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Cultivating Class: Tokyo Imperial University and the Rise of a Middle-Class Society in Modern Japan

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Abstract

This dissertation argues that Tokyo Imperial University (T  dai), the top school in Japan promoted the rise of a middle-class society in modern Japan. This dissertation clarifies how the university served as a transnational platform where Japanese educators accepted the idea of the middle class as the "core" of a new Japan, and eventually produced a mass middle-class society, that is, a society with a widely shared middle-class identity. In so doing, the study historicizes the enrichment of the middle-class idea and shows that the contemporary sense of the middle class, i.e. people with incomes within a certain range, is a product of history. In understanding the members of the middle class as modern selves seeking distinction from the old aristocracy and manual laborers through meritocratic endeavors, the study shows how T  dai institutionalized the formation of middle-class citizens and their culture, and how this process mediated a transformation in the nature of the middle class from wealthy elites to the struggling masses in pursuit of elite status whose class formation was statistically gauged and institutionally managed.

This dissertation conceptualizes T  dai collegiate society, which previous scholarship explored as an academic community, as a critical locus for the birth of middle-class discourses, citizens, and the social dissemination of middle-class cultural practices. I look at the university as a social community where professors, alumni and students, developed middle-class values and institutions, inspired by the global flowering of modern education, consumer culture, welfare programs, amateur sports, health culture, and employment practices,. This dissertation highlights a range of middle-class practices promoted by numerous T  dai institutions--the Red Gate Student Consumer Cooperative, Student Office welfare programs, the T  dai Athletic Association, the T  dai Student Medical Center, and career services programs. Also the study examines how middle-class values and practices at T  dai enveloped the entire society by looking at the controlled economy, student welfare, sports popularization, labor service programs and health administration in wartime Japan.

This dissertation portrays the middle-class experience as a life-long pursuit of the individual and situates education at T  dai as a critical phase of life fashioning a middle-class way of life. While previous research has explored specific aspects of middle-class life, this dissertation examines a nexus of middle-class practices pursued by individual students at a particular institution. In so doing, the study shows how the vision of the people and their lifestyle were co-constituted in the space of higher education, embedding higher education in the middle-class experience in Japan.

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CULTIVATING CLASS:
TOKYO IMPERIAL UNIVERSITY
AND
THE RISE OF A MIDDLE-CLASS SOCIETY IN MODERN JAPAN

Jamyung Choi

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ABSTRACT

CULTIVATING CLASS:
TOKYO IMPERIAL UNIVERSITY AND THE RISE OF A MIDDLE-CLASS
SOCIETY
IN MODERN JAPAN

Jamyung Choi
Frederick Dickinson

This dissertation argues that Tokyo Imperial University (Tōdai), the top school in Japan promoted the rise of a middle-class society in modern Japan. This dissertation clarifies how the university served as a transnational platform where Japanese educators accepted the idea of the middle class as the “core” of a new Japan, and eventually produced a mass middle-class society, that is, a society with a widely shared middle-class identity. In so doing, the study historicizes the enrichment of the middle-class idea and shows that the contemporary sense of the middle class, i.e. people with incomes within a certain range, is a product of history. In understanding the members of the middle class as modern selves seeking distinction from the old aristocracy and manual laborers through meritocratic endeavors, the study shows how Tōdai institutionalized the formation of middle-class citizens and their culture, and how this process mediated a transformation in the nature of the middle class from wealthy elites to the struggling masses in pursuit of elite status whose class formation was statistically gauged and institutionally managed.

This dissertation conceptualizes Tōdai collegiate society, which previous scholarship explored as an academic community, as a critical locus for the birth of middle-class discourses, citizens, and the social dissemination of middle-class cultural practices. I look at the university as a social community where professors, alumni and

students, developed middle-class values and institutions, inspired by the global flowering of modern education, consumer culture, welfare programs, amateur sports, health culture, and employment practices,. This dissertation highlights a range of middle-class practices promoted by numerous Tōdai institutions—the Red Gate Student Consumer Cooperative, Student Office welfare programs, the Tōdai Athletic Association, the Tōdai Student Medical Center, and career services programs. Also the study examines how middle-class values and practices at Tōdai enveloped the entire society by looking at the controlled economy, student welfare, sports popularization, labor service programs and health administration in wartime Japan.

This dissertation portrays the middle-class experience as a life-long pursuit of the individual and situates education at Tōdai as a critical phase of life fashioning a middle-class way of life. While previous research has explored specific aspects of middle-class life, this dissertation examines a nexus of middle-class practices pursued by individual students at a particular institution. In so doing, the study shows how the vision of the people and their lifestyle were co-constituted in the space of higher education, embedding higher education in the middle-class experience in Japan.

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GLOSSARY FOR ACRONYMS

CHG (Continental Hygiene Research Group): Tairiku eisei kenkyūkai 大陸衛生研究会

CLRG (Cultured Living Research Group): Bunka seikatsu kenkyūkai 文化生活研究会

IUN (Imperial University News): Teikoku daigaku shinbun 帝国大学新聞

MPA (Medical Student Patriotic Association): Igakuto hōkoku kyōkai 医学徒報国協会

RSC (Red Gate Student Consumer Cooperative): Akamon gakusei shōhi kumiai 赤門学生消費組合

TSCC (Tōkyō Student Consumer Cooperative): Tōkyō gakusei shōhi kumiai 東京学生消費組合

TAA (Tōdai Athletic Association): Tōkyō teikoku daigaku undōkai 東京帝国大学運動会

TMC (Tōdai Student Medical Center): Tōdai gakusei kenkō shinryōjo 東京帝国大学学生健康診療所

TMSC (Tōkyō Medical Service Cooperative): Tōkyō Iryō Riyō Kumiai 東京医療利用組合

TS (Tōdai Settlement): Tōkyō teikoku daigaku setsurumento 東京帝国大学セツルメント

WMC (Waseda Student Medical Center): Waseda daigaku gakusei kenkō shinryōjo 早稲田大学学生健康診療所

Introduction

In general, the rise of a middle class meant the arrival of a modern self that claims political, economic, and social legitimacy over older elites and workers. In this process, the “middle” of the middle class functions as a verb. The middle class situated themselves between the hereditary aristocracy and manual workers through their representative politics, meritocratic education, public discussion, and the idea of self-control. They believed themselves to be merited, cultured, motivated, and representative, in ways that the other two classes were not, in this sense gaining a sense of superiority even over established social elites.

The patterns of their middling process can vary based on the existing social order and dynamic, but a perceived legitimate distinction from hereditary elites and manual laborers through meritocracy is a universal feature of the middle-class experience around the world. Middle-class citizens go through upward mobility as they grow up, however rich they are. Familial support assists the meritocratic success of an individual, but does not provide one’s middle-class credentials *per se*. The emergence of the middle class marks not just the formation of a certain group of individuals but also the transformation of the entire value system of a society.

Despite its pervasive social presence, middle-class identity remains as an elusive concept. Middle-class identity can be constituted by identification either from within or without, and by socio-economic indicators. These two factors—identification and socio-economic indicators—are closely related since people identify their own or others’ class identity by a set of objective criteria—a certain range of income, a white-collar job,

educational credentials, and distinctive lifestyles such as consumption and leisure.

However, this explanation does not perfectly fit the survey results of class experience in the contemporary world. For instance, in 2013, 92 percent of the Japanese population considered themselves as middle-class, but the number of people who met all four objective criteria was less than 92 percent of the total population.¹ In this sense, we may suspect a social milieu enveloping and inducing the members of Japanese society to identify themselves as middle-class.

In this vein, a widely-shared middle-class identity is a product of history. The Japanese middle class owes its rise to the concerted efforts of bureaucrats, social reformers, college intellectuals, and social aspirants themselves. In nineteenth-century Japan, leaders of education and business embraced the idea of meritocracy as a principle for a new Japan, and imported the idea of gentleman, reinventing the “way of samurai” as the ethics of the legitimate middle.² Social aspirants became middling professionals with visions for a new society while pursuing their own material wealth and higher education. Following the rise of university education and a corporate, state bureaucracy at the turn of the twentieth century, an educational-employment pipeline appeared and institutionalized the life-course of a “core” group of the middle class who were educated, white-collar, urban, and scientific. Along with the rise of social surveys, policies, and statistical science in interwar Japan, this institutionalized middle class became a focus of social politics. Soon, an array of institutions that assisted middle-class formation emerged

¹ This is from the *Survey on the Living Standards* conducted by the Cabinet in August 2013.

<http://www8.cao.go.jp/survey/h22/h22-life/2-1.html>

² Earl Kinmonth, *Self-Made Man in Meiji Japanese Thought: From Samurai to Salary Man* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1980); Aneo Kyūzō and Keizaikai honbu, ed. *Dainihon Shinshikan* (Tokyo: Kokubunsha, 1895); Inazō Nitobe, *Bushido, the Soul of Japan* (Philadelphia: The Lees & Biddle Co., 1900); Nitobe Inazō, “Shinshidō,” *Seikō* 11, no. 2 (1907): 11-12.

and propagated the legitimacy of the middle-class lifestyle, which eventually incorporated even people who did not receive a college education in postwar Japan.³

Japanese universities offer an intriguing window into the rise and evolution of this Japanese middle class. In modern Japan, higher education was embedded in the rise of the middle class and its culture. The university was conceived of as a critical leverage point for nation-building by the “middle class,” who would attend university and lead the progress of Japan. Naturally, the university worked as a springboard of middle-class mobility. Universities attracted social aspirants while serving as social communities that managed welfare programs for economically unprepared students, widening the gateways to middle-class status. The university was also a critical locus in the formation of a middle-class culture. University students were prospective middle-class citizens who developed a middle-class lifestyle and share the culture of white-collar workers even though they were unemployed at that time. Furthermore, the university was a key institution in understanding the expansion and dissemination of the middle-class population and its values. The presence of a university creates a system of social success through university education which attracts social aspirants. Competition from applicants naturally creates social pressure to expand higher education, driving its own expansion. University students and professors were active agents disseminating their class values in Japanese society. In this sense, we can examine central questions about the middle class through the lens of university students,. Who were the middle class? How did they become middle-class through their experience of higher education and how did that shape their idea of the middle class? How did the gateway to universities widen? To answer

³ Jordan Sand, *House and Home in Modern Japan: Architecture, Domestic Space, and Bourgeois Culture, 1880-1930* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Asia Center, 2003).

these questions, this dissertation examines the role of Tokyo Imperial University (hereafter Tōdai) in the rise and expansion of the middle class in modern Japan.

I. Reconsidering the Middle Class through the Lens of Student Life at Tōdai

Since the nineteenth century, scholars have envisioned the future of the fledgling capitalist world through their understanding of the middle class. For some, the middle did not consist of a stable social class but worked as a catalyst for social revolution. For others, the middle class was a standard social class that united the whole country. From these scholars' discussion emerged a group of nuanced but bifurcated portrayals of the middle class.

Marx and his successors portrayed the middle class as both the founders and victims of modern capitalist society. For Marx and Engels, the middle class included the bourgeoisie, or the “industrial middle class,” who became the rulers of modern society, while the lower middle class, “the small manufacturer, the shopkeeper, the artisan, the peasant,” were “sinking gradually into the proletariat.” Professionals, including “the physician, the lawyer, the priest, the poet, and the man of science,” were also sinking into the ranks of “paid wage laborers.” Despite their leading role in the rise of capitalist society, the middle class did not constitute a social class by themselves and were expected to join the “working class” in the Communist revolution.⁴

However, the middle class betrayed Marx's expectations in the ensuing one hundred years. The middle class survived, and in the mid-twentieth century world, they

⁴ Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels, *The Communist Manifesto: A Modern Edition*, trans. Samuel Moore (London & New York: Verso, 1998), 36, 38, 44, 47.

developed a class culture based not in political action, but in domesticity, leisure, health, and education. Wright Mills represents a critical understanding of the middle class in the Atlantic world at this point. For Mills, the middle class, who stood between “independent employers and wage-workers,” borrowed cultural “prestige” from their association with entrepreneurs, customers, and mass-produced “street clothes,” but suffered from a chronic status panic resulting from economic modesty and political marginalization.⁵ The two faces of the middle class continued to be a hot topic of subsequent scholarship which further explored the middle class as political reactionaries.⁶

Opposing the critics of the middle class was a group of scholars who considered the middle class to be the social basis of democracy. Arthur Holcombe, an American sociologist, represents this view. For him, “a sound system of American politics required the preservation of a preponderance of power in the hands of the middle class.” This was a response to Communism and Fascism in Europe. To Holcombe, the Marxist and Fascist portrayals of two contradictory classes as an engine of history were misleading. He analyzed the Federal Convention in 1787, arguing that the middle-class members of the convention who had the spirit of the “common people” controlled the delegations of the states. These men of “middling property... men who were content with a republican form of government and did not cherish immoderate aims,” Holcombe contends, were the typical Americans of 1787. In short, the middle class moderated politics and served as a social center that represented and united the United States. In this understanding of the

⁵ Wright C. Mills, *White Collar: The American Middle Classes* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1951), 241, 254-258. For the details of this discussion, see Val Burris, “The Discovery of the New Middle Class,” *Theory and Society* 15, no. 3 (1986).

⁶ Arno J. Mayer, “The Lower Middle Class as Historical Problem,” *The Journal of Modern History* 47, no. 3 (1975); Geoffrey Crossick, ed. *The Lower Middle Class in Britain, 1870-1914* (New York: St. Martin’s Press, 1977).

middle class lies a long-lasting assumption—the middle class, if properly represented, inherently advocated for progress and democracy.⁷

Scholars of the ensuing generations challenged both the Marxist portrayal of the middle class as passive reactionaries and Holcombe's classless portrayal of the middle class. They provided two innovations in understanding the nature of the middle class. First, they explored the constructive role of the middle class. Jürgen Habermas of the Frankfurt school, reveals this transition. In his *Structural Transformation of the Public Sphere*, Habermas articulated how the bourgeoisie constructed an arena of public discussion by capitalizing on their distinction from workers in literacy.⁸ Second, scholars historicized the formation of a hegemonic class culture through consumption for social distinction. Pierre Bourdieu's statement in his *Distinction: A Social Critique of the Judgement of Taste* represents this innovation: "Taste classifies, and it classifies the classifier."⁹ In this statement, class is not fixed but is a malleable idea, which is constantly reconstituted by consumers' efforts to distinguish themselves. Based on this understanding, scholars of this generation examined how middle-class culture became the social mainstream. They tended to explore a certain kind of modernity through the lens of middle-class lifestyles (e.g. child education, housewifery, suburban dwelling, leisure, and consumption) and the diffusion of such a middle-class lifestyle. In this scholarly trend, the image of the middle class changed from the middle class as agents of power relations to the anonymous consuming masses. The middle class were no longer considered to be

⁷ Arthur N. Holcombe, *The Middle Classes in American Politics* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1940), 42, 141, 135-136, 155, 225.

⁸ Jürgen Habermas, *The Structural Transformation of the Public Sphere: An Inquiry into a Category of Bourgeois Society* trans. Thomas Burger (Cambridge, Mass.: MIT Press 1991), 14-26.

⁹ Pierre Bourdieu, *Distinction: A Social Critique of the Judgement of Taste*, trans. Richard Nice (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1984), 6.

passive sufferers of status panic. They were “heroes” of modernity, who claimed social supremacy and cultural hegemony by distinguishing themselves from others. Their struggle to “stay” in the ranks of the middle class was understood in the larger context of the expansion of the middle class.¹⁰

Scholarly inquiry into the middle class appeared in Japanese studies as scholars considered the middle class as a key engine of Japan’s high-speed economic growth. Like modernization theorists, Ezra Vogel, a pioneer in research into the Japanese middle class, paid attention to the fact that “only Japan” among non-Western countries “accomplished industrialization and urbanization comparable to the advanced countries of Europe and America.”¹¹ The middle class was key in understanding this puzzle. Understanding the new middle class as a critical social phenomenon buttressing Japan’s socio-economic take-off, Vogel outlined the essential characteristics of middle-class life in postwar Japan. The middle class had a strong inclination for white-collar jobs, bourgeois domesticity, enhanced national pride, and improving the educational credentials of their children, while serving as central agents in Japan’s consumer culture. At the same time, Vogel, like Mills, pointed out middle class citizens’ lack of “political vision” and their alienation from the government.¹²

The late birth of scholarly inquiry into the Japanese middle class mirrors the impact of WWII in the discussion of Japanese history. During the 1920s and 1930s when

¹⁰ Ibid.; Jonas Frykman, *Culture Builders: A Historical Anthropology of Middle Class Life* (Camden Rutgers University Press, 1987); Don Slater, *Consumer Culture and Modernity*, Cambridge, U.K. (Cambridge, U.K.: Polity, 1997); Daniel J. Walkowitz, *Working with Class: Social Workers and the Politics of Middle-Class Identity* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1999); Katherine S. Newman, *Falling from Grace: The Experience of Downward Mobility in the American Middle Class* (New York: The Free Press, 1988); Barbara Ehrenreich, *Fear of Falling: The Inner Life of the Middle Class* (New York: Pantheon Book, 1989).

