

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所説（2）：分析枠 組みの設定とわが国のケースへの適用

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Introduction to Comparative Sociological Study on Types of Development of Professional Sports in Japan and in Great Britain (2): Providing Framing for Analysis and Application to Japanese Case

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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（２）

－分析枠組の設定とわが国のケースへの適用－

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前回の論文では、プロ・スポーツの成立形態をめぐって日・英両国の比較社会学的研究を進める場合、共通の基準・物差しになり得る名目的な定義を設定する必要性とその展開の可能性として、制度論的認識に基づく分析枠組を構築する重要性を指摘した。そこで、本稿では、比較社会学的研究におけるスポーツの歴史的発展形態を研究する方法的論拠として、歴史社会学的方法の有効性を明示した上で、制度としてのスポーツおよびプロ・スポーツの定義を試み、さらにスポーツ→プロ・スポーツへの発展形態を制度内的諸構成要素の変化と制度化の概念から特徴づけた。「制度」概念については、H. H. Gerth & C. W. Mills のそれを援用しつつ、その成立に共通する分析枠組を外的制度との関連性をも含みながら設定し、まずわが国における戦前のプロ野球の成立に適用して、その諸特徴を分析してみた。英国におけるプロ・スポーツ成立のモデル・ケースにおいても、そのモノグラフは当然異なるが、同一の分析枠組にしたがって記述、分析、説明され、その彼我の歴史的特徴を比較分析する可能性が示唆された。今後の課題としては、分析レベルにおける巨視性と記述レベルにおける微視性とを統合する新たな理論的可能性として「資源動員アプローチ (resource mobilization theory)」を適用し、分析枠組の精緻化と規定要因レベルのパターン化を図ることが示された。

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1. Introduction

In the previous paper, a need of nominal definition has been pointed out which would serve as a common criterion or a measurement in comparative sociological study on development of professional sports in Japan and in Great Britain. Also to facilitate tangible extension of the study, i. e., in order to make the study more concrete in illustrating the development of pro-sports, importance of building of an analytical framework based on the cognition in conformity with the institutional theory has also been stressed.

The previous paper covered such aspects as in the following¹⁾.

- 1) To prove the feasibility and applicability of systematic perspectives for analysis of establishment and development from sports to 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 way, contents and analytic levels, etc., in the interpretation of systematic concept itself and to adopt as the components of "sport 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.).

The objectives of this study is firstly to clarify the feasibility of historical-sociological methodology as basis for study of development of sports in historical perspective within comparative sociology and secondly try to define sports and pro-sports as a scheme in the social structure or institution and thirdly to characterize the development patterns of sports to pro-sports in light of changes of various structural factors within the system and from the standpoint of a notion working on the systematization.

Then, an application of such an analytical framework, so built up, are applied to the formation of pro-baseball in our country in prewar days and its characteristic aspects are analyzed.

2. Basis for and Feasibility of Historical-Sociological Methodology in Diachronic and Comparative Analysis

Examination of viewpoints of studies so far published on the formation of pro-sports, reveals that they uniformly take it as a cultural phenomenon related to industrialization except for studies by E. Dunning and some others²⁾. However, logical frameworks and considerations are hardly given to diverse behavioral aspect of human and to advantages and disadvantages associated with masses and organizations in these studies. In as much as that, nominal definition for sports and pro-sports to be constructed on it are not given in clear form. Such being the case, the researchers seem to fall victim to a plain "normal" deduction in the inductive method or prone to jump into dramatic unification as a result of excessive imagination and in a way of story telling which would sometimes distort reality.

Herein lies necessities, as E. Dunning et al. propose, studies dependent upon socio-genetic or cfigurational methodology and recognition of social process which will be determined by social structure brought about by such methodology. On the contrary, there also arise unnecessary to fix social structures that act on the social process which metamorphoses various relations of many structures and components within social system. That is to say, it becomes important to recognize historical facts as a series of separate and independent facts in order to stay away from dogmatic conclusions which will be brought about by recognizing social structure in a law and by the economic determinism. In other words, what is aimed at in this study is not to reach the *Gesetzeswissenschaft* that will be applied universally but to make use of the finding of the present study as one of the supports for facilitating

generic or unific recognition of social phenomena by sociologically refering individualization process with making cognition in law possible. This kind of, so-called historical sociological standpoint of study demands theoreticity in the *individualisierende Methode* just as it does in the *generalisierende Methode* in sociology. That is, historical sociology aims to grasp history in individualized and historical characteristics unlike general sociology that directs it attention to universal notions or rules. Here are the differences in the aim of cognition³⁾.

