's current designation as a sport. Basho can also be translated as 'place' and, in the context of the Edo period, is probably more related to the larger idea of the 'meisho' (famous spot). In this, the term 'basho' reflects a larger emphasis on the sumo as being a performance or sight, rather than a tournament or competitive venue. As such, for this time period, I am translating basho as 'meet.'

3 Daidōzan became the toast of Edo and was immortalized in numerous woodblock prints by various artists. Most significant was the portrayal of him by the celebrated artist, Sharaku. Thought of as the 'Shakespeare' of the woodblock print artists, Sharaku's dramatic prints have commanded the highest of prices. The Japanese post office chose Sharaku's depiction of Daidōzan as one of its sumo stamps. As a child star, Daidōzan merely performed the ring-entering ceremony (dohyō-iri) rather than wrestling. Later, he actually became wrestler, but was ultimately not very successful.

4 I use the term 'country-wide' to avoid the term 'nation.' Although numerous scholars have convincingly pointed to pre-restoration conceptions of 'national', in this section, I am using the term nation to refer to the particular western configuration that appears in the post-restoration period. In this, I agree that many of the factors that Anderson (1983) points to (newspapers, map-making, etc.) are present, but that other critical conditions such as the attachment of history (see Duara 1995) and the nascent forms of appropriation had not advanced to form a 'national consciousness' (see below).

5 Kanda was a member of the Meiroku society that was formed in 1873 to "[promote] enlightenment among our countrymen" (Braisted 1976: xvii). A group that advocated the westernization of Japan, its name, Meiroku, comes the year it was founded, the 6th year of Meiji.

6 Although its exact origin is disputed, it is firmly within sumo. There is an important distinction between 'fixed matches' that generally refer to larger ulterior motives – including gambling – and yaochō that is typically not done for the gain of people besides the individual wrestlers. Typically, as the charge goes, a wrestler in need of a win asks his opponent to lose to him. Then, at a later date, the first wrestler repays to the other wrestler by purposely losing. In this way, wrestlers can maintain their positions (and thus their status and salaries) in sumo.

7 When not hosting sumo tournaments, the Kokugikan was used for a variety of exhibitions and events. So successful was it that numerous other 'Kokugikan' were built throughout Japan in the succeeding years.

8 Interestingly, this practice of throwing money onto the stages of performers also existed in Europe and the United States. Money was thrown on the stages of plays and, similarly, it was also done in the case of baseball where fans threw coins onto the field for their favorite players (see No byline 1907).

9 With the addition of the dohyō to sumo in the Edo period, the bodies of the wrestlers changed radically. While sumo had previously been a competition with opponents circling each other for an opening, the introduction of the ring around the wrestlers favored the larger wrestlers who are less prone to be pushed out of the ring. Until the Meiji period, the wrestlers had eschewed eating meat. Part of this was the folk belief that eating four-legged animals would result in ending up on four legs (and thus, losing). Similarly, there had been a cultural prohibition against eating meat. Buddhist doctrines associated death and the killing/eating of animals with impurity, and by extension, the untouchable classes. With the western influences in the Meiji period, this cultural taboo was ended. Most famous was the announcement that the emperor ate meat. The adoption of meat into the diets of the wrestlers served to increase the size of the wrestlers considerably.

—————————

References

Alcock, Rutherford, Sir (1863) *The Capital of the Tycoon: A Narrative of a Three Years' Residence in Japan*. New York: Harper & Brothers

Alloula, Malek (1986) *The Colonial Harem*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press.

Anderson Benedict (1983) *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism.* London: Verso.

Berry, Mary Elizabeth (1994) *The Culture of Civil War in Kyoto*. Berkeley: University of California Press.

Caplan, Jane, editor (2000) *Written on the Body: The Tattoo in European and American History*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.

Darwin, Charles (1859) *The Origin of Species, [and] the Descent of Man*. New York: Alden.

Duara, Prasanjit (1995) *Rescuing History from the Nation: Questioning Narratives of Modern China*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Elias, Norbert (1994) *The Civilizing Process*. Oxford, UK and Cambridge, MA: Blackwell Publishers.

Fujitani Takashi (1996) *Splendid Monarchy: Power and Pageantry in Modern Japan*. Berkeley: University of California Press.

Furukawa Miki (1968) *Edo jidai ōzumō* [Grand Sumo in the Edo Period]. Tokyo: Yūzankaku shuppan.

Graburn, Nelson H.H. (1983) *To Pray, Pay and Play: The Cultural Structure of Japanese Domestic Tourism*. Aix-en-Provence: Centre des Hautes Etudes Touristiques.

Guttmann, Allen (1992) *The Olympics: A History of the Modern Games*. Urbana and Chicago: University of Illinois Press.

Hancock, H. Irving (1904a) *Japanese Physical Training*. New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons.

---- (1904b) *Physical Training for Women by Japanese Methods*. New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons.

---- (1904c) *Physical training for Children by Japanese Methods; A Manual for Use in Schools and at Home*. New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons.

---- (1904d) *Japanese Physical Training; The System of Exercise, Diet and General Mode of Living That Has Made the Mikado's People*. New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons.

---- (1904e) *Jiu-Jitsu Combat Tricks -- Japanese Feats of Attack and Defence in Personal Encounter*. New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons.

Hotta-Lister, Ayako (1999) *The Japan-British Exhibition of 1910: Gateway to the Island Empire of the East*. Richmond: Japan Library.

Itagaki Taisuke (1906) "Sumō no shōrai (The Future of Sumo)", *Taiyō* (May 1): 182-184

Kanda Takahira (Kōhei) (1874) "On Promoting Our National Music" *Meiroku Zasshi* (18). Translated by William Reynolds Braisted in *Meiroku Zasshi: Journal of Japanese Enlightenment*, Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1976.

Kitagawa Hakuai (1912 [1911]) *Sumō to bushidō* [Sumo and Bushidō] Tokyo: Asakusa Kokugikan.

Nitobe Inazō (1899) *Bushidō: The Soul of Japan*. London: Leeds and Biddle.

Nitta Ichirō (1994) *Sumō no rekishi* (The History of Sumo), Tokyo: Yamagawa Publishers.

No byline (1907) "Where are Our Old Baseball Heroes?" *San Francisco Sunday Call*, August 11.

NOOC (1998) *The 18th Olympic Winter Games: Opening Ceremony Media Guide*. Nagano, Japan: The Organizing Committee for the XVIII Olympic Winter Games, Nagano 1998.

Oku Takenori (1993) *Bunmei kaika to minshu* [The People and Civilization and Enlightenment] Tokyo: Shinhyōron sha.

Omatsu Hirahiko (1993) *Onnazumō-shi kenkyū* [Research on the History of Women's Sumo] Kyoto: Kyoto Takusenkyō.

Perry, Matthew Calbraith (1857) *Narrative of the Expedition of an American Squadron to the China Seas and Japan Performed in the Years 1852, 1853, and 1854*. New York: D. Appleton and Company.

Pineau, Roger (1968) *The Japan Expedition 1852-1854: The Personal Journal of Commodore Matthew C. Perry*. Washington, D. C.: Smithsonian Institution Press.

Roosevelt, Theodore (1919) *Theodore Roosevelt's Letters to his Children*. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons.

---- (1929) *Value of an Athletic Training*. New York: Printed privately.

Ryu Kaori (1990) *Danpatsu* [Topknot] Tokyo: Asahi shimbun-sha

Spencer, Herbert (1873) *The Study of Sociology*. New York: Appleton.

Taki Koji (1988) *Tennō no shōzō* [Portraits of the Emperor] Tokyo: Iwanami shoten

Thompson, Lee Austin (1989) *The Modernization of Sumo as a Sport: A Study in the Sociology of Sport*. Ph. D. thesis. Sociology in the Faculty of Human Sciences, Osaka University.

Yumoto Kōichi (1998) *Bakumatsu Meiji ryūkō jiten* [A Dictionary of Popular Usages in Late Tokugawa and Early Meiji] Tokyo: Kashiwa shobō.

Agitation and Restraint: The Dialectic of Emotions in Sports Spectatorship

SUGIMOTO Atsuo

When we are watching a sporting event in a stadium, we are sometimes caught by a strange sensation within us. The excitement and suspense of the action is urging us to shout out in encouragement as loudly as we can, but at the same time, something else within us is cautiously restraining us. Reason is trying to curb emotional impulse. This dialectic between the release of emotion and its suppression is in fact central to the modern habitus, and it is keenly felt in sports spectating and performance.

For many social theorists, rationality is a key constituent of modernity. Max Weber (1992) offered an influential formulation of modern behavior by conceptualizing a dual rationality of purpose and value. Emotion was deemed to be irrational, and therefore excluded from rational thought and behavior. This was not the case for Weber in pre-modern times, when even violence, as simply one form of emotional expression, did not necessarily warranted regulation. Despite more recent mechanisms of control, however, emotions have by no means disappeared from our social lives. Many of our actions in daily life are determined by emotions. Even so, remaining subject to an ethos that discourages actions based on emotions, we moderns are forced to live in a way that continually suppresses our spontaneous desires and affective motivations.

Norbert Elias (1994) has conceptualized the 'civilizing process' as the historical trajectory by which the modern state has come to control both emotions and their expressions in the form of violence. With Eric Dunning and others, he applied this specifically to sports. The rough folk games of the early modern ages were 'civilized' by instituting rules that controlled violence and thus prescribed standards for behavior. Elias argued that sports environments are designed to stimulate emotions and heighten excitement, but also to ensure that they present no danger to society at the same time. In this way, sports are a further means to regulate emotions.

But organized sports are unable to control physical violence by simply regulating it. Rather, arenas for "spectator sports" were developed as distinct zones to give play to the repressed emotions of city residents. A key feature of such stadiums is to allow the regulated expression of physical violence as well as violent language. The creation of a kind of "liberated space" within the city was thus

a safety valve that helped to maintain social order. Residents' feelings of bodily freedom when they are spectators are the inverse of the restrictions that they feel in their daily urban life and work.

However, this balance between liberation and restraint is very precarious because conflicts between the designed environments of modern cities and the individual realities of their residents are experienced on an emotional level (Tominaga 1996). Disrupting this balance creates the potential for spectators to become violent, as exemplified by the notorious soccer "hooligans" in England and elsewhere.

Michel Foucault (1995) and others have argued that modernity is marked by the effort to regulate bodies in the same manner as emotions are controlled. It is further significant that body control is made a matter of personal responsibility; such is the workings of invisible power, which Foucault identifies as the control of independence and individuality. Sports practices are thus crucial to controlling emotion through body discipline, and in this way, they are stabilizing factors of the institutional order. Consequently, it can be argued that an increase in the number of sports fans entails the further reproduction of social order.

The social role of sports in England, the United States, and Japan

It is often said that Japanese people are quite reluctant to express their emotions. This extends to Japanese sports spectators, who are said to be restrained and reticent; they watch sports quietly, without becoming overly excited. How true might this be? Certainly it is unusual that a Japanese sports audience will work itself into violent physical behavior like the football hooligans in England and some soccer fans in South America. However, methods of body control vary across modern societies according to the different perspectives towards body culture. In particular, there is much variation in the sports body cultures that played such important roles in the modernization of England, the United States, and Japan.

England, for instance, tended to be tolerant towards violence in sports. English society attempted to control violence by enforcing abstinence, and identified sports as having a cathartic value which served as a liberating outlet for body culture. Therefore, we can consider the introduction of sports into public schools in England as the institutionalization of systematic violence, with public schools affirmatively embracing the violence involved in body culture for the sake of managing the culture of the schools. Furthermore, the expression of violence by sports fans, as in the hooligans, highlights the limited ability of a society to repress violence. We can imagine that these expressions resemble the

body culture of street football in the early modern ages. We might even see this phenomenon as demonstrating a kind of nostalgic longing for the body culture of an early modern society.

In the United States, on the other hand, baseball has idealized in a pastoral image that plays down violence. As "home plate" itself symbolizes, baseball in United States invokes a strong sense of going home, alluding to the story of the American Dream as well as projecting an ideal image of what life in the United States should be like. Violence in baseball was unequivocally excluded because American society was a context in which violence frequently occurred. Violence towards umpires was regarded in an especially harsh light. This emerged from the fact that if a mediator was abused, then society itself could not exist. Furthermore, people attached importance to "fair play" as an ideology that required emotional control. Finally, by achieving its position as a "national pastime," baseball functioned as a unifying symbol in the United States.

And what about Japan? Simply put, Japan found a model for modern sports in the form of imperialism. In other words, sports were recognized as sites of national education through which an imperialist ideology of state formation could be disseminated. In a context where modernization was delayed, relative to other nations, Japan felt compelled to prove itself in the competitive international market. Thus, winning by any means necessary was emphasized in Japanese sports, causing an anomic phenomenon in the dimension of sports. The body was therefore consistently identified as a means for modern state-making processes, in which the development of national subjects led in turn to the growing power of the state itself. Needless to say, of course, the main purpose behind training the national body was to enhance Japanese power and prestige. In other words, the body was appropriated and reformed as an object controlled by the state, to contribute to the process of modern state formation. Consequently, sports did not exist as a national amusement, or an outlet for emotions. Rather, they were strictly managed by the state, and utilized as an educational means which would create "modern emotions" in Japan.

Regimes of physical education and the repression of emotions

At this point, then, let us consider how sports have contributed to the development of modern emotions in Japan. A common injunction in Japan is that "while engaged in physical exercise one must not smile." Students must not express signs of happiness during physical education periods. Acts of physical violence motivated by unchecked emotion quickly become targets

of criticism. An ideal body always remains calm and emotion-less, demonstrating control by rational will. If anything, one demonstrates that "I'm doing my best" through expressions of pain and distress. We can argue that the philosophy of modern physical education aimed to develop an "instrumental body" with an iron will that was invulnerable to emotion. In other words, the training demands of physical education contributed to the formation of the disciplined body, as described by Michel Foucault (1995).

A key tenet of the elementary school curriculum outlined by the Japanese Ministry of Education in 1891 was that "the objective of physical exercise was to foster a body well-balanced and healthy and a mind lively and strong, and to instill the habits of discipline." In this way, children's bodies were appropriated as objects of a disciplinary technology. The Ministry of Education introduced into the schools a military style of physical exercise, which was clearly aimed at cultivating students' body for the ultimate purpose of creating a strong army. By the 1910s, this military style was more explicitly codified as "military physical training," and by the early 1930s, as state militarism intensified, the Ministry combined physical exercise with martial arts to create a new form of exercise called "body training." The body therefore metamorphosed into a thoroughly trained instrument for the army.

The American Occupation after Japan's defeat brought a radically new philosophy of democracy to the educational system, including physical education. The twin objectives of improving personal physical development and physical technique were added to the national curriculum. Priority shifted to the desire for exercise in everyday life and to the enrichment of the aesthetic qualities of exercise and movement. Amidst the food shortages and hardships of the immediate postwar, it was of course very difficult to rationalize the imperative to find value in exercise. With economic recovery, the curricular objectives made more sense, and they were retained in the major revision of the national curriculum that was done in 1958.

A second major curricular reform was announced in 1968, which had been set in motion following the Tokyo Olympic Games. These Games had engrossed the nation and stirred public interest in sports, even while they demonstrated embarrassing disparities in the strength and preparation of Japanese athletes and those of foreign countries. The Ministry of Education therefore again switched policy direction and focused its energies on raising Japan's international competitiveness; it announced that the goal of school physical education should be to create strong bodies through sports:

> *Physical education should cultivate robust, healthy bodies, increase endurance, teach motor skills, foster the habit of exercise, promote proper public attitude, and promote the ability and attitudes necessary to lead a safe and healthy life.*

Given these aims, it fell within the curriculum of physical exercise to teach "strength-training," it became a purpose of sports to encourage "improvement of technique/motor skills," and it was a mission of dance to teach "expression."

The state further enhanced its existing discipline training programs and made exercise for strength the core of its curriculum. An annual strength diagnosis test was required for all pupils in physical education classes. Even at present, when national statistics are announced on "Health Sports Day," regularly attesting to a declining physical aptitude in the national population, both students and adults experience a personal sense of physical crisis, leading to resurgence in strength-training participation.

Thus, it followed that relentlessly tough training to increase bodily strength was inserted into every physical education class period. It is important to note, for my analysis here, that by presenting these exercises from the standpoint of aesthetics, this policy succeeded in severing transient desire from the body, and in the process it firmly entrenched the value of controlling personal needs and emotions.

On the other hand, when it came to "improving technique," the objective assigned to sports and the questions of how to move the body most efficiently and how to rapidly improve performance promoted a principle of physical efficiency. This reflected the larger conditions of the historical moment, which was the shift from an ethic of mass production to that of quality improvement, driven by a national effort to eliminate "waste." The conviction that "waste is a sin" became popular, and efficiency was valorized. Children were introduced to the compelling world of the "efficiency principle," which led, for instance, to competitions over how quickly and efficiently a certain skill could be acquired during physical education classes.

Thus, in sports as in physical education, spontaneous emotional expressions that emanate from within the body were suppressed. Instead, evaluation based primarily on the principle of efficiency in movement and the subsequent ordering of physical skill by categorizing what one "can do" and "can't do" constructed feelings as hatred, guilt, and inferiority among children. Moreover, even dance, which was based on the expression of emotion through movement, was not completely free from the modern idea of the body as an "instrument."

Emotions and the tournament
of meritocracy in postwar Japan

In this way, the rise of the two principles of ascetic strength and efficient technique completed the process of repression of emotions which had begun in the Meiji period. It is vital to remember that the context of this development was the pervasive social and political pressure to increase national economic productivity in Japan's drive to modernize. Therefore, people were forced to internalize the sense of rivalry that arose in a meritocratic society where competition is structured as if by tournament, and people were compelled to adopt this pattern of competition as part of their physical habitus.

This style of physical education was very effective in heightening this sense of rivalry and competition because differences in strength training and physical technique could be measured in concrete and specific terms. Furthermore, I think that one of the reasons why high school baseball has been so popular with the Japanese people since the Meiji period than physical education is because it vividly invokes the value of competition through its tournament format. Physical education has therefore played a key role as a site for instilling the sense of rivalry which forms a basic foundation of meritocratic society.

In any tournament, there is always a loser. However, overall productivity decreases when the loser drops out of the tournament altogether. It is thus necessary to reincorporate losers back into the tournament. In other words, the system must offer opportunities for return matches through which losers can try again. "I will use these feelings of regret to try harder next time" is a phrase often uttered by athletes after a loss in Japan. Is it not precisely this sense of "regret" that will motivate the athlete to compete again in the tournament? For feelings of regret are not easily escaped. Regret is similar to resentment in this way, because neither will subside so long as one fails to achieve victory.

A famous Japanese professional baseball pitcher, Daisuke Matsuzaka, used the term "revenge" when asked what the pitcher of a losing team does to dispel these sentiments of regret (the term then won the "most popular phrase" award in 1999). During the Nagano Olympic Games, the mass media described the famous ski jumper Harada Masahiko as burning for revenge to dispel the regret of his defeat at the Lillehammer Olympic Games. Such a "revenge narrative" has deep roots in Japan, perhaps most notably in the early modern tale of "Chūshingura" (The Revenge of the Forty-Seven Samurai). The first modern production of Chūshingura in 1910 caused such a sensation that it was produced every year until 1942. At that point, production ceased because this type of revenge story was deemed inappropriate while Japan remained at war, and

subsequently under the occupation of the American army. Performances resumed in 1952 and continued through 1962, after which it has been performed more sporadically. Perhaps its revenge motif was displaced by the media into the world of sports after the 1964 Tokyo Olympic Games.

The sociologist Yō Takeuchi (1995) has argued that the selection process for determining employee promotions within Japanese enterprises is a clever device for encouraging and rekindling worker enthusiasm and commitment. For example, if one's performance in one department is poor, he will change departments and strive for success there instead. Similarly, because school entrance examinations are so precisely measured (and absolutely determinative of admission), students can resign themselves to not striving for the most demanding high schools or universities, but still have the data and the motivation to try their best to gain admittance into a high school or university more suited to their achievement level. This is a system structured to motivate people to strive hard, while simultaneously making them aware of their limitations. That is, students at school and employees at work are forced into "return matches," and the expression, "I will be deeply disappointed if I lose" *(maketara kuyashii)* is an incantation for reaffirming determination.

Physical education was therefore used as a model to teach students the emotion of "regret" in quite stark terms, because victory or defeat is clearly determined in every instance. The emotional association between losing and regret (in contrast to winning and happiness) is a social construct, critical to the making of modern society. For Japan, it provides the enabling logic of the society as a particular kind of meritocracy.

The emotions of sports spectatorship, mediated and live

Of course, modern emotions are not formed solely by physical education. Sports more generally, both playing and spectating, have been other important loci of socialization. And in analyzing modern sports, we must distinguish and relate stadium experience and, what has become the predominant encounter with sports for many, sports as experienced through media.

It is impossible to conceive of sports today without the presence of the media. Television in particular has vastly multiplied the number of sport fans, and recent technologies of live satellite broadcasting have globalized of how we watch sports. In all developed countries, time spent watching sports programs on TV is much greater than time spent actually going to games in stadiums. It would is no exaggeration to say that popular attitudes towards sports are largely

shaped by the media. Television stations compete for higher audience ratings by producing more exciting programs.

Televised sports images engineered to entice and excite viewers take the form of virtual reality. This means more than simply bringing us closer to the real action of the game; instead, it far exceeds the charged excitement one experiences in a stadium. In other words, we can argue that television is creating a new culture of sports altogether. We no longer watch the events in a stadium through a straightforward projection on television; rather, we see a "media event" carefully engineered by the television media (Yoshimi 1994).

The medium of televised sports events is comprised of both picture and narrative. The picture draws us to the television set by introducing us to unfamiliar experiences, and then offers even greater stimulation than we get in stadiums. For example, if we watch a player batting on television, the centerfield camera position puts us in a position over the shoulder of the pitcher and close to the perspective of the shortstop, which stadium spectators never enjoy. At other moments, we are rushed to first base for a close play, and are taken right up to the mound if a pitcher is being switched. We even peep into the dugouts. We follow the trajectory of a ball thrown at 150km/h, and can witness a home-run scene over and over again.

Sports, moreover, must be dramatized. It has been noted that the documentary film "The Festival of Ethnicities" taken at the Berlin Olympics launched this style of dramatizing sports, and the media's sport dramaturgy was further consolidated through Ichikawa's noted documentary of the 1964 Tokyo Olympics. In preparation for broadcasting the 1996 Summer Olympics in Atlanta, NBC conducted extensive market research. They determined that viewers wanted to see sports as individual drama, and thus adopted the strategy of frequently showing close-up images of players to humanize and personalize their coverage. We might say, of course, that sports images are more easily dramatized than other areas of life covered on television; they allow for very simple and direct narratives, and easily lend themselves to breathtaking suspense.

In these ways, television puts us on the field into the same position as the players. No other medium creates such a strong sense of oneness as television. And yet, while the viewer sees the game through the players' eyes, s/he never needs to worry about catching a ball, being spiked, or being hit by someone sliding into base. The physical excitement is vicarious, comparable perhaps to the thrill of riding a roller coaster. The viewers feel fear in a context in which absolute safety is guaranteed, and thus deep inside they remains calm. Perhaps this knowing assurance allows them even more freedom to become excited. This is how a paradox of physical excitement without actual physicality is established.

Because the body remains untouched, the media can create fans who are excited vicariously while simultaneously remaining safe and orderly.

However, viewers can only feel this kind of excitement if they are convinced of the illusion that they really are watching a live event. In Erving Goffman's terms (1974), they transfer the frame of stadium sports to another frame of televised action. The reality is inverted through the "down-keying" of frames, and they are mesmerized by the television, feeling just as if they were watching the game in a stadium. This is similar to the experience of feeling compelled to cry even when one know a play to be fictional. Consequently, reality cannot exist outside of the media, and only appears as an event conjured or simulated by the media (Yoshimi 1996).

A professional baseball stadium is the embodiment of a festival space. As in a festival, standardized foods such as hot dogs and soda are sold, and programs, cheering paraphernalia, and autographed baseballs and T-shirts fill concession booths. Many of today's stadiums are domes with artificial turf, and they have lost the traditional bucolic atmosphere of open-air baseball; instead, they are theater-like spaces in which audience participation is integral (Sugimoto 1992).

In American baseball (and other sports), the stadium attempts to organizes all of the crowd's cheering. Public-address announcers boom out their voices; an amplified organ broadcasts the music. On the huge electronic scoreboard, enthusiastic spectators from the stands wave their hands at the camera, and phrases like "Go, Go!" and "Charge!" blaze up on the scoreboard when the home team has a chance to win, orchestrating the crowd.

The spectators dutifully but willingly follow the stadium queues for cheering, enthusiastically seeking a bond of identity with the team and players they support through their cheers and jeers. Compared to Japanese ballparks, spectators are closer to the players and action; the fences around the field are lower, players occasionally jump or fall into the seats going after balls. Spectators bring gloves to the game hoping to catch the foul balls or home runs that go into the stands. They applaud when a fellow spectator snags catches a foul ball, and they cheer when someone trips in the aisle. The "waves" that sweep through the stands are further evidence of the participatory spirit of spectators, who in this instance assert a mutual bonding that is distinct from the connections they seek with the players.

Japanese spectator sports have borrowed some feature of this model in crafting a cultural apparatus for agitation. One decisive difference, however, is the central role played by independent and voluntary cheerleading clubs or groups (known commonly as *ōendan*). While American stadium personnel or

team cheerleaders orchestrate cheering, in Japan it is directed by these autonomous cheer groups. Unlike the official cheerleader teams at an American football or basketball game, who are allowed to come out on to the field or court during breaks, ōendan remain in the stands.

Consider one of the most celebrated cases of ōendan, those who come to Kōshien Stadium outside of Osaka to support the Hanshin Tigers baseball team (for more details in English, see Kelly 2002). Their cheering is exceptionally well organized—as is the social structure of the hundreds of clubs and the several associations into which they are grouped. The groups have membership charters and manuals detailing their routines. Each Hanshin player has a set hitting march, and the routines, inning by inning, are pre-determined. The chant for the former star outfielder, Shinjō Tsuyoshi[1] was:

"Go, Go Shinjō! He's on fire! Go, Go Shinjō! Show us your fight!"

Spectators enthusiastically chant these hitting marches while slapping their megaphones in rhythm, accompanied by trumpets and drums. Every turn in the action—such as a run scored, a homerun, or a pitching change—has its own song, which must be performed by crowd in unison. Before the bottom half of the seventh inning (known as the "Lucky Seventh"), spectators release thousands of "jet balloons" that noisily fly up into the air and settle on to the field, where they must be hastily cleaned up by the grounds-keeping staff. Whenever the Tigers win a game, the crowd stays behind to sing the team song, "Rokko-oroshi," and their excitement reaches a fevered pitch. Spectators pay little attention to the occasional scoreboard suggestions for cheering, and individual chanting that departs from ōendan forms is frowned upon. In other words, the groups largely dictate spectator participation.[2]

The performance of systematized group cheering transforms the ballpark into a festival space, resembling for many Japanese the "*bon-odori*" dances of traditional Japanese festivals. The cheer leading groups serve the same function as the priest who stirs up the festival. These cheering patterns instill a sense of familiar security, while acting as the "ceremony" which allows people to recognize the stadium as a festival space, and thus serving its purpose as an "agitating cultural apparatus." Nevertheless, the collaboration born from the collective physical performances by fans is sufficient to fill the gaps in communication created by the estranged human relations of contemporary social life. In the old days, churches or village festivals provided the spaces that deepened community solidarity, but stadiums seem to have adopted that role today (Sugimoto 1995).

As Allen Guttmann (1986) argued, the muting of social class markers in stadiums contributes to the creation of a different kind of space, which surely adds to the excitement. However, the fact that this is a different kind of space also leads to the potential for the enthusiasms to get out of hand. Because the audience focuses on the spectacle of a body (or bodies), it can rather easily become excited enough to threaten the social order. As Erving Goffman once noted:

> *Two teams drawn from groupings openly opposed to each other may provide incidents during which so much externally based hostility flows into the mutual activity of the sporting encounter as to burst the membrane surrounding it, leading to riots, fights, and other signs of a breakdown in order* (1961: 72).

Of course, soccer hooliganism in England is a notorious example of this phenomenon. If a society is relatively homogeneous and harmonious, the significance of sports to symbolize divisions is slight, and it is only the capacity of sports as spectacle that determines their value. On the other hand, in societies with sharp, wide-ranging internal divisions, sports do often condense and represent these differences. In this case, the underlying tensions create a passionately charged spectacle, but in some instances the hostility is so strong that they cannot be contained by the symbolic tensions of the game itself.

In sum, a cultural apparatus for agitation that ignites such excitement might easily destroy order and civility. Thus we equally require mechanisms for containing such excitement, that is, a "calming cultural apparatus." For many Japanese sports, this takes the distinctive form of the volunteer cheer groups that direct the cheering.

Cheering to excite or to calm?

"It's our work to reduce conflicts among the guests." So declared the head of *Senshu mōko kai*, one of the private cheering clubs at Kōshien. He sees the clubs' function to insure that stadium spectators can come to the ballpark and cheer happily. He went on to tell me that that "these days guests who come to the stadium have bad manners, so we must demonstrate better manners," including trying to teach other spectators the "proper way to cheer." They believe that the stadium is a place for fans to learn about controlling and directing their emotions. Thus, when the game begins, they ask the spectators for their cooperation with moderate cheering, and they thank the audience each time they finish supporting the team's offensive attack. Furthermore, when the Hanshin Tigers

lose the game, they exhort and guide the other spectators ("Please don't throw things," "This is the way to the exit") so that everyone will exit without becoming unruly. Although this is really the job of the stadium attendants and guards, the audience is actually more willing to comply with the directions of the cheer group. This is because they have formed a relationship of trust with the cheering clubs through the cooperative experience of cheering together.

How did such cheer groups emerge? Japan was introduced to sports about 100 years ago, by way of universities which trained the elite classes. Universities held competitive matches among themselves, and formed cheer groups at the same time. What function did these groups serve at their universities when they were first organized? Yokota Jun'ya (1991) has researched the case of the longest-standing rivalry in college baseball, between Waseda University and Keio University (the "Sōkei-sen"), through which originated the modern cheering club.

In the earliest school baseball of the 1890s, cheering was not yet organized. Spectators shouted on their own, and the noisy mob was known as the "jeering battalion" (*yaji-gundan*). However, when the Waseda University team went to the United States in 1905, it was greatly impressed with American-style collegiate cheerleading; the Waseda students made careful notes of the cheers and brought back flags, bugles, and megaphones to introduce them into their own games. They surprised and delighted spectators on the first occasion when a Waseda cheerleading club unveiled the new techniques.[3] Their arch-rival, Keio University, soon came up with its versions of songs, banners, and megaphones, and these early patterns formed the foundations of today's cheering.

The next step was to divide the teams' spectators into the first base and third base sides of the bleachers, thus setting the stage for oppositional cheering battles. This quickly brought the spectators into a frenzy of excitement; students and other supporters would often get so excited that they would swarm onto the field, forcing games to be cut short. Moreover, people frequently taunted the opposing team and physical hostilities erupted. Sometimes, the cheer club battles were even more intense than the game itself, overshadowing what occurred during the actual baseball matches. These battles often transgressed the rules of sports. What had begun with official school support and sanction became students' vehicle for passionate but unofficial school loyalty, which only deepened the hostilities and rivalries between the universities. Eventually, as the cheer groups gained ever more members, so many quarrels erupted over the number of seats claimed for these groups that authorities of the two universities ordered a suspension of the Sōkei series, claiming the cheer groups were not fit for educated people. It took 19 years before the series

was reinstated, and then only with the condition that all cheering was strictly prohibited, with the exception of polite applause.

At the same time, though, in the early twentieth century, cheering was becoming common at the school athletic meets that were spreading through the school system. Of course Mori Arinori, the Minister of Education who was promoting these meets, did not intend that they should function as festivals, but rather as means towards modern physical training. Organized cheering was therefore encouraged for its contributions to the formation of the disciplined body because it was a method that did not tolerate disorder or non-conformity. It was much more tightly controlled than the original student groups at Keio and Waseda. This style of cheering continued later into high school baseball culture, and was adopted within professional baseball as well. Although many of the cheer groups at professional stadiums are privately organized, they still have come to function to regulate and direct the enthusiasms of the crowd. Even the "supporters" of the new J-league soccer teams have borrowed these cheering methods, which differs fundamentally from the style employed by their counterparts among English soccer supporters.

Thus, through participation and through mobilized spectatorship, sport in Japan has come to be felt as the physical performance of an "ascetic ethos." An athlete engages day after day in disciplined ascetic practice, seeking the ultimate goal of victory and idealizing the trying one's best as epitomizing the "ascetic ethos." According to Ōmura Eisho (1990), however, the practice of asceticism in fact deepens desire, because desire has been unnaturally suppressed. He argues that this "agitating cultural apparatus" above has modernized our lives.

Watching these sports that are constitutive of the "ascetic ethos" excites audiences further. If left unregulated, spectators would become ever more agitated, leading to the kind of unruliness that plagued the early Keio-Waseda series. At the same, a firm ban on cheering would only further inflame audiences. It is within this paradox, I argue, that cheer leading groups came to function as a "calming cultural apparatus." It is, in another sense familiar to Japanese, the introduction of the Buddhist "ethos of calming desire." Assuming that the elements of "the ascetic ethos" is to suppress desire and to channel outpouring energies to good use, "the ethos of dampening desire" suppresses derivative energies as well, which is fundamental to a culture of calming (Ōmura 1990).

Of course, as Norbert Elias and Eric Dunning (1986) argue, the civilizing process in Europe also feared excitement and violence as requiring control, but this was not achieved through direct prohibition. People demanded that sports serve a positive function through its achievement of the ascetic ethos. We might say that such desire was never fully calmed, thus the continual eruptions of soc-

cer hooliganism. In this respect, it is remarkable that Japanese sports cheerleading groups have "civilized" sports by employing this ethos of calming desire. The internalization of such an ethos is why spectators in Japan so very rarely lose control and act as hooligans.

The highly structured cheering routines certainly contribute to this discipline. One cannot act with inebriated abandon even when one of your players hits a key home run; you must instead immediately perform the cheer designated for a homerun. In other words, the nature of the cheer itself does not necessarily correspond with the spontaneous emotions we experience. The "calming cultural apparatus" is therefore built into the ceremonial cheering forms.

Certainly such ritualized cheering is not unique to Japan. In U. S. ballparks, for instance, "Take me out to the ball game," the song sung as the spectators stand and take a break in the mid-seventh inning, serves the same purpose as the national anthem which they sing at the beginning of the game, in ceremonially uniting the audience. People are very solemn in singing these songs, treating them with a hymn-like reverence. The songs moreover foster a sense that the event taking place right here, right now, is not merely a baseball game, but a special occasion that instantly unifies the assembled and identifies the stadium as a festival space.

Now, in festival contexts, people are apt to become rowdy and disorderly, as amply exemplified by behavior in many traditional Japanese festivals. Nonetheless, I am arguing that cultural calming mechanisms must exist in these festival spaces, so they also feature ceremonial actions that preserve order. The sports stadium is a festival space but also a sacred space, not unlike the contemporary church. This is why people respect the ceremonies of the baseball game and adhere to them. In U.S. and Japan baseball, we find rituals of restraint, calming cultural apparatuses. In Japan, this also holds true for professional wrestling (Thompson, this volume) and grand *sumō* tournaments (Tierney, this volume), as well. Both are highly physical, even brutal, sports that are nonetheless clearly laden with ceremonies and rituals that work to calm the excitement of spectators.

In this way, these tenets of ascetic strength and efficient technique completed the repression of emotions that began during the Meiji period. Thus it can be said that modern emotions in Japan were formed through physical education at schools and the development of cheering groups in the history of sports. These factors have been indispensable in fostering loyalty toward the modern nation-state. Moreover, they cleverly operate in such a way that an "agitating cultural apparatus" and a "calming cultural apparatus" form a balanced habitus of contemporary body culture.

————————

Endnotes

[1] Shinjō left Hanshin in 2001 to sign with the NY Mets; he was traded to the San Francisco Giants for the 2002 season and then released. He returned to Japan to finish his career with the Nippon Ham Fighters.

[2] Interestingly, the stadium bans the "wave" and this is respected by the cheer clubs.

[3] On this first occasion, about 200 students shouted "Hooray Waseda!" and "Chasu-rarara Waseda!," waving small flags with "WU" written on them.

—————————————

References

Elias, Norbert (1994) *The Civilizing Process*. Oxford and Cambridge, MA: Blackwell.

Elias, Norbert and Eric Dunning (1986) *Quest for Excitement: Sport and Leisure in the Civilizing Process*. Oxford and New York: Basil Blackwell.

Foucault, Michel (1995) *Discipline and Punish: The Birth of the Prison*. New York: Vintage Books.

Goffman, Erving (1974) *Frame Analysis: An Essay on the Organization of Experience*. New York: Harper & Row.

---- (1961) *Encounters: Two Studies in the Sociology of Interaction*. Indianapolis: Bobbs-Merrill.

Guttmann, Allen (1986) *Sports Spectators*. New York: Columbia University Press.

Kelly, William W. (2004) "Sense and Sensibility at the Ball Park: What Japanese Fans Make of Professional Baseball." In William W. Kelly (editor), *Fanning the Flames: Fandoms and Consumer Culture in Contemporary Japan*. Albany: State University of New York Press, 79-106.

Ōmura Eishō (1990) *Shinenai jidai* [The Era When No One Can Die] Tokyo: Yūhikaku.

Sugimoto Atsuo (1995) *Supōtsu bunka no hen'yō* [The Transformation of Sports Culture]. Kyoto: Sekai shisō-sha.

Sugimoto Shōji (1992) *Sutajiamu wa moete iru* [Excitement in the Stadium]. Tokyo: NHK Press.

Takeuchi Yō (1995) *Nihon no meritokurashii* [Meritocracy in Japan]. Tokyo: Tokyo daigaku shuppankai.

Tominaga Shigeki (1996) *Toshi no yōtsu* [The Melancholy of Urban Society]. Tokyo: Shin'yōsha.

Weber, Max (1992) *The Protestant Ethic and the Spirit of Capitalism*. London & New York: Routledge.

Yokota Jun'ya (1991) *Sōkei-sen no nazo* [The Puzzle of the Waseda University and Keio University Baseball Series] Tokyo: Bēsubōru magajin sha.

Yoshimi Shun'ya (1994) *Media jidai no bunka shakaigaku* [A Cultural Sociology of the Age of Media] Tokyo: Shin'yōsha.

---- (1996) "Media ibento gainen no shōsō" [Various Concepts of Media Events] In Tsuganesawa Toshihiro (editor), *Kindai Nihon no media ibento* [Media Events in Modern Japan]. Kyoto: Dōbunkan, 3-30

The Body Politic in the International Arena: Professional Wrestling in Japan

Lee Austin Thompson

There is something disreputable about professional wrestling that compels me to defend it as a subject of serious study, even though from a sociological standpoint its disrepute should be reason enough. I believe that that interest is justified by the degree to which the "sport" permeates life in Japan and the degree to which it is accepted as a legitimate sport without the quotation marks. Professional wrestling has been so successful in Japan for historical reasons—its debut made a lasting impact on the national consciousness at a particular moment in time. In this chapter I will first briefly outline the history of professional wrestling in Japan, emphasizing the early years in which it established itself. Next I will try to illustrate its influence and legitimacy. Finally, I will suggest several promising approaches to its study.

A brief history of professional wrestling in Japan

If there is a "father" of professional wrestling in Japan, he would be the legendary Rikidōzan, a sumo wrestler who became disenchanted with that sport and quit in 1950.[1] In February of 1952, he traveled to the United States where he trained and performed as a professional wrestler for a year. Returning to Japan, he established the Japan Professional Wrestling Association, and in February 1954 he brought the Sharpe brothers from the US to Japan. The Sharpe brothers were then the holders of the "world" tag team championship title, which was controlled by the National Wrestling Alliance, a group of North American wrestling promoters. Rikidōzan teamed up with Japan's former national judo champion Kimura Masahiko to challenge the brothers for the title. Although the championship belt did not change hands, the matches were a huge commercial success, setting records for ticket sales to a sporting event.

All of the five matches held in Tokyo were shown on television, which had only begun broadcasting the year before. Three of the matches were broadcast live on both of the only two stations operating in Tokyo at the time. Although few people could afford TV sets in their homes, over 150,000 people watched the three bouts in February at 65 outdoor television locations, and over 130,000 watched the two bouts in March (NHK 1977:323).

As was the case in America, professional wrestling became popular fare in the fledgling television industry. In an August 1954 survey of viewer preferences, professional wrestling came in second at 71.4%, following only feature films (74.1%). Pro wrestling was first among males at 82.7%, and even came in third among females (NHK, 1954). In a survey of non-owners of television sets conducted at the end of 1955, 29.9% of respondents said that they had gone out at least once in the preceding month specifically to watch television. Of those, 80.2% had gone to see professional wrestling (NHK 1957:312).

In 1957 the commercial network Nihon TV (NTV) obtained exclusive rights to broadcast the matches of Rikidōzan's JPWA. An hour-long program was inaugurated on Saturday evening at five o'clock, sponsored by Mitsubishi Electronics, a leading producer of television sets. Professional wrestling broadcasts achieved the highest ratings in surveys conducted by the advertising agency Dentsū for five years between 1955 and 1963 (Ikuta et al. 1966:240).

What was the source of this popularity? Basically, it was Rikidōzan's beating up foreign wrestlers. Even today, older Japanese remember his bouts against a succession of foreign wrestlers, starting with the Sharpe brothers, and including Lou Thesz, Jess Ortega, Mr. Atomic, Fred Blassie, and The Destroyer, to mention only some of the more famous. Award-winning author Muramatsu Tomomi recalls watching Rikidōzan.

> I was raised near the harbor of Shimizu, and to me, a foreigner meant someone big and strong. The wharf swarmed with foreign sailors, and we children were frightened by their size. I saw television for the first time at the electronics shop at the end of the wharf, and on the screen was a man raining karate chops on a huge foreigner. If that didn't astound you, nothing would. It was really an unbelievable sight (Muramatsu 1981:57).

A fan testifies that watching Rikidōzan taught him an important lesson about life:

> After being mercilessly beat up and baited by a ferocious-looking foreign wrestler, the Japanese wrestler in black tights finally ran out of patience. Indignantly rising to his feet with a furious look, he let loose a karate chop . . . The fans in front of the outdoor television went wild . . . Fighting spirit embodied in a pair of black tights, that was Rikidōzan. He taught me that to win, you have to endure single-mindedly, and when the right time comes, fight like a man, fearlessly and with everything you've got.[2]

In those early years, most viewers apparently believed that pro wrestling involved real competition. Many newspapers, the national daily *Mainichi shimbun* in particular, covered it as such. Some observers think that Rikidōzan's matches with Fred Blassie in 1962 were a turning point. Blassie repeatedly bit Rikidōzan on the forehead, and several elderly television viewers died while watching the matches, supposedly from the shock of seeing Rikidōzan's bloody face, perhaps in the full colors of a newly purchased color television set, which were becoming a hot consumer item. Whether any deaths were actually caused by the grisly spectacle cannot be determined, but the media made quite a fuss. The result, says Iiyama Yoshiaki (1999), is that professional wrestling came to be generally viewed as show business.[3] The "sport" probably lost many disillusioned fans, and Rikidōzan's death shortly afterwards was another blow.

In 1963 Rikidōzan was murdered by a petty hoodlum in an altercation at a nightclub. His sudden and shocking death was followed by a struggle for control over the lucrative business of professional wrestling. Two main groups gradually came to dominate, one headed by Baba Shōhei ("Giant" Baba) and the other by Inoki Kanji ("Antonio" Inoki), both of whom had started their careers with Rikidōzan. These were the main groups for the next 30 years. They have been in intense competition, but Baba and Inoki never met in the ring. Although not achieving the phenomenal popularity of Rikidōzan, both groups established themselves in the popular culture.[4]

The competition between the different pro wrestling bodies—for revenue, not in the ring—led to a flood of foreign wrestlers from the late 1960s. Following the law of supply and demand, the surplus of foreign baddies rampaging in the ring led to a drop in their value. Moreover, this was the decade when the first post-war generation came of age, when the memory of defeat receded, and when the nation took renewed pride in the economic successes of the country. Matches between Japanese wrestlers became more common, and by the late 1980s they had replaced matches with foreigners as the mainstay of pro wrestling in Japan.

These changes have been accompanied by a decline in the general popularity of pro wrestling. Matches with foreigners were easy to understand; the Japanese are the heroes, and the foreigners the villains. As Muramatsu Tomomi remarked, "Back then, just being a foreigner (American) meant being a villain. Whether the Sharpe brothers did anything bad or not, they were bad just because they were foreigners" (1981:61). However, when both wrestlers are Japanese, the motivation behind their confrontation—the story—is not so obvious. One must follow the "sport" to know the story, which is not necessary when the match is with a foreigner. Thus, says Iiyama, the audience for professional wrestling has dwindled to the committed followers, the mania.

The influence of professional wrestling in Japan

Nonetheless, the influence of professional wrestling today goes beyond the number of fans who follow the sport. Professional wrestling permeates popular culture and the daily lives of millions of people. Wrestlers are frequent guests on television shows, where their ring victories are treated as real. Even the public station NHK legitimizes the "sport." In 1986 I watched a typically edifying noontime program on the benefits of eating beans, hosted by well-known personality Utsumi Midori.[5] One of the guests was "Antonio" Inoki. Referring to a 1976 match, Utsumi commented that Inoki, a "bean-eater," had defeated Willem Ruska, a "cheese-eater." (Ruska, from the Netherlands, was 1972 Olympic judo gold medalist in the open category.) Not only did Utsumi accept Inoki's victory as real, but she also presented it as a vindication of the Japanese way—eating beans in this case—over a foreign way—eating cheese. I will return to these two issues later.

An association with professional wrestling has provided the springboard for careers in other fields. Popular television announcer Furutachi Ichirō started his career announcing professional wrestling matches. Author Muramatsu Tomomi, who won the prestigious Naoki Award in 1982, first came to prominence with his books about professional wrestling (e.g., 1980a, 1980b, 1981). Inoki himself was elected to the Upper House of the Japanese Diet in 1989, beating Minnesota governor Jesse "The Body" Ventura by several years and by prominence of office. As Figure 1 illustrates, pro wrestling has been used by political cartoonists to frame Japan's relations to other countries, particularly America.[6]

「調べてよ ✏」 「彼は核を持っているとは言ってないから」
小島 功
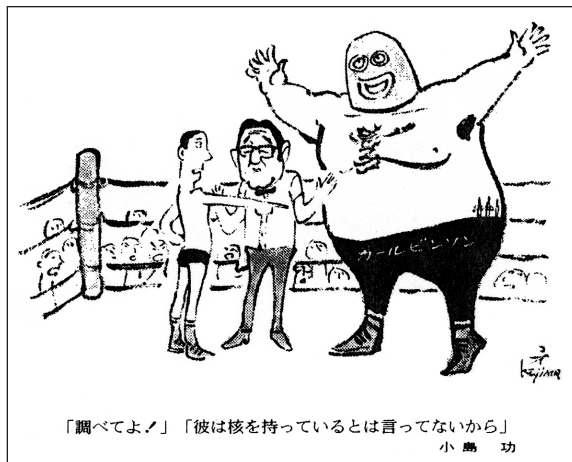
Figure 1. *Political cartoon about U.S.-Japan relations. This appeared in* Asahi shimbun *on December 11, 1984, page 2. It was drawn by Kojima Kō and reproduced here with the permission of the artist.*

Professional wrestling is not just something viewed on the stage or screen, performed by super-humans whom the average Tarō cannot hope to emulate. Many young boys and men imitate the moves that they see on TV. In fact, applying professional wrestling moves to a hapless cohort is a common form of ijime (bullying). I have witnessed this institutionalized hazing countless times in school gyms and on television.