¹¹ Ezra Vogel, *Japan’s New Middle Class* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1963), 3.

¹² Ibid., 3-4.

Japanese Marxists created the field of modern Japanese history by discussing the nature of the Meiji Restoration in 1868, the role of the bourgeoisie was a key topic of discussion. One group of Marxists called the Kōza-ha understood the overthrow of the Tokugawa regime by the hands of lower samurai in 1868 as an extension of feudal rule, while another group, called the Rōnō-ha, considered Japan's transition across 1868 as a bourgeois revolution. Also, the middle class was a hot topic for policy makers, newspapers, and popular magazines in interwar and wartime Japan. But, after the war, Japan's middle-class past was forgotten. Kōza-ha scholars prevailed in the field of modern Japanese history, portraying the prewar experience as "Fascist" and "semi-feudal."¹³ Economists also shared this view on Japan's prewar past. For instance, Ōkōchi Kazuo, a Tōdai professor of Economics, argued that there was no middle class in prewar Japan.¹⁴

Since the 1990s, historians of Japan have joined a global trend in conceptualizing the middle class as a discursive construct and as culture-builders rather than as political reactionaries. David Ambaras, Louise Young, Jordan Sand, and Mark Jones explored how the middle class was conceived of as a cultural ideal of a new Japan, and how members of the class shaped the values and practices of policies, consumer culture, child education, and bourgeois domesticity in pre-1945 Japan. By excavating the middle class in modern Japan in this way, these scholars complicated the simple state-society bifurcation that had previously held currency in Japanese history. They discovered the

¹³ For details, Germaine A. Hoston, *Marxism and the Crisis of Development in Prewar Japan* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1990).

¹⁴ Ōkōchi Kazuo, *Nihonteki chūsan kaikyū* (Tokyo: Bungeishunjūshinsha, 1960), p.55

interwar middle class as the source of postwar Japanese society and located the Japanese experience in the global rise of the middle class.¹⁵

This dissertation joins this reevaluation of the middle class in modern Japanese history and proposes to do so by developing a new perspective on universities. Previous scholarship on universities focused on infringements of academic freedom on campus.¹⁶ Instead, borrowing from previous scholarship on the middle class, I portray universities in Japan, particularly Tōdai, as critical crucibles in which middle-class values and practices in employment, consumption, welfare, leisure, and health took shape. In so doing, this dissertation explores student life at Tōdai as a driving force and representation of a fledgling middle-class society.

At the same time, the evidence of the actual production of middle-class values and practices at Tōdai leads us to reconsider our understanding of how middle-class values are created. Academic interests in the rise of anonymous middle-class consumers have hardly addressed the human production of the middle class. Scholars addressed female and child education in the context of the rise of middle class culture in modern Japan, but they did not explore how those women and children became middle-class.¹⁷ In their discussion, education was less a means of production of middle-class people than part of the culture of the middle class. By exploring Tōdai, I seek to address the more

¹⁵ David Ambaras, "Social Knowledge, Cultural Capital, and the New Middle Class in Modern Japan," *Journal of Japanese Studies* 24, no. 1 (1998); Louise Young, "Marketing the Modern: Department Stores, Consumer Culture, and the New Middle Class in Interwar Japan," *International Labor and Working-Class History*, no. 55 (1999). Sand, *House and Home in Modern Japan*.

¹⁶ Henry Smith, *Japan's First Student Radicals* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1972); Byron Marshall, *Academic Freedom and the Japanese Imperial University, 1868-1939* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1992).

¹⁷ Mark Jones, *Children as Treasure: Childhood and the Middle Class in Early Twentieth Century Japan* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Asia Center, 2010).

fundamental questions in the inquiry of the middle class—who constitutes the middle class? How did they join the middle class through education?

In this vein, a handful of scholarship on the relationship between the middle class and higher education around the world works as another compass for this study. Burton Bledstein defined the middle class as having “acquired ability, social prestige, and a lifestyle approaching an individual’s aspirations,”¹⁸ and showed how university education in America evolved in response to the needs of this class. Inheriting Holcombe’s characterization of the middle class as the only meaningful social class in the United States, Bledstein explicated how universities’ function of producing the cultural and professional ego of the middle class took shape.¹⁹ Similarly, David Levine explored a tightening connection between universities and businesses during the expansion of higher education in response to the aspirations of the expanding middle class in interwar America.²⁰ Students’ “middle-class” family backgrounds attracted historians of British public schools and Canadian colleges. Similarly scholars of modern Japan explored the educational ideals, professional and liberal arts training, family background, and post-graduate careers of students at Japanese high schools and imperial universities.²¹ Through

¹⁸ Burton Bledstein, *The Culture of Professionalism: The Middle Class and the Development of Higher Education in America* (New York: W. W. Norton & Company Inc., 1976), 5.

¹⁹ *Ibid.*

²⁰ David Levine, *The American College and the Culture of Aspiration, 1915-1940* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1988).

²¹ Paul Axelrod, *Making a Middle Class: Student Life in English Canada During the Thirties* (Montreal: McGill-Queen’s University Press, 1990); Donald Roden, *Schooldays in Imperial Japan: A Study in the Culture of a Student Elite* (Berkeley University of California Press, 1980); Takeuchi Yō, *Gakureki Kizoku no Kōei to Zassetsu* (Tokyo Chūō kōronshinsha, 1999); Amano Ikuo, “Kōtō Futsū Kyōiku to Shakai Kaisō: Kyōiku Kaikaku to Rekishi Shakaigaku,” *Kyōiku shakaigaku kenkyū*, no. 41 (1986); Tachibanaki Toshiaki, *Tōkyō Daigaku: Erīto Yōsei Kikan no Seisui* (Tokyo: Iwanami shoten, 2009).

these works, universities were understood as a critical locus of middle-class formation, thus answering the question of who the middle class were.

However, other questions remain. While historians of middle-class culture hardly addressed the agents in their narratives, historians of education rarely explored universities as a locus of class culture which produced and transformed the middle-class idea. How did campus life and university education contribute to the acculturation of students to be middle-class? How did middle class culture on campus become disproportionately influential? How and why did the ties between aspiring citizens and higher education stimulate the expansion of higher education? Without answering these questions, we cannot explain the rise of an education-oriented mass middle-class society.

This dissertation seeks to integrate the questions of cultural and educational historians by exploring a university. On the one hand, following educational historians, I restore the agents in the history of middle-class formation by taking Tōdai students as a core group of the Japanese middle class who went through an institutionalized middle-class life course and experienced a middle-class culture of consumption, leisure, and health through higher education. At the same time, I explain how educational experiences led the formation and transformation of the middle-class idea and disseminated middle-class culture beyond the walls of the university. In so doing, I inherit the questions of cultural historians on the popularization of middle-class culture, but I argue that this process was closely linked to its system of production at universities, and that middle-class citizens and the middle-class idea were actually co-constituted at universities.

In this vein, the contribution of this dissertation to the global historiography of the middle class can be distilled into two points. First, this dissertation integrates the two

different aspects in the portrayals of the middle class—economic anxiety and cultural prestige—were two sides of the same coin embedded in higher educational experience. Second, I seek to combine the approaches of educational and cultural historians by focusing on the formation of the middle class at university. This dissertation shows that university education not only shaped a middle-class culture and population, but transformed the middle-class idea and led social change. I thus accentuate the specificities of the Japanese experience, where a state-managed top school dominated the educational scene and led this process.

II. Tōdai Students as the Middle Class

This dissertation takes Tōdai students as middle-class, naturally begging two questions: what is the middle class and how do Tōdai students fall into this social category? In answering these questions one caveat is necessary: the middle class has never been a fixed social category. Rather it is a malleable, contested, and evolving notion affected by the nature of those who actually became, and considered themselves, “middle-class,” and those who tried to create, expand, and protect this class. This point compels us to think about a more fundamental question: how can we call a person middle-class? This dissertation, as its title reveals, argues that the middle class is not just a discursive construct but a life experience which can be best explored through the university.

A key in considering these questions is to address the continuity and change in the evolution of the middle-class idea. A comparison between middle-class discourses in the

late nineteenth century and today may reveal the essential features which have defined certain social groups as members of the middle class, as well as lend a vantage point to examine its historical evolution.

A note from Mori Arinori, the first Minister of Education in Japan, allows us to examine the middle-class idea in late nineteenth-century Japan. Around 1890, Mori defined the recipients of university education as largely the “middle-class” (*chūtō seikei no shidai*), since they were “the most vibrant part of society developing their visions and aspirations (...) relatively faster than the upper or lower classes.”²² Given that the purpose of university education is “to teach theories and applications that the state needs,”²³ the middle class were, in Mori’s idea, motivated citizens embodying meritocracy for a modern Japan, and were thus superior to both outdated elites and lower class people.

An anonymous commentary from a 1926 issue of the *Imperial University News*, the newspaper of Tōdai, reveals the middle class idea in interwar Japan. This commentary characterized university students as “middle-class in all aspects.” According to its author, university students were “realizing a social ideal and trying to manage their cultured living (*bunka seikatsu*),” while climbing the social ladder “from infants to middle-school students, from middle-school students to university students, and from university students to salaried workers.”²⁴ The author’s description of the struggles of “students working part-time while studying (*kugakusei*)” strengthens the image of

²² Ōkubo Toshiaki, ed., *Mori Arinori Zenshū*, vol.1 (Tokyo: Senbundō shoten, 1972), 665-666.

²³ Tokyo daigaku hyakunenshi hensan iinkai, ed. *Tokyo Daigaku Hyakunenshi: Shiryō* Vol. 1. (Tokyo: Tōkyō daigaku shuppankai, 1984), 121; Tōkyōfu gakubumuka, *Gakurei Ruisan* (Tokyo: Hakubunsha, 1886), 9.

²⁴ Teikoku daigaku shinbunsha, ed. *Tōsei Daigakusei Katagi* (Tokyo: Teikoku daigaku shinbunsha 1926), 14.

students as impoverished. In this commentary lie the two critical qualifications of university students as middle-class: the contested living conditions needing management for “cultured living” that lay behind their privileged social persona as select elites; and their lingering elitist self-styling as leaders of “cultured living.” This culturally elitist self-definition of university students created extensive consumption needs, and students’ consumption of education, commodities, and leisure activities through economic management contributed to their self-reported middle-class identity.

This definition of the middle class echoes contemporary definitions of the middle class in social surveys in interwar Japan. In a 1922 survey on middle-class living expenses conducted by Tokyo city authorities, the middle class was defined as households with an income between 60 and 250 yen per month.²⁵ According to the survey, households whose monthly income was less than 60 yen were almost at the “level of subsistence” and incomes between 200 and 250 yen were at the “lowest level of significant cultured living.”²⁶ In other words, the border between the middle and lower classes, 60 yen (or roughly 180,000 yen in today’s terms) meant a threshold in the tightest terms for consumer culture. Although it might not significantly affect the consumer life of his or her family, whether a person earned more than 250 yen a month determined whether he or she had to worry or have economic anxiety about “cultured living.” In all, the anxiety and the necessity of efforts for “cultured living” were at the core of the reason why the middle class were in the “middle.”

²⁵ Tōkyōfu naimubu shakaika, ed. *Tōkyōshi oyobi Kinsetsu Chōson Chūtō Kaikyū Seikeihi Chōsa* (Tokyo: 1925). In the 1930s, the minimum amount of the middle-class-level salary became 100 yen. Matsumoto Gorō, “Wagakuni Chūkan Kaikyū no Tenbō,” *Shakai seisaku jihō* 151 (1933): 36.

²⁶ Tōkyōfu naimubu shakaika, *Tōkyōshi oyobi Kinsetsu Chōson Chūtō Kaikyū Seikeihi Chōsa*, 49-50.

For both authors, Tōdai students were middle-class, middling themselves over others by embodying meritocratic virtue in the modern education system. Both authors considered middle-class Tōdai students to be elites, who were in charge of the progress of a young nation-state or were leaders of “cultured living.” In other words, Tōdai students were supposed to be in the “middle” with their motivation and excellent academic performance in the meritocratic education system. Here, we find an unchanging source of their middling, which enabled Tōdai students to be called middle-class.

Also noteworthy is a change in the social status of Tōdai students and the diversification in the pattern of their middling. First, these two commentaries illustrate the transformation of the middle-class idea from the wealthy citizen to economically anxious aspirants. In Mori’s conceptualization, the middle class were motivated and could afford to pay tuition, and thus did not necessarily suffer economic anxiety. In contrast, the interwar commentary and the Tokyo city survey considered economic anxiety to be embedded in middle-class identity. “It’s the era of money, money, and money,” the commentary went, “Unless we attend university, we cannot take a high status and salary. That said, if we don’t have money, we cannot attend university.”²⁷ This commentary suggested a solution—“*kugaku*,” or combined work and study by which students could fund their education.²⁸ Naturally, interwar commentators were more conscious of living standards. Public professionals, bureaucrats, and educators envisioned another middle-class value of “efficiency,” differentiating the middle class from others. The lived reality of middle-class students came under closer supervision of public discussion and social surveys. A middle-class lifestyle became a tangible statistical

²⁷ Teikoku daigaku shinbunsha, *Tōsei Daigakusei Katagi*, p.59.

²⁸ Ibid.

category in social surveys, and the source of a variety of middling strategies in consumption, health, leisure, etc. In this way, Tōdai students became middle-class not just by virtue of their middling class identity, but also through their prospective jobs and incomes. In short, Tōdai students' campus life and their class values were being co-constituted, diversifying and enriching the contents of middle-class identity in interwar Japan.

III. Tōdai as a Social Setting for Struggling Elites

Tōdai students' middle-class qualifications derived from the rise and evolution of modern Japanese education. The state established Tōdai as a training ground for high bureaucrats in 1886. Until the interwar period, Tōdai graduates enjoyed the benefit of their rarity in obtaining employment and promotions. However, their social standing became complicated as higher educational facilities gradually increased in number. By 1886, the number of middle schools was only 56, but this number reached 558 in 1931, admitting 20 percent of all of elementary school graduates. The number of university students reached 69,975 in 1931. By 1937, the number of universities in Japan had reached 45, with 71,012 attending students. The expansion of educational opportunities broadened the pool of eligible applicants to Tōdai and compromised the privilege of Tōdai students. The expanding student body at higher educational facilities meant heated competition for employment.

Under these circumstances, Tōdai students represented both a select elite and struggling aspirants. Tōdai students made up an absolute majority of privileged

bureaucrats who passed the Civil Examinations. But the successful examinees were only roughly one-third of the entire student body at Tōdai Law, leaving two-thirds of law students at Tōdai in need of jobs in corporations, schools, or mass media. The fear and reality of unemployment provided a gloomy background for the life paths of these students. Once employed, Tōdai students received higher salaries than vocational school graduates.²⁹ But, the total number of unemployed Tōdai graduates was 145 in 1900, rising to 1,701 by 1920 and 4,286 in 1931. In 1931, only 52 percent of the total student body at Tōdai found jobs right after graduation.³⁰

Even if Tōdai students succeeded in procuring jobs their salaries usually fell into the aforementioned range of the middle-class level, between 60 and 250 yen. In 1925, the average monthly salary of *sōninkan-* (*kachō* in today's standard) level bureaucrats, one of the most lucrative jobs for Tōdai graduates who passed the Civil Examination, was 226.9 yen.³¹ Tōdai graduates recently employed in corporations, such as Mitsubishi, received roughly 100 yen a month.³² In short, Tōdai students fell into the category of the middle class as cultural elites, but also as economically modest. Despite their competitive and elite status most Tōdai students had to struggle to find employment and manage their finances after graduation.

This challenging transitional life stage of Tōdai students made them complicated creatures in terms of class identification. Tōdai students were educated and enjoyed a middle-class culture, but were also jobless. They were physically mature enough to earn

²⁹ For instance, four years after finding employment, university graduates received on average 75 yen per month while graduates from vocational schools received on average 55 yen per month in 1929. *Sararīman* 2, no.11 (1929): 55.

³⁰ *Imperial University News* (hereafter, *IUN*), March 31, 1931, 2.

³¹ Recited from Tachibanaki, *Tōkyō Daigaku: Erīto Yōsei Kikan no Seisui*, 83.

³² *IUN*, November 19, 1934, p.7; “Konki no bōnasu wa?” *Sararīman* 2, no.6 (1929): 81-83.

money, but relied on support from their families. The ambiguous status of students begs a question: is class determined by the characteristics of an individual or of his family? Do people join the ranks of a certain class only when they procure jobs, or do they grow to be members of their class from birth?