T. Skocpol et al. interpret historical sociological relations (strategy) between theory and history as (A); application of general model to history, (B); employment of general notions to interpretation of history and (C); analysis for the law of cause and effect of history. They attach the most importance to (C)⁴⁾. The ultimate theoretical and comparative analysis of historical occurrences will be summed up in application of general model as stated in (A), however, the strategy in (C), is referred to the present study as a transitory step. Caution will be directed in the course of this study so that the theoretical examination may not be tied down to specific characteristics of individual cases but may the scope of individual cases but may the scope of application of theories based on actual historical facts be duly limited and then the study may be serviceable to establishment of a general theory.

3. Establishment of Notion for Pro-Sports

— definitions on sports and pro-sport as the institution —

Difinitions on sports notions for pro-sports so far recognized as such may be summarized as those given by B. Gillet⁵⁾, C. Diem⁶⁾, and by International Council of Sport and Physical Education (I.C.S.P.E.)⁷⁾. Some of these define sports as “competitions, games, and also strong physical activities” (B. Gillet) or “physical activities with a touch of games accompanied by competitive features either with self or others” (I.C.S.P.E.) i. e., they are the difinition based on activities. Others define pro-sports as an activity totally deferent from sports in terms of value. However, such difinitions, with attention focused only on the action of the sport will tend, as H. Tatano’s cautions⁸⁾, to be a persuasive difinition where the researchers’ sentimental meanings and cognitive meanings are adjoined together. This kind of definition has such dangers as to make it impossible to form an analytical notions with only one meaning and simplicity which were determined in the teleology on the research level or in relation with the propose or theory in a study.

There is an intention to separate clearly between notions based on activities and *Werturteil* in the difinition of sports by P. C. McIntosh⁹⁾ and Kyuzo Takenoshita¹⁰⁾. In those studies of H. Edwards¹¹⁾ and G. H. Sage¹²⁾, the term “institution” is used in difinitions of sports so as to depict the nature of the sports which are organized of institutional components.

J. W. Loy¹³⁾ and Rey Sugawara¹⁴⁾ go in to pick up “institution” as the basic notion in understanding the developmental continual perspectives of sports in a chain of play→game→sports. This suggests that to seize sports as an institution is an important analytic viewpoint in macro-social level. At this point, this study is given a firm standpoint on which to make research on pro-sports “as institution” for comparative analysis of development of pro-sports in Japan and in Great Britain on a diachronic standpoint, which is the aim of this study, on its unbroken line towards institutionalization.

To this point, attention is directed to establishing a nominal difinition in a notion as institution as parameter for analysing the establishment of sports and pro-sports on a common ground. For pro-sports especially, professional notion is added to and classification of pro-

sports is referred to in defining the two as follows;

Sports; An institution that organizes physical skills and strength based on competitive ground.

Pro-sports; An institution that organizes physical skills and strength based on economic orders.

Comparison of the two definitions illustrates that as far as the physical skills and competitive actions are concerned and in light of institutional aspects, the two categories are on the same analytical level, that is, pro-sports and the previous sports (amateur sport) are to be discussed in the same analytical framework. On the other hand, professionalization of the sports will be laid for analysis by means of clarifying phases of introduction of economic orders into the sphere of the previous sports.

Following the clarifications made above, examination was made of notional understanding of institution, which was initiated by E. Durkheim¹⁵⁾ and was referred to that, proposed mainly by T. Parsons¹⁶⁾, J. K. Feibleman¹⁷⁾ and H. H. Gerth & C. W. Mills¹⁸⁾. As a result, four spheres that constitute institutional order — symbol, technology, position and education — which have been proposed by H. H. Gerth & C. W. Mills are employed here in establishing various common components of sports and pro-sports.

1) Sphere of Sports Symbol

(1) Sports Ideology

The form or system of a notion which is conceived to some extent in good order ideologically. In a more general sense, the total of the thought of people who support the institution, and the meaningfulness of doing so and value attached to the institution.

For convenience, in the stage of analytic work and gradual recognition, ideology "thinking" of an individual will be represented by the term "belief", that of a certain group, "creed" and the term "ideology" will be given when it is elevated to the level where it can be manifested as a thought representing the whole of the sport world. However, to allow in depth discussion on the ideology, there must be an overall insight for creed and belief and that they must be grasped in the entirety.

