Studies on Physical Education Promotion Policy for Young Men’s Association in the Taisho Era: Focusing on the Administrative Process in Tokyo Prefecture*

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The Young Men’s Association (YMA) was an education institute that provided programs and further education for young men. It aimed to train both mind and body, and valued physical education. However, in preceding studies, emphasis was placed on the consideration of the national stance that physical education should be promoted in the YMA, or on the consideration of the implementation status of physical education in the YMA in the local community. Specific considerations on the policy and process of the local government liaising between national aim and region implementation were insufficient. This study aims to clarify the development process of the physical education promotion policy of the YMA, taking as an example the Tokyo Prefecture administration during the Taisho Era.

As a result, the following points were clarified:
1) In the Local Governor Conference, no instruction on the specific development method concerning physical education promotion of the YMA was given. Therefore, in each prefectural administration, policies needed to be formulated and implemented, taking into account the regional situation within the jurisdiction.
2) Prefectural Governor Tomoichi Inoue who spearheaded the YMA policy in Tokyo Prefecture, had set as the main objective of the YMA, the implementation of civil education and labor education for the working young men. He placed physical education as “prerequisite for all” activities of the YMA. In so doing, the aim was to train “young men who contribute to labor” through physical education.
3) As a specialized institution reviewing physical education policies of the YMA in Tokyo Prefecture, Governor Inoue established “Tokyo Prefecture Physical Education Council.” The council members consisted, not only of Tokyo prefectural workers, but also of external “education and physical education experts.”
4) The Physical Education Council raised as specific issues, “improvement of the physique and strength of young men” and “popularization method of physical education,” and held repeated discussions thereof. In resolving the above issues, the Physical Education Council cooperated and collaborated with companies within Tokyo Prefecture, and further held “workshops” and “lectures” at a local level.
5) The Physical Education Council compiled the information obtained through discussions and through the “workshops” and “lectures,” and therefrom established and issued the “Tokyo Prefecture Regulations for Young Men’s Physical Education.” Regulations for Young Men’s Physical Education Promotion played an important role in the origin of physical education of the YMA in Tokyo Prefecture in the years to follow.

Keywords: local government, governor, working young men
1. Introduction

1.1. What are Young Men’s Associations?

Young Men’s Associations (YMA) are social, educational institutions that developed under the teaching of the Ministry of Home Affairs and the Ministry of Education from the late Meiji to the Taisho period. Their primary purpose was to offer vocational education and supplementary education to youth engaged in labor in the region after students completed compulsory education. During the Taisho period, the proclamation of the Ministry of Home Affairs and Ministry of Education Directive No. 9 of Taisho 4 (1915), “On Development of YMA Teaching” (the first directive) spurred the bureaucratization of the YMA (Kumagai, 1942). As this demonstrates, from the Taisho period onward, the YMA were characterized by nationalistic teaching and total control by national authorities aiming to develop the YMA nationally. They played such an important role that, until the prewar Showa period, Japanese social education could be said to “revolve around the YMA”\(^1\) (Miyasaka, 1968).

During the Taisho period, to improve the physical strength of the masses, address health problems, promote ideological guidance policies, and encourage nationalism, political measures concerning sports were proposed, mainly to meet health and military-related needs (Kinoshita, 1970; Takenoshita and Kishino, 1959). Furthermore, with the rise of Taisho democracy, the public began to make greater demands for sports and, along with state involvement, this urged their spread and promotion (Kozu, 1994). Thus, physical education and sports gradually increased in popularity during the Taisho period, and in the YMA, the two played an essential role in the process of bureaucratization and regional integration.

1.2. Consideration of preceding studies

Preceding studies on the physical education and sports activities of the YMA have generally fallen into one of two standpoints depending on the perspective taken.

The first standpoint includes studies that attempt to elucidate the relationship between the nationwide teaching of the YMA by the state and physical education and sports from the perspective of historical systems and policies. Takenoshita and Kishino (1959) demonstrated that the YMA began to actively carry out physical education and sports activities following the proclamation of the first directive, which provided the political impetus for the physical education and sports activities of the YMA. Accordingly, Kinoshita (1970) showed that the rise in awareness of political authority among the masses following World War I, and the increased interest in social reform, provided the social background in which the YMA became involved in physical education and sports activities. Also, Irie (1991) observed that the YMA’s institutional support for Meiji Shrine Athletic Meets allowed citizens from all classes of society to take part in these events.

Based on these studies, it is clear that the physical education and sports activities of the YMA were promoted to address social conditions such as the physical improvement of the people, ideological issues, and the systematization of young men to resolve military and educational issues.

The second standpoint includes studies that attempted to clarify information on the practice of physical education and sports activities based on concrete examples of activities by the local YMA. Kozu (1994) and Sasaki (2004) investigated the psychological state of the youth, the former concerning attempts to empower rural youth through sports and the latter regarding rural youth’s acceptance and resistance to physical education and sports activities. Whereas Sasaki (2000) examines the development process of the YMA tournaments in detail, Ono and Tomozoe (2014) examine the organizational format and development process of the YMA’s physical education clubs in depth.

Based on these studies, it is apparent that diverse activities were developed in response to local conditions. The YMA gave the local youth their first opportunity to become acquainted with physical education and sports activities, and they gained practical experience through daily activities and tournaments. The studies described above demonstrate that some youth actively took part in physical education and sports activities, regarding them as a means of self-fulfillment, while others took a critical view of physical education and sports activities, regarding them as bourgeois. These studies demonstrate that the youth did not practice physical education and sports activities monolithically.

The studies mentioned above suggest that
physical education and the sports activities of the YMA initiated through political involvement by the state ultimately served to encourage the spread and promotion of sports among the broader public. Furthermore, the physical education and sports activities evolved into behaviors that not only contributed profoundly to physical development but also to the formation of attitudes and human development. Thus, the involvement of youth in physical education and sports activities, and the diverse perspectives they formed regarding sports, provide viewpoints that are significant in comprehending the varied manifestations of physical education and sports in Japan up to the prewar Showa period. To gain a broader outlook on the spread and growth of physical education and sports in Japan, it is necessary to pursue a more in-depth study of trends in the physical education and sports activities of the YMA from a range of diverse viewpoints.

1.3. Viewpoint and purpose of this study

A thorough examination of preceding studies brings to light one particular question. What sort of physical education promotion policy of the local YMA was implemented by Prefectural Governments acting on the orders of the state? These studies have focused on investigating the relationship between the state and local areas (the YMA), for example, concerning the organizational formats of the YMA and the process through which their activities were developed following the issuance of the first directive. The policy process at the Prefectural Government level that links state intentions with local practices has not been investigated in detail.

Ono and Tomozoe’s (2014) study clarifies that physical education and sports activities were included in the activities of the YMA in response to policies encouraging physical education by the YMA enacted by the Tokyo Prefectural Government. However, they did not investigate the detailed content of the government’s policies encouraging physical education through the YMA or the policymaking process. Clarifying the actual nature of the policies encouraging physical education by the YMA and how they developed concerning the political logic of Prefectural Government representatives should advance our understanding of the state of the physical education and sports activities beginning in the Taisho period of the YMA.

