

HISTORY OF SPORT POLICY AND SPORT INDUSTRY IN JAPAN SINCE 1945

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Part 1. Sport Policy Since 1945

I. Introduction

Since the 1960s in the industrialized countries 'Sport for All' has developed, especially in European countries supported by the idea of the Welfare State, and sport has been thought of as a form of recreational welfare. Although Japan has not really enjoyed the benefits of the Welfare State, the 1970s were called the decade of welfare. However, since around 1980 the mainstreams of sport ideologies and leisure policies in Japan have been commercialization economically and imperialism politically. Generally speaking, the area of sport is conservative and sometimes reactionary. Therefore the democratization of sport policy and the development of the public characteristics of sport are urgent problems in Japan. A historical review of sport policy since World War II will be needed first, with relation to several social phenomena. (Uchiumi 1993)

II. History of sport policies in Japan

Sport policy has been affected by the political, economical, cultural and military background. The author divides the history since World War II into the following five periods.

1. Pre- and intra-war period

Sports were imported to Japan more than 100 years ago in the Meiji period. Till then there were no sports other than martial arts, Kendo, Judo, Karate, Naginata and so on. After that sports were enjoyed mainly by university students who formed an elite in society under its Western liberal ideology. There were thus two mainstreams of 'sport' in Japan, western sports and Japanese indigenous sports (martial sports).

During World War II sports imported from 'enemies' were banned and every kind of sport and physical education was militarized under the influence of emperor worship. Sport organizations took the initiative in obeying militarism and imperialism. The Great Japan Association of Amateur Sports obtained more than 90% of its financing from the government, and in 1942 under the emergency war measures the Prime Minister became

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the president of the Association with the Minister of Education and the Minister of Health and Welfare as vice presidents.

The Ministry of Health and Welfare was founded in 1938 for the administration of health and fitness of people (mainly in order to produce good soldiers.) After that the administrative responsibility for sports was shared with the Ministry of Education which was founded in 1872. In 1939 the Peoples' Fitness Act was enforced, by which sports were prohibited and people had to check their fitness once or twice a year and to devote it to the emperor. The 12th Olympic Games (Tokyo) in 1940 were cancelled and Japan invaded Asian countries.

2. The first period (1945~1949)

World War II involved four elements of confrontation, the first was the imperialistic and invasive war by the three allied (developing) nations of Japan, Germany and Italy for re-division of colonies owned by the developed nations. The second was between facism and democracy. The third was between capitalism and socialism, and the fourth was between dependent countries (colonies) and occupying powers. After the war the main areas were the third and the fourth.

The first period of the post-war sport policies was from August 1945 to June 1949, which was the beginning of sport policy, and involved a search for sport's own Act.

① The General Head Quarters of the allied forces introduced American-style democracy and anti-facism, which were realized as two occupation policies. Immediately after the end of the war 'passive' democratization was adopted and the GHQ banned many militaristic, imperialistic and reactionary matters, and this involved the sports area too. Some pro-military organizations were dissolved and war criminals were punished. Subsequently 'positive' democratization were established, a great deal of freedom was secured, the new Japanese Constitution was adopted and people could have fundamental civil rights for the first time in their history. Japan abandoned the use of invasive military force under Article 9 of the Constitution. However, the emperor, who was the chief war criminal, was not punished and was given a position as symbol of the nation. Of course, democratization reflected the features of the war mentioned above and historical levels of democracy and at the same time the inner confrontation of democrats and imperialists, the latter being still alive under the surface. This was the result of anti-communist American democracy and the historically incomplete experience of democratic revolution by the Japanese people. The USA maintained the emperor system as an anti-communist force. Around 1948, the USA's Asian policy changed to an overt anti-communism and then militarism and imperialism were revitalized. A general strike by national civil servants for improving their lives was banned by the GHQ by reason of being pro-communist. After that Japan was regarded as 'an unsinkable aircraft carrier' of the USA in Asia. Therefore democratization was not perfectly realized but anti-communism and imperialism were revitalized by American democracy.

② Sports were introduced into school curricula after the war, supported by the USA as a good opportunity for democratic experience, and as a result every child including those from the lower classes could experience sports.

Even in this period excellence in sport was pursued, but mass participation was ignored. Ordinary people had not still enough leisure time, so sport for them was not something to

participate in but only to watch.

The Japan Association of Amateur Sports (JAAS, Nippon Taiiku Kyokai) was re-organized after being dissolved immediately after the war by the GHQ because of its pro-imperialist stance during the war. It reopened sport events especially the National Sports Meeting (Kokumin taiiku taikai) which had been held as a form of devotion to the Emperor till the end of the war. The meeting became very important as an integral event for talented athletes, and 80~90% of the total financing of the Association derived from government grants after the war as before it. The Association thus depended on the government and she became something like a quasi-governmental organization.

Top athletes wanted to join the 14th London Olympic Games (1948), and energetically lobbied the IOC through the GHQ, but the JOC was not invited.

JAAS had two sport policies, the pursuit of excellence mentioned above and mass participation or popularization. However, there were no places for sport and no sporting goods, and no leisure time for ordinary people. They could not play sport themselves but just became spectators.

Some sports leaders who were punished as war criminals returned to the scene and the sporting world was steadily imperialized again in obedience to the government.

③ Though a Sport Act, which was desired earnestly by sportsmen for the sake of the prestige of sport itself, was drawn up privately by some officials, the Centre of Information and Education (CIE) in the GHQ did not permit it because of the priority of the Social (Adult) Education Act (June, 1949). Consequently the sport and recreation were merely mentioned in the articles of the Social (Adult) Education Act of 1949, but this was anyway the first time sport had been introduced as the component of an Act in Japan.

3. The second period (1949~1961)

The second period was from June 1949 to June 1961, which was the preparatory period of the Sport Promotion Act (June, 1961).

① In this period Japan founded the fundamental features of its post-war regime. It became formally independent of the allied forces in 1952, but was obedient to the USA politically, economically and militarily, and remained under the umbrella of the Pax-Americana. In 1955 conservative parties were integrated, and since then the so-called conservative monopoly system, which was called the foundation of the post-war regime of Japan, has continued. Supported by the USA the Japanese economy grew rapidly from around 1955 till the mid-1970s. Because of its importance as a wall against Asian socialist countries, the USA supported Japan as it did West Germany in Europe politically, economically, ideologically and militarily. Economic power reached its pre-war level in 1955, and after that growth rates were more than 10% every year on average.

The industrial structure had changed from light to heavy industry dependent on oil from the Middle East, while coal mining had been scrapped. The workers' unions were under severe pressures from the employers and the government. In education several notorious reactionary policies were introduced again, after being prohibited for some years after the war.

In 1950 the army was reorganized to protect US military bases in Japan, because the US was fighting in the Korean Peninsula and could not guard its bases itself.

In 1954 a Japanese fishing boat was contaminated by the radioactivity near Bikini be-

cause of the USA's atomic bomb experiment. From this accident the anti-nuclear weapons movement developed and spread all over the world, as did other peace movements.

In 1960, the Japan-USA Security Treaty was renewed, but strong opposition emerged as many people hoped that Japan could do without a military treaty. Public opinion was divided, and the conservatives felt the crisis of their regime.

② Sport was still the amusement of the ruling classes and ordinary people were just spectators. At the end of the 1950s TV became popular. In 1952 Japan came back to the Olympic Games (Helsinki). In 1958 the third Asian Olympic Games were held in Tokyo, which was the first international sport event in Japan since the war. After the Asian Olympic Games the IOC decided to hold the 18th Olympic Games (1964) in Tokyo. Administrative organizations for the Olympic Games were set up by the government, Tokyo and other local authorities.

On the establishment of the Social (Adult) Education Act of 1949, the department of physical education (Taiiku-kyoku which included physical education in schools, school health services, school meals and sport in society) in the Ministry of Education was absorbed into the department of social (adult) education.