Although the reproduction of class needs a more sophisticated approach than the one adopted here, Tōdai students provide a clue to these questions. An absolute majority of Tōdai students depended completely on their families for their expenses at Tōdai. When Tōdai was established in 1886, Education Minister Mori Arinori designated Tōdai as an institution for people who could pay “expensive” tuition.³³ But the number of students who were not solely dependent on familial support while on campus steadily grew, reaching roughly 30 percent of the total student body in 1938. Middle-class families were rarely spared the economic pressures of paying tuition fees and living expenses for their sons. Around 1930, even some medical doctors and lawyers, not to mention salaried workers, had trouble paying their sons’ expenses at Tōdai.³⁴ If they could not procure full support for their campus life, students had to find part-time jobs or other funding sources, while also trying to cut their budgets by seeking cheaper commodities and places to live. Even if they could procure full support from their families, students still felt the pressure to be thrifty. In a 1938 survey, only 35.76 percent of Tōdai students felt “comfortable” completely depending on their families economically, while 44.49 percent answered that depending on their families was

³³ Amano Ikuo, *Daigaku no Tanjō*, jō (Tokyo: Chūōkōron shinsha, 2005), 107. As an expression of his vision that students without wealth tended to “take care only of themselves and their families” rather than “having skills of flawless specialists,” Mori raised the tuition fee of Tōdai from one yen to two yen and 50 sen to discourage unpropertied students from entering the school in 1886.

³⁴ Tōkyō teikoku daigaku gakuseika, ed. *Tōkyō Teikoku Daigaku Gakusei Seikei Chōsa Hōkoku* (Tokyo: 1930), 22-23.

“possible but felt tight,” and 16.38 percent reported that it was “hard” to do so.³⁵ In other words, an absolute majority of students had to “manage” their campus life by seeking cheaper dwelling places, uniforms, clothes, and books.

In short, even if parents paid the entire expenses for Tōdai students, middle-class formation at Tōdai cannot be understood just as the reproduction of middle-class families. Families were the basis of the middle-class formation of their sons, but the products were aspiring individuals who procured educational credentials, white-collar jobs, and welfare support from schools and corporations. For individual aspirants, the pathway to middle-class status could not be epitomized in a single moment of employment. As middle-class formation became an elongated process through higher education, the defining feature of people’s class identities gradually changed from what they had to how they managed their life. By the interwar period, universities had become a critical space in this transition of the middle-class idea.

IV. Tōdai Collegiate Society: A Setting beyond Family

In exploring Tōdai’s social contributions, I conceptualize Tōdai collegiate society as a social community in which various social, political, and economic interests intersected. This community mainly consisted of professors and students, who engaged in administrative, academic, and extracurricular activities. The social activism of professors and students, student life, the matriculation of newcomers, and the employment of

³⁵ Tōkyō teikoku daigaku gakuseika, ed. Tōkyō Teikoku Daigaku Gakusei Seikatsu Chōsa Hōkoku (Tokyo: 1939), 9.

graduates, not to mention the academic performance of professors and students, constituted the critical issues of Tōdai collegiate society.

Administrative units were the core of Tōdai collegiate society. From Tōdai's establishment in 1886 onward, professors and students developed their own channels for producing collective opinions on collegiate issues such as curriculum and student life. Faculty meetings were arranged at the university level in 1886 and at the department level in 1893. In 1919, professors began electing Tōdai's president in advance of their approval by the Education Minister. A year later, the Tōdai Athletic Association (*undōkai*, hereafter TAA), a league of sports clubs, transformed itself into a general student organization, the Gakuyūkai. Beginning in the 1920s, these units were to surface as arenas for heated factional politics, and often ideological bifurcation.

Professors' and students' research and extracurricular activities bridged Tōdai's collegiate and extra-collegiate societies. Tōdai professors participated in creating new policies or laws and engaged in organizations to meet their academic or social interests, originating from the establishment of the Academy of Governance (*kokka gakkai*) in 1886. The Cultured Living Research Association (*bunka seikatsu kenkyūkai*, hereafter CLRA), which I cover in my dissertation, was one such organization. Many Tōdai professors joined the CLRA and disseminated middle-class values by publishing essays in its journal, *Cultured Living*. Extracurricular student organizations also blossomed throughout the pre-1945 period. For instance, members of the Shinjinkai, a student radical organization established in 1918, engaged in labor movements.

Tōdai collegiate society also had a close link with extra-collegiate society by recruiting students, supporting student life, and helping students procure jobs after

graduation. As university entrance and employment grew competitive in the 1920s, leading to conditions often described in terms such as “examination hell (*shiken jigoku*)” and “employment war (*shūshokusen*),” Tōdai professors began to envision educational reforms to address this turmoil and developed a job-search system for university graduates. Tōdai students and professors also developed a student welfare system that helped students get housing, scholarships, and part-time jobs. In this process, Tōdai collegiate society became a manager and reformer of education, employment, and campus life, which were key phases in middle-class mobility.

A network of professors, students, and graduates strengthened the solidarity and social influence of this community. In 1886, almost at the same time as the establishment of Tokyo Imperial University, alumni of Tokyo University established the Bachelor Society (*gakushikai*). Leaders of the Bachelor Society included Sakatani Yoshirō, a Finance Ministry bureaucrat and future member of the House of Peers; Kano Jigorō, principal of the First High School and future President of the Japanese Amateur Athletic Association; and Tōyama Masakazu, the first Japanese Professor of Tokyo University (Sociology). The Bachelor Society had branches throughout Japan and its members shared their news in the monthly bulletin of this society, *Bachelor Society Monthly* (*gakushikai geppō*), including marriages, notices of the establishment of businesses, and opinions on social issues. Information on athletic festivals at Tōdai, intended to attract alumni, also appeared in this bulletin. Starting in 1920, Tōdai’s newspaper, *Imperial University News*, assumed a critical role in integrating and advertising this community. The members of this community shared their events and their opinions on sociopolitical issues in the newspaper’s coverage of on-campus events, national politics, and news from

high schools and other universities. Student organizations had professors as patrons and ties to graduates and high-school students. For instance, the Shinjinkai had an influential patron, Yoshino Sakuzō, a Professor of Law, while having graduates as associate members (*kaiyū*) and recruiting new members from high schools. The TAA had a large alumni group which directly influenced the administrative decisions of the club. The Tōdai Club, an organization of Tōdai alumni middle-school teachers established in 1932, tried to have Tōdai graduates hired as middle-school teachers. In this sense, Tōdai collegiate society was less an isolated ivory tower than at the forefront of social evolution and reform. Social issues swiftly surfaced as topics in Tōdai collegiate society. Debates about the economic burden of campus life and the employment of Tōdai graduates caught the attention of this community and were recognized as critical social issues.

The experiences of Tōdai provide a unique vantage point for historians of Japanese universities and student life. First, Tōdai, the oldest and most privileged public university, provides a lens through which historians can examine the social influence of a top school in Japan. Tōdai professors and students led institutional developments at Tōdai which usually then emerged at other universities. Also, Tōdai professors participated in the creation of social policies in welfare, leisure, and education. In sum, this state-managed top school dominated the educational scene and set trends for other institutions of learning that positioned themselves in relation to this unyielding center. Tōdai was different not only from American and British universities for it represented a state-university complex, but also from German and French universities for its pervasive influence deriving from its privileged status in the hierarchy of Japanese universities.

What is more, Tōdai, the biggest university in Japan, had seven faculties,³⁶ providing a lens through which to address different student experiences from different faculties.

V. Middle-Class Values and Their Nexus at Tōdai

A “proper” lifestyle is not only necessary for social mobility but is also a marker of class status. The middle-class values and institutional support for middle-class life which are explored in this dissertation, i.e. consumption, welfare, leisure, health, education, and employment, were the sources of self-styling as the legitimate. Citizens defined their middle position by differentiating their values and practices from old elites and people in the lower classes. They embodied “rational” consumption, neither prodigal nor saving primitively. They enjoyed “proper” leisure separated from work, legitimating themselves over both non-working hereditary elites and the manual laborers, whose labor helped them build their bodies, thus affecting their sporting performance. They “managed” their health, distinguishing them from prodigal old elites and the uneducated who lacked the knowledge to manage their health. They received “proper” education and procured jobs, differentiating themselves from jobless old elites and workers whose manual labor was not appreciated. The rise of modern science and schooling were at the heart of these middling ethics, revealing the centrality of the higher educational experience in these middle-class practices.

Another advantage of exploring the middle class and higher education in tandem is that we can examine a nexus of middle-class values and practices. Each of these class

³⁶ Tōdai’s seven faculties were Law, Economics, Medicine, Agriculture, Humanity, Engineering, and Science.

practices has been explored separately by scholars of the middle class. Accordingly, these works could not explain how these values and institutions became intertwined and contributed to middle-class formation in students' lived reality, and left the agents of middle-class living anonymous.

Consumption was an overarching agenda that symbolized the commodification of other middle-class values consumed at higher educational facilities and middle-class mobility itself. The experience of higher education became a commodity for which Japanese families, or the student themselves, had to invest significant amounts of money. Leisure activities and medical services in campus life were also objects of investment; as were some of the welfare privileges while at Tōdai which required certain prerequisite fees to join the system. By acting as consumers of higher education and campus life, students could persist and graduate into white-collar professions, which provided these students with further purchasing power for commodities, leisure, medical services, and their children's education.

At the same time, leisure, health, welfare, and employment were the driving forces for students' economic management, which was apparently easier at higher educational facilities. Student leisure, student medical centers, and student welfare systems were available to university students at lower rates. Education was not only the primary object of economic consumption, but also a privileged space in which students could enjoy this institutional support for a middle-class lifestyle. Also, by being educated, middle-class citizens could advance to their next phase of life, such as higher-level educational facilities or white-collar employment. Sports clubs and welfare programs at educational institutions of each level helped students' social climbing.

These agendas are interconnected in the umbrella of the higher educational experience. They were both trophies and leverage in the nexus of middle-class values at higher educational facilities. Leisure activities were critical in the university authorities' management of student health and welfare. For students, leisure activities were an object of consumption for fun, a means of improving their health, and even a useful asset in presenting themselves to sports-fan recruiters on the job market. As an ecosystem of athletic recruitment emerged in interwar Japan, leisure activities could be a means of social mobility for underperforming or impoverished students in climbing the ladder of higher education and earning middle-class-level salaries as athletes. Health was a means for attaining other middle-class values, as well as a focus of institutional efforts aimed toward these values. As will be discussed in later chapters, health certificates were indispensable for students in advancing to higher educational facilities, playing intercollegiate games acknowledged by the Education Ministry, and applying for jobs. At the same time, student leisure and access to white-collar professions allowed these students to stay healthy and enjoy cheaper medical services.

The operation of middle-class values at Tōdai owed much to Tōdai students' elite status and their extensive consumption needs, which naturally accentuates the centrality of higher education in the making of middle-class citizens. Not only was Tōdai collegiate society the home of specialists who produced knowledge and discourses, it was also the primary laboratory of social activists who experimented with those discourses and knowledge. Tōdai students were critical agents and prioritized beneficiaries of the knowledge and activism of the middle class, and in this small universe, discourses on consumption, welfare, health, leisure, and education became interconnected and

contributed to producing a nexus of middle-class values and lifestyles in the lived reality of students.

VI. Tōdai at the Center of Modern Japanese History

In considering the contribution of universities to middle-class formation, this dissertation characterizes Tōdai collegiate society as a driving force as well as a representation of middle-class society in Japan. I consider how Tōdai professors and students created white-collar employment practices, developed middle-class leisure as mass culture, produced social policies, contributed to the expansion of higher education, and attracted the social aspirations of numerous students to enter middle-class living. In so doing, I join a group of scholars who complicated the simple state-society bifurcation in Japan, but do so through the lens of middle-class citizens at Tōdai. As will be clarified in this dissertation, middle-class citizens at Tōdai stimulated, guided, and sometimes directly led the state in realizing middle-class agendas for extra-collegiate society in the wartime period. Tōdai professors and students were apparently a part of the state, but at the same time they were leading social activists. The ambiguous status of Tōdai between the state and society provides a more complicated understanding of social transformation in wartime Japan, in which the role of the state has been disproportionately overemphasized in previous literature. By exploring wartime Tōdai collegiate society, I will excavate complex dialogues on middle-class agendas among scholars, social activists, bureaucrats, business leaders, and prospective middle-class citizens on campus, which became a compromise for the settlement of these agendas during the war.

At the same time, I explore the socio-economic dimension of the academic community, whose role in the development of democratic social activism in interwar Japan has been exhaustively examined.³⁷ By focusing on student life at Tōdai, I argue that Tōdai collegiate society was not just a driving force of the intellectualization of social activism but also its primary beneficiary. The intellectualized social activism for a “new living” or “cultured living” was an expression of the agenda for members of Tōdai collegiate society, who comprised a core constituency of this activism of middling.

However, this argument does not mean that Tōdai professors and students were the only driving force in the social transformation of wartime Japan. Tōdai professors and students often participated in decision-making processes and a variety of social movements. As will be shown in later chapters, Tōdai alumni sometimes could push the state in order to realize their own agendas. However, the promotion of the middle class was the concerted effort of a variety of agents, e.g. the state, social activists, politicians, public professionals, business, etc. Toward the wartime period, it became clear that Tōdai professors and students were a driving force, but not its most powerful engine. Moreover, Tōdai professors and students were not always happy to disseminate middle-class culture on campus. Tōdai alumni had been reluctant to establish additional high schools until 1918, but their efforts to save students’ character training from excessive competition only paradoxically resulted in the expansion of education. Tōdai professors and students initiated the establishment of a student health administration, welfare programs, and consumer cooperatives, but those who institutionalized these institutions nationwide were a variety of agents—bureaucrats, politicians, social activists, and business leaders. The

³⁷ Smith, *Japan’s First Student Radicals*; Marshall, *Academic Freedom and the Japanese Imperial University, 1868-1939*.

envelopment of middle-class institutions, in other words, happened in a complicated web of negotiation and collaboration among these agents, which eventually de-classified middle-class culture.

That said, a close look at Tōdai collegiate society during the wartime period confirms its central status in Japanese society. This dissertation shows that educational mobility, white-collar employment, and student consumption, leisure, and health care at universities experienced continuous prosperity without significant institutional discontinuity across 1945. Tōdai collegiate society stimulated and led the transwar social transformation, but, as many historians have documented, this process did not proceed seamlessly across 1945. Toward the end of the war, Japanese society suffered from a shortage of resources for realizing these middle-class agendas. For instance, consumer cooperatives and intercollegiate sports tentatively disappeared, but these activities continued at Tōdai as late as possible and were revived as soon as the war ended. The rationale, institutions, language, and social environment of state policies for realizing the aforementioned middle-class agendas dramatically changed across 1945, which was often accompanied by a significant institutional change, such as the abolition of the Home Ministry. However, agendas of consumption, leisure, economic and medical welfare, educational mobility, and white-collar employment persisted at Tōdai without significant institutional discontinuity.

Tōdai's middle-class institutions compel us to rethink the epochal nature of post-1945 Japanese education. It is undeniable that the extension of compulsory education to middle-school education, which had admitted only 15 percent of the total student body at elementary schools before the war, opened the bottleneck in the advancement from

elementary schools to higher educational facilities. The pace of the dissemination of higher education dramatically increased, which stimulated the rise of an education-oriented mass middle-class society. State control of university graduate employment also disappeared. The rationale of wartime educational reform, i.e. the production of leaders of “greater East Asia,” was no longer championed. However, middle-class agendas were necessary not only for war mobilization but also for the construction of a democratic and egalitarian postwar Japan. The formation of student welfare and the vitalization of white-collar employment during the war provided Japan’s education system with the capacity to sustain the dissemination of higher education in the early postwar period. The culture of leisure and health prospered even more in these new circumstances. The interwar and wartime periods were crucial moments when important preconditions were prepared for the massive, stable promotion from elementary-school students to white-collar citizens on the one hand, and for the crystallization of interwar middle-class discourses on social policies and practices on the other. In short, the postwar reform was epochal, but it went smoothly because of the previous accomplishment initiated by and for Tōdai collegiate society during the war.

This dissertation naturally assumes the central position of Tōdai students over others in middle-class society in Japan, but does not articulate the social demarcation of the middle class in modern Japan. If Tōdai students can be counted as middle-class, what of graduates from middle schools? There is a hierarchy inside the category of the middle class. There are “better” academic credentials and “better” paying jobs. Although there are the certain ranges of incomes that can be considered middle-class in statistics, people earning slightly less than the threshold between the middle and lower classes cannot be

separated from what this dissertation calls middle-class cultural values. People not going to Tōdai were not disqualified to be middle-class. This dissertation argues that social aspirants created their own qualification for being middle-class by going through higher education and employment. In this vein, the question this dissertation tackles is who are the middle class and how their middle-class culture enveloped the vast majority of the Japanese, rather than who are *not* middle-class.