Among examples reported in the print media, a sixteen-year-old boy wrote in a letter to the editor,

> *Do you know how many primary and middle-school students are suffering because of professional wrestling? Don't you know that it is a cause of the bullying that is getting so much attention these days? Primary and middle-school students, especially middle-school students, often play at professional wrestling. To those watching, it may look like innocent fun. The one who is applying the hold may even just be fooling around. But it is always the weaker students who are the victims. Can you understand how miserable that feels? Some kids have even committed suicide because of it!* (Asahi shimbun 3/9/1986, p. 12).

Two fourteen-year-olds were arrested in July 1988 for injuring sixty primary and middle-school students using moves from professional wrestling (and then stealing money from them; Asahi 7/17/1988). In April of 1993 two middle-school students were arrested after a classmate died while they were "practicing" professional wrestling moves on him.[7] This form of bullying is not limited to adolescents. In 1998, a 37-year-old president of a small company inadvertently suffocated one of his employees while applying a professional wrestling hold on him, ostensibly to encourage him to work harder.[8]

These examples share a common structure: the use of the form of professional wrestling to enact relationships of power. This use of professional wrestling is not limited to the perpetrators and their victims. The newspaper uses professional wrestling to frame the story for its readers (detailing, for instance, the moves that were used in the crimes, like knee drop, nōten kuiuchi, and sasori-gatame); the readers in turn use their knowledge of professional wrestling to interpret the reported incidents. So not only the incidents themselves, but also the way they are reported demonstrate the wide impact of pro wrestling.

The popularity of professional wrestling has even given rise to an oxymoron: amateur professional wrestling. Many universities have professional wrestling clubs where the students practice the moves they see on TV and put on periodic performances at school events. In 1991 a group of volunteer social workers in

Tokyo began to hold controversial matches featuring mentally and physically handicapped "wrestlers." Professional wrestling was chosen as a means for the handicapped to express themselves and also to challenge society's complacency towards the handicapped (Kitajima 1995, 1997).[9]

On New Year's Day 2000 the *Asahi shimbun* carried a brief chronological table of the history of sport in the twentieth century. Two of the 23 entries on sport in Japan were about professional wrestling. The fact that professional wrestling was included in the list with legitimate sports reflects the general legitimacy that it enjoys in Japan. The two entries are also a comparatively significant share of the 23 total. Only one sport was mentioned more often: baseball appeared six times. This list thus also demonstrates the prominence of professional wrestling in Japan.

Professional wrestling in Japan has had close, mutually profitable links to the media in the last half century, and the sport has filtered through popular culture with a surprising degree of legitimacy. In the following section I turn to several critical issues in analyzing pro wrestling generally and in its Japanese version.

The reality of professional wrestling

One of the most interesting questions about professional wrestling is what is actually happening in the ring during a bout. This is, of course, vital to the fans. Many former fans turned from the sport after concluding that the competition was rigged. The remaining fans, the mania, can be divided roughly into two groups: believers and sophisticates. Sophisticates will admit that much of professional wrestling is staged, and go ahead and enjoy the show. Believers, on the other hand, are taken in. I sometimes lecture on pro wrestling to Japanese college students, and I begin by asking how many of them believe that it involves real competition *(shinken shōbu)*. I am often surprised by the large numbers who raise their hands.

The difference between the two groups is actually their degree of credulity, rather than a simple dichotomy of belief and disbelief. Believers may realize that pro wrestling is not quite like other sports, but they nonetheless insist they are witnessing some real competition. A sophisticate, on the other hand, may not believe that real sporting competition is taking place, but he may still find enjoyment in trying to discern competition between the wrestlers at a different level: for reaction from the audience and for display of subtle technique, for example. Or he may view the match in the context of personal and group rivalries (even though these may also just be part of the hype). Or he may watch for those brief moments when he believes he sees a display of real emotion, or the real application of a normally showy move.

Sociologically speaking, this question of what we can call the ontological status of the ring action is fascinating. There is a wide discrepancy between what the practitioners say they are doing and what the objective observer would have to conclude they are doing. The wrestlers themselves, and the promoters and others associated with the "sport," all have long claimed that it is the real thing. Gregory Stone (1971:309-310), in one of the few early studies of professional wrestling, was able to find out nothing about its internal workings, even after befriending some wrestlers. Several years ago I interviewed a former American professional wrestler, who too insisted that the competition was genuine (and also asked to remain anonymous).

Some former professional wrestlers, though, have admitted that at least in some respects, it is not all real competition (Kimura 1983, Sayama 1985, Thesz 1995).[10] In America, the founder and head of the World Wrestling Federation (WWF), Vince McMahon, Jr., has recently come close to acknowledging that what they offer is physical entertainment rather than sports competition. "Some people take us too seriously, those who don't 'get it.' You know, 'Oh my god, what are they doing?!'"[11] In his best-selling autobiography, WWF wrestler Mick Foley writes, "I will not try to portray professional wrestling as being a 'real, competitive sport.' I will readily admit to … always placing a greater emphasis on entertainment value than on winning" (Foley 1999:3). Perhaps professional wrestling in America is moving toward an open recognition of the staged nature of the performances. Although the motivations were an unrelated law suit, in 2002, the World Wrestling Federation (WWF) did change its name to World Wrestling Entertainment (WWE).[12]

But active wrestlers in Japan generally maintain the competition is real. For example, in a 1993 interview published in the *Asahi shimbun*, Giant Baba, who headed what is probably the least realistic of the major groups in Japan, conceded that sometimes the matches aren't fiercely contested.

> *In the old days, when I wrestled veterans like Endō Kōkichi or Yoshimura Michiaki, the atmosphere was that I shouldn't win. I knew I could win by making a certain move, but I would hold back.*
>
> *I've won the American NWA World Heavyweight Champion Belt several times. It's a respected title, and it was a goal of mine. But I never defended it for very long. The American wrestlers earned their bread fighting for that belt. When I thought about the future of my opponent in America without the title, well, it's natural that there would be a difference in the energy we brought to the match. In a tightly fought contest, I guess that difference shows up in the result.*

However, in the same interview, Baba seemed to insist that the competition was real:

> *People have always said that puroresu is fake, that the outcomes of the matches are fixed. That's probably the main reason that it can't become a major sport. But the wrestlers are giving their best. If they lose, they don't get raises, and they don't get the bonus that they do when they win. No way they're going to slack. If you watch them every day, you'll know.* (Asahi shimbun 10/23/1993).

Erving Goffman, in his *Frame Analysis* (1974), offered some useful concepts for understanding this paradox of professional wrestling. Goffman's own references to professional wrestling were brief (ibid.: 234, 416-418), but I think it can be classified in his terms as a fabrication of a keying. A keying is a strip of action that has been transformed, and the transformation is known and accepted by all participants. A boxing match, for example, is transformed by its rules from a primitive fight into a sporting competition. Since all participants—the boxers, referee, audience—understand this transformation, it is a keying. A fabrication, in contrast, is a transformation of which only some of the participants are aware. A "fixed" boxing match is a fabrication, because some of the participants—most of the audience, perhaps the referee and one of the boxers—are unaware that the "fix" is on. Professional wrestling presents itself as a keying like boxing, but in reality there is another transformation of which not everyone is aware (Thompson 1986). This would seem to hold true particularly for Rikidōzan's time, when most fans believed in the reality of the competition.

This analysis has been criticized by "sophisticates," who claim that nobody is really taken in (Okamura 1991). While I agree that this may be true at times, I think it still holds for Rikidōzan in particular, and, although the sophisticates may be reluctant to recognize it, there remain many believers who are taken in by the fabrication. Even the sophisticates themselves usually believe in some underlying reality and are therefore open to being duped by fabrication themselves.

This analysis is also supported by the constant pull toward "real" competition in pro wrestling in Japan. Sophisticates criticize American pro wrestling for being more "showy" than Japanese puroresu. Inoki, Sayama Satoru, and Maeda Akira are just a few of the wrestlers who have based their careers on questionable claims of authenticity. In recent years several fighting forms or

performances involving real, or practically real competition have achieved popularity, such as K1, Pride, Vale Tudo, and Gracie jujutsu. There is a continuous pull towards legitimacy, unevenly realized.

Assessing pro wrestling's claims and reasoning for legitimacy confronts us more broadly with the fragility of other activities, sporting and otherwise, that we usually unquestioningly accept as legitimate. Studying puroresu highlights more general legitimizing and reality-making techniques. Indeed, this fixation with "real" competition may even be a modern obsession. Nitta Ichirō argues that during the Edo period, sumo fans were more interested in the "story" played out on the dohyō (sumo ring) than they were in the question of whether it involved real competition (Nitta 1994:202). And professional wrestling is not the only pseudo-sport to evolve from the mid-twentieth century. Roller derby and the Harlem Globetrotters basketball team also share the ambiguity of professional wrestling. As I have suggested elsewhere (1999), could these be examples of "post-modern" sport?

Professional wrestling as postwar history: Symbolizing the body politic

Professional wrestling has also played an integral though under-appreciated role in Japan's postwar history. It was significant in the rapid economic growth of the 1960s, for example, through its key role in the growth of the television industry. Rikidōzan was well connected to the business and political establishment (Inose 1990; Ushijima 1978, Whiting 1999). Ōno Banboku, vice-chairman of the ruling Liberal Democratic Party, served as professional wrestling commissioner from 1957 to 1964. He attended many of the bouts, and climbed into the ring to hand Rikidōzan the champion's belt or trophy after the matches. Narahashi Wataru, former secretary general of the LDP and a former cabinet minister, served as chairman of Rikidōzan's Japan Professional Wrestling Association. The Ministry of Welfare, the Governor of Tokyo, and the Boy Scouts of Japan all sponsored matches in the 1950s.

Of special importance was pro wrestling's role in symbolizing Japan's "body politic" in the international arena (Igarashi 2000:122-130). This was a—perhaps, the—dominant "message" of professional wrestling in Japan, especially that of Rikidōzan. Blain, Boyle and O'Donnell (1993), in their analysis of media sports coverage in Europe, show how the media interpret international sport performance in terms of national stereotypes that serve to justify different stages of economic development (see also O'Donnell 1994). I suggest that Rikidōzan enacted one interpretation of Japan's role in the world, an interpretation that can

be seen in the coverage of other sports as well (e.g. Igarashi 2000:155-162 on the gold medal women's volleyball team and Kelly 1998a, 1998b on the V-9 Yomiuri Giants professional baseball team).

Rikidōzan achieved his popularity through bouts with foreign wrestlers, usually larger than himself. The bouts had a rather predictable narrative. After enduring a beating at the hands of the rule-breaking foreigner, Rikidōzan finally unleashed his ultimate weapon, the karate chop, vanquishing his physically superior opponent. The pattern of professional wrestling, therefore, was of the physically outmatched Japanese wrestler defeating the physically superior foreign wrestler through superior will and technique.

This match pattern can be seen as a symbolic representation of postwar Japan's relations with the world—the physically weaker Japanese defeats the stronger foreigner through strength of will and superior technique. This scenario is similar to the rhetoric used to motivate the masses for the wartime effort barely a decade earlier. But more to the point, it is similar to the rhetoric of the postwar economic growth; Japan, a country lacking in natural resources, defeats the resource-rich countries of the West in international trade (maintaining a trade surplus) through hard work. To use the term Clifford Geertz used to describe the cockfight in Bali, Rikidōzan's pro wrestling was a "meta-social commentary" on Japan's relations with the rest of the world (Geertz 1973).

This scenario, which was dramatized repeatedly in the professional wrestling ring, has also been evident in Japanese media coverage of international sporting competitions up to the present. Indeed, it is widely accepted that Japanese athletes are physically inferior, and have to make up for it by trying harder, practicing harder, and becoming more proficient technically than their physically blessed foreign adversaries. Well, the scenario's alleged accuracy should not be an issue. One only needs to point out a case where the pattern is applied in apparent contradiction of the "facts" to see it at work. Here are three examples.

American Cathie Twomey won the twenty-kilometer women's competition at the Chūnichi Road Race held in Nagoya in 1982.[13] Masuda Akemi came in second. Both runners' times surpassed the existing record for that distance. However, the Nagoya edition of the next day's *Asahi shimbun* carried the headline "Masuda sets world record over 20 kilometers." In a subsequent weekly news roundup, the same headline appeared over the following summary of the race: "Masuda Akemi set a world record of 1:06:55 in the women's twenty kilometers at the Chūnichi Road Race held in Nagoya. Cathie Twomey came in first"! Of course it was Cathie Twomey who set the record, before Masuda crossed the finish line.

The article's references to the runners' bodies follow the predictable scenario. Masuda Akemi was a mere 150 centimeters (about 4' 11") tall and weighed only 38 kilograms—an ideal representative of the "small Japanese." Twomey was referred to as "large" (ōgara)—she was 162 centimeters tall (under 5'3") and weighed 49 kilograms. This is large? According to a national survey of schoolchildren taken in 1980 (Monbushō 1982), the average height of a seventeen-year-old girl was 157 cm. (standard deviation 5 cm) and the average weight 52.1 kg. (standard deviation 6.6 kg). Twomey was one standard deviation taller than the average Japanese 17-year-old girl, but weighed three kilograms less. The same newspaper carried an article one year later about the first American woman astronaut, Sally Ride (*Asahi* 8/18/1983). The newspaper said that at 165 cm. and 52 kg., she was small (kogara) for an American woman. Although she was three centimeters taller than Cathie Twomey, and three kilograms heavier, Sally Ride was called small while Twomey was called large. Size would appear to be in the eye and at the convenience of the media reporter.

Of course, journalists don't refer to statistical tables every time they use adjectives like "large" and "small," and the contexts of the two reports are different, to be sure. But that is just my point. It is not statistics that made Cathie Twomey "large," but the fact that she was competing against "Japan's star Masuda Akemi." Twomey had to be "large" to fit the pattern so that the media could dwell on Masuda's frail appearance, wondering where in that tiny body was hidden such superhuman stamina.

Another example from the running world was the front-page *Asahi* coverage of Seko Toshihiko's winning the 1983 Tokyo Marathon. The lead sentence established the Japanese-vs.-foreigners theme, proclaiming that Seko had "subdued the powerful (kyōgō) foreign athletes" (*Asahi shimbun* 2/14/1983). Seko was 170 centimeters tall and weighed 59 kilograms, almost precisely the national norm for 17-year-old boys (169.7 cm. and 60.6 kg.). However, one of the "powerful foreign athletes," Juma Ikangaa of Tanzania, who led the pack for most of the race, was much smaller, at only 163 centimeters and 54 kilograms. This would seem to contradict the desired story line, but size is only one of the perceived physical handicaps of the Japanese. The resourceful reporter found another way to express the same idea: "With his long torso (dōnaga) typical of the Japanese build, Seko can compete at the world level because of the strength of his spirit (seishinryoku)." This sentence says it all.

A more recent illustration, from women's professional tennis, was the coverage of the Japanese star, Date Kimiko. When she announced her retirement in 1996 soon after being ranked second in the world, *Asahi* stayed on form: "At 163 cm and 53 kg, she was a small (kogara) player but she competed against the power

and speed of the world using her weapon, the 'rising shot'. . . ." (9/24/1996). The same day, the *Shinano Mainichi shimbun* opined: "Watching her compete against the power of foreign athletes was exhilarating. Her playing style was a model for Japanese athletes, who are physically inferior" (9/24/1996). The *Mainichi shimbun* (9/25/1996) also pointed out that her 163 cm. height was small "by world standards" but that she made up for it with her "spiritual strength *(kyōjin na seishinryoku)*." Four months later, Martina Hingis won the Australian Open. She was 167 centimeters and 52 kilograms!

Presenting a Japanese body

Rikidōzan was arguably the most powerful post-WW II emblem of this interpretation of Japan's relations with the rest of the world. It comes as no small surprise, then, to learn that Rikidōzan was not, ethnically, Japanese. Rikidōzan, who has been called the "ethnic hero" *(minzoku no eiyū)* of Japan (Nakamura et al. 1972:116), was actually of Korean origins. He was born in 1925 to Korean parents in the northern part of the Korean peninsula. Around 1940 he was scouted by a Japanese fan of sumo and sent to the Nishonozeki stable in Tokyo, where he rose to the rank of sekiwake before abruptly quitting in 1950 (Lee 1996, Ushijima 1978). As he achieved fame in the wrestling ring, his origins became an even more closely-kept secret.

As Oguma Eiji (1995, 1998) has shown, the range covered by the notion of "Japanese" has shifted considerably over time, and has always been a matter of contentious debate. Rikidōzan was born a citizen of the Japanese Empire. When Japan lost much of that empire, Koreans lost their Japanese citizenship, and over two million Koreans residing in the Japanese islands were left in the lurch. The majority attempted to return to their former homes on the peninsula. Others, for various reasons, remained in Japan. Some of them, like Rikidōzan, obtained Japanese citizenship, and attempted to "blend in."

Daily life in Japan is profoundly affected by whether or not one is perceived by others as Japanese. Finding a job or accommodations, shopping, obtaining medical care, making friends—activities such as these, both critical and mundane, are very different for Japanese and for foreigners. Most people behave as if these two statuses are "given"; one is Japanese or one is not. That is, being Japanese is generally thought to be an ascribed, "natural" status that one is born with, rather than something that has to be achieved. But Rikidōzan demonstrated the contrary, that "Japanese-ness" is a status that is attributed (or withheld) based on performance. Some people have the physical, cultural, and life-historical resources to unproblematically display a Japanese self in most situations

they encounter in Japan. We call these people "Japanese." Other people lack the resources (i.e., looks, language, personal history) to be accepted as Japanese in most of their life situations. These people are known as "gaijin" (foreigners). And yet others have the resources (looks, language) to display a Japanese self in some situations (i.e. shopping or relations with the neighbors), but lack the resources to successfully display it in others. For example, without Japanese citizenship they cannot submit a copy of their family register when applying for a job or renting an apartment (Thompson 1996; for baseball, see Kelly 1998a, 1998b). Rikidōzan shows us that being Japanese, even being famous and seemingly quintessentially Japanese, is an achieved status rather than an ascribed one (Kelly 1998a, Thompson 2002).

Postscript

The death of Rikidōzan dealt a seemingly deadly blow to pro wrestling in Japan. The loss of national television coverage threw the sport out of the media ring. But professional wrestling always manages to find some new hold to put on the Japanese public. On April 7, 2000, five-time national judo champion-turned professional wrestler Ogawa Naoya wrestled Takahashi Shin'ya at the Tokyo Dome before a crowd of 60,000, including many celebrities. The match was broadcast live to a national audience on a Friday night, the first prime-time broadcast of professional wrestling in eight years. Perhaps the sport is off the mat for another return.

———————————

Endnotes

1   The next few paragraphs have been adapted from Thompson 1986.
2   Appearing on Yomiuri Television "Watashi to terebijon," broadcast April 21, 1982.
3   The next two paragraphs follow Iiyama 1999.
4   There are currently more than forty active groups, depending on how they are counted. See Fuse 2000:150-151 and Furukawa 1999:38-40.
5   "Kindoki, otafuku, mame bidan," NHK, May 12, 1986, 12:00-12:30 p.m.
6   This cartoon appeared in the national newspaper *Asahi* in December 1984, when the nuclear-powered aircraft carrier Carl Vinson put in for two days at the US naval base in Yokosuka. Opposition groups and the media raised fears that the ship was carrying nuclear weapons. Foreign Minister Abe Shintarō replied that the security treaty required the US to consult with Japan before introducing nuclear weapons into the country. Since the US had not requested any consultations, the carrier, he asserted, wasy not carrying any nuclear weapons. In the cartoon, the diminutive Japanese wrestler demands that the referee's search the huge masked foreigner with "Carl Vinson" on his tights. The referee, Foreign Minister Abe, declines on the grounds that the foreign wrestler has not said that he is carrying any nukes. The missiles are visible sticking up out of the villain's tights.
7   This was reported in *Asahi shimbun*, April 20, 1993, and *Asahi shimbun*, evening edition, April 24, 1993.
8   He was sentenced to two years in prison (*Asahi shimbun*, October 1, 1998, and Feb. 27, 1999).
9   The handicapped pro-wrestling group's URL is: http://village.infoweb.ne.jp/~fwhx2425/index.htm.
10 After his retirement, "Mr. Takahashi," a referee for Antonio Inoki's promotion for 25 years, wrote an expose of the genre with the subtitle "Professional Wre stling is Al show" (Misutā Takahashi 2001).
11 Interview on "Showbiz Today," CNN, February 12, 1999.
12 The WWF had been under challenge for some time by the World Wildlife Federation (which also used the WWF acronym).
13 These two examples are from Thompson 1985.

References

Blain, Neil, Raymond Boyle, and Hugh O'Donnell (1993) *Sport and National Identity in the European Media*. Leicester: Leicester University Press.

Foley, Mick (1999) *MANKIND: Have a Nice Day! A Tale of Blood and Sweatsocks*. New York: Harper Collins.

Fuse Kōji (2000) "Hitome de wakaru kakutōgi sekai hensen zu, *Number PLUS*, January, pp. 150-151.

Furukawa Yoshihiro (1999) "Puroresu kurō ni kuru," *Brutus*, Feb. 5, pp. 38-40.

Geertz Clifford (1973) "Deep Play: Notes on the Balinese Cockfight," in his *The Interpretation of Cultures*. New York: Basic Books.

Goffman, Erving (1974) *Frame Analysis: An Essay on the Organization of Experience*. New York: Harper and Row

Igarashi Yoshikuni (2000) *Bodies of Memory: Narratives of War in Postwar Japanese Culture, 1945-1970*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.

Iiyama Yoshiaki (1999) "Shō bijinesu to shite no puroresu" [Pro Wrestling as Business]. Presentation at the Eighth Annual Conference of the Japan Society of Sport Sociology, Hiroshima, March 27.

Ikuta Masaki, Satō Tomoʻo, Tsujimura Akira, Hirai Ryūtarō, and Yamamoto Tōru (1966) "Nihon ni okeru terebi fukyū no tokushitsu" [The Special Features of the Distribution of Television in Japan] *Hōsōgaku kenkyū* 10

Inose Naoki (1990) *Yokubō no media* [Media of Desire] Tokyo: Shōgakkan.

Kelly, William W. (1998a) "The Blood and Guts of Japanese Baseball." In Sepp Linhart and Sabine Frühstück (editors), *The Culture of Japan as Seen through Its Leisure*. Albany: SUNY Press, 95-112.

---- (1998b) "Learning to Swing: Oh Sadaharu and the Pedagogy and Practice of Japanese Baseball." In John Singleton (editor), *Learning in Likely Places: Varieties Of Apprenticeship In Japan*. 265-285. New York and Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 265-285.

Kimura Masahiko (1983) "Watashi to Rikidōzan no shinsō," *Number*, 70(March):27-28.

---- (1985) *Kimura Masahiko: Wa ga judō*. Tokyo: Bēsubōru magajin sha.

Kitajima Yukinori (1995) "Shiawase o kazoetara," *Asahi shimbun*, evening edition, October 16-18.

---- (1997) *Muteki no handikyappu: shōgaisha ga 'puro resurā' ni natta hi*. Tokyo: Bungei shunjū.

Lee, Sunil (1996) *Mō hitori no Rikidōzan* [Another Side of Rikidōzan] Tokyo: Shōgakkan.

Misutā Takahashi (2001) *Ryūketsu no majutsu, saikyō no engi: Subete no puroresu wa shō de aru.* Tokyo: Kōdansha

Monbushō daijin kanbō chōsa tōkei ka (1982) *Shitei tōkei dai 15-gō gakkō hoken tōkei chōsa hōkokusho Shōwa 55 nendo.*

Muramatsu Tomomi (1980a) *Watashi, puroresu no mikata desu.* Tokyo: Jōhō sentaa shuppan kyoku.

---- (1980b) *Tōzen, puroresu no mikata desu.* Tokyo: Jōhō sentaa shuppan kyoku.

---- (1981) *Dātei hiroizumu sengen.* Tokyo: Jōhō sentaa shuppan kyoku.

Nakamura Shōichi, Tsuganesawa Toshihiro, Inoue Shun, Uchida Akihiro, and Inoue Hiroshi (1972) *Terebi bangumi ron: Miru taiken no shakai shinri shi* [A Theory of Television Programs: A History of the Social Psychology of Viewing Experiences.] Tokyo: Yomiuri terebi hōsō K.K.

Nihon hōsō kyōkai (NHK) (1954) "Terebi shichōsha wa donna bangumi o konomu ka" [Which Television Programs Do Viewers Like to Watch?] *NHK Bunken Geppō*, October, 18-21.

---- (1957) *Nenkan* [Annual]. Tokyo: Nihon hōsō kyōkai, 312.

---- (1977) *Hōsō 50 nen shi: shiryōhen* [50 Years of Broadcasting: Materials]. Tokyo: Nihon hōsō shuppan kyōkai.

Nitta Ichirō (1994) *Sumō no rekishi* [A History of Sumo] Tokyo: Yamagawa shuppansha.

O'Donnell, Hugh (1994) "Mapping the Mythical: A Geopolitics of National Sporting Stereotypes," *Discourse and Society* 5(3):345-380.

Oguma Eiji (1995) *Tan'itsu minzoku shinwa no kigen: 'Nihonjin' no jigazō no keifu* [Origins of the Myth of a Homogenous People: Genealogies of the Self Image of the Japanese] Tokyo: Shin'yōsha.

---- (1998) *'Nihonjin' no kyōkai: Okinawa, Ainu, Taiwan, Chōsen; shokuminchi shihai kara fukki made.* Tokyo: Shin'yōsha.

Okamura Masashi (1991) "Tompuson ronbun ni kansuru ni, san no kōsatsu" [Three Observations Concerning Thompson's Article] in Okamura Masashi (editor). *Nihon puroresu-gaku sengen.* Tokyo: Gendai shokan, 61-79.

Sayama Satoru (1985) *Kēfei.* Tokyo: Nayuta shuppankai.

Stone, Gregory (1971) "Wrestling: The Great American Passion Play," in Eric Dunning, (editor), *The Sociology of Sport*. London: Frank Cass and Co.

Thesz, Lou (1995) *Hooker: An Authentic Wrestler's Adventures Inside the Bizarre World of Pro Wrestling.* Unpublished manuscript written with Kit Bauman. Available at http://www.twc-online.com/thesz/

Thompson, Lee Austin (1985) "Kindai supōtsu no shakaigaku-teki kōsatsu" [Sociological Observations on Modern Sports], *Nenpō ningen kagaku* 6: 49-64.

---- (1986a) "Professional Wrestling in Japan—Media and Message," *International Review for the Sociology of Sport* 21(1):65-82.

---- (1986b) "Puroresu no furēmu bunseki" [A Frame Analysis of Professional Wrestling] In Kurihara Akira et al. (editor), *Sōsho shakai to shakaigaku 3: Shintai no seiji gijutsu.* Tokyo: Shinhyōron, 185-211

---- (1996) "Nichijō seikatsu ni okeru 'Nihonjin' no teiji to sutiguma to shite no gaikokujin," in Kurihara Akira (editor), *Kōza Sabetsu no shakaigaku 1: Sabetsu no shakai riron.* Tokyo: Kobundō, 259-275.

---- (1999) "Posuto modan no supōtsu" [Postmodern Sports] In Inoue Shun and Kameyama Yoshiaki (editors), *Supōtsu bunka o manabu hito no tame ni.* Kyoto: Sekai shisō sha, 246-263.

---- (2002) "Rikidōzan to 'Nihonjin' no teiji," in Okamura Masashi (editor), *Rikidōzan to Nihonjin.* Tokyo: Seikyūsha, 69-98.

Ushijima Hidehiko (1978) *Shinsō kairyū no otoko: Rikidōzan.* Tokyo: Mainichi shuppan sha.

Whiting, Robert (1999) *Tokyo Underworld: The Fast Life and Hard Times of an American Gangster in Tokyo.* New York: Pantheon.

The 1998 Nagano Winter Olympics: Japaneseness and Globalism in the Opening Ceremonies

YAMASHITA Takayuki

Sitting in his imposing office in the Palazzo Venezia in Rome, Benito Mussolini, now eight years in power, contemplated the nature of his revolution: each revolution created new political forms, new myths and cults; it was necessary now to use old traditions and to adapt them to a new purpose. Festival, gestures, and forms had to be newly created which in turn, would themselves become traditional. (Mosse 1975: 1).

The 18th Winter Olympic Games were held in the Central Alps of Japan, in and around the small city of Nagano in 1998, a full 26 years after the last Olympics games to be held in Japan. The Nagano Games' opening ceremony itself was remarkable for its elaborate presentation of an unusual amalgam of themes of "Japaneseness" and "internationalization." This chapter analyses these polar themes of the ceremony and considers whether this constitutes a new "Japaneseness," especially in the current moment of intensifying globalization.

The British sociologist Alan Tomlinson (1996) has examined the Olympic spectacle from a similar perspective, including a study of British television coverage of the Olympic opening and closing ceremonies from the 1984 Los Angeles Summer Games to 1994 Lillehammer Winter Games. He notes that the Games' organizers have become increasingly concerned with the symbolic impact of the pageantry as ritual and with messages relayed in the televised opening and closing moments of the Olympic Games. From this, he concludes that the spectacle generated by sports now represents various aspects of political rhetoric and ideology (ibid:585-6).

Tomlinson also focuses on the anomalies that characterize the increasing globalization of sports events through the media. He points to the sub-global identities and affiliations formed within these globalized discourses, and he shows how "these tensions are ingrained in the ceremonies and spectacles of events such as Olympic Games" (ibid: 590). My discussion in this chapter shares several points with Tomlinson's perceptive account; however, my intention here is to employ a semiotic analysis for investigating the Olympics in the Japanese context.

In relation to these issues, Stuart Hall has posed the question how we recognize and interpret the world, as well as how we identify ourselves in today's

society (Hall 1997). He argues that we understand the world through its representation in various languages. Our identities and sense of belonging are also socially constructed through these representations. Guy Debord, on the other hand, defines the contemporary world as a society of spectacle: "The whole life of those societies in which modern conditions of production prevail presents itself as an immense accumulation of spectacle. All that once was directly lived has become mere representation" (Debord 1995:12).

If this is true, and given that most spectacles are now experienced even more indirectly through various media - especially mass media - then sports, as a product of this spectacle, requires rethinking. Because of its immense popularity, sports constitute a valuable arena for the media, and consequently sports function as an important cultural apparatus with influential power to produce representations of the world. Until now, scholars have tended to approach the analysis of sports through a focus on their disciplinary power as a sociological phenomenon. I believe it is now imperative that we shift our discussion of sports to one based on their representational power.

The Nagano Olympics provides rich ethnographic material for such an analysis of the symbolic power of sports. My initial analysis of the opening ceremony is to read it as a text. The opening ceremony is also a site that generates meaning through representation, so I then examine the structural processes that construct these meanings and order textual relations in specific configurations. Finally, I will situate my analysis in a particular Japanese socio-historical moment, as well as the political context surrounding the games.

The opening ceremony as "official festivities"

First, we will begin with a discussion of the social meanings of ceremonies in general. The Russian philosopher Mikhail Bakhtin identified two kinds of festivals in the medieval worldview—the one, an officially-sanctioned feast and the other, non-official, carnival-like festivities. The carnival festivities, he believed, were an expression of folk consciousness, or folk culture. They reflected "a second world and a second life outside officialdom, a world in which all medieval people participated" (Bakhtin 1984: 6). Official feasts, by contrast, were the formally ecclesiastical, feudal, and political ceremonies that did not take participants out of the existing world order or create a second life, but rather sanctioned the existing order.

Actually, the official feast looked back at the past and used the past to concrete the present… The official feast asserted all that was stable, unchanging, and perennial: the existing hierarchy, the existing religious political, and moral values, norms, and prohibitions. (ibid.: 9).

Though Bakhtin depicted official feasts as always having the power to force people to submit to the official philosophy, although they contained tensions emerging from unofficial resistance. However, he argued that from the seventeenth century, states encroached upon festival life and turned it into a parade, thus gradually transforming the carnival festivities and their spirit into a mere holiday mood (ibid.: 33). Such an argument helps us to understand how festivals function in contemporary society.

With the modern nation-state, many ceremonies or festivals came to be infused with a political meaning intrinsically linked to state power. George L. Mosse reveals the festival as a political medium in analysing how, in Nazi Germany, ordinary people achieved a common racial identity not through force, but of their own initiative (Mosse 1975). He details the transformation of their mentalities to accept and support the Nazi worldview, and suggests that people came to a shared perspective through representations constructed in public festivals, which served as sites of collective imagination. He defined this as the emergence of "new politics" through a new secular religion: "the new politics attempted to draw people into active participation in the national mystique through rites and festivals, myths and symbols" (ibid.: 2). This was accomplished through the symbolic power of linking myths, symbols, and the sentiments of the masses through the medium of the festival. The church for this religion consisted of the whole setting in which the worship of the nation took place; in other words, the festival was a cult space.

These dual worlds of festivities can also be found in Japanese society. The sociologist Yoshimi Shun'ya (1996) provides an insightful analysis of school Sports Days, which were introduced into education in the late nineteenth century as Japan was striving to establish itself as a modern nation state. He argues that popular festivities were fused and transformed into Sports Days, which functioned like official feasts, and indoctrinated people into a modern social grammar of behavior.

Bakhtin's concept of official feasts can thus be applied to the secular religion of new politics in modern society. It offers important clues in understanding how the Olympic Games constitute modern festivities. According to Tomlinson, the Olympics have become a site where dominant discourses represent their worldviews and seek legitimatization. Moreover, although the meanings of the

Olympics reflect special features of modernity, the games also retain much in common with Bakhtin's official feasts.

Textual analysis as method

At this point, let me characterize my analytical methods. My initial step was to identify the codes constructing the text of the opening ceremonies. Linking a signifier with a signified is not necessarily a straightforward process. Both a signifier and a signified produce meaning, but the relationship between them is governed by cultural codes that sustain representation, and which are arbitrarily constituted. These codes are shared by people who experience the same culture through particular conventions and common history.

Thus, in order to understand the meanings represented by the ceremony, it is critical to define the dominant code underlying the textual linkages. This requires a double perspective. The first is the code for syntagmatic combination, similar to linguistic codes, which links and arranges each word into one text to convey its message. The second is the code for the constitution of a paradigmatic linkage between texts, which is thus the context for each text. Because each text is a basic building unit for the whole ceremony, it is essential to locate the codified linkages that govern the ceremony.

The second key in an analysis of the ceremony as text is the social and historical conjuncture surrounding the immediate event. Texts do not construct meanings in a vacuum. Texts function in relations of combination, contrast, tension, and resistance to other texts, and this process necessarily occurs within the context of social conditions. For example, Tomlinson argued that the Olympic Games are linked to their surrounding global forces. Without considering such conditions as context, therefore, it would be impossible to understand the social and political meanings imbued within the Olympic Games. Instead, they might be mistakenly reduced to a mere exotic cultural phenomenon.

The next analytical step examines how texts are transferred into other messages. It is possible to understand a message roughly the same way through a shared cultural code, which must be familiar to participants. If it is unfamiliar, it is impossible to interpret the text. But in order to achieve "familiarity," the code underlying the text must be naturalized and made invisible. The relationship between the signifier and the signified is elastic, because the signified usually exists as a mental concept. This mental level enables expansion as well as the insertion of other interpretive codes. Mosse asserts that by utilizing myths and symbols from traditional Christian liturgy in combination with a Germanic or classical past, the cult and liturgy of secular religion managed to transform the

masses into a coherent political force. The National Socialists did not abandon the Christian liturgical style, but instead injected it with new content. The confession of sin, therefore, vanished from the ceremony, and instead, the symbolic words of the **Fuhrer, Volk, blood, and race, took its place (ibid: 80).**

Stuart Hall's concept of "articulation" is very useful here. The root meaning of articulation is 'to pronounce clearly,' but it also refers to the linkage of individual elements to create a sentence. Hall explains the concept as follows:

> *The so-called 'unity' of a discourse is really the articulation of different, distinct elements, which can be rearticulated in different ways because they have no necessary 'belongingness.' The 'unity,' which matters, is a linkage between that articulated discourse and the social forces with which it can, under certain historical conditions, but need not necessarily, be connected. Thus, a theory of articulation is both a way of understanding how ideological elements come, under certain conditions, to cohere together within a discourse, and a way of asking how they do or do not become articulated, at specific conjunctures, to certain political subjects.* (Hall 1996:141-142).

To summarize, the concept of articulation refers to the process by which two otherwise unconnected ideas, concepts, or ideologies are syntactically linked and thus bleed into each other, with each taking some meaning from of the other to create one cohesive meaning. By employing this concept, I will analyze **the structure of the representations that were constructed at Nagano, as** well as which texts were articulated in relation to a specific social conjunction, and finally, what meanings ultimately emerged.

The Nagano Winter Olympics Opening Ceremony

The 1998 opening ceremony at Nagano conveyed a strong representation of a specific Japaneseness. For me, this Japaneseness seemed rather peculiar. In contrast to the previous summer and winter Olympic Games held in Japan, Nagano proved distinctive because its ceremony simultaneously represented the traditional supra-national Olympic ideals of peace and friendship and emphasized a specific Japaneseness. How do we interpret the relationship between this Japaneseness and the Olympic ideal? As Tomlinson suggested for other recent Games, is it a reflection of the paradoxes inevitable in a globalizing world? This is precisely the question I take up.

The opening ceremony of the Nagano Olympics had two related parts, one, closely connected to the concept of nation or national identity, and the other invoking the theme of world community. These two parts were clearly expressed in the official discourse of the organizing committee, which wanted to "present the Japanese culture and history to the world" and to "realize a festival of peace and friendship." These two concepts, the universal and the specific, or world and nation, have surfaced in every Olympics, although the representation of their relationship has varied. These representational differences can be said to reflect differences in the worldviews of the organizers in countries hosting the games.

The particular worldview represented in Nagano was quite complex and full of inconsistencies as well. The ceremony as a text can be open to multiple interpretations, although as Stuart Hall argues, the message may be polysemic, but it is not pluralist. There are limits to openness, and the polysemic quality of a text is "hierarchically organized into dominant or preferred meaning" (Hall 1980: page?). Because the ceremony was constructed of various textual elements and of linked texts, in order to "read" Nagano correctly, it is critical to clarify this construction and unpack the meanings of the elements and links. In my analysis, I extracted approximately 24 elements from the opening ceremony, and arranged them as a chronological narrative. Table 1 identifies them by their basic meanings and by the broadcast commentary about them. Because these textual elements fell into two clearly identifiable halves of the ceremony, I present the analysis in two sections.

The first half: Representing Japaneseness

In a television interview, the chief spokesperson for the Nagano opening ceremonies, Mr. Asari Keita, emphasized that their aim was to present the value and the distinctiveness of Japanese culture. The articulation of these aims fits well with the way the first half of the ceremony was designed.

Even though the ceremony began with the ringing of a Buddhist temple bell, most of the ceremony invoked associations and memories of Shinto rituals, with a cultural atmosphere that most Japanese people could easily envision and identify with. In particular, there were striking resemblances between the opening ceremony and Shintō purification rituals. In Shintōism, before invoking a deity, it is necessary to perform a purification to create a "sacred" place and time. At the Nagano Olympics, a similar purification ritual took place before the emperor made his (God-like) appearance. The "texts" articulated in elements of the ceremony are as follows:

Toward **connections** with the world. A set of Olympic ideals and other universal discourses.	Toward **connections** with a specific time and space. Racial, historical discourses.	Constructed Narratives by **newscasters** and guest **commentators**. Cutting the TV scenes.
←	→	*The passage of time*
• Singer **performing the theme song**: 'When children rule the world'	• Zenkō-ji (Buddhist) temple bell (Ceremonies of purification bearing a close resemblance to Shinto style)	
• Boys and girls **change into white costumes** which symbolize snow and each attendant country	• The construction of sacred pillars to create a sacred place apart from the secular world	
• An entrance procession accompanied by local Japanese folksongs	• The sumo wrestlers come on stage.	Emphasizing Japanese goodness
• Opening address by the NAOC President **(key themes of Nagano: 'Love and attendance')**	• Dohyō-iri (ring-entrance ceremony)	
• Opening address of the IOC President, Juan Antonio Samaranch, calling for peace and cooperation among youth in the world.	• The grand champion (Yokozuna) dohyō-iri **(to exorcise evil spirits of the land to make sacred space)** (The divinity is invoked at the outset of a ceremony.)	Emphasizing Japanese distinctiveness
• Emperor declares the opening of the Games	• The Emperor makes his appearance	
• Trooping of Olympic flag and flag raising	• Resuming the ring-entrance ceremony before the Emperor	All performances stopped and there was a close-up of the Emperor with music
• A rendering **of Kimigayo (the Japanese national anthem)** with Gagaku (traditional music of the Japanese Imperial court)	• Dosojin **(guardian deities of travelers)** (originally, they were used to make villages boundaries, and were considered deities that protected villages against the invasion of evil spirits)	
• Olympic torch relayed from Chris Moon, British activist in the campaign for Mines Disarmament to Japanese medalists at the previous Winter Olympics.	• Dance performances of folk forms of Kagura (Shinto ritual dance)	
• The Olympic athletes' pledge by a Japanese athlete and a referee	• Yuki-no-ko (young boys and girls wearing old-style straw ponchos used in snow country)	Closing by Judy Williams as a representative of Nobel Peace Prize recipients
• Release **of artificial doves**	• The torch is relayed from medalists to a female Japanese runner wearing a traditional costume of a Shinto shrine maiden.	
• An ensemble across the five continents with TV net; Beethoven symphony No. 9 "Choral"; Seid umschlungen, Millionen!; ♪♪ Diesen Kuss der ganzen Welt!	• The lighting of the Olympic flame by a female Japanese silver medalist, with background music from the opera "Madam Butterfly"	Explained as a gesture for saving Nature ↓

Table 1. *The structure of the opening ceremony in the Nagano Olympics.*

- Shared historical memories: ringing the Zenkō-ji Temple bell, the ceremony of building the sacred pillars, the entrance of the *dosojin* (the guardian deities of travelers) and the "snow children" (*yukinoko*). These elements are all linked as local memories, and convey the imagined "mentality" of traditional communal life in Japanese rural areas (reminiscent of Benedict Anderson's 'imagined communities')
- The emperor's gaze: the dedication of folk forms of *kagura* (Shinto ritual dance) to the god of the shrine and the *yokozuna dohyō-iri* (a ritual ceremony for sumo champion wrestlers entering the ring and performed within the precincts of a shrine).
- Elements of Shintōism: All of the purification rites themselves evoked a Shinto style or atmosphere, enhanced by a rendering of the Japanese national anthem with *gagaku* (a traditional Shinto style of music from the Japanese Imperial court), the torch relay runners' traditional costumes, the lighting of the Olympic flame by a female Japanese medallist, wearing a traditional-style costume reminiscent of a *miko* (a maiden in the service of a Shinto shrine) with the music from the opera Madame Butterfly in the background.

These texts were composed with a certain preferred "reading" in mind, which is thus imposed as the most legitimate decoding of the event. These preferences, imposed through a combination of the calculated arrangement of various elements, were emphasized in the narratives of television newscasters and commentators, and reinforced through the skilled broadcast editing in the form of cuts or close-ups. The effect is to establish the context that dictates how and what to read in the text. Because the Nagano opening ceremony was planned to facilitate its broadcast as television programming, the overall effect worked very well.[1]

Together, these three texts convey that representation of "Japaneseness" that was planned by the promotional staff. According to Benedict Anderson, the modern nation-state must always reproduce a common illusion which generates an imagined community and determines people's identities and sense of belonging (Anderson, 1991). Yoshino Kōsaku (1997) argues that there are two ways to imagine the boundaries of the nation-state. One focuses on claims of common history or origin, especially the imagined ethnic origins, of a people, while the other draws upon the idea of cultural distinctiveness (such as shared racial characteristics, personality traits, and special etiquette). I would argue that the boundaries of Japaneseness evoked by the texts in the Nagano opening ceremony were of the former historical type.

If this was so, "inventing" traditions, may be mobilized in order to generate a historical imaginary (as conceptualized by Hobsbawm in Hobsbawm and Ranger 1991). However, it is important to recognize that history itself is also an artificial construct, often diverging from "real" history and not necessarily being told from a neutral point of view. Thus, the focus is on the axis of the representation. Let us look more closely at each of the three texts:

The first text, shared memories of rural life, may be interpreted as similar to the romanticization of rural life deployed in earlier Games (e.g., the Lillehammer Olympics in 1994.) The meaning, however, is not generated by the individual texts; rather, these three texts must be combined and read by the same dominant codes in order to convey this specific meaning. Furthermore, the Nagano texts have the collective effect of presenting a specific Japaneseness, which also encompasses the representation of the specific order of Japanese culture and society. The first text invokes a feeling of traditional community and nostalgia, which is assumed to be a common foundation among Japanese. Each element—the temple bell, the sacred pillars, the guardian deities, and the snow children—contributed to producing this sentiment of nostalgia.

The second text takes up the theme of what we might call "emperorism" through memories of traditional social integration. Fujita Shōzō astutely defined the foundation of the emperor-state as the fusion between the Emperor's authority and Shintōism into a state norm (Fujita 1966). At the same time, emperorism retained a link with the communal principle of the traditional family system. Yamaguchi (1979) and Mito (1976) have both stressed the strong mutualism of family and state in Japanese history; to Mito, they are connected through associations of the dual concepts of public (*kō*) and private (*shi*). Significantly, the character for "public" in Japanese can be read as *"kō"* and as "ooyake"; as the former, it implies public and as the latter it meant originally an extended family, eliding the public with the familial; the community is thought of as a quasi-family. In addition, public and private convey distinct norms; *kô* connotes "impartiality," while *shi* often implies "unfairness." Thus the *kō-oyake* pair is ethically prior to the private sphere. For instance, *"mechi hōkō"* (suppressing individuality to serve the greater entity) was a prominent slogan before 1945, and remains an influential sentiment today.

Indeed, these associations of state authority and family ties are embedded in the related ideal of *"chukō itchi,"* which identifies filial piety and loyalty to an authority; the Emperor is "patriarch" in the doubled sense of ruler of a realm and head of the extended family of Japanese. Thus, the shared memories stirred by this text are more than simple nostalgia, but can be read as an articulation of emperorism. This element is further reinforced by the third text.