Being a component of the Social (Adult) Education Act of 1949, sports organizations like the Japan Association of Amateur Sports could not obtain grants from government under Article 13 of the Act and Article 89 of the Constitution which prohibited public support of 'private' educational organizations. Such organizations therefore wanted an independent sport Act which would permit grants from government.

The disappearance of the bureau of physical education affected the local authorities which decreased their own sport sections, because local authorities were really suffering from a lack of financing, and imitated the central government.

There were three major demands by the people engaged in sports, especially officials of government and local authorities and governing bodies.

- a. Revival of the bureau of physical education,
- b. Invitation of the Olympic Games to Tokyo,
- c. Making an Act dealing specifically with sport.

The first demand was realised (1 May, 1958) in the course of preparing for the third Asian Olympic Games (Tokyo, 1958). In 1958 the course of study was drastically revised, accepting the demands of industry and physical education was given more importance in schools, so a bureau for physical education and sport was required as well.

The second demand was fulfilled by the IOC's decision concerning the Tokyo Olympic Games (26 May, 1959).

In the process of preparation, some temporary Acts were enacted for the Olympic, and then a movement for the enactment of the Sport Promotion Act was supported by many people and organizations (June, 1961).

③ This Act was proposed by members of parliament, not by the Cabinet council, so that it had no right to offer any financial proposals. The Act was the first and so far the only separate sport Act in Japan and contains four sections. Its twenty-three articles include several aspects for the promotion of excellence and mass participation. It was characterised by some researchers mainly for its excellence, for the integration of people and for the absorption of their political frustrations. However, on the other side this Act supported mass participation after the end of the Tokyo Olympic Games.

4. The third period (1961~1972)

The third period was from 1961 to 1972, which was the period of formation of the Japanese Sport Regime.

① The crisis aroused by people opposed to the renewal of the Japan-USA Security Treaty made the government soften the anti-government movement in every phase. Culturally and ideologically Americanization was introduced and accelerated in Japan. The Tokyo Olympic Games were looked forward to by many organizations for their own purposes. The government regarded them as a means of dispelling peoples' political frustrations. Industries regarded them as an opportunity to expand domestic demand. The military regarded them as an occasion to obtain the support of the people.

In the latter half of the 1960s, more than a hundred American bases in Japan were used for the invasion of Vietnam, and the Japan-Korea Treaty was made to support the USA. Okinawa especially, in the southern part of Japan, became a frontline base and Japan had been getting involved in the war.

In the same period there were many contradictions in the high economic growth which stressed not collective consumer goods but just collective producer goods. So far Japan had not experienced the Welfare State and just experienced high economic growth with the convergence of population into big cities. Consequently those cities faced a severe shortage of collective consumer goods. The high economic growth of Japan made possible by the low working standards and the loose production regulations, which resulted in many working injuries and even death from overwork, and outside factories a great deal of pollution. Japan was called the department store of public nuisances.

After the late 1960s the political atmosphere became more progressive especially among local authorities. The frustrations of the people promoted the progressivism and led to the formation of 'welfare local authorities' which influenced the central government from the beginning of the 1970s.

② In this atmosphere it was decided to hold the 18th Olympic Games in Tokyo. In the early 1960s many *industries* began to allocate sport for their labour management within the high growth of the Japanese economy. The main purpose was the enhancement of workers' physical fitness and health and the integration of young workers' thought which had been influenced by socialism. Through the Tokyo Olympic Games, these industries expected economic benefits through construction including sports facilities, roads and the Shinkansen (bullet-train between Tokyo and Osaka), as well as through tourism. Central *government* and local authorities reorganized and prepared their administrative order for sport. The Japanese Defence Forces (*military*) helped energetically in the management of the Games, and founded their own sport school of excellence. And they gained a better reputation than they had expected. Their intention to ingratiate themselves with the people was accomplished, because those forces themselves were thought of as anti-Constitutional by the people. The Conservative government enjoyed the success of the Olympic Games and employed it also to spread their conservative policies and ideologies among the people, with the result that sport *movements* (supported by the socialist or communist party) emerged to cope with the government policies and to democratize the sporting world especially through guaranteeing mass participation, which had been ignored by government although it was the people's demand. Here, the Japanese Sport Regime was formed through the

agency of the four elements italicized above.

After the Olympic Games (1964) people were much concerned with doing sports. Many local authorities began to make special sections for sport and leisure and began to be involved steadily.

In European countries sport and leisure policies had already been incorporated as the responsibilities of central and local governments. A committee in the Ministry of Education was asked about the programmes of provision of sport facilities in the late 1960s.

③ Economically, culturally, ideologically and of course politically sport became a very important instrument for their own purposes, and since then they have begun to make their own sports policies. Since the late 1960s, the Sport Promotion Act of 1961 has influenced mainly local authorities.

The Japanese Sport Regime was formed through the Tokyo Olympic Games.

5. The fourth period (1970s)

The fourth period is mainly the 1970s, which was the era of the 'sport right' of people and of recreation as a form of welfare.

① Since the mid-1960s a great deal of pollution, as well as ill health and death from overwork among workers occurred, and collective consumer goods were lacking as a necessary result of high economic growth which supported mainly collective producer goods. From 1973, the Oil Crisis and Dollar Shock battered the world economy. However, Japan exceptionally recovered by expanding domestic demand and by lowering working conditions, with low salaries and long working hours, while reorganizing industrial structures by trimming management and increasing exports. Through the 1960s and early 1970s Japan was ruled by the so-called 'company-oriented society,' which would be even more influential in the 1980s.

Politically, progressive mayors were elected in more than half the local authorities from the late 1960s; they promoted welfare policies for the socially weak, leaving the central government behind. Civil rights accompanied by social rights expanded, and it was said that 'welfare society' began in Japan in 1973.

② In 1972 a committee submitted a report to the Minister of Education, titled *Fundamental policies for the promotion of people's physical education and sport*. The report, ruled by the provisions of the Sport Promotion Act of 1961, proposed scales of sport facilities provision which were learnt from *Planning for Sport* (1968) by the CCPR in Britain.

Even during the depression investment in sport facilities by the public sector had increased, and the year 1973 was called the start of 'welfare society.' With the expansion of domestic demand some parts of the report were put into practice, and in many local authorities sport and leisure sections were newly created or enlarged.

Ideologically, 'Sport right' (the civil right of enjoying sport) was established and spread to people and local authorities. This idea was originated by the sport movement (the Shintairen) in 1965, which developed steadily in the 1970s in Japan and internationally by the 'Sport for All Charter' of the Council of Europe in 1975 and the 'International Charter for Physical Education and Sport' of the UNESCO in 1978. Academically, researchers in law and sport gathered to discuss the 'sport right' mainly in the 1970s. The Sport Promotion Act of 1961 implied the natural right of sport, which meant the individual freedom to play or not play sport, and the report to the Minister (1972) implied the social right of

sport which meant that the people had a right to demand that the public sector provide facilities and coaches and so on.

③ In this stage, sport showed and revitalized its own 'Public' characteristics. 'Sport right' became popular domestically and internationally. Governments involvement (the public sector) enlarged steadily and the private (commercial) sector became subsidiary.

6. The fifth period (1980s~)

The fifth period is from the early 1980s to the present, during which the commercialization of sport policy and injection of imperialist ideology into sport have been strengthened. So, this period was characterized by confrontation between the 'sport right' and commercialism and imperialism.

① In developed countries, mainly the USA, UK and Japan, the new conservatism, new liberalism or monetarism has been adopted and social welfare has confronted a severe crisis. In Japan welfare budgets have been cut, and beneficiaries must share expenses themselves. Therefore the main beneficiary has been the classes above the middle. Some roles of local authorities have been under competitive tendering.