Thus, the purpose of this paper is to clarify the Prefectural Government’s policymaking process of encouraging physical education in the YMA based on the specific example of the Tokyo Prefectural Government. This paper is structured as follows. Before the core discussion, the chain of events by which physical education by the YMA was encouraged in the Taisho period will be described, and three specific topics will then be investigated.

The three topics are as follows: First, this paper will clarify the orders the Ministry of Home Affairs and the Ministry of Education issued to Prefectural Governments to encourage physical education among the YMA based on the orders of local gubernatorial conferences. Second, this paper will focus on Prefectural Governor Inoue Tomoichi (Inoue), who directed the YMA policy of the Tokyo Prefectural Government, by discussing the vision of the policy that Inoue developed in response to the directives and local gubernatorial conference orders and the role he assigned to physical education. Finally, this paper will discuss the policymaking process by which the Tokyo Prefecture YMA Physical Education Promotion Policy was created to clarify the development process of the “Tokyo Prefecture Youth Physical Education Promotion Regulations.”

2. Research methods

To clarify the state’s requirements regarding YMA Physical Education Promotion policies, the orders of the local gubernatorial conferences will be analyzed. Local gubernatorial conferences are “conferences at which, on the initiative of the Cabinet, the Home Minister convenes the regional governors who are the directors of the general branch institutions of the nation, which also serve as conferences of the prefectural governors who occupy the position of leaders of Prefectural Governments” (Taikakai, 1971b). These conferences were a vital starting point in the thorough implementation of the state’s policymaking and governance objectives on a nationwide basis.

This paper will then analyze the policymaking process at the level of prefectures, the creators of the actual policies concerning the physical education and sports activities of the YMA. Accordingly, the reason why the Tokyo Prefectural Government was chosen as an example is that, during the Taisho period, it occupied a prominent position in carrying
out the political tasks of the state as an “urban political center” (Ishizuka, 1991; Takishima, 2003; Nakajima, 2010) capable of exerting a nationwide influence. Preceding studies have not examined the policymaking process at the level of any prefecture in the nation. In light of this tendency, the Tokyo Prefectural Government is a representative example worthy of consideration.

Also, the primary period considered here begins in Taisho 4 (1915), when the first directive was issued, and extends to around Taisho 7 (1918), when the Tokyo Prefectural Government promulgated a prefectural order entitled the “Tokyo Prefecture Youth Physical Education Promotion Regulations,” thus completing the promotion policies in the Taisho period.

Certain historical records were used in this paper: To investigate the orders of the local gubernatorial conferences, this paper uses the same method as Takenaga (2005, 2008, and so on), who conducted substantial empirical research concerning the local gubernatorial conferences, and made use of the minutes of the local gubernatorial conferences published in newspapers. However, because the orders concerning the promotion of physical education were not published in the newspaper, the descriptions of the orders recorded in the *Youth Educational Affairs Newsletter* (in the Nippon Seinenkan’s possession) issued by the Ministry of Home Affairs Bureau of Regional Affairs were used.

Also, for the investigation of Inoue’s vision for the YMA and the policymaking process of the Tokyo Prefectural Government, the administrative documents containing records of Inoue’s instructions at the Tokyo Prefecture county, city, and ward mayors’ conference recorded in the “Outline of Oral Instructions by the Governor of Tokyo Prefecture” (in the Tokyo Metropolitan Archives’ possession) as well as the papers Inoue wrote about the YMA in Tokyo (in the Nippon Seinenkan’s possession) were used. As the “Outline of Oral Instructions by the Governor of Tokyo Prefecture” and some of the papers are unpublished, they have been separated from the “references” and marked as “materials.”

3. The issuance of the first directive and orders to Prefectural Governments

3.1. Focus on physical education due to the bureaucratization of the Young Men’s Associations

Why did the bureaucratization of the YMA lead to an emphasis on physical education? The wars experienced by modern Japan may have influenced this development.

From the middle to late Meiji period, Japan went through two wars, the Sino-Japanese War (1894-1895) and the Russo-Japanese War (1904-1905). Based on these experiences, and to cultivate people who would support the state more fervently than before, the Ministry of Home Affairs and the Ministry of Education broadly spread education among the people by proactively expanding the education system and organizing various educational groups (Miyaji, 1973). Also, local young men were a particular target of these activities, and the focus was placed on the reorganization of the YMA to make young men a support base for the regime.

Regarding this approach by the Ministry of Home Affairs and the Ministry of Education, Tanaka Giichi (Tanaka) of the army also sought an appropriate means of youth education from a military perspective.

From February to August of Taisho 3 (1914), Tanaka visited and conducted observation in several Western countries investigating the status of youth education there. Thus, Tanaka realized that Western countries paid significant attention to the YMA from a military point of view and turned his focus to cultivating the YMA.

In so doing, Tanaka observed various problems, namely, that youth in Japan, where excessive military preparatory education was practiced, took a flippant attitude toward military exercises and lacked the physical and mental strength to withstand hardship. Thus, he said, “we must realize that military teaching of youth education will build their physical strength, invigorate their spirits, and inspire a robust militaristic spirit among them, but nothing more” (Tanaka, 1915, p. 121). He expressed the view that emphasizing physical education was much more essential as a prerequisite than putting youth through basic training as soldiers. Consequently, Tanaka came to regard physical education as “the
most important part of youth education’’ (Tanaka, 1915, p. 106), and to form a vision of encouraging physical education by the YMA.

Thus, Tanaka encouraged physical education by the YMA, not for specialized military knowledge and skills, or high-level military training for military activity, but for the cultivation of more general qualities and abilities that were prerequisites for military activity, such as a robust physique, abundant physical strength, the cultivation of a militaristic spirit, and a spirit of self-sacrifice or, as he put it, ‘‘the military demands nothing more than building their physical strength and inspiring a militaristic spirit’’ (Tanaka, 1915, p. 123). This also demonstrates that the reason Tanaka emphasized physical education by the YMA was precisely that ‘‘exercises’’ that ‘‘emulate the military’’ (Tanaka, 1915, p. 123) were useful in developing the various elements needed for military activity.

Based on these ideas, Tanaka appealed to the Ministry of Home Affairs and the Ministry of Education regarding the advantages of the military and educational functions of the YMA. Tanaka also made a strong appeal regarding the significance of youth education that employed physical education and, in a demonstration of their acceptance of these claims, the Ministry of Home Affairs and the Ministry of Education stated in the first directive that physical education should be emphasized. Thus, it is apparent that physical education by the YMA was encouraged because of the demands by the military on the youth.

3.2. Orders to Prefectural Governments at local gubernatorial conferences

Next, let us turn our attention to the fact that the first directive was issued to the ‘‘secretaries of the Hokkaido government office and the prefecture’’ (Ministry of Home Affairs and Ministry of Education, 1915a). The term ‘‘secretaries’’ refers to the ‘‘secretary of the Hokkaido government office’’ as well as the ‘‘prefectural governors,’’ and the fact that the directive was issued to the ‘‘secretaries’’ indicates that the content of the directive was to be promoted by the Prefectural Governments.