The third text concerns elements of the Shintō religion, which may be traced to a naturalistic animism later linked to the imperial court. In this way, Shintōism has centered on ideas of intimacy with nature and with ancestor worship, and therefore has provided a religious foundation for the emperor-state system, especially with its legal codification as the basis of state rule in the late nineteenth century. The state, centered on the Emperor Meiji, stripped Shinto of associations with other religions, made itself the guardian of all Shinto rituals, and established a hierarchy of national shrines and priests. Because these rankings depended upon the closeness of the relationship between the state and the Emperor, many Shinto shrines invented their own myths or legends linking them to the Emperor. Until 1945, the Emperor was a Shinto deity, and only defeat in World War II forced him to declare his own mortality. Shinto was, and for some Japanese remains, the state religion (see Iwai 1998).

Thus, the three texts combined to focus on emperorism. After the rituals for purification and the invocation of divinity, the Emperor made a god-like appearance. Then, in front of the Emperor's gaze at the center of the order, the festival was sumptuously displayed. The producers created the representation of Japan around this point. At the same time, it also presents specific principles of social integration.

Another important aspect of emperorism revolves around ancestor worship. According to Yoshino, the symbolic discourse of "Japanese blood" is invoked to draw a distinction between Japanese and other Asians such as Koreans and Chinese people. This symbolic construct creates an "us versus them" consciousness and a sense of a "Japanese" community of common ethnic and racial background.

In his examination of the structure of the emperor-state, Fujita also emphasized the concept of *"bansei ikkei no tennō"*(a hereditary emperor from an eternal line of descent). As a specific phrase, this concept has always been used to describe the Japanese emperor. Its invocation articulates a specific racial or ethnic claim, representing an exclusive social community based on the imagined bond of blood relations.

To summarize the first half of the ceremony, the dominant representation of Japaneseness can be seen as a particular emperor-centered Japanese order, which is articulated by intricate ties between imperial authority and Shintōism, the structure of the family-state, and finally, the tenet of an ethically homogenous nation. It is the underlying code that works along the paradigmatic axis of meaning which these texts represent in relation to each other. It is what Roland Barthes (1973) has termed a "myth," because of how it frames our thinking.

While it first appears to be a straightforward revival of past ways, to my mind it is more of a reconstructed or newly invented "tradition."

This becomes especially clear when one considers that since the establishment of the modern Japanese nation-state, the emperor has usually functioned as a mere figurehead for those holding real political power. Both Ishida and Kojita have argued that the emperor fulfils his political function only through his neutrality and symbolic presence (Ishida 1998; Kojita 1998). Of course, as Watanabe notes, the symbol of the Emperor has been deployed politically in a variety of ways at various junctures in the modern era. To further clarify this argument, we must consider carefully the historical conditions that constitute the context of contemporary Japan.

The second half of the opening ceremony

The second half of the opening ceremony at the Nagano Olympics created a connection with the global imagination through its presentation of a set of Olympic ideals as well as other universal discourses. The transition in discourses began with the performance of the theme song, "When children rule the world," while children who had been dressed as "snow children" changed into costumes symbolizing snow, and carried placards emblazoned with the flag of each participating country. From this moment, the discourse was oriented externally towards the rest of the world, and this remains the dominant theme until the ending. The final scene, in which people across all five continents simultaneously sang the chorus of Beethoven's Ninth Symphony linked by live television broadcasts, was a truly impressive "globalizing" conclusion.

Because this theme of universalism seems inconsistent with the elements of nationalism emphasized in the ceremony's first half, we must immediately confront how to interpret these meanings. In formulating an answer to this, I asked two hundred of my students to write a one-page report on their impressions of the opening ceremony based on a video that I showed in class. Most of them "read" **Nagano along the lines of the second theme, with its global orien**tation. I had suspected that this would be the case because of the predominant discourses about the Olympics that called for peace and cooperation among the people of the world.

In creating a context for interpretation, this dominant theme inevitably shaped how people understood the Olympics. Moreover, newspaper articles appearing after the ceremony strongly reinforced this interpretation. It should be noted, however, that most of students also described the representation of Japaneseness in their reports, and while it was not discussed in much detail,

they recognized its existence nonetheless. Given these responses, it seems that the organizers of the opening ceremony were successful in communicating the intended worldview, at least to the extent that my students were at all representative of viewers.

The worldview represented in Nagano created not only a specific Japaneseness, but also framed the relationship between Japan and the world. Mary Yoko Brannen's argument (1995) about a particular type of Japanese cultural imperialism at work at Tokyo Disneyland is an exemplary case of how such "framing" operates. Brannen's analysis focused on how Japanese society accepts a foreign concept like Disneyland in its entirety without making adjustments for Japanese distinctiveness. She admits that from a Westerner's perspective, this might appear to be unquestioned acceptance of Western cultural imperialism, but she rejects this interpretation. Instead, she suggests that this phenomenon reflects a type of Japanese cultural imperialism that functions in a completely different way from the Western type. Because the Japanese keep their own culture firmly defined, often in very exclusive fashion, this enables them to accept "other cultures" as exotic and discrete; for this reason, then, they do not make adjustments according to Japanese society and culture. More accurately, what is retained as "Japanese" is not a pure culture, but an imagined Japaneseness and the belief in continuity.

In much the same way, the opening ceremony of Nagano with its emphasis on Japan's distinctiveness in the first half does not necessarily contradict the theme of the second half of the event. Rather, the two halves articulate a representation of the unique relationship between Japan and the world. In this context, this is certainly an ethnocentric assertion, but not necessarily a reactionary one. Perhaps it would be more accurate to say that the representation of Japaneseness in Nagano can be characterized as the temporary product of a transitional period towards an era of globalization. This will be developed further in the following section.

The socio-cultural context of the Nagano Olympics

Political scientist Watanabe Osamu (1999) argues for a decisive break in the dynamics of Japanese capitalism following the 1985 Plaza Accords, when the sharp rise in the value of the Japanese yen induced companies to aggressively shift their production overseas. Japanese overseas investment grew rapidly, and at the beginning of the 1990s, it ranked second in the world. This dramatic change emerged from a neo-conservative economic policy that also accelerated

the opening of Japanese markets to other countries. The shift from domestic production to overseas operations represented a transition from domestic-centered capitalism to global capitalism.

If the boundaries of an "imagined" country are determined culturally and conceptually, such economic transformations inevitably cause changes in traditional boundaries as well. With the Japanese "economy" no longer determined by physical factors like geographical proximity, this policy shift altered the very definition of Japaneseness. At the same time, this shift opened up serious conflicts between domestic-centered capitalism and Japanese global capitalism because most domestic Japanese companies found themselves struggling to survive under the new demands.

Such economic conflicts are also projected onto the dimension of culture. In reaction to this trend towards globalization, conservative nationalism reappeared, illustrated in the popularity of the ultra right–wing film "Pride," which stirred patriotic sentiment by reinstating the reputation of General Tojo, the military leader during World War Two. This nationalist revival stirred complex reactions, however. The *Nihon keizai shimbun*, Japan's leading economic newspaper and a strong supporter of neo-conservative economic policies, in fact condemned the film as an anachronism in the new global era. The newspaper insisted that Japan had to look forward towards developing strong peaceful ties with other countries rather than look backward to a jingoistic past.

Slavoj Zizek (1998) has argued that during the age of imperialism, cultural imperialism constituted the dominant ideology, but it has now been replaced by an ideology of multiculturalism in the current age of global capitalism. To some extent, *Nikkei's* criticism emerges from this ideology and calls for an open dealing with the world. It is important to note, however, that this ideology is an indispensable requirement for global capitalism because the world capitalist market has an intrinsic tendency to transcend any national limitations. At the same time, this new world order still requires a hierarchy. Immanuel Wallerstein terms this the "core–peripheral" hierarchy, and he explains that: "ethnicization, or peoplehood, resolves one of the basic contradictions of historical capitalism—its simultaneous thrust for theoretical equality and practical inequality—and it does so by utilizing the mentalities of the world's working strata" (1998:84). To construct this order, the constitution of the nation is bound up not with the abstraction of the capitalist market, but with its concrete form, enabling the development of relations of unequal exchange and dominance (Balibar 1998: 89). Because standards for the new hierarchy have not been set, the order is still based on the "fictive ethnic and ideal nation," which is considered to be distinct and superior (ibid.: 96).

In conclusion, then, the seemingly paradoxical representation of Japaneseness in the opening ceremony of the Nagano Olympics reflects both the conflict between domestic-centered capitalism and global capitalism, as well as the appearance of a new hierarchy in the world order.

Conclusion

In this chapter, I have examined the construction of Japaneseness at a specific historical moment. The representations generated by the opening ceremony of the Nagano Olympics produced very specific images and definitions of what it meant to be Japanese during this period, and thus assigned a particular meaning to the idea of participating in Japanese culture and belonging to the Japanese nation. At the same time, however, the opening ceremony also presented a specific relationship between Japan and the world, as the definition of Japaneseness shifted according to its position in this imaginary site. In this sense, the event did not necessarily revive a traditional imagination, but "created new political forms, new myths and cults," as Mosse hypothesized. The ceremony demonstrated "how to use old traditions and to adapt them to a new purpose" (1991:1).

I would insist, further, that the "inconsistencies" that can be found do not necessarily disprove this line of thought. First, as Brannen has shown, the definition of this kind of phenomenon as "inconsistent" is itself a form of imperialism or Orientalism. Secondly, it is very consistent when seen as the by-products of a hegemonic struggle in a cultural phase caused by changes in the socio-historical conditions that form the foundation of Japanese capitalism.

In a sense, the representation of Japaneseness is still in transition. As Tomlinson argued, it is situated in the paradox of globalisation. Moreover, seeing Japan as a subjective state in the margins of countries located at the center (as per Wallerstein) will continuously make any definition of "Japaneseness" ambiguous. Thus, the "global identity crisis" caused by economic shifts calls for a rethinking of national identity. It creates a new form of "imagined community," and the spectacle at Nagano exemplifies this shift.

————————————

Endnote

[1] It is necessary to ask here how texts are linked to their representational apparatuses. Media apparatuses have particularly great influence upon the construction of meaning, and in recognition of this, the texts of current ceremonies are designed for television broadcasting. The organizers imagine the way audiences will read the text, and then edit accordingly. The elements of construction for the text, such as recording, selective editing, framing, and linking are arranged according to constitutive codes, and the creators of the ceremony actively construct a consensual preferred reading. It must be noted that the "visual sign in the television message has to be encoded too" (Turner 1996:84). Thus, the constructed reality is seen as natural, but the specific codes underlie and address a preferred reading.

As Nagano was planned from the outset as a television program, this worked well. For example, the figures of the emperor and empress and the "Hinomaru" national flag which fluttered on the stand, were often featured in close-ups in the television broadcasts. At the same time, narration works syntagmatically as well. It functions to organize the texts, to set up certain patterns of meaning along the passage of time. Texts incorporate narrative elements, and readers can understand the meanings they represent. In Nagano, the narrator worked to construct a culturally suggestive text, especially to emphasize Japanese "goodness" and "beauty" through combining narrative comments with a guest speaker's anecdotes. The guest was a Japanese woman who had won a bronze medal at the Atlanta Summer Olympics, and was living in the USA with her American husband who was a fan of all things Japanese.

_____

References

Anderson, Benedict (1991) *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism*. Revised edition. London: Verso.

Bakhtin, Mikhail (1984) *Rabelais and His World*. Translated by Helene Iswolsky. Bloomington and Indianapolis: Indiana University Press. (Russian original, 1965).

Balibar, Etienne, and Immanuel Wallerstein (1991) *Race, Nation, Class: Ambiguous Identities*. London: Verso.

Barthes, Roland (1973) *Mythologies*, Translated by Annette Lavers. French original, 1957. New York: Hill and Wang.

Brannen, Mary Yoko (1992) "'Bwana Mickey:' Constructing Cultural Consumption at Tokyo Disneyland." In Joseph J. Tobin (editor), *Re-Made in Japan*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 216-234.

Debord, Guy (1995) *The Society of the Spectacle*. Translated by Donald Nicholson-Smith. French original, 1967. New York: ZONE Books.

Dobashi Tadashi (1998) *Kokka, kenryoku, ideorogii* [State, Power, and Ideology] Tokyo: Akashi shoten.

Fujita Shōzō (1966) *Tennō-sei kokka no shihai genri* [The Principles of Rule in the Emperor-State] Kyoto: Mirai-sha.

Fujitani Takashi (1998) *Splendid Monarchy*. Berkeley: University of California Press.

Grossberg, Lawrence, editor (1996) "On Postmodernism and Articulation: An Interview with Stuart Hall." In David Morley (editor), *Stuart Hall: Critical Dialogues in Cultural Studies*. London: Routledge, 131-150.

Hall, Stuart (1980) "Encoding/Decoding." In Stuart Hall (editor), *Culture, Media, Language*. London: Unwin Hyman, 128-138.

Hall, Stuart, editor (1997) *Representation: Cultural Representations and Signifying Practices*. London: Sage Publications.

Hobsbawm, Eric, and Terence Ranger, editors (1983) *The Invention of Tradition*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Ishida Takeshi (1998) "'Dōka' seisaku to tsukurareta kannen to shite no 'Nihon'" [The 'Integrationist' Policy and the Invented Conception of 'Japan'], *Shisō* 893: 141-174.

Iwai Tadakuma (1987) *Tennō-sei to Nihon bunkaron* [The Emperor-State and Debates about Japanese Culture] Tokyo: Bunrikaku.

---- (1998) *Kindai tennō-sei no ideorogii* [The Ideology of the Modern Emperor-State] Tokyo: Shin Nihon sha.

Kojita Yasunao (1998) *Kokumin soshitsu no kindai* [The Modern Age of National Loss] Tokyo: Yoshikawa Kōbunkan.

Mito Kō (1976) *Kō to shi* [Public and Private] Tokyo: Mirai-sha.

Morris-Suzuki, Tessa (1998) *Re-Inventing Japan.* Armonk, NY: M.E. Sharpe.

Mosse, George L. (1975) *The Nationalization of the Masses: Political Symbolism and Mass Movements in Germany from the Napoleonic Wars through the Third Reich.* Ithaca: Cornell University Press.

Murakami Shigeyoshi (1972) "Kokka Shintō" [State Shinto]. In *Nihon shakai ni okeru kachikan no keifu* [A Genealogy of Values in Japanese Society] Tokyo: Hyōron-sha, 278-297

Tomlinson, Alan (1996) "The Olympic Spectacle: Opening Ceremonies and Some Paradoxes of Globalization," *Media, Culture & Society* 18:583-602.

Thwaites, Tony, editor (1994) *Tools for Cultural Studies.* Australia: Macmillan Education.

Turner, Graeme (1996) *British Cultural Studies.* Second edition. London: Routledge.

Watanabe Osamu (1999) *Kigyō shakai Nippon wa doko e iku no ka* [Where is Japan as a Company Society Bound?] Tokyo: Kyōiku shiryō sha.

Yamada Teruomi (1999) *Meiji kokka to shūkyo* [State and Religion in the Meiji Era] Tokyo: Tokyo daigaku shuppankai.

Yamaguchi Sadate (1979) *Fashizumu* [Fascism] Tokyo: Yūhikaku.

Yoshino Kosaku (1997) *Bunka nashanarizumu no shakaigaku* [The Sociology of Cultural Nationalism] Nagoya: Nagoya daigaku shuppankai.

Yoshimi Shun'ya (1994) "Undōkai no shisō" [The Ideology of Sports Days), *Shisō* 845: 137-162.

Zizek, Slavoj (1998) "Tabunka-shugi aruiwa takoku-teki shihon-shugi no bunka no ronri" [Multiculturalism, or the Cultural Logic of Multinational Capitalism] Translated by Wada Tadashi. In *Hihyō kūkan* 18: 69-82.

PART TWO

Contemporary Cases

Moving Mountains:
Order and Change in a Sports World

Wolfram Manzenreiter

In this chapter, I investigate the organization of Japanese mountaineering as a sporting world and how the structures of this world have changed over time. Drawing on field notes, interviews, and written accounts I collected in 1995-96, I will explore the ways that consensus and order in the social world of mountaineering are produced, reproduced, challenged and transformed. Thus, I am building upon and extending my initial research project on the social construction of Japanese mountaineering (Manzenreiter 2000).

After presenting my analytical framework, I will detail a number of empirical examples of various types of power and control at work. I am going to argue that the same model serves well to understand dynamics of change. All empirical data presented in the main section refer to the period from 1945 to 1975 unless mentioned otherwise. My final comments will connect these earlier decades of postwar history with the present and address contemporary dynamics of change.

On one of the rare occasions to inform an overseas audience on the conditions of the sport of mountaineering in Japan, Yamazaki Yasuji, one of the leading chroniclers of its history, closed his overview for the readers of the internationally renowned *Alpine Journal* with the following lines:

> *… after the Second World War, the democracy which was given to Japan first manifests itself in the popularisation of all activities. Without evaluating the merits or demerits of this process, the things which had been once open only to the elite few have become available to the masses as their recreation. Thus, mountaineering too was open to the masses as their recreation. Those people who have heard of the beauty of the mountains and the pleasure of mountaineering from their forefathers, were now able to fulfil their desires. Today they fill the Japanese mountains and enjoy their recreation. These mountaineers are the young people who are sensitive to the new era. Those who support them both spiritually and financially are the people in the various strata who know the pleasure of mountaineering that has become part of the Japanese legacy. Many of them were unable to attain their own desires in the pre-war period, owing to lack of means and time. They want the younger generation to fulfil their own lost dreams. Thus, the old Japanese family system is inspiring modern Japan.* (Yamazaki 1966:255).

Yamazaki's conception of a holistic mass community of mountaineers and mountain lovers, united by the social cement of "the old Japanese family system," is appealing but inaccurate. He ignores the numerous tensions, disputes, and disjunctures that fuelled the dynamics of change within the social world of mountaineering during the early post-World War II decades of economic revitalization and growth. Yamazaki certainly neglects the multi-facetted reality of the mountaineers' world, which was never as monolithic as he depicts. However, he is far from alone in projecting a world similar to a family or community.

Throughout my research on the history of Japanese mountaineering I encountered a revealing term of self-reference in numerous written sources and oral statements: *tozankai*, literally the world of mountaineering. Whatever the term may signify to an individual speaker, *tozankai* generally names a distinctive yet rather unspecified universe inhabited by people who share a common affection for mountain climbing. Notwithstanding the diversities of styles, objectives or identification that divide the sport of mountaineering in a similar fashion to other sports, *tozankai* connotes an all-embracing, united, and self-contained world, in which everything and everybody is related with each other. And this is a world of *Japanese* mountaineering; I am not aware of any use of *tozankai* to refer to the global world of mountaineering. Occasionally, *Nihon* (Japan) is attached adjectively to give specific cultural and geographical boundaries.

Within Japanese sports, this compound is somewhat unusual. *Undōkai* – the world of physical exercise – is a rather old-fashioned word and out of use; *sumōkai* (the world of sumo wrestling) is an exception, but for different reasons. Professional baseball speaks of itself as *yakyūkai* (or sometimes just *kyūkai*), but it is not much used for soccer, badminton, swimming or other sports. One explanation by my informants for its application to mountaineering was the special role assigned to nature and topography. Another referred to central myths of the sport, such as "the friendship of the hills" and "the roped party," and to mountaineering's apparently unique value system. For instance, compared to the team spectator sports of modernity, features such as quantification, competition, or the quest for records (cf. Guttmann 1979) play a minor role in mountain climbing. However, various researchers as well as mountaineers themselves have sharply dismantled such myths and have depicted a fundamentally different reality (Donnelly 1981/82; Messner 1984). As I will discuss later, the contrast between idealized self-image and crude reality is no less evident in the Japanese case, where rivalry, competition, hierarchy and discrimination have been highly constitutive of the development of the sport throughout its entire history.

A more organic explanation–in this case this is the ethnographer's interpretation–incorporates the high degree of reflexivity and historical consciousness that

characterizes the *tozankai*. Probably no other sport has produced–and keeps on doing so–such an enormous canon of literature recording the minutes of its own progress at every stage of the development. The first generation of mountaineers, highly educated members of the new middle class, among them famous poets and writers such as Dazai Osamu, Yosano Tekkan and Shimazaki Toson, perceived themselves as explorers and laymen scientists. They felt a social obligation as members of a class to transmit knowledge and experience to their fellow mountaineers. The sportification of mountaineering since the 1920s did not interfere with this impulse, as detailed records were the only way to communicate successful first ascents to rival clubs. Besides privately published club journals, of which tens of thousands circulate in present day Japan, a multi-layered media industry, consisting of numerous periodicals and books catering for the needs of armchair mountaineers, flourished in Japan as early as in the 1930s.

An outstanding sub-genre within the alpine literature consists of the alpinist discourse (*tozanron*) reflecting on objectives, ethics and purposes of the sport. The conjuncture with the art of literature (writing, reading, reviewing) relates Japanese mountaineering to the world of arts in which the speech convention of referring to a distinctive world of actors, texts, practices, habits and lifestyles is a common heritage from the rigid segmentation of society during the Tokugawa period (*bungaku-kai*, the world of literature, or *engeki-kai*: the world of theatre etc.). In a similar fashion, the world of mountaineering signifies a distinctive world within and beneath the world of sports, a culture of its own. It is hardly surprising that mountaineering is often defined as cultural practice (*bunka kōi*). To tell the difference between the quasi-synonyms of *tozankai* and *tozan bunka* is difficult, but it is reasonable to regard the former as centered on the social relationships and the latter on an all-encompassing "way of life."

Adventure recreation

As a social scientist, I am not particularly concerned with philosophical speculations on the meaning of words and concepts. However, I am interested in the power of ideas and imagination to shape social reality. By the latter perspective, ideas can be treated as a functional variable within an analytical framework or model of social change. Theories of social change, however, are heavily contested and unfortunately do not provide ready-made concepts for particular applications. Here, with reference to Anthony Giddens' inspiring essay on structuration and social change (1995), I will use both a dynamic and static approach to analyse structures of order as well as dynamics of change in a sport sub-world.

This exploratory essay deals with what is probably the most established type of adventure recreation worldwide. Adventure recreation, like rock climbing, hang-gliding, scuba diving or white water canoeing, constitutes a distinctive category of sport activities. Alan Ewert defined adventure recreation as "a variety of self-initiated activities utilizing an interaction with the natural environment that contains elements of apparent or real danger, in which the outcome, while uncertain, can be influenced by the participant and circumstance" (quoted in Ewert and Hollenhorst 1989:125). For the purpose of this chapter, the broad and open approach of this conceptualisation is more appropriate than narrow and closed definitions provided by previous studies on social change and mountaineering. Lawrence Hamilton (1979; 1982) explained normative change within the subculture of American rock climbers as a function of a motivational reward structure that encouraged the pioneering of new routes and the finite medium (mountains or part of mountains) in which to create them. According to Trevor Williams and Peter Donnelly, the quest for increasingly difficult routes is motivated by jeopardy, which is a major constitutive element of climbing (1983:4). As jeopardy is largely maintained by socially defined rules, the element of doubt and the frequently required redefinition of jeopardy enforce the transformation of climbing. Although both analytical approaches are convincing in their own terms, they fail to adequately consider the internal variability of practice, styles and ideologies. Mountaineering is more than technical climbing.

Control and order

Sport communities consist of all members of the cultural terrain of a particular sport and its organisations. In this sense they are similar to Shibutani's universes of regularized mutual response that he conceptualised as social worlds (1955). The borders of such a social world exceed its formal groups and organisations but are rather defined by the limits of effective communication (Ditton, Loomis and Choi 1992:35). This concept might be applied to many sports, especially to alternative and informally organised sports, and it is especially useful for the analysis of sport universes that lack a formal, centralize power architecture.

My analytical framework attempts to take both structure and action into consideration. Structure, as it is affects sport groups like teams and clubs, or organisations and larger communities, exerts control on individuals' behaviour. Action, or performance, is the individual's interaction with the social framework, and it opens windows of opportunities for social change. Control is necessary to maintain stability. If the needs of the individual and the collective supported each other, interests would be balanced and control unnecessary. In the

case of sport, this is rare. Sport groups that are formed for the ultimate purpose of generating differentiation (between winner and loser, for example), usually face conflicts arising from distinct interests among their members. How control is exerted may differ according to context and level of social action.

Analytically, we can assume three distinctive types of social control. Theorizing the way organisations are exerting influence and control over their members, American sociologist Amitai Etzioni (1964) developed a simple but sophisticated model of means and strategies of organisational control, in which he paired each type of control a particular selection of means. Coercive power is control based upon physical means, which is to say, the use of physical violence or the fear of being exposed to it. Material rewards or sanctions are corresponding techniques of utilitarian power, while normative or social-normative power relies on the effective use of symbols like prestige and acceptance or the successful manipulation of ideologies. The chart below shows how these types of control act on sport at three distinct levels, i.e. the level of participation and personal interaction in social groups, the level of administration and external representation enacted by bureaucratic sport associations, and finally the level of public discourse that connects all members of the sport world. All levels are crucial to maintaining order, stability and continuity.

Means of control	Level of social action		
Coercive power			**Club/team**
Control by physical means			
Utilitarian power		**Sport Association**	
Control by material rewards/sanctions			
Normative power			
Control by use of ideologies	**Social world**		

Chart 1. *Control and power in sport communities: A basic model.*

Coercive power

As in any advanced modern society, physical violence has been gradually contained and increasingly monopolised in Japan. Coercive power thus is no longer acceptable for maintaining order and stability in most public or private contexts. In particular, the notion of being exposed to any kind of physical violence in a voluntarily chosen sport or recreational practice seems unlikely. For a number of reasons, however, this is neither unthinkable nor even uncommon in Japan.

In May 1965, the hiking club (*wandervogel*) of the Tokyo University of Agriculture (Nōdai) achieved notorious fame from what the media labelled the "*wangeru shigoki jiken*". During his first mountain trip with the university club, 18-year-old Wada Noboru died of physical exhaustion and maltreatment. Police investigation revealed that nearly all of the new members who had entered the club in April that year suffered from heavy physical abuse and had to receive medical treatment. They were forced to carry heavy, 50-kilogram loads, second-year members were assigned 25 kilogram loads, and senior club members climbed without any load. Any of the freshmen who showed signs of fatigue, exhaustion or weakness were sworn at or even beaten by their older comrades. Slaps in the face, kicks with nailed mountain boots, hits on the head with ice axes, and verbal abuse were common to new members' introduction to club life. The student leaders and four other members of the club were charged with suspicion of physical injury resulting from negligence, as was the responsible teacher who had authorized the leaders to drill the rookies (Kerun henshūbu 1965:92).

Was this an example or an exception? Although this case is the best documented example, similar incidents are abundant in contemporary newspaper reports, in mountaineers' biographies and feature films, and even in alpine journals or books that in general tend to ignore such practices. The court in charge of the Nōdai case commented that it widely known that there was much disrespect for human rights and dignity among university clubs, and especially within alpine clubs (Itō 1970:97-98). On the other hand, However, while these incidents are not rare, neither are they the norm; my research suggests that most clubs are able to realise their collective goals without resorting to physical violence. Obviously coercive power is limited, either predominantly or exclusively, to a particular type of alpine club.

In general alpine clubs are private, self-administered organisations centering on climbing activities. The degree of formality varies by club size and reputation. Common to all is the registration of membership, an elaborate hierarchical structure, and the delegation of administrative and management tasks to appointed members. Notable about Japan is the sheer number of many thousand autonomous alpine clubs that usually are either integrated into or attached to a larger social unit like a region, a company, or a university. Especially student alpine clubs have played an important role for the popularisation of mountaineering: firstly, by determining standards of excellence well until the mid 1960s, secondly by providing a role model for the more ambitious citizens' clubs (*chiiki sangaku dantai*) or corporate clubs (*shokuiki sangaku dantai*).

Student alpine clubs (*sangakubu*) have been structured on a rigid hierarchy that is rooted in the pre-war order. Donald Roden's (1980) account of

school life in Imperial Japan illustrates how higher education cultivated an atmosphere of elitism, stoic asceticism, manliness and intense rivalry between educational institutions (see also Kiku, this volume). Sports, in particular baseball and the martial arts, served as arenas for fighting out rivalries in public space. Since the early 1920s, the students extended their competitions into the mountains where they vied with each other for first ascents of previously unclimbed piles, towers, and faces. Tour records and club files from this period reveal an atmosphere of open hostility; when Keio University climbers met their rival Waseda University club, they were forbidden to talk or even exchange greetings (Taniguchi 1988).

The quest for external supremacy and the structure of internal hierarchy remained largely intact even after the democratization of Japan. Alpine clubs continued to operate by earlier views that strong leadership required complete subordination and that ranks, duties, and privileges should be distributed according to length of membership (e.g. Abe 1969; Katō Y. 1969). Their articulation even found expression in the curriculum published by the National Alpine Training Centre at Tateyama (Fujita 1985). Combined with more universal dynamics of peer group pressure and with cultural affinities to a mainstream Japanese model of vertical social relationships[1], the reproduction of a system hardly challenged and never defended in public was guaranteed.

We still can wonder why students subjugated themselves to the inhuman practices of sport clubs. Of course, not all did. Many left once they realised their objections to the training methods, time demands, or club ideology. Those who stayed accepted insults and injuries for reasons that are hard to generalise. One powerful factor probably was the Japanese folklore model of achievement. The belief that being severity with oneself is a prerequisite for improvement and achievement is certainly a popular belief throughout twentieth-century Japan. The emphasis on perseverance, will power, and mental strength created a particular, irrational image of sport with ample place for struggle, agony and torment, for blood, sweat and tears. The poor substitute for scientific-rational training methods has been openly criticised, as well as the feudal relics of social organisation (Okabe 1969). Nonetheless they persist at the core of the semi-autonomous school sport system (*bukatsu*) (Nakamura 1995:99-104, Cave 2004).

Because internal hierarchy, vertical relationships, strong dependability, regular face-to-face encounters and the seclusion of club life are essential requirements of coercive power in sport, it is not surprising that the practices described above prevail at the social level of small groups (see chart 2).

*Means of control/*Level of social action	Club/team	Sport Association	Sport World
Coercive power *Control by physical means*	yes	no	no

Chart 2. *Coercive power in sport.*

Utilitarian power

Generally speaking, mountaineers can hardly expect any monetary or material reward for an activity they themselves define as play-like (*asobi*), unproductive (*muyō*) and useless. They are not entitled to profit-making anyway. At least this is the case for all those mountaineers whose clubs are associated with the prefectural or national sport federation. Already in 1946 mountaineering was accepted among the first sport activities to be covered by the Japan Amateur Sport Association (Nihon taiiku kyōkai; JASA). JASA is a foundation and in fact a private corporation (*zaidan hōjin*), but acts as the prolonged arm of the Monbushō (Ministry of Education). Due to this official acknowledgement as sportsmen–the originally Western discourse whether mountaineering is a sport or not has been flourishing in Japan too–the amateur status was enforced on mountaineers. In addition, the Japan Mountaineering Association (Nihon Sangaku Kyōkai; JMA) was empowered to impose sanctions against anybody violating the spirit of amateurism. When in 1966 Mizukami Sangakkai, the local alpine club closest to Tanigawadake, which is probably the mountain with the highest casualty rate on earth, suggested a tariff system for alpine rescue operations,[2] JMA threatened to expel the club from the association (Saitō 1967:52-53).

Monetary sanctions are more frequent at club level. Depending on the way obligations and conformity are institutionalised by club statutes, being absent at the regular club meeting or having missed any obligatory alpine tour can be subject to a fixed penalty fee. While this is a handy way to enhance the club finances, at the same time it is a soft incentive to heighten awareness of conform behaviour. In case of repetitious offences against the collective, suspension is a possible consequence to follow.

The JMA has no power to impose monetary sanctions by itself, and it does not possess own assets to pay out material rewards. However, as a link between its mountaineering clients and public interests, JMA plays a central role for a number of effective control devices the first of which is closely related to the central ideology of the sport. Death is a central element of identity discourses among mountaineers, as Donnelly persuasively argued for the Western climbing community

(1980). The folkloristic definition *tozan wa inochigake no supōtsu* (mountaineering is a sport with life at stakes; Maki 1956:1), which was coined by Uramatsu Samitarō in the 1930s and proudly repeated by later generations, clearly demonstrates that Japanese climbers, too, highly esteem the risk of death as a spicy ingredient of their favourite sport. The element of jeopardy relies on solid facts, as challenging an unfriendly and even dangerous natural environment always requires the calculation of possible death. Therefore, discourses on the meaning of the sport (*tozanron*), on mountain accidents and risk reduction constitute two major topics of alpine magazines. However, if the deliberate exposure to jeopardy is the spice of the sport, the degree of objective hazards acquires measurement standard for comparing individual performance, internal differentiation, and competition. High fatality rates consequently back up the reputation of climbing areas. The most awed regions of the country with the probably highest fatality rates worldwide are Tsurugidake and Tanigawadake. Just to the latter, since 1936 more than 750 climbers have paid tribute with their life. Attributes like "Devil's Mountain" (*akuma no yama*; Nakao 1989:186) or "Man Eater" (*hitokui yama*; Uryū 1969:5), intended to scare off unskilled climbers, rather had the opposite effect and strengthened its notorious fame. Popular press, in addition, constructed the heavily romanticised depiction of the "beauty of mountain death" which derived from the combination of (white) mountains, fatal accidents and lost young lives (Takeda 1987).

Since the early 1960s, public discourse turned against the "*kaminari tozanka*", spearheaded by the same newspapers that once had contributed to the glorification of mountain death–though without lasting results. As representatives of the alpine world declared lack of experience and juvenile carelessness responsible for the greater part of the accidents, Monbushō prohibited winter mountaineering to all high school clubs in 1965; two years later, the association of high school clubs deliberately announced it was to relinquish all potentially dangerous variants (Nakagawa 1968:197-199). This effected the postponement of alpine training to university level, but not the frequency of accidents. As a consequence, in the late 1960s local authorities of Toyama and Gunma prefectures enacted the world's one and only set of regulations (*tozan kisei jōrei*) issued to protect mountaineers from themselves. Certain core areas of infamous Tsurugidake and Tanigawadake are either totally closed during peak seasons or opened only for those having obtained an official permit that requires passing a strict and highly bureaucratic procedure of application, twofold examination, and final approval. In case of offence, local authorities are entitled to charge penalty fees of up to 10,000 yen (Naitō 1973).

Conditions required for approval included credentials attesting sufficient expertise and skills. In addition, prefectural bureaucrats strongly recommended to take out a special alpine insurance and to join a club formally affiliated with

the JMA. Until the mid-1980s, only members of clubs associated with the JMA – and not with the alternative Rōsan (Nihon Kinrōsha Sangaku Renmei; Japan Workers' Alpine Federation) – were entitled to challenge Japan's most challenging climbs. In similar fashion, admission to the National Centre of Alpine Education (Monbushō Tozan Kenshūsho) which opened in 1967 as a response to the wave of fatal accidents, was granted only to JMA affiliates (Yamazaki 1967:38-40).

A further tremendous control device was handed to the JMA through its affiliation with JASA. Well into the 1960s, all objectives abroad from Patagonia to the Himalaya were nearly out of reach for the ambitious Japanese climber, due to restrictions on freedom of travel and exchange of foreign currency. The exorbitant expenses to launch an expedition provided an additional barrier. However, funding was available from private corporation sponsors, and more importantly, from public funds designated for the improvement of Japanese athletes' performance on international floors. These funds were channelled through JASA and its specific branches. It goes without saying that membership to the federal JMA was required for getting grants (Kanbara 1959:56). The questions of who represents Japanese mountaineering and who controls the activities and expenses at the Committee on Mountaineering Abroad (*Kaigai tozan iinkai*) were a constant matter of dispute between the various predecessors of JMA and the Japanese Alpine Club (Nihon Sangakkai; JAC). Although a private regional club and not a nation-wide organised body, the oldest and internationally probably most renowned alpine club of Japan had successfully monopolised the right of sole representation and the control of the expedition funds until the mid-1960s (Takahashi 1982:274-276). Thus a great number of expeditions prior to 1964 were organised by members of the JAC or by university clubs that had good connections to their Old Boys at the JAC (Fukata 1965).

*Means of control/*Level of social action	Club/team	Sport Association	Sport World
Utilitarian power *Control by material rewards/sanctions*	yes	yes	no

Chart 3. *Utilitarian power in sport.*

Normative power

Of all three categories, only normative power can be observed at work at all three levels (see chart 4). When control is neither exerted by physical nor by ma-

terial means but by the effective use and manipulation of ideological symbols, members will show comparatively high commitment to the aims of the social formation they are a part of. In the social context of regulated leisure activities, the predominance of the symbolic control type is very likely. In fact, for the social world encompassing all internal fractions it is the only available form of control precisely because of this lack of coherent organised structures. Agency is in many cases invisible. It requires detachment and analytical reflectivity to grasp whose interests will be served by appealing to ideological symbols like the "spirit of the hill", the "comradeship of the rope", or "the freedom of and the right for mountaineering" (cf. Nishimoto 1995:125).

*Means of control/*Level of social action	Club/team	Sport Association	Sport World
Normative power *Control by use of ideologies*	yes	yes	yes

Chart 4. *Normative power in sport.*

Agency and self-interests are much more evident in the case of political organisations like JMA or Rōsan. As I have shown before, the power legitimisation of JMA basically relies on its integration into the national sport system and sport bureaucracy. When JMA was still struggling with the JAC for the representational rights, mountaineers established Rōsan as an alternative organisation open for all opposing both the loyal servant of the capitalist state, the JMA, and the conservative, elitist JAC. The cosy familiarity with the Japanese Communist Party is well known and probably a major obstacle on the way to the ambitious aim of 500,000 members. Although JMA and Rōsan acquired similar organisational features during the past 30 years, like a federalist structure or committees on basically similar matters, they considerably differ in ideology. Participating at any event organised by Rōsan brings back into memory that "mountaineering is a great achievement of human culture", inseparably connected with values like freedom, equality and humanity (Nishimoto 1995:125).

Rōsan accuses JMA of putting too much emphasis on high altitude mountaineering, neglecting the true needs of the working people. Rōsan also criticises JMA for leading mountaineering astray when its predecessor organisation was involved into military training and ideological mobilization for fascist Japan. A number of JMA bureaucrats had actively collaborated with the totalitarian emperor-state and continued to exert influence on the "genuinely apolitical practice of mountaineering" after 1945. Rōsan has always been opposed to the display of the

hinomaru flag and the performing of the long-time unofficial anthem *Kimigayo* at the annual sport festival (Kokumin Taiiku Taikai; Kokutai)[3] because of its critical stance towards the emperor system (Rōsan 1981:35). Beyond all official rhetoric and borderlines, however, distinctions between leftist and rightist mountaineers are less sharply drawn. Informal contacts between members from both wings happen frequently at lower level. Despite all differences in party ideologies and political world view, common interests prove often to be stronger than the separating attitudes. After all, they all belong to the mountaineering world.

Attitudes, values and norms imported from external symbolic sign systems usually are of minor importance for the reproduction or transformation of the alpine world. They may, however, be of more importance depending on the degree of „symbolic integration". For example, Rōsan's claim that mountain climbing is an active contribution to world peace (Hanaori 1994) has less impact on actual practices, while established sport attitudes like self-improvement, group dependency or guts ideology have deeply influenced the way social clubs are organised, training is conducted and climbs are performed. In the case of the climbing regulations of Toyama and Gunma, the factual state of political authorities imposing restrictions on mountaineering was fundamentally opposed to the traditional self-image of „the freedom of mountaineering" (*tozan wa jiyū*). Although this emotive and traditional symbol was mobilised in order to counteract against the intervention from outside (Naitō 1973:19), it finally was the superior power of the law (and the appeasement policy of JMA that heavily relies on public funding) that settled the transformation of the sport. The notion of adventure surely needed reconsideration.

The spirits of adventure (*bōken*) and exploration (*tanken*) have been at the core of the sport since its early years. The call of the wilderness, the quest of the unknown, and the production of first ascents, which is the common way of status-enhancement, have motivated generations of mountaineers to stay involved with this particular world. For climbers of Kyoto University, the leitmotif of the club, its ideology and tradition, was expressed by the notion of pioneer work. This term was introduced in the mid-1920s by a then-student-member, Imanishi Kinji, who went onto to become a world-renowned primatologist (cf. Saitō 1994). Imanishi never acquired the skills of a high-ranking climber, but he became famous among Japanese mountaineers for his visionary talents as leader and organiser of various projects in the interest of science, sport and discovery. Imanishi stayed close enough to his alma mater Kyoto University for all his academic life to overshadow the development of alpine climbing at the university. Until the late 1960s, Imanishi's pioneer ideology dominated members of both faculty's (AACK) and students' (KUAC) alpine clubs, and even through the

present, the term appears frequently in many travel reports and philosophical essays in club journals (Manzenreiter 2000:203-209). The "grey eminence" Imanishi was the "significant other" for younger generations. In a similar fashion, "traditions", club histories and alumni networks have been framing the process of identity formation at many other alpine clubs.

Normative power is very influential at the club level where social relations operate more immediately and social interactions happen more frequently. Clubs contribute to the identity formation of novice climbers by providing instructions, setting standards of performance and developing lists of objectives for beginners (Mitchell 1983:133). Probably all alpine clubs have written statutes determining the members' duties and responsibilities, but as should be evident by now, normative control does not exclusively rely on values and norms recorded by codices. From small group research it is well known that identity formation basically happens through practice and negotiation (Donnelly and Young 1988:223-224). The part of the "significant other", however, is not restricted to club members; it might be performed by climbers or teams of other clubs as well. Achievements like first ascents or particularly challenging climbs are communicated through club journals, and more importantly, through commercial alpine media.

Quantity and variety of the popular press dedicated to mountain climbing are another convincing indicator of the popularity of their topic in Japan. Probably no other sport has produced – and continues to do so – such an enormous output of literature, and among all countries Japan is very likely to take the lead. *Yama to keikoku* has been published since the 1930s when already a number of periodicals competed for shares of the growing market. At times the market was served by more than ten monthlies or bimonthlies, although only two or three were able to survive the strong competition (Yoshida 1958:61-63; Katayama 1968).

These journals are the stage where individual climbs, sometimes also hardships and accidents, are replayed for the wider audience. They substitute the missing television camera and transmit heroic epics of endurance and perseverance together with multi-coloured pictures of grand nature and human glory into the living rooms of urbanized Japan. They provide the raw material to re-dream or dream on a life design that once had been of central importance for their readers' lives. Or readers were enabled to match their experience with achievements of concurring alpine clubs. Until the late 1960s, the majority of journals depended on stories, reports and anecdotes written by mountaineers themselves. Therefore these commercialised journals reflect much more closely the world of its consumers, similar to fanzines, than sport journals that are pro-

duced by professional sport writers. But the question of who is entitled to talk to whom is also important in this context. Reading through these journals, the strong presence of renowned clubs, often with academic background, is evident. These clubs and their members usually enjoyed easier access because of reputation, familiarity with the art of writing, and personal networks to professionals of the media world. As social scientists broadly agree upon the stratifying effect of educational credentials in Japanese society, the differences in representation and articulation are indicative of the power of sport to reproduce social inequality. At the same time, the media pretended equality and in fact supported unity, as they are the driving forces in the construction of the image of the all-encompassing alpine world.

Change

This analysis has constructed an image of mountaineering that needs reconsideration if we turn to the present state of affairs. Some features remain unchanged—in particular, the impact on this social world exerted by the climbing community and its members, by the market economy and the media, and by the state and its representatives. I have tried to delineate several forces contributing to structure and order. Although this paper explicitly addresses power and control, the comparative weakness or absence of coercive and utilitarian power must be understood as symptomatic for a social system in which conformity is effectively achieved by conviction, identification, ideals and pleasure of the members.

The impact of physical power is likely to have decreased. Reports or comments related to injuries or humiliation of club junior members during sport activities have become less frequently during the past years. Clubs of martial arts, such as the kendo club at Kokugikan University in late 1999, have frequently hit the headlines after extreme incidents of brutality, injuries and even manslaughter became publicly known. Yet admittedly, university clubs resemble black boxes that do not allow observers from outside to know what actually is happening inside. Letters to the editor that Nakamura Toshio collected in the early 1990s reveal that hierarchical relationships, the glorification of moral discipline and physical perseverance–the Japanese variant of "Muscular Confucianism" (Brownell 1995:44)–obviously have survived within the framework of sport life at educational institutions. Because of the high frequency of participation and the intensity of surveillance–daily practice routines during the semester term, extended training camps during the breaks–the sport experience of club members seems to be very close to being exposed to the

"total institution" Erving Goffman described in his book *Asylums* (1987). Although sport clubs are difficult to discuss in comparable terms to Goffman's institutions such as prisons, the army or hospitals, they have the same characteristic feature of being a "social hybrid, part residential community, part formal organization". Each institution has access to different methods in order to discipline their members, but they are all forcing houses in our society for changing persons (Goffman 1987:3-12).

Alpine clubs, at least at the educational institution level, actually encountered severe problems after popularity started to fade away. Values of a past generation and the promise to travel abroad are in contrast with the contemporary "three Ks"-image (*kiken no, kitsui, kitanai*; dangerous, severe, dirty) of the sport and the freedom and affordability of individual travel. Since the 1980s, a number of traditional university clubs had to shut down. Other previous powerhouses lack the manpower necessary for demanding climbs. During the 1950s and 1960s the students' alpine club of Kyoto University had between 50 and 70 members, while less than five or six members made up the club in the mid 1990s. In addition to the fading popularity, the general supply of alternative sport activities and sport groups has increased over time. Besides the sport program officially approved and administered by school authorities students can also select from a number of comparatively loosely organised, autonomous circles (*dōyūkai*) that sometimes offer the same activities, yet in a distinctively different social framework.

Compared to the earlier post-war period, opportunities of mountain climbing without ever joining a club have increased considerably. Guided mountain tours, organised one-day-hikes, professional climbing schools and a prolific sport goods and services industry have rendered the social formation of the traditional club superfluous. To a substantial degree some alpine icons (mountaineers) and the major alpine media themselves are responsible for the commodification of the sport. Selling the adventure spirit may have contributed to the decay of popularity among the youth. It surely pushed up the attraction of new clients: Many club advertisements that were calling for new members before the 1970s definitely excluded women, and most of them included an age cap of 22 or 23 years. The corresponding perception of mountain climbers as young, male and unmarried was confirmed by surveys conducted in the late 1960s (Tokuhisa 1969; Tokuhisa 1970). Yet all statistical data available presently depict a totally inverse situation with women and middle aged persons constituting new core memberships of the alpine world (Yoka kaihatsu sentā 1998:32; SSF 1998:25).