Japan as well as the other developed countries adopted monetarism and a stingy government policy. National companies such as the railways, telecommunications and tobacco were privatized and the government trimmed itself. Only parts in the interest of the central and local government were opened for privatization, while the government enlarged its military forces and wanted to send them to overseas as in the pre-war invasions. With this policy the ideology concerning Japan's responsibility in the world has been stressed and imperialism has been combined with it.

Economically Japan's GNP surpassed that of the USA and Japan became the top creditor country in 1985. This was made possible by Japanese 'company-oriented society,' which means that the ethos of company dominates and governs every phases of life, with long working hours, low salaries, poor working conditions, no workers unions and so on. In this situation only competitiveness and performance are evaluated, necessarily resulting in much publicized case of 'Karoshi (death by overwork)' in the 1980s. Figure 1-1 shows the still long working hours in 1991 compared to other developed countries.

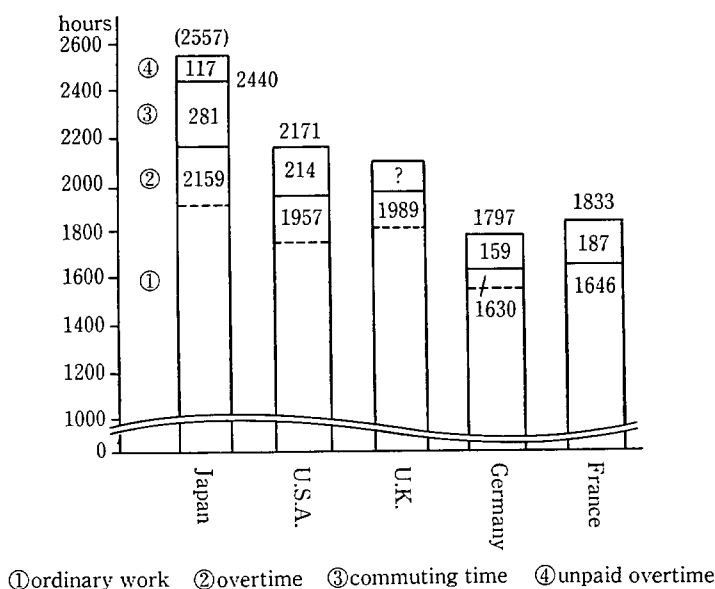
In schools children have been evaluated only by their test scores, and nearly half of them go to private preparatory schools after ordinary school several days a week. It has been warned that they have many developmental problems intellectually, morally and physically by overstudying and thus lacking the socialization obtained through children's play. The long working hours of fathers and mothers have also separated parents from their families.

Since then the nature of affluence in both its material and its spiritual and cultural aspects has been questioned in all phases of life in Japan, reflecting the continuing inadequacy of human rights in this country.

② Government expenditure on sport has been decreased from the peak in 1982, and in 1990 it was less than half that in 1982 (Figure 1-2). Instead, the commercial sector has obtained many benefits in local authorities. Governing bodies began to depend on support from companies (direct donations and sponsorship of events, etc.).

The political and ideological reaction has been strengthened since the mid-1970s. Japanese imperialism was forced on pupils in schools and through the mass media. It has also

FIGURE 1-1. INTERNATIONAL COMPARISON OF WORKING HOURS AND COMMUTING TIME



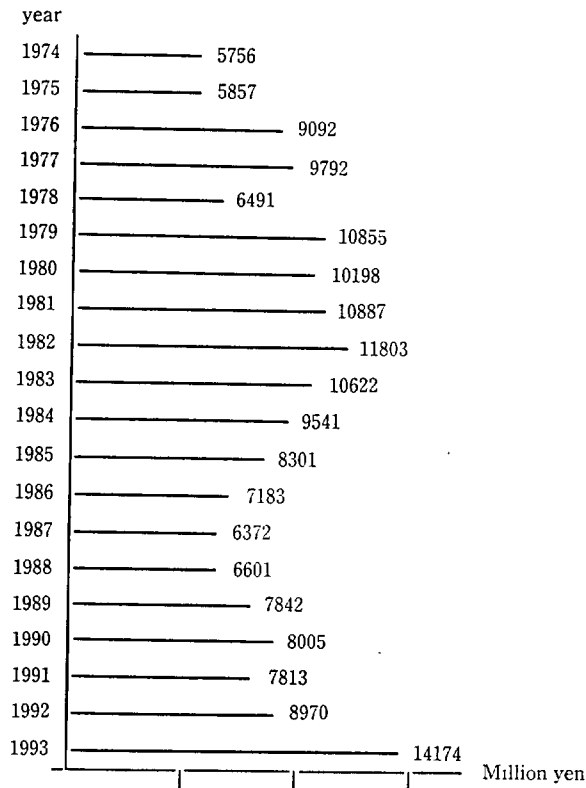
Data are from the White Paper on Working Hours (1991) and elsewhere.

been stressed in the sporting area by forced imperial worship.

In 1989 a committee (a study on the sports industry) in the Ministry of Trade and Industry submitted a report titled *Sports Vision 21* which intended to accelerate commercialization in the various markets for sports. In the report, sport facilities provision, numbers, and suppliers were shown (Figure 1-3). Most sport facilities in Japan belong to schools, which have been very slow to accept joint usage of their facilities with the community. The expectation about the numbers of facilities by 1987 in the report of 1972 had been realized by only 40~50% in the early 1980s. Since then the situation has not changed. But the government and the committee thought that sports facilities provided by the public sector are adequate and from now on the role will be performed by the commercial sector. In the figure, during the 15 years from 1985 to 2000 they emphasized the commercial sector enormously compared with the public sector, and there are no real plans for the public.

In the government there are some 14 departments concerned with sport policies; they came together in the early 1980s under the leadership of the Prime Minister, but no co-operative work has yet been produced. Moreover there are conflicts between the Ministry of Education and the Ministry of Health and Welfare and so on, so that adequate co-operation between them is an urgent necessity. So far sport policies have been governed mainly by the Ministry of Education under the Sport Promotion Act of 1961. Recently sport policies have been made by local authorities outside the education section, by departments belonging to the sections directly governed by the mayor, which makes responsibility very complicated in sport policies.

FIGURE 1-2. CENTRAL GOVERNMENT FINANCE FOR THE PUBLIC
SPORTS FACILITIES
(Excluding school facilities)



③ The confrontation between 'sport right' and commercialism and imperialism, which is in effect a confrontation between the public and individual faces of sport, is a main feature since the 1980s. Society seems to be taking a step backwards and the differences between rich and poor are becoming increasingly serious.

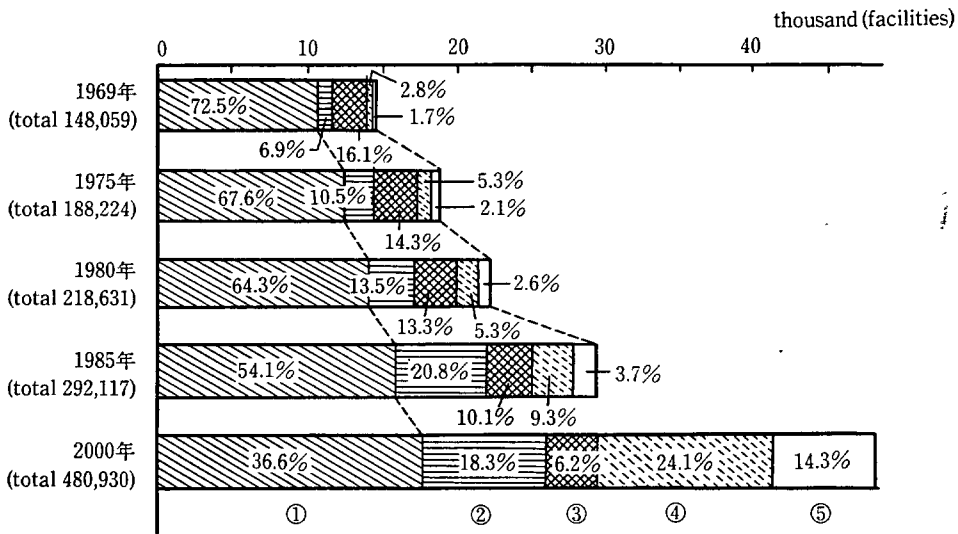
III. Sport ownership the public face of sport

1. Brief history of sport ownership

Figure 1-4 shows the history of sport ownership from the view point of the public nature of sport and 'sport right.' In Primitive Common Society sport was played and owned equally by all members of the community.