(2) Sports Rule

Game rules are expressed or unexpressed and rules by laws related to organization (such as rules of an association).

(3) Sports Symbol

Sports symbols are the sign-symbol which would be represented by the degree of celebrity of player, a team name, a name given to a particular skill or performance and a ritual.

In this sphere, importance is attached to spectacle aspects directed for audience and spectators.

2) Sphere of Sports Technology

(4) Sports Behavior Pattern

Sports behavior pattern as sports technology covers techniques in sports, method of training for enhancing the techniques, traditional manners and practice and method of handing down the sport techniques in the field of training.

(5) Sport Civilization

Sport civilization include all of the tools and gears, facilities and every material objects of use for sports.

3) Sphere of Sports Status

(6) Sports Organizations

Counted as sports organizations are sports groups (club and athletic teams) and associations (associations, federations and commissioners) that control inferior sports organizations. Also, competitions (conventions) can be interpreted as one of the organizations in that it is an organized game played between the groups made up of players vested with positions and roles.

The above components will be utilized as they are as a framework for comparative analysis of sports and pro-sports institutions (or systems) in historical-sociological perspectives both in Japan and in Great Britain.

4. Institutional Viewpoint on the Types of Development of Pro-Sports and Social Conditions

— presentation of analytic framework and its application to pro-baseball in Japan —

1) The mode of establishment of the previous sports institution and pro-sports institution as seen from a notion of institutionalization

With regard to a situation where another institutional order intervenes one institution, H. H. Gerth & C. W. Mills comment that each of the institutional phases are related to the all other orders and phases and that it is often convenient to check into the possible internal relations with use of the aims and means¹⁹⁾. That is to say, “activities that satisfy the purpose of one institutional order is apt to be use for the purpose of dominating another order”²⁰⁾. This suggests that “What is dominant in one order will simply become as a tool in another order”²¹⁾. They dubbed this phenomenon “ramification” and it is defined as “an activity that is an objective in itself in some order to be utilized as a mean in another order”

22)

Generally speaking, it is said to “there are two types of institutions, i. e., one that is a behavioral pattern taken for granted in daily life and upgraded to as a naturally grown institution and another that was enacted intentionally by some scheme”²³⁾. Now, with reference to the previously stated definition for pro-sports, it may be put this way that pro-sports institution was enacted and established as a result of having been utilized as a mean in terms of economic institution. Be it were so, if the previous sports institution had introduced economic institution out of its own will to secure its economic back ground for the well being of the institute, it will be possible to take it as a natural development into pro-sports institution.

In case of pro-baseball in Japan, it will be safe to take it as an enacted institution in light of historical facts. And further, it will be possible to give a hypothetical frame that in the course of development of baseball to pro-baseball, schematic and intentional force of economic institution has worked to the each component of the former making it as simply a mean to obtain the latter.

- 2) The constellation relationship of main factors which determined the establishment of pro-baseball institution as an enacted one
— presentation of framework for analysis applied for the case in Japan ²⁴⁾ —

