

日・英におけるプロフェッショナル・スポーツの成 立形態に関する比較社会学的研究序説：分析枠組設 定のプロセスから

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Introduction to Comparative Sociological Study on Types of Development of Professional Sports in Japan and in Great Britain: From the point of a process of providing framing for analysis

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日・英におけるプロフェッショナル・スポーツの成立形態 に関する比較社会学的研究序説 — 分析枠組設定のプロセスから —

菊 幸 一

今日、アマチュア・スポーツのプロ化現象が様々に取り沙汰され批判されている中で、プロ・スポーツの成立を前提としてスポーツの制度的発展とその因果関係を論じた研究は極めて少ない。

本研究では、歴史社会的現象としてのプロ・スポーツの成立をどのように捉え分析していくべきなのかの課題を前提としながら、特に、E. ダニング (E. Dunning) 等が研究した英国プロ・ラグビーの成立をモデル・ケースとして、そこでの分析枠組設定の中心的視点からわが国におけるプロ・スポーツ成立（ここではプロ野球の成立）のための研究視点を検討し、それらに基づいた両者のケースを比較可能にする分析枠組を設定しようとする。そこで、国際比較研究をめぐる方法論的課題として比較のための共通基準、モノ差しの重要性を認識し、英国における階級対立的視点による日本の場合への理論妥当性を検討した。その結果、両者の比較研究を可能にする包括的な説明的視点として、プロ化の進行に関連づけられる階級の状況（外的 — 社会的な利害状況）と身分的状況（内的 — 心理的な利害状況）との相剋、親和のダイナミックス、及びそれらを規定要因とする布置連関を明らかにすることの重要性が示唆された。また、これらの概念構成は、スポーツを制度としてとらえていく制度論的認識に基づく名目的な分析視点を示すことにより初めて可能となることが理解され、日・英双方におけるプロ・スポーツ成立に関連した制度的連関性の共通性、異質性の析出とその因果連鎖の解明が今後の課題となることが指摘された。

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I. Introduction

Much Criticisms are heard these days on the phenomenon of professionalization of amateur sports. Yet, it appears to be very rare to find a systematic research on the development of a scheme related with sports with a prospect of the advancement of pro-sports.

The focus of this paper will be on the standpoint on which to comprehend and analyze the advancement

of pro-sports as historical and social phenomena. The works of E. Dunning & K. Sheard on the materialization process of pro-Rugby in England is referred to as a model case of this study. A perspective to study the formation of pro-sports (here is the formation of pro-Baseball) in Japan and the framework based on it are attempted to establish from a central viewpoint of providing framing for analysis in E. Dunning's works. This paper aims to pin down the different natures as well as common natures between the two in the course of comparative study of them and further to examine the feasibility and probability of defining nominally the common analytical component which may be allowed to be summed up as "institutional framework". And consequently, we will result in obtaining an assistance for comparative sociological analysis on the formation of pro-sports as a historical phenomenon between the two country.

II. Methodological Shortcomings in International Comparative Study and Limitation of the Present Work*¹

The excessive emphasis on notion as what we call "very Japanese sports" resulted in distorted objective recognition of "sports" in Japan to date and has brought about sentimental and passionate discussions based little on objective methodology in the turmoil of extreme adoration and dispraise. In these discussions, discriminations are everywhere resulting from intentional or unintentional "state of being stuck" on "very Japanese sports" by the observers or the speakers. In these discussion or disputes, there are little or no common ground such as basic epistemological and methodological criteria as to what characteristics may be derived from comparisons of which and which (limitation of objects for comparisons) and where a standard may be set as to choice of objects for comparisons (recognition for determining a common standard).

Such comparative talks between Japan and other countries as these "subjective theory on Japanese based on intuitive guesses (fold critic)³" are suggested to have methodological defects in general as follows according to Y. Sugimoto & Ross Mouer²):

- 1) episode intensive
- 2) terminology intensive
- 3) exclusive intuitionism
- 4) Occidental monism
- 5) disorder in standard for comparison
- 6) absence of reflections in sociology of knowledge, etc.