In Ancient Slavery Society all aspects of culture were monopolized by the aristocracies, namely the citizens of Greece and Rome. Sports meetings were held for the first time in history. Eligibility to participate in sport meetings including the ancient Olympic Games

FIGURE 1-3. FACILITIES (Numbers and suppliers)



① Sports facilities in schools ② Public sports facilities ③ Sports facilities in factories

④ Private sports facilities (for profit) ⑤ Private sports facilities (nonprofit)

required a certificate of citizenship of the cities involved. Sport meetings were held not as private performances but as national and public events. This means that the aristocracies monopolized sport, which is a cultural system with competitive meetings at its apex, and insisted on their 'sport right' as involving eligibility (a special right), which excluded slaves from sport meetings. Furthermore, sport meetings were enjoyed as *public* events.

In Feudal Society sport meetings were not as popular as in the previous system. Sport was mainly monopolized by the feudal aristocracies and enjoyed in their own societies without the participation of other classes. Sometimes they prohibited football among the lower classes. Sport ownership was monopolized by the Feudal aristocracies and sport meetings were held *publicly* in their own society. Nevertheless, other classes began to own their sports little by little in proportion to the increase of their general private ownership.

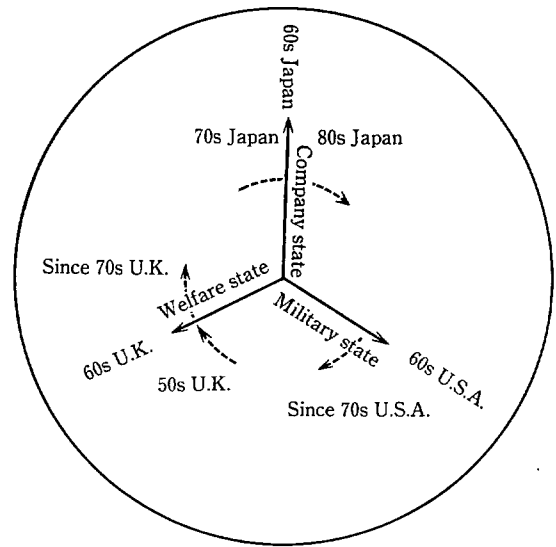
In British Capitalism the bourgeois made amateurism monopolize sport in order to exclude the proletariat. Modern society has individualism for its ethos and amateurism combined with it. Therefore the concept of sport as an individual matter has been spread through amateurism. However, in capitalistic society the bourgeois insisted on their 'sport right' by creating amateurism and excluding the proletariat, and sport meetings were held as *public* events in their own society.

But in recent society amateurism has collapsed and the public aspect of sport has been revitalized both in terms of excellence and of mass participation. In excellence and mass participation the involvement of government is a necessary historical trend. 'Sport for all' policies in the developed countries have indicated the trend. Commercialism was gaining power in the 1980s, but commercialism is a typical private sector it cannot substitute for the

FIGURE 1-4. HISTORY OF 'SPORT RIGHT' AND THE PUBLIC NATURE OF SPORT

	Sport right	Public nature of sport
Primitive Common Society	(Ownership) Common ownership by members of society existence of undivided and primitive 'sport right' and public nature of sport	
Ancient Slavery Society	(Ownership) Monopolized by aristocracies 'Sport right' of aristocracies eligibility for sport meetings	Sport meetings as public events
Feudal Society	(Ownership) Monopolized mainly by feudal aristocracies Special right of aristocracies Prohibition of football for other classes	Public nature in aristocracies
Capitalistic Society	(Ownership) Monopolized by the bourgeois Bourgeois 'sport right' amateurism	Public nature in the bourgeois
Scientific Socialist Society	(Ownership) Equal ownership by all members of society sport for all 'Sport right' for all Unity of 'sport right' and public nature of sport	

FIGURE 1-5. THREE PHASES OF THR WELFARE STATE MODERN CAPITALISM



public sector because the essential nature of sport is not private but public. (Uchiumi, 1989

2. Welfare State

If we see modern capitalism from the viewpoint of the public finance, it has three phases, 'welfare state', 'company state' and 'military state' (Miyamoto, 1981, Figure 1-5). Of course every capitalist system contains all three phases, but one of them tends to dominate at any

one time. One of the features common to the three phases is that in modern capitalism the economy of private sectors cannot develop by themselves, but need strong support from government. The expansion of government has been a necessary trend of history, as the public economy has to manage the production and consumption of the nation.

In the case of Japan, the main feature was a company state in the 1960s, a welfare state in the 1970s, and a military state in the 1980s. (For example Britain was mainly a welfare state in the 1960s, changing from a pro-military state in the 1950s to a company state in the late 1970s through the welfare state phase of the 1960s.)

However, Japan did not develop a proper welfare state in the 1970s, so that it has a shortage of collective consumer goods and is weak in fundamental human rights compared to European countries, which have experienced a certain level of the welfare state.

Economics had to deal with two kinds of poverty, the old poverty and the new poverty. The former means a high rate of unemployment and low level of wages of the working class, while the latter involves all classes. The welfare state cannot solve, and in fact sometimes creates, the following new poverty problems.

1. Difficulties caused by the accumulation of capital in big cities and a shortage of collective consumer goods, thus disasters and public nuisances, land and water problems, housing problems, traffic problems, delays in town cleaning, and shortage of schools, hospitals and nursery schools, etc.
2. Social deficits, because the causative agent is unwilling to pay for prevention and compensation.
3. Expansion of the new poverty, which first attacks poorly paid people and then it spreads to all the people in towns villages as well.
4. Internationalization of poverty, because the welfare state has been made possible by the sacrifices of the developing countries. In general major companies exploit those countries for the benefit of the people of developed nations.
5. The new poverty cannot be dealt with either by the welfare state or by monetarism, so another way has to be found.

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Part 2. Sport Industry Since 1945

I. Introduction

Sport industry in Japan has been continuing to expand. According to a statistics compiled by The Centre for Leisure Development, established in 1970 as a satellite organ of the Ministry of International Trade and Industry, the total sales in sport related industry amounted to ¥5,259 billion in 1992. The amount is the total of following three sections of sport industry. (1) sporting goods section; the gross sales of sporting goods, (2) sport service section; the amount of enrollment fee and annual membership fee of private commercial sport facilities and the amount of charge for sport lessons promoted by private commercial sport facilities, (3) spectator section; the amount of entrance fee into stadium for watching sport games (e.g. professional baseball games, tennis tournaments.)

Sport industry sector shares 7.0% of the total leisure market which amounts to ¥75,411 billion. (According to the definition debated by the Centre for Leisure Development, the following four areas constitute entire leisure industry in Japan. (1) sport area, (2) hobby and culture area, (3) amusement area, (4) tourism area.)

The rate of growth of sport industry grew by 3.9% compared to the rate of the previous year. Growing at an even larger rate than the 2.4% growth rate of the entire leisure industry, it is highly appreciated "as a steadily expanding market sector." Such stable expansion of sport industry is expected to be the continuing growing industry toward the 21st century.

As a result, the tendency of sport industry is increasingly controlling the sport activity of the Japanese.

In this article, I would like to follow how the Japanese sport industry developed since 1945, explaining together the factors that defined its way of growth and the features. I have focused mainly on the sport service (active) section of the industry.