Level of social action	Means of control		
Social world	**Normative power**		
Spontaneous and temporary groups			
Sport associations		**Utilitarian power**	
Club/Team			**Coercive power**

Chart 5. *Control and power in sport communities: A modified model.*

A modified model of social practice and control thus should include informal networks, utilitarian or commercial clubs and short term oriented, functional formations (cf. chart 5). The devaluation of the previously required organisational standard was certainly induced by changes within general society and not by dynamics generated by the alpine world. Control at each of these new categories is limited to the use of normative power, if at all. Although monetary exchange transactions are at the base of those temporary social relationships, utilitarian power is too weak for effective control. More than ever, interests of all parties involved have to be taken into consideration if control and stability are sought after. A powerful concept to integrate differing perspectives and an effective tool to blur differences in style or objectives has been the symbolic image of the alpine world. For example, JMA did not acknowledge rock climbing including artificial climbing walls and climbing competitions as autonomous contents of sport, although these changes were mainly triggered from inside and by members of the alpine world themselves. In consequence, sport climbers were forced to organise an association of their own, outside of the JMA and not under the umbrella of public sport. Nonetheless symbolic integration within the alpine world was maintained because the commercial mountaineering periodicals that either served the interests of high altitude expeditions or moderate mountain walking covered the new variation. A substantial number of adherents to the new sport, a very active and focused organisation with international connections, and the back-up of a very interested and supportive sport and outdoor industry finally rendered sport climbing attractive enough for the traditional bureaucrats of mountaineering. When Tokyo hosted the first world cup tournament in 1992, climbing was internationally recognized as sport, and even as a possible Olympic sport. Attitudes started to shift, though hardliners of the JMA refused for many years to come to recognize sport climbing as a new variant of mountaineering (Kanzaki 1992).

Because organizational power is so limited, social change is a continuous flow rather than a spontaneous reaction triggered by critical circumstances. In contrast to Olympic sports which are safeguarded by an elaborated set of sport rules, adventure sports need flexibility and openness in order to maintain a minimal degree of unity and order. Institutional and individual actors make use of various control means to establish and secure common objectives, values and aims which are either accepted or contested. Fissures and disjunctures may finally lead to the rearrangement of social formations at every level. Such reshuffling does not endanger the social world, which is far from total dissolution, thanks to the flexibility required for putting everybody and everything at its place within the ever-changing *tozankai*.

─────────────────

Endnotes

1   The usual terms are *sempai* (senior) and *kohai* (junior) although in alpine clubs, *shigoita* (he who hazes) and *shigokareta* (he who is hazed) are often used.
2   Without professional mountain rescue service available in Japan, rescue operations were–and still are–usually executed by members from the local alpine club, fire brigade, and police office.
3   Worth to mention is the participation of mountaineers at the sport festival. Since the early years of the sport festival mountaineers from all over Japan have taken part in prefectural pre-finals and the final tournament (Takahashi 1982:205-270). For reasons that are too complex to outline here but at least underscore the difficulties in objectifying standards of measurement for this sport, the winner was usually the team representing the host prefecture.

References

Abe Kazuyuki (1969) "Sangakkai unei no gan" [From the Perspective of Club Management], *Yama to keikoku* 367:52-55

Brownell, Susan (1995) *Training the Body for China: Sports in the Moral Order of the People's Republic of China*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press

Cave, Peter (2004) "Bukatsudō: The Educational Role of Japanese School Clubs," *Journal of Japanese Studies* 30(2): 383-415.

Ditton, Robert B., David K. Loomis and Seungdan Choi (1992) "Recreation Specialization: Re-Conceptualization from a Social Worlds Perspective", *Journal of Leisure Research* 24(1):33-51

Donnelly, Peter (1981a) "Four Fallacies", *Mountain* 80: 38-40

---- (1981b) "Climbing Is Non-Competitive. The Second of Four Fallacies," *Mountain* 81: 28-31

---- (1981c) "Climbing Is Character Building. The Third of Four Fallacies," *Mountain* 82: 20-23

---- (1982) "Climbing Leads People to Form Close Friendships. The Last of Four Fallacies," *Mountain* 83: 45-49.

Donnelly, Peter and Kevin Young (1988) "The Construction and Confirmation of Identity in Sport Subcultures", *Sociology of Sport Journal* 5(3): 223-240.

Etzioni, Amitai (1964) *Modern Organizations.* Englewood Cliffs: Prentice-Hall.

Ewert, Alan and Steve Hollenhorst (1989) "Testing the Adventure Model: Empirical Support for a Model of Risk Recreation Participation," *Journal of Leisure Research* 21(2):124-139.

Giddens, Anthony (1995) "Strukturation und sozialer Wandel" [Structuration and Social Change], Hans-Peter Müller and Michael Schmid (editors), *Sozialer Wandel. Modellbildung und theoretische Ansätze*. Frankfurt: Suhrkamp, 151-191.

Goffman, Erving (1987) *Asylums. Essays on the Social Situation of Mental Patients and Other Inmates.* London: Penguin Books.

Fujita Shigeo et al., editors (1985) *Takami e no suteppu: Tozan to gijutsu* [Steps to the Height: Mountaineering and Techniques]. Tokyo: Tōyōkan.

Fukata Kyūya (1965) "After Manaslu: Postwar Japanese Alpine Expeditions," *Japan Quarterly* 12(3):357-365.

Guttmann, Allen (1979) *Vom Ritual zum Rekord. Das Wesen des modernen Sports.* [From Ritual to Record: The Nature of Modern Sport]. Schorndorf: Hofmann.

Hamilton, Lawrence (1979) "Modern American Rock Climbing: Some Aspects of Social Change," *Pacific Sociological Review* 22(3): 285-308.

---- (1981) "The Changing Face of American Mountaineering", *Review of Sport and Leisure* 6(1): 14-36.

Hanaori Takashi (1994) *Tozan rekishi to rōsan undō* [The History of Mountaineering and the Alpine Workers Movement]. Kyoto: Kyōto kinrōsha sangaku renmei.

Itō Takashi (1970) "Tozan jiko to keiji sekinin" [Mountain Accidents: Who is Legally Responsible?], *Iwa to yuki* 17:91-98.

Kanbara Tatsu (1959) "Himaraya o meguru jōzetsu" [Himalaya Gossip], *Yama to keikoku* 242 (July):56-62.

Kanzaki Tadao (1992) "Tozan no atarashii bunya to shite no supōtsu kuraimingu. Wārudo kappu Tōkyō taikai o kaisai shite" [Sport Climbing Is a New Field of Mountaineering. Opening Words at the Tokyo World Cup], *Sangaku* 87:32-37.

Katayama Senhei (1968) "Tozan to jānarizumu" [Mountaineering and Journalism], *Iwa to yuki* 11:34-43 (part 1) and 12:152-157 (part 2).

Katō Yukihiko (1969) "Sangakkai kessei no mondaiten. Kyochōsei aru chiimu ni yotte tozan o suru tame ni" [Problems of Alpine Clubs: For the Pursuit of Cooperative Mountaineering], *Yama to keikoku* 367 (April): 46-51.

Kerun henshūbu (1965) "Ningensei no kaifuku wo: Nōdai jiken no haikei ni aru mono" [For the Restoration of Humanity: What Is behind the Nōdai Incident], *Kerun* 344 (8): 92-93.

Maki Yūkō (1956) "Tozan no imi: Manasuru kara kaette" [The Meaning of Mountain Climbing: After Manaslu], *Kaihō* (JAC) 187 (July).

Manzenreiter, Wolfram (2000) *Die soziale Konstruktion des japanischen Alpinismus. Kultur, Ideologie und Sport im modernen Bergsteigen* [The Social Construction of Japanese Mountaineering]. Wien: Abteilung für Japanologie am Institut für Ostasienwissenschaften der Universität Wien (= Beiträge zur Japanologie; 36).

Messner, Reinhold (1984) "'Lieber tot als nur zweiter'" [Better Dead than Second Only], *GEO* 7: 50-57.

Mitchell, Richard G., Jr. (1983) *Mountain Experience: The Psychology and Sociology of Adventure.* Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Naitō Isao (1973) "'Tozan kisei jōrei' no ikensei ni tsuite'" [The Anti-Constitutionality of the Mountain Regulations], *Yama to nakama* 60 (August): 17-21.

Nakagawa Hiroshi (1968) "Kōkō tozan no genkai" [The Limits of Climbing for Senior High School Students], *Iwa to yuki* 11: 192-199.

Nakamura Toshio (1995) *Nihon-teki supōtsu kankyō hihan* [Critique of the Japanese Sport Environment]. Tokyo: Taishūkan.

Nakao Takeshi (1989) "Aru kishō sōnan. 1989 nen jūgatsu jūsannichi no kiroku kara" [An Accident Due to the Weather: From the Records on 13 October, 1989], *Yama to keikoku* 642(1): 186-189.

Nishimoto Takeshi (1995) "Kakute arupinizumu wa jūrin sareta. 15 nen sensōka no tozan undō kara nani o manabu ka" [That Is How Mountaineering Was Led Astray during the Pacific War], *Zen'ei* 662: 125-139.

Okabe Kazuhiko (1969) "Arupinizumu jisseki dantai no arikata" [The way alpine clubs should be], *Iwa to yuki* 15: 71-75.

Roden, Donald T. (1980) *Schooldays in Imperial Japan: A Study of the Culture of a Student Elite*. Berkeley: University of California Press.

Rōsan /Nihon Kinrōsha Sangaku Renmei, editor (1981) *Rōsan kiyakutō shiryōshū* [Collection of Rōsan Documents]. Tokyo: Nihon kinrōsha sangaku renmei.

Saitō Kazuo (1967) "Tanigawadake no yūryō sōnan kyūjotai" [Cost-Charging Mountain Rescue Service at Mt. Tanigawadake], *Iwa to yuki* 8, 50-59.

Saitō Yoshiaki, editor (1994) *Shotozan: Imanishi Kinji shoki sangaku chosakushū* [First Ascent: Collected Writings of the Young Imanishi Kinji on Mountaineering]. Kyoto: Nakanishi-ya shuppan.

Sasakawa Sports Foundation (SSF), editor (1998) *Supōtsu raifu dēta 1998: Supōtsu raifu ni kansuru chōsa hōkokusho* [The 1998 SSF National Sport-Life Survey]. Tokyo: SSF.

Shibutani Tamotsu (1955) "Reference Groups as Perspectives," *American Journal of Sociology* 60:562-569.

Takahashi Sadamasa (1982) *Nihon gakurenshi – sangaku shūdan 50 nen no ayumi* [50 Years of JMA History] Tokyo: Shuppan kagaku sōgō kenkyūjo.

Takeda Fumio (1987) *Yama de shinanai tame ni* [Stop Mountain Death]. Tokyo: Asahi shimbun sha.

Taniguchi Genkichi (1988) "Shōwa shoki no 'Keiō no yama'" [Mountaineering Life at Keio University during the Early Showa Years], *Sangaku* 83:66-74.

Tokuhisa Tamao (1969) "Renkyū tozan no jittai chōsa" [Survey on Mountaineering during the Golden Week], *Yama to keikoku* 71(8): 86-89.

---- (1970) "Natsuyama ankēto kara no kōsatsu" [Considerations on Results from a Questionnaire on Summer Mountaineering], *Yama to keikoku* 382(7): 95-98.

Uryū Takuzō (1969) *Tanigawadake* [Mt. Tanigawadake]. Tokyo: Chūō kōron sha.

Williams, Trevor, and Peter Donnelly (1985) "Subcultural Production, Reproduction and Transformation in Climbing," *International Review for the Sociology of Sport* 20(1-2):3-17.

Yamazaki Yasuji (1966) "Modern Mountaineering in Japan," *Alpine Journal* 71(313): 248-255.

---- (1967) "Monbushō tozan kenshūsho to kongo no kadai" [The National Centre of Alpine Education: Tasks for the future], *Iwa to yuki* 10: 38-47.

Yoka Kaihatsu Sentā, editor (1998) *Rejā hakusho '98* [White Paper on Leisure 1998]. Tokyo: Yoka kaihatsu sentā.

Yoshida Jirō (1958) "Shōwa shonen koro no sangaku kaishi" [Alpine Club Bulletins during the Early Shōwa Years], *Gakujin* 126 (October):61-63

Disciplining the Body in a Japanese Fitness Club[1]

Laura Spielvogel

As an aerobics instructor in Japan responsible for teaching classes and demonstrating exercises to members, one of the first things that I noticed was the initial negative reaction of a member when faced with a difficult exercise or class. Often, the tendency was to say "I can't" rather than "I can." I frequently had to coax healthy men and women to "just try" a beginner aerobics class or a heavier set of weights, as many seemed hesitant to try anything new, wary of over-exerting themselves, and embarrassed to look awkard or uncoordinated. "Working out" is work. As one staunch non-fitness club member aptly put it: "Why should I pay someone to make me tired?" Japanese members quit the fitness clubs at dramatic rates and although some actively embrace the rhetoric of building strong bodies to better execute responsibilities in the home and workplace, the majority opt for sweating in the saunas over sweating in the aerobics studio.

During the year of 1996-1997, I was employed as a full staff member at two popular fitness club chains, one in the heart of downtown Tokyo and one in the quiet suburbs outside of Tokyo. During the course of my fieldwork, I came to understand that the U.S. idea of working out to the point of exhaustion (or even pain) simply does not appeal to many Japanese fitness club goers. A large percentage of club members at the downtown clubs are office workers, men and women[2] who sit at a desk or in front of a computer screen all day long and confess to opting for the escalator rather than the stairs. Many describe themselves as "exercise-deprived" [*undō fuzoku*] and spend most of their precious free time lounging in front of the television or eating and drinking with friends. With sedentary lifestyles on the rise and a general lack of experience in sports and physical activity, most members are extremely wary and hesitant about trying anything new. Thus, the fitness club staff (consequently or causally) tends to coddle the members by suggesting lower weights and by not challenging the members to push themselves.

Spiritual training

Although North American fitness club goers may express an aversion to the labors of exercise, resistance to hard work in the Japanese club is particularly remarkable not only in light of the ideological and historical emphasis placed on effort [*gambaru*] and endurance [*gaman suru*] but also in the face of the institu-

tionalized structure of discipline required of the aerobics instructors and members at the Japanese clubs themselves. Scholars of Japan have illustrated that discipline, effort, and self-sacrifice are some of the central themes in ethnographies of Japanese corporate offices (i.e., Kondo 1990; Rohlen 1974), schools (i.e., Rohlen 1980, 1983), and even psychoanalytic therapies (Reynolds 1980). The rigorous mental and physical discipline required to achieve spiritual growth and a responsible relationship between the individual and society is referred to as *seishin kyōiku* or spiritual training.

With historical roots in Zen Buddhism, the military, and apprenticeship training, discipline and spiritual composure, together with cooperation and service to others, comprise the path to personal growth. In its contemporary form, spiritual education strives to build character through acts of emotional, mental, and physical hardship. The central characteristics of *seishin* training overlap with Foucault's description of the micro-politics of control and an emphasis on detail and minutia. Few scholars have made explicit the cross-cultural similarities between the discipline of Foucault and the discipline of *seishin kyōiku*.

Thomas Rohlen has suggested that this notion of hardship is responsible for the extraordinary diligence required to attend *juku* or private cram school for many hours after a full day spent at elementary or secondary school (1980:217-218). Following the same principle, corporations require employees to attend hardship training courses, in which running barefoot on gravel and dousing oneself with icy water, with nary a complaint, is considered a sign of a strong character (Kondo 1990). Even women in the throes of labor are denied anesthesia and are discouraged from uttering any noise, as vocalizing pain would be regarded as a weakness. As one woman explains: "If you can't put up with that kind of pain in labor you are not going to have the [strength] to be a good mother" (quoted in Jordan 1997:B5).

Work and workouts

In light of heavy-handed efforts to emphasize control and endurance at the office and in the home, it is surprising that the Japanese would shy away from exertion, discomfort, and effort at the fitness club. But it is precisely because fitness clubs are considered neither work nor home, but rather a third space in which social norms are loosened and new roles are created, that effort becomes somehow intolerable. For a substantial fee, the member buys space, time, and a new lifestyle apart from the self-effacing humbling required at the office, the obligatory drinking parties, or the endless laundry, shopping, and cleaning that awaits at home. The Western notion of home as the safe haven

opposed to and removed from the stresses of work does not hold true in Japan. For many Japanese men and women, the home can be an equal source of pressure and responsibility. Activities that take place outside of the home and away from work often prove to be the most relaxing and enjoyable. In the private and removed space of the fitness club, the service staff prioritizes relaxation, personal enjoyment, and self-indulgence, keeping pain, effort, and exertion to a minimum. It is not that the Japanese member is unable to endure the effort and discomfort of an hour-and-a-half-long aerobics class, but rather that s/he is unwilling.

But are work and leisure mutually exclusive in contemporary Japan? The work of Allison (1994) on hostess clubs in Japan suggests otherwise. Work and leisure are merged in the liminal space of the hostess club, where businessmen in the guise of socializing apply themselves to the hard work of drinking. Here the boundaries that separate work and leisure are fluid and ill defined. Ben-Ari explores a comparable merging of work and leisure on the golf courses of Singapore, where expatriate Japanese strengthen business relationships with colleagues and clients over rounds of golf (1998). One would expect the fitness club to be characterized as a similar space, where the labor of exercise is coupled with the leisure of being away from the stresses of office and home.

Given the official talk concerning the failing health of the Japanese workforce and the stamina required to be successful at the office, the work of Foucault (1980, 1995) and Douglas (1966, 1970) might lead us to presume that the managers of the corporate world would prioritize fitness. Indeed, the fitness club boom of the 1980s coincided with increased efforts by the State to improve the health of the nation, and to maintain a strong, active, and independent population throughout the "silver" years. The tremendous success of Japan's postwar economy was built on the unflagging efforts of a physically fit workforce. As the recent recession continues to erode economic security, the strength, stamina, and independence of laboring bodies becomes even more important. Corporate managers and government officials recognize that by maintaining a high standard of health and fitness for not only company employees, but also for the elderly and their care-giving children, the health of the economy is assured as well.

Instead of backing fitness clubs, enormous sums of corporate money are funneled into hostess bars, pubs, and strip clubs. At these popular late-night spots, the economic rewards of company socializing outweigh the pain of hangovers, sleepless nights, and apple-polishing. Because fitness clubs cater to the individual or family, they offer no such opportunity to climb the corporate ladder. An hour on the treadmill, while healthier than barhopping with the boss,

may prove to be detrimental to career advancement. In the end, the strenuous exercise required to keep healthy and fit simply fashions the fitness club as yet another workplace, but with none of the economic and social payoffs.

For the aerobics instructors and fitness club staff, the club is typical of other "white-collar," large-size corporations, with a centralized control of branch offices and facilities, a hierarchical staff of full-time and part-time employees, and a pack of male managers competing for a winnowing pool of promotions. It is not surprising, then, that the *seishin* training of the staff at the fitness club is consistent with that of other Japanese companies. Regular body measurements, uniforms, standardized movements, adherence to timetables, recorded confessions, and criticism of others characterize the fitness club and bear a striking resemblance to the production of "docile bodies" observed in prisons, hospitals, schools, and companies (Foucault 1979; Goffman 1961). The fitness club is a business—albeit, an increasingly unprofitable one—and the aerobics instructors, as company employees, are held to an unrealistic ideal that is intended to shape them from the inside out. Bodies are measured, outfitted, and programmed not only to appear, but also to move in particular ways. The members, on the other hand, as paying clients, while managed to a certain degree, have far more freedom to indulge in "undisciplined" behavior.

Fitness clubs, perhaps more than any other institution in Japan, have both the economic incentive and the technological means to churn out physically, socially, and economically "fit" bodies to complement the interests of the State. One might expect that the corporations that take advantage of the hardship training courses I described above, which require company employees to endure the cold water baths and marathons, would also purchase fitness club memberships for their employees to build stamina and teach discipline. But the physical challenges of the hardship training courses are simply a means to an end. The idea is not that the company employees come out better runners, but rather that through physical exertion, they undergo spiritual or mental transformation. The fitness clubs emphasize physical accomplishments for their own sake, and fail to make explicit the link between disciplining the body and disciplining the spirit.

Mind and body

Scholars of Asian culture have illustrated the role that sport plays in the discipline and training of minds and bodies. Brownell, in her work on the People's Republic of China, has brought Foucault's work to bear on the training of athlete's bodies as reflective of the State's desire to instill a sense of progress and high culture in the general population (1995). Alter examines how the strict

diet, exercises, and massages of North Indian wrestlers are used as a way to express moral, spiritual, and social discipline (1992). In both cases, the synthesis between mind and body allows for the training of the mind to follow the training of the body. The drills, songs, slogans, and self-evaluation diaries required of Chinese athletes are designed to induce a nationalistic spirit, just as the thousands of jackknifing pushups and deep knee bends demanded daily of Indian wrestlers aim to produce enlightenment, the development of self-confidence, and strength of character.

The ability to simultaneously train the body and the mind is predicated on the notion of a mind/body synthesis. The few scholars who have addressed the cross-cultural implications of the relationship of mind and body propose that most Asian philosophies do not recognize a sharp distinction between mind and body (Becker 1995; Kasulis 1993a, 1993b; Yuasa 1987). Kasulis, for example, compares the relationship between mind and body in Japan to a marriage of love, in which the mind and body are interdependent and intertwined (1993b:305). While the fusion of mind and body is evident in multiple institutional examples of *seishin* training, I am not entirely convinced that the rather unproblematic intertwined relationship between mind and body plays out quite as neatly in the fitness club.

The fitness club presents a vexed space, where control over the body is subjected to contradictory and ambiguous forces. Because the clubs do not take a strong position on the relationship between mind and body, their demands for effort and exertion ring hollow. While not explicitly suggesting a Cartesian-based separation of mind and body that characterizes the West, the clubs also do not consistently reinforce traditional Japanese conceptions of a mind/body synthesis. Although an attention to body management, synchronized and repetitive movements, and daily exercise records required at the fitness clubs echo tactics found in other institutions in Japan and Asia, club members are encouraged to "work at their own pace" and to enjoy exercise for exercise's sake. The links between exercise and spiritual fortitude, productivity, endurance are weakly defined, inconsistent, and under-emphasized.

Institutionalized discipline:
Managed appearances, actions, and thoughts

Fitness clubs and the training schools for aerobics instructors draw on many characteristics of *seishin kyōiku* and are consistent with other institutions in Japan. As Rohlen and others have demonstrated, a spiritual education incorporates hardship and difficulty as integral parts of education. Like martial arts

training, the training schools and fitness clubs demand working through pain and discomfort to achieve a sense of accomplishment. *Seishin* teachings encourage self-reflection [*hansei*] in order to develop the strength necessary for self-improvement. The fitness club, like other institutions in Japan, requires its employees and members to record their thoughts and activities in daily journals to be read by managers and staff. The content of the journal entries at the clubs and in other institutions focuses on addressing weaknesses and finding appropriate paths towards correction. In spiritual training, unity and conformity take precedence over individuality and independent thought. Hence, competition is discouraged as disruptive to group unity, and students are taught to emulate their instructors and to de-emphasize difference. The training schools and fitness clubs enforce conformity in appearance, actions, and even thoughts in an attempt to produce a standardized corps of fit employees and members.

By focusing exclusively on structure and socialization, there is a certain danger in furthering the well-worn stereotypes of "practice makes perfect" or "the Japanese as conformists," so popular in certain considerations of Japanese culture. This type of culture essentialism or *Nihonjinron* sets up rigid comparisons between the East and West, obscures historical and regional differences, and downplays individuality. The resultant stereotypes, which tend to conjure up an image of the prototypical high school student memorizing scrolls of dates in anticipation of a college entrance exam, deny creativity and thrive on conformity. Other images called to mind are that of Japanese baseball players fielding endless ground balls or racing back and forth between bases, which certain authors have used to suggest that Japanese baseball places more energy and emphasis on ball practice than the actual games.[3] While there is no question that *seishin kyōiku* does produce a certain degree of standardization in the appearances, movements, and rhetoric of the instructors and members, the resistance to exertion in the club complicates the stereotypes of a passive and conformist society.[4]

Instructor training schools

I begin by providing a description of the "cookie cutter" curriculum delivered in instructor schools and the insidious penetration of this rhetoric into daily routines in the fitness club. Becoming an aerobics instructor in Japan takes dedication, hard work, athleticism, and most importantly, deep pockets to endure the three to six month instructor training schools that are affiliated with most of the private fitness clubs. Outrageously expensive, most of the three to five month courses cost anywhere from 250,000 yen ($2,080)[5] at the lesser known clubs to

420,000 yen ($3,500) at some of the other bigger chains. The schools struggle between balancing selectivity to maintain high reputations and profitability by accepting as many applicants as possible. Courses are offered two to three times a year, and the training course class schedule is grueling with two-and-a-half hour classes held weekly on Thursday, Saturday, and Sunday.

Despite the recession, applications to the instructor training schools are steadily increasing. As one journalist notes: "So popular is this career option that many applicants underestimate the competition" (No byline 1996:18). At the time of my fieldwork in 1996 and 1997, there were approximately five applicants competing for each of the 10,000 full-time and part-time instructor positions in the industry (ibid.). Unlike the United States, where instructor certification is nationally administered by several competing organizations (AFAA and IDEA being the two largest), national certification in Japan is not required by most clubs.[6] Rather, the training of instructors in Japan is privatized, decentralized, and managed by independent fitness clubs and chains. All of the well-known fitness club chains and most of the smaller aerobics studios offer training schools that vary in cost, reputation, and curriculum. Graduation from a club-affiliated training school does not guarantee employment by that club or any other, but untrained instructors have a very difficult time securing a job without some licensed evidence of basic training in physiology and choreography. Only those instructors who have gone through the rigors of memorization and exercise required for graduation from most training schools are assumed to have the stamina, dedication, and knowledge that the fitness club hiring personnel require.

Competition for the general certification courses is quite fierce everywhere, but particularly so at the most well-regarded clubs. One woman confessed after the audition: "I was so nervous that my legs were shaking. I was much more tired in this class than a regular class, probably because I was nervous. I didn't look at the clock, because it made me too nervous. Most of the women were excellent, like professional aerobics instructors already!" As this woman observes, an instructor-to-be must demonstrate a high degree of skill and technique even before being admitted to the training schools. Three to six months later, the graduates emerge with clean technique, enthusiasm, precision, and an undeniable uniformity, which is reinforced by management in the fitness clubs.

Sizing up: The conflation of beauty and health

This emphasis on conformity begins with the attention and effort given to measuring and producing a standardized body. Although fitness clubs and training schools in the United States undeniably quantify the human body, Japanese clubs

and schools seem to take it a bit further. Instructor training schools standardize bodies to a remarkable degree. I was given permission to attend the initial audition and several of the lectures and practice lessons at one well-known training school. Applicants send a full body photograph and résumé of experience to the main office. As the central manager explained:

> *Based on the photograph and résumé we decide whether or not to invite you to try out. If an applicant is fat, we will absolutely reject her. 'Big is bad.' ['Debu wa dame da.'] If we look at the picture of the woman in work-out clothes and if her body shape is not good, we will reject her. The members will look at the instructor and think even if I do exercise, I will look like that?! And they will not want to participate.*

The training schools discriminate against the older and heavier instructors, using photographs as a means of gauging technique, skill, and future success. The shape of the body is seen as indicative of the ability of the instructor. Beauty is then synonymous with fitness, health, and the capacity to teach and inspire. Much like the money poured into flashy advertising campaigns, state-of-the-art equipment, and high energy music that characterize the club, the physiques of the instructors are inseparable from the image of fitness and are intrinsic to the success of the club.

The audition process weeds the applicant pool to a relatively homogenous group: thin, young, and attractive; precise in execution of moves; and enthusiastic. These basic qualities are then honed at the training schools, where sloppy moves and sloppy appearances are eliminated and technique is standardized. Once admitted, the students are photographed for alignment, put on diets according to weight and fat percentage, and essentially molded into a single physical model. Older instructors, who were teaching well before the introduction of training schools, are cynical about the modern cookie-cutter type of instructor who is being churned out of training schools. They dub them "*Kintarō,*" a type of old-fashioned Japanese candy, in which each candy is identical to the others.[7]

The attention to bodily measurement and appearance is carried over in the fitness clubs. Because the instructor is expected to be the polished product of daily exercise and careful dieting, subjected to the tape-measuring eyes of members, management, and fellow staff, many staff members become overly concerned with body proportions and self-presentation. The chief of fitness at one club cold-called staff members for impromptu fat test readings, and if the results were even the least bit high, he ridiculed the staff member in front of the members and other staff. Although the members are warned that total body fat

percentage for women must not drop below twenty, the female staff are held to much stricter standards and chastised by the chief that, "as instructors, you have to look your best and must keep your fat percentage at eighteen percent or lower." The managers use the humiliation of public exposure to control the appearances of their employees and to inspire the members to pursue similar ideals of health, beauty, and fitness.

Just as the instructors must bear up under the micro-politics of bodily control, so must the members. When a member joins a club, s/he is subjected to a series of bodily measurements. The staff counselor uses a tape measure to record arm and leg circumferences and lengths at different points along the limbs, and at the hips, bust, and waist. Height, weight, blood pressure, and the all-important fat percentage are measured and marked. These numbers are then compared to a standardized chart and the discrepancies duly noted. When members first join the club, the fitness counselor generally will not inform them of their initial measurements unless asked directly, thereby serving both practical and ideological purposes. On the one hand, if the member is indeed thin and fit, there may be little incentive to continue with the program, while if heavier than expected, the member may become so discouraged that s/he may quit the club immediately. Also, by withholding privileged information, the instructor has surrounded herself with an air of authority that distances her from the member.

The instructors wield special instruments and calibrators, rely upon blood pressure machines, tape measures, and scales, and invoke the objective word of science and the authority of Western sport research to prop up their rhetoric.[8] The emphasis on numbers, gauges, and scales is an attempt to quantify and objectify the human body. By citing muscle group names and describing both the etiology and treatment of various diseases, the instructors attempt to affiliate themselves with the medical profession. The final authority is science. Although Martin (1987) and others have exposed the biases of medicine and science, the mystique of an objective scientific authority is still intact. The fitness club, by aligning itself with the health and medical establishment, seeks credibility by association. Because clubs historically have not been taken with the utmost seriousness, fitness club managers seek to improve their image. The fitness club of the 1990s aimed to position itself at the center of debates on preventive health care, with club managers even lobbying for financial support from the government on these grounds. Some public bath houses and hot spring resorts, by emphasizing the healing powers of medicated baths, have petitioned for and received government funding in recent years, setting a precedent for fitness clubs to follow suit. But, as of 1997, fitness clubs had been denied funding, because of their private management, exclusive membership, and perceived weaker links to medicine.[9]

By promoting the notion that an excessively thin body is actually a more healthy body, fitness clubs and training schools use discourse on health and fitness to mask a far more insidious and coercive message about women and their bodies. Ostensibly designed to provide facilities and educational programs to encourage a healthier lifestyle, fitness centers also subtly indoctrinate instructors and thus members into seeing the female body in a particular and limited way. Expressed concern about the health of instructors and members becomes the justification for managing appearances. The tape measure then serves a way to measure not only size but also health, progress, dedication, sexuality, and self-worth.

The anger that an instructor or member feels when the tape measure belies the effort s/he has given to diet and exercise reveals a certain distance between the body and the self. Even in Japan, the body, then, has the capacity to cooperate or betray the self. This distance is distinct from the integration observed in other Japanese institutions and bears resemblance to that observed in the United States. It is likely that the fitness club, as an American import, has also imported notions of an alienated body and self. But it is important to bear in mind, as I argue elsewhere (Spielvogel 2003), that local aesthetic salons and diet industries in Japan also capitalize an antagonism between mind and body and an ability to separate out certain body parts for correction.

By focusing on quantifiable physical changes, the training schools and clubs equate a pleasing appearance with good health and then make explicit the links between beauty, health, and productivity. The official rhetoric of the training program emphasizes health and the importance of exercise in maintaining an energetic lifestyle. Although the program does concede that having fun and looking good is undoubtedly an essential part of exercise, the thrust is preserving an active lifestyle for oneself and others. At the introductory lecture for one well-known training school, the instructor explained:

> *Exercise like other necessary activities for humans, such as eating, sleeping, and recreation, is necessary. You all already know that exercise is good for you, right? You all love aerobics, right? But you also have to worry about the health of your family and friends and get them to exercise. Health is not simply the absence of disease and sickness. Health is the physical, spiritual, and social training of the body. It is not only our own training, but as aerobics instructors, we must have the ability to give advice to others who want to train.*

The training lectures, while imparting basic information about anatomy and physiology, also contain an underlying discourse about the importance of exercise for a healthy body and, by extension, a healthy nation. Aerobics instructors are expected to be models of physical fitness and strength, but more importantly, as instructors, they are asked to assume responsibility for the health of immediate family, friends, and Japan as a whole. The state of their physical bodies must reflect this dedication to good health. The training teacher, in her introductory lecture, warned instructors-to-be that:

> *In Japan, where everything has become so convenient and handy with portable telephones, cars, and convenience stores, people are becoming fat and blood pressure is increasing. When my mother was young, she used to have to carry blocks of ice far distances before there were refrigerators, and she is still healthy at age eighty-five from all the activity.*

Couched in statistics and anecdotes about the deteriorating health of the Japan as a nation, the students are warned that in order to improve the health of Japan, instructors must begin by coaching family and friends to take on healthier lifestyles. The management recognizes the potential role that fitness clubs can play in fashioning the bodies that can handle the burdens of an increasingly aging society and the corporate demands of a flagging economy, but do not emphasize these effects of exercise on the club floor. This is not to say that training the bodies of fitness club members and instructors does not reflect larger constructions of power, gender, and sexuality. As I have illustrated, the constellation of meanings attached to aerobic exercise in Japan seems to suggest that in the consumer-driven, patriarchal culture of late capitalism, the discipline of the body serves to reflect overlapping notions of beauty, health, and sexuality (Featherstone 1991; Bordo 1997).

Coordinated actions: Feeling through form

Training schools dedicate an enormous amount of time to the synchronization of movements. For many instructors-in-training, the practical lessons are far more grueling than sitting passively for anatomy lessons. One student explained after the first practical, "It was only walking, but it was really tiring. Plus we kept doing plies and squats over and over, the same movement, and we all got really sweaty." The students, if nothing else, certainly built cardio stamina through the twice weekly practical lesson. For two and a half hours every Saturday and Sunday, the students are required to perform full-out in incredibly intense workouts,

under the scrutiny of critical instructors. Plus they are "encouraged" to build strength, stamina, and flexibility on the days when they are not at the school.

Although U.S. courses teach a core curriculum of cueing, anatomy, kinesiology, and strength training, the workshops spend remarkably little time teaching choreography and execution of basic moves. The Japanese training course, on the other hand, is designed to standardize the instructors from the bottom up, erasing differences and flaws. No moves, not even marching, are taken for granted, and nothing is beyond scrutiny. The angle of arms, the tilt of the head, and the distance between feet and legs are all subject to intense critique. There is a right way and a wrong way to execute each move, and the instructors' eyes are trained to pick up every flaw. The instructors teach in pairs of two, with one explaining how the moves should be done down to the distance between the fingers and the angle of turnout of the feet, and the second instructor demonstrating the move correctly and then, incorrectly.

The moves are extremely exact, and there is no room for improvisation or creative license. It is assumed that the movements taught in the schools have been fine-tuned to work muscles most efficiently and therefore any individual modification, no matter how insignificant, threatens to disrupt the benefits and effectiveness of the move. For example, one instructor stressed: "The 'step hop' is a hop, not a jump, and it is always accompanied by a clap, with arms bent at ninety degrees at the elbow." Those students whose arms were not held in the clap for a second long enough, whose legs were too wide, or who didn't have the correct bounce in their step were scrutinized by the instructors and made to practice until they conformed. Drilling a single member over and over again on a single move may seem like hazing, but in fact, the instructors were most attentive to the less polished members and often stayed after class to help them improve.

One woman, in particular, was having some trouble with the jumping jack, as her knees and ankles were not in the straight line. The instructor stayed with her for a good ten minutes as the class moved on without her. Under the hawk eye of the instructor, it was no surprise that she had trouble catching on, and the more she struggled, the more the instructor criticized. The students train to blend in rather than to stand out, and individuality, at this level, is discouraged. The more the students begin to conform, to where even the slightest imperfections are identified and corrected, the more easily the smallest flaws stand out, until even I could notice an angle or a position that was a bit off. It is as if the students are rehearsing for a group performance of the Rockettes, instead of building the basic skills to branch off alone as individual instructors.

The training schools operate under the guiding principle that by executing a move enough times, it will be ingrained or memorized corporally. Zarilli has described what he terms "in-body disciplines of Asian meditation, martial, and performing arts," in which "the daily repetition of physical exercises and/or performance techniques encodes the techniques in the body" (1990:131). Employing techniques of rote memorization and rigorous training, the instructors drill certain concepts and moves into the students' minds and bodies. As one student explained:

> *We did squats for an hour and a half. We were not allowed to get a drink of water even. I was so thirsty that my throat hurt, but that wasn't part of their goal. They just wanted us to exercise and didn't give us any breaks. They wanted our bodies to learn the movements without thinking. My legs were so-ooo sore the next day, I almost fell down the stairs. It felt like I didn't have any legs at all. Actually I didn't want to go back on Sunday, and I was so nervous and uneasy that my stomach hurt. Tomorrow is Friday, and it's almost Saturday so I'll begin to feel blue [katakana] again.*

Repeating squats for hours on end may seem to be an unnecessarily grueling exercise, but it is intentionally designed to teach students to internalize the correct form so that the squat can be performed automatically. Much like the precision demanded of soldiers and prisoners as described by Foucault and reminiscent of a martial arts exercise that requires the repeated punching of a rope-wrapped plank with one's bare knuckles, the pain of aerobics training is intrinsic to the path of proper learning and development.

The rigorous exercises at the training schools draw on two character-building principles which are consistent with *seishin* education used by other Japanese institutions: (1) "feeling created through form" and (2) "hardship shapes character." In this way, the mind and the body are progressively integrated through the repetition and imitation of a formalized *kata* or fixed set of physical moves designed to induce spiritual enlightenment. The training course rhetoric is markedly similar to the underlying discourse of corporate ethics retreats (Kondo 1990), the training for office ladies (McVeigh 1995), or as is most commonly known, of martial arts instruction (Donohue 1991). McVeigh's description of stewardess training manuals for Japan Airlines bears a striking resemblance to the standardization of bodily movements in the aerobics instructor training schools (1995). The manual includes a checklist for the prescribed way for a stewardess to walk, including such questions as: "Your head doesn't swing

from left to right, does it?" or "Do your heels and toes hit the ground at the same time?" (quoted in ibid.:46). Proper bodily movements are expected to produce appropriate and corresponding attitudes of docility and demureness in the stewardesses. An emphasis on synchronicity, therefore, has the capacity to inspire group cooperation and spirit.

By cultivating an ability to synchronize movements on the aerobics floor and to endure endless repetition, the training schools might be able to produce employees and members who will be dedicated in other capacities. But this point is never made explicit. Physical endurance is never equated with mental endurance and synchronicity remains unmarked, as merely a concession to members who have a limited amount of free time and desire workouts that are both effective and entertaining. By managing the delivery of exercise down to the proper execution of a jumping jack, managers only ensure that their clients receive the expected service of a good work-out. Bodily discipline at the fitness club is most evident in this synchronization of movements, emphasis on effort and pain, and Zen-derived notion that feeling follows form. In the end, the heavy-handed control of behavior in the training school and to a lesser degree in the club has the opposite intended effect, deterring clients rather than attracting them.

Self-critique (Hansei)

I have tried to illustrate the ways in which disciplinary techniques have been imposed on instructors and, to a lesser degree, members through a strict control over appearances and actions. But as Foucault, Bourdieu, and others point out, control is most effective when it is self-imposed. In this last section, I will illustrate the ways in which the fitness club imposes self-regulation through self-reflection and critique of others. Aerobics instructors are required to fill out a club diary after the completion of each lesson, explaining their impressions of the class. The diary is kept in the staff room and is reviewed periodically by the chief of fitness and the club manager. The instructors are required to have each entry stamped by one of the full-time employees at the club before they leave for the day. The entries range from a common brief two-line sentence, such as "[t]he class went well today, but I messed up once. I will try harder," to less frequent, longer, and more thoughtful paragraphs. One such detailed entry was written by an instructor at Chiba Club, after teaching a beginner aerobics class:

Type of Class: Beginner (Student total = 13; M= 2,F = 11)
Total: 13
Today I had two people who had never taken my class before ... I asked the beginner people after the lesson, how the class went and they said that it was very fun, but I feel a bit uneasy about whether or not they meant it. But in the end, I think that they will come again next week ... Another person left the class just as it started, but I was unfortunately unable to follow-up (Rats!) [Shimatta!] I will be careful not to let this type of thing happen again. The content of the class was very simple, but I felt very energetic. My throat felt a bit sore so I felt that I wasn't able to perform 100%, and it seemed to me that my class wasn't that exciting today. I will be more careful about my taking care of my throat, and next week I will try very hard.[10]

Similarly, club members are expected to record their blood pressure and weight, the number of repetitions and sets executed, and exercise goals in designated individual charts every time they use the facilities. Members share questions and concerns and even divulge details about alcohol intake and other vices. The files are checked periodically by the instructors in order to monitor progress, to offer personal attention and motivation and, perhaps most significantly, to assert a form of control over the members. Instructors write little notes in the margins of the file: "Go for the perfect body" or "Try harder." In this way, the instructors prescribe a body type and fitness goal for an individual member that is desirable yet always just out of reach. Designed to ensure the club's own success and to keep the members returning, the instructors are careful to balance positive optimism and encouragement with subtle criticism to prevent the members from ever achieving complete success. Even if weight goals are reached, the staff cautions members that maintenance is crucial and that a few skipped weeks will result in inevitable back-sliding.

Fukuzawa describes a similar use of self-reflective diaries and essays [*hanseibun*] in Japanese middle schools. Students write daily on feelings, events, homework assignments, and an overall review of the days' accomplishments. Teachers collect notebooks throughout the semester to gauge academic progress, psychological health, and to stave off problems. The sharing of the notebooks with teachers and fellow classmates leaves the individual open to the criticism and help of others. She asserts: "Discipline consisted of gathering information on the details of students' lives, feelings, and attitudes, then persuading students to adopt the prescribed pattern embodied in the numerous routines of the school" (1996:305).

Hansei or reflection serves as a means of social control through the imposition of self-critique, and is common to many institutions in both Japan and China. Brownell observes a similar attention to "thought control" through the distribution of self-evaluation forms among the Chinese Olympic athletes (1995:165). She notes that certain key phrases are expected and that the style is both formal and formulaic. As Foucault notes: "A 'power of writing' was constituted as an essential part in the mechanisms of discipline" (1979:189). The use of these essays forces students, Olympic athletes, and aerobics instructors to think constructively about their own actions and feelings and about those of their peers.

The diaries add another layer of control, so that not only appearances and actions but also thoughts and feelings may be held up to a certain standard of normalization. *Hansei* allows managers to better discipline the instructors and instructors to better control the members, illustrating what Bourdieu describes as "a self-control that predisposes them to control others" (quoted in Brownell 1995: 178). It is a small step from jotting down notes about how to improve one's own teaching style and exercise regime to penning notes of "encouragement" in the margins of members' exercise charts or voicing criticism of weight gain to one's peers and clients.

Fat talk[11]

> *Your eyes seem smaller, has your face gotten fatter?*
>> — An instructor asked of a member who hadn't been in for a while.
>
> *You shouldn't wear those pants; they make your behind look big.*
>> — Warned one instructor to another.
>
> *Do you ever weight train? You have no muscles. You look like a woman.*
>> — A female instructor asked of a male instructor when he took off his shirt to change into his uniform.

It is quite usual to hear comments such as these in the fitness club, where instructors, members, friends, and acquaintances feel free to comment on one's physique or overall appearance. This commentary can either take the form of a compliment, as in the staff's self-critical evaluation of co-workers discussed above, or as a critical observation of weight gain or acne. In the U.S., even the most innocent or well-meaning comment on weight gain is considered not only a cruel insult, but a subject taboo to all but, perhaps, family members and one's closest friends.[12] But, in Japan, compliments and criticism about the body are not only common, but they are generally taken in stride.

Friends typically greet one another after a long absence by commenting on weight gained or lost. This greeting is both a way of inquiring about health or lifestyle and a simple observation on how a friend has changed in the time that has elapsed. In Japan, where being thin is the ideal, suggesting that a person has gained weight is almost never a compliment. But there are situations when commenting on a few extra pounds may be intended as a statement on a friend's good health or steady job, when s/he is satisfied and prosperous and food can be enjoyed with gusto. Several of my foreign friends and colleagues who have spent time in Japan have observed that Japanese friends and even casual acquaintances feel comfortable commenting on any weight gained or lost during their course of stay in Japan. Westerners are initially taken aback by this inquiry, but in this instance, Japanese friends may simply be expressing concern over how their foreign friend is adapting to the food and lifestyle in Japan.

Interestingly, Becker observed that Fijians exhibit a similar referral to bodily size and shape in the form of greetings, jokes, insults, and concern, particularly in the case of children and guests. As she explains, "the Fijian body reflects the achievements of its caregivers. A body is the responsibility of the micro-community that feeds and cares for it; consequently, crafting its form is the province of the community rather than the self" (1995:57). Similarly, Sobo has observed that weight loss in Jamaica, "signals social neglect" (1997:259). Remarks on weight gain or loss become an expression of community concern and pride in the adequacy of care-giving. In Japan, certainly in the case of guests and children, the fitness, health, and overall appearance of the body can be taken as a measure of the care received. Although body size is "a matter of social, not personal, concern" in Fiji (1995:1), Becker explains that the individual is generally complacent about his/her body image and seldom alters his/her body to achieve the cultural ideal. In Japan, however, individuals invest tremendous money, time, sweat, and worry into attaining the "perfect body." And it is in this context of active personal effort that the Japanese individual may express or recognize an alternative motive, be it idle observation or more pointed criticism, for such blatant remarks on body size and shape.

In certain contexts, comments on weight gain or loss can be intended as well-meaning expressions of concern, but more often than not, they are simply observations intended as neither insults nor compliments. Ohnuki-Tierney notes that the inquiry and description of one's health is quite common in Japan and is characteristic of both men and women of all ages and socio-economic backgrounds (1984:57). To note one's size, appearance, and well-being may be a way to inquire about one's state of health or *jibyō*. Ohnuki-Tierney has defined *jibyō* as: "an illness one carries throughout life and suffers at some times more

acutely than others" (1984:53). From stiff shoulders to a weak stomach or high blood pressure, the current status of one's "personal illness" is a common topic of conversation and may manifest itself as weight gain or loss.

In this sense, inquiry about *jibyō* may be bereft of deeper meanings of criticism, malice, or even concern. Just as a Westerner may comment on a friend's haircut, observing weight changes is "something you notice right away. You can easily see if someone looks fatter or thinner than the last time you saw them," explained one of my co-workers at the club. As there is less of a taboo on criticizing a person's size, stature, or appearance, these observations, critical or complimentary, can be neutral and value-free. Another co-worker explained:

> If someone says 'you've gained weight,' it is never a compliment...It is simply stating a fact, which is said more easily in Japan than in America, but it still isn't a compliment. It is not meant to be insulting, just not complimentary. Friends may say it as a joke, but there is always truth in a joke, right? That is, the friend who says it probably really feels that he wants the other to get thinner.

In Japan, many expect a good friend to tell the truth about her/his appearance, even if it is difficult to hear. As one male instructor explained, "Superficial friends lie and say that you are not fat, even if you are, but good friends will tell you the truth."