Thus, "preciseness in methodology" is of prime importance as pointed out by H. Tatano in carrying out comparative sociological research between Japan and England on "the types of development of professional sports" in this study. And to respond to this demand, following points need be taken into account.⁴

- 1) To define clearly "the standpoint" based on which the researcher will make his or her own comparative observation
- 2) To establish "a common criterion and a measurement" or the basis for comparison with embodiment of more precise notion
- 3) Demand for establishment of a new paradigm
- 4) Feasibility of analysis for collected materials based on a given standpoint and framing
- 5) Due considerations on acceptability of the abstracting procedure for establishment of general propositions regarding the characteristics of the sports in the two countrys
- 6) To clearly define the substantial aspect of "sports" for examinations

However, in order for us discuss "the types of development of professional sports" in Japan and in England, there are no works to be found which encompasses its total concept and that we have no way but to rely on separate cases as models. The past accumulation of the related literatures is so limited, as mentioned before, that the first half of this study is directed to clearly show a comprehensive explanatory

standpoint which may allow the process of the development of pro-Rugby in England as pointed out by E. Dunning et al. to be interpreted as a model case to be applied to pro-Baseball in Japan. This is totally to give answer for the item 1) in the foregoing paragraph.

We would like it to be understood that this study will not go beyond the preliminary description to the theme of this study in that the central topics is found to be some suggestions for the framing of a common criterion the item 2) based chiefly on the methodological aspect of the item 1).

III. The Outline of Its Steps to be Pro-Rugby and the Explanatory Point of View

— by E. Dunning et al. —

The Figure 1. in the following is a diagram showing the process of attaining the formation of pro-Rugby in England as explicated by E. Dunning & K. Sheard.*²

When the following conditions are fulfilled, the professionalization of Rugby in England came into being as a system with a schematic background of a class antagonism between the bourgeoisie and the proletariat :

- 1) When the level of technique in Rugby turned out to be that of proletariat > that of bourgeoisie,
- 2) As a result of the situation in the item 1), the contradiction of the ideology between the two became more conspicuous and that separation within the existing organization has occured,
- 3) That in dealing with this situation, entrepreneurs has begun to accept the demand of the proletariat concerning broken-time payment with an intention of materializing social control by this (and at the same time to effect the same other than the players by means of providing them with entertainment),
- 4) That thanks to development of industry, the enterprise has become a total source of providing the capital for maintaining the game (that is to say commercialization of the game has been attained).

As the underlying factors in their methodological approaches, sociogenetic or configulational approaches are taken to explain chiefly the development of modern Rugby. In other words, their study to give basic understanding to the development of modern Rugby was derived from approaches to explicate the ambient factors of Rugby, the inter relatedness of social factors affected by Rugby. The basic viewpoint of the research lies in the class contradiction as the then social process and to be more concrete, their explanation stems from dynamics of rivalry and affinity between the bourgeoisie and proletariat.*³

In this context, in addition to the professionalization of Rugby, Soccer and Cricket are also taken up to give explanation on professionalization. Especially, on the ground that the class conflict of interest has played a part in the professionalization of Rugby, they tried to detect clues that acted on the process by picking up contrasting phases of the two classes.

That is, proletariat took the Rugby game in the following perspectives :

- 1) The players sought Rugby as material mean by which to make living <Demand for wages> ,
- 2) The team to be recognized as the representation of a proletariot community <Elevation of the sense of belonging to a group and class> ,
- 3) To realize the tension and release which are expected of the game as spectator sports <Catharsis action> .

In order to meet these requirements, the bourgeoisie took the game in the following comprehension :

- 1) To give formality to the game, for example by adopting a cup and leagues <Introduction of competitions> ,
- 2) To tax fees <Monetization of the game> ,
- 3) To present match which attracts large spectators <Providing matches> ,
- 4) To give players broken-time payment <Guarantee of broken-time payment> ,
- 5) To bestow material remuneration in transfer of players from one club to another <Players as commodities>

At this stage, Rugby game ceased to be just a self conclusive game to be enjoyed and has come to present itself as "monetization of the game"⁴⁴ in its true sense.

In addition, the Figure 2. shows the latter's explanations in a diagram from the process of professionalization including Soccer and Cricket with the point of view of framing on the differentiations of the social classes.