II. How sport industry developed after World War II

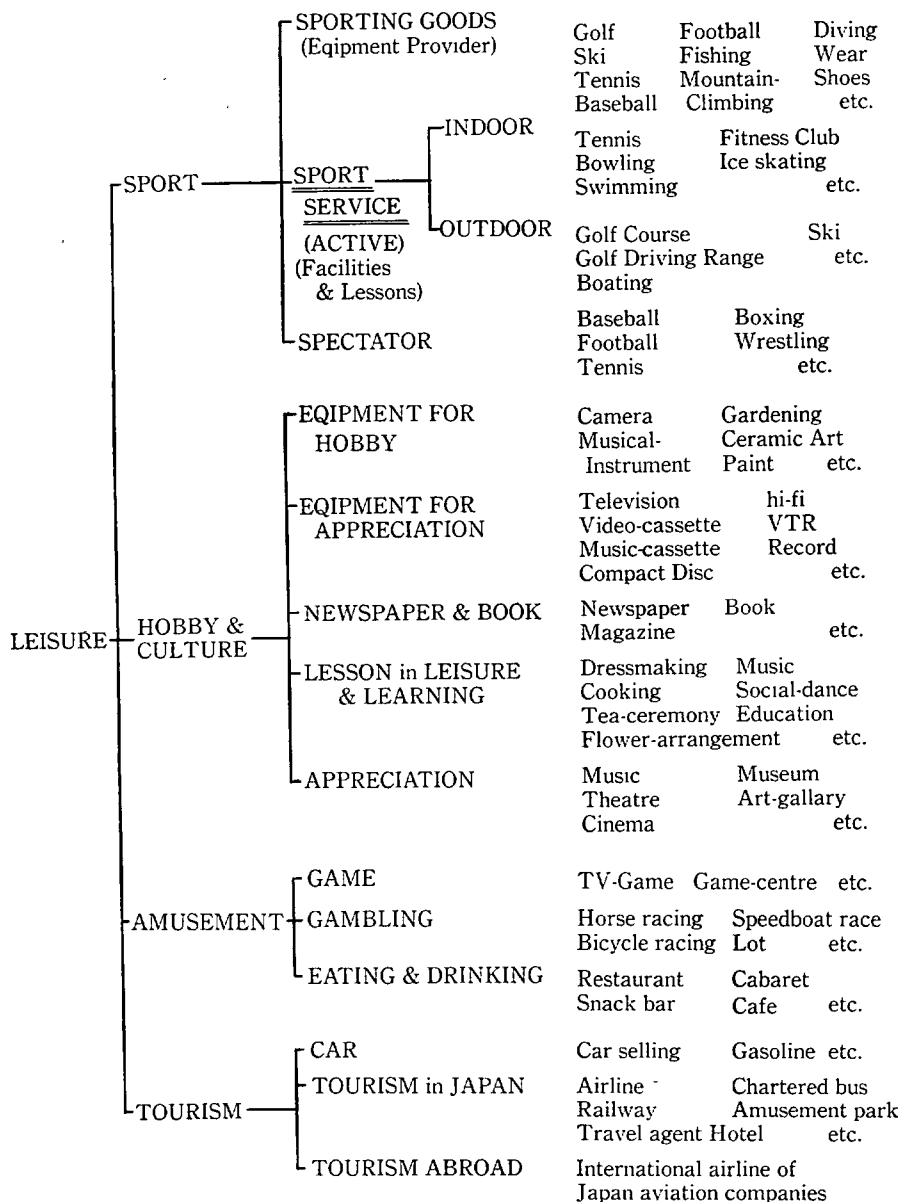
—The starting point and periodical division—

Sport industry, in the sense of treating and trading equipment and other related subjects as commercial products, already existed by 1890s. (For example, a document relates the opening of a sport equipment store as early as in 1882.)

However, it was not until after World War II that Japan became socially conditioned to allow the industry to grow larger and to achieve such structure as established today. Therefore, in order to analyze historically the contemporary feature of Japan's sport industry, the starting point is when we were defeated in the war.

The context of "social condition" here, firstly is the transition to a liberal economic policy which was the basis of the tremendous growth of our economy in the 1960s, known as Japan's miraculous economic growth. The transition led to a higher standard of living and higher income which provided the nation with spare money to engage in sport activity.

FIGURE 2-1. A TAXNOMY OF LEISURE ACTIVITIES PROVIDED (WHOLLY OR IN PART)
BY THE COMMERCIAL SECTOR IN JAPAN



* I have made this figure with reference to the *White Paper on Leisure* (the Centre for Leisure Development)

TABLE 1. A TRANSITION OF LEISURE MARKET IN JAPAN

	1982	1985	1988	1991	1992	(¥ billion) 91/92 (%)
SPORT	2,637	2,961	3,747	5,063	5,259	3.9
HOBBY & CULTURE	7,516	7,889	10,446	10,601	10,501	M0.9
AMUSEMENT	22,840	29,365	34,903	45,706	47,884	4.8
TOURISM	6,520	7,531	9,689	12,288	11,767	M4.2
TOTAL	39,513	47,746	58,785	73,658	75,411	2.4

Source: *The White Paper on Leisure (1993)* (The Centre for Leisure Development)

Secondly, there were series of democratization enforced by the GHQ, such as the abolition of militaristic curriculum of education. Legal condition for sport was also able to be established with the idea that sport be equally accessible to the whole population.

I have divided the postwar era into three periods, according to the stages of development, as follows:

- (i) From 1945 to the first half of the 1960s, the preparatory stage
- (ii) From the second half of the 1960s to the 1970s, the foundation stage
- (iii) Since the 1980s, the stage of expansion and development

III. The features and background condition of each period

- (i) From 1945 to the first half of the 1960s, the preparatory stage.

Sport industry had to wait until 1960s to be treated a subject of consideration and debate in Japan.

This period began with a nation devastated by war. Living standard was desperately low. Especially during the confusion of immediate postwar period, the population hardly found the minimum amount of food to keep themselves living. Even after they survived the rigorous condition near famine, they continued to concentrate on procuring household equipment such as clothing, for a considerable length of time.

In this way, the population had many difficulties of their living. However, at the same time, they desired amusement. In those days, the movie was most popular among the nation, so cinemas were always full. Furthermore, people took pleasure in seeing a play, hearing music, listening to the radio, watching sport games (e.g. professional baseball game, professional wrestling match, etc.), gambling (e.g. bicycle race, horse racing, etc.), and so forth.

By 1955, the level of production revived to the prewar highest. As the nation overcame the precarious hand-to-mouth life, they resumed social and economic condition to turn eyes on something beyond the minimal scope of everyday life. At this stage, people desired something new. More active leisure than before was what attracted their interest.

The nation's interest in active leisure (e.g. doing sport, tourism, etc.) was further promoted as the government and the business world resolved to expand leisure into an industry. Along with this resolution and strategy, the term "leisure" began to appear frequently in the mass media from around 1960.

The central concept of the strategy of the government and the business world was what

they called "Consumption Revolution." The term "Consumption Revolution" became a sort of the popular phrases of the time.

Although definitions of the term varied, it was defined by the leading debater the Japan Productivity Centre (Nippon-Seisansei-Honbu), as "a form of strategy to dismantle what had not yet been integrated into market economy and to extensively expand the market." Explaining further, it meant "to replace household labour into production of social labour, that is, to dissolve domestic economy, a form of self-sufficient economy." The context of "production of social labour" here, is as follows; processed foodstuffs, ready-made dresses, home electric appliances, furnitures, swimming pool, parks, halls, amusement facilities, hotels, etc.

"Consumption Revolution" first appeared in the diffusion of durable consumer goods consisting mainly of home electric appliances (e.g. automatic washing machine, refrigerator etc.). The mass-production with advance of technology made the diffusion of home appliances possible.