In the same vein, this dissertation does not clearly demarcate between the elites and the masses. Rather, by focusing on the middle-class formation of Tōdai students I explore how the demarcation between the elites and the masses was compromised. In on-campus social politics at Tōdai, students embodied the blurry demarcation between the elite and the masses. Apparently, Tōdai students were, and are, considered elites attending the top school in Japan. However, in collegiate social politics, they were called the “student masses (*gakusei taishū*).”³⁸ For student activists for welfare, sports popularization, and consumer cooperatives, students were the masses whose interest should be properly represented by themselves or by student activists. In extra-collegiate social politics, the middle class were both elites as well as part of the masses. The fledgling white-collar population was considered as part of the “working masses (*kinrō taishū*).”³⁹ In short, Tōdai students were middle-class, but the middle class were part of the masses. Elites and the masses seem to point to different people, but as the masses joined the pipeline of middle-class formation Tōdai became the center of the middle-class formation of the masses.

³⁸ For instance, see Smith, *Japan's First Student Radicals*, 149-150.

³⁹ For instance, Koike Shirō, *Hōkyūseikatsusharon*, (Tokyo: Seiunkaku, 1929).

This dissertation consists of five chapters. In chapter one, I examine the rise of an educational-employment pipeline and the perceptual change of the middle class as mediated by the institutionalization of middle-class living. This chapter examines how the two faces of the middle class, i.e. as architect of modern society and as cultured gentleman, took shape in the nineteenth century, and how they were reshuffled into “salaried workers” in the capitalist economy of the twentieth century. Also, I address the increase in the number of universities modeled on Tōdai and the rise of a university hierarchy, making middle-class living both egalitarian and relentlessly competitive. In chapters two and three, I explore the economic improvement of student life at Tōdai. Chapter two addresses the role of the Red Gate Student Consumer Cooperative (*akamon gakusei shōhikumiai*, hereafter RSC) in improving student life. By situating the RSC in the history of consumption cooperatives and the middle class, I show how Tōdai was a critical space for middle-class social activism of wartime consumption cooperatives. In chapter three, I examine mutual-aid programs (*kyōsai jigyo*) for student life initiated by the Tōdai Student Office (*gakuseika*). As students’ economic burden became a social issue, the university authorities, sympathetic professors, and student radicals developed a channel for helping students find part-time jobs, housing, and funding. The improvement of student life is shown by the plummeting number of dropouts. The remaining two chapters explore the development of leisure life and medical services at wartime Tōdai. In chapter four, I conceptualize Tōdai collegiate society as a leisure community, having Japan’s oldest sports club, the Tōdai Athletic Association (*tōdai undōkai*; established in 1886), playgrounds, summer houses, and long vacations. Through the lens of the TAA, I examine the development of collegiate sports as middle-class leisure and their social

diffusion. In chapter five, I locate Tōdai collegiate society at the forefront of social hygiene, and trace how the Medical Center of the Student Office at Tōdai improved student health. Furthermore, I address how health became a criterion for advancement to higher educational facilities and white-collar employment, and how medical professionals came to cover the Japanese mass public, beyond university campuses and corporations, through the National Health Insurance program.

Table I.1: The Advancement of High School Students⁴⁰

Year	Tōdai	Kyōdai	Other Imperial	Other Universities	Quit or Unclear
1902	691 (80.7%)	158 (18.5%)	0	0	7 (0.8%)
1907	966 (78.5%)	259 (21.0%)	0	0	6 (0.5%)
1912	1,144 (64.8%)	389 (22.0%)	185 (10.5%)	0	47 (2.7%)
1916	1,105 (64.7%)	397 (23.3%)	179 (10.5%)	0	26 (1.5%)
1921	1,560 (62.6%)	615 (24.7%)	251 (10.1%)	17 (0.7%)	50 (2.0%)
1926	1,994 (43.2%)	1,142 (24.8%)	571 (12.4%)	611 (13.2%)	295 (6.4%)
1930	1,826 (34.6%)	1,193 (22.6%)	712 (13.5%)	444 (8.4%)	1,110 (21.0%)
1935	1,485 (28.0%)	1,066 (20.1%)	718 (13.5%)	689 (13.0%)	1,346 (25.4%)
1940	1,535 (35.5%)	1,068 (24.7%)	958 (22.2%)	252 (5.8%)	507 (11.7%)

Table I.2: Employment of Tōdai Graduates by 1931⁴¹

Jobs	Law	Medic.	Engin.	Hum.	Scien.	Agri.	Econ.	Total
Administrative Bureaucrats	2321	4	4	117	37	39	76	2,598
Legal Bureaucrats	930	-	-	3	-	3	1	937
Imperial House Bureaucrats	79	22	1	12	4	3	2	123
State Engineers	-	68	1,922	236	1,103	-	-	3,360
Army or Navy Practitioners	-	58	-	-	-	-	-	58
Army Officer	6	-	5	-	14	6	7	38

⁴⁰ Recited from Tachibanaki, *Tōkyō daigaku*, 83.

⁴¹ Monbudaijin kanbō monjoka, ed. *Dainihon Teikoku Monbushō Nenpō, 1931-1932* (Tokyo: Monbu daijin kanbō monjoka, 1932), 199-200.

Candidates or Army								
Assemblymen in the Houses of Peers or Diet	195	4	4	10	7	2	1	223
Lawyers	938	-	-	3	-	-	5	946
School Teachers	593	764	648	2,546	719	592	93	5,991
State or Hospital Physicians	-	1,431	-	-	-	81	-	1,512
Private Practitioners	-	1,079	-	-	-	8	-	1,087
Newspaper and Magazine Journalists	161	2	-	67	3	4	43	280
Bankers and Salaried Workers in Corporations	3,542	233	2,944	136	261	351	1,495	8,962
Invited by Foreign Companies and Governments	-	3	20	-	1	-	-	24
Other Type of Workers	2,024	19	172	354	94	400	160	3,214
Graduate Students	43	18	36	78	27	24	13	239
Transferred to Other Faculties	52	1	2	16	6	15	18	110
Studying Abroad	3	9	40	61	8	2	10	133
Unemployed or Unidentifiable	2,327	72	613	262	117	316	579	4,286
Deceased	854	865	592	400	266	485	56	3,518
Total	14,068	4,652	7,039	4,087	1,800	3,434	2,559	37,639

Chapter 1

The Birth of an Education-Employment Pipeline and the Shaping of the Middle-Class Idea

“What is the only mishap for the educated? That is their poverty.”

—Asahara Rokurō, “Saraīman no Uramachi”¹

The interwar definition of the middle class as the culturally elite but economically modest, reflects the long-term institutionalization of the middle-class experience in modern Japan. In modern Japan, the idea of the middle class was a foreign import with the social persona of a gentleman. But, as modern education and business established an educational-employment pipeline and institutionalized middle-class life, the “salaryman” swiftly surfaced as the hegemonic image of the middle class. Whereas the idea of the gentleman purveyed a set of vague meanings in the late nineteenth century, the “salaryman” was a fleshed-out creature who passed critical rites of passage in individual class formation: school entrance exams, white-collar employment, marriage, educating their children, and life after retirement. This institutionalized life-course produced the critical agenda of social politics in employment, education, and welfare. The rise and transformation of the educational-employment pipeline mediated this transition in the image and discourse of the middle class in modern Japan.

The educational-employment pipeline was a precarious and contested social space in modern Japan. This pipeline was not just an institutional relationship between the

¹ Asahara Rokurō, “Saraīman No Uramachi,” *Saraīman* 3, no. 4 (1930): 41.

university and businesses, but also a nexus of cultural, political, and economic values claimed by educators, business managers, the aspiring masses, and the state. For educators, this pipeline should embody not only a ladder of promotion to white-collar status, but also functioned as a hatching ground for “cultured” elites. But, an imbalance between the supply and demand of university graduates posed significant challenges for the operation of the pipeline.² Also, the relative exclusion of certain groups, such as the poor and women, from this pipeline sparked social tensions. In the early twentieth century, social anxiety surrounding the pipeline stimulated a heated debate among academics, business leaders, and the state over the nature of higher education and the role of the state, which fashioned a multi-layered middle-class identity as professional, liberal, and capitalist.

The rise and evolution of Japanese capitalism and the social aspirations of the masses to be white-collar set the stage of this transition. The rise of the education-employment pipeline marked the incorporation of prospective middle-class citizens into social politics through education and business. The increasing number of university applicants and entrants compelled a concerted effort of university authorities, the state, and business leaders to produce smooth employment practices, which endorsed social aspirants’ upward mobility and Japanese imperialism.

² This was a global phenomenon, as documented in Walter Kotschnig’s account of the employment crisis in more than 20 countries, including Britain, the U.S., France, Germany, and Japan. Walter M. Kotschnig & Elined Prys, ed. *The University in a Changing World: A Symposium* (London: Oxford University Press, 1932), 8, 16-17; Walter M. Kotsching, *Unemployment in the Learned Professions: An International Study of Occupational and Educational Planning* (London: Oxford University Press, 1937). Walter Kotschnig documented the employment crisis in more than 20 countries including Britain, the U.S., France, Germany, and Japan.

The employment practices at Tōdai echoed global trends, but they unfolded in the unique context of Japanese history. Unlike Europe and North America, in Japan, modern higher education, businesses, and the state appeared almost at the same time. Under these circumstances, the state and business corporations shared the pool of recruitment and cooperated in the management of the educational-employment pipeline. Power relations between employers and employees also underwent a series of upsets throughout the twentieth century. In order to cope with these circumstances, universities and employers developed a close bilateral relationship, often mediated by the state. This chapter considers the historical formation of these Japanese-style employment practices, and the changing perceptions of the middle class in this process.

Tōdai provides a vantage point to consider two significant aspects of the middle-class experience in modern Japan. First, in the pre-1945 period, all Tōdai students were male, revealing that the middle-class experience was heavily gendered. Female students were not allowed to enter high schools, and, by extension, universities without an exceptional admission. Second, Tōdai, the top school of imperial Japan, generated social aspirations and the competition to enter the institution shows that the middle-class experience was competitive. Through the lens of Tōdai, I explore the paradoxical centrality of cultural values and institutional privileges Tōdai enjoyed in the expansion of higher education and middle-class identity.

I. Tōdai and the Rise of the Educational-Employment Pipeline in Japan

Tōdai was a center of professional training that reflected the needs of the state in producing practitioner elites for a modern Japan. The origin of this vision can be traced back to the grand schools established in the last years of Tokugawa Japan. The Tokugawa government established the Western Book Research Center (*bansho shirabesho*) in 1856 and the Vaccination Center (*shutōjo*) in 1858 in order to import knowledge of philosophy, natural science and medicine from the West. After 1868, the Western Book Research Center changed its name to University Southern School (*daigaku nankō*) and to Tokyo Kaisei School while the Vaccination Center became the Medicine Center (*igakusho*), University Eastern School (*daigaku tōkō*), and Tokyo Medical School (*tōkyō igakkō*). In 1877, the state integrated Tokyo Kaisei School and Tokyo Medical School to establish Tokyo University (*tōkyō daigaku*). Additionally, the Justice Ministry had the Tokyo Law School (*tōkyō hōggakō*), and the Engineering Ministry had the Engineering College (*kōbu daigakkō*) to serve their recruitment. The Tokyo Law School joined Tokyo University in 1885. In 1886, the state issued the Imperial University Decree (*teikoku daigakurei*), which situated this university in a newly established educational ladder from elementary school to university. Tokyo University was renamed Tokyo Imperial University, which integrated Tokyo University and the Engineering College. The Imperial University Ordinance defined the purpose of Tōdai as teaching “useful academic and technology to the state and exerting for its erudition.”³ Tokyo Agriculture and Forestry School joined Tōdai as the College of Agriculture in 1890.

From the beginning, professional training was a class-based endeavor at Tōdai. The founding fathers of Japanese higher education, based on the sense of class, had

³ Tōkyōfu gakubumuka, *Gakurei Ruisan*, 9.

considered studying at Tōdai as something more than an individual and selfish business. Hamao Arata, a Ministry of Education bureaucrat who became the president of Tōdai, noted that “even if we educate poor students, they would try to sustain just themselves and their family.”⁴ Minister of Education Mori Arinori shared this idea and even tried to raise tuition fees at Tōdai.⁵ As noted in the introduction to this dissertation, Mori defined the recipients of university education as largely the “middle-class” who could pay the tuition, since they were “the most vibrant part of society developing their visions and aspirations.”⁶ In other words, for Hamao and Mori, nation building was a class conscious project of middling citizens who could have what Bourdieu called “distance from necessity.”⁷

Tōdai worked as an educational-employment pipeline that produced its own professionals. Tōdai graduates from the Faculty of Law were exempted from the Civil Examinations—which the Meiji government established in 1887 to recruit state bureaucrats—and joined the state bureaucracy as *sōninkan* (*kachō*)-level bureaucrats after graduation. They were also granted certificates enabling them to work as lawyers. Tōdai students from the Faculty of Humanities and Science automatically received a teaching certificate for middle-school education, while students of medicine were exempted from the Medical Practitioner Examination. These professionals embodied meritocratic job placement and leadership in the “progress of civilization,” which, according to Sakatani Yoshirō, a finance bureaucrat from Tōdai law, was delayed by feudal elites in Tokugawa Japan who kept the masses “ignorant.” Sometimes these citizens showed another pattern

⁴ “Tōkyō Teikoku Daigaku No Kaikaku,” *Kyoiku jiron* 8 (1886): 21.

⁵ Amano Ikuo, *Daigaku no Tanjō, jō* (Tokyo: Chūōkōronsha, 2005), 107.

⁶ Ōkubo Toshiaki, ed. *Mori Arinori Zenshū*, vol.1 (Tokyo: Senbundō shoten, 1972), 665-666.

⁷ Bourdieu, *Distinction*, 53.

of middling, for instance, in their social position between “the emperor” and the “Japanese people (*kokumin*).”⁸ In this self-identification, their class identity actually did not advocate the interests of a certain group of society. They were a “public” class, who represented their nation and the level of its civilization.

The establishment of Tōdai overlapped with the rise of another agent of middling: business elites. The business community was the epicenter of the discourse of the gentleman in modern Japan. In 1889, the author of the *Greater Japan Gentleman Directory* defined gentleman as people who had achieved “renown, knowledge, and property.” The “essence” of gentlemen, according to the author, did not lie in their wealth or appearance, but in their efforts to “keep their dignity and exert their sincerity from their middle position between the emperor and people,” which was “the source of Japan’s national independence.”⁹

At the turn of the century, this discourse penetrated the fledgling white-collar workforce. In 1903, Yamamoto Kuninosuke, a businessman from Tōdai, conceptualized the cultural values that salaried workers should pursue—knowledge, health, discipline, thrift, self-cultivation, and a proper married life. Yamamoto’s salaryman idea had strong spiritual and nationalist connotations. In Yamamoto’s vision, salaried workers should be icons of “self-help,” and the advance guard of a “stronger nation.”¹⁰

⁸ “Hamao Teikoku Daigaku Sōchō Enjutsu,” *Gakushikai geppō* 77 (1894): 25; Sakatani Yoshirō, “Teikoku Daigaku to Kanri Tōyōhō to Dai Suru Kokumin no Tomo Kasha Tokutomi Un no Bun wo Yomu,” *Gakushikai geppō* 48 (1892): 6; Nomizuki Bō, “Gakushi Kaiin to Sekkenhō,” *Gakushikai geppō* 120 (1897): 31; “Teikoku Daigakusei no Kifū Dai ni Isshin Sezarubekarazu,” *Gakushikai geppō* 121 (1898): 2.

⁹ Aneo, *Dainihon Shinshikan*, p.1.

¹⁰ Kuninosuke Yamamoto, *Risōteki Kaishain* (Tokyo: Hattori shoten 1903), 3-4.