Also, the local gubernatorial conferences following the issuance of the first directive ordered that the Ministry of Home Affairs and the Ministry of Education direct and supervise the YMA. To begin with, at the first local gubernatorial conference following the issuance of the first directive on December 6 of Taisho 4 (1915), Ichiki issued the following instructions to the secretary of the Hokkaido government office and the governors of the prefectures:

As indicated in the directive issued after consulting with the Minister of Education, as it was deemed necessary to do based on current conditions, at present the YMA have spread across nearly the entire country, and we ask that all in attendance offer proper guidance to them and communicate with the districts, cities, towns, and villages under your jurisdiction, requesting that they remain adequately in contact with local public groups and assist with their development. (Tokyo Nichinichi Shim bun, Dec. 7, 1915)

Additionally, Ichiki issued the following order under the title ‘‘Concerning the YMA’’:

Regarding the regions in which the YMA are organized and established, and so on, I hope that circulating general standards will assist with teaching, and the hope that standard the YMA will adhere to these to the greatest possible extent is the original reason for the foundation of the groups. Depending on historical and other local circumstances, adhering to these standards may, to the contrary, shake the foundations of the organizations and even destroy them. To prevent this, such circumstances should be improved. (Tokyo Nichinichi Shim bun, Dec. 7, 1915)

Based on these orders, it is apparent that Prefectural Governments were given the authority to direct and supervise the YMA. Also, these governments were required to fully implement orders regarding the districts, cities, towns, and villages under their jurisdiction, and each government was required to develop its policies with the assistance of the districts, cities, towns, and villages. Through this process, it was possible to develop policies in a manner appropriate to the regional conditions of the jurisdiction.

Next, Ichiki stated that:

Promotion for physical education by the YMA is already very important. I hope that everyone in attendance will clarify the purpose of physical education and sufficiently communicate its necessity in light of current conditions, creating
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individual policies and working to encourage physical education. (Ministry of Home Affairs Bureau of Regional Affairs, 1915, p. 5)

As this quote indicates, specific methods of encouraging physical education were not mentioned, as in the directive, and it is apparent that the task of implementing physical education promotion policies fell entirely to the Prefectural Governments. A review of the subsequent orders of local gubernatorial conferences regarding the YMA also appears to show that orders concerning the promotion of physical education by the YMA were not made. Even when the promotion of physical education by the YMA were mentioned, it did not usually exceed a request for full assistance with the promotion of physical education.

Next, let us examine how the Tokyo Prefectural Government implemented the YMA Physical Education Promotion Policy after receiving the first directive and the orders of the regional gubernatorial conference.

4. Prefectural Governor Inoue Tomoichi’s vision for the Young Men’s Association under the Tokyo Prefectural Government and the role of physical education

4.1. Regarding Prefectural Governor Inoue Tomoichi

In September of Taisho 4 (1915), when the first directive was issued, Inoue Tomoichi served as the Governor of Tokyo Prefecture. Before becoming prefectural governor, Inoue served at the Ministry of Home Affairs as the Director of the Municipalities Division of the Prefectural Administration Bureau, Director of the Prefectural Division of the Bureau of Regional Affairs, Secretary to the Home Minister, the Ministry of Home Affairs Councilor, Director of the Home Ministry Bureau of Shrine Affairs, and so on. Inoue held various positions as a Home Ministry bureaucrat, but his greatest interest was in local administration, especially in industry and education, and he also focused on promoting social welfare (Taikakai, 1971a).

From July 2 of Taisho 4 (1915) to his sudden death on June 12 of Taisho 8 (1919), he served as the twenty-first governor of the Tokyo Prefecture. Although he served as governor for just four years, he accomplished a great deal, and received the following praise after his death: “Once he became governor of Tokyo Prefecture, he fulfilled his long-held ideas and made numerous accomplishments in Tokyo, producing excellent results and creating an example to be emulated by other regions” (Omi, 1920).

This study’s investigation of the Tokyo Prefectural Government’s YMA Physical Education Promotion Policy development process focuses on Inoue because, as governor, Inoue was the leader who guided the Taisho period YMA policies made by the government. The details will be given later but Inoue focused the YMA’s reorganization of the first directive on “cultivating a regional foundation to allow future outstanding citizens to contribute to their homeland, based on the fact that the YMA is, in essence, an institution intended for the self-improvement of youth” (Inoue, 1915) and building a vision of the YMA in Tokyo. In this vision of Inoue’s concern with the YMA in Tokyo, what role did physical education play? Analyzing Inoue as a government administrator provides us with further hints regarding the role of physical education in the YMA in the Taisho period.

To accomplish this, we will review Inoue’s claims regarding youth education and physical education in his writings while he was in charge of local governance as the Director of the Prefectural Division of the Ministry of Home Affairs Bureau of Regional Affairs.

First, in the discussion of urban park administration in The Essence of Self-Governance (1909), Inoue mentions the existence of “exercise parks.” Here, Inoue sees “exercise parks” as venues appropriate for physical education, claiming that it is also necessary for local governments to actively expand exercise parks because of public health concerns (Inoue, 1909, pp. 170-171). He describes an American case study in which the establishment of an exercise park reduced youth crime, a case in which “an emphasis was placed on encouraging exercise, at the same time putting into play the doctrine of social education” (Inoue, 1909, p. 174). It is apparent that he was aware of the educational value that physical education could achieve within social education.

Also, in the discussion of “self-governance and vocational training” in Self-Governance Development Training (1912), Inoue states, “school education places too much focus on books, and instead of
teaching people only from books, it is important to sufficiently cultivate work ability and stamina through real-life education from childhood on” (Inoue, 1912, p. 240). Here, he demonstrates an awareness of the importance of “workability” and “stamina.”

Thus, in considering the appropriate means of urban governance and regional self-governance from his time as Director of the Prefectural Division of the Ministry of Home Affairs Bureau of Regional Affairs onward, Inoue believed that physical education would help maintain people’s health, and would prove effective as a part of the education for youth. Based on the previously described claims, we will examine Inoue’s vision as Governor of Tokyo Prefecture below.

4.2. Prefectural Governor Inoue Tomoichi’s vision for Tokyo’s Young Men’s Association

Following the issuance of the first directive, Inoue expressed the following view.

As you all know, the Home Minister and the Minister of Education, Science and Culture have issued a directive concerning the promotion of the improvement of the YMA. In the counties, villages, and islands of this prefecture, there are 274 YMA, and while there are a number of YMA that achieve their goals, unfortunately, most of them do not... We should work to cultivate a regional foundation to allow future outstanding citizens to contribute to their homeland, based on the fact that the YMA are, in essence, institutions intended for the self-improvement of youth. (Inoue, 1915)

Inoue had been concerned that the Tokyo YMA had fallen behind those elsewhere in the country since before the issuance of the first directive. Thus, he made up his mind that “Tokyo cannot remain asleep any longer” (Inoue, 1918a, p. 378) and, following the issuance of the first directive, became actively involved in strengthening the YMA.