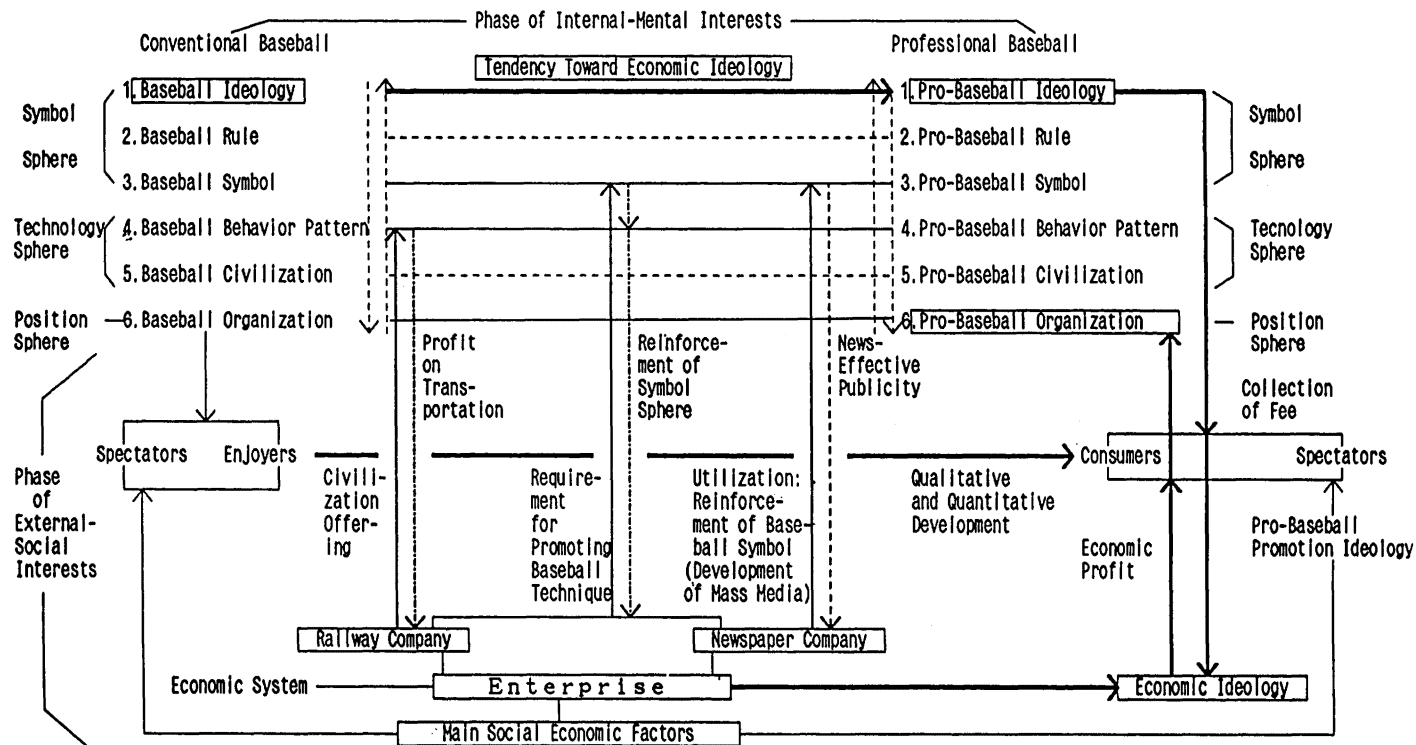
Japan Professional Baseball Federation Inauguration General Meeting on February 5, 1936 and that the event is taken as having marked the onset of full formed pro-baseball in Japan in this study. The phases and background of the institution of economic order (intervention by enterprises) into the previous baseball, namely, intervention by four press companies and three railroad companies may well be reasoned as following. Press companies, in terms of mass media, would make use of their teams for advertisement of their own companies, and will seek the games as news source and will envision resultant expansion of circulation of their papers. In short, the press companies' intention was to explore the Symbol Sphere (3. Baseball Symbol) within the pro-baseball institution. On the other hand, the railroad companies eyed for securing the space indispensable for baseball games and to enrich the income from transportation business by pumping spectators to the baseball stadium. That is to say, this group of companies eye for intervening in the sphere of Sports Technology (5. Baseball Civilization). In addition, both groups of the enterprises went into the Tecnology Sphere (4. Baseball Behavior Pattern) and reinforced the Symbol Sphere within the baseball institution and their efforts were further fulfilled thanks to the radio broadcast with the progress of mass medium.

At this point, it becomes of vital importance how the spectators, who were made consumers as a result of intervention of economic system into the sports, were taken into the fabric in the development of pro-baseball undergoing changes both in quantity and quality. In solving this question, it will become necessary to examine the various phases of the spectators that they have experienced in terms of their Position Sphere (with regard to games in baseball organization) and in Symbol Sphere (1. Baseball Ideology and 3. Baseball Symbol).

As so far stated, against main social economical factors in a total society as the phase of external-social interests, the development of pro-baseball in Japan prewar days may be said to have emerged from interventions and utilizations by the established press companies and railroad companies particularly in the field of Symbol Sphere (the factor in 3.) and Tecnology Sphere (the factors in 4. and 5.) and in the role of radio broadcast that help accelerate such interventions and historical changes of the spectators who are consumers.