During the late nineteenth century, the business community surfaced as a well-paying destination for Tōdai graduates. Since business leaders had to compete in hiring university graduates with the state, which was replacing well-paid foreign employees with Tōdai students, business recruiters had to pay university students high salaries as well.¹¹ The job market was favorable to the students. Since Tōdai was the only university, where students had foreign language proficiency, Tōdai students were of irreplaceable value. During the late nineteenth century, Tōdai graduates enjoyed relatively free job transfer, blurring the demarcations between bureaucrats, politicians, and educators.¹²

The power relations between employers and job seekers gradually reversed as the state bureaucracy became largely filled. In this situation, business leaders gradually institutionalized the competitive educational-employment pipeline. We can trace this rough tendency through the qualifications of Mitsui Engineering (*Mitsui bussan*). Mitsui Engineering stipulated its first bylaw of white-collar employment in 1899, and by the 1910s big corporations, including those of the Mitsubishi and Mitsui groups, established employment practices for university graduates through recommendation and job interviews.¹³ Business recruiters came to have the power to choose successful applicants among the students recommended by professors. Offensive comments during job

¹¹ Ozaki Yukio received 80 yen (800000 yen today) per month when he was working at the Statistics Bureau, while Natsume Sōseki also received 80 yen per month when he was teaching at a middle school in the 1890s. Sakamoto Fujiyoshi, *Nihon kōyōshi*, jō, (Tokyo: Chūōkeizaishi, 1967), 97; Natsume Sōseki's letter to Masaoka Tsunenori, May 26, 1895, in Kinnosuke Natsume, ed. *Sōseki Zenshū*, vol. 22 (Tokyo Iwanami shoten, 1996), 79. According to Sakamoto Fujiyoshi, Tōdai graduates received at least 50 yen per month when employed in corporations. Sakamoto, *Nihon kōyōshi*, jō, 166.

¹² Sugayama Shinji, *Shūsha Shakai no Tanjō: Howaito Karā kara Burū Karā e* (Nagoya: Nagoya daigaku shuppankai, 2011), 87, 93.

¹³ Wakabayashi Yukio, *Mitsui Bussan Jinji Seisakushi, 1876 Nen – 1931 Nen: Jōhō Kōtsū Kyōiku Infura to Shokuin Soshiki* (Tokyo: Mineruva shobō, 2007); Mitsubishi shashi kanōkai, ed. *Mitsubishi Shashi*, vol. 21 (Tokyo: Tōkyō daigaku shuppankai, 1979-1982), 1347. (October 1, 1911).

interviews, such as “You are feminine. . . . You cannot be promoted to a high position,” surfaced as newspaper gossip in the 1920s.¹⁴ Students’ reluctance to apply for less privileged corporations worsened the competition and job-placement anxiety (see Picture 1.1). According to an article in the *Imperial University News* in 1923, an insurance company advertised ten jobs but no Tōdai students applied.¹⁵ As white-collar employment became competitive, the promotion of blue-collar workers to white-collar ranks became impossible toward 1920.¹⁶

Picture 1.1: The Dream and Reality of University Students.¹⁷



Under these circumstances, the business community proceeded to take one step further in the standardization of employment practices. During the economic boom of WWI, staff of newly established recruitment sections requested recommendations in November and December, even before the university graduation ceremony, in order to hire competent students who would find positions swiftly. Naturally, students were not

¹⁴ “Shūshoku junanki: Kyō wa Mitsubishi, Ashita wa teishin to honmei ni tsukareru gakushi no tamago no hiai,” *IUN*, February 1, 1924, 3.

¹⁵ “Sōtsugyō wo hikaete shū shokunan wa iyoio kyū haku,” *IUN*, January 26, 1924, 3.

¹⁶ Sugayama, *Shūsha Shakai no Tanjō*, 118.

¹⁷ “Yume to Genjitsu,” *IUN*, April 29, 1929, 2.

able to prepare for the graduation test (*sotsugyō shiken*) while business recruiters had to put extensive efforts to surpass competitor recruiters. In March 1928, business leaders demanded universities and other corporations to unify the recruitment period. In April 1928, business executives of banks and corporations, university administrators (from Tōdai, Hitotsubashi, Keiō, Waseda, etc.) and Minister of Education bureaucrats agreed to proceed with employment administration only after graduation.¹⁸

In this process, a unified, standardized white-collar employment system settled in the educational-employment pipeline. In 1927, the Job Search Center Central Office of the Social Bureau, Home Ministry, conducted a survey on white-collar employment practices in which 44 percent of the corporations that responded were “requesting school authorities to recommend students whose academic credentials are better than average” and selectively employing students after interviews to check the applicant’s personality, knowledge, and physical strength.¹⁹ Under these circumstances, Tōdai professors, students, business recruiters, and bureaucrats began to question the true purpose of the university, joining a century-long global discussion on higher education.

II. The Rise of a Class-based Liberal-Arts Education

Mirroring the rise of professional training, the liberal-arts idea surfaced as an identifier of class culture around the world. Medieval European universities provided training in the liberal arts including Greco-Roman classics as a preparation course before

¹⁸ Jūmoku Kōsai, *Shūshoku Senjutsu* (Tokyo: Senshinsha, 1929), 65-71. From Tōdai, Kawazu Susumu joined this agreement.

¹⁹ Chūō shokugyō shōkai jimukyoku, ed. *Shōwa ninen shigatsu kaisha ginkō ni okeru gakkō sotsugyō saiyō jōkyō shirabe*. Recited from Sugayama, *Shūsha Shakai no Tanjō*, p.127.

professional training. Since then the practice of a liberal-arts education evolved following the distinctive history of education in individual countries.²⁰ Oxbridge students who styled themselves as middling “gentlemen,” “neither of aristocratic birth nor ignobly bred,” learned in a curriculum not just for “a rampant utilitarianism,”²¹ while at Yale the liberal arts was at the core of an undergraduate training, which was supposed to “raise students to a higher distinction than the mere possession of property.”²² In early modern Japan, samurai officials disciplined their characters and morals with Confucian classics,²³ but, mirroring the fate of Tokugawa Japan, modern character training took the form of importation from the West. Fukuzawa Yukichi, in his *An Encouragement of Learning* in 1872, understood “the middle class (*mizzuru karassu*)” as “in charge of progress in Western countries,” and envisioned a liberal arts education that was not “directly related to professional training” but would “broaden the purview of knowledge and learning” to create this class.²⁴

Fukuzawa was not alone in envisioning a liberal-arts education. When he established three professional faculties, i.e. medicine, law, and engineering, at each high

²⁰ In Germany, a secondary school called gymnasium assumed the role of inculcating the classics, while public schools in Britain and liberal-arts colleges in the United States took on a similar role. Instead, in Germany and Britain, universities became a locus of professional training, while in the United States, graduate schools appeared to provide this role. Floyd W. Reeves, “Liberal Arts Colleges,” *The Journal of Higher Education* 1, no. 7 (1930): 375; W. Martin Bloomer, *The School of Rome: Latin Studies and the Origins of Liberal Education* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2011).

²¹ Paul R. Deslandes, *Oxbridge Men: British Masculinity and the Undergraduate Experience, 1850-1920* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2005), 35-38.

²² A Committee of the Corporation and the Academical Faculty, *Reports on the Course of Instruction in Yale College* (New Haven: Hezekiah Howe, 1828), 29-30.

²³ Allan O. Pfnister, “The Role of the Liberal Arts College: A Historical Overview of the Debates,” *The Journal of Higher Education* 55, no. 2 (1984); Ronald P. Dore, *Education in Tokugawa Japan* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1965), 34-40.

²⁴ Keiō gijuku, ed. *Fukuzawa Yukichi zenshu* vol.3 (Tokyo: Iwanami shoten, 1959), 60-61.

school in 1894,²⁵ Minister of Education Inoue Kowashi encountered strong antagonism from advocates of the liberal arts. In 1894, Kubota Yuzuru, a Ministry of Education bureaucrat from Keiō organized an Education System Research Group (*gakusei kenkyūkai*) with politicians, educators, and journalists,²⁶ and articulated his vision for education reform. Inspired by educational ideas in Europe and America, Kubota advocated a liberal-arts ideal of “gentleman making.” “The point of education,” Kubota argued, “is not just developing research. As students develop knowledge, they should develop their physical health, and sublime behaviors.” He went on to argue for the abolishment of high schools, which were a “weird institution.”²⁷ Kubota’s initiative was not successful due to strong objections from “assemblymen from Tōdai,”²⁸ who were also iron-clad opponents also to the additional establishment of high schools until 1918.²⁹ But, professional faculties were separated from high schools and became vocational schools in 1904. In this process, in Japan’s experience, high schools became bastions of the liberal-arts education, which, according to Yoshida Kumaji, a Tōdai professor of education, made students “spiritual aristocrats of Japan.”³⁰

²⁵ Kurasawa Tsuyoshi, *Gakkōrei no Kenkyū* (Tokyo: Kōdansha, 1978), 457-58.

²⁶ Komata Noriaki, “Kyōiku Kankei Giin No Haikei: Gakusei Kenkyūkai wo Chūshin to Shite,” in Motoyama Yukihiro, ed. *Teikoku Gikai to Kyōiku Seisaku* (Tokyo: Shibunkaku shuppan, 1981).

²⁷ The model of his vision was Germany, where Kubota found “the middle class and above” from age nine, studying in gymnasium for nine years for physical, character, and intellectual maturity. Kubota Yuzuru, *Kyōiku Seido Kaikakuron: Hōka Daigaku Shaken Seiseki Mondai* (Tokyo: Teikokku kyōikukai, 1899), 6, 19, 24, 26.

²⁸ Kyōikushi hensankai, ed. *Meiji Ikō Kyōiku Seido Tattatsu shi*, vol.4 (Tokyo: Kyōiku shiryō chōsakai, 1939), 644.

²⁹ *Teikoku gikai kyōiku giji sōran*, vol.2, p.171. Recited from Amano, *Daigaku no tanjō*, ge, 41. In 1898, they pointed to Kubota Yuzuru as “frequently saying grandiose plans, such as the establishment of an Educational System Research Committee, or educational reform,” and asked why he, “this time, argued for the establishment of additional high schools and imperial universities?” in a Diet session.

³⁰ Daiichi kōtō gakkō, *Kōyūkai zasshi*, no.195 (1909), 96. Recited from Takeuchi Yō, *Risshin Shusse Shugi: Kindai Nihon no Roman to Yokubō* (Tokyo: Nihon hōsō shuppan kyōkai, 1997), 89.

Cultivation (*kyōyō*) was the key idea buttressing the elitist self-identification, which crystallized as a distinctive high-school curriculum. High-school students who would advance to the professional faculties at imperial universities spent half of their classroom hours studying languages while almost no classes were related to the professional arts. Famous teachers at high schools became icons of this elite liberal-arts education, such as Iwamoto Tei, a German language teacher at the First High School and graduate from Tōdai Humanities.³¹ Students considered this liberal-arts education as a source of social hierarchy between students from high-school and imperial university students and those who did not go to high schools. “What is the most important is this,” argued Umesao Tadao, a graduate of the Third High School, “Whether to graduate from high schools or not. High school graduates usually graduate from imperial universities. These people are cultured. In contrast, ... others, however, do not have culture.”³² The elitist self-identification of middle-class high-school students mirrored the anxieties suffered by vocational-school students. Kawai Hayao, a psychologist from Kōbe Engineering Vocational School, once confessed his complex: “At that time, high school was where people get cultured for life... I procured skills of electricity... A complex that I am not cultured has obsessed me since then.”³³ Students who could not even go to

³¹ Ibid., p.93.

³² Nakamura Akira, “Dokusho no taido ni tsuite,” *Jiyū kokumin* (1949); Umesao Tadao et al. ed., *Chi to kyōyō no bunmeigaku* (Tokyo: Chūō kōronsha, 1991); These quotes were recited from Takeuchi Yō, *Gakureki kizoku no kōei to zassetsu* (Tokyo: Chūōkōron shinsha, 1999), 258, 79-80.

³³ Kawai Hayao, “Mirai e no kioku (hachi): Jiden no kokoromi”, *Tocho* (March 1999). These quotes were recited from Takeuchi, *ibid*, 259.

tertiary schools suffered a harsher image among recruiters, earning insults such as “servility” or “bad brain.”³⁴

As the liberal-arts ideal gained currency, some reformers envisioned a liberal arts college in Japan. Former Minister of Education Kikuchi Dairoku was impressed with “the gentlemen of middle-class society (*chūtō shakai*),” with the thriving education and “high standard of morality” in America, and demanded the introduction of American liberal-arts colleges to Japan. For Kikuchi, “the university and the vocational school must be clearly differentiated. The vocational school is an institution teaching skills... The university is not supposed to teach only skills. Cultural education (*shūyō kyōiku*) has to be sufficient.”³⁵ Based on his vision, Kikuchi published a proposal for educational reform in 1914. In this reform, he planned to turn high schools and vocational schools into four-year liberal-arts colleges (*gakugei daigaku*), and decrease the number of examinations at universities, giving students time to build character.³⁶ Kikuchi gained support from Minister of Education Takata Sanae, businessman Shibusawa Eiichi, and educators including Kano Jigorō, but was frustrated by bureaucrats and educators from Tōdai.³⁷ However, the idea that universities were the locus of “cultivating gentleman” was not rare among university educators and business leaders, regardless of the existence of liberal-arts colleges.³⁸ During the educational reform in 1918, members of the Temporary

³⁴ Nihon keizai renmeikai, *Daigaku oyobi Senmongakkō Sotsugyōsha Shūshoku Mondai ni Kansuru Chōsa Shiryō* (Tokyo: Nihon keizai renmeikai, 1929), 30.

³⁵ Kikuchi Dairoku, *Nichibei Kyōiku Jigen* (Tokyo Kōdōkan, 1913), 270-271, 93-96, 101, 105-109, 114, 117-128, 24-25.

³⁶ Monbushō, ed., *Gakusei kaikaku shōan* (Tokyo: Monbushō kyōiku chōsabu, 1937), 1-16; this proposal originally appeared in the September 1914 issue of *Tōyō gakugei zasshi*.

³⁷ Kyōikushi hensankai, ed. *Meiji Ikō Kyōiku Seido Hattatsushi*, vol.4 (Tokyo: Kyōiku shiryō chōsakai, 1939), 425.

³⁸ “Saiyōsha ga Kentō Suru Daigaku Kyōiku no Shimei,” *IUN*, February 27, 1933, 2; Ōuchi Hyōe, “Tōdai Shusshin Giin, Daijin no Sūryō,” *IUN*, March 16, 1936, 3.

Council of Education (*rinji kyōiku kaigi*), which was established in 1916 as an advisory council for the cabinet, defined the purpose of high-school education as “higher general education for the middle class, the mainstay of nation,”³⁹ which, given that high school graduates usually entered imperial universities, meant that imperial university students were considered to be middle-class gentlemen. During the Occupation Reform, Tōdai finally incorporated liberal-arts training into its official curriculum for first- and second-year students, and came to have a Faculty of the Liberal Arts (*kyōyōgakubu*), a liberal arts college inside Tōdai.

III. Job Searches and the Capitalist Reshuffling of the University

Around 1929, the purpose of university education became a target of contestation, as the universities’ old functions of producing elites began to be questioned. A social anxiety that Japanese universities were losing their cultural leadership and that students were interested only in job placement touched the class identity of college intellectuals. Critics problematized infringements on academic freedom at universities and the “corporate-like” function of universities “manufacturing students,” whose “biggest interest” was “employment (*miuri*).”⁴⁰ Some advocates of the liberal-arts ideal,⁴¹ such as Kawai Eijirō, a professor of Tōdai Economics, criticized popular aspirations for higher

³⁹ “Shimon Dainigō Kōtō Futsū Kyōiku ni Kansuru Ken, So no Ichi”, in Kaigo Tokiomi, ed. *Rinji Kyōiku Kaigi No Kenkyū* (Tokyo Tōkyō daigaku shuppankai, 1960), 342-343.

⁴⁰ Morito Tatsuo, ed. *Daigaku no Tenraku* (Tokyo: Dōjinsha, 1930); Aono Suekichi, “Gakusei Seizō Kabushiki Kaisharon”, *Chūō kōron* 45 no.5 (1930); Aono Suekichi, *Sararīman Kyōfu Jidai* (Tokyo: Senshinsha, 1930), 35. Ōmuro Teiichirō, *Gakuhi to Gakusei Seikatsu* (Tokyo: Shakai kyōiku kyōkai, 1936), 29.

⁴¹ Kawai Eijirō, “Daigaku no unmei to shimei,” *IUN*, December 2, 1929, 3; Kawai Eijirō, “Daigaku no unmei to shimei,” *IUN*, December 9, 1929, 3.

education as “driven by vanity, or in expectation of employment rate, the amount of salary, and future status,” and argued for the transfer of students interested only in employment from universities to vocational schools.⁴²

However, a discussion about the changing perception of the university had been underway at Tōdai. In 1924, the *Imperial University News* conducted a survey on professors’ opinions about the current crisis in students’ employment. While some professors were generic or agnostic, saying “I don’t know,” “Leave it as it is,” a group of professors envisioned more proactive solutions such as the establishment of a job search center on campus. Professors agreed that the malfunction of the educational-employment pipeline was a structural issue resulting from the imbalance between demand and supply, and the absence of institutional support for employment.⁴³ For these professors, Kawai’s argument seemed outdated. Around 1930, Yoshida Kumaji, a Tōdai professor in Education, evoked the University Ordinance saying that “Universities aim to teach theories and applications that the state needs,” and advocated that university education and employment were inseparable. According to Yoshida, there were virtually no “gentlemen,” i.e. university graduates, “not doing any certain work.”⁴⁴ Toda Teizō, a Tōdai professor in sociology, considered the idea that “the university is not an institution of vocational training” was outdated, and requested the establishment of a job-search center at Tōdai.⁴⁵

⁴² Kawai Eijirō, *Daiichi Gakusei Seikatsu* (Tokyo: Nihon hyōronsha, 1935), 257-260.