Instructors are not only openly critical of one another, but often warn the members if they are getting chubby or need to lose weight. One instructor admonished a male member that his large belly was proof that he was drinking too much beer, while another instructor urged a woman to lose weight before her upcoming wedding so that she would "look beautiful in the photographs." The instructors are expressing concern, which is designed to motivate the members into action and to provide support for members who may not know how to begin an exercise regime. The job of the instructor is to be a fitness and nutrition counselor for the members, dispensing advice, and offering direction. But, at the same time, a critical staff member may be trying to ensure his/her own necessity and that of the club. If a member is made to feel inadequate and less than perfect, s/he may be more likely to take advantage of the club facilities and programs.

At the same time, expressed concern over weight gain may also be a veiled barb, intended to hurt, insult or, at the very least, provoke change.[13] Boyfriends, close friends, acquaintances, and even parents offer unsolicited criticism and advice in the guise of concern but often with little regard for how

the comments will be received. One young woman mentioned countless times about how a close female friend may be lucky to be skinny, but that this didn't make up for the fact that she was flat-chested. When the three of us went to a department store together, the young woman held up a padded bra and called her thin friend over to say that the bra was made for her. The friend laughed good-naturedly but looked very uncomfortable. Another female college student at a Chiba university explained how men readily dissect the bodies of the women they are dating:

> Most guys say about the girls they are dating: 'Even if she is fat, I don't mind.' All of my ex-boyfriends said this, but when I did get plump, they would say: 'You got fat didn't you?' On the surface, they would say to me: 'I don't mind.' But in reality, they would complain: 'You got fat!' They also said when we ate together, that they liked girls who ate a lot, but in reality, you know, when I did eat a lot, they would exclaim: 'Ehhh, you're going to eat all that?! You're not going to be able to fit into your jeans.' But Japanese men usually don't think it's rude to say those things, they think it's fine.

Fat talk, open criticism, and innocent observation serve as forms of social control, which measure the weight, health, and overall appearance of an individual against the group ideal. Deviation from the ideological standard is cause for comment directed at improvement. Much like the self-monitoring characteristic of Foucault's panopticon, the instructors and members manage themselves. Fat talk directs criticism outward rather than within as in the case of the self-reflective essays. Be it in the interest of producing healthy workers, increasing efficiency and productivity, controlling sexuality, or instilling rivalry and competition between women, the fitness clubs and training schools attempt to structure thoughts, actions, and appearances around ideological norms. This standardization, while striking when viewed in isolation, becomes hegemonic and culturally rationalized because of a consistency with other forms of education and sports training in Japan.

Conclusion

Given the fitness clubs' emphasis on discipline over one's appearance, actions, and even thoughts, the overall avoidance of effort and hard work in the club is particularly striking. Japanese club members, unlike the instructors who recognize the necessity of pain and repetition to properly execute their routines, do

not abide by the exercise principle of "no pain, no gain." The fitness club serves as a contradictory space where effort and leisure and mind and body prove to be incompatible. The synthesis of mind and body typical of Japanese philosophy is inconsistently applied in the fitness club. Rather, instructors insist upon thinness, synchronicity, and self-reflection for the sake of the workout and fail to connect success at the club with success in the office or in the home. Trapped in their own rhetoric, the clubs promise passive and leisurely entertainment while demanding active participation in diet, exercise, and health regimes. In this chapter, I have used the ideology and practices of the Japanese fitness center as a window onto the intersections of work and leisure, the relationships between discipline and spiritual training, and the tension between mind and body in contemporary Japan.

————————————

Endnotes

[1] An extended version of this chapter appears in my book, *Working Out in Japan: Shaping the Female Body in Tokyo Fitness Clubs* (2003).

[2] *Sarariiman* refers to the typical white-collar businessman employed by a large company, while *office lady* is the Japanese term for a secretary or clerical office assistant.

[3] See Whiting (1990) for a depiction of Japanese baseball as national character. Kelly resists such an orientation in his current work on baseball (1998).

[4] Elsewhere, I assert that Japanese aerobics instructors who smoke and drink when not on-duty are expressing dissatisfaction with inequities of class, age, and gender in a Japanese service industry (Spielvogel 2003).

[5] During the year of 1996-1997, the exchange rate was approximately 120 yen to the US dollar.

[6] The training courses in Japan are markedly distinct from the US certification programs. Comprehensive training programs that provide students with the practical training and anatomical theory to pass the national aerobic certifications exams are the exception in the US. Because graduation from an expensive and time-consuming training program does not guarantee national certification by AFAA or IDEA, which is required to be an instructor at almost all US clubs, the majority of instructors-to-be in the US choose to forgo the $500 training programs and apply directly to AFAA or IDEA for testing and certification. Because the national certification workshops consist of only the briefest instruction over the course of an intensive two-day weekend, the bulk of the preparation for the exams must be completed by the individual in his/her home, prior to attending the workshop. In both Japan and the US, successful instruction requires self-motivation. While the most diligent and successful instructors in both countries do attend training programs, workshops, and conferences to keep their knowledge up-to-date and their choreography innovative, others can squeak by with a minimum of credentials, training, and preparation.

[7] The process of making the *Kintarō* candy is similar to that of slicing a sushi roll. That is, this small round candy is cut from one long cylinder, so that each round sweet has the same picture on the front and the back as others cut from the same roll.

8 Similarly, it is no coincidence that technicians in Japanese beauty salons wear white lab coats when administering massages or facials. These jackets are strikingly similar to the coats worn by doctors and are intended to attach prestige and credibility to what may otherwise be considered a suspect procedure. Goffman describes perfume clerks in the US who wear white lab coats "to provide the client with an understanding that the delicate tasks performed by these persons will be performed in what has become a standardized, clinical, confidential manner" (1959:26).

9 It is important to note, however, that despite a desire for allegiance with the medical world, there are obvious gaps between the ambitions of the fitness clubs and their day-to-day programs and instruction. Staff explanations seem somewhat superficial, their analyses incomplete, and their technique inconsistent and sometimes dangerous. In some cases, the staff is simply untrained for the responsibilities that they are required to undertake. For example, the "diet class" at one club, despite its billing as a course designed for people interested in losing weight and learning how to eat and exercise properly, there was absolutely no diet instruction and the instructor was an office worker rather than a qualified aerobics instructor.

10 This instructor's entry is not typical in its length and great attention to detail. She allowed me to read over her shoulder as she wrote, and thus, with an audience in mind, probably wrote with far more care than usual.

11 Nichter and Vuckovic coin the phrase "fat talk" to discuss the common lament among white, middle-class adolescent females of I'm so fat." "Fat talk" discourse is used by these girls as a means to fit in with their peers, diffuse guilt of over-eating, or fish for compliments (1994:109-131). I am using the phrase "fat talk" in a slightly broader way to refer not only to self-deprecating comments, but also to criticism of others. Commenting openly on another's appearance, body weight, or physique is a common and accepted practice in Japan that requires analysis.

12 An exception to general social decorum in the United States that prohibits commenting on another's body size and appearance occurs in the world of professional body-building. Klein describes how competitors comment on one another's physiques, pinching stomachs for evidence of fat and admiring or criticizing one another's musculature in the mirror. The body-builders use criticism and compliments to psych out an opponent and to offer support to a friend (1992:77). Open discussion of the body is seldom tolerated in the United States outside this unique subculture.

[13] On a prime-time television special aired in October 1996, entitled "*Aitai*" ["I want to be reunited"], men and women were reunited on air with past loves, for better or worse. After the reunion, a panel of popular celebrities commented on the success or failure of the renewed relationship, offering advice, counsel, or congratulations to the couples. In one instance, a thirty year old woman wanted to re-meet her high school sweetheart, who unfortunately had no desire to date again, let alone marry her as she had hoped. When the woman came back on the show after her rejection to speak with the panel of celebrities, she was subjected to pity and condescension, which centered on what they described as her "fat and unattractive" appearance. One female celebrity cautioned: "At age thirty, it is natural to be worried about getting married. You should be worried, but I want to help you. The first thing I would do would be to put you on a diet program." The audience and other members of the panel laughed merrily, and the humiliated woman bowed and said thank you. The public critique of the woman's body on national television is not only accepted, but is a source of amusement for others. Criticism in the guise of well-meaning advice is all the more insidious and debilitating when the woman has no choice but to thank her advisor gracefully. Indeed, the woman's ability to distance her emotions and accept criticism about the size and shape of her body suggests a certain mind/body detachment, which the ideological formulation of mind and body union does not take into account.

—————————

References

Allison, Anne (1994) *Nightwork: Sexuality, Pleasure, and Corporate Masculinity in a Tokyo Hostess Club*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Alter, Joseph (1992) *The Wrestler's Body: Identity and Ideology in North India*. Berkeley: University of California Press.

No byline (1996) "Jumping into New Career as Aerobics Teacher No Easy Feat: More Applicants than Available Jobs at Most Health Clubs," *Nikkei Weekly*, December 2, page 18.

Becker, Anne E. (1994) *Body, Self, and Society: The View from Fiji*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press.

Ben-Ari, Eyal (1995) *Body Projects in Japanese Childcare: Culture, Organization, and Emotions in Preschool*. Richmond: Curzon.

Bordo, Susan (1997) "Anorexia Nervosa: Psychopathology as the Crystallization of Culture." In Carole Counihan and Penny Van Esterik (editors), *Food and Culture: A Reader*. New York and London: Routledge, 226-250.

Brownell, Susan (1995) *Training the Body for China: Sports in the Moral Order of the People's Republic*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Donohue, John J. (1991) *The Forge of the Spirit: Structure, Motion, and Meaning in the Japanese Martial Tradition*. New York and London: Garland Publishing, Inc.

Douglas, Mary (1995) *Purity and Danger: An Analysis of the Concepts of Pollution and Taboo*. London: Routledge.

---- (1970) *Natural Symbols: Explorations in Cosmology*. London: Routledge.

Featherstone, Mike (1991) "The Body in Consumer Culture." In Mike Featherstone, Mike Hepworth, and Bryan S. Turner (editors) *The Body: Social Process and Cultural Theory*. London: Sage Publications, 170-196.

Foucault, Michel (1979) *Power, Truth, Strategy*. Sydney: Feral.

---- (1980) *Power/Knowledge: Selected Interviews and Other Writings, 1972-1977*. Translated by Colin Gordon. New York: Pantheon Books.

---- (1995) *Discipline and Punish: The Birth of the Prison*. Translated by Alan Sheridan. New York: Vintage Books.

Fukuzawa, Rebecca Irwin (1996) "The Path to Adulthood According to Japanese Middle Schools." In Thomas P. Rohlen and Gerald K. Le Tendre (editors), *Teaching and Learning in Japan*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 295-320.

Goffman, Erving (1959) *The Presentation of Self in Everyday Life*. New York: Doubleday.

---- (1961) *Asylums*. Garden City, NY: Anchor Books.

Jordan, Mary (1997) "In Search of an Anesthetic Experience," *The Washington Post,* November 24, pages B1, B5.

Kasulis, Thomas P. (1993a) "Introduction." In Thomas P. Kasulis, Roger T. Ames, and Wimal Dissanayake (editors), *Self as Body in Asian Theory and Practice*. New York: State University of New York Press, i-xxii.

---- (1993b) "The Body—Japanese Style." In Thomas P. Kasulis, Roger T. Ames, and Wimal Dissanayake (editors), *Self as Body in Asian Theory and Practice*. New York: State University of New York Press, 299-319.

Kelly, William W. (1998) "Blood and Guts in Japanese Professional Baseball." In Sepp Linhart and Sabine Frühstück (editors), *The Culture of Japan as Seen Through Its Leisure*. Albany: State University of New York Press, 95-111.

Klein, Alan M. (1992) *Little Big Men: Bodybuilding Subculture and Gender Construction*. New York: State University of New York Press.

Kondo, Dorinne (1990) *Crafting Selves: Power, Gender, and Discourses of Identity in a Japanese Workplace*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Martin, Emily (1987) *The Woman in the Body: A Cultural Analysis of Reproduction*. Boston: Beacon Press.

McVeigh, Brian (1992) "The Feminization of Body, Behavior, and Belief: Learning to be an 'Office Lady' at a Japanese Women's College," *American Asian Review* 13(2):29-67.

Nichter, Mimi and Nancy Vuckovic (1992) "Fat Talk: Body Image among Adolescent Girls." In Nicole Sault (editor), *Many Mirrors: Body Image and Social Relations*. New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press, 109-131.

Ohnuki-Tierney, Emiko (1984) *Illness and Culture in Contemporary Japan*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Reynolds, David (1980) *The Quiet Therapies: Japanese Pathways to Personal Growth*. Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press.

Rohlen, Thomas P. (1975) "The Small Work Group," In Ezra F. Vogel (editor), *Modern Japanese Organization and Decision-Making*. Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 185-209.

---- (1980) "The Juku Phenomenon: An Exploratory Essay," *Journal of Japanese Studies* 6(2):207-242.

---- (1983) *Japan's High Schools*. Berkeley: University of California Press.

Sobo, Elisa J. (1995) "The Sweetness of Fat: Health, Procreation, and Sociability in Rural Jamaica." In Carole Counihan and Penny Van Esterik (editors), *Food and Culture: A Reader*. New York and London: Routledge, 256-271.

Spielvogel, Laura (2003) *Working Out in Japan: Shaping the Female Body in Tokyo Fitness Clubs*. Durham: Duke University Press.

Whiting, Robert (1989) *You Gotta Have Wa: Two Cultures Collide on the Ball Field*. NY: Vintage Books.

Yuasa Yasuo (1987) *The Body: Toward an Eastern Mind-Body Theory*. Translated by Nagatomo Shigenori and Thomas P. Kasulis. Albany: State University of New York Press.

Zarilli, Phillip (1990) "What Does it Mean to "Become the Character": Power, Presence, and Transcendence in Asian In-body Disciplines of Practice." In Richard Schechner and Willa Appel (editors), *By Means of Performance: Intercultural Studies of Theatre and Ritual*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 131-148.

The Body as Culture:
The Case of the *Sumo* Wrestler

WHANG Soon Hee

This chapter presents a cultural analysis of the body of the sumo wrestler as embodying and expressing certain themes in Japanese culture. I focus particularly on the class of top-ranked professional wrestlers known as the *rikishi*, or those ranked at the *jūryō* class and above in the sumo hierarchy (see Tierney in this volume). I adopt this focus because the six yearly Grand Tournaments in which these high-ranked wrestlers participate display the essence of Japanese sumo culture more effectively than do lesser championships or amateur tournaments (Nitta 1994). For the analysis, I have used vide recordings of live television broadcasts of the Osaka Spring Tournament of March 13-37, 1994, as well as newspaper and magazine articles that discuss sumo. In addition, I draw upon articles about sumo appearing in American newspaper sports columns and journals between the years of 1983 and 1994. Moreover, for comparison, I have studied video recordings of the television broadcasts of a Korean sumo tournament (known as *ch'ong changsa ssirum*), held in South Korea on October 1-3, 1993.

To place this study in the proper context, let me briefly review some developments in sports sociology. As Bryan Turner has argued, mainstream, classical sociology largely ignored the physical body for much of the last century (Turner 1992:1-35). A review of relevant literature showed that the physical body has been more frequently addressed in social history, psychiatry, psychoanalysis, cognitive sciences, and philosophy than in sociology (Frank 1991). Frank explains, moreover, that the disciplined body describes a style of body use and of body-to-object relatedness that has four dimensions: control, desire, self-relatedness, and other-relatedness. Through control, the disciplined body makes itself *predictable* through its regimentation. Second, the disciplined body suppresses its desires. Self-relatedness refers to the body's dissociation from itself, so that it ceases to feel pain or hunger as one's own. Finally, the other-relatedness of the disciplined body is its status as a *monadic* entity, by which the body constitutes an independent unit even though it performs alongside other bodies in exercises such as military drills (ibid.: 54-61).

This chapter takes up the case of the body of the wrestler in Japanese sumo wrestling, which is thus a body disciplined in and by a sports regime. My argument will be that the body of such top-level sportsmen is closely linked with the

national culture that it represents, and that this body is produced by a disciplinary culture distinctive to the sport. Body culture encompasses the totality of values, aesthetics, and patterns of consciousness, thought, and action relating to the body. I propose to divide the issue of body culture into two aspects. The first conceives of the physical body as capable of receiving and of expressing culture. This is at the core of Pierre Bourdieu's concept of *habitus*, and I find his concept useful as an analytical tool for my study. Habitus, as used here, refers to the practice-and-representation-generating principle of the individual, and the sum of his/her mental and physical responses to the circumstances in which he/she is placed (Bourdieu 1990:52-65).

A second aspect of body culture is the decoding of the manifold meanings that it can signify. This we may term the metaphorical body, which includes its social, symbolic, and political extensions. Of course, at any given historical moment, the meanings attributed to physical and metaphorical bodies are closely related and mutually conditioning. Thus, the body culture of a historical formation emerges as an organic synthesis between these two types of bodies. I follow this framework in this chapter by analyzing the particular characteristics of the sumo wrestler's physical body in two senses ("body as a receptacle of culture" and "body as expressing culture"), as well as those body meanings that are taken to be the "body as metaphor."

The wrestler's body as a receptacle of culture

Over several centuries, Japanese sumo has undergone several transformations. In the medieval era, sumo was a technique for training samurai warriors, but by the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, wrestlers were commoner entertainers and sumo was used in fund-raising events for the construction of Shinto shrines and Buddhist temples. In the nineteenth century, it was professional sport geared towards generating profits, and subsequently, in the early twentieth century, it was integrated into national policy and identified as Japan's "national sport," presented as an ethical "path" (*sumo-dō*) more than commercial sport (see Tierney, this volume). The practices and the ideologies of sumo have thus been shaped by and reflected successive historical eras, and sumo has entailed various body disciplines for the wrestlers.

Japanese sumo has come to be a sport to be watched and enjoyed by spectators, rather than one that most people engage in themselves. For this reason, the mode of sumo has been modified not so much by sumo wrestlers themselves, but rather through their interactions with the expectations of their fans. For instance, in the flourishing consumer culture of the Tokugawa period, the

townspeople's tastes and aesthetic sensibilities became rather refined and elaborated. Sumo came to be greatly influenced by this urbane commoner culture, and sumo matches, which were held to raise construction funds for shrines, became increasingly routinized. It became common practice to hold matches within a ring (*dohyō*) defined on a raised platform of pounded earth, fighting techniques became more refined, and wrestlers began wearing elaborate decorative ritual aprons (Miyamoto 1994:113-135). In the process, the wrestler bodies were disciplined and brought under the control of a specialized, professional sumo organization (see Tierney, this volume).

The body of the rikishi is shaped within and assimilated into the sumo cultural world. The rikishi body has some specific requirements; first, the wrestler must accept the Japanese sumo technique of voluntary bout "starts." The two rikishi face each other about a meter and a half apart in squatting position, and they rise up and push forward to grapple ("*tachiai*") at the same moment. This is done by an implicit, mutual sense of timing, rather than a referee's command. By contrast, Korean sumo wrestlers begin by grabbing each other's belts and waiting for the referee to give them a sign; only at the sign do they stand up and begin to fight.

Japanese rikishi are trained to master the techniques necessary to win in this particular mode of engagement. Experience dictates that 70% of match outcomes are determined by the tachiai, with subsequent techniques deciding the remaining 30%. This means that for a rikishi to win, he must start quickly, moving even a fraction of a moment earlier than his opponent. He can then take advantage of this head start to take on the other according to his favorite technique, and employ the appropriate maneuvers. This is the most certain way to win. Consequently, well-calculated timing when rising in anticipation of an opponent's move, combined with quick and powerful forward rushes, earn high praise from audiences.

> "*He appeared as if rushing forward and then quickly feinted to the side. This is the trick of tachiai. What great timing!*" (commenting on Tomonohana's body movements, March 27th).

> "*His tachiai timing is somewhat off. His body seems to move of its own accord, and he needs to kick that bad habit.*" (commenting on Takanonami's body movements, March 26th).

Moreover, after the two wrestlers have grabbed hold of each other, it is essential for each to struggle to bring his body into a position that puts him at an advantage to force his momentum upon the adversary, and then use his favorite

tactic at the best possible moment. Here, the agility, flexibility, and power of the body are highly valued. The following comments demonstrate how rikishi bodies are appraised:

> *"He took the initiative in attacking and won with an uwatenage right-arm throw. Very powerful! A decisive victory!"* (describing Wakashoyo's maneuvers, March 21).

> *"His arm thrusts (tsuppari) were excellent. It appears that he lowered his hips even as he advanced with his thrusts. This low stance added to his power."* (commenting on Musashimaru, March 16).

A second emphasis is on the way in which the Japanese rikishi is expected to incorporate the norms of the sumo ethic. This ethic, which must be acquired through arduous training and practice in the sumo ring, requires development of three personal aspects – heart, technique, and body. Indeed, in the 1930s, the Way of Sumo was promoted as "a national self-training discipline" to the Japanese population. This policy aimed to transform individual citizens into superior samurai-like soldiers in the service of the emperor. In this context, it became more common to liken rikishi wrestlers to samurai warriors. The rikishi was enjoined to prioritize his spiritual development in the ring rather than focusing on victory for his own personal glorification (Nitta 1994:284-286).

The stable-master Futabayama, who had been a wrestler of legendary renown, is said to have placed his favorite motto, "Wooden Rooster," on the wall of his training hall. To him, the wooden rooster represented the ideal rikishi. His inspiration was the Chinese Taoist philosopher, Chuang-tzu, who wrote that the strongest fighting cock is the one that stays as calm as a wooden rooster in confronting any adversary. Futabayama saw in this image the ideal wrestler, who would never lose his focus when facing opponents, and would always emerge victorious (Miyamoto 1994:144-146).

It is not easy for rikishi to practice the sumo-do ethic amidst the communal life of the stable. Each stable-master has his own philosophy for training wrestlers, as well as his own policies for administration. The stable is intertwined with the stable master's family network, and his wife also carries great influence over stable life. In this patriarchal setting, wrestler-disciples absorb the way of sumo through "imposition and inculcation" (Bourdieu 1977:5-7), as well as through voluntary efforts. Takanohana Mitsuru's recollections vividly illustrate this process:

> "*Sumo is not done just with the body. Mental energy and technique support the body. Because of this, training is essential. If you slack off even for a moment, or go through the motions halfheartedly, you get hit with a wooden club, whether you're being watched by colleagues or not. The oyakata's sumo spirit permeates the bodies of the disciples, right down to the bone.*" (Futagoyama 1971: 4).

> "*After I joined the sumo world, I was repeatedly told about the importance of the trinity of mind, technique, and body. I thought I understood these words right away. But simply understanding the verbal meaning is useless. Things are never ingrained if you only learn them with your mind. You have to learn them with your body. You can only start to understand their true meaning once you begin to absorb them with your whole body.*" (Ibid.: 35).

These reflections describe the physical processes through which sumo wrestlers, driven by their own desires and hard work, acquire the sumo ethic through a kind of voluntary coercion.

Thirdly, the cult of the wrestler's naked body is deeply rooted in Japanese body culture. Japanese folk religions often impart a particular significance to the naked body. Men participate in many Shinto and Buddhist rituals and festivals dressed only in loin cloths. In such folk religious events, being naked is not perceived as shameful. The 1935 *Sumo kōhon* (Lectures on Sumo) asserted that: "If you are born a man, you wear a loin cloth. This is a Japanese folk tradition. It is said that Chinese and Korean people, even though they are also East Asians, do not practice this custom" (Hanasaka 1935: 552). Addressing the nakedness of *rikishi* as they appear in front of the gods, Hanasaka remarked,

> "*Nakedness is admired as proof that you were born a man. Particularly when a sumo match is dedicated to the shrine, you show yourself in your true form, in the state in which you were born. This is the significance behind being naked… Japanese people are generally fond of being naked, but in sumo contests especially, they rip off their clothes and wrestle with abandon.*" (Hanasaka 1935:551-552).

The rikishi therefore displays his pure unadorned body to the deity. The body hides nothing, and thus the game can be fair.

Sumo television commentators are very attentive to the conditions of the rikishi's body, describing in detail the beauty and flexibility of the body, luster

and color of the skin, and fleshiness. The following commentary illustrates this level of attention:

> "*His body is shining. His skin is taut and lustrous. The shoulders and hips are powerful*" (describing Musashimaru's body, March 16).

> "*Though he is small, his upper and lower body are well balanced in proportion*" (describing Tomonohana, March 16).

> "*[See] the ideally developed muscles in his upper body, and the bulging of the muscles in his lower body. These will contribute greatly to the strength of his sumo. I expect he will go far*" (describing Kaio, March 16).

Thus, stadium spectators as well as television viewers are able to delight in the naked bodies of the top wrestlers. However, what they enjoy is not just the outward appearance of the wrestler body. His body, in a sense, constitutes a text through which the spectators may read and appreciate his potential power, spiritual resilience, mental focus, and competitive spirit.

The sumo body as a cultural representation

The rikishi's body emerges as a representation of culture when it internalizes the sumo body discipline acquired through training, and becomes an expression of the "normalized physical and mental habitus." Through analyzing media commentators' descriptions of rikishi bodies, we can identify some characteristic angles of appreciation. First, the rikishi's body is a measure of the quantity and quality of training.

> "*He's in a good groove. His body is shining. He must be training hard.*" (about Musashimaru, March 16).

> "*No doubt his training was insufficient. His muscles look soft.*" (about Mitoizumi, March 13).

> "*When I watch his ring entering ceremony (dohyo-iri), I am struck by how he's taken on an air of gravity and majesty befitting a yokozuna (grand champion). His lower body has great stability.*" (about Akebono, March 16).

As these descriptions demonstrate, the body of the rikishi in the ring unwittingly demonstrates his dedication to training. Moreover, the body reflects not only his physical training, but also the level of his mental discipline, which expresses itself as dignity, mental stability, self-confidence, and a relaxed state of mind. It is said that "a yokozuna should display dignity and proper conduct in order to earn the respect of his peers and his fans" (Koike 1993:197). This expectation attests to the workings of a normalizing culture in Japan, which demand perfect discipline in both physical and mental aspects from yokozuna. This perfection in turn represents his "cultural nature" (Bourdieu 1986:79).

Let us imagine a wild child who grows up to become a physically gargantuan man. He has an "interior invisible to others," and when he fights, other people see in him "an uncontrolled contingency of struggle" (Frank 1992: page 55). But this same person can come to exhibit a "visible exterior" and "controllable predictability" through enculturation to sumo. This is how the rikishi's body is disciplined through intensive practice, producing a predictability that reflects an unconscious fear of the body's true contingency. The predictable comportment of the rikishi's body is therefore the medium and result of regimentation.

Second, when the rikishi has learned to control the expression of his emotions, this indicates the adoption of sumo culture as his habitus. Most rikishi wrestlers avoid facial or bodily expressions of emotion whether they win or lose. Nor is there any occasion in the sumo tournament process where a rikishi can express his personal emotions. In this sense, sumo differs significantly from sports such as professional baseball or soccer. Watching television broadcasts of the current tournament, I observed no rikishi openly expressing his emotions as he walked back to the dressing room after a bout. The greatest extent of expression I saw was a victorious rikishi covering his mouth with a towel as he walked back, a gesture which expressed his joy. In actuality, it is the television announcers and reporters who speak on behalf of the rikishi, conjecturing his state of mind. On March 16th, when Kirishima pushed Higonoumi out of the dohyō and won the bout, he walked back to the dressing room without any indication of his feelings. Anticipating Kirishima's state of mind, however, the announcer commented, "He is walking back through the east passage, filled with pleasure!"

There exists one interesting incident involving a rikishi's emotional expression following a bout. When Sakahoko defeated yokozuna Takanosato with an outside leg trip (*sotogake*) and dropped him outside of the dohyō, he spontaneously raised his fists in a sign of victory. He received harsh criticism from sumo fans for this action. Instead of expressing his joy, he should have helped the defeated yokozuna back to his feet, thus displaying his respect for the great senior champion.

This contrasts sharply with Korean sumo. After a bout, Korean wrestlers openly express their joy or chagrin while still standing in the ring. Korean sumo fans consider emotional expressions such as victorious hand gestures, or tears of joy at winning a championship, to be entirely natural.

There are certainly those who feel that Japanese sumo fans would also like to see their favorite rikishi wrestlers express feelings of joy when they win. But most people defend the suppression of emotional expression because they feel it constitutes part of the "legitimate culture" of sumo.

The rikishi himself has his reasons for avoiding the display of emotion. The suppression of emotion is not merely the result of expectations imposed from the outside. An internal mental mechanism works to legitimize this practice as the norm. Rikishi wrestlers learn their techniques and body movements through training within the heya where they live collectively, and occasionally visit other heya for trial matches with other wrestlers. Moreover, through the institution of grand tournaments, they have opportunities to fight with the same rikishi more than once over the course of a year. Thus, whether they win or lose, the more bouts rikishi participate in, the stronger they become. Given this, boasting because of a victory at a single bout would unnecessarily antagonize the opponent, which in the long run would be to the detriment of the boasting wrestler. This is the social relationship in sumo society that underlies the logic of generally suppressing emotional expression.

Thirdly, through hard training, each rikishi acquires the technical and tactical maneuvers at which he especially excels, and these patterns in turn become helpful in maximizing his particular bodily strengths and compensating for his innate weaknesses. In addition, these patterns also express individual psychological propensities. Tochinishiki, who won a prize for technique in the spring grand tournament of 1954, was a small rikishi, weighing only 80 kilograms, while the average wrestler at the time weighed 100-110 kilograms. To compensate for this weakness, it was thought that he moved back and forth very quickly, sometimes unnecessarily, with movements that served no apparent purpose. Tochinishiki himself declared that he felt no handicap from his weight as long as he was moving quickly. In fact, by moving quickly, a rikishi can detect the weaknesses particular to his opponent and determine how best to take advantage of them. He also learns when and how the adversary's weak points surface. Then he is able to trap the opponent into revealing his weak side. When this is accomplished, the wrestler no longer needs to make any useless movements. This is how a small rikishi can transform himself into an orthodox wrestler of technical excellence, Tochinishiki was a typical example of a rikishi who advanced by mastering this art" (Kosaka 1988:72-73).

If a rikishi relies too heavily on a favorite technique, he invites criticism. Such a style of competition is not considered "classy," because the will to win is "too obvious." Thus, observers evaluate wrestlers' motivations based on his pattern of action. In actual practice, however, many rikishi clearly adopt patterns of action with the singular objective of winning. In order to understand why, we must examine the heya ("stable") system. While his body undergoes the process of discipline, the rikishi lives with his colleagues in closed stables of wrestlers (see also Tierney, this volume). Three principles orient life in the heya - merit, status, and time of entry. The last principle maintains order inside the heya. A rikishi is promoted or demoted in status depending on his achievements in the grand tournaments. While status is generally indicated by individual rankings on the tournament wrestlers' list (the *banzuke*), large categories divide them into the following: *makushita* (non-salaried trainees), *jūryō* (the lowest of the *makuuchi* division), and the *san'yaku* (the three highest ranks below *yokozuna*, namely, *komusubi*, *sekiwake*, and *ōzeki*). These general titles seem to hold more significance for sumo wrestlers than do the individual rank order. A rikishi's status determines what roles he adopts in relation to others, his patterns of social interaction, and the general way in which he conducts himself in everyday life.

Rikishi of jūryō or higher ranks are served by attendants (*tsukibito*) who are wrestlers of makushita rank or below. Thus, new trainees receive orders and instructions from the senior rikishi, and see to their everyday needs. No matter how kindly or harshly they are treated, but they must always attend to their assigned senior rikishi. In the daily world of the sumo stable, the rikishi incorporates submission to authority and tradition into his body. He subjects himself to the master-apprentice relationship as an absolute tenet (Sharnoff 1990; Koike 1993).

The hierarchical structure within the heya entails differential treatment in all everyday activities, stipulating who is given lessons first, who bathes first, who eats first, and who gets his hair fixed first. The higher the status, the more preferential treatment the rikishi receives in these daily routines. The oyakata appoints the *heya-gashira* (the top-ranked wrestler in the stable), who trains wrestlers on his behalf. Within each of the above-mentioned large categories (makuuchi, jūryō, and makushita), the date of admission to the heya is key in determining relative status. Intra-category ranking is also necessary to maintain order in the heya, as all wrestlers (with the exception of the yokozuna) are subject to promotions or demotions, as indicated on the banzuke. If the banzuke ranking alone provided the basis for differentiation in treatment, the frequency of changes in rank would make it impossible to maintain the intra-heya order (Oinuma 1993: 62-72).

This environment, in which treatment is based on status, strongly motivates rikishi to pursue promotion. This motivation is, so to speak, carved into the

rikishi's body. Yuzukisaki, who once served as an attendant to Asahifuji in the Takasago heya, recalled

> "*After each grand tournament, those who had won more victories than losses would go out for a drinking bout with the ōzeki, and celebrate boisterously all night. It was an incredibly fun occasion. But those who had had more losses than victories had to stay home and feel miserable. After having had to stay behind, you come to feel that winning is everything in this world. It's just terrible to be left behind in the empty heya*" (Oinuma 1993: 70).

Konishiki confessed that when he experienced profound difficulties in adapting to the collective heya life, he resolved to climb the status ladder to a rank where he would have his own attendants.

> "*Trying to live like the Japanese was really tough, man. I had to learn their culture, their life-style and their language, and to accept their attitude toward foreigners…when you're a rookie, you're a dirtbag. You can only take hits, you can't give them. It ain't like America…I asked myself, Why the hell am I here? I couldn't go until I made something out of myself. That's what sumo taught me, man - how to live alone. I'm in this for myself.*" (Lidz 1992: 78-80).

The only way Konishiki could free himself from these indignities was to ascend the rankings until he was entitled to use beginners as his own servants.

New foreign wrestlers who were conditioned in a culture of meritocracy often find it difficult to absorb the sumo culture of status and admission-year ranking into their bodies. Rather than endeavoring to transform their bodies by absorbing all three principles of this culture, they tend to subconsciously prioritize the merit principle above the other two, and become strongly motivated to win for the sake of promotion in status. In the process, they develop patterns of combat, regardless of whether they are refined or not, for the sole purpose of winning (Chūjō 1985; Sharnoff 1990; Koike 1993).

The body as metaphor

The body as metaphor refers to the symbols and discourses related to the body. When sumo fans rush up to a rikishi to touch his body for good luck, or when a sumo match is dedicated to a shrine, the rikishi's body ceases to be an ordinary

physical body, and instead becomes a social body. The rikishi's body as metaphor has some distinctive features. First, it functions as a form of cultural entertainment. As they watch sumo wrestling, Japanese people are enjoying not just the fight in the ring, but Japanese culture as well. The rikishi's physical body is regarded as an incarnation of Japanese sumo culture. Insofar as it fulfills the expectations of Japanese sumo society, his body becomes a personification of Japanese sumo culture. In other words, his body is a point of intersection between his personal and social body, the corporeal shape of "cultural entertainment."

The decorative apron worn by the rikishi as an extension of his body provides a case in point. It carries a deeply symbolic meaning, with the colors and patterns on the apron mirroring what Japanese people expect of rikishi. As such, it symbolizes the Japanese sensibility of playfulness. The aprons worn by makuuchi wrestlers at the 1994 Osaka grand tournament were embroidered with a variety of symbolic images: strong animals such as dragons, hawks, and lions; objects from nature such as the sun, ocean, and flowers; local scenic images of Tokunoshima and Naniwa; and objects epitomizing traditional Japanese aesthetics, such as Mt. Fuji, feudal castles, and Kabuki actors. The yokozuna wore an apron depicting Mt. Fuji, and two other leading rikishi wore aprons designed with embroidered hawks and eggplants. It is said that a person who sees one of these three images in the first dream of the New Year will have good fortune in the coming year. Furthermore, the shape of the topknot, and the quality of the apron, kimono, belt, and sandals are all differentiated according to the rikishi's status. In this context, these ornamentations, which are designed as extensions of the body, function as status symbols. The body of the rikishi is therefore intertwined with sumo's development over many generations. It must also be emphasized that sumo has deliberately chosen to stress its traditional aspects, precisely in order to survive as a modern sport (Thompson 1992:71-94).

A second aspect of the "body as metaphor" is that the rikishi's body represents a complex, conflictual "body politics." The rikishi's body as a "political body" extends beyond the world of sumo with its distinctive logic; rather, it is shaped by and functions in relationship with various other economic and political dimensions of society. As we watch sumo fans rushing to touch the rikishi's body for personal good fortune, we may recognize inside them the desire to locate a hero in the midst of existential uncertainty, a craving borne of the traditional mythology which sanctifies rikishi. In foreign relations, the rikishi's body presents itself as a symbol of Japan when tournaments are held overseas. It represents sumo culture, Japanese culture, and even Japan's symbolic position among other foreign countries. In fact, Japanese sumo wrestlers participating in tournaments abroad and introduce sumo to the rest of the world have

been called "naked ambassadors" (Cuyler 1985:126). With the rise of Japan's economic, political, and symbolic status in the international community, the words "sumo," "sumo wrestler," and "sumo wrestling" began to earn global recognition. The word "sumo" appears frequently in the U.S. media, and has entered the American vocabulary to mean a Japanese sport which is traditional, religious, sacred, and closed off to others. The term is then applied to highlight what are perceived as parallel characteristics in Japanese people, businesses, and government. For instance, one American economic journal referred to "sumo in the Euromarkets" and the "sumo neighbor." Here "sumo" refers to Japanese companies and businessmen, and captures the American sense of admiration and fear towards Japan's economic achievements, while serving as a critique of its aggressive business stance (*The Economist* 1984:73-74; Baum and Rosario 1991:40-42). Foreigners' perceptions and appraisals of the rikishi's body are therefore not only based on their understandings of sumo as a sport, but are also influenced by an array of factors outside sumo itself, such as Japanese economic competitiveness, Japan's status in the international community, the country's global contributions, and stereotypes created disseminated by Japanese and foreign commentators alike.

Furthermore, now that sumo has won international recognition, and quite a few foreign rikishi have ascended to high ranking positions, the "political body" of the rikishi has become an arena where power struggles over symbolic status between states are negotiated. In 1989, for instance, the United States felt economically weak compared to Japan, and was concerned about Japan's burgeoning trade surplus. In November of the same year, Konishiki won the championship at the Kyushu Grand Tournament. One American magazine carried the following headline: "They've got Rockefeller Center, but we've got Konishiki, the world's best sumo wrestler" (*People Magazine* 1989: 133). Another weekly observed: "Americans worried about economic rivals across the Pacific, take heart. Good old Yankee competitiveness is alive and well in the ancient Japanese dohyō or sumo ring" (*U.S. News and World Report* 1989: 14).

Akebono's elevation to sumo's highest rank of Grand Champion (yokozuna) in February of 1993 was prominently featured in the U.S. media. *Sports Illustrated* reported that "to some stunned Japanese it made as much sense as a non-Catholic's being named pope. As all the world has heard, Chad Rowan, a 23-year-old American now known as Akebono, last week became only the 64th sumo wrestler, and the first foreigner, in the history of Japan's sacred sport to be elevated to yokozuna, or grand champion" (Kirshenbaum and O'Brien 1993:9; see also *People Magazine* 1993:87). These remarks reflect a battle of symbols in which America sought to demonstrate the superiority of its symbolic power to

Japan. As the above examples demonstrate, the rikishi body has surpassed its capacity as an individual body competing for victory in sumo tournaments. In this realm of metaphor, it becomes a "political body" manipulated and embroiled in a struggle over symbolic power in political, economic, and social contexts.

The final point in this section illustrates how discourses involving the rikishi's body, created out of one select attribute of the body, produce and reproduce a new normative image of the body, which is separated from the rikishi's living body. The Pepsi Corporation printed a photo of a Japanese rikishi on the cover of its 1990 annual business report, captioned "The power of PepsiCo: A 300-pounder named 'Tiny.'" This report carried a number of photographs showing rikishi consuming on enormous amounts of food from Pizza Hut, Taco Bell, and Kentucky Fried Chicken, all of which are subsidiaries of Pepsi. When asked why he decided upon this angle, PepsiCo chairman Wayne Calloway responded: "There is no better way to illustrate the power of PepsiCo's brands than with a sport in which a 300-pounder goes by the nickname 'Tiny'" (Rothman 1991: 50). Thus, the rikishi body is featured here as a symbol of the great power yielded by the corporation.

In another case example, audio-equipment manufacturer All American Audio Inc. christened one new product "Sumo Andromeda." It was a large audio system equipped with a high-powered amplifier. In debuting Sumo Andromeda, the company campaigned:

> *"To qualify as a Sumo, it should be big and powerful, like Japanese wrestlers." And it is - not only is the unit bulky (even by superamp standards), but it is also rated at a thumping 200 watts per channel. According to the company, this audio system produces incomparably better sound than any other because of its superior quality and power* (High Fidelity 1984:20).

Here, the rikishi's body is used as a symbol of the hugeness and great power attributed to the product by the company.

In the United States and Great Britain, the "sumo game" became quite popular in the 1990s, in barrooms as well as church outings, high school proms, and even corporate bashes (*Wall Street Journal* 1993:1; *People Magazine* 1993: 188-189). The participants don special "pseudo-sumo suits" - rubber sumo suits and protective helmets covered by wings - that make them look big and fat. Its initial popularity sprang from a character wearing a sumo suit in a television commercial for beer. As *People Magazine* noted tongue-in-cheek:

> *Here's the beef. Bored with Velcro wall-jumping? Try on a pseudo-sumo suit for size. The primary reason for people to get in the suits is because it's funny. People play the sumo game because it amuses them. Why is it amusing? They answer: "Now you can be a really big man (woman) without special diets or boring weight-gaining regimens. Yes, thanks to the magic of sumo suits, you too can look like a 400-lb. behemoth. Squash your enemies. Flatten your friends. Get a big crush on that special some-one"* (People Magazine 1993:189).

It is clear that the "sumo costume" is interpreted as a symbol of the enormity and destructive power attributed to a very fat body. This representation of course exaggerates one single aspect of the real rikishi body, and is far removed from what the rikishi's body really constitutes. Through this symbolic process, a habitus with a "normative image" of rikishi is created, strengthened further by the logic of the market, and consumed by Americans as the image of "natural and authentic" sumo.

The reproduction of symbolic power in the body as culture

In the preceding analysis, I have argued that the athlete's body (the rikishi in this case) is produced as culture. The body is produced through its disciplining in the culture of a particular sport, and shaped further by interactions with the body cultures of the nations concerned. I identified three different dimensions of the rikishi's body– the body as receptacle, the body as expression, and the body as metaphor. I have highlighted the following three features of the body as receptacle. First, the Japanese rikishi has accepted as a norm the timing of the "tachiai" (standing up spontaneously and simultaneously to wrestle). Secondly, the rikishi absorbs into his body the sumo ethic of self-perfection through competition in the dohyō. Thirdly, the fetishization of the rikishi's nakedness is deeply rooted in the Japanese culture of the body.

Regarding the body as expression, I have illuminated the following three aspects. First, the body of the rikishi reveals the quality and quantity of the training he has undergone. Second, the particular expression or suppression of emotions by rikishi shows that the body has internalized a sumo culture inside the sumo community. Third, the favorite tactics of different rikishi reflect their individual bodily traits and attitudes toward sumo.

In examining the rikishi's body as receptacle and expression, we discover that there is a clear normative culture that has formed over a long period in the

world of Japanese sumo and that this culture has a regulatory effect in determining what is interpreted as authentic sumo culture. Young men, both Japanese and foreign, who enter the sumo world must integrate this culture into their bodies, and they are disciplined according to its principles. They must recast their bodies into this culture and adopt it into their habitus. Those who are most successful in doing this are the most highly evaluated. Some foreigners who embarked upon sumo wrestling careers in the context of the sport's increasing internationalization have withdrawn prematurely, dying a "symbolic death" because they failed to remake their habitus to the necessary extent.

Finally, in considering the rikishi body as metaphor, I outlined the following three points. First, the rikishi's body is located at the site where his personal body and social body intersect. As such it represents a form of entertainment in Japanese culture. Second, as a political body, the wrestler's body is embroiled in the struggle over symbolic power between nations. Third, in the United States, a normative image of the rikishi body has been created and consumed with increasing popularity, emphasizing characteristics such as fatness, hugeness, power, and destructiveness.

From this conceptualization of the body as metaphor, we can draw the following conclusion. Sumo has become recognized internationally as a national sport embodying aspects of both Japanese tradition and religion. However, the rikishi body as metaphor has moved beyond the boundaries of the sumo world, and in the process started to carry broader implications. Just as rikishi are called "naked ambassadors," the rikishi body is understood to symbolize Japanese traditional culture and contributes towards the enhancement of Japan's status in the world of symbols. On the other hand, this same process reinforces existing stereotypes of Japan, wherein the rikishi body is interpreted as a symbol of Japan's desire to show its predominant status to the rest of the world. In short, the metaphorical rikishi body is being manipulated as a puppet in power struggles over symbols among competing nations.

Thus, in Japanese sumo today, the culture of the rikishi body is maintained and transformed under the mutual influences of the body as receptacle of culture, the body as expression, and the body as metaphor, as outlined above.

—————————

References

Baum, J. and L. D. Rosario (1991) "The Sumo Neighbour: Taiwan Fears and Admires Japanese Business," *Far Eastern Economics Review* 151(Feb):40-42.

Bourdieu, Pierre (1986) "Shintai no shakai-teki chikaku" [The Social Perception of the Body]." Translation by Kuwata Noriaki. In Kurihara Akira et al. (editors), *Shintai no seiji gijutsu*. Tokyo: Shinhyōron, 79-92.

---- (1990) *The Logic of Practice* Stanford: Stanford University Press.

---- (1977) *Reproduction*. London: Sage Publications.

Chūjō Kazuo (1985) "Sumo Enters a New Age," *Japan Quarterly* 32(1):41-45.

Cuyler, Patricia L. (1985) *Sumo: From Rite to Sport*. New York: Weatherhill.

Frank, Arthur W. (1991) "For a Sociology of the Body: An Analytical Review." In Mike Featherstone, Mike Hepworth, and Bryan S. Turner (editors), *The Body*. London: Sage Publications, 36-102.

Futagoyama Katsuji (1971) *Shin-gi-tai* [Heart, Technique, Body]. Tokyo: Nihon bungei-sha.

Furukawa Miki (1968) *Edo jidai ōzumō* [Grand Sumo Tournaments in the Edo Period]. Tokyo: Yūzankaku.

Hanasaka Yoshibei et al., editors (1935) *Sumō kōhon* [Teachings on sumo]. Tokyo: Sumo kohon kankokai.

High Fidelity (1984) "Sumo Andromeda: All American Superamp." In *Musical American Edition* 34(May):20.

Hirano Hideaki (1994) "Shintai bunka-ron no igi" [The Significance of a Cultural Theory of the Body], *Supōtsu shakaigaku kenkyū* 2:23-34.

Inoue Shun (1993) "Supōtsu shakaigaku no kanōsei" [The Possibilities of Sports Sociology], *Supōtsu shakaigaku kenkyū* 1:35-39.

