

The Effect of Japan's Welfare State Policy and Neoliberalism on Massed Sports in Japan

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ABSTRACT

Neoliberalism and welfare state have been the hot topics of research in Japan for many years. Since the late 1970s, Japan has experienced significant transformation from welfare state to neoliberalism. Under the neoliberal regime, massed sports policies have also been altered by the government. Hence, the aim of the study was to determine the effect of welfare state and neoliberalism policies on massed sports in Japan. Based on the welfare state and neoliberalism theories, four indicators were used as the evaluation criteria: (1) democratic, (2) autocratic, (3) public, and (4) market domains. Key finding showed that in Japan, massed sports have developed to a certain extent because of the democratic and public sports policies under the Japanese-style welfare regime. However, since the arriving of the neoliberalism in 1980s, massed sport policies have become more and more autocratic and market-oriented. This transformation has hindered the development of massed sports in Japan. Even though the mechanism leading to this outcome was due to varied factors, the government's neoliberalism was found to be one of the dominant factors. Based on the empirical data, this study suggests that massed sports should be independent of the political and economic approaches of the government.

Keywords: Welfare state, neoliberalism, massed sports, public policy, Japan

INTRODUCTION

For educators and sociologists, the welfare state has been an important and indispensable topic of research. Although welfare state regimes among the advanced capitalist countries are essentially different, the common aims of welfare state are poverty eradication, medical care, social rights, equality and unemployment benefits. The effect of welfare state regime was remarkable during the 1960s and 1970s because of its fantastic pace of growth in most countries (Esping-Andersen, 1990). However, this golden age of controlled capitalism reaching a halt with the severe economic crisis of the 1970s because of the unprecedented calamities like “oil shocks” and rising unemployment (Steger & Roy, 2010). In response to those issues, several countries changed their policy direction such as the United States and the United Kingdom. In the 1980s, those governments abandoned the Keynesianism and began to adopt the Reaganomics and Thatcherism policies. Japan, which has been studying western thoughts and policies since the world war II, was also affected by this international trend.

Nevertheless, the implementation of welfare state came later in Japan than in the west. Several western countries have established the welfare regime quickly after postwar II to provide life support equally. In Japan, the Liberal Democrats proclaimed the welfare state as their platform in 1955. However, as Suzuki (1967) pointed out that the vision of the welfare state in Japan was inherently deteriorating, because it included growth-ism, human rights restrictions in the name of public welfare, and an emphasis on national defense obligations. In brief, Japanese government advocated economic development rather than the establishment of a complete social security system. As a result, the welfare system of Japan lagged behind that of western countries in terms of its establishment and effectiveness.

Historically, although welfare state regimes among the advanced capitalist countries are essentially different, but their core philosophy of democratic equality and public goods based on the existing theories such as from Esping-Andersen (1990) and Therborn (1983). The dominant principles used by the welfare regime in Japan were democratic equality and public goods. So with the public sport policies proposed by the welfare regime – during their rein, the sports facilities were planned to be constructed for massed sports. However, the turn of event happened where the political regime in Japan had changed from welfare state regime to neoliberal regime. Neoliberalism is a political thought to reduce the national burdens such as social security and poverty eradication on the state, as well as other state massive public expenditure including massed sports. In addition, neoliberalism also opposes to public ownership, thus, the government controls everything through the “invisible hand” of the market. Based on the neoliberalism, autocratic and market-oriented feature were the dominant political strategies based on the existing theories by Yotoriyama and Sanuki (2008) and Ishii (2014).

During the era of neoliberalism in Japan, the government had shifted the focus from mass sports to elitism sports. It started to marginalize massed sports since the post-world war II in 1960s because of the successful bidding for the 1964 Tokyo Olympic Games in 1958. By hosting Olympic games, the Japanese government had taken advantage of this opportunity to promote the national economic development through tourism investment by improving the infrastructure such as building new roads and hotels so as to promote Japan's national status in the world. On the contrary, the investment on massed sports may not bring this huge economic effect. Therefore, massed sports were sidelined.

In the nutshell, Japan's welfare state policies were target-ism and not universal in nature. Hence, in this period, although the government issued a series of massed sports promotion policies, but these policies were target-ism in nature. In addition, government fiscal woes became deepened in this period because of the “oil shocks” and the rising unemployment due to the global economic down turn. In response to those issues, Japanese government started to shift from the welfare-focused administration to the neoliberalism that emphasized on liberalization, privatization and marketization. For instance, the Temporary Administrative Survey Committee, which was launched in 1981, reached an agreement of national minimum wage system based on the principle of “choice and burden”, and applied the “beneficiary payment principle” (i.e., those who benefited from the public service should bear the costs) into the public service in Japan (Gyousei, 1986). In short, in the 1970s onward, the Japanese government started to abandon welfare state policies, and tried to adopt market-driven neoliberalism policies in order to minimize its national responsibility. Hence, under the neoliberalism regime, the “beneficiary payment principle” was also applied to massed sports.