The critical points we have to note here, when regarding this "Consumption Revolution" strategy in relation with sport industry, are as follows; that the strategy is based on the assumption that if "Consumption Revolution" evolves, "durable consumer goods and fun market will be the two largest sectors of high level consumption," and consequently "in accordance with durable consumer goods demand, fun market such as travelling, sport and social activity, would expand enormously." Explaining further, it was assumed that "the diffusion of durable consumer goods consisting mainly of home electric appliances reduce the time of household labour, so people have more time and become to enjoy leisure."

In addition we have to note that it assumed "the provider (of durable goods and fun market) to become the future leisure industry." In other words, the "Consumption Revolution" strategy aimed at the commercialization of "production of social labour." This shows how the concept to establish leisure industry, modelling upon the fun market of U.S.A., had been elaborated from around this period.

However, while "Consumption Revolution" was popularly debated and home electric appliances spreaded, leisure in which people took part was quite simple. Staying at home reading newspaper, watching television, or just lying down without doing anything in particular, were how the majority of people spent their free time. Only a limited number of people enjoyed creative hobbies. The term leisure only impressed society that leisure time would most probably increase in the future. There was such a gap between the ideal concept of leisure (or the nation's desire for leisure) and the nation's actual experience of leisure.

Reflecting such leisure conditions, only a very small number of people engaged in sport activities to enjoy their leisure time.

Sport industry then, was no more than a package of a few number of golf courses and tennis courts, and were seemingly for privileged people and available only to a limited higher rank of society.

We can conceive through the fact that "Consumption Revolution" strategy was proposed, the resolution or the intention of the government and the business world to establish sport as an industry sector, at the time when society was recovering from the social and economic postwar confusion and living standard was improving. The strategy however, did not reach the goal.

The factors are as follows:

1) People still did not have sufficient free time and spare money to afford sport and leisure activity.

By 1955, Japanese economy was appreciably rebuilt, as is mentioned in government publication such as the economic white paper. But the assessment was valued in accordance with GNP and other production index of the nation, and thus hardly resembled the actual standard of people's life.

2) There was no popular concept of playing sport as free time amusement.

The young and middle-aged had been brought up mainly through militaristic education curriculum, where they had no chance to learn to regard sport as leisure time activity.

There also existed in general a kind of moralistic view to regard sport as a somewhat disgraceful activity. As it is called, "Work is virtue, but play is vice."

Further, sport at that time consisted mostly of physical education at schools or at athletic competitions. Any other sport was seldom played in Japanese everyday life.

3) As related in 1) and 2), there existed no consumers to develop and expand the sport into industry and to provide with, when only a very limited number of people played sport. Naturally, private enterprises could not motivate themselves to expand sport business, apart from the existing few facilities that served the socially highly ranked.

(ii) From the second half of the 1960s to the 1970s, the foundation stage

This is the period when Japan's miraculous economic growth had approached the latter half of the phase and the change of Japanese society began to accelerate.

Hitherto an agricultural society, the Japanese society urbanized and changed form with the working population engaged in primary industry diminishing rapidly and those in the secondary and tertiary industry increasing. The mass-production with advance of technology got to accelerate.

As a result, a form of self-sufficiency economy changed to a form of commodity economy. Figuratively speaking, the commodity encircled living of the nation. So, the living style underwent a large transformation.

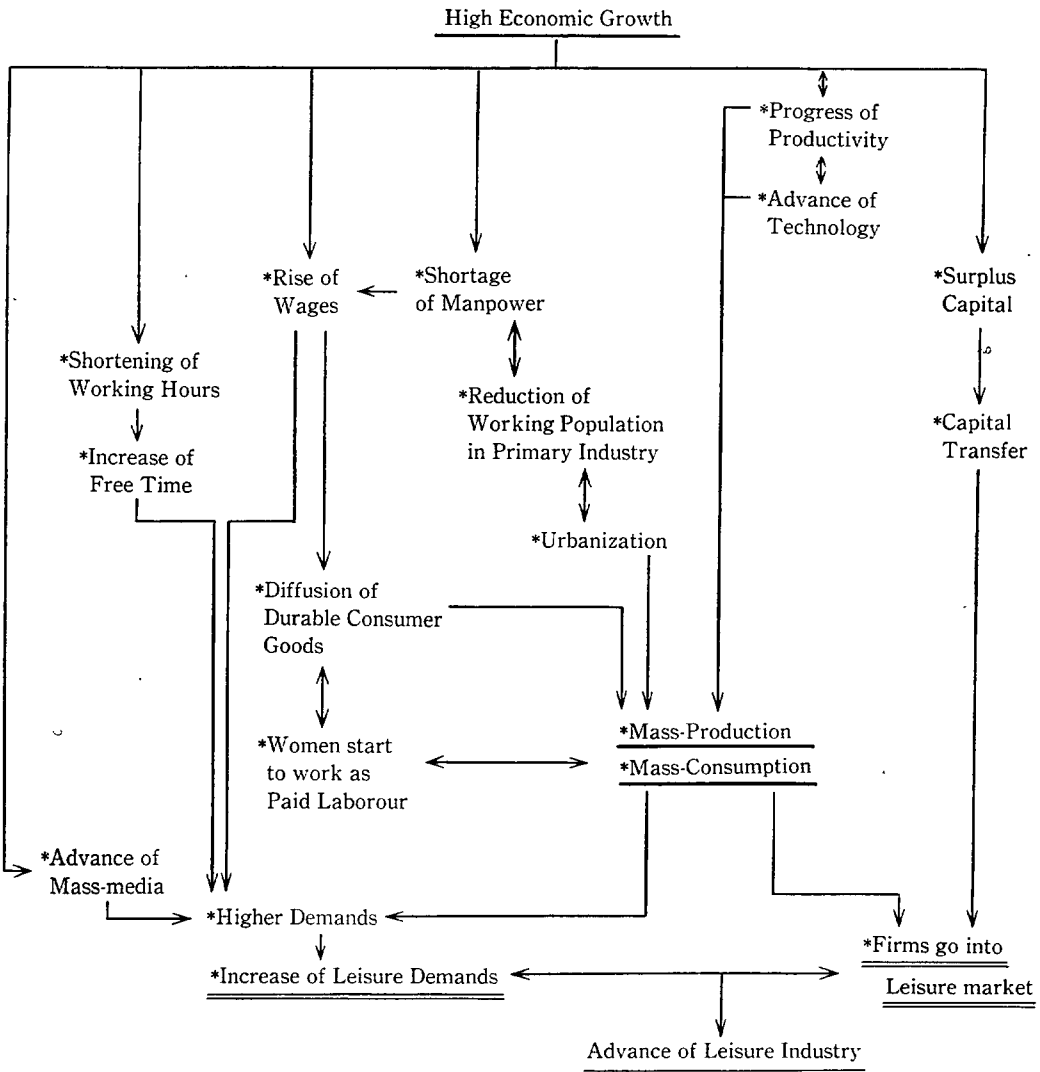
The once housewife women started working as paid labourer, firstly because household affairs became less and simpler by the diffusion of several durable consumer goods, and secondly because they had to earn for supplement of their household budget (as the consumption expenditure in their household budget was increased).

As people experienced transformation of society and change in life-style resulting from the high economic growth and the consequent improvement in living standard, they began to ask for a higher quality of life in several aspects such as demand for a longer leisure time. In fact, free time was increased at this period compared with the preceding period. And the disposable income in household budget was increased too.

After the latter half of the 1960s, the nation began to ask for more participation in sport activity as an element of the desire for a higher quality of life. Those who never played sport in everyday life began to take interest in playing sport. The voluntary sport groups which were based on sport facilities constructed by local authorities came into operation. The sport movements came into existence and organized their own sport association (New Japan Sport Association, in Japanese, Shin-Nippon-Taiiku Renmei) in 1965.