First, according to Inoue, the YMA were a “venue for training established to function as economic and mental activities of ordinary society outside of school education” (Inoue, 1917a). Their main members were the “young laborers” (Inoue, 1917a) who made up the majority of the groups’ membership. Inoue explained that these “young laborers” were youth “working mainly in shops and factories” (Inoue, 1917a). As will be described later, Inoue’s Prefectural Government placed particular emphasis on commerce and industrial policies, which demonstrated that he envisioned the principal members of the YMA of Tokyo as young laborers working in shops, companies, and factories.

Moreover, Inoue stated that the YMA of Tokyo should achieve the following three main purposes.

First, to cultivate a spirit of national service, the YMA should perform “education regarding prefectural citizenship.” According to Inoue, the “spirit of national service” meant “simply being constantly aware of one’s responsibilities as a member of a group, the empire” (Inoue, 1917b, p. 2), and he explained that this meant recognizing oneself as a part of the state. Tokyo differed significantly from other regions in that it received numerous benefits from the imperial family; therefore, closer attention should be paid to ensuring that Tokyo youth held a sufficiently strong concept of service, he said.

Second, Inoue mentioned that “civic education” should be conducted to improve group life by cultivating the previously mentioned “spirit of national service.” As group members, youth should work to “improve themselves as citizens” (Inoue, 1917b, p. 2). In concrete terms, Inoue believed this involved cultivating thoughts of homeland, self-governance, and group.

Third, Inoue mentioned “labor education” as a means of improving production efficiency. By implementing labor education in the YMA, the Tokyo Prefectural Government aimed to improve production efficiency and strengthen the foundation of local development.

Inoue also stated that accomplishing the above three goals would assist in “making a faithful nation, and a robust population of farmers and commerce and industry-minded citizens” (Inoue, 1917b, p. 4).

The core of Inoue’s vision for the YMA in Tokyo consisted of cultivating among youth a spirit of national service and a keen awareness of themselves as members of the state; it also entailed educating them in such a way as to support local development through labor.
4.3. Role of physical education in the Young Men’s Association policies of Prefectural Governor Inoue Tomoichi

What role did Inoue give to physical education in the YMA policy of the Tokyo Prefectural Government?

On May 5, Taisho 6 (1917), at the Tokyo YMA Leaders’ Conference held in the Tokyo Conference Hall, Inoue issued instructions on the significance of the YMA’s involvement in physical education. On this occasion, Inoue stated that education through the YMA was an urgent task for the development of Tokyo, explaining that the YMA of Tokyo had three goals: education regarding prefectural citizenship, civic education, and labor education. It is also worth noting that Inoue mentioned physical education as a precondition for achieving these goals. On this point, Inoue stated:

To build such a great nation, vigorous physical strength is needed. It is very unfortunate that the physical condition of the citizens here in Tokyo is the very worst in Japan except for Osaka Prefecture and Kagoshima Prefecture, according to a conscription examination comparison chart... It seems to me that when facing a lathe in a factory, when using a hoe to clear wasteland, and when colonizing the South Seas, where the culture is completely different, physical strength is the precondition for everything. (Inoue, 1917b, p. 4)

As seen in this statement, to cultivate the “faithful national nation and a robust population of farmers and commerce and industry-minded citizens,” Inoue felt that youth needed “physical strength” to meet it. Also, Inoue’s conviction that physical education was the “precondition for everything” in activities by the YMA demonstrates the degree of significance he assigned to promoting physical education by the YMA.

Next, Inoue expressed the following view regarding the form of military education the state sought from physical education by the YMA.

Vice-Director Tanaka of the Military General Staff Office explained that it has to be this way in order to cultivate youth who will give their strength to a nation at war, and Director Nakagawa of the Health and Medical Bureau insists that it should be this way from the perspective of physical education. This is an extremely persuasive view, and from my expert perspective, I believe we should cultivate youth capable of working sufficiently toward local development. (Inoue, 1918a, p. 337)

As seen here, Inoue stated that it would be preferable to not only fully meet the military needs of the state but also to cultivate “youth capable of working sufficiently toward local development” from the perspective of a prefectural governor leading the development of Tokyo. Precisely what sort of youth are the “youth capable of working sufficiently toward local development,” which Inoue desired?

First, according to Inoue, for youth, physical education is “an activity aimed at building a strong body, the work of building vigorous strength in youth” (Inoue, 1917a). Also, he stated that physical education by the YMA had the effect of cultivating excellent laborers by structuring both body and mind and that engaging in physical education in the YMA would fortify the public spirit and social morality (Inoue, 1917a). He described the vision of youth who had to be cultivated through the promotion of physical education as follows: “I would like to cultivate a large number of energetic youth capable of withstanding labor, that is, youth with the vitality to contribute to labor” (Inoue, 1917a). Why did Inoue find it necessary to place particular emphasis on cultivating young laborers?

As the nationwide economy developed in the Taisho period, Tokyo, the economic center of Japan, gained increasing importance. As this state of affairs progressed, the flow of population into Tokyo grew year after year, and the increase in young laborers engaged in commerce and industry was particularly marked (Tokyo Prefectural Government, 1916). According to reports by the Secretarial Administrative Division (1916) and the Administrative Statistical Division (1921) of the Minister of Agriculture and Commerce, the total number of young men engaged in manufacturing in Tokyo in Taisho 3 (1914) was 61,250, a number that grew to 115,330 in Taisho 8 (1919). Among these young men, the number of youth aged 15 to 19 increased from 14,231 in Taisho 3 (1914) to 28,980 in Taisho 8 (1919). Also, in Taisho 8 (1919), the percentage of laborers aged 15 to 19 in Tokyo among such laborers nationwide was 16.5% (the total number nationwide was 175,401). These data are limited to those engaged in manufacturing, but they still provide a glimpse of the situation surrounding
young laborers in Tokyo in this period.

This increase in young laborers intensified administrative problems, such as the maintenance of order and labor disputes and social division and destabilization, mainly in urban areas. This was exemplified by the outbreak of unrest related to the abnormal increase in prices after World War I. Additionally, there was a need to respond to infectious diseases, such as cholera and the plague, which were spreading widely at this time. It was necessary to cultivate healthy youth with strong bodies to maintain public health. Based on Tokyo’s situation in the Taisho period, the resolution of the problems surrounding young laborers was a very urgent task for the Tokyo Prefectural Government.

Accordingly, Inoue concentrated the powers of the Prefectural Government on developing commerce and industry policy. For instance, Shibusawa Eiichi, a businessman and member of the Committee on Tokyo Commerce and Industry Policy, praised Inoue’s contributions to the commerce and industry policy as “extremely great” (Shibusawa, 1919, p. 47). Mizumachi Kesaroku, who was a member of the same committee and interacted with Inoue, also said: “There seems to be reason to have great hope for our manufacturing abilities under the Tokyo Prefectural Government, which has rapidly made plans to further increase this ability... and has made continuous effort to achieve economic results” (Mizumachi, 1919, p. 45).

Inoue’s commerce and industry policy not only sought to achieve improvement in efficiency but also to stabilize the lifestyles of laborers (Inoue, 1919, p. 6). This further indicates that Inoue did not limit himself to YMA policies but sought to form a vision of youth laborers throughout the entire Prefectural Government.