Since the political transformation of the 1970s, the nature of massed sports has also changed. During the welfare state regime, massed sports were considered as national public agenda that were considered as public goods and could enhance democratic equality. As the nation progresses, the idea of neoliberalism started to creep into Japanese political world due to the influence of the advanced capitalistic countries. To clarify the concept of welfare state and neoliberalism, definitions of both concepts are posited. In this study, welfare state is defined as a state that the daily routine activities devote to serving the welfare needs of households and guaranteeing the right for citizens through the democratic and universal policies, while neoliberalism is defined as a kind of capitalist system that emphasizes individualism and free competition in the market.

PROBLEM STATEMENT

The Council for the Promotion of Sport in Europe in 1966 and the International Charter of Physical Education and Sport proclaimed by UNESCO in 1978 have declared the practice of physical education and sport is a fundamental right for all in Article 1 (UNESCO, 1978). Nevertheless, it was the first time the sport right is legally recognized via the Sports Basic Law enacted in 2011 in Japan. Moreover, as a matter of fact, the sport right is still not sufficiently guaranteed by the government in Japan. In the school context, the challenges include the overheating of school sports – more students join in school sports club activities after school due to the inadequate sport facilities and lack of free volunteer “coach” in the schools. Lack of professional coaches in schools could prompt the issues of injury in sport accidents (Nakazawa, 2014; Uchida, 2017), and teachers' excessive overtime works (Ishii, 2018). As mentioned earlier, though the welfare state policies which were adopted by the government in the first

half of the 1970s which involved policy measures to promote the development of massed sports, however, it didn't last long, especially in the 1980s, where neoliberalism started to proliferate.

In the context of commercialization of public sports facilities in neoliberal society, sports became the exclusive right of some rich people (Seki, 1997). For children or their parents who are poor have fewer opportunities to learn sports outside school for economic reason. In other words, poverty deprives them of the equal opportunity to access to sports training, and to become future professional athletes like the children of the rich in neoliberal society. Hence, the main weakness of neoliberal policy is that sports become more elitist. In neoliberalism, sports goods, sports facilities and sport instructors become commodities so anyone wants to use them must pay. In the nutshell, Japan focused on welfare policies before the mid-1970s had begun to shift to neoliberal policies after the mid-1970s, but little empirical research was conducted to determine the effect of Japan welfare state and neoliberalism on massed sports. Hence, this study was designed to identify the current research gap and to determine the effect of both Japan's welfare state policy and neoliberalism on massed sports.

PURPOSE AND RESEARCH QUESTIONS

The purpose of this study was to determine the effect of Japan's welfare state policy and neoliberalism on massed sports in Japan. Specifically, the research questions of this study were:

1. What kind of effect did Japan's welfare state policy have on massed sports policy in 1970s?
2. What kind of effect did neoliberalism have on massed sports policy in 1980s, especially for citizen's sport right?
3. How did neoliberalism affect massed sports promotion which mentioned in welfare state policies?
4. What are the main factors that influence the transformation from welfare state policy to neoliberalism in reference to massed sports policy?

THE CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK

The conceptual framework used in this study was mainly based on welfare state theory (Esping-Andersen, 1990; Therborn, 1983) and neoliberalism theory (Ishii, 2014; Yotoryama & Sanuki, 2008). Based on her analysis of neoliberalism and welfare state, the author extracted the factors that should be examined when analyzing the effect of neoliberalism and welfare state on massed sports. As for the welfare state theory, Esping-Andersen (1990) has spent several years to distinguish several major types of welfare state, connecting these categories with variations in the historical development of different countries. Marshall (1950) asserted that welfare state plays a vital role on social citizenship. For Marshall's proposition, Esping-Andersen (1990) pointed out that the welfare state cannot be understood just in terms of the rights it grants, how state activities are interlocked with the market's and the family's roles in social provision must be taken into account. Regarding to the state activities, Therborn (1983) advocated that the majority of welfare state daily routine activities should be devoted to serving the welfare needs of households. In other words, his theory implies that whether a state is democratic or autocratic, it is critical to safeguard the welfare of its citizens.

As for the neoliberalism, the notion of market is pertinent. The author asserted that the market is closely linked to commercialization. With the emergence of neoliberalism, the commercialization of public sectors like education have become more and more obvious. In other words, the state intervention for the market is getting stronger (Yotoryama & Sanuki, 2008; Ishii, 2014). In this sense, the key factors of the neoliberal state can be summarized as whether social rights are commoditized or publicized, and whether the government can intervene in the market or not. Figure 1 showed the theoretical relationship between welfare state and neoliberalism. Specifically, the author defined the criteria of democracy and public as a reference standard of the ideal welfare state and autocracy and marketization as a reference standard for neoliberalism. Using this conceptual framework of massed sports policies under the different domains, the author analyzed how did the mass sports policies change during the rules of welfare state regime and neoliberal regime.