The government, presumably trying to meet the demand of the people, conducted the

FIGURE 2-2. THE BACKGROUND CONDITION OF INCREASE OF PEOPLE'S LEISURE DEMANDS



first poll by the Prime Minister's Office on the nation's physical power and sport activity in 1965. According to the poll, approximately 55% of the respondents had enjoyed playing some kind of sport within the year. The rate of participation in sport activity continued to grow towards the 1970s and reached approximately 65%. (But, the findings of the poll included the answer of people who had participated sport activity only one time in year. So the rate of people who participated continuously sport activity (over one time per week) was approximately 20%.)

As more people demanded a wider range of chance to play sport, it reached a stage

when private firms could expect a sufficient amount of profit that would exceed the capital invested in sport sector.

Firms began to implement strategies to face the growing demand. They not only tried to provide the demand but also worked to spur new demand for sport. For example, they promoted new items of sport which public sector had never concerned, such as bowling. We see the actual result of firms inciting more and more enthusiasm among people in the following consecutive booms with "the primary tennis boom (1961)" coming first. Then followed "the bowling boom (1963 & 1966~72)." "the construction boom of golf driving range (in the latter half of the 1960s)," "golf courses membership boom (1972)," "the second tennis boom (1972)" and so forth.

With these sport booms, private commercial sport facilities were constructed in succession. The facilities built at this time were different from those of earlier days in that they were considered as to serve people of a socially wider range and of all ages.

Let us give an instance from bowling. Since 1966, the number of bowling game centres increased both in the number that opened yearly and in the total number. The number of bowling game centres amounted to 3,882 in 1972, and the number of bowling alleies amounted to 124,288 in 1972. At this time, many people went to bowling game centres. At bowling game centres, among the adults were children playing as well. So, bowling game centres became terribly crowded (waiting 2 hours to play was hardly unusual). The factors are as follows; firstly, charge for bowling game was cheap. (It was general that the charge was ¥300 per one game.) Secondly, people of all ages could enjoyed bowling games more easily than other item of sport such as golf, as bowling needed not special skills and many years' experience for playing. Thirdly, firms made much propaganda of bowling using mass-media. (The professional bowling games were frequently broadcasted at the prime time.)

But, we have to note that as bowling game centres had increased too hasty, in 1970s, a excessive competition had happened and the supply-demand imbalance had been remarkable. Furthermore, people (especially, the youth) who were incited by advertisement of mass-media lost an interest in bowling rapidly. As a result, after 1972, many bowling centres went down.

At around this time, large firms began to engage in sport sector as a new field of economic management. The aim differed from firm to firm. For example, the steel industry aimed at putting their idle production labour and idle land into active use, so they constructed sport clubs (with gymnastic equipments or swimming pools) or tennis courts, and so forth. In the distribution industry, trying strategically to grasp the demand and taste of people, they set up sport clubs too. Some firms ventured to establish these clubs into new independent firms.

In response to the movement of private firms, the government resumed a strong interest to further promote sport industry. It was 1974 when the proposal "Overall Survey on Leisure," compiled by the Industrial Structure Council (a private council to MITI) covering the promotion strategy of the entire leisure industry was publicized. They analyzed the conditions and made proposals for each sector of leisure such as films, travelling, pachinko gambling and transportation, including sport industry as an important sector of it.

As firms and government strove to implement sport related tactics, those interested in sport were attracted to and woven into sport industry. Salaried men frequented golf

TABLE 2. THE TRANSITION OF THE NUMBER OF BOWLING GAME CENTRES IN JAPAN

Year	The number of Centres	The number of Bowling alleies
1959	1	24
1962	20	470
1963	48	1,419
1964	125	3,663
1965	202	5,413
1966	318	7,622
1967	496	11,148
1968	679	15,285
1969	897	21,284
1970	1,287	32,641
1971	2,226	64,022
1972	3,882	124,288
1973	3,515	113,281
1974	2,458	74,401
1975	1,290	36,445
1976	900	25,000
1977	866	23,694
1980	956	27,050
1985	1,079	30,358
1990	1,045	29,385
1992	1,045	29,587

Source: Tamamura, K. *The Structure of Expansion on Leisure Industry* (1980).

driving ranges on holidays carrying their golf bags, young people strode in town with tennis rackets under their arms. New scenes of everyday life emerged here and there.

These series of changes indicate that the age saw the turning point in the postwar history of sport industry. It was the era in which the basis to allow full establishment and expansion of sport industry was formed.

Factors that brought the phase are as follows:

1) Conditions allowing people to enjoy longer leisure time and extra money to spare, prevailed as a result of higher standard of living due to the tremendous growth of economy.

When satisfied to some extent with materialistic supplies, the nation looked forward to a mentally fulfilled life. As public feeling changed, they turned eyes increasingly on sport activities. This resulted in a highly unexpected population to play sport.

2) The Tokyo Olympic Games was held in 1964.

The Olympic Games presented the nation before their eyes the competition of the world's first-rate athletes in which they relished the splendour and excitement of sport.

Information of advanced sport promotion activity of Europe was introduced through ways such as the mass media in the course of preparing the Games. From this information arose public awareness that "sport is an activity for everyday to enjoy," and is "worth enjoying for a better way of life."

3) Sport related policy by public sector was unable to catch up and fulfil the rising demand of sport activity.

Only in legislative measures was public organization progressing to an extent. They enacted the Sport Promotion Act in 1961 (so far the single act concerning sport) and a pro-

posals was presented by the Sport, Health and Physical Education Council (a private council to the Education Minister) suggesting to promote sport as a lifelong activity (lifelong-sport) for the nation.

However, with insufficient budget, concrete measures such as construction of public sport facilities and allocation of skilled staffs remained to be at low levels.

4) Private firms strategically and powerfully launched out measures to arouse people's potential demand to play sport and government took to support the movement.

The series of sport booms that occurred at this time were the result of the strategic measures of private firms themselves. People were attracted to the strategy and thus the booms. Such social reaction led MITI and other government agencies to follow a policy of promoting sport industry.

(iii) After the 1980s, the stage of expansion and development

The total sales in the sport industry then increased rapidly in 1980s. (see Table 1).

This market expansion was due mainly to the growth of service section of the industry. Service section share within the industry rose continuously from 50.4% in 1982 to 53.4% in 1985, 58.1% in 1988, 60.9% in 1991, 61.6% in 1992. This remarkably growing industry, as I mentioned at the beginning of this article, is expected to be a potential industry toward the next century.

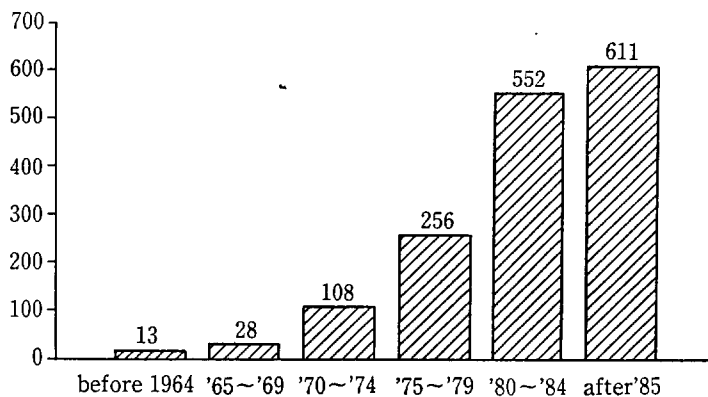
I would like to look at the exceptional expansion of what we call fitness clubs in Japan, sport clubs to take general exercises and to maintain good health, as one example.

The number of facilities rose sharply since the 1980s both in the number that opened yearly and in the total number.

Examining regionally, they tend to concentrate in densely populated area like central Tokyo at the beginning of the 1980s, whereas in the latter half of the 1980s, they began to proliferate in other areas and are currently found throughout the country.

Management system changed and diversified accordingly. Clubs were originally mainly privately managed but eventually transformed into chain store systems, or into a part of

FIGURE 2-3. THE NUMBER OF FITNESS CLUBS THAT OPENED YEARLY



Source: MITI, *The Report on Investigation of Actual Condition of Service Industry-Fitness Club* (1991).