⁴³ “Nyūgakunan to Shūshokunan no Taisaku,” *IUN*, April 4, 1924, 4.

⁴⁴ Kumaji Yoshida, “Daigaku Kyōiku to Shūshoku Mondai,” Teikoku daigaku shinbunsha henshū bu, ed. *Daigaku no unmei to shimei* (Tokyo: Teikoku daigaku shinbunsha, 1930), 175-178.

⁴⁵ Toda Teizō, “Daigaku Nyūgaku to Shūshoku” in Teikoku daigaku shinbunsha, ed. *Gakusei kaikakuron* (Tokyo: Teikoku daigaku shinbunsha, 1934), 279.

By 1930, other universities had established job search centers. In 1924, Meiji University established the Personnel Department (*jinjika*). This department provided an instruction program for job applications, conducted surveys on students' preferences and personalities, and provided the survey results and recommendation letters to business recruiters. Staff of this department helped students avoid internal competition by dividing their applications among different corporations. Soon, similar organizations appeared at Waseda, Keiō, and eventually Tōdai.⁴⁶

In October 1927, authorities at Tōdai Humanities decided to establish a job search program, and in January 1928 they distributed a job search card to students and unemployed alumni. In this card, students printed their name, address, hometown, year of graduation, specialties, and the preferred regions to work.⁴⁷ Based on the information on the cards, in February, the student office of Tōdai Humanities sent letters introducing individual students to potential employers including school principals.⁴⁸ At the same time, Tōdai Humanities organized a directory of alumni employed at four thousand middle schools in Sakhalin, Hokkaidō, Taiwan, China, Hawaii, and Japan proper, to “facilitate the employment” of its graduates.⁴⁹ In the fall of 1931 this network developed into a Tōdai Club (*tōdai kurabu*), which was basically a pressure group for the employment of Tōdai graduates.⁵⁰ The chair of Tōdai Humanities assumed the presidency of the Tōdai

⁴⁶ Sakamoto, *Nihon koyōshi, ge*, 165. Meijidaigaku haykunenshi hensan iinkai, ed. *Meiji Daigaku Hyakunenshi*, vol. 4 (Tokyo: Meijidaigaku, 1994), 170-171; Waseda daigaku daigakushi henshūjo, ed. *Waseda daigaku hyakunenshi*, Vol.3 (Tokyo Waseda daigaku shuppanbu, 1987), 366; “Zenkoku wo Mawari Assen no Rō wo Sagaru,” *IUN*, November 24, 1930, 2.

⁴⁷ “Kondo Bungakubu de Shūshoku Kādo wo Haifu,” *IUN*, January 1, 1928, 7.

⁴⁸ “Shinsetsu na Shōkai ni Mōshikonda Hyakuyomei,” *IUN*, February 6, 1928, 5.

⁴⁹ “Bungakubu Gakuyūkai de Shūshoku no Tebiki,” *IUN*, October 10, 1927, 2.

⁵⁰ “Tōdai Kurabu wo Soshiki, Kyōikusha no Danketsu wo Hakaru,” *IUN*, July 11, 1932, 2.

Club.⁵¹ Paradoxically, the least “professional” faculty came to have the first job search program at Tōdai. Following the precedent of Tōdai Humanities, the Offices of other faculties also engaged in students’ job search,⁵² as did Kyōto Imperial University.⁵³

The provost also began to work on job searches, establishing a Job Search Research Committee for the three hard-sell faculties of law, economics, and humanities. This committee would conduct a survey of student employment and discuss how to establish and manage job search programs at Tōdai.⁵⁴ During the first meeting of this committee in 1931, Suehiro Izutarō and Hozumi Shigetō, both professors of Tōdai law, volunteered to request a “person knowing well the inside story of corporations and banks” for instruction on employment. The personal connections of Tōdai professors mattered in this program. These institutions produced statistics on student employment, and invited businessmen and bureaucrats to give talks about employment. In this way, middle-class formation at Tōdai came to be statistically gauged and managed.⁵⁵

The state joined this institutional support for white-collar employment. Political leaders were anxious about the potential radicalization of unemployed university students

⁵¹ “Bungakubu, Shingakushi Shūshoku Ichiran”, *IUN*, June 12, 1933, 4; Tōdai kurabu, ed. *Tōdai Kurabuin Meibo* (Tokyo: 1937).

⁵² By 1933, each faculty had an Employment Consultation Center (*shūshoku sōdanshitsu*). For instance, the Faculty of Law Office was guiding students’ job search program in 1933. “Izen Kawaranu Nankan ka?” *IUN*, October 30, 1933, p.9; The Faculty of Economics Office deeply involved students’ job application by 1935, prohibiting students’ superfluous back-up applications that hinder other students’ employment. “Kiken Itashimasen no Seiyaku wo Toru: Keizai Shūshoku Futamata wo Ōchō”, *IUN*, January 14, 1935, 9. This power originated from the fact that business recruiters had the Economics Office screen incompetent applicants in the initial stage of selection. “Shūshokusen no Orinasu Jidaishoku: Suisen Tōsei,” *IUN*, January 15, 1934, 9.

⁵³ “Kyōdai Shūshoku Chōsa,” *IUN*, June 11, 1934, 7.

⁵⁴ “Daigaku Tōkyoku Iyoiyo Shūshoku Kikan wo Secchi,” *IUN*, September 21, 1931, 2.

⁵⁵ “Shokutaku wo oite Shūshoku Tōkei wo Tsukuru,” *IUN*, November 2, 1931, 2.

since the turn of the century,⁵⁶ but it was not until 1927 that Tokyo city authorities established a job search center exclusively for “the knowledge class.”⁵⁷ State-managed job search centers, as revealed in Japan’s first job search centers established by Tokyo City in 1911 in Asakusa and Suga along with a public production center (*jusanjō*),⁵⁸ were for workers, but during the employment crisis university students came to be protected by this welfare institution.⁵⁹

This development did not mean the annihilation of the liberal arts ideal at universities, however. Since the birth of the modern business in Japan, business leaders considered the liberal arts, such as “philosophy,” a preferred qualification of salaried workers.⁶⁰ During the interwar employment crisis some business leaders demanded the lowering of student expectations for jobs and vocational training at universities. But, some business leaders endorsed the liberal-arts ideal and the class identity of collegiate intellectuals. For instance, Mitsui Bank president Dan Takuma asked university authorities to make a greater effort on behalf of students’ “cultivation (*kyōyō*),” and demanded a reduced work load for students for their cultivation.⁶¹ Daiichi Life Insurance president Yano Tsuneta strongly criticized social aspirants’ “investment” in higher education, which was making universities “vocational schools.”⁶² Like Kawai, they

⁵⁶ Machida Yūichi, *Kindai Nihon to “Kōtō Yūmin”*: *Shakai Mondaika Suru Chishiki Seinensō* (Tokyo: Yoshikawa kōbunkan, 2010).

⁵⁷ “Chishiki Kaikyū wo Senmon no Shōkaijo”, *Tokyo Asahi Shinbun* (yūkan), April 27, 1927, 2.

⁵⁸ Tōkyōshi Shokugyō Shōkaijo, *Tōkyōshi Shokugyō Shōkaijo Nenpō*, No.2, 1913, 1.

⁵⁹ Machida, *Kindai nihon to “Kōtō yūmin”*, 214.

⁶⁰ For instance, Yamamoto, *Risōteki kaishain*, 102-116.

⁶¹ Dan Takuma, “Daigaku oyobi Senmon Gakkō Sotsugyōsha Shūshokunan no Taisaku”, in Nihon Keizei Renmeikai, ed. *Daigaku oyobi Senmongakkō Sotsugyōsha Shūshoku Mondai Ikenshū* (Tokyo, 1930), 49.

⁶² Yano Tsuneta, “Daigaku Sotsugyōsha no Shūshokunan ni Tsuite”, Nihon Keizei Renmeikai, ed. *Daigaku Oyobi Senmongakkō Sotsugyōsha Shūshoku Mondai Ikenshū*, 54-55.

criticized the educational aspirations of the “poor” who seemed to overcrowd higher educational institutions in pursuit only of jobs.⁶³

Business leaders not only endorsed the liberal-arts ideal, but also commoditized “cultivation” as a capitalist value. Business executives considered university graduates cultured and good at setting up general plans and leading a group, while others were “a little inferior” in this job.⁶⁴ The perceived superiority of cultured elites translated into higher salaries and positions.⁶⁵ Business executives considered university graduates, who “have their own opinions,” candidates for executive positions, and vocational-school graduates, who “strictly follow the seniors,” adequate for the positions of lay clerks.⁶⁶ In this remark, the liberal-arts education was being reshuffled to fit capitalist values.

However contested these suggestions, the way that students considered the capitalist reshuffling of university education was simple: they should be good at everything. A student, in his essay “The sorrow of university students,” argued that university students had to be good at executive ability, not to be “flippant modern boys (radicals),” and to have the virtue of “leading a majority of people as the knowledge

⁶³ Nihon keizai renmeikai, ed. *Daigaku oyobi Senmon Gakkō Sotsugyōsha Shūshoku Mondai Ni Kansuru Chōsa Shiryō* (Tokyo, 1929), 100-103, 107-110.

⁶⁴ *Ibid.*, 42.

⁶⁵ For instance, in 1929, four years after employment, university graduates monthly received 75 yen on average, while graduates from vocational schools 55 yen. Kōga Saburō, “Saraīman wa do no Teido no Gakkō ni Yamu Beki Ka: Senmon Teido de Yameta Kō to Daigaku made Susunda Otsu to no Yonjūgosai made no Seikatsu Hikaku,” *Saraīman* 2, no. 11 (1929): 55.

⁶⁶ Nihon keizai renmeikai, *Daigaku oyobi Senmon Gakkō Sotsugyōsha Shūshoku Mondai ni Kansuru Chōsa Shiryō*, 37. The class identity of university students was defended also by collegiate intellectuals’ response to business leaders’ opinions. Ōuchi Hyōe, a professor at Tōdai Economics, epitomized the opinions into simple suggestions: “Emigrate abroad”; “Be peasants (*hyakushō*)”; “Be cops (*junsa*)”; “Be elementary-school teachers,” and addressed that “these are not plausible options at all.” Ōuchi Hyōe, “Shūshokunan Jidai no Daigaku Kyōiku” in *Teikoku daigaku shinbunsha henshūbu*, ed. *Daigaku no Unmei to Shimei* (Tokyo: Teikoku daigaku shinbunsha, 1930), 170.

class.”⁶⁷ While so doing, students were asked to enter departments popular to recruiters,⁶⁸ and to excel in the classroom as well.⁶⁹ At this point, middle-class values became a requirement for white-collar promotion, creating anxieties about the agency of middling citizens.

But, all these discussions and efforts did not end the employment crisis. The overall employment rate of Tōdai students, especially humanities students, did not rise until the mid-1930s. The overall employment rate of students from law, economics, and humanities at Tōdai was 35 percent in 1931, and 48 percent in 1932. In other words, the discussions and efforts of collegiate intellectuals, university authorities, the state, and business leaders to fight the employment crisis helped to elaborate employment practices but could not significantly create jobs.

IV. War and the Vitalization of the Educational-Employment Pipeline

The war prompted the end of these gloomy market conditions. The establishment of *Manchukuo*, a puppet state in Japanese Manchuria, provided a new territory for white-collar employment as well as stimulating new business visions in the main islands. University authorities and students did not start the war, but they swiftly paid attention to its potential benefits. Right after the birth of *Manchukuo*, bureaucrats, business leaders, and university administrators organized a Tokyo City Knowledge Class Job Search

⁶⁷ Recited from Ōuchi, “Shūshokunan Jidai no Daigaku Kyōiku,” 172.

⁶⁸ “Shūshokuritsu mo Warukunaku Nyūshi mo Mondai de nai”, *IUN*, December 10, 1928, 4.

⁶⁹ Zen Keinosuke, the president of Japan Collective Life Insurance (*nihon dantai seimei hoken*), pointed out that “students with good grades will [would] be employed in the end.” Zen Keinosuke, “Jitsugyōka Yori”, in Eijirō Kawai, ed. *Gakusei to Shakai* (Tokyo: Nihon hyōronsha, 1938), 414.

Committee to find jobs in Manchuria, while making a series of inspection trips.⁷⁰ In 1932, the *Manchukuo* government established a training center for high bureaucrats, the Datong Institute [大同学院], which recruited its students from universities in Japan.⁷¹ This recruitment received significant attention from Tōdai students. Roughly 10 percent of the third-year students submitted applications and 18 students entered the institution.⁷²

In addition, the war increased the capacity of the Japanese business community and the state bureaucracy to employ university graduates. In 1933, the employment rate of Tōdai Engineering hit 91.9 percent, significantly jumping from 77 percent in 1932, while Tōdai Economics reached 70 percent, marking an increase from 52 percent in 1932. Also, 80 percent of students from Tōdai Agriculture procured jobs in 1933, rising from 59 percent in 1932.⁷³ The benefit of the war boom eventually spilt over to other faculties. From 1935, law students enjoyed “mass employment” from diverse employers, i.e. the state, corporations, banks, etc.,⁷⁴ and their employment rate marked around 90 percent from 1939.⁷⁵ Students from Tōdai Humanities, whose employers were usually middle schools, also experienced a diversification of employers. In November 1935, professors began to try to sell students in psychology, sociology, and education, with their “special function (*tokushu kinō*)”, i.e., personnel management in factories, department stores,

⁷⁰ “Manshūkoku ni Shucchōjo wo Mōke yo: Chishiki Kaikyū no Shokugyō Shōkai Uchiawase,” *IUN*, March 14, 1932, 7. “Shin Manshūkoku no Shisatsu ni Kyōju Tsuzuite Tairiku e: Shūshoku Kaitaku ni Honbu de mo Shōrei,” *IUN*, April 11, 1932, 7; “Manshū Koku no Shisatsu ni Kōgakubu no Sanshi Toman,” *IUN*, June 13, 1932, 2.

⁷¹ “Hayaku mo Manshūkoku kara Tairyō Saiyō no Mōshikomi: Hōkeibunnō Shusshinsha Shichijū Mei,” *IUN*, December 12, 1932, 2; “Manshūkoku e no Daiippo: Daidōgakuin Senpatsu wa Hongaku de,” *IUN*, January 30, 1933, 7.

⁷² “Manshū yuki Shibō no Gakusei Senpatsu ni Kaku Daigaku ga Sekkyoku Taido: Nihyakumei Boshū no Kan Chigahi Daitō Gakuin no Keii ni Kangamite,” *IUN*, April 24, 1933, 2.

⁷³ “Shingkaushi Shūshoku Ichiran,” *IUN*, June 12, 1933, 4.

⁷⁴ “Hōgakubu,” *IUN*, June 23, 1941, 1.

⁷⁵ “Hōgakushi no Ginkōin Sakunen ni Baika,” *IUN*, June 17, 1935, 2.

etc.⁷⁶ In 1936, students from the Sociology department achieved 75 percent rate of employment, by diversifying their employers, and in 1941, the overall employment rate of Tōdai Humanities reached 87.8 percent.⁷⁷ The overall employment rate of Tōdai students reached 95 percent around 1940. Although the national average of the employment rate of university graduates was generally lower than at Tōdai, by 1940 74 percent of total university graduates procured jobs.⁷⁸

Under these circumstances the power relations between employers and job seekers changed once again. At the end of 1935, newcomer employers, including those called new *zaibatsu*, aggressively tried to employ students even before the beginning of the recruit season negotiated in 1928 among the big six employers (Japan Bank, Daiichi Bank, Yokohama Standard Bank, Mitsui, Mitsubishi, and Yasuda). These six employers planned their employment tests before students' graduation.⁷⁹ In this way, the narrow educational-employment pipeline at the turn of the century was expanded not only from the job-seeker side but also from the employer side. The intra-collegiate employment practice responded to this change. In 1937, the faculties of Law and Economics decided not to control students' applications for identical jobs.⁸⁰

The state also intervened and complicated labor market politics. In August 1938, following the passing of the National Mobilization Law, the cabinet enacted an edict controlling the employment of university graduates. This edict pointed mainly to students in engineering as the target of employment controls. According to contemporary

⁷⁶ “Tokushukinō’no urikomi ni kyōju ga jintō ni okotsu,” *IUN*, November 11, 1935, p.2.

⁷⁷ “Bungakubu,” *IUN*, June 23, 1941, 1.