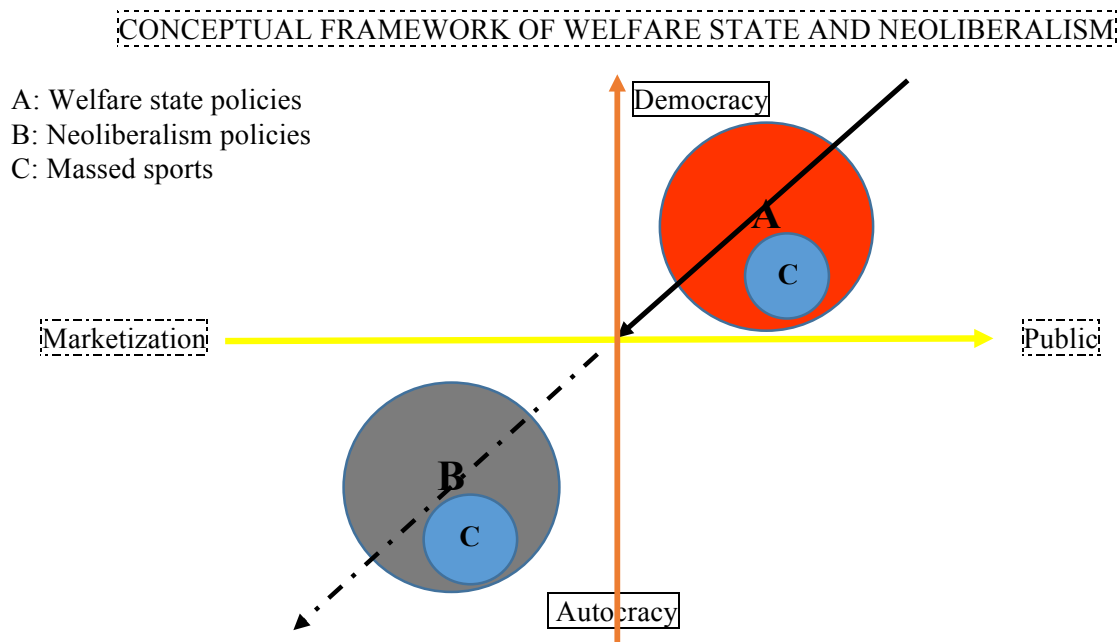


Figure 1: The conceptual framework of mass sports policies under welfare state and neoliberalism

METHODS

According to Bowen (2009), both document analysis and data examination are required to develop empirical knowledge. Hence, both document analysis and data analysis are designed to accurately verify the effect of neoliberalism and Japan's welfare state policy on massed sports in this study. For the official document search, the author spent half a year to collect some unpublished historic official documents at the National Diet Library, National Archive Library of Japan in Tokyo and some local libraries. Besides, the author signed into the web pages of the Ministry of Culture, Science and Technology, the Ministry of Finance, the Ministry of Economy, Trade and Industry and other government agencies to collect some digital documents. Those documents were critically analyzed to determine the dynamic process of Japan's welfare regime to neoliberalism regime and the policy trend of massed sports in this dynamic process. The author also discussed regarding the four (4) criteria which were illustrated in Figure 1 on the basis of the political and economic background at that time.

Data were collected based on the surveys or investigations which were conducted by different government departments from 1960s to 1980s. All of them were country-wide surveys. Since the facilities and instructors were essential factors affecting the equal opportunities to access to sports, the data regarding facilities and instructors were captured. Tables 1, 2 and Figures 2 and 3 were constructed by the author based on the empirical data from the previous surveys and investigations. Hence, these data clearly reflected the change of sports circumstances from welfare to neoliberal regime. In addition, it is important to note that the official documents and data used in this study were first-hand materials. Although the surveys or investigations were not conducted by the author but by the Japanese government in the 1960s and 1980s, the government did not conduct a thorough analysis of its survey data. Thus, the author took the responsibility to analyze the effect of welfare state and neoliberalism policies on massed sports by using those first-hand materials. Specifically, the steps of this study were as following:

- (a) identify the dynamic process of transformation from welfare state to neoliberalism.
- (b) analyze the sports policies under the welfare state in 1970s and neoliberalism in 1980s based on the four indicators in the conceptual framework.
- (c) examine the dynamic process of transformation based on sport facilities and instructors.

TRANSFORMATION FROM WELFARE STATE TO NEOLIBERALISM

This section discussed about the process of transformation of massed sports from the welfare state to neoliberalism by analyzing the political, economic and social dimensions. Previously, Japan had experienced an age of rapid economic growth since the mid-1950s. In this period, priority of development was given to industries such as roads and harbors, while investment in public life such as social welfare, culture and education was curtailed. For instance, under the Comprehensive National Development Plan, it centered on a large-scale land development (Igarashi & Ogawa, 1997). While the rate of economic growth was significantly increased but the social domains including massed sports were marginalized.

In 1962, the report on Growth and Education in Japan issued by the Ministry of Education has emphasized on extensive development of human capabilities (Ministry of Education Investigation Bureau, 1962). Hence, meritocratic education was promoted. And with the growing of school enrollment rate (i.e., senior high school was 50.9% in 1954, 66.8% in 1963, and 82% in 1970), the competition in entrance examinations was becoming more and more fierce. However, the social capital represented by the housing and parks was not sufficiently securitized by government due to the unbalance of investment between the community infrastructure and industry. And the highly uneven spatial distribution of population, pollution and the health problems of workers caused by high economic growth have been frequently criticized by scholars and citizens. Meanwhile, the intensification of the Vietnam war also triggered a strong citizen's discontentment. To respond to these social issues, the reformist groups had sprung up, the campus trouble spread to high school and universities throughout Japan. Moreover, the civil opposition and resistance movement turned white-hot in late 1960s.