At this stage in this research, the internal factors within the institution that acted upon development of pro-sports will be examined based upon the concept on dominant symbol of H. H. Gerth & C. W. Mills ²⁷⁾ and in reference to views of T. Miyajima ²⁵⁾ and M. Sanbonmatsu ²⁶⁾. In the process of establishment of an institution (= institutionalization), the driving power will be derived from the sum of the interests and concepts (1. Baseball Ideology) of those who participate in it. This process will be more concrete by grasped from the observation how the conventional sports theory or sports ideology after accepting its turning to pro-baseball have been taken place by economic ideology which reflects the economic order that eventually will be further promoted. It is considered that the conventional baseball institution may form an internal basic structure or the internal turning point by which to turn to pro-baseball institute, so to say reflecting the phase of internal-mental interests.

As so far stated, this study will ultimately examine, as the ruling factors by means of



- a. Broad Line →
This shows related factors in chain forming the central part of analytical framework.
- b. Unbroken Line →
This shows interventions into various components of the baseball institution by each enterprises and the basic relations.
- c. Broken Line (A) ---→
This shows merits and effects brought about by components in the baseball institution to the enterprises.
- d. Broken Line (B) ←---
This shows interactions among components within the baseball institution.
- e. Broken Line (C)
This shows the area where little relations with enterprises or some relations with components that are of little significance.

Fig. 1. Presentation of Analyzing Framework

picking up contrasting situations; the phase of internal-mental interests vs. the phase of external-social interests, framing for analytic study as in Fig. 1 is given. As a model case of development of pro-sports in Great Britain, discription, analysis and explanation will be given based on the identical analytic framework. However the monographs may be different from each other as a matter of fact, it will allow more explicit comparison the historical characteristics.

5. In Closing

— Future subject ; In relation to application of the resource mobilization theory —

On initiating comparative analytical works on types of development of professional sports in Japan and in Great Britain, an analytical framework was constructed to make it as a common measure from institutional viewpoint with historical-sociological method as basis for methodological approach. And then, a rough sketch is made of the case of pro-baseball in Japan. The future course of study will be to apply more detailed monographs to the model case in Great Britain and to examine by more generalized cross-analytical viewpoint returning to basic ideas within the analytical framework.

However, at this point, as a basic question to be reexamined is how to deal with the comparative analysis by institutional view which tends to be too macroscopic and to rough even though it may maintain some dependability in terms of diachronic basis for analysis. On the other hand, in content analysis in verifying the relations of ruling factors, it is prone to be just a pile of detailed socio-historical phenomena and it is presupposed that the gap between the macro-viewpoint of the former and this one will be fairly wide.

In as much, there arises it becomes necessary to minimize the gaps between the two, and to make explicit the stages and turning points of the development in historical perspectives making it possible to compare each of them for a more micro-comparative analysis. To do so, we need to establish a theory in which the main historical subject or interactions in organizational level may be laid bare for discussion. That is, it becomes necessary to realize a comparison on the level of "in what manner" instead of that of "how" which is liable to be in macro-analysis. And as the next step, "resource mobilization theory" and its feasibility will be discussed which will be a theory that allows detections of serial relations among meta-level of factors.

The pages are limited to explain in detail what resource mobilization theory is but the focal point of the theory is an attempt to clarify to the full the structural factors on which the very conditions that made varied surplus resources, once latency, are mobilized for the cause of the sports organization. So to say, the theory is to take the development of pro-sports organization in the scope of a social movement as seen from theory of organization. Also, as just mentioned, since the characteristics of the resource mobilization approach is "to have conceived the social change as an interaction centered around the solidarity group which suffered effects of decision-making persons on both macro and micro levels"²⁸⁾, it will serve for comparative analysis of psychological factors from the stand point of the level of interactions.

In any case, to make more detailed comparative analysis possible between Japan and Great Britain in the mechanism and history of the development of pro-sports, it is suggested the future subject as follows. That is, it is the procedures of mobilization, strategy, results of the movements of pro-sports organization that is an organization of movement with due

stress placed on *Zweckrationalität*, and the continuity of the institutional actions with attention paid to the solidarity of the matrix bodies (cohesiveness), loss and gain, supporting grounds, possession of resources such as personnel and fund, and to the characteristics of organization.

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The gist of this study is a partial revise and some addition of new ideas to my thesis for an 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).

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Social facts, in Durkheim's words mean "all forms of action that impose external restrictions on an individual or that having its own existence and having generic nature in an expanse of a given society and that are either or not". [Durkheim, E. (trans. by Koken Sasaki): *Sociological Methodology*, Gakubunsha, 1976, p.35].

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