⁷⁸ Kōseishō shakaikyoku, ed. *Shōwa Jūninendo Chishiki Kaikyū Shūshoku ni Kansuru Shiryō* (Tokyo: Kōseishō shakaikyoku, 1938), 7; “Shichiwari yonpun ga shūshoku,” *IUN*, June 10, 1940, 9.

⁷⁹ “Shū shokujin ni ichidai gufū, Rokusha Kyōtei Haiki Saru,” *IUN*, September 23, 1935, 2.

⁸⁰ “Hōkei Gakunai Senkei Haishi,” *IUN*, September 20, 1937, 11.

newspapers in October 1938, nine employers were competing to hire one student from Engineering. The Minister of Welfare would convene a Student Employment Control Committee to mediate the white-collar employment of these hot prospects. This committee allotted students in engineering and mining to the necessary employers for war efforts after 1939. 7,000 students were allotted for employers in Japan proper, while 3,000 were sent to employers abroad.⁸¹ As the educational-employment pipeline became a competitive terrain for employers, the state tried to procure graduates of law and economics. By 1939, employers began to recruit as early as June, even before the Civil Examination. In May 1939, the Minister of Education summoned the staff of the employers and asked them to begin the employment process only after the Civil Examinations.⁸²

The expansion of state power assumed a critical role in diluting the collar line in employment practices. Public job search centers began to mediate employers and graduates from elementary schools under the supervision of the Home and Education Ministries. The so-called “linked elementary schools” (*renraku shōgakkō*), whose number reached 5,685 by 1934, submitted information about their students to these centers. In postwar Japan, these centers became the Stable Employment Centers (*shokugyō anteijo*) and began to link high schools and blue-collar employers.⁸³

⁸¹ “Kōkōgyō no Shinsotsugyōsei Ichi Tai Kyū no Sōdatsusen,” *Tokyo Asahi Shinbun*, October 4, 1938, 2; “Sōdōin no ni chokurei kōfu,” *Tokyo Asahi Shinbun*, August 24, 1938, 2; “Sōtsugyōsha Shiyō Seigen Inkaikai Kaisoku Kettei,” *Tokyo Asahi Shinbun*, October 8, 1938, 2; “Kōkōgakkō Sotsugyōsha Wariate Hōshin Kessu,” *Tokyo Asahi Shinbun*, November 17, 1938, 2; “Kōkōgakkō Sotsugyōsei Meinen no Wariate Kessu,” *Tokyo Asahi Shinbun*, October 14, 1938, 2.

⁸² “Ginkō, Kaisha Daihyō wo Atsume Monbushō de Kondankai: Hōkei no Kyūnin Kyōsō Kanwa e”, *IUN*, May 22, 1939, 2.

⁸³ Sugayama, “*Shūsha*” *Shakai no Tanjō*, 340-341, 170, 187.

Despite the continuing contestation of the educational-employment pipeline, one thing was clear. University graduates came to have more choices and possibilities in their white-collar employment. The educational-employment pipeline began to operate smoothly thanks to the war, which was endorsed by the educated job seekers. Also, paradoxically, the vitalization of the educational-employment pipeline compromised the direct link between students' major at Tōdai and their jobs after graduation, an old dream of liberal-arts education.

V. Competition, Class Identity, and the Expansion of Higher Education

The masses provided a human source in the rise and expansion of higher education. As historian Mark Jones documented, students who excelled surfaced as heroic figures cherished by their families and society.⁸⁴ Students found a variety of brokers of education—publishers that informed them of the test questions of entrance examinations, cram schools that helped them hone their foreign languages and math skills to prepare for the tests. These aspiring masses were encouraged, denigrated, and sympathized with, were also a driving force in the rise of mass higher education in modern Japan.

Tōdai assumed a complicated role in mediating the aspiring masses and the middle-class status of these aspirants. Tōdai provided its graduates as professors at new universities in their initial stages. However, the expansion of university education entailed an iron clad institutional hierarchy in Japan. Students' preferences worked as a

⁸⁴ Jones, *Children as Treasures*, 174, 178.

primary force in this process. In 1902, five years after the creation of Kyōto Imperial University, 80 percent of high school students headed to Tōdai. During the 1930s, the competition rate to enter Tōdai was two to one, whereas 80 percent of applicants for Kyōdai were successful.⁸⁵ Also, aside from Hokkaidō and Keijō Imperial Universities, which had feeder schools (*yoka*) of their own, imperial universities except Tōdai and Kyōdai had a hard time recruiting high school graduates.⁸⁶ The expansion of hold-overs (*hakusen rōnin*), students who failed the entrance exam and were waiting to reapply the following year, testified to how students endorsed Tōdai's supremacy over other institutions. Tōdai was the primary battlefield for these holdovers. In the two most competitive faculties at Tōdai, medicine and engineering, the number of hold-over entrants outnumbered new graduates in 1938.⁸⁷

The hierarchy among universities similarly affected high schools. As the number of high schools increased from eight to 32 during the interwar period, rates of acceptance to Tōdai became a descriptor of the health of high school programs. Brokers of educational credentials unabashedly endorsed this hierarchy.⁸⁸ In a guidebook for middle-school graduates in 1938, one author provided four criteria for choosing which high school to attend: the fame or content of the programs, the rate of university entrance, distance from home, and the difficulty of entrance.⁸⁹ In the pages of the magazine *Taking*

⁸⁵ Amano Ikuo, *Kōtōkyōiku no Jidai, ge: Taishūka Daigaku no Genzō* (Tokyo: Chūō kōronsha, 2013), 164.

⁸⁶ Tōhoku and Kyūshū suffered from chronic under-application and admitted graduates from vocational schools. Amano, *Kōtōkyōiku no Jidai, ge*, 157-158.

⁸⁷ "Sakimon, Genyakugun ni Muzukashi," *IUN*, April 25, 1938, 8.

⁸⁸ An author argued that "smart students should go to the First or Third Higher Schools." Wada Michi, *Jōkyū Gakkō Shōkai oyobi Juken Taisaku* (Tokyo: Seiundō shoten, 1936), 37.

⁸⁹ Ōbunsha henshūbu, ed. *Zenkoku Jōkyū Gakkō Taikan* (Tokyo Ōbunsha, 1938), 4.

Examinations and Students, Tōdai students let middle-school students know how to choose high schools by reflecting on their own experiences.⁹⁰

Tōdai was the home not only of advocates of liberal-arts education who denigrated the blind educational credentialism of the masses, but also of assistants of educational mobility. Beginning in 1925, the Tōdai newspaper published the questions of the entrance examination.⁹¹ From 1925, detailed statistics and analysis on the success rate of Tōdai entrance for high schools every year appeared in the pages of the *Imperial University News*.⁹² The practice of producing statistics on the high school origins of Tōdai entrants continued after the war.⁹³ Professors who graded the answers of applicants published their general evaluations and impressions.⁹⁴ Advertisements for cram schools decorated the pages of this newspaper.

Under these circumstances, college programs came to be defined by the job prospects of their graduates and the skills required in passing their entrance examinations. For instance, a writer of the *Imperial University News* in 1935 introduced the Faculty of Tōdai by the contents of the course, the market situation for their graduates, and the schedules and skills tested in the entrance examination, and the physical test.⁹⁵ In this situation, college programs began to be considered as a competitive foothold as part of class formation through long years at schools, where students mobilized their lives to enter middle-class employment. The economic recession and employment crisis of

⁹⁰ Tōkyō teidai kōgakubu S I sei, “Kōtō Gakkō no Sentakuhō,” *Juken to Gakusei* 13, no. 8 (1930).

⁹¹ For instance, “Taishō Jūyonendo Tōdai Nyūgakushiken Mondai,” *IUN*, April 20, 1926, 4-5.

⁹² *IUN*, April 20, 1925, 3.

⁹³ “Shūsshinkō Betsu Nyūgakushasū,” *Tokyo daigaku gakusei shinbun*, April 8, 1949, 1.

⁹⁴ For instance, “Kaku Kyōju ni Saiten wo Kiku,” *IUN*, March 27, 1936, 1.

⁹⁵ “Jitsugyōkai e mo Shinchō, Dentō no Tsuyomi: Gakubu Shōkai, Hōgakubu,” *IUN*, November 5, 1934, 5; “Tōdai Nyūgaku Annai: Gakubu Shōkai, Rigakubu,” *IUN*, October 28, 1935, 5.

university graduates did not dampen competition for Tōdai credentials. Even during the economic recession, parents of middle-school students competitively sent their children to high schools and universities.

The competition for higher education stimulated the expansion of higher education. Until the interwar period, the establishment of high schools and imperial universities was a product of regional and alumni interests of the source schools. However, during the Temporary Educational Council in 1918, the imbalance between the number of the applicants and entrants at higher educational institutions became a focus of discussion, and eventually the so-called “Tōdai faction” in the decision-making community changed their opinion to support the mass establishment of educational facilities. Sawayanagi Masatarō, the president of the Imperial Education Society of Tōdai, submitted a proposal for the establishment of additional higher educational facilities. According to Sawayanagi, harsh competition resulting from the imbalance was making students “blindly study for tests,” and “lose health.”⁹⁶ In other words, the ideal of character training compelled Sawayanagi to endorse the people’s aspirations for higher education. From 1918 to 1931, the number of high schools quadrupled from eight to 32, and the number of universities increased from five to 47.

After WWI, the logic of educational expansion changed. “Equal opportunity for education” was a key social agenda of educators, party politicians, and bureaucrats. From this point, education was considered a right rather than a privilege.⁹⁷ Although the mass expansion of higher education had not come true until 1945, the Occupation Reform

⁹⁶ Kaigo, *Rinji Kyōiku Shingikai no Kenkyū*, 430-456, 432.

⁹⁷ For the details of this process, Hans Martin Krämer, “The Prewar Roots of Equality of Opportunity: Japanese Educational Ideal in the Twentieth Century,” *Monumenta Niponica* 61, no. 4 (2006).

brought compulsory middle-school education and the abolition of the gender barrier in higher education producing a plethora of candidates for university entrance. By 1970, roughly 20 percent of all Japanese students entered university, and this number steadily increased to 50 percent in 2008. In this way, the class-based liberal arts ideal paradoxically endorsed the expansion of education, compromising the exclusive nature of the middle class in postwar Japan.

VI. From the Gentleman to the Salaryman: The Institutionalization of Middle-Class Life and Its Social Persona

The rise of an institutionalized middle-class life course materialized and fleshed out the social persona of the middle class. In late nineteenth century Japan, new social elites procured a persona called gentleman or *shinshi* [紳士]. *Shinshi* was originally a Chinese word *shenshi* [紳士], which is a compound word of *shen* [紳], retired bureaucrats, and *shi* [士], successful applicants for at least the first-level of civil examinations in late imperial China. But, when Japanese writers chose this word to translate “gentleman” or “*gentilhomme*” in Western languages in the 1870s and 1880s, “*shinshi*” purveyed a strongly spiritual connotation. In his *Self-help*, Samuel Smiles described an ideal of a modern man who was an architect of his individual character, nation, and industry, and suggested that meritocracy, a proper marriage life, thrift, and health management were sub-values of the gentlemanly character.⁹⁸ Japanese writers

⁹⁸ This book was originally published in 1857, but I am using the 1866 version. Samuel Smiles, *Self-Help: With Illustrations of Character, Conduct, and Perseverance* (New York: A. L. Burt, 1866), 301.

developed their own gentleman discourses around the turn of the century, endowed a spiritual connotation to this persona of the middle class. The “essence” of the “gentleman,” according to Aneo, author of the *Greater Japan Gentleman Directory*, did not lie in their wealth or appearance but in their efforts to “keep their dignity and exert their sincerity.”⁹⁹ This meritocratic and egalitarian vision centered on personality persisted well into twentieth-century Japan. In his *Gentleman Reader* published in 1903, Hōchi newspaper journalist Kamishima Nagahisa expressed his antipathy toward the gentlemen who procured their social status by marriage or inheritance. “British gentlemen,” he continued, “regardless of their family background or social status, are treated as respectable gentlemen only if their personalities match gentlemanliness.”¹⁰⁰

Once created, the idea of the gentleman was swiftly incorporated into the discourse of the middle-class family ideal. For Kamishima the gentleman was supposed to construct harmonious families and homes. Criticizing Japanese husbands who were “like absolute monarchs,” Kawashima asked “gentlemen” to choose good wives who could match their husbands’ “intelligence, virtue, and soundness.” Also, when begetting children, gentlemen, as “leaders of homes (*katei no chōsha*),” were supposed to accomplish “familial harmony (*ikka no waraku*),” and be a “paragon for the entire society.”¹⁰¹

At the same time, Japanese intellectuals came to have their own Samuel Smiles who reinvented the nature of the *samurai* to showcase morally disciplined aspirants in Japan to the Westerners. In his bestseller *Bushido, the Soul of Japan*, published in 1900 in

⁹⁹ Aneo, *Dainihon Shinshikan*, 1.

¹⁰⁰ Nagahisa Kamishima, *Shinshi Dokuhon* (Tokyo: Hōbundō, 1903), 31.

¹⁰¹ Kamishima, *Shinshi dokuhon*, 50-58, 58-65.

America, Nitobe Inazō presented the way of the samurai as a “code of moral principles” that included fair play, honor, justice, courage, frugality, self-discipline, benevolence, urbanity, and politeness. Nitobe named aspiring students as the biggest successors of samurai, thus showing the significance of meritocracy in modern Japan.

Have you seen in your tour of Japan many a young man with unkempt hair, dressed in shabbiest garb, carrying in his hand a large cane or a book, strolling about the streets with an air of utter indifference to mundane things? He is the *shosei* [書生, student], to whom the earth is too small and the heavens are not high enough. He has his own theories of the universe and of life. He dwells in castles of air and feeds on ethereal words of wisdom. In his eyes beams the fire of ambition; his mind is athirst for knowledge. Penury is only a stimulus to drive him onward; worldly goods are in his sight shackles to his character. He is the repository of loyalty and patriotism. He is the self-imposed guardian of national honour. With all his virtues and his faults, he is the last fragment of *Bushido*.¹⁰²

Nitobe also incorporated his vision for social aspiration and morality into the ideal of the Victorian home. In an article titled “The Gentlemanly Way,” Nitobe pointed out that samurai, who “harassed women, embraced concubines, and abused their wives,” could not be the model of social mores, and championed a proper relationship and morality between male and female.¹⁰³

The idea of the spirited gentleman permeated Japan’s fledgling higher educational institutions. As historians have documented, the founding fathers of Japan’s education defined the purpose of high schools as creating the “gentleman (*shinshi*),” “a man who regardless of wealth, status, or profession, elevates his willpower and keeps his thoughts clear and pure.”¹⁰⁴ An author in the magazine *Student* understood middle-school students as the “future middle class and above (*chūryū ijō*),” who were directly linked to “the

¹⁰² Nitobe, *Bushido, the Soul of Japan*, 35, 37, 65, 104, 44.

¹⁰³ Nitobe, “Shinshidō,” 11-12.

¹⁰⁴ Toita Tomoyoshi, *Kyūsei Kōtō Gakkō Kyōiku No Seiritsu* (Tokyo Mineruva shobō, 1975), 86-87. Recited from Roden, *Schooldays in Imperial Japan: A Study in the Culture of a Student Elite*, 46.

civilization of a society and affecting the prosperity of a nation.”¹⁰⁵ In this process, the gentleman idea, the educated, and the middle class intermingled in the popular language of meritocracy.

The gentleman, the spirited persona of the late nineteenth-century middle class, gradually lost its spiritual quality as the educational-employment pipeline began to take shape. Already in 1894, Matsumura Ninzō, a doctor of science, pointed out that “many contemporary youths were foolish and obnoxious gentlemen,” due to contemporary Japanese education neglecting “moral or personality education.”¹⁰⁶ Their discomfort, however, could not quell social aspirations toward higher education. Publications to guide social aspirants continued. In 1911, contemporaries saw as problematic “parents who borrow money to have their sons study.”¹⁰⁷ This anxiety over tainted gentlemanliness reveals that as higher education began to attract the social aspirations of the masses the gentlemanly ideal of morality and spirit was gradually overshadowed in the arena of commodified higher education.

Capitalist developments in Japan also de-spiritualized and debased the perception of the gentleman. In the 1924 version of the *Japan Gentleman Directory* (*nihon shinshiroku*), the author defined gentleman with three terms: urban living, wealth, and renown. Each criterion had a different significance in this definition but the regional factor was absolute. In this directory, gentlemen were living in Japan’s “ten biggest cities (in 1924, Tokyo, Hachiōji, Osaka, Kyōto, Yokohama, Kōbe, Sendai, Nagoya, Hiroshima, and Fukuoka) and their vicinities.” Except for Hiroshima, the hometowns of the *samurai*

¹⁰⁵ “Chūgaku Kyōikusha ni Uttafu,” *Gakusei* 1 no.7 (1910), 25.