Receiving pressure from citizens as previously mentioned, conservative parties began to worry about the stability of the political foundation. During this period, both population and capital were concentrated in metropolitan areas, and the development of large enterprises became the focus of economic growth. As a result, local and rural development has been sluggish, and agriculture and small and medium-sized enterprises (SMEs) have declined relatively. While conservative government was economically dependent on the support of large enterprises, its political foundation rested on SMEs, farmers and a segment of the working class (Miyamoto, 1990). This political foundation was called "grass-root conservatism" traditionally. It is not difficult to speculate that the government has to employ some policy measures to reorganize the grass-root conservatism in order to stabilize conservative regime.

In this social context, welfare state policies were highlighted in terms of social security or facilities in the early 1970s. However, according to the earlier analysis, welfare state policy was proposed not as a guarantee of social right, but as an antidote to the issues caused by high economic growth and the political stability of the conservative parties. Also, for this characteristic of Japan's welfare state, the pertinent evidence from the relevant policies showed, for instance, Ministry of Education (1971) proposed that social education should be taken as a broader meaning when the social issues such as human alienation and environmental pollution in a society where mechanical civilization has highly realized. In particular, the report highlighted the importance of massed sports on building citizen relationships and forming communities. And, in a 1972 report "The Basic Guidelines and Policies for Sports Popularization and Promotion" by the Health Care and Sports Council, it emphasized that a comprehensive plan should be formulated because of the national life and health problems which caused by occurrence of pollution and the destruction of the natural environment in the process of economic development.

Based on the evidence, the welfare regime in this period was autocratic and public in some extent, however, the implementation of the welfare state policy in Japan was not solely based on the securing of social rights but to solve various other social issues caused by rapid growth. In other words, the welfare regime was vulnerable to economic and political factors, and therefore cannot essentially

guarantee the rights and interests of all citizens, especially the workers. In addition, the slogan of “the first year of welfare” was launched, while actually, it was the target-ism not universalism because the welfare policies mainly were used in the limited social welfare system such as child allowance and livelihood protection (Ishii, 2017) and the providence of vocational training. In short, Japan's welfare state was immature both in institution and in reality.

To say the least, if this immature welfare state system could be developed, the citizens' social rights could be guaranteed more or less. Nevertheless, even this immature welfare system had declined since the mid-1970s. As an alternative, the theory of social welfare society (a theory that stresses familism and regionalism) has been proposed by government. The welfare society was based on the self-help efforts of individuals, mutual assistance among family members, close neighbors and local communities. As mentioned before, people's social rights were not guaranteed in the early 1970s, so the familism and regionalism emphasized in the welfare society only increased the burden on citizens themselves. Not surprisingly, this theory has been severely criticized by sociologists (Tominaga, 2001) and educators (Ishii, 2017). In brief, under this theory, although there was no marketization of the public sphere, the state became more autocratic.

So why was social welfare theory proposed? How did it be transformed to the neoliberalism regime? In terms of the domestic social background, the age of rapid growth came to an end, however, the fiscal deficit formed by the fiscal structure of low tax and high expenditure in this period (Fiscal System Council, 1977) expanded continuously with the outbreak of the oil shock. From 1977 to 1980, the rate of dependence on national debt in Japan exceeded 30% (Kanazawa, 2010). Hence, the government reconsidered the welfare state theory and tried the theory that focused on familism and regionalism to exempt the state from the responsibility of social rights securing. But this warped theory did not last long, and was replaced by neoliberalism. Because the imbalance of regional development and local financial difficulties caused by rapid economic growth, so the policy relying on localism cannot meet the expectation of the state. As far as the global economic circumstance is concerned, trade competition had become more intense due to economic uncertainty. According to the principles of Keynesian economics, when the economy is stagnant, it needs to lower interest rates and expand demands to stimulate economic recovery; when the economy is booming, it needs to raise interest rates and control investment to slow down the economic development (Keynes, 1936). However, in the late 1970s and early 1980s, these two phenomena coexisted. Hence, neoliberalism, as opposed to Keynesianism in favor of state intervention, was proposed. Under the neoliberalism tendency, global trade was gradually launched, and the approach of lower tax was adopted in order to attract overseas capital. As a result, the public expenditure originally borne by tax was continuously reduced, thus the beneficiary-pays principle was started to extend to all public sectors including massed sports. The Japanese-style welfare state was nipped in its infancy step by step in this way. In other words, Japanese government started marketization at the same time of autocracy.

Compared to some western countries like the U.K., welfare state regime had developed to a higher degree than Japan when the western countries government shifted welfare state policy to neoliberalism. The implementation of universalism of children allowance and sports for all policy are some examples. In other words, the transformation from welfare state to neoliberalism state occurred in a period that the regime of welfare was relatively mature in most western countries. In contrast, the transformation in Japan was implemented under the immature welfare regime, and later, this immature welfare state system, turned to the neoliberalism system after experiencing “failure” of welfare state. Although it cannot be denied that the immature of Japanese-style welfare regime, it had a profound effect on sports promotion. Hence, the discussion on the relevant sports policies, and the identification of the characteristics on the basis of policy trend showed the different characteristics of policy trend between welfare state period and neoliberalism period. Although massed sports were included in the field of education, not only the ministry of education, but also other relevant ministries or agencies issued policies and measures for the development of massed sports in the early 1970s.