As stated, Inoue acted in response to the social conditions of Tokyo in the Taisho period and, in the policy of encouraging physical education by the YMA, found a partial solution to the administrative problems surrounding young laborers. For Inoue, who felt that improvement of the physical strength of youth through physical education contributed to the development of the YMA and local development in Tokyo, the promotion of physical education in the YMA was indispensable in the light of the state of affairs.

5. Development of the Young Men’s Association physical education promotion policies in Tokyo

We have already discussed Inoue’s vision of physical education in the YMA. How was Inoue’s vision implemented in reality? Below, we will examine the process leading to the promulgation of the Tokyo Prefecture Youth Physical Education Promotion Regulations in Taisho 7 (1918).

5.1. Governance status of social education in Tokyo in the Taisho period

First, before the establishment of governance over social education, the Tokyo Prefectural Board of Education and the boards of education of the districts and cities offered “popular education.”

For instance, the Tokyo Prefectural Board of Education began to offer various activities beginning in Meiji 21 (1888), shortly after its founding, including lectures and projection shows that were part of its popular education program. Later, in Meiji 44 (1911), it established the Popular Education Department as an initiative to improve social conditions and spur on social progress. Consequently, it became possible to “achieve the widespread, energetic diffusion of popular education” (Tokyo Metropolitan Board of Education, 1944). The Tokyo City Board of Education established in Meiji 33 (1900) was also vigorously active, for instance, in establishing popular education facilities and creating project plans (Tokyo Metropolitan Board of Education, 1944). In response to these developments, the Tokyo Prefectural Government actively attempted to promote and gather support, for instance, by issuing the proclamation of “Notification on Promotion of Popular Education” in Meiji 39 (1906) and granting subsidies to the Tokyo Prefectural Board of Education and the Nishitama District Board of Education in Meiji 44 (1911) (Tokyo Prefectural Government, 1937).

As mentioned, popular education was vigorously developed by the Tokyo Prefectural Board of Education and the boards of education of the districts and cities. Particularly from the late Meiji period onward, actions that began to complement and replace the need for governance over popular education had not yet been established. This series of actions can be regarded as initial steps toward the

Also, according to a report by the Tokyo Prefecture General Affairs Department (1939), the first step in the establishment of governance over social education in Tokyo was the institution of a full-time social education superintendent in Taisho 8 (1919). This full-time superintendent was responsible for administrative affairs related to not only the YMA but also youth education in general, and a school inspector from the Academic and Military Affairs Division of the Domestic Affairs Department was appointed to the position.

Subsequently, a social education budget was first appropriated in Tokyo in Taisho 10 (1921). Thus, governance over social education “gradually began to develop” (Tokyo Prefectural Government, 1941, p. 6).

Following this, in December of Taisho 14 (1925), the local social education personnel system was promulgated through Edict No. 324; in the next year, Taisho 15 (1926), the social education superintendent was placed in the School Affairs Division of the School Affairs Department, newly established through organizational restructuring. This provided the impetus for governance over social education to “change its format somewhat, becoming highly occupied with not only holding all types of courses and lectures... but also performing administrative tasks related to YMA physical education meets” (Tokyo Prefectural Government, 1941, p. 6). Thus, progress was made in establishing governance over social education in Tokyo in the late Taisho period and afterward.

However, while Inoue was considering YMA physical education promotion policies (1915-1918), the full-time social education superintendent had not yet been appointed. As seen in a report by the Tokyo Prefectural Government (1941, p. 6), which stated, “only a single representative of the Academic and Military Affairs Division was engaged in the hard work related to supplementary vocational training schools, the YMA, and popular lectures” (Tokyo Prefectural Government, 1941, p. 7), governance over social education had not been established in Tokyo.

Nonetheless, regarding developing YMA policies, Inoue stated, “at the School Affairs Division that supervises the policies, thanks to the great diligence of the school inspectors, including the Division Director, it was still possible to establish an appropriate plan” (Inoue, 1918a, p. 278). Accordingly, the Domestic Affairs Department Academic and Military Affairs Division’s school inspectors supported the formation of physical education promotion policies. Thus, below, we turn our focus to the contributions of the school inspectors.

5.2. Establishment of the Tokyo Youth Physical Education Committee

Beginning in around Taisho 6 (1917), Inoue attempted to strengthen the YMA by promoting the establishment of various committees. His first step was establishing the Tokyo YMA Leaders’ Committee (Leaders’ Committee); later, the Tokyo Youth Physical Education Committee (Physical Education Committee) was established as an offshoot of the Leaders’ Conference.

Initially, the Leaders’ Conference was established under Inoue’s supervision to carry out “the foremost responsibility of getting leaders to plan the important points of this directive and even more thoroughly implement the programs currently in operation, such as supplementary education and promotion for physical education” (Inoue, 1917c). The committee’s membership mainly comprised school inspectors from the Academic and Military Affairs Division of the Domestic Affairs Department, who considered supplementary education, book reading projects, and promotion of physical education in the YMA, in addition to investigating the status of the YMA in the prefecture. Furthermore, they gathered the leaders of the local YMA and held conferences, aiming to cultivate leaders and achieve consistent communication among them.

However, promotion of physical education came to be seen as a problem that, owing to its particular importance, could not be resolved through the Leaders’ Conference alone. Regarding this point, Inoue states that “in order to fully implement promotion for physical education, investigations should be conducted by specialized conferences with assistance from the outside in a manner that exceeds administrative categories” (Inoue, 1917d). Thus, on July 25 of Taisho 6 (1917), Inoue established the Physical Education Committee as a specialized institution for considering the YMA physical education promotion policies by the Tokyo Prefectural Government. The purpose of the Physical
Education Committee was to “investigate methods of improving the physical strength of youth and for additional, appropriate teaching and promotion” (Inoue, 1917d). Its central undertakings were considering the physical education teaching and promotion policies in the YMA and carrying out research and surveys on physical education institutions as well as health and hygiene (Tokyo Prefectural Government, 1919, p. 321).

Upon the establishment of the Physical Education Committee, Inoue made this statement:

Following an investigation of methods of improving the physical strength of youth, the Tokyo Youth Physical Education Committee was established within the Prefectural Government office to offer additional support for appropriate teaching promotion, and members were selected from among bureaucrats, prefectural school principals, doctors, and experts with related education and expertise, each with their own specialties. Bearing this purpose in mind, they should express their views on promotion of physical education, provide the materials necessary for the investigation on an as-needed basis, and offer support for the advancement of the investigation. (Inoue, 1917d)

As seen here, Inoue attempted to investigate the YMA physical education promotion policies of the Tokyo Prefectural Government from a more specialized perspective by establishing the Physical Education Committee. In so doing, he focused on member composition. However, the list of members of the Physical Education Committee does not currently seem to exist as a public document. Therefore, while the lack of historical documents imposes some restrictions, let us consider contemporary newspaper reports, which provide useful information.

Regarding committee members, Inoue himself negotiated to invite a wide range of outside experts (Table 1). The members invited included, for instance, Nagai Domei, who played an important role in Japanese physical education teaching; and Murata Uichiro (Murata), who served as Principal of Osaka Tennoji Normal School, after which he put his full energy into promoting youth education nationwide as a non-regular employee of the Ministry of Home Affairs; and Kita Toyokichi, an expert on school health, all experts in education/physical education active on the front lines. The composition of the membership was also unique in that it included school staff, such as the principals of a Tokyo normal school and a prefectural middle school.