That is, in the case of Rugby along with the advancement of professionalization in one body by the bourgeoisie and the proletariat in the northern part of England (in the state of C.), the gap or differentiation in the class between the southern bourgeoisie and the northern bourgeoisie or proletariat has begun to be lesser in the state of B. in the southern part of England. As a result, such a state cautioned the bourgeoisie in the south (in the state of D.). At this point, the conflict between the classes developed to be decisive which was to lead to a manifest separation within the organization. Whereas, in the cases of Soccer and Cricket, the related social situations were relatively stable either as in A. or in B. which did not appeal to the bourgeoisie as a menace and that the two within the organization started their ways of coexistence within the system with lesser amount of conflict between the classes and without separation. In the study of E. Dunning & K. Sheard, the course of professionalization of sports is illustrates with a point of view on the differences among the classes. That is, larger the differences among the classes, the more stable is relation of the ruling and the ruled and it does not call for tension within the organization which may result in separation. On the other hand, it is so observed that the tension and antagonism will develop so acute that it results in separation when the difference is smaller between the classes.⁴⁵

IV. The Feasibility toward Explanatory Viewpoint regarding the Establishment of Pro-Baseball in Japan

After the model case of the formation of pro-Rugby in England as seen in the previous chapter, feasibility of explanation on the way how pro-Baseball has come to exist in Japan in terms of a comparative research is now to be conducted with the following four points in particular :

- 1) Enhanced level of sport techniques
- 2) Aspect of separations of an organization
- 3) The intention on the part of entrepreneurs
- 4) Acceptability of the research standpoint (the standpoint of class conflict)

Based on the above, the following points can be presented as questions :

- 1) In the case of England, when the enhanced level of the game technique reached the point of form the proletariat > the bourgeoisie, the number of spectators increased and the professionalism was accelerated as a result of fact that game was the miniature model of an even contradictory class dispute. It is questionable if the Japanese pro-Baseball is derived from the effort on the part of the pro-Baseball to be always surpassing in techniques of the play compared to those of the students'.
- 2) In England, in terms of the social systems, professionalization appears to have developed in the course of resignation from existing organization, coexistence or repulsion with it and other relations. On the other hand, the question is if such internal organizational procedures have existed in the case of Japan.
- 3) In England, with regard to the class conflict, as the enterprisers' intention in the management of pro-sports, there was the side of use of the game as a tool to socially control the proletariat. The point of question is what has been the intention of the enterprisers who maintained pro-Baseball in Japan.
- 4) In case of England, the change in social structure centered around class conflict is highlighted as having acted on the domain of sports. Now the question is if such class conflict can be set in the center of the discussion in Japan.

To expand it to be professionalization of Baseball in Japan the model composed in the preceding research on professionalization in England, it is conceivable to be an explanatory viewpoint which may make Japan-England comparative research on professionalization to be made possible.

In Japan, sports first propagated and developed at schools and that the students at schools which adopted sports were the elite.*6 Therefore, it is imaginable that there would not have been games as a miniature scale reflected the class conflict in society at large. The same would have been true with the case of public schools in England. However the point of question now is after the students have finished the school and when they have become members of club teams and company teams whether the Baseball has undergone organizational arrangement by integrating (or with conflict among the classes) the general public (the proletariat, in E. Dunning's term). Now, to take a brief look at the schools the players of the clubs have graduated from, we see the following for instance. In case of Tokyo club, which was formed in 1908, all the players are OBs of Waseda University, Keio university, the 1st Highschool and Gakushuin. And in case of Tomon club and Mita club, the members are the graduates of Waseda for the former and Keio for the later exclusively.¹⁾ So far, there appears to be little ground to believe that any of the team has ever included the general public in forming a team.

It is not without any example that some of teams have been formed by the proletariat for themselves with a clear class consciousness indeed*7, however, there is no clear proof to be found that there was a request in Japan for the broken-time payment by players as there was in England which directly gave momentum for professionalization of Rugby. In short, in Japan there is neither decisive trace nor material supporting that professionalization took place out of an obvious class conflict as a miniature model of the strike in England. It may be very well that the intention of enterprisers in the item 3) has rather played a major part for the pro-Baseball of Japan. And also, with regard to higher level of techniques of the players, it was unlike in the case of and a result of natural higher growth of play technique of the proletariat (the proletariat > the bourgeoisie) in England. But it is presumable that it rather stems from an intentional attitude of the people connected with pro-Baseball so that its players may outplay those of students and company teams. That is, the professionalization of Baseball in Japan did not come from any of contradiction or conflict within an organization with a background of request for the management by the players themselves of middle class workers in business and industry. Instead, it has come from an ideology of the middle class of business and industry, and the upper organization of which is entirely stranger to the existing organization.

Under such circumstances, in order to conduct a comparative study on the forms and manners of development of professional sports in Japan and in England, it appears to be very important to examine in detail, including the historical aspect, the consciousness of the newly rising businessmen and industrialists and also of people related to sports and the changes in thought, creed and ideology, etc., (the change in *Ständish Lage*) in those days in addition to pay due consideration on the social, economic and political changes (the changes in *Klassenlage*) resultant of a rapid industrialization.