TABLE 3. A DISTRIBUTION OF FITNESS CLUBS IN JAPAN

District	The number of facilities	The population per one facility
Hokkaido-Chiho	31	182 (thousand)
Tohoku-Chiho	81	121
Kanto-Chiho	514	75
Chubu-Chiho	320	71
Kansai-Chiho	304	66
Chugoku-Chiho	95	81
Shikoku-Chiho	41	103
Kyushu-Chiho	182	80
Total	1,568	79
Tokyo-Metropolis	204	57
Aichi-Prefecture	116	57
Osaka-Prefecture	143	38

* I have made this table with reference to *The Report on Investigation of Actual Condition of Service Industry-Fitness Club (1991)*, MITI.

diversified operation of large scale firms and further produced firms to operate mainly in management consultation.

In this way, the growth of service section of sport industry is remarkable.

Now when we examine governmental policy, we see they tried to further promote sport industry. MITI released the submitted report "Sports Vision 21" and the Education Ministry also announced their policy to strengthen the connection between the public sector and sport industry.

With the industry growing and national policy backing the expansion, more and more people chose commercialized industry to play sport.

Let us look at a facility for an example, where salaried men who commute to central Tokyo go and take exercises. More people tend to go to sport fitness clubs near their working place than to public facilities available near home. (There are reasons such as long commutation hours somewhere around 2 hours, or the long overtime work.) Even housewives who naturally would spend their time much longer near home than their husbands are increasingly going to commercially organized facilities to play sport.

Regarding household expenses, the amount of money spent on purchasing sport equipment and fitness clubs fee is increasing.

Factors that enabled the industry to expand as seen here, are as follows:

1) The rates of growth of both the annual income and leisure time rose higher.

According to statistics publicized by government agencies concerned, people earned a larger annual income and had longer free hours to spend than they did in the 1970s. Conditions allowing people to enjoy sport were getting better.

2) Demand of a healthier life began to rise and sport came to be regarded a suitable way of maintaining and promoting one's health.

We see in various surveys that "health" is what people cite as their major anxiety in life. In order to confront this anxiety, sport is what most of the people resort to, according to surveys.

The sport industry well realized this public anxiety. Many fitness clubs therefore arrange personal medical check programmes, attracting more people to join them for that

TABLE 4. THE TRANSITION OF INCOME & DISPOSABLE INCOME (OF AN AVERAGE THE MONTHLY MEAN) OF LABOUR HOUSEHOLD

Year	Real income (¥)	Real disposable income (¥)	Teal increase rate of real income (%)	Real increase rate of real disposable (%)
1970	112,949	103,634	7.3	7.1
1971	124,562	114,309	4.0	4.0
1972	138,580	126,697	6.5	6.0
1973	165,860	150,935	7.2	6.6
1974	205,792	187,825	▲0.3	▲0.1
1975	236,152	215,509	2.7	2.6
1976	258,237	233,462	0.1	▲0.9
1977	286,039	256,340	2.5	1.6
1978	304,562	270,307	2.6	1.5
1979	326,013	286,828	3.3	2.4
1980	349,686	305,549	▲0.6	▲1.4
1981	367,111	317,279	0.1	▲1.0
1982	393,014	335,526	4.3	3.0
1983	405,517	344,113	1.3	0.7
1984	424,025	359,353	2.3	2.2
1985	444,846	373,693	2.7	1.9
1986	452,942	379,520	1.4	1.2
1987	460,613	387,314	1.9	2.3
1988	481,250	405,938	4.0	4.3
1989	495,849	421,435	0.7	1.5
1990	521,757	440,539	2.0	1.4
1991	548,769	463,862	1.8	1.9
1992	563,855	473,738	1.1	0.5

Source: *The White Paper on Leisure (1993)* (Centre for Leisure Development).

reason.

3) Types of sport popularity shifted.

Sport that one could easily enjoy alone or within a small group is becoming popular compared to team competitive sport such as volleyball or baseball. According to a research conducted by our research team, more preferred to play alone or with a few friends than with a large group.

Sport industry fulfilled the demand of people as it aimed at individuals as customers.

4) With the strategic advertisement of private firms, people began to consider it a kind of status to enjoy sport at commercial facilities.

Whether it is a public or a privately managed swimming pool, swimming would just be the same. But private commercially organized facilities are much popular, as more people think one would enjoy the luxurious atmosphere and sensation by spending extra money.

Taking into account the attraction of luxurious experience people looked forward to, private firms since the 1980s are trying to provide an atmosphere of higher quality. Although this is an extreme case, there is for example "a highly-ranked" fitness club where over ¥1 million is required to cover enrollment and annual membership fee. I shall note that this expensive club is quite popular despite the fee. The expansion of sport industry in a sense turned sport into an expensive "money-consuming" activity.

5) Sport environment condition provided by the public sector is still lagging behind people's need.

Regarding solely the facility construction provided by the public sector, it is lingering as in the fact that the sport facility provision standard, submitted by the earlier mentioned Sport, Health and Physical Education Council in 1972, has not yet been achieved after 20 years of its proposal.

Moreover, the amount of budget the public sector can currently allocate to sport promoting measures is further restrained than before. The system of expert officials stationed at public sport facilities doesn't establish still now.

IV. Conclusion

The sport industry has been expanding through such stages.

What directly prompted the expansion were the nation's stronger desire to play sport and the consequent growth of sport playing citizens.

There were two phases of society in postwar Japan where more people desired to play sport.

Firstly, the materialistically fulfilled environment resulting from the rising standard of living. The industry expanded as people turned eyes on sport as an element in pursuit of a mentally and culturally higher standard of living.

Secondly, the industry itself spurred and created within the people fresh demand for sport. In fact, not a few of the manipulators, reacting in accordance with the firms' strategy, strove to ignite the nation's desire. A power to form social psychology, generally composed within "mass-society," together with the nation's tendency to be manipulated must presumably have functioned. (They are what we call "conforming behavior" and "group norm behavior" in social psychology.)

The critical feature of the development of Japanese sport industry is its success to assimilate the expansion of demand for sport with their tactics.

This characteristic attributes mainly to the insufficient provision of the public sector, falling behind people's demand. Especially, budgetary support of local government critical to secure the nation's sport activity opportunity has been noticeably small constantly after the war. Currently, Japan's sport policy further restrains the public sector from improving the condition and is focusing more on the promotion of the industry.

Bringing the facts together, we see that the sport industry grew in accordance with people's demand, not only with the growing sport demand which people thought as an element in pursuit of a mentally and culturally higher standard of living, but with a strategically promoted new and greater demand which the sport industry managed to assimilate with their business.

Encouraged in an characteristically Japanese environment of poorly facilitated sport policy of the public sector, the industry gained greater ability to absorb even more efficiently the nation's demand of sports.

I have to note finally that; as mentioned before, the expansion of sport industry in a sense turned sport into an expensive "money-consuming" activity. So, if sport conditions preparation (construction of sport facilities, stationing of expert officials, etc.) by public sector is poorly in the future, it will make a difference in participation of sport activity among

the nation. The people who have sufficient free time and spare money to afford sport can play and enjoy, but the people (especially, the aged, the retired, the handicapped, etc.) who don't have them can play insufficiently. This is a great problem in the ideal of "Sport for All." It is necessary that sport related policy put emphasis on the public sector.

Secondly, the enormous number of construction of commercial sport facilities since 1980s is in a sense disorderly. At present, private commercial sport facilities, for example fitness clubs and golf courses, are going down caused by the excessive competition and by the business depression. (This is the same situation that above-mentioned bowling.) Members of the facilities as consumer sustain great damage to both money and their right to use facilities. They go to law against firms for the damages. In the sense, the disorderly expansion leads sport industry to destroy themselves.

This shows that the extreme commercialization is harmful to sport activity of the nation. So, it is necessary to regulate the industry by public.

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*()=Title in Japanese.