The Tokyo Prefectural Government invited not only external experts but also two school inspectors from the Academic and Military Affairs Division of the Domestic Affairs Department. According to a Tokyo Prefectural Government report (1941, p. 8), these school inspectors were two individuals with daily experience in physical education teaching (for

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Position</th>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Main Occupation</th>
</tr>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Chairman</td>
<td>Higashizono Motomitsu</td>
<td>States Director of Home Affairs, Tokyo Prefecture</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Temporary Members</td>
<td>Nagai Domei</td>
<td>Professor, Tokyo Higher Normal School</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Murata Uichiro</td>
<td>Temporary Employee, Ministry of Home Affairs</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Appointive Members</td>
<td>Kita Toyokichi</td>
<td>Sanitation Officer, Ministry of Education</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Taniguchi Tenji</td>
<td>Protection Officer, Ministry of Home Affairs</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Moriya Kozaburo</td>
<td>Director of the Education, Tokyo City</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Shimomura Jyuichi</td>
<td>Investigator, Tokyo Prefecture</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Niwa Shichiro</td>
<td>Investigator, Tokyo Prefecture</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Takahashi Kousuke</td>
<td>Engineer, Tokyo Prefecture</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Takizawa Kikutaro</td>
<td>Principal, Aoyama Normal School</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Kawada Masazumi</td>
<td>Principal, Tokyo Prefecture</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Yoshida Hiroshi</td>
<td>Temporary Employee, Tokyo Prefecture</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Tokura Seichi</td>
<td>School Inspector, Tokyo Prefecture</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Harutaro</td>
<td>School Inspector, Tokyo Prefecture</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Shimizu Fukuichi</td>
<td>Temporary Employee, Tokyo Prefecture</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Suzuki Eiichiro</td>
<td>Temporary Employee, Tokyo Prefecture</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(Summarized from “Tokyo Asahi Shimbun, July 25, 1917”)

Table 1 Composition of the Tokyo Youth Physical Education Committee.
instance in elementary schools) and, in addition to participating in conferences, they were also responsible for administrative work, liaison, and coordination tasks. The chairman was Higashizono Motomitsu, director of the Domestic Affairs Department of the Tokyo Prefectural Government.

As discussed, after establishing a Physical Education Committee, the Tokyo Prefectural Government encouraged physical education. The fact that an administrative foundation for supporting the YMA physical education promotion policies had not been established in Tokyo was one of the reasons for this, and the establishment of the Physical Education Committee itself can be seen as one means of implementing these policies.

5.3. Problems the Tokyo Youth Physical Education Committee faced with the promotion of physical education and their solutions

Next, let us examine two problems the Physical Education Committee faced in encouraging physical education in the YMA, along with the measures that were taken to resolve them.

5.3.1. Problem of poor physical condition of youth: “How can the physical condition of youth be improved?”

The first problem the Physical Education Committee faced was the “poor physical condition” of youth in Tokyo. On this point, Inoue made the following observation:

In the past five years, conscription examinations in this prefecture have shown that... we place between 42nd and 46th among all the prefectures in Japan. This is extremely concerning, and we need to solve this problem as soon as possible. Thus, the construction of appropriate facilities for improving the physical education of youth should be treated as an emergency. (Inoue, 1917e)

The Tokyo conscription examinations revealed the situation described by Inoue. In Inoue’s opinion, “the physical condition of youth has reached an extremely low level, and in particular the situation among factory workers in the apprentice companies of merchants is so miserable that it is painful to look at” (Inoue, 1917e). He saw the decline in the physical condition of youth working in commerce and industry as particularly problematic.

In response to this situation, on April 3 of Taisho 7 (1918), a conference called “Regarding Improvement of the Physical Education of Youth in Tokyo” was held at the Tokyo Conference Hall. At this conference, the topic of discussion was “how to improve the physique of youthful apprentices in Tokyo.”

The conference was attended by not only the members of the Physical Education Committee and Tokyo Prefectural Government personnel, including those from the Academic and Military Affairs Division of the Domestic Affairs Department, but also the proprietors of “large factories and stores” (Inoue, 1918b) in Tokyo. Specifically, 50 proprietors of companies, factories, and stores, such as Mitsukoshi, Kanebo, and Fuji Gas, attended.

At the conference, Inoue made the following statement to the proprietors:

According to the results of conscription examinations in the past three years, the physical condition of youth engaged in agriculture in the countryside is outstanding, but that of sedentary factory workers is extremely poor and, disappointingly, only 12 among 100 young men engaged in tabi sock manufacturing received an A grade. This is alarming, and with regard to methods of improving physical education, through our discussions we have at last arrived at three proposals. We would like to implement these improvements in concrete fashion through physical education courses, assistance with the establishment of physical education institutions, and physical examinations. Some of those in attendance today personally possess appropriate facilities. Thus, I would like to ask all of you for your assistance. (Inoue, 1918b)

After explaining to the proprietors that the recent physical condition of youth engaged in commerce and industry in Tokyo was much poorer than youth engaged in agriculture in the countryside, Inoue stated that the Physical Education Committee was struggling over how to handle this. Inoue asked for assistance with creating an environment where youth could engage in physical education while being employed as workers in factories and stores (Inoue, 1918b). He declared to the companies offering assistance that the Tokyo Prefectural Government would make allowances for regional conditions and the nature of the business and would
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establish the necessary facilities, such as exercise venues and exercise equipment, and also pay subsidies (Inoue, 1918b).

It was difficult for young laborers to take part in physical activities at the YMA every day due to time restrictions. The Physical Education Committee felt that this was a factor that hindered the promotion of physical education and, in collaboration with companies, they created an environment for young laborers to take part in physical education and attempted to promote it.

A survey carried out by the Commercial and Industrial Section of the Tokyo Prefecture in Taisho 8 (1919) reported that a higher number of factories had installed physical education facilities, such as exercise areas and physical education equipment.*11 This indicates that the companies made efforts to install physical education facilities in response to the request by the Physical Education Committee.

5.3.2. Problem of the absence of physical education leaders: "How can we spread physical education?"

The second question the Physical Education Committee faced was "how can we spread physical education to the YMA?" (Inoue, 1918c). Particular emphasis was placed on the question of who would teach physical education in the local YMA.

As studies have indicated, until the first directive encouraged physical education by the YMA, many youths in the local YMA had no experience with physical education. Therefore, Inoue expressed the view that "we should make acquiring YMA leaders our first priority" (Inoue, 1918c). Therefore, cultivating leaders who would teach physical education was a preeminent task.

In response, the Physical Education Committee held a Tokyo Youth Physical Education Leaders’ Course (the course) and Tokyo Youth Physical Education Leaders’ Lectures (the lectures).