The point of importance in this context is considered to clearly identify the constellation of determinant factors concerning the dynamics of conflict and affiliation between *Klassenlage* (the phases of external-social interests) and *Ständish Lage* (the phases of internal-mental interests), in relation to the identification of themselves in the process of professionalization.*8

V. The Possibility of Constructing a Framework for Analysis for Comparative Sociological Research

— In search of inclusive approach based on recognition of systematic theory —

The point of the present study is directed to obtain a general framework for giving explanation on the process of development of professional sports both in Japan and in England with relation to the sociogenetic

or configurational aspect of them in modern ages after research on the way how pro-Rugby was formed in England as a model as so far has been stated. In addition to the case of pro-Rugby, other specific sports are also taken into consideration to examine the way in which professionalization took place. More concretely expressed, this study directs attentions to the following matters and also analytic perspectives in seeking solutions to them :

- 1) In modern Japan and England, when the conventional sports undergoes conversion to pro-sports, what sort of change of form can be taking place in substance? Concerns as to what the components of the forms, their internal relations, changes and continuities or the opposite are included.
— Pro-sports=viewpoint of comprising its systematic notion, concerns on it, its needs and ideology that acted on for the formation of pro-sports system
- 2) What significance will be attached to the sociogenetic factors of the modern pro-sports in Japan and in England, the socio-economic and political factors? Concerns as to the social conditions how could those factors interacted and how and by what they most controled toward introduction of pro-sports to the society.
— Perspective and necessity of industrialization theory as explanatory principle in macro-level and interests toward enterprises which were driving force especially making sports professional against such a theoretical background.
- 3) Concern and understanding of constellation and interrelations of ruling factors derived from combinations of the internal relatedness in the item 1) and the external relatedness in the item 2) in the process of development of modern pro-sports system in Japan and in England.
— Analytical judgement and explication of the chain of causes and results of common and uncommon traits of systematic relations concerned with the development of pro-sports in Japan and in England.

For the practical presentation of the above analytical viewpoints, it becomes necessary to draw up acceptable notion and difinition in order to perform objective analysis on the internal factors (the phases of internal-mental interests) concerned in the transition, i. e., sports → pro-sports. Only after this work, we will be able to indicate a need of a concept in macro-sense which may be applicable to pro-sport in the organic relation with the external factors (the phases of external-social interests).

Therefore, the presentation of an analytic framing in this study will begin with a discussion on a concept of pro-sports in terms of that on a concept of sports in general which may lead to a concept acceptable to both. At this stage, it will become possible to support it to be valid by means of manifestation of analytic viewpoint based on recognition of systematic theory which is able to set up the common analytic level of sports and pro-sports on the macro-conceptual regulation. The possibility of recognition of systematic theory as discribed above based on the comparative sociological study method will be recognized as comparative structural (systematical) study in its applicability as an individual method in defining other “types of development of professional sports”. Further this method is to be accepted as a typology in the comparative structural (systematical) study method and that will be interpreted as a comprehensive methodology of comparative studies which makes possible the “higher level of pursuit of universality resulting from relativization of the entire society (universality).⁵⁾

VI. In Closing — Future problems —

So far, we suggested the feasibility of building up framing for analysis based on recognition of systematic theory as a common standard or measuring rule which makes possible the comparative sociological study with regard to the types of development of professional sports both in Japan and in England. In order to establish further concrete analytic framing, the following points will begin to be subjects for future studies :

- 1) To prove the feasibility and applicability of systematic perspectives for analysis of establishment and development of sports → pro-sports through a detailed examination of the conventional concept of sports in general.
- 2) To examine and cross-examine the theories of each scholar and researcher on the ways, contents and analytic levels, etc., in the interpretation of systematic concept itself and to adopt as the components of “sports in terms of system” by singling out the most appropriate one and to build up a concept.
- 3) To limit the subjects to be handled as a model case for analytical study with application of the above procedure and to structure contents for analytic framing by means of setting up a common criterion for analytical study that may comprehend each of cases (It is also necessary to pay due considerations on the analytic adequacy of collected materials.).

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A mention is made here that the essential part of this paper is drawn, with a minor addition and revise, from my thesis for a Educational Doctorate, 1987., “Research on the Types of Development of Professional Sports and Its Social Conditions in Modern Japan”, (HAKU OTSU No. 456. Tsukuba University, March 25, 1988.)