(a) Ministry of Education

Social Education Council submitted a report titled the *Way of Social Education in Response to Rapid Changes in Social Structure* to Minister of Education on the basis of a formal investigation on the actual situation of social sports (Ministry of Education, 1969). This report pointed out that social education administration should play an active guiding role on the improvement of facilities and the cultivation

of instructors, and it is necessary for state to ensure a stable financial source to provide financial supports because of the importance of massed sports on building citizen relationships and forming communities. In 1972, Health Care and Sports Council also submitted a report *The Basic Guidelines and Policies for Sports Popularization and Promotion* to Minister of Education. According to the Ministry of Education (1969; 1971) and the Health Care and Sports Council, the deficiency of facilities and instructors, as well as the deficiency of public investment in massed sports activities have detrimental effect on the sport promotion. Hence, the Council has suggested a series of solutions to those problems such as the improvement of infrastructure, the establishment of guidance system and the collaboration of various government departments. In particular, the implementation benchmarks of sports facilities in daily life circle was listed in this report, which has far-reaching significance for the development of massed sports (Seki, 1997). Additionally, in 1977, the Central Education Council proposed to establish a scientific sports research system and implement programs which are suitable for all ages.

(b) Other relevant ministries or agencies

Firstly, Economic Planning Agency (1977) policy about the promotion and popularization of massed sports has considered massed sports as part of leisure activities. Earlier, the Leisure Development Office in 1973 has emphasized that the deficiency of public sports facilities is an important reason hindering the development of community leisure. Hence, it is necessary to strengthen the construction of this aspect in the future. Meanwhile, the Ministry of International Trade and Industry also released the *status quo* of leisure in Japan and the outlook of the leisure era in 1973. It pointed out that there were diverse leisure styles in Japan, with few sports leisure methods; even people were eager for sports leisure but the basic conditions such as facilities were seriously inadequate. Besides, the first city park construction five-year plan (1972-1977) issued by Ministry of Construction in 1972, and the research report of recreation and sport facilities presented by Ministry of Home Affairs in 1974 also put forward a concrete policy measures for massed sports.

(c) Characteristics

Under the welfare regime policies, several government departments have put forward relevant policies to promote the development of massed sports. In this sense, it was an epoch-making significance for massed sports in terms of facilities, instructors and administrative management.

Massed sports policy trend of neoliberalism in 1980s

In the 1980s, there were few policies related to the development of massed sports, and the recession of massed sports policy can be seen. At the Second Extraordinary Administrative Research Council, beneficiary-pays principle on public services and reducing financial expenditure on massed sport were proposed in the mid-1980s (Gyousei, 1984; 1985). Additionally, with the adoption of the concept "lifelong learning" in 1981, "lifelong sports" have emerged. In the third and fourth reports submitted by Extraordinary Education Council, it proposed a series of policy measures to marginalizing the state responsibility, while stressed the function of the market, such as the realization of the responsibility of local autonomy, the promotion of private sports facilities, and preferential treatment on taxes for private organization (Gyousei, 1984; 1985).

Specifically, the report on the cultivation of sport instructors presented by the Health Care and Sports Council in 1987 mentioned that cultivation of sport instructors should be focused on private sports facilities. As for the sport instructors on public sports facilities, it didn't clarify the state's responsibility. Indeed, promotion of the instructors on public sports facilities have a great significance to the development of mass sports, but there were fewer massed sport policies in 1980s than in 1970s. Furthermore, in these extremely limited policies, the responsibility of the state was not emphasized, but the state responsibility was transferred to the market step by step. According to the policy contents in the 1970s and 1980s, a pronounced change of policy trend from emphasizing state responsibility to emphasizing the role of market. With the arriving of neoliberalism, the marketization of sports public facilities through some preferential tax policies for private organization was implemented.

The actual condition of massed sports infrastructure under the different policy trend

According to the previous official investigation reports, the quantitative dynamic analysis was carried out from both the facilities and the instructors in this section. Table 1 showed the number of public sports facilities and school facilities increased from 1969. However, their proportion has been declining from 1969 to 1980. From 1980 to 1985, public facilities showed an upward trend, while its proportion was still limited to 20.8%. This result reflected exactly that the massed sports policies proposed through the welfare policies in the 1970s have certain limitations. Besides that, on the contrary, the proportion of private facilities has increased especially during the period of neoliberalism from 1980 to 1985. The proportion of private facilities became much higher than in the period of welfare regime before 1980. As I mentioned in the preceding section, promoting the proportion of private sports facilities was an important part of Japan's neoliberalism policies, so it can be concluded that the emergence of neoliberalism has “distorted” people's sport rights which were originally stipulated in law but couldn't be guaranteed. For instance, students still have to rely on school facilities for sports because public facilities outside school were inadequate and the private profit-making facilities would charge higher fee for using them. Tables 1 and 2 illustrated the sports facilities and instructors.