Kirshenbaum, Jerry and Richard O'Brien, (1993) "Yanks in Japan," *Sports Illustrated* 78 (5, February 8): 9.

Koike Tamio (1993) "The Dawning of a New Age of Sumo," *Japan Quarterly*, 40(April/June): 194, 197-198.

Kosaka Shuji (1988) *Tochinowaka jidai* [The Era of Tochinowaka]. Tokyo: Kojinsha.

Kuhaulua, Jesse (1973) *Takamiyama: The World of Sumo*. Tokyo: Kodansha International.

Lidz, Frank (1992) "Meat Bomb," *Sports Illustrated* 76(19, May 18): 68-74.

Miyamoto Tokuzō (1994) *Rikishi hyōhaku: Sumo no arukeorojī* [Roaming Rikishi: The Archaeology of Sumo]. Tokyo: Chikuma shobō.

Nitta Ichiro (1994) *Sumō no rekishi* [The History of Sumo]. Tokyo: Yamagawa shuppan sha.

Oinuma Yoshihiro (1993) *Sumō shakai no kenkyū* (Studies in Sumo Society). Tokyo: Fumaidō.

People Magazine (1989) "They've Got Rockefeller Center, but We've Got Konishiki, the World's Greatest Sumo Wrestler," 32 (December 11):133.

---- (1993) "Prince of Whales: A Massive Hawaiian Wrestler Makes a Historic Breakthrough in Sumo," 39 (February 22):87.

---- (1993) "Here's the Beef: Popularity of Pseudo-Sumo Wrestling Suits," 39 (May 3):188-189.

Rothman, Andrea (1991) "Won't You Pleeeease Read Our Annual Report?" *Business Week*, May 13, page 50

Shakaigaku kenkyūkai, editors (1991) "Tokushu: shintai to shakai" [Special Issue: Body and Society], *Soshioroji* 36(1).

Sharnoff, Lora (1990) "Foreigners Making Their Mark in Sumo," *Japan Quarterly* 37(April-June):164-170.

The Economist (1984) "Sumo in the Euromarkets," 299 (May 24):73-74.

Thompson, Lee A. (1990) "Sports kindaika-ron kara mita sumō" [Sumo in the Context of the Modernization of Sports] In Kameyama Yoshiaki (editor), *Supōtsu no shakaigaku*. Kyoto: Sekai shisō sha, 71-94.

Turner, Bryan S. (1992) "Recent Developments in the Theory of the Body," In Mike Featherstone, Mike Hepworth, and Bryan S. Turner (editors), *The Body*. London: Sage Publications, 1-35.

U.S. News and World Report (1989) "Charge of the Unlight Brigade," 107 (December 11):14.

Wall Street Journal (1993) "Bars Use Zaniness to Win Back Patrons," September 7, page B-1.

Whang, Soon Hee (1996) "A Comparative Study of Body Culture: Sumo Wrestlers in Korea and Japan," *Shakaigaku jānaru* 21:1-10.

Gender Lessons on the Fields of Contemporary Japan: The Female Athlete in Coaching Discourses

Elise Marie Edwards

In general, female athletes tend to cry when practice does not go well or when they make mistakes. They talk too much with their friends and slack off when their coach is not around. If you try to reprimand them, they respond with angry, puffed-up faces, and on top of all of that they are likely to just throw everything away and quit! These are the distinguishing characteristics of the female athlete. [Comments of a gymnastics coach, cited in Nihon taiiku kyōkai 1986: 15].

Over the past century in Japan, educators, government officials, and cultural critics have heatedly debated women's athletic participation. Beginning in the late nineteenth century, when girls first participated in limited forms of physical education, the influence of physical exercise on a young girl's biology, moral character, and of course, femininity, was seriously discussed. Policymakers used scientific arguments and appealed to dominant popular opinion as they designed a variety of prescriptions for women's athletic participation. Not only did Meiji educators feel that sewing and other domestic skills were much more important in the education of a young Japanese woman, they also believed that overly-aggressive exercise posed serious dangers to the fragile female body, as well as to young girls' corruptible feminine demeanors (Narita et. al. 1988; Kaimizu 1988). Limitations placed on girls' athletic participation due to their assumed fragility, particularly when counterpoised with the eager pursuit of physical education for boys (Shimizu, this volume), actively reaffirmed and substantiated that presumed fragility. Only allowed to pursue restricted exercises, girls thus appeared physically limited. Relegated to "appropriately feminine" activities and movements, young women were effectively trained to embody what policymakers asserted was their "natural femininity." The Japanese physical education system's most overt structural sex biases persisted until 1989 when finally all school physical education courses were opened to both sexes. With the change, boys are now allowed to enroll in dance and girls can participate in judo, soccer, and several other sports from which they were previously prohib-

ited (Sano 1996). Throughout the past century, the modern Japanese physical education and sports systems have been critical sites for under girding scientific claims of sex difference, and for the training and performance of gender. The sports realm has also been one of the most effective sites supporting assertions of male physical superiority, which predictably has translated into male privilege and dominance in a variety of other social spheres.

Historically, sports educators, scientists, and administrators held critical positions in shaping debates, creating science, and developing policies that effectively restricted women's participation and maintained the sports fields as a male-dominated realm. In the present day, sports researchers and educators continue to hold similar power and control. From positions of legitimacy derived from the status of science as well as the professionalization of coaching, sports scientists and coaches produce expert knowledge that defines the personalities and abilities of females as athletes and individuals. The authority of coaches and other sports professionals also allows them to often say much more about athletes than those athletes are ever given the opportunity to say about themselves. The discourses and data produced by coaches, educators, and researchers in sports sciences influence how others understand female athletes, and also greatly affect how those athletes understand themselves. The structure of practices, the design of drills, and the instructions and information imparted on fields, in teams meetings, and in the pages of sports manuals all contribute to a player's somatic development, and her sense of identity.

As part of a larger study of women's sports in Japan I have looked at general discussions in Japan about coaching women, approaches to the study of women's participation in the sports sciences, as well as the "coaching philosophies" and practices of coaches in the Japanese L-League, the top semi-professional women's soccer league in Japan. In this chapter, although I focus predominantly on textual sources to ascertain how the Japanese female athlete is constructed in formal coaching literature, I also include ethnographic material from my work with the L-League.[1] I believe the textual sources are important as they ostensibly serve as "official discourse" written by coaches, trainers and researcher of sports and physical education. The writing that I am looking at appears in a variety of monthly magazines and journals, as well as popular books that appear in the "sports" section at local bookstores and libraries. The material circulates among a peer community of high level sports educators and coaches, but it is also consumed by more lay-readers, such as youth coaches and middle school gym teachers, who turn to them as authoritative resources and means of education.[2] Ethnographic material, of course, is equally important as it helps me draw comparisons between textual materials couched in theoretical language

and scientific justifications and on-the-field actions and behaviors that shape athletes' lives. In short, the ethnographic material helps me argue that this "official discourse" about female athletes does matter. Beyond revealing the consistency between the "official discourse" and that which happens "on the ground," the comparability of the two spheres, I believe, underscores the predominance of a particular construction of the female athlete that consistently compares and marks her as inferior to her male counterpart.

Throughout my textual and field research, I have found an inherently comparative mode of discourse, reflecting a vision of the sports world as first and foremost the domain of males and masculinity. The discourse originates in an assertion of sex difference, with female athletes consistently compared with males who are either directly mentioned or whose presence is implicit in the construction of the argument. The female athlete serves as the marked term to her unmarked male counterpart. The pathological and problematized "marked" female athlete is much less an accurate description than an oppositional category used to define everything that the "unmarked" true/male athlete is not.[3]

Coaches and educators pose girls and women as relative newcomers—and psychologically and biologically ill-equipped participants—to the sports scene. This is historically incorrect; Japanese women have participated in modern sports since the turn of the twentieth century, and competed in international competitions since the 1920s.[4] Nonetheless, women's forays into athletics are still portrayed as fleeting, and even potentially hazardous ventures into a world for which they are not naturally suited, emotionally, mentally, or physically.

Spoiled and hysterical:
The complex psychology of the female athlete

In the fall of 1998, *Aera,* a popular weekly newsmagazine, titled a feature article "Women become stronger by depending on men?" The article reported on prevailing stereotypes within the Japanese sports world about female athletes. An essentialized image of "*the* female athlete," constructed by the writer and his various sources, including coaches and professors of physical education (all of whom were male), was presented as a mentally and psychologically deficient individual, inferior to her male athletic counterpart (Itō: 62-63). She was portrayed as desperately needy of and dependent upon strong males in order to achieve success. According to the article, the majority of coaches considered their female players to be obsequious and dependent. Their athletes, coaches said, looked to them continuously for direction and affirmation. In comparison with male athletes, the female athlete was portrayed as much more rule-bound,

and less imaginative and self-assured in her development as an athlete. Unlike the omnipresent specter of the unproblematic and easily coach-able male athlete, the female athlete was presented as a troubling puzzle, a well of unpredictable emotions, and a continuous challenge to her coach. The article portrayed sports as a realm where boys and men naturally and independently excel, while females must rely on the guidance, intelligence, and know-how of a male to navigate the treacherous waters of sport. I have discovered in my research that the opinions presented in this one article are prevalent throughout coaching literature and reflected in on-the-field actions of L-League coaches.

In an interview for the *Japan Women's Soccer Manual*, a women's soccer guide produced by the L-League in 1994, the head coach of the Japan Women's National Team asserted that "a good coach has to be a great psychologist" (102). At a speaking engagement, in reference to questions about coaching females, the same coach said, "You know, there are always going to be things that I just don't understand about women." An attempt to be humorous? Yes, of course. However, the comment also reflects a sentiment prevalent among coaches I met in the L-League. The general consensus is that females are emotionally erratic and unpredictable, and psychologically wired in a way that hinders individual success in sports, makes team dynamics problematic, and more generally, does not predispose girls and women to athletic pursuits. In the *Women's Sports Handbook* (1986), a thick guide for sports instructors published by the Japanese Amateur Sports Association (*Nihon taiiku kyōkai*), females are described as having very little control over themselves or their emotions; instead, they are said to be at the mercy of individuals and events around them.[5] Contributing sports educators frequently use words such as "hysterical" (*hisuterikku*) and "spoiled" (*amayakashii*) to describe that undesirable side of the female athlete, which they say continuously challenges the skills of coaches. Evoking images of temper tantrums and unruly children, male coaches talk about their teams as if they were emotional minefields where every word spoken and facial expression must be carefully calculated for fear of disturbing the subtle balance of the female athlete's emotions (e.g., Nihon taiiku kyōkai 1986: 44-9). The social deftness with which players' birthdays, relationships with players' parents, and personal favoritism must be handled in order to prevent emotional tirades from players takes up a significant proportion of discussions about coaching females (Ohnuki 1994: 103). This psychological fragility, coaches suggest, is seldom seen in the world of men's sports.

Compared to male athletes, who are described as much more self-assured and self-reliant, the female player is stereotyped as an emotionally connected and concerned woman, trapped in a web of relations with those around her. She has

little confidence, and her sense of self, coaches argue, hinges on positive reinforcement from friends, family, and especially, her coach. Therefore, as a university professor and the head coach of the women's national volleyball team argued in a co-written piece, it is important for the coach "to make each player think that she is the most favored" (Nihon taiiku kyōkai 1986: 44). L-League coaches often echo this sentiment. "They [the players] all say that they want to be treated equally," a head coach commented in an article for the League's *Soccer Manual*, "but the truth is that in their hearts each player thinks it feels unfair, and wishes that you would pay more attention to her" (1994: 211). It is problems with relationships with others—teammates and coaches—that supposedly cause the most difficulties for female athletes. In the *Women's Sports Handbook*, researchers argue that drops in levels of performance and cases of players quitting are the result of female players' problems with personal relationships (Nihon taiiku kyōkai 1986: 28-9, 68-69). They also claim the data reveal that males are dramatically different in this respect—a grand conclusion drawn from slight statistical differences (52-55).[6] However, more interesting is how much this connectedness with others is underscored as a primary characteristic of the female athlete and the degree to which it is disparaged as a hindrance to athletic excellence.

Critiques of "the female athlete" do not end with complaints about her lack of independence; she is also commonly portrayed as shallow and vindictive in her relations with coaches and other athletes. Coaches and educators often portray female athletes as feeling and displaying great envy and jealousy. Some instructors argue that women show a great desire to monopolize (*dokusenyoku*), are prone to displaying prejudice, and are likely to turn small trivialities into momentous problems (Nihon taiiku kyōkai 1986: 16-17, 42). One female coach in the *Women's Sports Handbook* even suggested that for many female athletes jealousy seems to be the source of their motivation (*dōki no gen*) and potentially the key to their success. Female athletes "in particular" (read: more so than male athletes), she argued, tend to get jealous when other athletes have better results than they do, or if they have better clothes, or if they are cute, or if they seem to be a favorite of the coach (75). To the extent that this jealousy can be channeled into a competitive attitude and effort toward improvement, the same coach argued, it can be the female athlete's source of success. Ironically, one quality identified as a "strength" of the female athlete simply reconnect her again to the same negatively stereotyped, jealousy-ridden psyche.

Other female athletes' problems are described as extending beyond the problems of adjusting to a team environment. Recalling scientific arguments from the first half of the twentieth century about the fragility of the female nervous system and the delicate relationship between her mental and physical ca-

pacities, some present-day sports educators argue that the female athlete is psychologically under-equipped to handle the challenges of competitive athletics. One rather common argument is that female athletes have weak mental and psychological self-control, and thus are unable to cover their physical failings with greater mental effort like their male counterparts do. In turn, coaches, such as those in the handbook, argue that unlike male athletes the mental and emotional stability of female athletes is easily affected by technical or physical problems (Nihon taiiku kyōkai 1986: 33). In addition, they claim that women do not exhibit the same motivation or find the same value in competition as males. "It is a special characteristic of women's nature" argues one writer, "to try to escape from things that are difficult" (ibid.:15). I have read and heard coaches' arguments about the attitudinal changes that occur with the onset of female puberty, such as young women losing their interest in practice and competition. Instead of discussing the cultural or societal factors that might cause this to be the case, commentators treat these changes as natural and inevitable as girls make the transition to womanhood. These discussions of puberty and female late adolescence serve as another means of furthering an argument about the incompatibility of sport and femininity; sports commentators and educators often idolize the athletic capacities of the relatively gender-less (and arguably "boyish") bodies of pre-pubescent athletes, and contrast them sharply with the disabling effects of puberty and the restrictive trappings of full physical womanhood (ibid.:144).

Where is the control, creativity, and independence? The mental inferiority of the female athlete

> *As far as boys are concerned, out of 10 things you only teach them 4 or 5, and then get them to think about the rest on their own; otherwise you run the risk of injuring their self-respect. Whereas with girls, you have to teach them all 10 things; they should be trained with thorough control, with the aim of teaching them all ten items so they can perform them perfectly.* [comments of a former head coach of the Daiwa Securities (men's) basketball team, cited in Itō 1998: 63].

This quote appeared in the *Women's Sports Handbook*, but I was told the same thing almost *verbatim* by a women's soccer coach at a tournament in 1999. Female players, coaches seem to almost unanimously agree, want constant attention and plenty of feedback and criticism, and demand that coaches explain everything, down to the very last detail. In another context, these same quali-

ties could easily be deemed desirable: the signs of a dedicated athlete, an eager learner, and an obedient student who wants to take advantage of her coach's knowledge and insight. In the case of many female athletes in Japan, however, this extremely eager and obedient behavior is said to reflect a lack of "independence" or "individuality" (*jishusei* or *jitaisei*). Educators producing manuals and L-League coaches alike discuss this dependence and lack of original or creative thought as if they were inherent ingredients of femininity that pose serious obstacles for young women who want to excel in sports.

eyond the portrayals of female athletes as incapable of thinking independently, there is also a discourse popular among coaches presenting female athletes as struggling mentally with higher-level technical and tactical concepts. Echoing the sentiments of the basketball coach cited above, a national-level track coach and university professor said the same article that coaches must be much more organized and methodical when coaching women than when working with men. When teaching a female player a skill, he argued, the coach must start at the very beginning, and if any steps are skipped, the players will be unable to master the technique; with men, several steps can be skipped and they will still pick it up almost immediately.

Similar sentiments about coaching can be found in the L-League. The coach of my former team said it was "no use" trying to teach the girls on the team advanced skills or tactics; he had tried in the past and found that over a short period of months the girls would forget what they had been taught, forcing him to start all over again from the beginning. At another team where I coached, one of my fellow assistants suggested we send the players to a "mental training" course. The head coach responded that the players on our team were "not at a level to understand or use the information successfully" (team meeting, October 1997). It was not the age, maturity, or skill level of the players that he inferred to be the problem but rather their gender. The assistant coach seconded his opinion by nodding in agreement and then commenting that other coaches participating in the seminar had told him that male athletes picked up the mental training techniques much more easily than females. For men, he said, the information was *hairi-yasui*," or easy to mentally absorb, but it would "probably be more difficult" for women. Many comments within coaching discourse reflect the belief that males and females have different mental capacities. This belief also guides many forms of coaching practice which effectively, although unwittingly, (re)produce difference in keeping with the "natural" order of things. For example, in a 1995 article for primary school physical educators in the journal *Joshi taiiku* (Physical Education for Girls), teachers are instructed to design gym classes in such a way as to properly develop the

different qualities "inherent" to the two sexes. The goal of a PE curriculum, said the writer, is to help children recognize and develop the strengths unique to their sex; for boys these would be things such as "power and *ideas*," while females should be encouraged to further develop their greater "attention to details" (Nagatsu, cited in Sano 1996: 168).

Although I never witnessed a coach directly tell a female player that she was mentally inferior to men, coaches made such comments to me in private, and the sentiment is clear in much of the training literature. Constant repetition of simple skill drills and the incorporation of playful activities that would appeal to young children reflect coaches' opinions that female L-League players are incapable of understanding advanced tactical concepts, and not genetically inclined to truly mastering even simple skills. As one L-League coach explained to me, despite the fact that the majority of L-Leaguers are of college age or older, their attention span and intellectual maturity is "much like middle school boys." "You have to keep them entertained," he said, in order for practice to be effective. This particular coach substituted colorful small rubber "lifting," or foot juggling balls, for regulation soccer balls for many of the practices with his L-League players. This kind of practice, he said, was "fun," which he believed was the key component to keeping the female players engaged and amused. When I asked him about these balls, and the abundance of playful games only loosely related to soccer, he said this was a lot like a young boys' team practice; doing much more than this, he suggested would be too mentally taxing on the girls and thus unproductive. The contrast was striking as I compared the L-Leaguer's practice with the intense drills and mini-games that were going on (with regulation soccer balls) at the adjacent field where the company's (male) J-League team, with players of comparable ages, was training.

While coaches complain about the lack of independence, imagination, or original thinking of female players, they create and perpetuate environments where obedience and following instructions are demanded above originality and independent thought. In the *Women's Sports Handbook*, a coach and professor from a Tokyo university begins a section entitled, "Planning, tactical decision making, and organizational ability," with the assertion that women do not show the same intellectual curiosity as men in developing their strategic planning ability, building their technical knowledge, and doing other things necessary to prepare for competitions. "In addition," he writes, "it is generally thought that the female player's ability to make tactical decisions or organize play is somewhat lower than a male's." Providing advice for coaches dealing with female players who "have difficulty thinking and playing independently," he writes, "it is necessary to make the them do just as you [the coach] instruct, and

it is also probably necessary to spend a lot of practice time on set patterned plays that can be used in games" (Nihon taiiku kyōkai 1986: 17).

Physical inferiority

> *There are things that are mysterious and that I don't understand about the female body. For example, women's periods, or the fact that their bodies give birth to babies; there are things that even women themselves do not understand. So, even if a male coach has a lot of experience [with female athletes] and reads some scientific texts, there are some things that he can never comprehend.* [comments of a professor and researcher at a top university for women's physical education, cited in Nihon taiiku kyōkai 1986: 102].

Historically, in Japan and elsewhere, arguments for and against women's access to athletics have frequently been couched in scientific reasoning about the nature of female biology. With the development of formalized physical education and women's growing participation in sports around the turn of the century, considerable discussion and heated debate revolved around the physical benefits and perceived threats of women's athletic involvement. Whatever the arguments put forth about the dangers or benefits of exercise for women, the female was seen as an entity tied physically and emotionally to her reproductive organs. Scientists and educators argued the female athlete was controlled by the cycle of her menstrual flows, and the radical changes brought on by puberty and menopause, stages which marked her body as inwardly focused, with a fragile biology and psyche, rather than strong and externally directed like her male counterpart (whose internal organs were rarely discussed and surely not as a hindrance).

In many respects the female was reduced to her uterus—the greatest item of concern for the pro-natalist Japanese state in its imperialist endeavors, and thus for scientific researchers and sports educators. The priority placed on her role as a reproductive vessel was clear in the arguments made for and against her participation in athletics. In Japan, as was true in many Western nations as well, increased (but carefully controlled) exercise was often promoted as a part of pro-natalist policies, and conversely, biological arguments about potential dangers to reproductive capacities were put forth at times when women's "over activity" began challenging social mores. Today, although there are significantly fewer limitations on women's sports participation, female athletes continue to be inextricably linked and even defined by their reproductive organs and capabilities.

While most guides to coaching male athletes never address issues of sperm count or the threat of sterility, discussions about the onset of menstruation (*shuchō*), the impact of cyclical periods (*gekkei*), and concerns about pregnancy (*ninshin*) and childbirth *(shussan)* on the life and performance of the female athlete riddle (even dominate) the material on the coaching of women. Almost fifty pages, or one quarter of the *Women's Sports Handbook*, focus specifically on the impact of sports on reproductive functions and vice versa. *The Female Body and Sports* (1994), one of the few books for the lay reader dedicated to women's sports published in Japan in the 1990s, contains little information about sports, and is instead yet another review of the potential risks and benefits of sports and exercise for women. The opening chapters of the book start with common themes: menstruation, anemia, and menopause. Once again, the story of the female athlete begins in her biological interior with her reproductive cycles and potential pathologies defining both the structure of her life, and the primacy of her existence as a reproductive being. While not denying the importance of this information, we must still question the dominance of this biological discourse in literature on women's sports, as well as the nature of its presentation. After several Women's Soccer World Cups, the consistent strength and popularity of the Japanese Olympic Judo Team, and the increased popularity of women's rugby and American football at Japanese universities and sports clubs, the continuing presence in these texts of questions such as "Is it dangerous for women to participate in contact sports?" seems dubiously motivated and reminiscent of earlier debates about the suitability of sports for women from decades ago.

On L-League teams and the Japanese Women's National Team, players are often required to report their menstrual schedules. This policy is connected to the same biological discourse that treats the female athlete foremost as what the feminist sports historian Raita Kyoko of Chūkyō University has coined the "birthing body" (*umu karada*). Coaches require vigilant self-monitoring and reporting by the players, regardless of whether or not the players experience any irregularities or discomfort with their periods. This imposed self-monitoring trains the young women to police their own bodies, and builds up the natural (and for many women, relatively unintrusive) biological cycle as a foreboding presence always threatening to undermine their athletic performances. At other moments, coaches suggest that women's biology is a unique source of strength and power. In an interview with the Women's National Team coach in an L-League publication, for instance, he says he finds that women are able to play "keep away" two to three times longer than men. This phenomenon is easily explained, he says, by the fact that women "never expose everything they are holding inside." By means of and odd (and ar-

guably sexist) compliment, this elite coach presents women and their bodies as mysterious and somewhat unfathomable. He goes on to propose that this conservation of strength can probably be explained by the fact that women "*instinctively* preserve the strength to birth a child" (Onuki 1994: 101). His statement effectively promotes an essentialized vision of female "nature" as he explains women's strengths on the soccer field via arguments about their core identities and "instinctive" qualities as "birthing bodies."

There is an undeniable contradiction in sports scientists' efforts to make the organs, systems, and functions of the female athletic body knowable, while at the same time expressing confusion and bafflement at the unpredictability of that same body. Despite the contradiction, though, we can note that both claims serve the same purpose: to maintain the female athlete as physically ill-suited to sports. This strange combination of discourses, about the knowing the female body and about her mysterious unpredictability, is epitomized by the contrast struck by the text of a roundtable discussion (*zadankai*), which appears at the end of the *Women's Sports Handbook* (1986). The topic of the discussion was an incident during the 1985 Tokyo International Marathon when an East German runner suddenly began to menstruate during the race, but continued to run and finished second overall. Throughout the discussion there was an air of disbelief that this woman would continue despite such an embarrassing eruption of her bodily functions; the consensus was that a Japanese runner would never continue under the same circumstances. The group cited examples of volleyball players and gymnasts who experienced sudden menstrual flows in the middle of competitions that were visible to both the fans and media. The almost childish intrigue in the perceived garishness of the events is difficult to dismiss. More striking, however, is that after completing pages of material instructing coaches about their abilities to monitor, control, and understand the effects of menstruation on the female athlete, this final discussion closed the handbook by again underscoring the unpredictability and uncontrollable nature of her body. Constructing the female athlete as needy of constant attention and careful regulation, and yet still prone to unforeseeable overflows, failures, and embarrassments, the handbook's larger message is that the female body is not properly equipped for the demands of sports.

Perhaps even more pervasive a discourse than that which binds the female athlete to her reproductive function is the constant gender comparison, by which female strength, speed, stamina, proportions of fat and muscle, and all other physical qualities are measured and assessed in relation to a male standard. This comparative approach characterizes most academic material on the physical aspects of the female athlete.[7] Whether the topic is muscle fiber, max

VO2 measurements, or bone structure, researchers rarely discuss female athletes without comparative male data. The primary effect (and at times, seemingly, the motivation) of this approach is to assert biological and physical differences between the sexes, and maintain the inferiority of the female athlete. The sex bias of these comparative scientific methods are mirrored on practice fields and in meeting rooms; L-League coaches often invoke a male standard and then point out their female players' inferiority in comparison to that standard. For instance, at one team meeting I attended, a coach opined while drawing diagrams, "Well, in a game like this a men's team would use this kind of defensive scheme, but seeing that women can't run as fast as men, that's not possible for our team." I have also attended L-League team meetings during which coaches pointed out male players' superiority at technical skills, such as dribbling and shooting the ball, as if this in some way might be helpful to their female players. In interviews, coaches refer to a "gap" (*gyappu*) between male and female players, stress the need for women to "catch up," or claim that "in comparison to men, [women] are still lacking"; such attitudes again reaffirm the notion that male athletes define a standard against which all is judged, and towards which women must aspire (Onuki 1994: 210-12). These kinds of gender comparisons, arguably, serve no practical purpose since female and male players never face each other in official competitions; however, they continue to have undeniable effects in the realm of sexual politics.

It is true that some coaches do try to avoid "female vs. male" comparisons. Some acknowledge the irrelevance of comparisons for a sport in which men and women do not compete; others argue that their research findings or coaching guidelines are applicable to all athletes regardless of sex. However, such judgments are still the exceptions rather than the rule. A round-table interview included in an L-League publication serves as a good example. Despite a couple of coaches' comments that differences between male and female players are of little concern for them, the interview continues to pursue the line of questioning, pushing the participating coaches to talk about the "gap" between the levels of women and men. The conversation once again ends up focusing on differences and what women's soccer and its athletes lack in comparison to the men (Onuki 1994: 210-218).

As we have seen, the creation and evaluation of the female athlete vis-à-vis an idealized male norm occurs not only with respect to her physiology but also to characterizations of her emotional and mental qualities. A preoccupation with sex differences and a belief that male behavior and performance defines the norm influences the majority of research studies, the contents of coaching manuals, the organization of practice menus, and even coaches' remarks dur-

ing team meetings. In all aspects of sports, the male model serves as the base-line, the control, the norm, against which women are tested, evaluated, and valued. And an adherence to this perspective, in turn, reaffirms and recapitulates men's dominant position in sports by creating data that emphasizes differences and produces dichotomies, which intrinsically result in a hierarchy with males placed safely at the top.

Conclusion

Over the past decade in the U.S. and the U.K., there has been growing academic interest in male coach/female athlete relations. Although substantive empirical work is still limited, recent studies have begun to wrestle with the complex power dynamics of these relationships and the ways that broader cultural gender stereotypes and inequalities affect the behaviors, expectations, and experiences of coaches and players (Tomlinson & Yorganci 1997, Heywood 1999). These studies have been useful in interrogating the power-dependency dimension of coach-player relations and the complications for female athletes when gender biases are an added component of that power dynamic. Researchers have focused ethnographically on athletes in their efforts to document biased and even abusive treatment of players by coaches. Mirroring many of my findings in Japan, a recent study of track athletes in the U.K. (Tomlinson & Yorganci 1997) found that female athletes were consistently treated as inferior to their male counterparts. Belief by coaches in the reality of biological differences between the sexes, the researchers found, translated into immediate assumptions about female inferiority in sports and unequal treatment of women athletes in training situations (ibid.: 143-44).

The authors of the study of track athletes attributed the unequal and abusive treatment experienced by female athletes to "the organizational sexuality characteristic of the sports culture" (134), but I do not find this conclusion particularly helpful. It verges on the tautological to argue that coaches act in a sexist manner because the sports subculture itself is inherently sexist. Instead, it is critical to uncover the structures of representation and the mechanisms of transmission producing knowledge that supports "organizational sexuality" in sport.

Taking cues from feminist critiques of science and knowledge production, I have looked at coaching manuals and other materials produced by coaches and sports scientists in Japan to see how the female athlete is discursively constructed. I also looked at how the understanding of "the female athlete" produced by this discourse translates into the treatment of women athletes on the soccer field. I have argued that central to almost all knowledge production about women in

sports is a preoccupation with sex difference and its manifestations, which is reflected in research studies and coaching practices that either overtly or implicitly compare female athletes mentally and physically with males and then mark them as inferior. In the natural sciences, feminist critics have argued that a preoccupation with sex differences, coupled with a blatant disregard for similarities and consistencies across the sexes, is at the heart of a dominant androcentric science that inherently benefits men (Harding 1987: 94, 100). Although feminist scholars have aggressively questioned the premises, practices, and effects of a so-called "value-neutral science" over the past few decades, little of that work has been brought to bear on the science of sports. As we continue to explore more critically the methodological and epistemological bases of sports science, including coaching, we will begin to more fully understand how sex and gender bias is woven into the structure of the system. I think we will find that the stakes extend far beyond the realm of sports. Research studies that define women in relation to a male norm, and stories of strong male coaches managing and guiding talented but unfocused and overly emotional female players support and justify gendered hierarchies in worlds far away from the fields and courts of sport.

_____

Endnotes

[1] I pursued my dissertation fieldwork in the L-League over two years between 1997 and 1999, and had direct professional experience with the League as both a player and coach from 1992 to 1998. Research for this article was funded by The Japan Foundation, a SSRC International Dissertation Research Fellowship, and the 1999 Summer Program in Japan co-sponsored by NSF and Mombushō.

[2] One of the most popular general coaching journals, Coaching Clinic, and a periodical more specific to the soccer community, Soccer Clinic, were staple items in the offices and clubhouses of most teams in the L-League. In addition, all L-League coaches regularly receive copies of the L-League's monthly newsletters, the Japanese Football Association's magazine, and other materials, such as the Japanese Women's Soccer Manual produced by the L-League office in 1994, all of which are filled with commentary, new ideas about coaching, and official Association-led directives from the National Team Staff.

[3] The idea of marked and unmarked terms is central to anthropology and critical to everything from theorizing on sexuality and gender to analyses of the relationships between colonized and colonizer. I have taken direct inspiration, however, from David Halperin's discussions of the terms in his writings on constructions of heterosexuality and homosexuality (1995: 42-8).

[4] In 1924, the first Japan Women's Olympics (Nihon joshi Orinpikku taikai) was held with women participating in six events. In the same year, the first annual Meiji Jingu Tournament (Meiji Jingu kyōgi taikai) was convened and women participated in track, basketball, volleyball, and tennis. In 1928, Japan was one of six countries to send female competitors to the first Olympics opened to women, the ninth official Games in Amsterdam. Japanese women were prominent competitors in early international sporting events, with Hitomi Kinue being one of the most dominating of all time. Hitomi held four world records in track in the late 1920s in the 100 and 200 meter dashes, as well as the triple jump and long jump. Japanese women athletes have participated in all of the Olympics since that time, with a gold medal-winning performance in 1964 (the first time that volleyball was an official Olympic sport for both women and men) standing out as one of the brightest sporting moments ever for Japan.

5   I drew quite a bit of material for this article from the *Women's Sports Handbook* (1986). For that reason, I would like to note that it is an edited volume with contributions from fourteen different individuals, the majority of whom hold university positions in physical education departments and/or work for national sport associations. I have drawn material from several of the contributors who come from a wide array of sports backgrounds. It is also important to note that this volume was officially sanctioned by the Japan Amateur Sports Association, and produced expressly as an educational guide for coaches of female athletes of all ages and levels, although it does seem weighted towards coaches of more elite athletes.

6   One of the most popular psychological measures in Japanese sports research is the Taikyō Sports Motivation Inventory (Taikō kyōgi dōki kensa or TSMI). Accepted by the majority of sports scientists as an "objective" measure of an athlete's motivation, TSMI results are used to construct arguments about differences between male and female athletes. The gendered dimensions of athletes' self-reporting are not taken into account. In addition, in most cases female and male scores only differ by a few tenths of a point—hardly the differentials one would expect necessary to make grand conclusions about inherent sex differences. There is also no accounting of individual variation, and with the scores as they are it easy to presume that there are multiple examples where individual scores radically contradict gender stereotypes drawn from the tests. If anything, the TSMI tests appear to make a much stronger argument for consistency and similarity across the sexes. The surveys, however, are administered in studies that begin with an initial premise of sex difference; no matter how inconclusive the numbers rendered, they are typically used to support a preconceived argument about "natural" differences between males and females. Feminist critics studying other areas of the sciences have suggested that to a great degree 'sex differences' is a category created by both sexist science and analytic traditions that focus on distinctions over sameness (cf. Harding 1986).

7   I have reviewed numerous academic journal articles to come to this conclusion. The fact that a male standard directs the design and influences the evaluation of scientific sports studies on women is also argued by Sano Nobuko in her bibliographical review of hundreds of books and articles published in Japan between 1985 and 1995 on various topics related to women and sports (1996).

————————

References

Halperin, David (1995) *Saint Foucault: Towards a Gay Hagiography*. New York: Oxford University Press.

Harding, Sandra (1986) *The Science Question in Feminism*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press.

Heywood, Leslie (1999) "Despite the Positive Rhetoric about Women's Sports, Female Athletes Face a Culture of Sexual Harassment." *The Chronicle of Higher Education* 45(18): B4-B5.

Itō Ryūtarō (1998) "Otoko ni ison shite onna wa tsuyoku naru?" [Can Women Become Stronger While Being Dependent on Men?]. *Aera*, November 23, 62-63.

Kaimizu Kayoko (1988) "Senzen no gakkō taiiku seido ni okeru joshi no tokusei ni tsuite" [Discussion of Girls' Special Qualities in the Pre-War Physical Education System]. *Fujimura Gakuen Tōkyō Joshi Taiiku Daigaku kiyō* 23 (March).

Narita Jūjirō (1988) *Supōtsu to kyōiku no rekishi* [A History of Sports and Education]. Tokyo: Fumaidō.

Nihon taiiku kyōkai (1986) *Joshi supōtsu handobukku* [Women's Sports Handbook]. Tokyo: Gyōsei.

Onuki Tetsuyoshi (1994) *Nihon joshi sakkā manuaru* [The Japan Women's Soccer Manual]. Tokyo: Nihon Terebi.

Sano Nobuko (1996) "'Josei to supōtsu' in kansuru bunken shōkai" [An Introductory Bibliography on Women and Sports]. *Josei bunka kenkyū sentā nenpō* No. 9-10. Ochanomizu University.

Tomlinson, Alan and Ilkay Yorganci (1997) "Male Coach/Female Athlete Relations: Gender and Power Relations in Competitive Sport," *Journal of Sport and Social Issues* 21(2): 134-155.

The J.League, Japanese Society and Association Football

John Horne

Two J.League fans spend the whole day fishing out in the middle of Lake Otsu. Toshi turns to Nobi and says, "I hear Kyoto Purple Sanga lost today." "How do you know that?" Nobi asks. "Well, it's quarter to five isn't it?" (*Sportsworld Japan*, August 1998, No. 47:45).

The new business of football

Scholarly interest in sport, leisure and consumption more generally in Japan has emerged quite recently as can be seen in the titles of books published at the end of the 1990s: *The Worlds of Japanese Popular Culture* (Martinez 1998), *The Culture of Japan As Seen Through Its Leisure* (Linhart & Fruhstuck, eds. 1998), *Takarazuka: Sexual Politics and Popular Culture in Modern Japan* (Robertson 1998), and *Contemporary Urban Japan: A Sociology of Consumption* (Clammer 1997). Perhaps the most intriguing title among the recent crop of books on sport in Japan belongs to the winner of the William Hill Sports Book-of-the-Year Award for 1998: Twigger's *Angry White Pyjamas* (1997), which relates the author's experience of training with the Tokyo riot police in an Akidō training hall shortly after he, an award-winning poet, had graduated from Oxford University.

My own research interest in sport in Japan was stimulated in the early 1990s by the launch of the Japan Professional Football League—which adopted the name "J.League"—and the well-publicized intention for the Japanese Football Association (JFA) to bid to host the 2002 World Cup Finals. I have been considering the social significance of sport in Japan more generally ever since. So far, this has involved historical research, analysis of economic data relating to the J.League, and reflections on theoretical debates in the sociology of sport about globalization and body culture, and analysis of the 2002 World Cup finals hosted jointly by Japan and South Korea (see Horne & Jary 1994; Horne 1996, 1998a, 1998b, 1999, 2000, Horne and Manzenreiter 2002, and Manzenreiter and Horne 2004).

In this chapter I reflect on the development of soccer in Japan, with special attention to the decade of the 1990s in the light of analyses of what has been called "the new business of football" in Britain and the rest of Europe (see King 1998; Giulianotti 1999; Hamil et al 1999 & 2000; Morrow 1999; Szymanski and Kuypers 1999; Williams 1999; Finn and Giulianotti 1999; Garland et al 2000).

Professional association football in Europe and more generally is undergoing a fundamental transformation as it finds "new economic and new cultural locations within advanced capitalism" (Moorhouse 1998:227). The economics of football financing are being transformed by "mediatization" (Bourdieu 1999:18), there is an increasingly global labour market for players and to a lesser extent coaches, and the traditional football authorities and associations in several European countries are facing the greatest challenge to their legitimacy since their foundation at the end of the nineteenth century.

These studies identify a number of key actors and institutions in the transformation of football in the past twenty years. Most notable is the growth of television and other corporate interests in football and the idea that a new style of following football has been stimulated. One author has suggested that there has been a shift from football fandom to football consumption as fans are increasingly invited to become customers and consumers of sport (King 1998:203). Rather than view these developments as inevitable, King and other analysts consider the different actors involved in contestation over the "new consumption of football." On the one hand, there are the new powerful forces of terrestrial and satellite television companies and football club directors of leading clubs who are apparently driving the changes in football finance. On the other hand, there are traditional football supporters, those who have contributed to football literature and fanzines largely critical of the new economics of the sport, and a group King (1998) refers to as "the new consumer fans." King suggests that these latter three groups of people can be seen as representing, respectively, negotiation, resistance, and compliance to the new economic order in football.

King's thesis is a provocative elaboration of the view that sports develop through processes of social struggle, rather than straightforward diffusion and emulation. Yet as television has become the main economic driver in the new business of football, the game has largely become "a television-content business" (Morrow 1999). To fully appreciate the social significance of football requires both a study of the relations of consumption of this media-saturated product and also a wider analysis of different dimensions of the sport itself (see Giulianotti 1999).

The joke above, reproduced from a bilingual sports magazine published in Tokyo, offers insight into the (somewhat unfair) reputation that one of the J.League teams acquired soon after joining the league. It is not unlike the self-deprecating humor associated with football supporters in Europe. This chapter considers the extent to which the development in Japan of a professional J.League bears similarities and differences with the European situation. My contention is that the development of "sakka" in Japan in the 1990s illustrates

the specificity of Japanese responses to global sports. The distinctiveness of the Japanese response to modern sport, like that of other "recipients" of sport, lies in the particular combination of economic, political and ideological interests and factors that comprise Japanese culture and society.

Football as practice and as spectacle

Gary Armstrong and Richard Giulianotti (1999b:11) have recently suggested that "the Japanese follow all other football cultures by adapting or 'creolizing' football's basic properties to fit with their local circumstances." The transformation in the position of association football in Japan heralded by the launch of the J.League in May 1993 can be seen in the same light as changes in European and World football—developing between the twin attractions of what Pierre Bourdieu (1999:16) calls "football *as practice*" and "football *as spectacle*."

Bourdieu's useful distinction enables us to see the commonality between accounts of football at the local and the global level. He argues that television is responsible for the trend toward commercialization in football, and other sports. He describes TV as the "Trojan Horse for the entry of commercial logic into sport" (ibid.). Football is increasingly "commercialized as televised spectacle, a commercial product which is especially profitable because football is very widely practiced" (ibid.).

Bourdieu suggests that in the *champ sportif* (the "artistic field" of sport) various actors compete for the commercial stakes. These include sportsmen (and only a very few sportswomen), who are the objects of the spectacle; sports industry event producers, over TV and sponsorship rights; TV channel managers, in competition for coverage rights; and the bosses of major corporations with an interest in sport as a marketing vehicle. The mediatization of football has increased the number of matches (via the growth in European and international matches); it has increased the number of matches televised; and it has encouraged subscription and pay-TV channels to seek exclusive rights to certain events. TV increasingly dictates the timing and scheduling of events. The structure of competitions change, corruption scandals occur, and globe-trotting cosmopolitan players circulate in the new football labour market. There is a consequent effect on the relationship between fans and players and the clubs they support (Bourdieu 1999:18). He notes that it also produces stylistic innovations in TV production and commentary, but at what price?

In the light of Bourdieu's analysis I ask here what interests have facilitated the development of football *as practice* and football *as spectacle* in Japan. I will briefly consider the development of the J.League in Japan in the 1990s, and then

draw some broader conclusions about the study of sport from this specific case of football in Japan.

Japanese society and association football

To most football commentators in Europe soccer appears a novel sport in Japan - making its professional appearance only in the last decade of the 20 century. In fact, like most other modern sports, it arrived in Japan soon after formalization and codification in the mid- to late nineteenth century. Conveyed by soldiers, sailors, merchants and educationalists, modern sports came to Japan in the same way as much industrialization during the Meiji era (Guttmann and Thompson 2001). The history of soccer in Japan reveals important elements which shaped its development, some of which continue today (Horne 1999).[1] Three influences on football as *practice* are particularly noteworthy: the role of the education system; the role of amateur enthusiasts for the sport; and the role of Koreans in Japan

Although team sports were not a large part of the elementary school curriculum, soccer was enjoyed by some schoolboys and especially students at teacher training colleges and the less elite universities. Yet from the beginning of the twentieth century, institutional and professional elites have favored baseball over football. One indication of this preference was the greater number of sports and physical educational books and manuals published on baseball (44) as compared with those on football (7) between 1895 and 1912 (Abe & Mangan 1997:189-190). While Tokyo, Waseda, Keio, Hōsei, Meiji and Rikkyō - the elite universities in Tokyo - formed the "Big Six" baseball league, football was only taken up by Tokyo and Tokyo Teachers Training College. Hence, students entering elite professions, such as law and economics, and political office preferred baseball to football. Moreover, media and commercial interests, also strongly composed of graduates from the "Big Six," came to favor baseball (Kelly 2000).

It is notable that soccer in Japan, like other nations for most of the twentieth century, has been played and organized by enthusiasts and amateurs, rather than professional administrators and commercial organizations. The formation of a national football association, the Japan Football Association (JFA), enabled contact with the wider international organization to be established. The JFA joined FIFA as early as 1929. Although expelled during the Pacific War it rejoined again in 1950. Until the 1970s the global football framework of rules and regulations upheld by FIFA was predominantly paternalistic and Eurocentric owing to its origins and the grip that its two major football federations, Europe and South America, held over it. Sugden & Tomlinson (1998) have explored in

great details the emergence of new football federations for Africa and Asia, and the consequences of the collapse of the Soviet Union, for football politics in the 1980s and 1990s. The incorporation of Japan and other members of the Asian Football Confederation into FIFA's embrace form part of the shifting politics of world football in the last 20 years (see also Sugden and Tomlinson 1999). More research is required into the main actors who developed and sustained football in Japan during the twentieth century.

Finally it is important to note that soccer has been played in Korea and by Koreans as long as it has in Japan. During the Japanese occupation of Korea from 1910-1945 it became associated with a distinctive Korean sports culture (see for example Jung 1996, especially p. 167). It can even be argued that football became one of the means of conducting "war without weapons" against the former colonial ruler on the part of the South Koreans in the second half of the twentieth century. It is only since the Japan Amateur Sports Association altered its bye-laws in the early 1980s that Koreans in Japan have been able to take part in the National Sports Festival. In 1947 Koreans in Japan were classified as alien residents and excluded from the newly established annual sports festival. Koreans who attended non-Japanese schools in Japan could not participate in the Inter-High School Athletic Meeting either. In 1991 Koreans and non-Japanese High Schools became eligible to participate in the All Japan High School Basketball tournament and in 1994 they at last became eligible to enter the Inter-High School Athletic Meeting. It is only since 1997 that all Japanese-born Koreans regardless of citizenship or school affiliation have been allowed to participate in the National Sports Festival. So Korean schools in Japan have provided another environment within which soccer can develop (Nogawa & Maeda 1999). Hence it is an added irony that the World Cup finals in 2002, the first to be staged in Asia, were co-hosted by Korea and Japan. So much for the history. What have been the key determinants of the J.League, launched in May 1993?

The J.League: The triumph of football as spectacle over football as practice?

Writing soon after the launch of the J.League David Jary and I (Horne and Jary 1994) suggested that there was a mix of social engineering, commercial interests, and cultural factors at work which would help professional soccer to succeed in Japan, especially in comparison with the prospects for the "take-off" of soccer in the USA. We noted that *football as practice* was a mass participation sport. There was a syncretic cultural tradition in Japan that meant the barriers to new sports were not as high as in the USA. We also felt that the economic downturn - what

we now know as the beginning of the Heisei recession - in addition to state sponsored strategies for leisure, provided an auspicious moment for the launch of the J.League. Whilst our speculations have proved reasonably accurate, predictions beyond 2002 are more risky, especially considering recent setbacks in the economics of some of the J.League teams and the use of football in the development of new media, especially television, in Japan. This section draws attention to five key aspects of the J.League which illustrate these issues well.

Watts (1998) explains how the J.League launch was devised by advertising companies who planned to market soccer in Japan as a "new improved product" (*shinhatsubai*), deploying a common advertising strategy usually reserved for consumer products like shampoo and toiletries. The marketing of J.League soccer was deliberately targeted at young male and female consumers, rather than company football team spectators who tended to be older. Hence the new fans had to be encouraged to be the "Be the twelfth player in the stadium" and show their support through consuming many of the numerous J.League souvenirs (Nogawa and Maeda 1999).

