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A Historical Study of Education and *Shūkyū* in Japan
(日本における教育と蹴球に関する歴史的研究)

This study aims to explain how football and education were inseparable in Japan between 1873 and 1945, exploring how the Japanese educational system played a primary role in the sport's growth and analysing it within the broader socio-cultural and political states of *conjuncture* ('a longtime historical tendency with various complementary and antagonistic agencies to a static structuralism') in Japan's modernisation. The study's significance lies in examining football not only as a game but as a vehicle for disseminating cultural and moral codes through school-amateur *undōbu*, shaping new traditions that are 'Japanese identity' following Western modernisation. The integration of nationbuilding ideals within schools and the adaptation of football both uphold and confront political ideologies, even during Japan's most tumultuous historical period when ultra-nationalism, fascism, and militarism were influential. This analysis reveals that football values, far from transient, endured throughout the previous centuries, profoundly shaping Japanese football's cultural and social landscape well into the post-war era.

The process by which football was adapted within Japan's educational system reveals a deliberate effort to cultivate modern ethical values and social codes. Football emerged not only as an athletic activity but as a means of instilling discipline, fostering the British ethos of fair play, and promoting character development among Japanese students. This integration into the national consciousness established football as a central component of Japan's educational and cultural landscape, reflecting broader trends of modernisation and Westernisation. Football's place within this evolving *conjuncture* shows how it bridged external influences and internal cultural shifts in Japan (Chapter 1).

The nationwide monthly Japanese football magazine, *Shūkyū*, played a crucial role in disseminating British athletic values during the early twentieth century. The media's portrayal of football reinforced the educational ideologies of the Japanese elite, linking the sport to the broader cultural assimilation of Western ideals. Despite the rise of nationalism and anti-Western sentiment during the Pacific War, football maintained its role as a medium for promoting modern ethical codes, illustrating the resilience of these values in the face of historical tensions (Chapter 2).

Pre-war Japanese football players' recollections provide invaluable insights into how football served as a form of psychological sustenance, offering stability and personal fulfilment when other dimensions of life were dominated by uncertainty and fear. Despite the nationalist regime's efforts to promote traditional Japanese sports and suppress Western influences, football sustained a degree of acceptance, possibly due to its perceived utility in promoting physical fitness and discipline, qualities valued by the militaristic state. The resilience of football practices and the re-assimilation of football officials into post-war sports organisations further underscore the sport's resilience and enduring significance in Japanese society (Chapter 3).

Post-war reflections from pre-war Japanese football players further illuminate how British athletic values were internalised and transformed within Japan's educational and cultural frameworks. The enduring influence of these values is evident even as Japanese football transitioned from an amateur system to professionalism. Through personal recollections and media narratives, these players contributed to preserving the sport's cultural legacy, showcasing the profound impact of British moral and ethical standards on Japanese football culture. This resilience is framed through 'realms of memory', revealing how memory shaped football's role in post-war Japan (Chapter 4).

The complex dynamics of pre-war Japanese football embrace the existence of women's, grassroots, and other peripheral football activities that, while non-mainstream, remained partly linked to the educational institutions that initially fostered the sport. This expansion indicates that the mainstream education pathway significantly influenced football culture beyond formal academic settings, even within alternative or grassroots spaces. The findings challenge the notion that any aspect of Japanese football existed independent of its academic foundations, revealing a dynamic cultural space where diverse values and practices intersect yet maintaining connections to the educational framework (Chapter 5).

In the post-war period, the values and traditions of pre-war football had a latency in influencing Japanese society, with former players and coaches—who had internalised British athletic values during their formative years—becoming key guardians of these principles. Their writings and reflections in post-war football magazines reveal how the ideals of amateurism, fair play, and personal development remained central to their understanding of the sport. British-originated values, embedded unconsciously in the identity of pre-war players, persisted despite the intervening period of Nazi sports influence. The enduring memory of student-organised football teams, which limited the role of professional coaches, helped maintain a focus on fostering ideal individualism within the collective team dynamic. This concept endured into the 1990s when a new football culture emerged, and corporate-amateur football was replaced by the professional Japanese professional football league (J. League). This continuity of values, from the sport's British origins through fascism to post-war professionalism, also underscores the lasting legacy of British influence intertwined with Japanese cultural norms, shaping the core ethos of Japanese football across generations.

This study demonstrates that British moral principles introduced to Japan through football not only persisted but became invisibly and unconsciously embedded within the national consciousness, shaping the sport's development and its societal role for decades. These values were disseminated through educational channels, guaranteeing their continuity even after Japan's significant post-war changes. By emphasising the intricate connection between education, football, and national identity, this research provides a more nuanced understanding of Japanese football's cultural and social importance. It uncovers the latent unconscious pre-war impact of initial British moral values on the sport's evolution in Japan, demonstrating how these values became a fundamental element of Japanese football culture, influencing its development well into the modern era even after it became referred to as "soccer", as Atsushi Nakazawa implied, providing a grounding of how an educational moralistic internal code was sustained, deeply rooted even in the present school sports. This study addresses a socio-cultural *conjuncture* through the history of Japanese football, offering broader insights into how the sport can serve as a tool for cultural transmission and social cohesion, shaping national identities and values that resonate well beyond the playing field.