First, the course was held beginning in March of Taisho 7 (1918) and was attended by "people who are engaged or could be engaged in teaching of physical education among youth" (Tokyo Prefectural Government, 1919, p. 322), specifically YMA officials, school instructors, and members of the association of reservists. The purpose of the course was to share methods and theories of physical education teaching with the leaders of the local YMA (Murata, 1918). Indeed, members of the Physical Education Committee attended the course as instructors, and training was held regarding "the theory and practice of exercise physiology and gymnastic competitions, the essentials of martial arts education for youth, and so on" (Tokyo Prefectural Government, 1919, p. 322).

Next, the Physical Education Committee began to work on hosting the lectures. The purpose of the lectures was to spread the thought of physical education among the leaders of the regional YMA and general group members (Murata, 1918). In fact, like the course, a lecture concerning "improving thought of physical education among youth" was held, with members of the Physical Education Committee in attendance as instructors (Tokyo Prefecture Government, 1919, p. 322).

As seen here, the Physical Education Committee emphasized the cultivation of physical education leaders and worked toward their development to spread physical education to the YMA in various regions under the jurisdiction of the Tokyo Prefectural Government.

5.4. Promulgation of the Tokyo Prefectural Order entitled "Tokyo Prefecture Youth Physical Education Promotion Regulations"

The Physical Education Committee held a total of 12 conferences from Taisho 6 (1917) to Taisho 7 (1918). On June 18 of Taisho 7 (1918), the Physical Education Committee also formulated and promulgated Tokyo Prefectural Order No. 63, the Tokyo Prefecture Youth Physical Education Promotion Regulations (the Physical Education Promotion Regulations), summarizing the knowledge gained from the results of the 12 meetings, the course, and the lectures (Table 2).

The Physical Education Promotion Regulations are made up of four articles. Article 1 promotes the establishment of physical education facilities in islands, districts, cities, towns, villages, and the YMA and the hosting of courses and lectures to improve physical education. It stipulates that subsidies are to be paid by the Tokyo Prefectural Government when these events are held. Article 2 further stipulates that islands, districts, cities, wards, towns, villages, and the YMA that achieve outstanding results on physical education examinations and tournaments are to be recognized.

Inoue issued the Physical Education Promotion
Table 2  Tokyo Prefectural Order: “Tokyo Prefecture Youth Physical Education Promotion Regulations.”

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Tokyo Prefectural Order No. 63</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Tokyo Prefecture Youth Physical Education Promotion Regulations-instituted as follows</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>June 18, Taisho 7 (1918), Inoue Tomoichi, Ph.D. in Legal Studies, Governor of Tokyo Prefecture</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tokyo Prefecture Youth Physical Education Promotion Regulations</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Article 1: Subsidies shall be paid when deemed necessary to encourage youth physical education in a manner corresponding to Item 1 on the follows.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1. When establishing physical education facilities that are to be used by ordinary youth in islands, districts, cities, wards, towns, villages, or YMA.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. When holding courses, lectures, and tournaments to improve the physical education of youth.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Article 2: Certificates of commendation, money, or goods shall be paid for achievements in a manner corresponding to Item 1 on the follows or corresponding to other standards.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1. YMA with outstanding results on youth group physical examinations;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Islands, districts, cities, wards, towns, villages, and YMA with outstanding results on physical conscription examinations;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. The winners or winning YMA of tournaments in accordance with Article 1, Item 2.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Article 3: Subsidies and items granted in accordance with these Regulations shall fall within the budget for the applicable year.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Article 4: When it is determined that Article 1 or Article 2 applies to the island administrator or the district or city mayor, the details shall be carefully investigated and reported to the governor.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Supplementary provision: This order shall be enforced from the date of its promulgation.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(“Tokyo Prefecture Youth Physical Education Promotion Regulations” summarized from Tokyo Prefectural Government, 1918)

Regulations and explained their purpose as follows:

The prefecture has newly established the Youth Physical Education Regulations and established and promulgated a system for subsidizing facilities and equipment deemed appropriate for encouraging physical education and other facilities, and for granting awards. I hope that all of you will encourage YMA leaders, and so on, and promote the establishment of facilities. (Inoue, 1918d)

In addition to the above, Inoue also explained that in formulating the Physical Education Promotion Regulations, he placed particular emphasis on encouraging activities through “the self-awareness of youth” (Inoue, 1918d). Accordingly, the Physical Education Regulations also urged the spread and promotion of physical education through activities in which the YMA played a leading role.

5.5. Relationship between Inoue’s vision and the actual policies

What type of understanding did Inoue express toward the relationship between his vision of physical education by the Tokyo YMA and the policies that were developed? Let us consider this point.

As previously stated, Inoue sought to implement civic and labor education through the YMA and, to that end, he aimed to cultivate “energetic youth who contribute to labor” through physical education. However, in the Physical Education Promotion Regulations that were formulated and promulgated from the Physical Education Committee's discussions, the focus was placed on spreading physical education as well as “improving the results of physical examinations.”

Inoue himself expressed the understanding that, because the poor physical condition of youth was one of Tokyo’s weak points, it was inevitable that improving their physical condition was a significant practical problem that had to be addressed (Inoue, 1918d). Also, he stated that “improving young people’s results on various types of conscription examinations will help cultivate energetic youth” (Inoue, 1918d), emphasizing the significance of noticing the results of physical examinations because this would ultimately help turn his vision into reality.

Furthermore, Inoue stated that the results of physical examinations were “easily understood indicators of our achievements” (Inoue, 1918d). It is clear that he attempted to use physical examinations to measure the achievements of physical education promotion policies. This also seems to demonstrate that Inoue emphasized tangible results of this type to the regional YMA in his initial efforts following the promulgation of the Physical Education Promotion Regulations.

6. Conclusion

This paper has examined the process by which the YMA physical education promotion policies of the Taisho period in Tokyo were made. The results may be summarized as follows.
1) At the local gubernatorial conferences, prefectural governments were not given instructions on specific methods of offering promotion for physical education by the YMA. Thus, the prefectures formulated and implemented their policies based on the local conditions within their jurisdictions.

2) Inoue, who guided Tokyo’s YMA policies, saw “young laborers engaged in commerce and industry” as the main targets of the YMA, and regarded the purpose of the YMA as offering civic education and labor education to these young laborers. He regarded physical education as the “general precondition” for achieving this purpose. Regarding the young laborer issue, which presented an administrative problem to Tokyo in the Taisho period, he aimed to cultivate “energetic youth who contribute to labor” through physical education.

3) Inoue established the Tokyo Youth Physical Education Committee as a specialized institution that considered the YMA physical education promotion policies. The members not only included Tokyo Prefectural Government personnel but also “education and physical education experts.”

4) The Physical Education Committee designated “improving the physical condition and strength of youth” and “methods of spreading physical education” as concrete problems. To solve these, the Physical Education Committee collaborated with companies under the jurisdiction of the Tokyo Prefectural Government and held courses and lectures at the local YMA.

5) Drawing on the achievements of conference meetings and the knowledge gained through the courses and lectures, the Physical Education Committee formulated and promulgated the Tokyo Prefecture Youth Physical Education Promotion Regulations. The Youth Physical Education Promotion Regulations provided the starting point for subsequent physical education activities by the YMA in Tokyo.

This paper has examined the process of policymaking by which the YMA were encouraged to adopt physical education in the Taisho period in Tokyo. Finally, based on the knowledge gained through this investigation, the unique characteristics of these policies of the Tokyo Prefectural Government can be summarized.