Another aspect of what might be called the "domestication" (Tobin 1992) of football in Japan were the J.League regulations especially approved by FIFA to permit competitive showdowns—such as "penalty shoot-outs" and title play-off matches between the champions of the two J.League season stages. From a European perspective this produced the unusual outcome in 1999 that Shimizu S-Pulse—the team with most points all season, with six players in the J.League's "Best Eleven" and with the J.League Player of the Year (Alex)—finished as runner-up. Shimizu were defeated in a penalty shoot-out by Jubilo Iwata, a team that had secured 16 fewer points all season and had finished 12th (out of 16 teams) in the second stage. While Shimizu are managed by an Englishman—Steve Perryman—these comments should not be regarded as sour grapes on my part! In an earlier article (Horne 1996) I identified commercial and corporate interests, the mass media, players and managers, and spectators as key actors in the development of the J.League. To this list I would now add the rules and regulations laid down by the J.League organizing committee.

Despite the involvement of commercial companies in the initial marketing of the J.League, Kawabuchi Saburō, the J.League Chairman, wrote before the launch that he did not want the clubs in it to be "turned into advertisements for their sponsors" (Kawabuchi 1993:78). The J.League insisted from the outset that the name of the home town had to be included in the name of the soccer club—e.g., Kawasaki, Urawa, Shimizu, and Yokohama. This was part of the effort to establish a form of identification between the team and location. As Watts (1998) notes, the J.League sought to refocus Japanese people's identification on

their home town (*furusato*), or their place of consumption, as opposed to their company, or place of occupation (production).

The explicit policy of creating stronger ties between the team and the "hometown" was first outlined for prospective J.League teams in 1991:

> 1. *Each team would be independent from its parent company*
> 2. *A "home town" system would create ties with place and community rather than company*
> 3. *Each team would have a stadium with a minimum capacity of 15,000.*
> 4. *Each team would organize under-18, under-15 and other youth teams and opportunities.*
> 5. *Each team would have qualified coaches.*
> 6. *Each team would share the costs of establishing the league, advertising and administrative costs.*
> 7. *The J.League would retain rights to matches, sponsorship, television and merchandising.* (Nogawa and Maeda 1999:228).

A clear illustration that founder J.League member Nagoya Grampus Eight subscribed to the social engineering ideals of decentralization, boosting local community spirit and local economic development is outlined in their "Team Charter," which states:

> *We, the members of Nagoya Grampus Eight, hereby pledge the following in our capacity as true professional sportsmen. 1. We will strive to become the best team in Japan as well as develop our abilities to reach the level of world class professional soccer. 2. We will always strive to play fair to serve as a model for all persons involved in sports. 3. We will always strive to achieve the highest level of ability to give the maximum excitement to our fans. 4. We will always strive to be in top physical condition to allow us to demonstrate our capabilities to the fullest. 5. We will endeavor to promote the dreams and hopes of the local community to serve as a bridge that connects those residents with the rest of the world.* (Nagoya Grampus Eight Information 1998:2).

Projections of the value of the J.League market proved to be too conservative in the first two seasons as a "sakka būmu" (soccer boom) developed. Sales of J.League goods also exceeded most predictions. In its first year more than US$300 million worth of J.League items were sold by Sony Creative Products,

the J.League stimulated 1 million new subscribers to Fuji Bank, and snack food manufacturers sold millions of J.League related items (Stoddart 1997: 95). Consumption is at the heart of economics and culture in late capitalism, and sports are a staple product. However, commercial and corporate interests were not allowed to exploit the commercial opportunities in professional J.League football in quite the same way as professional baseball in Japan. Broadcasting rights were handled on behalf of teams by the J.League, not by individual teams.

The J.League was a phenomenal success in the first three seasons. In 1993, with a total of 180 matches, the average attendance was nearly 18,000 per game. In 1994, with an expanded league and 264 games, the average attendance grew to a remarkable 19,598. With yet another expansion to 14 teams and 364 games in 1995 attendance figures started to drop - to 16,922 per game. The fall continued in 1996 (13,353) and reached its lowest point in 1997 at 10,131. Live attendances at Japanese Major League (JML) professional baseball matches, in comparison, remained relatively stable. Divided into two leagues (Central and Pacific) JML baseball involves 260 games per season. Although attendance figures are swollen by the presence of the hugely popular Yomiuri Giants, whose average attendance per home game was 53,864 in 1995 and 53,800 in 1996, in 1995 average baseball attendances were 28,153, in 1996 27,050 and in 1997 28,900. Professional baseball can still claim to be the most popular spectator sport in Japan (*J.League Guide* 1997:86; *Japan Almanac* 1996:268; *Japan Almanac 1997*:276; *Japan Almanac* 1998:276; *World Soccer* October 1997:67; *World Soccer* February 1998:41).

Although the J.League suffered a considerable decline in average crowd sizes after the initial "soccer boom," and in the 1997 season average attendances dropped by over 3,000 from the previous year, there was a rebound in 1998, with the creation of playoffs to see who stayed in J1, the added incentive for all J.League teams to play for maximum points in order to avoid relegation to the 2nd Division, and with qualification for the FIFA World Cup in France by the national team. However, towards the end of 1998 serious economic problems began to emerge for some of the J.League teams. Although it is not easy to obtain a clear picture of the finances of J.League teams, a number of points can be made. First, all media contracts are negotiated by the J.League on behalf of its member teams, and so each club's income is derived from gate money, individual sponsorship deals and the J.League redistribution of any surplus generated during the year. Yet the surplus amount available for redistribution by the J.League halved between 1994 and 1998 (*Nihon keizai shimbun* November 21 1998:3). Second, the impact of the *Heisei recession* began to be felt by some club sponsors. This was the main reason why Yokohama Flugels was forced to merge with the other Yokohama based team, Marinos, at the beginning of 1999. All three

of the main sponsors involved with the two clubs, All Nippon Airways (ANA) and contractor Sato Kogyo Co. (Flugels) and Nissan (Marinos), suffered poor financial results. From February 1999 Sato Kogyo withdrew completely and the combined team, Marinos F., were 70% owned by Nissan and 30% by ANA (*The Nikkei Weekly* 2 November 1998:7). At the same time Verdy Kawasaki also lost their main sponsor, the huge media corporation Yomiuri. Now sponsored by a Yomiuri subsidiary, Nippon TV, Verdy have plans to return to a stadium in Tokyo where the majority of their supporters live. A third factor contributing to the economic problems facing J.League teams has been the tendency to pay vast salaries to a few foreign and even fewer Japanese players. Profligate spending has had to be capped (*World Soccer* April 1999:10).

In Europe, since the 1990s, television income has become the greatest force in the football economy (*World Soccer* June 2000:22). Is television the main economic driver of football in Japan as it is in Europe? As long as the J.League retains control of the dispersal of television revenues, clubs will not be able to develop as the leading European football clubs and JBL baseball teams have. Yet in the competition between cable and terrestrial television companies and satellite TV companies in Japan, football once again appears to play an important role in providing attractive content. Rupert Murdoch's News International Corporation devoted more energy to dominating global television sport in the 1990s than any of the other leading media corporations (Herman & McChesney 1997:75). In Japan, News International has launched Sky PerfecTV. Following the growth of interest created by the signing of Nanami Hiroshi and Nakata Hidetoshi to Italian professional clubs, Sky PerfecTV secured exclusive rights to broadcast the Italian Serie A games. In addition Sky PerfecTV has exclusive rights to English Premier League games in Japan. In December 1999 Sky PerfecTV had 1.59 million subscribers, compared with 386,000 for its nearest rival, DirecTV (*Nikkei Weekly*, 10 January 2000:9). These two companies have subsequently agreed to integrate their business (*Nikkei Weekly*, 22 May 2000, p.2). An important test for the J.League up to, and perhaps especially after, the next World Cup in 2002, will be to match the quality of imported, televised, football action from the major leagues in Europe and South America.

Conclusions: The distinctiveness of professional football in Japan

Until recently football has not been prominent in Japan. Football *as practice* has been part of a submerged sports culture. It was long played in schools, but no longstanding spectator tradition has existed. Football has also been

associated with the Korean ethnic minority in Japan. According to Nogawa and Maeda (1999) the separate Korean schools have provided a powerhouse of football talent since the 1980s. This association will remain irrespective of what happens to soccer in Japan after the 2002 World Cup Finals. Football has also tended to be ignored diplomatically. From the beginning of the twentieth century, Japanese elites favored baseball as the modern sport through which to strengthen cultural nationalism (Roden 1980). Now, through the J.League and the 2002 World Cup Finals, football *as spectacle* is becoming part of Japanese popular culture.

Most academic studies of sport in Japan written in English have tended to focus on the cultural distinctiveness of sport (see for example, Whiting 1976 and 1989, on baseball). I take a view closer in sympathy with what McCargo (2000:1-6) calls "revisionists" in studying the social development of Japan. From this perspective conflicting and cross cutting interests are seen as responsible for the development of sport in any country (Gruneau 1983 1993; Hargreaves 1986). In the case of Japan the state and business have taken a lead, whilst other institutional interests, such as education, medicine and the military, have also been influential in the shaping of sport and body culture more generally. The specificity of the development of sport in Japan is to be found by understanding the balance between these professional and sectoral interests at different moments, as much as any simple cultural distinctiveness (Manzenreiter 1999).

In broad outline we suggest that there have been three phases connecting modern sport and political and economic power in Japan: (i) Pacific imperialism (1890s-1940s); (ii) modernization (1950s - 1970s); and (iii) internationalization and Pacific regionalism (1980s - present). Each of these periods contains moments symptomatic of the development of modern sport in Japan. The defeat of a US team at baseball in 1896, the success of the Japanese swimmers at the 1932 Olympics in Los Angeles, and the selection of Tokyo as host for the 1940 Olympics stand out in the first phase. The growth of televised baseball, wrestling, and sumo and the hosting of the 1964 Summer Olympics which marked the reentry of Japan into capitalist modernity, are features of the second phase. It can be argued that the launch of the J.League and the growing involvement of Japan in the "World's Game" (Murray 1996, Horne and Manzenreiter 2002) mark developments in a third phase of connecting modern sport and political and economic power in Japan.

The development of the J.League has not only been a state strategy alone but has also been motivated by other interests—local and international capital, local authorities, and even consumer research. Despite setbacks, there are

some positive signs in the growth of the J.League. In 1997 there were 492,422 under-15 participants in high school football (*Sports Graphic Number* December 1998:63). While levels of support in the J.League have fallen from the heights of 1994 and 1995, average attendance figures around 10,000 are quite reasonable. It is clear that soccer has acquired some dedicated and well-informed fans, and not just consumers of soccer as fashion (see Birchall 2000 for an interesting, if at times "culturalist," account of football fandom in Japan). Nor is the J.League simply serving as a repository for foreign players at the end of their career. Several players who had returned to Brazilian clubs after spells in the J.League took part in the first World Club Championship finals held in Brazil in January 2000. An important source of support for interest in the game in Japan will continue to be the careers of Japanese players in the European and South American leagues. Most notable at present is Nakata Hidetoshi playing in Italy's Serie A. Whether this success will help a few individuals to prosper at the expense of the J.League teams as a whole remains to be seen. Perhaps it is ominous that Shonan Bellmare, the new name for Nakata's former club Bellmare Hiratsuka, sought new sponsors following relegation at the end of 1999 and in the 2000 season, they wore shirts advertising his personal web site address, Nakata.net (*World Soccer*, April 2000:74).

At the national level the quality of Japanese football is showing signs of improvement. Despite a poor display by the national team in the qualifying round of the World Cup finals in France in 1998, in 1999 the under-20 team gained a second-place silver medal in the World Youth tournament and the under-23 team has secured a place at the Olympic Games in Sydney. The launch of a soccer lottery run by the Ministry of Education in 2001 and the co-hosting of the World Cup in 2002, and the team's strong showing in advancing through have assisted this further.

Herman and McChesney (1997:75) note that "'the sure fire winners' in global television are news, animation, and sports." They also note that the global communications market continues to be roiled by the digital revolution, which eliminates the technological barriers that have divided media from telecommunications and both from computers and information. The ultimate shape of the global media will be determined by the fate of global telecommunications and computers. In Britain the announcement of a £30 million shirt sponsorship deal, the largest in the sport's history, between Manchester United and telecommunications giant Vodaphone is a powerful case of the growing convergence of the new media with sport (*The Guardian* 12 February 2000).

Pursuing the question of the balance between football *as practice* and *as spectacle* requires more research into the reception and consumption of

football in specific locations, including Japan. A focus on the production of *spectacle* emphasizes the economic dimensions of football. But all such studies recognize that to understand the meaning of football *as practice* (including the consumption of spectacles) it is also necessary to conduct ethnographic studies of institutions and lived experience.

_____

Endnotes

[1] The earliest significant mention of football involves Commander Douglas of the British Royal Navy, who is recorded as playing and teaching football in a navy school in Tokyo in 1873. Abe and Mangan (1997:194) note that football featured in the curriculum of several elementary schools by 1893. From 1900 football was taught at the Tokyo Teachers Training College and played by some students at Tokyo University. In 1917 the Japanese Amateur Sports Association (JASA) was formed under the control of the Ministry of Education as an umbrella organisation for all sports. The English Football Association presented a trophy to Japan in 1919, assuming that it would become the equivalent of the English F.A. Cup, but it was not until 1921 that the Japan Football Association (JFA) was actually formed. Consistent with the attempt to establish itself as the leading sports country in Asia, the JFA joined FIFA in 1929 and Japan entered the Olympic Games football championship at the Berlin Olympiad in 1936. The Japanese team defeated Sweden 3-2 in one match, with a side that included one Korean. In the same year, the team *All Seoul* won the Emperor's Cup, the name given to the trophy donated by the English FA after the Emperor had attended a match. Football was also played at the Meiji Games but the cup donated by the English FA was eventually requisitioned by the military in the late 1930s. After the war football was reintroduced into the school curriculum during the US Occupation, while other traditional sports and physical activities remained proscribed. The JFA rejoined FIFA in 1950 and joined the newly formed Asian Football Confederation (AFC) in 1954. In the same year Japan entered the FIFA World Cup qualifying competition for the first time and played the Republic of Korea (ROK) twice. Japan was defeated 5-1 and drew 2-2, with both matches played in Tokyo. This established a pattern whereby ROK teams would regularly beat the former colonizer at soccer, whilst losing at baseball. The 1960s were a very important decade for the growth of soccer in Japan. A German coach, Dettmar Cramer, was appointed as manager of the national team in 1960. In November of that year the team was defeated yet again by Korea in a World Cup qualifying game played in Seoul, 2-1. Yet in 1964, at the Tokyo Olympics, the Japanese team reached the quarter-finals of the football competition having beaten Argentina 3-2. In 1965 the "Japan Soccer League" (JSL), featuring company teams, was launched. Initially there were large attendances at what was essentially a form of

industrial recreational welfare. It was the first proper national football league. Three years later a further success saw Japan take the bronze medal (third place) and the "fair play" award at the Mexico Summer Olympics in 1968. During the 1970s there was a failure to capitalize on the developments in the previous decade, although interest in soccer was sustained for the dedicated supporters through the JSL and the hosting of international events such as the FIFA World Youth Championships (1979). In 1981 the first Intercontinental Cup match (known in Japan as the "Toyota Cup" after the sponsors) between the leading European and South American club sides was held in Tokyo. Having failed to qualify for the Mexico World Cup in 1986 a committee was established to consider the development of professional football in Japan, a decision which led to the establishment of the first Japanese Professional Soccer League–the J.League–in 1993.

_____

References

Abe Ikuo and J. A. Mangan (1997) "The British Impact on Boys' Sports and Games in Japan: An Introductory Survey," *The International Journal of the History of Sport* 14(2): 187-199.

Armstrong, Gary and Richard Giulianotti, editors (1999a) *Football Cultures and Identities*, London: Macmillan.

---- (1999b) "Introduction." In Gary Armstrong and Richard Giulianotti (editors), *Football Cultures and Identities*, London: Macmillan.

Bourdieu, Pierre (1999) "The State, Economics and Sport," In Hugh Dauncey and Geoff Hare (editors), *France and the 1998 World Cup*, London: Frank Cass.

Birchall, Jonathan (2000) *Ultra Nippon: How Japan Reinvented Football*, London: Headline.

Clammer, John (1997) *Contemporary Urban Japan: A Sociology of Consumption*, Oxford: Blackwell.

Finn, Gerry and Richard Giulianotti, editors (2000) *Football Culture: Local Contests, Global Visions*. London, Frank Cass.

Garland, Jon, Dominic Malcolm, and Mike Rowe, editors (2000) *The Future of Football: Challenges for the Twenty-First Century*, London, Frank Cass.

Giulianotti, Richard (1999) *Football: A Sociology of The Global Game*. Cambridge: Polity Press.

Gruneau, Richard (1983) *Class, Sports and Social Development*, Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press.

Guttmann, Allen and Lee Thompson (2001) *Japanese Sport: A History*. Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press.

Hamil, Sean, Jonathan Michie, and Christine Oughton, editors (1999) *A Game of Two Halves?* Edinburgh: Mainstream.

Hamil, Sean, Jonathan Michie, Christine Oughton, and Steven Warby, editors (2000) *Football in the Digital Age?* Edinburgh: Mainstream.

Hargreaves, John (1986) *Sport, Power and Culture*. Cambridge: Polity Press.

Herman, Edward S. and Robert W. McChesney (1997) *The Global Media: The New Missionaries of Global Capitalism*. London: Cassell.

Horne, John (1996) "'Sakka' in Japan," *Media, Culture & Society* 18(4): 527-547.

---- (1998a) "Understanding Leisure Time and Leisure Space in Contemporary Japanese Society," *Leisure Studies* 17(1): 37-52.

---- (1998b) "The Contemporary Politics of Sport and Leisure in Japan: Global Power and Local Resistance," *International Review for the Sociology of Sport* 33(2): 171-182.

---- (1999) "Soccer in Japan: Is Wa All You Need?" *Culture, Sport, Society* 2(3): 212-229.

---- (2000) "Understanding Sport and Body Culture in Japan," *Body and Society* 6(2):73-86.

Horne, John and David Jary (1994) "Japan and the World Cup - Asia's First World Cup Finals Hosts?" In John Sugden and Alan Tomlinson (editors), *Hosts and Champions: Soccer Cultures, National Identities and the World Cup*. Aldershot, England: Arena, 161-182.

Horne, John and Wolfram Manzenreiter, editors (2000) *Japan, Korea and the 2002 World Cup*. London and New York: Routledge.

J.League Guide 1997 (1997) Tokyo.

Japan Almanac 1997 (1996) Tokyo: Asahi Shimbun Publishing.

Japan Almanac 1998 (1997) Tokyo: Asahi Shimbun Publishing.

Japan Almanac 1999 (1998) Tokyo: Asahi Shimbun Publishing.

Jung, Koo-Chul (1996) *Erziehung und Sport in Korea*. Koeln: Sport und Buch Strauss.

Kawabuchi, S. (1993) "The J.League's Chairman Speaks of his Goals," *Japan Echo* 20 (4):78-81.

Kelly, William W. (2000) "The Spirit and Spectacle of School Baseball: Mass Media, Statemaking, and 'Edu-tainment' in Japan, 1905-1935,." In Umesao Tadao, William W. Kelly, and Kubo Masatoshi (editors), *Japanese Civilization in the Modern World XIV: Information and Communication*. Senri Ethnological Studies No. 52. Osaka: National Museum of Ethnology, 105-116.

King, Anthony (1998) *The End of the Terraces: The Transformation of English Football in the 1990s*. London: Leicester University Press.

Linhart, Sepp and Sabine Frühstück, editors (1998) *The Culture of Japan as Seen Through its Leisure*. Albany, New York: State University of New York Press.

Manzenreiter, Wolfram (1999) "Some Considerations on the Institutionalization of Modern Sport in Japan," unpublished paper presented at the Japan Anthropology Workshop (JAWS) Conference, Suita, Japan, March.

McCargo, Duncan (2000) *Contemporary Japan*, London: Macmillan.

Moorhouse, Bert (1998) "Ending Traditions: Football and the Study of Football in the 1990s," *The International Journal of the History of Sport* 15(1):227-231.

Morrow, Stephen (1999) *The New Business of Football*. London: Macmillan.

Murray, Bill (1996) *The World's Game: A History of Soccer*. Urbana: University of Illinois Press.

Nagoya Grampus Eight (no date) *Information*. Nagoya: Nagoya Grampus Eight

Nogawa Haruo and Maeda Hiroko (1999) "The Japanese Dream: Soccer Culture Towards the New Millennium." In Gary Armstrong and Richard Giulianotti (editors) *Football Cultures and Identities*, London: Macmillan, 223-233.

Robertson, Jennifer (1998) *Takarazuka: Sexual Politics and Popular Culture in Modern Japan*. Berkeley: University of California Press.

Roden, Donald (1980) "Baseball and the Quest for National Dignity in Meiji Japan," *American Historical Review* 85(3): 511-34.

Stoddart, Brian (1997) "Convergence: Sport on the Information Superhighway," *Journal of Sport and Social Issues* 21(1): 93-102.

Sugden, John and Alan Tomlinson (1998) *FIFA and the Contest for World Football*. Cambridge: Polity Press.

---- (1999) *Great Balls of Fire*. Edinburgh: Mainstream.

Szymanski, Stefan and Tim Kuypers (1999) *Winners and Losers*. London: Viking.

Tobin, Joseph, editor (1992) *Re-made in Japan*. New Haven: Yale University Press.

Twigger, Robert (1997) *Angry White Pyjamas: An Oxford Poet Trains with the Tokyo Riot Police*. London: Indigo Books.

Watts, Jonathan (1998) "Soccer *shinhatsubai*. What Are the Japanese Consumers Making of the J.League?" In D. P. Martinez (editor), *The Worlds of Japanese Popular Culture: Gender, Shifting Boundaries And Global Cultures*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 181-201.

Whiting, Robert (1976) *The Chrysanthemum and the Bat*. New York: Dodd, Mead & Co.

---- (1989) *You Gotta Have Wa*. New York: Vintage Books.

Williams, John (1999) *Is It All Over? Can Football Survive the Premier League?* Reading: South Street Press.

Men at Work or Boys of Summer? Professional Baseball as Workplace in Contemporary Japan

William W. Kelly

To Americans, baseball is all about enjoyment and sudden surprises; of spectacular hits, dexterous fielding and cheeky running between the bases... To the Japanese, yakyū (field ball) is seen to this day as a martial art to be practised remorselessly to perfection and then grimly executed with the sole purpose of crushing one's opponent. (The Economist 1996).

One of the sillier contrasts of professional baseball in the US and in Japan is the claim that the Japanese athletes are grim "men at work" whereas we Americans are the spirited "boys of summer." *The Economist* of London is hardly alone in disparaging the Japanese "workaholic" sportsmen, whose relentless effort, self-sacrifice, and exacting discipline turns even play into work, while imaging that American professional athletes, fun-loving "playboys," retain a truly ludic sporting spirit.

Even in the U.S., of course, many baseball analysts and fans readily recognize the sport is a business, a big business. The "boys of summer" was Roger Kahn's famous characterization of the Brooklyn Dodgers (1972), but "men at work" was the title of George Will's equally compelling 1991 book of baseball essays. The umpire may shout "play ball!" but the owners and players are always thinking "pay ball." In truth, one must be deeply lost in the "field of dreams" to misrecognize that most sports—in Japan, in America, throughout the modern world—have been commercialized in one form or another for a long time, that many modern sports have also been thoroughly commodified and packaged for and by mass media, and most of the major "spectator sports" have been professionalized. These three trends are all related, though distinguishable, transformations—or deformations—of sporting practices, and they are certainly true for baseball wherever it is played.

In truth, Japanese and American ballplayers are both ball-workers, but I would insist nonetheless that there is a subtle difference in how baseball tends to be regarded as a business in the two countries. When academics and journalists (and fans) analyze the business of baseball in the U.S., they usually look at the economics of the sport: such matters as team ownership, television broadcast

contracts, stadium finance deals, free agency, salary caps, and contract clauses. However, I do think that they are less inclined than Japanese spectators and commentators to consider baseball teams as workplaces and baseball clubs as work organizations. Our propensity for euphemisms like "home team" and "ball club" masks this workplace reality.[1]

The premise of this chapter is that Japanese understandings of baseball as a professional sport are built around a clearer recognition that baseball teams *are* workplaces, that they are constructed socially of work relations and ideologically of work authority claims. Japanese ballplayers are literally "men at work" and not just working men. My argument that follows from this premise is organized around four main questions, which I will develop in the following sections:

- First, if baseball is a place of work in Japan, just what kind of a workplace is it? My claim here it is that an effort is made to construct it as a corporate workplace.

- When and why did this happen? There isn't an inbred Japanese propensity to organize the sport this way, despite the common claims of such a national character. Rather, I argue, at a particular historical moment, the *mid- to late 1960s*, there was a conjunction of developments in the Japanese political economy and in the fortunes of a particular team, the Yomiuri Giants, within the baseball world that brought this organizational image to the fore.

- Thirdly, I want to consider how successful the powers-that-be have been in packaging baseball in this corporate way—and my argument will be that they are *not very successful*, for a number of reasons that I will try to enumerate, including some particular to baseball in Japan and others generic to the sport.

- And finally, I want to consider what audiences created by this sport make of this thoroughly compromised organizational form. What I will suggest is that they often read against the grain. One of the fascinations of baseball fans is in savoring the gaps between the corporate image mongering and a more complex, occasionally sordid reality of team life and player careers. In this sense, I conclude, *baseball is a kind of living "salaryman comic,"* although the medium for this counter-reading is not the comics themselves but the national daily sports newspapers.

If baseball is a place of work in Japan, what kind of a workplace is it?

The twelve teams in the two leagues that have made up professional baseball in Japan since the early 1950s are structured within and by the corporate world.[2] Eleven of the twelve are wholly owned by major corporations, particularly media, retail, and rail transportation companies. They are almost all named for their corporate owners, not for the cities in which they play—thus, the Hanshin Tigers and not the Osaka Tigers, the Orix BlueWave and not the Kobe Blue-Wave, the Nippon Ham Fighters and not the Tokyo Fighters, and so on.

And the teams themselves are large organizations. Consider, for example, the Hanshin Tigers.[3] In 1999, the team roster carried 69 players, divided into the first squad (of 28) and a second, or "farm," squad of 41. Each squad had a manager, ten coaches, three trainers, and several batting practice pitchers and catchers. Thus, there were about 100 persons among the field players and personnel. In addition, the Hanshin "front office," the club's management and support staff, had about 65 employees, whose duties ranged from administration to accounting, marketing, player development, and press relations. This front office was organized in a familiar corporate hierarchy of several divisions (*bu*), which were subdivided into departments (*ka*), which often further divided into small sections (*kakari*). In effect, then, to get nine players on the field to start each game, the Tigers baseball club has become a large organization of over 160 employees.

Moreover, the Hanshin Tigers club is itself embedded in an even larger corporate structure. In Japanese business shorthand, the club is a "child company" (*kogaisha*),or wholly-owned subsidiary, of a "parent company," the Hanshin Electric Railroad Corporation. The parent company name recalls its original business, operating a commuter railroad between Osaka and Kobe, but it now controls a family of businesses, including department store retailing, travel agencies, air transport, land development, taxi companies, and leisure park operations in addition to the railroad. Even baseball-related operations are distributed among a set of subsidiaries—the Tigers ball team of course, but also a stadium management company, a horticulture and grounds keeping company, a security company, and a goods and concessions company—all under the control of the parent corporation.

In a monograph in preparation, I describe some of the day-to-day operations of the club—on the practice field, in the front office, and in relations with the parent company. Here, I will merely assert that these work routines would seem quite familiar to any observer of Japanese corporate life. They include such matters as:

- the chain of command and its expressions (for example, the first team manager receives daily phone reports from the farm team manager and oral reports from the first team head coach; the first team manager meets with the club president, who in turn reports each Monday to the parent company CEO, who serves as team "owner")
- the structure and tenor of meetings (meetings are frequent, written-agenda driven, exhaustive discussions to flush out and cool out opposition or reservations and broaden responsibility)
- budget and accounting practices (which are adopted from and are linked to main office)

In these and other ways, then, Hanshin and professional baseball more generally has been "corporatized" as a workplace. By this I mean that not just corporate ownership and marketing but also organizational templates and ideologies of competence, status, and authority have come to inflect the social relations of the ballparks and the ball clubs.

When did the professional baseball workplace become corporatized?

However, work relations in Japanese professional baseball haven't always been so corporatized. This is my second point. What we see today is not yet another manifestation of a collectivist instinct that some people think is the dominant chromosome in the national gene pool. Of course, professional baseball, by definition, has always been work. "Occupational baseball" (*shokugyō yakyū*) was the original term for the league when it was formed in 1936, and the organizational initiative came from major companies in Tokyo, Osaka, and Nagoya. From the start, teams were owned and operated under corporate aegis.

But it wasn't until the particular conditions of the late 1960s and early 1970s that corporate-style baseball became the dominant form. This was when the game and the business of the game were fundamentally reshaped by one team, the Yomiuri Giants, and its parent company, Yomiuri, during the team's unprecedented reign as national champion for nine consecutive years, from 1965 to 1973. The so-called "V-9" Giants were led by two of the greatest players ever, Oh Sadaharu and Nagashima Shigeo, and their popularity was assured by the backing of the Yomiuri companies, the most powerful news and entertainment organization in the country. The V-9 Giants were managed by Kawakami Tetsuharu, who had been known during his player years as the

"god of hitting." As manager, Kawakami quickly became famous for a style of authoritarian leadership called "managed baseball" (*kanri yakyū*). He demanded (or at least, appeared to demand) iron discipline, arduous practices, stolid teamwork, a conservative playing strategy.

The V-9 Giants totally dominated the league and thoroughly reshaped the image of professional baseball. Even that was not enough, however. By coincidence, the Giants preeminence precisely mapped the postwar economy's double-digit growth years that catapulted the country to the first rank of industrial powers. In the aftermath of the 1964 Tokyo Olympics, during the boom years of the government's "double-your-income" policies, through the national crises of the Nixon Shocks and the first Oil Crisis of 1974, the Giants were a lightening rod for national prestige and patriotic pride.

Yomiuri went to great effort to package and present the team as supremely talented, tautly disciplined, and relentlessly efficient. The Giants' success was celebrated as a powerful synecdoche for the confident, industrious society and competitive, resurgent economy that Japan saw itself becoming. And indeed, seemingly directed by a marshal-general-like manager and a full complement of staff-officer coaches, the Giants projected a player image and a playing style that was coordinated, committed, and collective.

The point is that this image was deliberately portrayed to resonate powerfully with and to serve as testimony to a larger business image, which came to called "Japan-style management." That is, this same moment, the mid- to late 1960s, was precisely the period when business people and commentators began to revise the image of "the Japanese company system," not as an inefficient, tradition-bound anachronism but as a Japanese accomplishment and an effective positive alternative to Western corporate forms and distinctive. What Japanese and foreign commentators alike had disparaged as inefficient primordial rigidities were now being spun into a potent and prescient "Confucian corporatism" that would be a new standard for late-capitalist organization. The key features of this form of economic organization were touted as building strength through solidarity:

- full-career employment (creating a sense of mutual fate)
- bottom-up entry by school leavers (not lateral mid-career shifts)
- hiring by general educational credentials (not specific skills)
- pay and promotion by seniority (these were age-grade societies)
- career development management, extensive in-service training, and provision of a panoply of social services by the company

The Giants epitomized how tempting a venue was professional baseball for performing such corporate-style authority and exacting exemplary discipline. And many other clubs and their parent companies were led to introduce similar changes in club organization, with more or less enthusiasm and with more or less success. This was corporate-style authority and corporate prestige explicitly invested in and demonstrated through the subsidiary ball clubs.

The difficulties of performing corporate-style baseball

And yet, over time it has proven very difficult to perform corporate-style baseball despite the institutional and ideological commitment to securing such demonstration effects. The reason, I believe, is that baseball has a number of features, some particular to Japan and some more generic to the professional sport, which put great strain on corporate-style authority claims. I will briefly enumerate some of these features to suggest just how difficult it is in fact to control the "demonstration effects" of baseball.

Factors specific to Japanese baseball

One might first point to the personnel structure of Japanese clubs, which we might expect to value features showcased as Japanese-style corporate employment, such as seniority, long service, career development, pyramidal authority structures, and educational credentials. A closer look reveals conditions quite different from conventional corporate employment and harmony. What I have learned from observing a baseball organization like Hanshin is that it is an often contentious combination of "suits" and "uniforms," the 65-member business-suited front office and the 100-member uniformed team. Salary negotiations, scouting, trade and draft strategies, practice schedules, travel arrangements, foreign player recruitment, media relations policy, marketing—in countless issues, a fault line opens over who should have greater authority to decide and what is the proper basis for decisions: those in uniforms with baseball credentials or those in business suits with educational seniority? Physical ability and baseball smarts are seldom congruent with educational credentials, and such issues seldom yield a simple division of responsibility and expertise between field and front.

This rift is aggravated by inversions of salary and public recognition. The players, who would be the ordinaries (*hira shain)* in an office hierarchy, and the manager are accorded, obviously, far more public attention and paid far more in

salary than their "superiors" in the front office (and even parent company). All of this produces endless, mutual recriminations and derogatory back-and-forth.

As if that doesn't set in motion sufficient office politics, the front office and the team are not united against the other. Rather, each is further subdivided against itself by conditions of employment. The front office in fact includes four different types of employees:

- permanent employees of the parent company who are sent down on assignment for 2-5 years (often in budget and financial supervisory positions)
- permanent employees of the ball club subsidiary (some of whom are ex-players and others are have no player experience)
- yearly employees of the ball club (including some clericals, equipment managers, and junior trainers)
- seasonal employees of ball club (for fan service and other in-season jobs)

The effect of these multiple statuses is to produce (or rather reproduce) within the front office the broader antagonisms between parent company and subsidiary and between authority claims to business sense and to baseball smarts.

In contrast, the team itself has a common feature: everyone is on an annual contract. [Unusually, in 1997-1998, the manager and two star players did have two-year contracts, but the other 98 players and coaches were on eleven-month contracts.] By law, Japanese pro players and coaches are independent contractors, and as such every year they must negotiate salaries with the club. And as independent contractors, they have no pension or other company benefits.[4] Loyalty and commitment must be revalidated each year in November and December, and players are not legally members of their team in December and January. [Importantly, through a reserve clause, the baseball teams have exclusive rights to their players for nine years, which is an effective hold over most players for their entire professional career.]

A second deviation from the large-corporate norm is in personnel recruitment. It is true that like many major workplaces, baseball players almost always enter the team from the bottom up, as rookies, but several factors conspire to complicate the evaluation and testing of talent.[5] First, there is a rigid barrier between amateur and pro baseball in Japan, and there are no minor leagues to weed out and to train potential talent out of the limelight of the major clubs. There is a very small pool of professional-level players anyway, and each club only signs four to eight rookies each year out of high school, college, and in-

dustrial leagues (compare this to the average US professional club, which drafts 45-50 players a year!). Fierce competition has led to a salary structure that pays exorbitant signing bonuses of $1 – $1.5 million to untried teenagers.

Thirdly, under such workplace conditions, even baseball team managers can find it difficult to carry off their supposedly unchallenged authority, belying our common image of the Japanese manager as a "warlord" figure of absolute authority and reverence. Clubs find it desirable, of course, to have a manager with demonstrated organizational and motivational skills and a keen strategic sense, but there are few testing grounds to identify such talents (there no minor leagues, and pro teams cannot hire from the amateur ranks). And clubs also have a strong incentive to hire a high-profile famous ex-player (to encode seniority in a large coaching staff, to insure the respect of players, and to gain name recognition for the parent company). The problem is that playing prowess rarely translates directly into managerial leadership, and managers actually vary widely in effectiveness as team leaders. Moreover, their warlord image is further undermined by the presence of a front office and parent company. In larger organizational terms, the manager is really just a high-level department or division head.

Factors generic to baseball

The institutional context that has characterized Japanese baseball since the mid-1970s is exacerbated by factors that at least some readers will readily anticipate as generic to baseball as a sport and even to the problematics of professionalizing—let alone corporatizing—any sport. Still other factors are generic to baseball, but work particularly on undermining the distinctive patterns of authority in the Japanese context.

(1) Hierarchies in sports organization are frequently undermined by the non-congruence of talent and seniority. The 69 Hanshin players on the 1999 team ranged in age from 19 to 36, in years of pro experience from 0 to 14 years, in salary from $40,000 to $1.5 million a year, and in performance by a similarly enormous variance. But age, experience, pay, and performance record do not correlate positively. In fact, they often vary quite independently of one another; the older players are not always the higher-paid, the higher-paid players do not always perform better, etc.

(2) The job performance of a player is publicly visible and precisely measured. Professional baseball raises workplace surveillance to a level that other corporate executives can scarcely imagine! There are no other company employees

who work every day in front of 55,000 spectators intent on following their every move and about whose performance some twenty separate statistical indicators are calibrated and recorded—and published daily in newspapers with circulations in the millions and followed and debated endlessly by the spectators.

(3) Baseball is a "profession," but it is often a short and insecure career. Baseball players may have longer careers than female clerical-technical staff (OLs) of Japanese companies, but few last beyond their early 30's. In 1998, the average age of the 69 Tiger players was 27, and there were only four of them who were 35 years old or older. The contemporary situation matches the long-term historical trends, as Figure 1 demonstrates. Nearly 50% of all Hanshin pitchers from 1936-1999 (93 of 188) were registered on the first team for only one or two years, and nearly 40% of non-pitcher Hanshin players (162 of 412) failed to last more than two years during the same period. Moreover, there is less player movement among Japanese teams than in the American Major Leagues, but it is still more than one might think. In 1998, 11 of the 69 players were traded or otherwise signed from other Japanese teams, and with new foreign players and rookies, fully 21 of the 69 were on the roster for the first time.
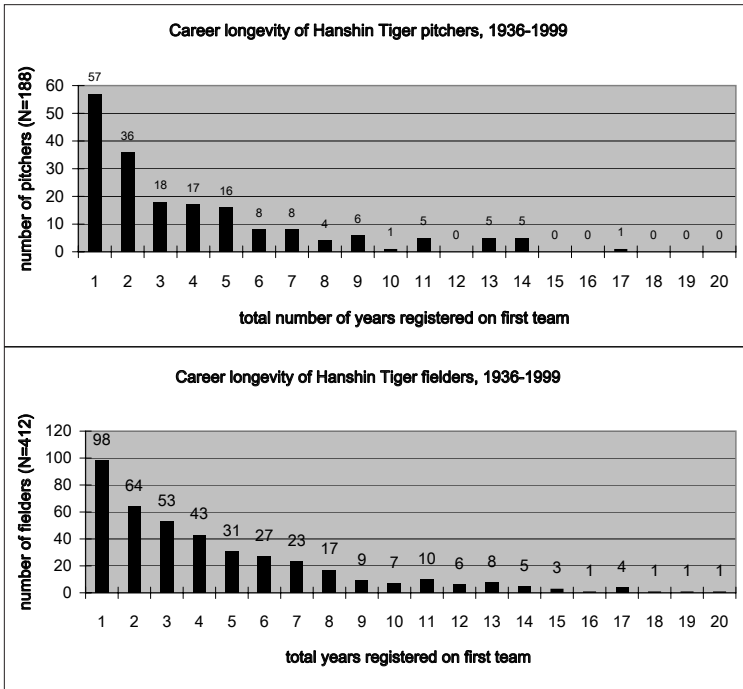

Figure 1. Career longevity of Hanshin Tigers players, 1936-1999.

Even pay controverts the Japanese corporate model of steady upward increments. Given the careful measurement of performance, salaries are adjusted annually at contract time. Of the 55 salaries for returning players in 1998, less than half (25 players) were given raises, ranging from 5% to 250%. Eighteen players were forced to accept salary reductions (of 5% to 40%) and another twelve were signed at the same amount as the previous year. [And for the Tigers, the December salary negotiations themselves are reported daily in many of their often messy details.]

Furthermore, the risk of injury creates unpredictability for the organization's human resource planning. In 1998 the Tigers' pitching staff was decimated by unexpected injuries in the early season that left it floundering in the cellar and several of the pitchers with career-ending conditions.

Where does one go at the end of such a short career and in a labor market in which prestige jobs are in "real" corporate sites that permit little lateral, mid-career entry? Some are kept on (a big name player might move into the coaching ranks and a few others of average performance but who had conveyed the proper attitude are kept as bullpen pitchers, scouts, clubhouse secretaries, etc. Most, however, are simply let go to make their way in a labor market rather indifferent to their experience. In this regard, I suppose, the clubs are not much different than their parent companies, which may offer plush second-career sinecures to a few top executives and arrange less attractive positions for some at lower ranks, but which end their "lifetime" commitment to most employees with a severance retirement package.

(4) The persistence of failure undermines authority. Another challenge to authority in such sporting complexes is what we may identify as "the problem of failure"—at least the failure to win. The odds against winning consistently in a team sport like baseball are high. In every contest, obviously, half the players are losers. In every season, only one team will emerge as champion, and all others end in defeat. Now coping with consistent failure is a much more complicated issue than I can discuss here, but suffice it to remark the obvious—that the specter of losing in such frequent, highly visible, and easily quantifiable fashion puts considerable strain on authority claims. There are ways of deflecting attention, but it is one more reminder of how hard the powerful must work to remain dominant.

(5) The artisanal nature of baseball skills works against corporate authority. Finally, let me point out yet another quality of the sport that renders authority vulnerable and limits regimentation—the artisanal nature of baseball work. Unlike the Japanese corporate preference hiring a generalist workforce, base-

ball is rigidly positional. It favors bundles of specialty skills—pitchers, for instance, but among that category, right-handers and left-handers; starters, long relievers, sport relievers, and closers; power pitchers and finesse pitchers. All skills must be honed through constant repetition, and certain fundamentals are liable to collective practice and supervision. However, excellence, which is generally the prerequisite for long-term survival in a short-term profession, demands that an individual player constantly test conventional styles. Players are engaged in a highly competitive search for an edge in and with these skills, rivalries that can seriously disrupt team play and collective interests.

And those in formal control, the managers and coaches, are often ill-equipped to teach such specialty skills; a younger pitcher, for instance, is usually better off seeking to learn a new pitch from an older pitcher who himself has used it. This can create tense dynamics characteristic of artisanal-apprentice settings, including the reluctance to fully share specialist knowledge and the need to "steal" the master's secrets. It certainly disrupts the normal lines of pedagogical authority in a corporate-style organization.

Counter-hegemonic viewing: Baseball as sarariiman manga

What I am suggesting here is that there are very good reasons why professional baseball practices and structures should have been harnessed to corporate needs and desires in contemporary Japan. Such corporate features have given a particular shape to many teams, but I have become equally impressed by the "deformations" of corporate organization that teams like Hanshin represent. Hanshin would like very much for the Tigers to be a model subsidiary, successful in results and exemplary in form, but the real Tigers continually frustrate these efforts, for the reasons I have enumerated.

Putting these countervailing tendencies together, it seems to me, is one way of appreciating baseball's abiding fascination to a great many Japanese over the contemporary decades. Put simply, professional baseball, for many viewers, listeners, and readers, has been savored as a long-running corporate drama. What it is seen to demonstrate are not the ideal forms of legitimate authority and smooth workplace relations but the more common reality of rivalries and office politics, of unpredictable and sometimes undeserved success and adversity—conditions of work familiar to the sport's followers in their own lives.

Indeed, professional baseball is viewed as a real-life "office comics" or "*sarariiman manga*." What do I mean by this? Despite a common impression about the Japanese comic book publishing industry—the largest in the world, we must

remember—it is not dominated by pornographic violence, although that is a regrettable segment of a much more varied palette of genres. In fact, a far more popular and longstanding staple form is a type favored by the millions of harried and frustrated and brow-beaten workers as they ride the cramped trains and subways to and from the factories and offices in which they spend so much of their adult lives.

These are the "office comics" or more precisely, "white-collar worker comics." With titles like "Tanaka-kun," "Section Chief Shima Kōsaku," and "The Old Osaka Way of Finance," they are serial stories in weekly comic books, variety magazines, and some newspapers, sometimes running for a decade or more, periodically collected and issued in multi-volume anthologies. They are humorous, sardonic, cynical narrative pictorials of office rivalries, business dealings, shop floor pressures, water cooler romances, stock market shenanigans, botched promotions, etc. They give pointed, bittersweet expression to life under pretentious, unreasonable, uncaring bosses and the demanding drudgery of day-to-day work.

Baseball, both school and professional varieties, has itself been a popular locale for such manga comics, and elsewhere I will consider their creation of an animated sports world.[6] Here though I want to draw attention to the key role in shaping and circulating baseball narratives that has come to be played by the national sports dailies. Other countries have daily sports newspapers,[7] but I'm not sure if there is any country in which these papers have so dominated sports reporting.

There are five national sports dailies, four of which date from the late 1940s, although the big jump in circulation and notoriety happened in the 1960s.[8] Their circulations are in the millions, and they depend almost entirely on spot sales at street and station news kiosks and in convenience stores, not through subscriptions. Professional baseball overwhelmingly dominates the papers' daily front pages, total coverage, and staff assignments.

What is the connection? Sports dailies are not comics but they have drawn key inspiration from elements of comic design and layout and from comic narrative strategies. For instance, the front page reporting an exciting Tigers victory by a late-inning home run might have a full-page photo of the hit, taken from behind the batter, with a dotted line tracing the ball's flight back three-dimensionally into the page into the outfield stands, with several side close-up photos of the Tigers bench and the fans. This photo spread is often the background for overlays of several sizes of headlines, a couple of brief statistical tables, and several columns of text, trumpeting the blow, analyzing the sequence of pitches that led to the hit, and quoting the player and manager. It is a multi-perspectival view of the drama of the moment.

Equally frequent are the front page treatments over several days and even weeks of continuing narratives like team slumps, star player woes, managerial difficulties and replacements. Here too, the straightforward rectangular geometry of the conventional news page is ignored for a multi-colored pastiche of short stories and sidebars in square and circular and even more irregular frames, announced by huge headlines, decorated with overlays and underlays of graphics and photos. The reader is drawn to the entire page, which portrays and conveys the incident as a riveting picture-story.

In closing

My argument here, then, is that in trying to force baseball structures into a more explicit large-corporate frame, those who control the sport have opened it to cross-readings and counter-ideological viewing by fans and audiences, who are already adept and disposed to such skepticism through parallel experiences—as readers and viewers of workplace comics and as workers themselves.

By no means am I claiming that this exhausts what fans make of and take from baseball and I've written elsewhere about other uses and attractions of Hanshin baseball (including its place in the political-economic rivalries of Osaka and Tokyo). But the corporate forms intended for and by Japanese professional baseball are one particular pathway that commercialization and professionalization of the sport can take—one of the manifold indigenizations of modernity, in other words—that has proven quite attractive to corporate managers of the game in Japan.

But like the game of baseball itself, whose form they can dictate but whose outcome is always in doubt, they have fashioned a sport that offers many fans partially an escape from their own workday routines but, equally, a mirror—albeit a funhouse mirror—of their own workplace frustrations and foibles.