Table 1: The equipment of sports facilities in Japan (component ratio%)

| Year | School facilities | Public facilities | Private non-profit facilities | Private profit-making facilities | Company sports facilities |
|------|-------------------|-------------------|-------------------------------|----------------------------------|---------------------------|
| 1969 | 107395 (72.5) | 23768 (16.1) | 2522 (1.7) | 4184 (2.8) | 10193 (6.9) |
| 1975 | 127296 (67.6) | 26873 (14.3) | 3896 (2.1) | 10324 (5.5) | 19835 (10.5) |
| 1980 | 141793 (64.8) | 29013 (13.5) | 5592 (2.6) | 12666 (5.8) | 29566 (13.5) |
| 1985 | 148995 (51.0) | 60777 (20.8) | 16741 (5.7) | 27148 (9.3) | ...a |

Note: (1) No record about company sports facilities in 1985.

(2) And Table 1 was made by author in reference to relevant official documents.

Source: Ministry of Education (1969; 1975; 1980; 1985).

As shown in Table 2, the number of administrative instructors for massed sports were displayed. Their jobs were not only to provide technical guidance like normal coaches, but also to manage and operate a series of event or organizational projects. In this sense, they played a significant role on the development of massed sports. Table 2 illustrated the total number of them increased slightly, while the average growth rate in each Board of Education declined from 1978 to 1987 shown on Figure 2. The rising of the average growth rate before 1978 and the sharp decline after 1978 was the true reflection on the negative effect of the transformation from the welfare state to the neoliberalism state.

Table 2: The number of administrative instructors for massed sport

| Year | Number of Board of Education | Number of instructors | Number of instructors in each Board of Education |
|------|------------------------------|-----------------------|--|
| 1971 | 3355 | 37115 | 11.1 |
| 1978 | 3327 | 45138 | 13.6 |
| 1981 | 3335 | 51311 | 15.4 |
| 1984 | 3332 | 52593 | 15.8 |
| 1987 | 3342 | 54373 | 16.3 |

Note: Table 2 was made by author in reference to relevant official documents.

Source: Ministry of Education (1971; 1978; 1981; 1984; 1987).

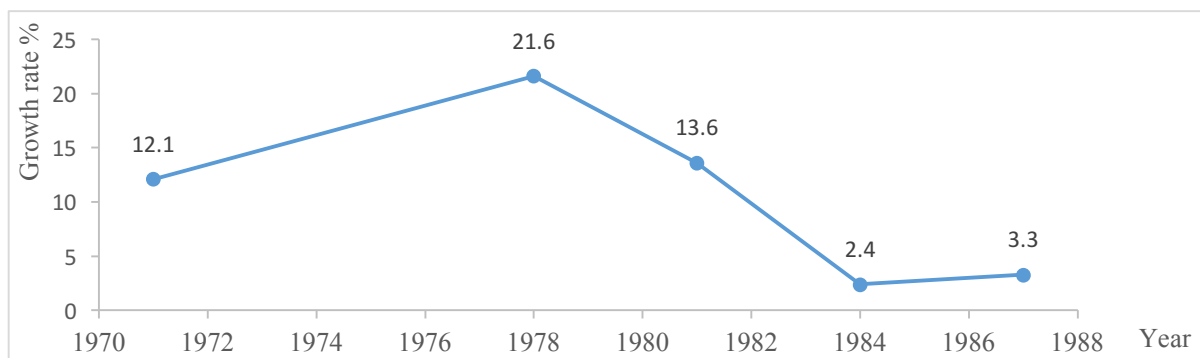


Figure 2: The average growth rate of instructors in each board of education

Note: Figure 2 was made by author in reference to relevant official documents.
 Source: Ministry of Education (1971; 1978; 1981; 1984; 1987).

Besides the instructors, data showed strong evidence from Figure 3 for the negative effect occurred due to neoliberal policies. As shown in Figure 3, there are three (3) different management style – direct control, full consignment, and partial consignment. Direct control refers to the management of facilities and the planning and operation of various sports events are run by local government. Full consignment refers to all things except for management right and the formulation of basic operational plans are consigned to some groups or individuals such as the operation of sport events. Partial consignment refers to partial things except for management right and the formulation of basic operational plans are consigned to some groups or individuals such as guard and cleaning. In brief, the higher consignment means the higher economic burden for citizens. The consignment rate of public sport facilities on management and operation rose from 5% in 1977 to 38.9% in 1987. As a result, the fee of public sports facilities was seen as too high to be accessed by citizen in 1980s (Fujiki, 1985). Therefore, the guarantee of social right, equal education right and opportunities, sport right (i.e., those who want to be sport players) were further weakened due to the effect of neoliberalism.

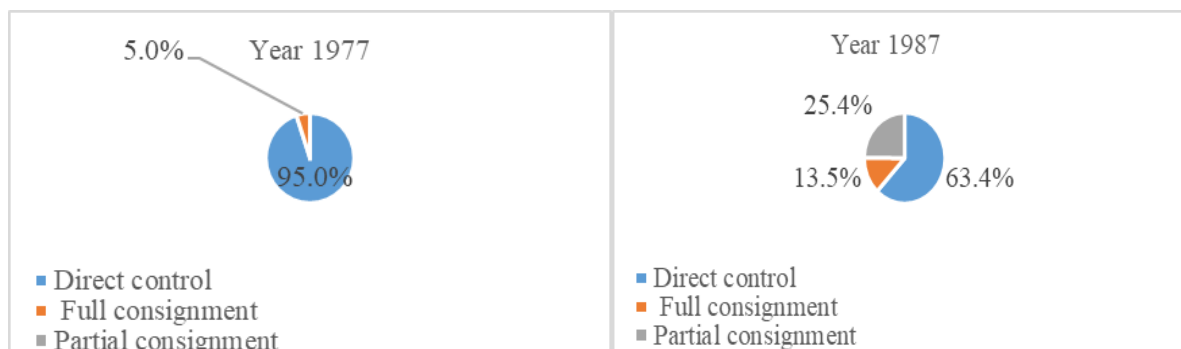


Figure 3: Component ratio of public sport facilities on management and operation

Note: (1) There were plural answers in the survey about the running styles in 1987, and thus the sum of the component ratio exceeds 100%.

