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学位論文審査の要旨

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学位論文題名

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 demonstrated how football and education were inseparable in Japan in the pre- and wartime period in Japan, 1873 to 1945. The Japanese term *shūkyū* (蹴球 football フットボール, fūto**ō**ru フートボール) in the above period refers to association football based on the rules decided at the establishment of the Football Association in England in 1863. Building on the literature of sport history, this thesis argues that the early development of modern sports in Japan was involved with two agencies from different directions: Western modernization as an essential framework required for making a modern nation state, and cultural nationalism as a core ethos of Japanese nation-building. These two agencies were combined coincidentally, thereby building on a western modern educational system, and fostering a national ethos influenced by cultural nationalism to be an independent, modern nation. They were inevitably linked to each other. Particularly focussing on the most popular sport in the UK, association football, which former studies about the pre-war era have given less attention to in comparison with the Japanese national ball game, baseball, this study illustrated how this game's ethics and play style were instilled in Japanese football culture through the educational moral codes and athleticism embedded in English association football, which were rooted in the tradition of nineteenth century meritocratic public-school extracurricular activities.

Chapter I detailed how football was introduced to Japan and the relationship among the Japanese football association, competition matches, and secondary school/higher educational institutions.

Chapter II illustrated how the sporting ethos was diffused through the sole nationwide football publication, *Shūkyū* which attracted a large readership in pre-war time secondary schools and higher educational establishments, and among football instructors, trainers and columnists. The chapters argued that amateur codes and schools were indispensable and inseparable from the earlier period in Japan because players and instructors who participated in association football were meritocratic school elites and educators at/from modern higher educational schools where the western moral code of British sports, athleticism, was introduced.

Chapter 3 provided a new perspective relating to the period when supernationalism and fascism emerged in parallel to long-term Japanese imperialism, and western sports competitions were officially banned. Notwithstanding this political climate change, new source material provided rare evidence that, on some occasions, junior students continued to play football while senior students were sent to compulsory labour service. Another case indicated that school footballers' identities did not easily fade, and some secretly produced their own footballers' badge as their icon during this politically difficult period.

Chapter 4 and 5 provided new insights into how the relationship between football and education continued with significant resilience. In this context, pre-war football culture embedded with sport moral codes which had originated in British athleticism was inherited within post-war memory and graduates from pre-war elite schools promoted the administration of so-called '*shūkyū-dan*'.

Throughout the thesis it was argued that football and education in pre-war Japan became intertwined as agents of societal development and moral guidance and provided a *topos*, a vehicle of both Westernisation and nationalization, where modern values and ideals are nurtured and conveyed within this framework, and the cultural ethos and modern style were embodied.

While the reviewers evaluated highly the above aspects, their comments also demonstrated the necessity of more accurate usage of academic terms, such as the French academic term '*conjoncture*' (*conjunction* in English), the issue of the wider implication of the key concept 'education', and supplementary knowledge of Japanese modern history. *Conjoncture* is explained as "a longtime historical tendency with various complementary and antagonistic agencies to a static structuralism". This definition is beneficial in explaining the long-term latency of pre-war sport ethics sustained in post-war soccer. The concept had an analogy in explaining the history of the amateur ethos. However, the targeted research period was limited until 1945. Therefore, the reviewing committee expects his ongoing post-doctorate research to provide a post-war history of soccer which is adapted to this academic methodological concept in capturing a longer-term endurance of the relationship between education and football. In addition, the term 'education' is useful in suggesting the *topos* where the amateur ethos is still influential in Japan in comparison with the realm of professionalism, for example

when former England international Danny Welbeck drew the attention of Manchester United scouts aged six and joined their academy at eight. It is true that education connotes the aspect of the reproduction of culture with soft power, but the wider implication which the term emits sometimes provides an ambiguous impression.

Further engagement with research in this field will result in improved background knowledge of Japanese modern history and in a cross-cultural project of imperial history through sports. The thesis has demonstrated the above new aspects, which were previously unknown in Japanese physical education scholarship and sport history prior to the publication of this research. In the future, it will be beneficial for international readers to read a published monograph based on this PhD on Japanese sport history written in English, which widely disseminates this knowledge. At the same time, we hope to see a Japanese translation of this thesis. Therefore, the reviewing committee concludes that this thesis meets the standard required to award Dale Whitfield a Ph.D (Education) from the Graduate School of Education, Hokkaido University.