_____

Endnotes

1 American observers and fans tend towards euphemisms like "home team" and "ball club" that mask the workplace reality. There are exceptions of course. An excellent book that does in fact focus on U.S. baseball as a workplace is *In the Ballpark* (1998) by the anthropologist George Gmelch and J.J. Weiner. Nick Trujillo's 1991 article is also informative.

2 After several brief false starts in the 1920s, a professional baseball league was permanently established in 1936 with eight teams. In 1950, a two-league format were established, with the season champions of the two Central and Pacific Leagues meeting in October in the Japan Series. After some early shifts, league membership stabilized at six teams each.

3 I have been engaged in fieldwork and archival research on professional baseball in Japan since the late 1990s, focusing on the metropolitan Kansai region, home of three pro teams, and among them, particularly on the Hanshin Tigers. For fifty years, the Tigers have been the overwhelming sentimental favorites of Japan's second city, Osaka. In some respects, Hanshin is not representative of professional baseball organizations, but it does share most of the structural features analyzed here with the other eleven teams.

4 The club does provide medical treatment and insurance for job-related injuries.

5 There are many fewer trades among clubs in the Japanese major league; rather, the constant hiring and firing of foreign players is the more frequent lateral movement.

6 One catalogue lists at least 379 different comics in the period 1948-1996, most of them in weekly comic magazines (Nishii 1996:104-107). The first hit series of the postwar was "Aka gurobbu to aoi batto" [Red Glove and Blue Bat], which burst into sudden popularity when it appeared in the 1948 inaugural issue of *Manga shōnen* [Boys Comics]. The era of their greatest proliferation and popularity was 1958-1978, when series like "Supōttsuman Kintarō" (1959-1963), "Kyojin no hoshi" (1966-1971), "Dogaben" (1972-1981), and "Asutoro kyūdan" (1972) captured readerships in the millions. This is a contrast to the United States, where baseball fiction much more frequently takes the form of cinema and prose (novels and short stories). Baseball comics form such a wide range of graphic styles and story themes that I must postpone a detailed consideration to a later study. Briefly,

though, they have a different emphasis than the sports papers themselves, showcasing individual players in mock heroic plots, often more glamorous than gritty. I think they too are read against the corporate grain, although not in the same way as the sports papers present the "real" sport.

7 The United States and Canada are notable exceptions, for reasons that include the expansion of sports news desks within the regular urban and now metropolitan and national papers, the early development of television sports journalism, and the near-disappearance of public transport for commuting to work. Sports dailies in Japan are designed to be read on the rail and bus commute to work and on breaks at work.

8 The five national sports dailies are *Hōchi shimbun* (1946), *Nikkan supōtsu* (1946), *Deirii supōtsu* (1948), *Supōtsu Nippon* (1949), and *Sankei supōtsu* (1963). Each publishes regional editions. In addition, Tokyo, Osaka, and Nagoya each have local sports dailies.

───────────────

References

Gmelch, George and J. J. Weiner (1998) *In the Ballpark: The Working Lives of Baseball People*. Washington, DC and London: Smithsonian Institution Press.

Kahn, Roger (1972) *The Boys of Summer*. New York: Harper and Row.

Nishii Kazuo (1996) *Nichibei yakyū 100-nen* [One Hundred Years of Baseball in Japan and America]. Tokyo: Mainichi shimbun.

No byline (1996) "Throw Til Your Arm Drops Off," *The Economist* September 28.

Trujillo, Nick (1991) "Working at the Ballpark: An Ethnographic Study," in Alvin L. Hall (editor), *Cooperstown Symposium on Baseball and American Culture (1989)*. Westport, CT: Meckler, 298-318.

Will, George F. (1990) *Men at Work: The Craft of Baseball*. New York: Macmillan.

The Conviviality of Cheering:
An Ethnography of Fan Clubs
in Japanese Professional Baseball

TAKAHASHI Hidesato

The cheering of spectators is often dismissed as peripheral to sporting contests, and some sports scholars do not even acknowledge it as a topic of legitimate inquiry. Nonetheless, some form of cheering is ubiquitous at almost all sports events, from the most local athletic meets to international and professional competition. Among the organized team sports so characteristic of modernity, a distinctively vibrant excitement is produced by the large numbers of "people who watch" for the very small numbers of "people who perform" in the stadium. Cheering, indeed, is a critical component of analyzing sports culture.

This chapter is based on participant-observation that I have conducted with an organized group of fans who support one of Japan's twelve professional baseball teams, the Hiroshima Carp. At professional baseball games in Japan, stadium spectatorship consists of three segments: members of private fan clubs,[1] others who join in the cheering around the fan clubs, and those spectators who don't participate in the cheering. The private fan clubs are the most important elements in generating cheers at professional baseball stadiums. Accordingly, we assume that the private fan clubs have a subculture[2] within the broader Japanese culture.

My fieldwork has been largely with one of these Hiroshima Carp fan clubs that is based not in Hiroshima's home stadium but rather in Kobe, near the stadium of the Carp's rival team, the Hanshin Tigers. When the Carp visit the Hanshin Tigers in the latter's Kōshien Stadium, Carp cheering clubs always occupy fixed places—in the lower sections of the left field bleachers and in the lower sections of so-called Alps seats beyond third base. I describe here how this club has been maintained and is constantly being re-created and revised through people's interactions, seeking an understanding of fan club subculture in Japanese professional baseball through the dynamics of this particular group.

Participant-observation among the fan clubs

It was in June of 1998 that I applied for admission to a Kinki Carp Booster Club, a association of supporters of the Hiroshima Carp who are based in the Osaka-Kobe metropolitan region. This booster club is large and long-standing; it cele-

brated its 25th anniversary in 1999, and presently has 547 members. It publishes bulletins several times a year and holds bi-annual "encouragement" parties for Hiroshima players. It has two types of membership: regular members pay 3,000 yen in annual dues (about US$ 26 in 2001), and special members have annual dues of 10,000 yen (about US$ 83). I indicated on my application form that I was interested in playing the trumpet in the stadium stands, but they replied that the actual stadium cheering was coordinated by another group.

This was my introduction to an important structural distinction. There are actually two different types of fan groups in Japanese professional baseball: the *ōendan* and the *kōenkai*. As Kelly (2003b) explains, the first are "fan clubs," which are frequently privately organized and remain autonomous from the object of their support. *Kōenkai* are literally "supporter associations," and are usually the groups formed and sanctioned and controlled by that which they support. Thus, in Japan, politicians, famous singers and music groups (Stevens 2003, Yano 2003), top sumo wrestlers and wrestling stables (Tierney 2003), and public figures sponsor supporter associations, or what in the U.S. are often called booster clubs. In most baseball stadiums, it is the fan clubs—not the booster clubs—which organize and lead the actual cheering, usually from blocks of seats in the outfield bleachers or the more distant sections of the infield seating along the outfield foul lines.

Later that year, I came across a private fan club known as the Kobe Chūōkai (the Kobe Central Club) while surfing web pages related to the Hiroshima Toyo Carp team. Their home page solicited membership from any and all Carp fans. I filled out the online form, noting my interest in playing the trumpet, and very soon received a phone call from the club manager's wife, who introduced me to Mr. A of the trumpet section. Mr. A turned out to be a key figure in the club and a most helpful informant in my research. He is the club's chief secretary, he established and maintains its web site home page, and he edits the club's bi-monthly bulletin, the "Alps Family News."

Formal acknowledgement of my membership came when I received my name cards from the fan club on June 9, 1999. The cards listed my title as a member of the trumpet squad, and from that time, I could put on my fan club happi coat and begin playing the trumpet at the games.

By the end of January 2000, I had participated in the opening day away game at Nagoya Dome, the 13 regular season games against the Hanshin Tigers at Kōshien and Osaka Dome, as well as all regular monthly club meetings (held on the fourth Sunday of the month), the-end-of-year and the New Year parties of the fan club's Kansai branch. I supplemented my own experiences with the club[3] with data from a questionnaire I distributed to club members and from the bulletins and other materials circulated at regular meetings.

The social organization of the Kobe Central Club

The present chairman of Kobe Chūōkai was but a 24-year-old youth in 1963 when he started going to Kōshien Stadium and cheering the Carp team by himself up in the Alps section. He recalls carrying a heavy 30 kg. rucksack to the stadium, laden with his cheering equipment and frequently enduring harassment from the hometown Tigers fans. When the Carp reached the Japan Series championship for the first time in 1975, he started calling the Kobe Central Club ("Kobe Chūōkai," because at the time, he lived in Kobe's Chūō-ku, or "Central District"!). This was a rather grandiose gesture because he had only two or three fellow cheerers, but gradually the membership grew. It was approximately 60 in 1996, when the he published the first bulletin and began collecting dues, and grew to 110 members in 1999. The present annual dues are 3,000 yen for regular members, 2,000 yen for students, and 10,000 yen for the cheering squad members.

The club is densely structured. In 1999, the organization submitted a staff list to the League of National Hiroshima Toyo Carp Private Fan Clubs which itemized 32 positions, members, including the chairman, four counselors, a manager, two vice chairmen, an accountant, the chief secretary, a fan club leader and vice-leader, two public relations staff, four lead section members, five trumpet section members, three women's ladies section members, and six district members. The cheer staff itself is about twenty-five: cheerleader, flag bearers, trumpeters, drummers, and bell ringers

This League of National Hiroshima Toyo Carp Private Fan Clubs (here abbreviated as the National League) was founded on July 1, 1997. It has 14 district units, and over 40 member fan clubs (including those within the Hiroshima home district). It has created a 21-article constitution to codify its procedural rules. Member clubs must purchase the flag of the National League, and are required to wave this instead of their own club flag when the team comes to bat in the seventh inning.[4] An annual league meeting is held in November after the season, and special meetings are convened when necessary. Two members from each fan club can attend these meetings as representatives.

The Kansai district of the National League consisted of seven fan clubs, including the Kobe Central Club (one of these was expelled at the 1999 League meeting because of trouble it had caused). Each fan club pays the league an annual membership fee of 15,000 yen, and the Kansai district collects a supplemental fee of 5,000 yen per club. The Kansai branch also has its own constitution of 25 articles, which was established when the national league was founded.

Club meetings: The comforts of getting together

The Kobe Central Fan Club holds a regular meeting on the last Sunday of each month, beginning at 6:00pm. Generally these are at the home of the manager, Mr. M, which is near the Amagasaki train station, just several minutes from Kōshien Stadium. Usually 10-20 people attend, arriving singly or in small groups from around 5:00 p. m. Most of them are cheering staff. The manager's two-story house has a six-mat room and dining kitchen on the first floor and two adjoining six-mat rooms on the second floor. Flags, drums, banners, and other cheering paraphernalia clutter much of the second floor. Photos of the nearly 100 members adorn the walls of the first floor room, which also has a television set for people to watch all of the Carp games.

At 6:00 pm, the meeting commences on the second floor, with Mr. A presiding as chief secretary. Members discuss upcoming games, arrangements if they will be going to Hiroshima, reports from the national association and the Kansai branch office; they also talk about securing tickets, assigning cheering roles, and cheering techniques. Afterwards, they eat a dinner meal that is prepared by the Mrs. A. The drink cooler usually brought to Kōshien contains beer and juice, to which members help themselves. There is a second television on this floor, where people sometimes watch videos of baseball games and tours. The main topic of conversation focuses on cheering for the Carp team, but sometimes also touches upon talk of individual jobs and families. In this way, over a dozen people sit together, sharing food, drink, and conversation. This time and space is very comfortable and emotionally relaxing.

People who gather here have various social attributes. There are both men and women, ranging in age from their 20s to 50s. Some left school after junior high; others are university graduates. They include students, housewives, salesmen of big corporations, and manual laborers. Their common meeting point is the fact that they are all Carp fans. It is this interest which shapes a group consciousness and creates an intimate and familiar group dynamic.

The social formation of the fan clubs at the stadium: From mass behavior to primary relations

The Alps stands are the steep, open infield bleacher sections beyond first base and third base. As in other stadiums, the first base side is the "home" side, and the third base side is the "visitor" side, so Hiroshima fans congregate in the latter seating. On each side, an aisle divides the eighty long rows of the Alps into upper and lower halves. A low fence, erected years ago to keep exuberant fans

from charging the field, obstructs the view of the field from the lowermost rows. The Central Club and other Hiroshima clubs occupy the lowest rows that give an unobstructed view of the field but still allow them to face most of the Alps stands spectators. These sections are unreserved, so the clubs must get there early to insure their regular spots.

Before each game begins, they hang a huge eight-meter club banner on the fence, and unfurl several large flags on three- to five- meter poles. Some of the flags bear certain Carp players' names, and one is official Kobe Central Club flag. The club leader opens a stepladder on the bottom aisle of the lower seats, which serves as his platform (and also allows him to see over the fence!). The club carries in a large cooler packed with juice and beer. After these preparations, club members relax and wait for the game to start, eating box lunches, talking, and warming up. Mr. I of the trumpet section and Mr. N of the cheer section, both of whom are young and outgoing, call out to arriving spectators who appear to be Carp fans and urge them to take seats around the fan club. Sometimes they'll hand around pamphlets detailing club membership and giving the cheering songs for Carp player.

The cheering begins as the starting line-ups are broadcast over the stadium public address system. Drums, pipes, and trumpets accompany the announcement of each player's name. The band then plays the "ichiku," the special hitting song of each starter in the same order as announced the line-up. At the top of first inning, as the first batter is announced, trumpets burst into fanfare (see Figure 1). When the pitching begins, the flag bearers put down their flags. The chief cheerleader stands on the stepladder to face the spectators, and when the batter come to the batter's box, he leads the call of "Kattobase!" Spectators slap their megaphones on his cue. He then coordinates with cheer groups sitting in the leftfield bleach-

Figure 1. (left) Cheering the Carp in the left-field Alps section of Kōshien Stadium; (center) Trumpeter in the Kobe Chūō-kai; and (right) Mr. S., deputy leader, waving a flag. (Photograph by the author.)

ers, and orchestrates the hitting march of each player. When a player makes a hit and there is a chance to score, the drums beat out a 3-3-7 rhythm, accompanied by the trumpets.[5] This type of cheering is reserved for the half-inning when the Carp is at bat. Often, many of the spectators seated around the fan club slap their megaphones and join the club cheers. In this way, each fan club involves nearby spectators by imposing its own pre-determined cheering patterns.

This collective cheering behavior in the Alps stand is geared towards the level of mass behavior. The cheering patterns are highly stylized according to the circumstances of the game; if the audience can pick up on the systematic rhythms and vibrant atmosphere, it becomes easy to join in as a collective group even if participants do not know each other.

The personal relationships among the cheerleading staff are based on primary relations, as noted above. Close ties are formed amid respect for each other's personal qualities, and the participants interact as distinctive individuals. By contrast, the standardized mass cheering of the group in the Alps section is based on what sociologists term secondary relationships. These relations are limited in scope and can easily be transferred to other persons.[6]

When I asked Mr. N of the trumpet section how he came to belong to the club, he replied that a member of the Kobe Chūōkai had invited him back when he was a spectators sitting in the lower benches, asking, " Hey, you always come to cheer, would you like to join us?" Mr. N then became more active when one of the drummers failed to show up for a game, and Mr. N stepped in to take his place. For 18 of the 25 active club staff, it was informal encounters like this in the Alps stand that first prompted them to join. People who have never met before find kindred sprits in the Alps stand and are eventually persuaded to join. In a discussion at a meeting about whether club members should wear T-shirts or happi coats, Mr. M, the manager, opined "even if it takes years, our purpose is to entice people from the upper rows of the Alps down to the lower rows, and if we stick to happi coats, it will make it even more difficult for them to join our cheering group."

A spectator who follows the lead of a cheering group even as he throws himself into the excitement of the game is participating in a kind of mass behavior, which engages only a part of his or her personality. Such collective cheering corresponds to what Erving Goffman called "a focused gathering" which is a "type of social arrangement that occurs when persons are in one another's immediate physical presence" (Goffman 1961:2). This "gathering" is enclosed by its own boundaries, exists under a distinct set of rules, and constitutes a reality unique to this space. When the participants can spontaneously sustain the behavioral rules and become unselfconsciously engrossed,

Goffman argues that their feelings of comfort and security will lead to an experience of euphoria. The standardizing actions of the cheering members and spectators enable this close communication, and the group develops a characteristic of primary relations.

This collective cheering behavior also consists of emotional interactions and evocative presentation styles. The spectators are adjusting their voices and movements to match those of others. These ritual acts electrify the air, the excitement is palpable, and a collective effervescent emotion is created among the spectators. Through its stylized presentation, therefore, group cheering behavior manages to deflect anxieties and doubts, while encouraging people to abandon their self-consciousness and bestowing a sense of "flow" to the participants (Moore and Myerhoff 1977: 7-8).

Socializing with affiliated fan clubs: Together at H restaurant

On the right side of the walk from Hanshin-Kōshien commuter railroad station to the stadium are many shops that sell cheering goods and lunch boxes. One of these is H restaurant. At the end of every game, about 20 members crowd around the four tables at the back of this restaurant, drinking beer and eating. Sometimes they are joined by fan clubs visiting from Hiroshima. People talk animatedly about the game, and call members who could not come, creating a very festive atmosphere. After an hour or so, at 10:30pm, the occasion breaks up with a hand-clapping ceremony in front of the restaurant. When the Carp are in town for a three-game series, the restaurant keeps the club's drums, flags, and cooler box on the first and second nights. This restaurant is indispensable to Kobe Chūōkai.

After the evening game on July 20th, however, the drum and flags that were usually stored at H restaurant were placed inside the manager's car trunk. And although members usually seated themselves at the restaurant in the order in which they arrive, that night they waited in front of the restaurant as the vice chairman warned, "We can't enter, we will lose face." Only the chairman and manager entered the restaurant, emerging in a few minutes to engage the vice chairman Mr. T in discussion. Then, the manager quickly declared "Let's go!," the vice leader of the fan club led a closing hand-clapping ceremony, and this occasion turned out to be our last encounter with H restaurant. On our departure, the chairman could only say "Sorry...."

Later on, I learned from Mr. S, the deputy head of the lead party, that in the previous game at Kōshien, two people from the Sachukan Fan Club

at the Carp home stadium joined us at our seats in the Alps section. After the game, the visitors were invited to join the cheering staff at H restaurant. Their bill was paid by our club, and the chairman gave them 5,000 yen so that they could buy a gift to take back to Sachukan members in Hiroshima. The hospitality was spoiled however when the clerk asked the group to leave as the restaurant's closing time approached, even though the visitors were still eating. Mr. T grew angry immediately, feeling that the club had been embarrassed in front of its visitors and could never face the Sachukan Fan Club again if they continued to patronize this restaurant.

His outburst was rued by several members; the deputy leader of the club, Mr. S, told me that Mr. T. never listens to other people's opinions once he gets angry, and complained that "we have no choice except to obey and let those in higher positions make the decision." And at a meeting shortly after this incident, the chairman said, "We are in charge of everyone's membership fees, so we can't go out and buy a flag that costs more than 30,000 yen." This was a veiled criticism of Mr. T, who had bought an expensive new flag for the season. When I asked the manager's wife who also serves as the club's accountant, about H restaurant, she was expressed exasperation: "We need the restaurant to keep our stuff over consecutive days. We don't always have a car." Other members whom I asked seemed to think that this decision had already been determined, and they would not speak critically of the development.

Why was this small incident important? When the Kobe Chūōkai visits Hiroshima, it is the Sachukan Fan Club that invites them to cheer in their section and helps Kobe obtain tickets. Thus, vice chairman Mr. T insists it is the club's "duty" (*giri*) to return their kindness, and the other officers agreed with him. Still, discontinuing patronage of H restaurant was a significant inconvenience, and it also meant abandoning the post-game feast. If cheering in the stadium is a kind of festival (Kurahashi 1975: 95-114), the post-game meal is a commensal bridge between the ritual festivities and the physical space in which community consciousness is raised. To act on duty or to preserve the custom of the feast—Kobe Chūōkai chose the first option in its decision.

Solidarity and strain

When the Carp team is batting, the cheering continues without pause, and the fan club members are continually active. But when their team is in the field, they are comparatively free; their only duties are to play songs ridiculing the opponent, and to shout encouragement with pipes and drums when the situation looks tight. There are six cheering parties which belong to National League Kan-

sai branch in the left stand. During the bottom of the second or third innings, fan club members visit other clubs to exchange greetings.

For example, at a game on July 4, 1999, six members from a club in the left-field stands came to greet us during the bottom of the sixth inning. They included Mr. K, a bureau chief of the National League, Mr. K, manager of the Kansai branch, Mr. J and Mr. K, vice managers of the Kansai Branch, and Mr. I, manager of the Hokuriku branch. At the bottom of the seventh inning, they stood in a row facing the spectators, and the chairman of the Kobe Chūōkai introduced them from his position on the stepladder. Mr. N of the Kobe Chūōkai struck the drums in a resounding welcome. Before the eighth inning began, they returned to their own section, shouting thanks and encouragement to Central Club members. Similarly, on July 20, the members of other fan clubs visited from the outfield bleachers to cheer with us throughout the top of the seventh inning.

On July 22, five Kobe Chūōkai members, including the chairman, vice chairman Mr. T, leader of the club Mr. M, vice leader of the club Mr. S, and chief secretary Mr. A went off to the leftfield bleachers to visit the other clubs in the bottom of the fifth inning, returning later in the game. Because of differences in admissions fees, spectators are not allowed to move back and forth between the two parts of the stadium. However, the stadium staff makes exceptions for those wearing the official happi coats of the fan clubs, even visitor team fan clubs. [The same exception applies at the Hiroshima City Stadium, where club members can visit the infield seats with an outfield ticket.]

In the 2000 New Year party, vice manager Mr. K of the Kansai branch suggested that we try to increase exchanges of cheering between the leftfield bleachers and the Alps seats. He proposed that main cheer leaders in each section switch places each inning and that we invite trumpet players from the bleachers whenever the Alps trumpet section was shorthanded. These suggestions were carried to the next regular club meeting and accepted. In this way, relationships among the different clubs within the Kansai District association remain friendly and cooperative, despite the occasional frictions and conflicts.

In the Kobe Chūōkai bulletin of July, 1998, the chairman raised the subject of such exchanges as useful in developing Chūōkai, but he noted the absence of guidelines: "We are worried about negative reflections upon our organization caused by other groups using Chūōkai's name, and if it is deemed that other clubs are negatively influencing our organization, we will cease our relations with those groups and their individual members immediately." Such was the case with Mr. T, who played the trumpet for Kobe Chūōkai until 1997. After he transferred to the R Club, which cheers in the leftfield stand, it was discovered that he was spreading unflattering rumors about Kobe Chūōkai. The club had

already experienced problems in the past, including prohibiting members who had poor records of attendance from coming to Kōshien for three years in a row, and demanding payment if a member wanted to leave the association.

In 1999, the R Club caused trouble once more. The All-Star game was held in Kōshien on July 25. The R Club had obtained tickets through the mediation of a private fan club from Tokyo, but R Club members failed to arrive at the stadium by the start of the game, and thus a place for cheering could not be secured. The Tokyo fan club was incensed and retaliated violently against the Kansai district clubs. Kansai officers then stepped in to arbitrate and settled the matter by deciding that the R Club could not cheer that day, and would only be able to watch. However, Mr. T, who had recently transferred to the R Club from the Kobe Central Club, defied this by playing his trumpet, which provoked a member of the Tokyo fan club into punching him.

The R Club requested that the Kansai District submit a formal letter of apology for Mr. T's injury. Regulations dictate, however, that organized cheering at Kōshien Stadium must be suspended if any problems are reported to the police. The Kansai District therefore asked Mr. K to come Osaka to discuss the matter. As a result of this meeting, Mr. J, the vice manager of the Kansai branch, paid Mr. T's medical fees of 80,000 yen, and R Club decided not to sue. The incident, however, resulted in a decision to expel the R Club from the Kansai District. This District resolution was ratified at the general meeting of the national league in November 1999. In this particular case, the Kansai office asked the manager of Chūōkai to mediate because the R Club had accepted Mr. T's transfer from Kobe Chūōkai and was "looking after him." After being expelled, the R Club chairman called the Central Club chairman in the middle of the night and threatened that "We'll kill you."

Hiroshima people in Osaka: The identity of diaspora

On November 28, 1999, a party to celebrate the 25th anniversary of the foundation of the Kinki Carp Booster Club was held in a hotel in Osaka. A total of 320 people gathered there, including four current Carp players, a coach, and an ex-supervisor. Twenty-eight members of Kobe Chūōkai attended the party. None of us knew each other at the round table where I was seated, but our discussion became very animated nonetheless. The conversation began with the question, "Which part of Hiroshima are you from?" and a camaraderie about familiar places ensued. We enjoyed talking about the language differences between Hiroshima and Tokyo dialects, noting, for example, that "*miteru* means *to run out*

in Hiroshima, while it means *to fill up* in the capital." When the party was over, a 60-year-old man, his face flushed with alcohol, remarked on how happy he was to be able to talk about Hiroshima here in Osaka.

For a quarter of a century, from its founding in 1950 until its first championship in 1975, the Carp team was regarded as part of the substandard B class every year. People even referred to them as "the excess baggage of the Central League." In 1975, however, the Carp surprised everyone with a strong season; fans who hide their loyalties began to get excited for the first time, thinking that there was a chance that the team might actually become champions that year. In August, a group of young men who belonged to the Association of Hiroshima Prefecture Natives Resident in the Kinki region (Kinki Hiroshima Kenjinkai) created the "Association to Lead the Carp to a Championship." With the championship close at hand, a score of people from this group along with other fan club members from the Kansai region appeared on television. On October 29, after the team had won the championship, Hiroshima natives stood on Osaka's landmark Dōtonbori Bridge and offered Hiroshima sake to passersby. Winning the title obviated the association's initial name, which was then changed to the "Osaka Carp Booster Club." At the time, the secretariat was placed in the hands of the Association of Hiroshima Prefecture Natives.

In March 1976, the organization held its general meeting in the restaurant of a department store in Osaka. The Carp team manager, a coach, and eight players were invited, with a total of 200 people in attendance. During the off-season of the same year, a social party was held in honor of the Carp star player Kinugasa that drew about 150 people. This established a practice that still continues of holding semi-annual social parties, once during the off season and again just before for the season's opening game in spring. The organization later relented to include Carp fans who had been born in Osaka but whose parents who were Hiroshima natives. This new rule also accommodated Hanshin Tigers fans within the Association of Hiroshima Prefecture Natives. Today, Booster Club membership is around 500, although during Carp championships in the early 1980s, it soared above 1,000.

The 59-year-old Mr. H, chairman of the Kinki Carp Booster Club, was born in the Aki district of Hiroshima, and moved to Osaka in 1961 after quitting his job the automobile company where he had worked for three years after high school. In 1973, after training as a cook, he began a bar business and now runs two bars in Osaka's business district. From its opening, Mr. H's bar was well known as the spot where the Carp team's manager, coaches, and players dropped in whenever they played in Osaka. Occasional disagreements have occurred between him and the customers, who question why they have to cheer for the

Hiroshima Carp here in Osaka, and found it strange that he shaved his head in protest when the Hanshin won the championship in 1985. He also serves as a consultant for the National League of Hiroshima Toyo Carp Private Fan Clubs.

There are three vice chairmen in the Kinki Carp Booster Club. Mr. F, who edits the association bulletin, runs a company that prints commercial catalogs. Mr. K and Mr. J jointly run a company that manufactures grinders for plastics.[7] They belong to the same fan club, and Mr. K and Mr. J serve as the manager and vice manager respectively of the national league's Kansai branch. All three of these people are Hiroshima natives. Beyond these three, as far as I can determine, there are 14 other people from Hiroshima on the executive board of the Kinki Carp Booster Club.

In November 1999, I sent questionnaires to the members of Kobe Chūōkai and received 53 responses, mainly from the cheering staff. The results indicated that about 30% were Hiroshima-born and now living in the Kobe-Osaka area. Another 35% were not born in Hiroshima but whose parents were Hiroshima natives and were often still living in the prefecture. Thus, about two-thirds of the respondents maintained strong ties to the prefecture.

For example, Mr. M, the leader of the Kobe Chūōkai fan club, was born in 1951 in a mountainside town located in the heart of Hiroshima Prefecture. He graduated from junior high school at 15, in 1966, and moved to Osaka under the auspices of his uncle, who lived in Toyonaka City. He immediately began working at a sheet metal and painting company, and has continued to work there to this day. His parents are now deceased, but he still returns to his hometown two or three times a year to visit his brother. As a child he rarely went to Carp games, but after the 1975 championship, he found himself going often to watch their games at Kōshien Stadium. One time, he saw the chairman of Kobe Chūōkai cheering in the Alps stand and decided to apply for admission. He joined the Kinki Carp Booster Club as well on the advice of the Chairman. Another case is the 59-year-old female owner of a bar, who sometimes hosts the periodic meetings of the organization. A Hiroshima native, she started working for Toyo Kogyo (now known as Mazda, the parent company of the Hiroshima Carp), and then moved to Kobe when she was 23 to open a bar. The chairman of Kobe Chūōkai himself is not from Hiroshima; he was born in Oita prefecture, but started working at Toyo Kogyo in Hiroshima when he was 15. He then moved to Kobe and took a job in cargo handling at the Port of Kobe.

In 1960, approximately 44% of the Japanese population lived in urban areas, which amounted to only 2.7% of the country's land mass. Just 20 years later, this figure increased to 60%, most of it in the Tokyo and Osaka metropolitan areas. Much of this rural-to-urban migration was in the 1960s, a

decade that saw the breakdown of the existing communal order of much of regional Japan (Araragi 1994: 52-62, Okuda 1983: 2-3). By 1965, on 32.5% of Osaka residents had been born in the city; the figure for Kobe was only 29.9% (Matsumoto 1994: 6-9). Most of the fan club members now in their 50s and 60s came to Osaka from Hiroshima at this time, and thus experienced the first Carp championship in 1975 while living in Osaka. Mr. H, the Chairman of the Kansai Carp Booster Club, still vividly remembers the day the Carp became champions, and always recites the experience to new club members. The Carp team's first championship in 1975 surely represents a crucial life-event for him. By investing meaning in the team's victory, he is framing the reality of his own life in terms of this collective accomplishment.

Diaspora originally referred to the forced exile of the Jewish people from their sacred city of Jerusalem. Sociological theory has expanded it to include the dispersions and identity formations of people who live in ethnic communities in various areas of the world. Diaspora is, generally, "a state of solidarity or a communal network in a place remote from a birthplace or common cultural roots" (Ueno 1999:7). Carp fans in Osaka are such a diaspora, effectively re-constructing their own home place identity through their support for its baseball team.

Identity refers to the fundamental questions of who I am, who you are, and who we are. It represents resistance to the sense of alienation and estrangement from not knowing "who we are." Identity, moreover, is usually collectively framed (Eichberg 1998: 8-209). Through the dynamics of exchanges with others, in dyads and groups, collective identity is shaped and articulated. Coming together in the Kinki Carp Booster Club and Kansai branch fan clubs gives Osaka residents who come from Hiroshima a sense of security and a feeling of connection with one another. They experience this repeatedly in the framework of collective cheering, which constitutes a meaningful space for the formation of collective diasporic identity.

Epilogue: Examining the community

This chapter has discussed the organization and culture of a baseball fan club with data collected through participant observation with the "Kobe Chūōkai." The case illustrates how a group can be formed around primary relations even from a basis in the mass behavior of standardized collective cheering patterns. That is, what we found was that primary group dynamics emerge from the secondary relations of these casual group gatherings. The reason for this, I argue, is that collective cheering at the stadium is not simply mass behavior, but also exhibits the characteristics of secular rituals that create a distinctive world for

the spectators. Their cheering serves the double function of opening up op-
portunities to recruit new members for Chūōkai, and of providing the cultural
apparatus by which the fan club's sense of community is sustained.

In the previous section, I suggested that the Kinki Carp Booster Club and
the fan clubs are formed in the collective identity of people with Hiroshima roots
who now live in Osaka. It is also true, however, that there are also many people
in these organizations who have no connection to Hiroshima prefecture. Their
attachments are from an interest in "cheering for the Hiroshima Carp." The fan
clubs gain legitimacy as an association in so far as this interest is satisfied. The
sociologist MacIver famously argued that people's interests are the source of all
social activity, and he classified these interests as either common or discrete.
By the former, he meant a comprehensive and undivided interest; by the latter,
he meant an interest pursued by each individual for his or her own personal
fulfillment. Common interests, he thought, form communities. Associations are
social bodies organized for the pursuit of common interests which emerge from
unified discrete interests (MacIver 1924: 98-116).

A recent survey shows that the Japan population has become an increas-
ingly self-oriented during the last quarter of the twentieth century. Previously,
people's lives were more completely structured by the obligations of work, but
many are choosing more personal and personalized lifestyles. From finding
meaning in collective work, they are now living for themselves in ways of
their own design. However, living by lifestyle does not mean living in isola-
tion. Many Japanese may be turning from traditional relationships bound by
family and workplace, but instead of autonomy, they are creating new net-
works based on leisurely activities and personal hobbies (Yoka kaihatsu sentā
1999: 87-120).

Fan clubs like the Kobe Central Club form through a particular commit-
ment to "cheering for the Hiroshima Carp team." However, MacIver failed to
identify the distinctive dynamics of associations that develop after the col-
lapse of pre-modern communities. Particular interests are necessary to estab-
lish an association, but that in itself is insufficient to explain its persistence. A
successful association can only be sustained through common interests and
wills.[8] Whenever people discover a common interest, the groundwork is laid
for a corresponding association. MacIver regarded every association as an or-
gan of community, arguing that community precedes its associations. "It is
communal will which creates associations" (MacIver 1924:130).

Associations are definite forms which coordinate more specific social ac-
tivity. They are identifiable as distinctive organs in the web of community.
The community itself constitutes the whole incalculable system of relations

between wills, or the common life of social being, where people relate to one another actively, spontaneously, and freely (ibid: 128-138).

Perhaps the overt reasons why people get together are not so important. Members of the Kobe Chūōkai gain emotional satisfaction through their close and frank communication. What I experienced through my time with the Kobe Chūōkai members, staying in rhythm and tempo in the Alps stand, was a feeling of comfortable security that put me very much at ease. For many people the conditions of modern life, such as its fluidity, isolation, and impersonality, combine to create a sense of loss of community. It is from this situation that they may seek new human relationships—and some will find them at the ballpark.

———————————

Endnotes

[1] In this chapter, *ōendan* is translated as "fan clubs," and *kōenkai* is translated as "official supporter associations" or "booster clubs." Fan clubs are considered "private" when they have no official connection to the baseball clubs that they follow and support.

[2] A subculture is an organization of meaning that is distinctive in important ways but has much in common with the dominant culture. In other words, a subculture contains some of the dominant culture's values but also has values or customs of its own (Broom 1981:66). In this paper, the culture of fan clubs is regarded as a subculture because it is embedded in mainstream Japanese culture but has a form and content which is distinct from this wider culture.

[3] It was awkward to use a tape recorder in the stands and at meetings, so I relied on notes taken as soon after as possible.

[4] The Kobe Chūōkai owns three National League flags. The price of each flag is 17,000 yen.

[5] In an earlier article (Takahashi 1994), I analyzed these rhythm patterns of cheering chants. What I discovered was that the basic 3-3-7 rhythm was the same as the rhythms of certain medieval and early modern agricultural chants. "binza-sala" used in agricultural rituals. This pattern contains a core consisting of three beats and seven beats, forming "Uchi-narashi,' which conveys news from this world to the gods. I speculated in the article that this serves to ground baseball game cheering in certain mythological archetypes that create a homology between wishes for agricultural fertility and for one's team's victory.

[6] For example, the relationship between a clerk and a customer is generic; each clerk and each customer acts in standardized ways that can be applied to other clerks and other customers. Moreover, the relationship involves only those aspects of each person which are relevant to the business transaction. To relate as a person instead of as a clerk or customer is to become aware of the other's personality and thus to move into the valence of primary relations (Broom 1981: 126).

[7] Kelly (2003), who researched Hanshin Tigers fans in Kōshien Stadium, argues that the structure of the fan clubs in Kōshien at least partially reflects the medium and small-business characteristics of the local economy.

[8] An individual does not belong to a community as a member of an association, but creates an association as a member of the community.

_____

References

Arargi Yukiko (1994) "Chihō jinkō no kōto rison genshō" [The Phenomenon of Regional Populations Flowing from Country to Cities]. In Matsumoto Michiharu and Maruki Yusuke (editors), *Toshi ijū no shakaigaku*. Kyoto: Sekai shisō sha, 49-82.

Broom, Leonard and Philip Selznick, editors (1981) *Sociology*. New York: Harper & Row.

Eichberg, Henning (1998) "Nashonaru, gurōbaru, buzoku: aidentiti mondai no sengen ronteki apurōchi" [The National, the Global, the Tribal: A Trialectical Approach to the Identity Question in Sports] In Nihon supōtsu shakaigaku gakkai (editors) *Hen'yō suru gendai shakai to supōtsu*. Kyoto: Sekai shisō sha, 194-212.

Goffman, Erving (1961) *Encounters: Two Studies in the Sociology of Interaction*. New York: Bobbs-Merrill Company.

Kelly, William W. (2003) "Sense and Sensibility at the Ballpark: What Fans Make of Professional Baseball in Modern Japan." In William W. Kelly (editor), *Fanning the Flames: Fans and Consumer Culture in Modern Japan*. Albany: SUNY Press, 79-106.

Kurahashi Shōji (1975) *Matsuri no kōzō: kyōen to shinji* [The Structure of Festivals: Feasts and Rituals]. Tokyo: Nihon hōsō kyōkai.

Yoka kaihatsu sentā, editor (1999) *Rejā hakusho '99* [Leisure White Paper '99] Tokyo: Bun'ei sha.

MacIver, Robert M. (1924) *Community; A Sociological Study*. Third Edition. London: Macmillan and Co.

Matsumoto Michiharu (1994) "Toshi ijū to kessetsu" [Urban Migration and Nodes]. In Matsumoto Michiharu and Maruki Yusuke (editors), *Toshi ijū no shakaigaku*. Kyoto: Sekai shisō sha, 1-28.

Moore, Sally F. and Barbara G. Myerhoff (1977) *Secular Ritual*. Assen: Van Gorcum.

Okuda Michihiro (1983) *Toshi komyuniti no riron* [The Theory of Urban Community] Tokyo: Tokyo daigaku shuppankai.

Takahashi Hidesato (1994) "Hiroshima shimin kyūjo ni okeru puro yakyū no shūgō-teki ōen ni kansuru kenkyū" [A study of the collective cheering at professional baseball games in the Hiroshima City ballpark] *Supōtsu shakaigaku kenkyū* 2:53-66.

Tierney, R. Kenji (2003) "'It's a Gottsan World': The Role of the Patron in Sumo." In William W. Kelly (editor), *Fanning the Flames: Fans and Consumer Culture in Modern Japan*. Albany: SUNY Press, 107-126.

Ueno Toshiya (1999) *Diasupora no shikō* [Thoughts on Diaspora]. Tokyo: Chikuma shobō.

Yano, Christine (2003) "Letters from the Heart: Negotiating Fan-Star Relationships in Japanese Popular Music." In William W. Kelly (editor), *Fanning the Flames: Fans and Consumer Culture in Modern Japan*. Albany: SUNY Press, 41-58.

Notes on the Contributors

Elise Marie EDWARDS is presently Assistant Professor in the Department of History and Anthropology at Butler University. Her 2003 Ph. D. in socio-cultural anthropology at the University of Michigan-Ann Arbor was on "The 'Ladies League': Gender Politics, National Identity, and Professional Sports in Japan." She is also author of "Bodies in Motion: Contemplating Work, Leisure, and Late Capitalism in Japanese Fitness Clubs," *Anthropological Quarterly* 76:165-176 (2003). Edwards played in the Japan Women's Professional Soccer League from 1992-94 and was the starting goalkeeper on the 1993 national champion Nikko Securities squad. She also served as a goalkeeper trainer in the league, and she continues today as assistant coach for goalkeepers on the women's varsity soccer team at Butler.

Allen GUTTMANN, Professor Emeritus of History and American Studies at Amherst College, is one of the world's most accomplished historians of sport. His many influential books and articles include *From Ritual to Record* (1978), *Sports Spectators* (1986), *Games and Empires* (1994), *Erotics in Sports* (1996), and *The Olympics: A History of the Modern Games* (2002). He has been past president of the North American Society for Sport History, and his 2004 book, *Sports: The First Five Millennia* won the annual prize of that Society (the second time he has been so honored).

John HORNE is a sociologist and Senior Lecturer in Physical Education, Sport & Leisure Studies at the Moray House School of Education at Edinburgh University. He has written extensively on soccer in East Asia and on broader issues of sport, consumption, and media in Japan. His most recent book is *Sport in Consumer Culture* (Palgrave Macmillan, 2006), and he has edited three volumes with Wolfram Manzenreiter: *Japan, Korea and the 2002 World Cup* (2002), *Football Goes East: Business, Culture and the People's Game in East Asia* (2004) and *The Sociology of Mega-Events* (2006).

William W. KELLY is professor and chair of the Department of Anthropology and Sumitomo Professor of Japanese Studies at Yale University. Among his recent publications in sports studies are "The Hanshin Tigers and Professional Baseball in Japan," in *Baseball without Borders: The International Pastime* (Gmelch, editor, 2006) and "Is Baseball a Global Sport? America's 'National Pastime' as Global Field and International Sport" in *Global Networks* 7(2), 2007.

KIKU Kōichi is a sport sociologist and Associate Professor in the Graduate School of Comprehensive Human Sciences, University of Tsukuba. Among his recent English-language publications are "The Development of Sport in Japan: Martial Arts and Baseball" in *Sport Histories: Figurational Studies of the Development of Modern Sports* (Dunning, Malcolm and Waddington, eds., 2004) and "The Japanese Baseball Spirit and Professional Ideology," in *Japan, Sport and Society: Tradition and Change in a Globalizing World* (Maguire and Nakayama, eds., 2006).

Wolfram MANZENREITER is Associate Professor in the Department of East Asian Studies at Vienna University where he teaches modern Japanese society. His research work is mostly concerned with social aspects of sports, popular culture, technology, and labour in a globalizing world. He has been invited to teach at universities in France, Germany, Japan, and Turkey. He is author of several books and articles on popular culture, leisure, and sport in Japan, including recently the co-edited volumes *The Sociology of Mega-Events* (2006) and *Football Goes East: Business, Culture and the People's Game in East Asia* (2004; both with John Horne). Currently he is working on a new book on *Sport and Nation in Globalizing Japan*.

SHIMIZU Satoshi is an Associate Professor in the Graduate School of Comprehensive Human Sciences, University of Tsukuba. His English-language publications include "Football, Nationalism, and Celebrity Culture" in Manzenreiter and Horne (eds.) *Football Goes East* (2004) and "Japanese Soccer Fans: Following the Local and the National Team" in *Japan, Korea and the 2002 World Cup* (Horne and Manzenreiter eds., 2002). He also recently edited a volume in Japanese on the Olympics with the English title *Olympic Studies: Discrepant Experiences and Politics*, (Serika shobō, 2004).

Laura SPIELVOGEL is Associate Professor of Anthropology at Western Michigan State University in Kalamazoo, MI. She has developed the project about she writes here into a book, *Working Out in Japan: Shaping the Female Body in Tokyo Fitness Clubs* (Duke University Press, 2003) and in articles in the *Journal of Sport and Social Issues* and *Sociology of Sport Journal*. Her current research includes an ethnography of university culture that focuses on students' reflections upon academics, dating, and extracurricular activities on the college campus.

SUGIMOTO Atsuo is Professor of Sociology of Sport and Popular Culture at Kyoto University of Education and Past-President of the Japan Sport Sociology Society. Among his recent publications is "School Sport, Physical Education, and the Development of Football Culture in Japan," which appeared in Manzenreiter and Horne (eds.) *Football Goes East: Business, Culture and the People's Game in China, Japan and Korea* (Routledge, 2004). One of his recent books is *Eiga ni manabu supōtsu shakaigaku* [Sport Sociology Through Film] (Sekai shisō sha, 2005).

TAKAHASHI Hidesato, Associate Professor at Nara University of Education, is a sport sociologist who focuses on the historical sociology of Japanese sports and on the culture of sports spectatorship. He has recently co-edited two recent books in Japanese: *Gendai supōtsu no pāsupekutibu* [Perspectives on Modern Sports] (Taishūkan, 2006) and *Supōtsu puromōshon ron* [A Theory of Sports Promotion] (Meiwa, 2006).

Lee Austin THOMPSON is a sociologist and Professor in the Faculty of Sport Sciences, Waseda University and has written extensively in English and in Japanese about sumo, professional wrestling, and other sport topics. With Allen Guttmann he is co-author of *Japanese Sports: A History* (2001). His article on "The Invention of the Yokozuna and the Championship System, or, Futahaguro's Revenge" appeared in *Mirror of Modernity* (Vlastos, ed., 1998), and his article on "Rikidozan and the Presentation of a Japanese Self " appeared in Japanese in *Rikidōzan to Nihonjin* (Okamura, ed., 2002).

R. Kenji TIERNEY is Visiting Assistant Professor in the Department of Anthropology at Union College, specializing in cultural and historical anthropology. He is completing a book on *Wrestling with Tradition: The Place of Sumo in Japanese Culture, History and Beyond*. Another article from this project was "It's a 'Gottsan' World: The Role of the Patron in Sumo" in *Fanning the Flames* (Kelly, editor, 2004).

WHANG Soon Hee is Professor in the Department of Sociology in the Institute of Social Science of Tsukuba University. She has published widely in educational sociology, cultural sociology, and sports sociology in Korean, Japanese, and English. She is the author, in Japanese, of *Nihon no erīto kōkō* (Sekai shisō sha, 1998), and edited a volume on the 2002 World Cup, *Sakkā: W-hai no nekkyō to isan* (Sekai shisō sha, 2003).

YAMASHITA Takayuki is Professor of Sociology of Sport and Popular Culture in the College of Social Sciences of Ritsumeikan University, Kyoto, Japan. His current research interests include sport supporter associations as new social movements in the public sphere and relationships between nationalism and sport. Among his recent English-language publications are "Another Kick Off: The 2002 World Cup and Soccer Voluntary Groups as a New Social Movement" (co-authored with Saka) in Horne and Manzenreiter (eds.), *Korea, Japan and the FIFA World Cup 2002* (2002) and "The Changing Field of Japanese Sport" in Maguire and Nakayama (eds.), *Japan, Sport and Society: Tradition and Change in a Globalizing World* (2006).

This Sporting Life

Sports and Body Culture in Modern Japan

Contributors

Elise Marie EDWARDS

Allen GUTTMANN

John HORNE

William W. KELLY

KIKU Kōichi

Wolfram MANZENREITER

SHIMIZU Satoshi

Laura SPIELVOGEL

SUGIMOTO Atsuo

TAKAHASHI Hidesato

Lee Austin THOMPSON

R. Kenji TIERNEY

WHANG Soon Hee

YAMASHITA Takayuki