(2) Figure 3 was made by author in reference to relevant official documents.

Source: Administrative Management Agency (1977).

RESULTS

RQ 1. What kind of effect did Japan's welfare state policy have on massed sports policy in 1970s?

To answer RQ 1, the literature showed that although several sport policies were put forward in this period by different government departments under the welfare regime, they were not based on democratic principles and national rights protection, but on sport functionalism. In this sense, before arriving of neoliberalism, the welfare state system in the 1970s was not perfect as compared to the ideal welfare state system. Firstly, massed sports were regarded as a tool to solve social issues brought by the rapid economic growth in the policies of Ministry of Education. The strong evidence can be found in those policies. For instance, Social Education Council emphasized the importance of massed sports from the perspective of building citizen relationships and forming communities. In addition, Health Care and Sports Council was concerned with solving health problems caused by the occurrence of pollution and the destruction of the natural environment in the process of rapid economic development.

Secondly, although other relevant government departments have put forward the policies about massed sports, the promotion and popularization of massed sports were not the main goals of those policies. In other words, massed sports policies in this period have some limitations that were mentioned previously. Nevertheless, it is undeniable that massed sports have made some progress and development in this period as shown by the data in Tables 1 and 2. As shown in Table 1, the number of public sports facilities and school facilities increased from 1969 to 1975. Besides that, as shown in Table 2, the number of administrative instructors for massed sport was also increased from 1971 to 1978.

RQ 2. What kind of effect did neoliberalism have on massed sports policy in 1980s, especially for citizen's sport right?

To answer RQ 2, the literature evidence from massed sports policy trend of neoliberalism in 1980s depicted that there were fewer massed sport policies in 1980s than in 1970s. Furthermore, in these extremely limited policies, the responsibility of the state was not emphasized, but the state responsibility was transferred eventually to the market. For instance, beneficiary-pays principle has been put forward and applied in the field of massed sports from 1980s. Additionally, as shown in Table 1, the proportion of private facilities has been increasing in the period of neoliberalism from 1980 to 1985, and the proportion of private facilities became much higher than in the period of welfare regime before 1980. Another strong evidence also was stipulated in Figure 2. Based on Figure 2, The consignment rate of public sport facilities on management and operation rose from 5% in 1977 to 38.9% in 1987. That means the fee of public sports facilities was too high to be accessed by the underprivileged citizens. Hence, the transformation from welfare state to neoliberalism was deemed to be a sport deprivation for the poor.

RQ 3. How did neoliberalism affect massed sports promotion which mentioned in welfare state policies?

To answer RQ 3, the evidence from the actual condition of massed sports infrastructure proposed under the welfare regime showed that the emergence of neoliberalism has hindered and interrupted the implementation of the massed sports promotion policy proposed during the period of the welfare state. The welfare regime agenda stated in *The Basic Guidelines and Policies for Sports Popularization and Promotion* was halt when neoliberal government took over. According to the data in Table 1 and Figure 2, after the arrival of new liberalism, the public sports facilities and sports instructors of massed sports have not been expanded, but the proportion of public sports facilities is getting lower and lower, and the average growth rate of instructors in each Board of Education also showed a downward trend due to the marketization of sports public facilities.

RQ 4. What are the main factors that influence the transformation from welfare state policy to neoliberalism in reference to massed sports policy?

To answer RQ 4, the evidence from the literature indicated the key factor that influenced the transformation from welfare state to neoliberalism – government fiscal constriction was the dominant factor. The empirical data showed that the implementation of welfare state policy in Japan was not based on solely securing of social rights but also to solve various social issues caused by rapid growth. When the era of rapid growth has come to an end, however, the fiscal deficit formed by the fiscal structure of low tax and high expenditure during this period expanded and compounded with the outbreak of the oil shock. Thus, the government abandoned the welfare approach and adopted the neoliberal policies and applied the beneficiary-pays principle to massed sports policies to reduce the government burden.

EFFECTS OF THE TRANSFORMATION

Based on the literature and data analysis, several patterns have emerged. The transformation from welfare state policy to neoliberalism make a dominating influence on the backwardness of massed sports. The mechanism leading to this scenario was composed of several factors. The main factor was government fiscal dictatorship. The birth of welfare state in Japan was not solely to the securing of social right, but to political stabilization. The implementation of the massed sports policies to solve the social issues brought by the rapid economic growth was based on strong evidence. The government fiscal woes in the mid-1970s due to the “oil shock” and rising unemployment have prompted the government to cut public spending especially on massed sports. Under the neoliberal regime, neoliberalism approaches like the preferential measures on tax and beneficiary-pay principle were employed by the Japanese government to further narrowed the responsibilities of the state and increased the dependence on the market when the government fiscal woes have gotten worse. Eventually, the Japanese-style welfare regime was gradually replaced by neoliberalism. In this process, the government's autocracy over fiscal power was a key factor which led to commercialization of massed sports.