First, in contrast with the notion of encouraging physical education by the YMA to serve the military requirements of the state, as Tanaka favored, Inoue declared that, from his perspective as Prefectural Governor, it would be preferable to cultivate youth who worked diligently toward regional development. Furthermore, he expressed a negative view toward using promotion for physical education by the YMA “exclusively” to meet military requirements. Inoue stated that his vision was to cultivate “energetic youth who contribute to labor” through physical education.

Thus, while basing his policies on the military requirements of the state, which aimed to use physical education to cultivate a robust physical condition, abundant physical strength, a militaristic spirit, and a spirit of self-sacrifice, and with reference to Tokyo Prefecture’s administrative problems, Inoue assigned goals unique to Tokyo to physical education by the YMA. For instance, he recommended the cultivation of youth laborers for local development. This demonstrates that physical education, which was initially included as part of the activities of the YMA because of the military requirements of the state, took on a more significant role according to Tokyo's administrative problems. However, this does not indicate that the requirements of the state were neglected. As Inoue explained, “local development” meant “developing the spirit of national citizenship and the economy of the citizens on the regional level” (Inoue, 1912, p. 1). Inoue's vision extended to include the development of the entire nation, not just Tokyo.

Also, Inoue regarded physical education in the YMA as significant because he saw it as “the precondition for everything” in activities by the YMA. The main targets were youth engaged in commerce and industry, which were the majority in Tokyo in the Taisho period. Attempts were made not only to encourage physical education by appealing to the YMA but also by directly appealing to companies where youth worked. In this case, YMA physical education promotion policies of Tokyo’s relationship between “labor” and “physical education” was uniquely emphasized based on Tokyo’s youth situation, whose physical condition was considerably worse than the national standard. The poor physical state of youth working in commerce and industry was a particular problem and attempts were made to promote both.

Inoue hoped physical education by the YMA
would solidify the social element of “labor” that was generally a part of the social life of youth into a foundation for “local development” through physical education and also to help form bodies and minds by improving the physical condition, strong public spirit, and social morality of youth. This would also help cultivate youth who were “aware of themselves as members of the state” and who would become “citizens who support the state on their own initiative.”

Thus, for the Tokyo Prefectural Government, promotion of physical education by the YMA was an attempt not only to cultivate strong bodies but also concerning administrative problems, particularly, to cultivate a nation and people that would support the region and the state through physical activities.

In the future, it will be necessary to clarify the policymaking processes of other prefectures, and to perform comparisons to determine their similarities and unique characteristics, specifically the extent to which their policies adhered to national policies and to what extent they were based on local conditions. By doing so, it should be possible to describe with greater accuracy the state of YMA teaching at the time.

Notes

*1 The number of youth enrolled in the YMA rose to approximately three million in the early Showa period, which was approximately 60% of all Japanese youth aged 15-25 at the time. This number was calculated based on the total number of nationwide group members in the Nationwide YMA Foundational Survey (Association of Japan Young Men’s Associations Survey Department, 1934) and the estimated population data of the Ministry of Internal Affairs and Communications Bureau of Statistics (Ministry of Internal Affairs and Communications Bureau of Statistics, 2003).

*2 According to Kumagai (1942), the initial plan was to issue the first directive as a joint directive of the Home Minister; the Minister of the Army; and the Minister of Education. However, the signature of the Minister of the Army could lead to the misunderstanding that the YMA was being militarized, so the signature was removed and the order was issued. Accordingly, Koketsu (2009) also argues that, while the first directive was ostensibly issued in the names of the Home Ministry and the Ministry of Education, in fact, the content actually fully accepted the intentions of the military, including Tanaka. Thus, we should be aware that in the issuance of the first directive, although the Ministry of Home Affairs and the Ministry of Education stood on the front lines, the Ministry of the Army played a leading role in the background.

*3 The secretary of the Hokkaido government office and the prefectural governors were officials dispatched by the Ministry of Home Affairs and were referred to as the regional secretaries.

*4 Regarding the legal significance of the directive, “it only binds lower level authorities in their relationships with upper-level authorities, and in principle, by its nature, it is not a law. Therefore, acts against the directive are not illegal” (Wagatsuma, 1952). Therefore, regarding physical education by the YMA, the directive stops at offering “promotion” and is not legally binding.

*5 “Concerning The YMA” (Ministry of Home Affairs and Ministry of Education 1915b), a notification issued at the same time as the first directive, provided standards the eligible ages of group members, demarcation of group areas, and qualifications of leaders.

*6 Regarding the benefits Tokyo received from the imperial family, Inoue mentions the Tokyo City Education Funding Charity Relief Fund and the Prefectural Distinguished Laborer Recognition Fund.

*7 Throughout his involvement in Prefectural Government, Inoue often used the term “local development.” According to Inoue, “local development” meant “developing a spirit of national citizenship and the economy of citizens at the local level” (Inoue, 1912, p. 1).

*8 According to Miyahara (1990), the term “social education” existed from the Meiji period as a term that referred mainly to extracurricular educational activities. It came into general use in the mid-Taisho period, before which it was referred to as “popular education.” Accordingly, (Matsuda, 2004, p. 114) showed that the Tokyo Prefectural Board of Education of the late Meiji period regarded popular education as “popularized education for youth and adults who have completed elementary education,” and that the term had the same meaning as social education.

*9 Inoue mentions that the “Academic Affairs Division” was the department responsible for supervising the YMA in Tokyo, but the Tokyo Prefectural Government did not have an “Academic Affairs Division” in Taisho 7 (1918). Because the department with jurisdiction over the YMA in the Tokyo Prefectural Government during this time was the Academic and Military Affairs Division of the Domestic Affairs Department, when Inoue mentions the “Academic Affairs Division,” he seems to be referring to the Academic and Military Affairs Division of the Domestic Affairs Department. Following Inoue’s death in Taisho 15 (1926), the Academic and Military Affairs Division of the Domestic Affairs Department split from the Domestic Affairs Department and became the Academic Affairs Department, which was made up of four divisions: the Academic Affairs Division, the Shrine, Temple and Military Affairs Division, the Social Division, and the Health Division.

*10 The school inspectors belonged to the Academic and Military Affairs Division of the Domestic Affairs Department and were local education government officials who governed the observation and administration of academic matters.

*11 In January of Taisho 8 (1919), Inoue conducted a fact-finding investigation of factories and welfare program facilities. The survey targeted a total of 497 factories in the jurisdiction of the Tokyo Prefectural Government with 50 employees or more. Among these, 244 factories referred to the facility information report and responded, among which 32 factories had established “exercise areas or equipment.”
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Materials


Murata, U. (1918). Seinen no taiiku shidōsha koshukai narabini seinen no taiiku shidōsha koyōkai ni no jissi no iire [In the enforcement of a youth physical education leader course and the youth physical education leader lecture]. Taishō 7 nen 10 gatsu gun shiku cho kaigi knn sonota [The October, 1918 county city and district long meeting admonition and other matters]. Tokyo: Tokyo Prefecture, p. 5. (in Japanese).
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