Notes

- * 1) The essential of the statement here is nearly totally referenced to Hideo Tatano’s “Comparative Analysis of Sport Activities and its Value Consciousness (1) — Methodological Perspectives for the Studies of Present Japanese Sports —” *Health Science*, 10:91-101, 1988.
- * 2) Dunning, E. & K. Sheard: *Barbarians, Gentlemen and Players*, Martin Robertson, 1979. pp.130-268. There is a Japanese translation of the same book by Tetsunosuke Onishi and Kenji Onuma under the Japanese title, “Rugby and Englishmen — A Sociological Study on the Development of Rugby Football”, *Baseball Magazine*, 1988. Pp.356., however, the original copy is extensively refered to.
- * 3) E. Dunning et al. refrained from making distinctions among the class structure simply in three echelons as an upper class (aristocracy — gentry) — a middle class — proletariat. And they made more detailed classification especially among the middle class by which they tried to clearly define the characteristics of the middle class who may get in contact with the proletariat. By those means, the authors tried to give ground for the propagation of Rugby to the proletariat. The following is the classification and its bases taken up by them. [Dunning, E. & K. Sheard: op. cit., pp.131-133.]
 - (1) The Level of Property Ownership
 - ① “grand” bourgeoisie
 - ② “petit” bourgeoisie
 - (2) The Level of Occupation
 - ① business sections
 - ② professional sections
 - ③ clerical sections
 - (3) The Level of Prestige Terms
 - ① upper middle strata
 - ② middle middle strata
 - ③ lower middle strata
- * 4) The term, “monetization of the game” used here is with implication of dependence on money and monetary value and inclination toward such enviornmental situation. However, there is a clear distinction between this term and the term, “commercialization of the game” which clearly suggests the use of

- the game for the purpose of making profits either in individual or in group senses. [Dunning, E. & K. Sheard: op. cit., p.145. For details, please refer to p.310. "Note and References to page 127-149"]
- * 5) As another theoretical statement from the similar point of view, there is Core: "The Games of the Proletariat — the Supremacy of the Middle class — the Social Phases in the Relationship of Players and the Management in Pro-Football Clubs (1900-1914)", Edited and translated by the International Seminar Convention Committee in Tokyo concerning History of Physical Education and Sports, History of Promotion of Physical Education in School and Sports — Report on the International Seminar Convention Committee in Tokyo Concerning History of Physical Education and Sports —, N.I.C., 1981., pp.226-234.
- * 6) The fact that pupil whose schools adopted sports in their curricula have been elite is readily understandable from the following Table 1. Please read, in the Table 1., the proportions in the number of the pupils in the elementary schools who went on to the higher education. (The figures show percentages.)

Table 1 The ratio of students who go on to the next stage of education in Japan.

	to high school	to business school	to school for training teacher (higher)	to technical school	to university
1892	0.8			0.6	0.07
1900	3.7	0.7		0.7	0.2
1908	4.0		0.4(0.02)	1.2	0.3
1913	3.9		0.4(0.03)	1.1	0.3
1919	4.3	1.9	0.4(0.03)	1.3	0.3
1926	8.3	4.1	0.6(0.04)	1.8	1.3
1930	7.8	4.8	0.5(0.04)	2.0	1.6
1935	6.9	5.3	0.2(0.03)	2.0	1.4

Note: This table was made of the Ministry of Education, "History of the Education System for a Hundred Years—a Volume of Material", Teikoku Chiho Gyosei Gakkai, 1972. pp.211-247.

- * 7) For instance, establishments of sports organizations by the hand of the working class was in the increase from 1920s to 1930s reflecting the rapid growth of labor movements and that of the number of students. To give the specific name of the organization directly connected with Baseball, there is "Tokyo Baseball Club with 470 members" [Edited by Industrial Labor Relation's Research Center: Political Handbook of Proletariat, Dojinsha, 1928. pp.432-433. A similar comment is also made by Takahiro Ito. [Ito, T.: "A Fragment of Sports in the 1930s — A Sport Organization having been Lost" Physical Education, 30-9:64-65, 1982.]
- * 8) The distinctions made here as "class situation (Klassenlage)" and "status situation (Ständish Lage) are entirely dependent on the sociological theory by M. Weber, his own "historical outlook" which was derived from double perspectives of "idea" and "interests". (Refer, in particular, to M. Weber <Translated by Hisao Otsuka and Keizo Oimatsu>: Anthology on Sociology of Religion, Misuzu Shobo, 1972.)

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- 4) *ibid.*, pp.99-100.
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