Furthermore, with the arriving of neoliberalism, social right, education or learning right, sport right for citizen can no longer be guaranteed in the market mechanism. The policy trend began to focus on the development of profit-making sport infrastructures. Those public sectors which should be provided with free originally started to become commodities such as sports facilities and instructors. This result would only aggravate social problems such as inequality of sport opportunities and polarization between the rich and the poor. And the current overheating of school sports is a representative example. Hence, based on the findings of this study, Figure 4 illustrated that massed sports policy has moved through the track from A to C. In sum, during the neoliberal rule in Japan, the massed sports have shifted from Democracy-Public (A) to Autocracy-Marketization (C) policies.

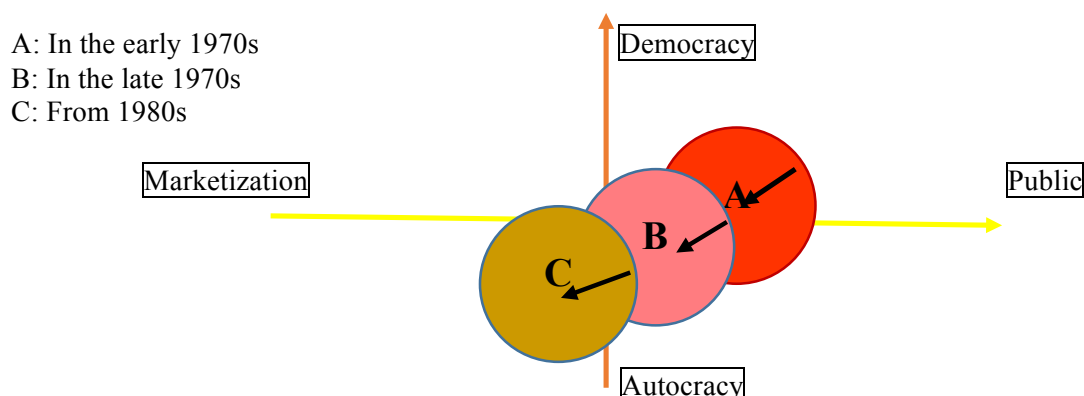


Figure 4: Shifts of massed sports policies in Japan

CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS

In terms of massed sports, though there were some limitations in Japanese-style welfare regime, the promotion and popularization of massed sports made a great progress under the welfare regime in 1970s. This study found the effect of welfare state policy on massed sports was significant. In the early 1970s, massed sports policies were public and democratic where the sports facilities and instructors were provided free by the government during that period. In other words, the sports facilities and instructors were public. Nevertheless, the main purpose of those policies was not to guarantee citizen's sports rights or to increase of sports opportunities demanded by the citizens but to consolidate political power. Since the late 1970s, Japanese government has started to abandon the welfare state policies to exempt the state from the responsibility of social rights securing like sports right. With the arriving of neoliberalism, social right, education or learning right, sport right for citizens can no longer be guaranteed in the market mechanism. Hence, the massed sports policies in the late 1970s were extremely autocratic and started to turn to marketization. From 1980s, marketization and autocracy were adopted by Japanese government based on their neoliberal policy. The policy trend began to focus on the development of profit-making sport infrastructures. Those public sectors which should provide free sports training and facilities originally started to charge for using sports facilities and instructors. The neoliberal policies have aggravated social problems such as inequality of sport opportunities and polarization between the rich and the poor. And the current overheating of school sports is a prime example. In addition, the study also found that the neoliberal government couldn't keep adequate public sports investment due to the impact of unstable political situation and economic woes. Hence, the access to sports by the masses in Japan is limited due to the commodification of the sports.

In sum, the study found that massed sports' transformation is complicated. Based on the findings, it can be concluded that the characteristics and historic development of massed sports policies in Japan have shifted from democracy-public focus during welfare state to autocracy-marketization convergence during neoliberal rule. During the neoliberal rule, massed sports were marginalized and even appeared to stagnant where public sports facilities and instructors had not been properly developed. This political shift has resulted in massed sports deprivation especially among the poor.

To alleviate the problem, this study suggests that massed sports should be independent of political hegemony. In advanced countries such as UK, an independent sport council was established to manage and promote massed sports. To promote massed public sports, the need for independence of education finance – not affected by political and economic factors – is critical. For example, the need to establish a non-governmental agency like the UK's sports council to manage the public sports is required. Finally, the study suggests that the government should provide free sports opportunities for those who cannot afford to pay. Because children who actively participate in sports may have higher

academic achievement, lower dropout, and have better team work and communication skills. The government should provide free sport seminars and lessons for the poor citizens. Volunteerism of the sport instructors or coaches must be encouraged, especially in coaching sports to school students and community youth. In universities, sport scholarships have to be expanded to widen opportunities for the under-privileged youth so that they could receive free sports training of their choice. Moreover, the sports council could also provide full or part-time sport-related jobs to youth so that their stipends could pay for their living expenses and some of the youth could compete to become professional players. In this way, the government would expand the youth's sports opportunities.

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