¹⁰⁶ Matsumura Ninzō, “Bunmeiteki shinshi no shikaku,” *Seikō* 4, no.4 (1900), 17.

¹⁰⁷ Tanaka hozumi, “gakkō shushinsha no shūshokunan no mondai”, *Gakusei* 2, no.4 (1911), 50-56.

heroes in the Meiji Restoration, i.e. Satsuma, Tosa, and Hizen were excluded from the list.

Among the residents of urban and suburban areas, those who satisfied either the criterion of wealth or renown could put their names in this directory. The editor gauged gentleman-level wealth by the amount of a man's tax duty: more than 40 yen per year in income tax or more than 60 yen a year in business taxes.¹⁰⁸ Based on the contemporary tax rate, we can calculate the threshold level of a gentleman's salary: a yearly income of 2,235 yen (taxed at a rate of four percent with the tax exemption of 49.40 yen), thus a monthly income of 186.25 yen.¹⁰⁹ This amount still falls into the category of the middle-class level salary in the 1922 Tokyo city survey on middle-class living (between 60 and 250 yen). The partial overlapping of the middle class and gentleman can also be testified to by a compound word, "middle-class gentlemen (*chūryū shinshi*)."¹¹⁰ The other qualification for being counted as a "gentleman" in this directory, renown, was not clearly defined, but we could make an inference from the description of the 100,000 gentlemen in this directory. The listed gentlemen who did not pay 40 yen of income tax or 60 yen of business tax included university or vocational school professors, members of the house of peers, bureaucrats, and members of the chamber of commerce.¹¹¹ In other words, educational, business, and political prominence constituted renown. In this way, the material idea of the gentleman embraced capitalism and the modern educational

¹⁰⁸ Kōjunsha, ed., *Nihon Shinshiroku* (Tokyo: Kōjunsha, 1924), 1.

¹⁰⁹ Dōkōkai hōsei kenkyūbu, ed. *Genkō Zeiritsu narabini Nōki Binran* (Tokyo: Hōbunkan, 1927), 3-4. But, according to historian Teranishi Jūrō, if including the local tax, the tax rate for ordinary white-collar workers is roughly between 3 and 13 percent. Teranishi Jūrō, *Senzenki Nihon No Kin'yū Sisutemu* (Tokyo: Iwanami shoten, 2011), 755; Dōkōkai hōsei kenkyūbu, *Genkō Zeiritsu Narabini Nōki Binran*, 9.

¹¹⁰ "Jidai no kaoku (1): Chūryū Shinshi Teitaku Madorizu," *Tokyo Asahi Shinbun*, November 8, 1910, 6.

¹¹¹ Kōjunsha, *Nihon Shinshiroku*, Tokyo Part, 591; Osaka part, 154; Kyoto part, 77.

system.

At the same time, the idea of the gentleman was losing its specific meaning in certain kinds of accomplishment. In the interwar period, cultural qualifications became the rhetoric of classless commercial promotion and social norms. A map publisher, Yūbunkan, published the *Guidebook for Gentlemen about Trains in Tokyo and Its Vicinities*,¹¹² while other authors tried to sell the skill of writing letters, visiting, phone-calling, giving presents, and traveling, or peddlers talking to customers.¹¹³ “Gentlemen” came to mean simply men, as in the case of gentlemen’s wear (*shinshifuku*) or a gentlemen’s toilet room in public spaces in the later periods.

Following the transformation of the gentleman idea, the “salaryman (*sararīman*)” who was employed at corporations, became a dominant image of the middle class. While the idea of white-collar workers in the *Ideal Clerkmanship* had a strong spiritual and nationalist connotation,¹¹⁴ in 1915, an author observed that schools became a “white-collar factory (*shiyōnin seizō kaisha*)” which produces commodity-like students,¹¹⁵ while youths pursued education just for their post-graduation salaries, rather than establishing a “firm philosophy of life.”¹¹⁶ “The middle-class,” the author continued, “were more precarious” than “the lower class,” given their extensive consumption needs, such as for suits.¹¹⁷

By the late 1920s, Maeda Hajime, a businessman from Tōdai, provided an

¹¹² Yūbunkan henshūbu, ed. *Shinshi Hikkei Shinai Kōgai Tōkyō Densha Annai* (Tokyo: Yūbunkan, 1926).

¹¹³ Fuchida Tadayoshi, *Shinshi Jukujo Jōshiki Dokuhon* (Tokyo: Dainihon yūbenkai kōdansha, 1934); Miura Yoshimichi, *Gaimu Kyōikuron, Shinshi no Denkei to Shite no Gaimuin* (Tokyo: Ganshodō shoten, 1929).

¹¹⁴ Yamamoto, *Risōteki kaishain*, 3-4.

¹¹⁵ Satō Uhei, *Kaishain Monogatari* (Tokyo Satōshuppanbu, 1915), 1.

¹¹⁶ Ibid.

¹¹⁷ Satō, *Kaishain Monogatari*, 22-23.

anatomy of the salaryman, the new icon of the middle class. In his *Stories of the Salaryman* (*sararīman monogatari*) published in 1928,¹¹⁸ the salaryman, “however it may be called—salaried workers (*hōkyū seikatsusha*), office workers (*tsutomenin*), salary takers (*gekkyū tori*), western clothes paupers (*yōfuku saimin*), and lunchbox carriers (*koshiben*),” was understood “as part of a big category called the ‘middle class (*chūsan kaikyū*).”¹¹⁹ Maeda developed the definition of the salaryman in terms of job, education, and culture—white-collar workers in business corporations and the state bureaucracy, graduates from middle schools or higher, and people of modest means or middle-class and below. Here, middle-class was explained as a competitive life-long pursuit from employment to retirement motivated, if not enforced, from the economic precariousness that one’s “salary is the only source for living.”¹²⁰

Maeda’s middle-class idea can be epitomized as the economically modest but culturally elite. Salary was the only source for the livelihood of the salaryman, but it was insufficient. Maeda supported his ideas with statistics on the salaries and living expenses of white-collar workers, which became easily available thanks to social surveys in interwar Japan. Through the overview of the starting salaries at corporations and the state bureaucracy, Maeda pointed out the tight economic pressures that most salaried workers were suffering. The statistics Maeda collected revealed that the salaryman and his family spent 140 yen per month, but not many salaried workers could earn that amount.¹²¹ Nevertheless, according to Maeda, the salaryman could not easily lower their living standards: “Then you may ask why not lower the living standard? ... Lowering the living

¹¹⁸ Maeda Hajime, *Sararīman Monogatari* (Tokyo Tōyōkeizai shuppanbu, 1928).

¹¹⁹ *Ibid*, 1.

¹²⁰ *Ibid*, 68.

¹²¹ *Ibid*, 140.

standard would deny the joy of life (*jinsei no ikigahi*)—all kinds of fun and social life, which the dignity of the salaryman cannot stand.”¹²² In short, the consumption demands of modern living—clothing, leisure, and child education etc.—made the salaryman both economically modest and culturally elite. Given the tight budget for being culturally elite, an emergency from medical or economic issues could be lethal to the lifestyle of the salaryman.¹²³

Middle-class living, in Maeda’s conceptualization, was a life-long pursuit, not of a tentative moment. In this book, the salaryman goes through various phases of life—employment, a probationary (*minarai*) period, earning salaries and bonuses (*jōyokin*) after becoming a regular white-collar worker, promotion, and retirement with severance pay. This course of life entailed a great deal of consumption—suits, transportation, housing etc.—sometimes supported by loans from banks or part-time work and rented housing. In interwar Japan, salaried workers found even marriage an object of consumption.¹²⁴

The salaries gradually rose, roughly 10 percent every two or three years, and according to the contemporary common sense, Maeda notes that “He can claim the graduation from his lunch-box-holder status with 300 yen of salary after ten years of work.” However, “if they spend more money,” graduating from the salaryman status was not that simple. “They have a housekeeper and babies. If their expenditure exceeds their income,” noted Maeda, “lunch-box-holders are lunch-box-holders forever. When you see lunchbox-holders, in their old age, hard up from living without saving much in pursuit of

¹²² Ibid, 140-141.

¹²³ Ibid, 151.

¹²⁴ “Gekkyū ga Ikura Attara Waifu ga Moteruka,” *Sararīman* 2, no.5 (1929): 62-64.

their first sons' middle-school entrance, don't you want to say, though this is not a line of a famous person, 'salaried workers are damned (*sumajikimono*).'"¹²⁵

In the backdrop of this struggling middle-class life was the receding dream of becoming executives (*jūyaku*) in corporations. In the first volume of the journal *Salaryman*, Takahashi Kamekichi, an economic analyst, urged salaried workers to "realize that you cannot become executives" and to consider how to "manage [your] living."¹²⁶ In this situation, salaried workers were recommended to prepare for their post-retirement life and to do part-time work to supplement their tight budget, rather than becoming leaders of Japanese economy.¹²⁷

The salaryman idea resonated with its global development, but a look at the West was nuanced. For instance, in 1931 the journal *Salaryman* published a special issue on "Scenes of salaryman in the world", in which businessmen, bankers, and residents in foreign countries introduced salaried workers' life in their places—America, France, Britain, Germany, China, Russia, and Italy.¹²⁸ Here, these authors revealed the rise of a global white-collar culture—dwellings, housewifery, household savings, leisure, and social insurance. The outward gaze naturally exposed what the Japanese salaryman did not have while foreign countries had, and *vice versa*. While explaining the flexible

¹²⁵ Maeda, *Sararīman monogatari*, 120-121.

¹²⁶ Takahashi Kamekichi, "Zen Nihon no Sararīman Shokun wa Ika ni Kōdō Subekika," *Sararīman* 1, no.1 (1928): 7-8.

¹²⁷ Ikeda Tōshirō, "'Sararīman Kaikyū no Rōgo no Kōfuku wo Hoshōsuru Sujimichi' ni Tsuite Gosōdan," *Sararīman* 1, no.4 (1928): 80; "Sararīman Muki no Naishoku Kenkyū," *Sararīman* 2, no.2 (1929).

¹²⁸ Fukuta Renzō, "Amerika no Sarariman Fūkei," *Sararīman* 4, no.3 (1931); Nomura Hidekichi, "Furansu no Sarariman Fūkei," *Sararīman* 4, no.3 (1931); Eshiri Shōichi, "Igirisu no Sarariman Fūkei," *Sararīman* 4, no.3 (1931); Machida Sadanosuke, "Doitsu no Sarariman Fūkei," *Sararīman* 4, no.3 (1931); Takagi Rikurō, "Shinkō Shina no Sarariman Fūkei," *Sararīman* 4, no.3 (1931); Ayase Atsurō, "Sekishoku Roshia no Sarariman Fūkei," *Sararīman* 4, no.3 (1931); Kiyoura Matsu, "Kuroshatsu no Kuni, Itarī no Sarariman Fūkei," *Sararīman* 4, no.7 (1931).

personnel policies in American corporations, the author reveals the inflexible personnel policies in their Japanese equivalent. The unemployment insurance in Germany naturally related to the absence of a similar system in Japan.

In this process, the salaryman became an icon of modern living whose lifestyles and life paths were conceptualized with statistics and global comparisons. The salaryman was not just a value-free name for the rising middle class. By discussing the nature of the salaryman, authors began to see the social structures behind the persona of the middle class, and endorsed, sympathized, criticized, and consoled Japanese salaried workers.

VII. Middling over the Middle Class

Tōdai collegiate society was the home of middle-class formation, but it produced critics as well. In 1918, Yoshino Sakuzō, a professor of Tōdai law, and Tōdai students organized the Shinjinkai (New Man Society), a student radical organization at Tōdai. Shinjinkai members initiated labor movements which expanded the role of the middle class in modern Japan. Their activism shows an alternative pattern of middling, differentiating themselves from the existing university graduates and un-awakened workers.

Asō Hisashi, a member of the Shinjinkai, understood the role of the “educated class (*chishiki kaikyū*)” in the middle of “rulers and the working class” as liberating workers. This statement entailed a critique of Tōdai collegiate society. In Asō’s eyes some students became “blindly-obedient slaves to men of power,” and “advocated capitalists’

interests.”¹²⁹ Akamatsu Katsumaro, another Shinjinkai member, shows a more nuanced critique of middle-class life. Since “governmental departments, banks, and corporations” competitively offered jobs for Tōdai graduates,” Akamatsu observed that Tōdai students would “immediately be materially affluent” after graduation with a “secure social life, prospering social status, salary, and good wives, which bless your social success (*risshin shusse*).”¹³⁰ This institutionalized middle-class life, however, was not a desirable life-path for Akamatsu.¹³¹

This critique on middle-class life reflected the challenged status of university students and white-collar workers. In 1920, Hatano Kanae, another Shinjinkai member, pointed out two critical changes in the educational-employment pipeline. First, employment became competitive on the student side in 1920, allowing “only a small portion of people” the freedom to choose jobs based upon their respective individualities. Second, white-collar workers became the “slaves” of business leaders, rather than agents in the decision making process. Hatano lamented that knowledge had become a “commodity” by means of which university graduates took careers and students also were evaluated as commodities.¹³² In contrast, he argued, workers were being liberated from slave-like labor by labor movements. In all, the economic hardship of students and the difficulties of middle-class mobility were the source of a new kind of middling for Shinjinkai members.¹³³

¹²⁹ Asō Hisashi, “Seinen Chishiki Kaikyū no Ichi Shimei,” Shinjinkai, ed. *Demokurashī* 1, no.1 (1919): 3.

¹³⁰ Ueda Shirō (Akamatsu’s penname), “Zokuakunaru Seinen Gakuto yo,” Shinjinkai, ed., *Demokurashī* 1, no.2 (1919): 4.

¹³¹ Ueda Shirō, “Zokuaku naru seinen gakuto yo.”

¹³² Oda Jō (Hatano Kanae), “Chishiki Torihiki no Shūtai,” Shinjinkai, ed. *Senku* 2 (1920): 32-36.

¹³³ “Gakusei undō to kojū no ninmu: Tōronkai Kara no Danpen,” *Shinjinkaihō* 3 (1924) Recited from

However, these educated radicals did not directly challenge the educational-employment pipeline but diversified the meanings of white-collar career. When they were affiliated with the Japan Labor Union Confederation (*Nihon rōdōkumiai sōdōmei*, hereafter Sōdōmei) in 1919, Shinjinkai members had white-collar careers. For instance, Asō was a researcher for the South Manchuria Railway Company and Tanahashi was a prosecutor.¹³⁴ In 1919, they quit their jobs but their work in the labor movement was not much different from their previous jobs.¹³⁵ Miwa Jūsō became a legal consultant of the National Miners Union, while Sano Manabu and Akamatsu Katsumaro its researchers. Asō Hisashi became an editor of its in-house publication.¹³⁶ Their jobs before the move, as journalists, lawyers, and prosecutors, were critical in their careers as labor activists. Also, this experience was helpful for their white-collar careers in the future. Through this experience Asō and Tanahashi became leading politicians of leftist political parties and Miwa became a lawyer specializing in labor.

Workers' voices also revealed the pervasive social influence of the materialized middle-class world. In the pages of Shinjinkai publications, workers defined their working-class identity by comparing their life to the middle class. Takashima Shinji, a miner in the Asio Mine, lamented the realities of workers who could not “taste anything of civilization, nor educate their children sufficiently.”¹³⁷ Takashima's complaint illustrates the anxiety of seclusion from the “cultured living” and “education” that defined

Kikukawa Tadao, *Gakusei Shakai Undōshi* (Tokyo: Kaikō shoten, 1947), 249, 51. The Gakuren, an intercollegiate organization of student radicals, also envisioned “planting the consciousness of proletariat in students' minds.”

¹³⁴ Smith, *Japan's First Student Radicals*, 41.

¹³⁵ Kikukawa, *Gakusei shakai undōshi*, 64-65.

¹³⁶ Uchikawa Masao, “*Demokurashī jidai no katsudō*”, in Katsunori Nakamura, ed. *Teidai Shinjinkai Kenkyū* (Tokyo: Keiōgijuku daigaku shuppankai, 1997), 70-73.

¹³⁷ Takahashi Shinzō (Takahashi Shinji), “*Zenkoku kōfu shokun ni atafu*,” Shinjinkai, ed. *Demokurashī* 1, no.5 (1919): 15.

middle-class living in the 1920s.¹³⁸ Other workers echoed Takashima by addressing their lack of educational opportunities. “The most severe issue deriving from the wealth gap,” wrote Sakaguchi Yoshiji, a mineworker at Yuhara Mine, “is unequal opportunities for education.”¹³⁹ Shinjinkai members also used workers’ lack of access to consumer culture as evidence of their exploitation. Chiba Yūjirō defined workers’ poverty by contrasting a set of bifurcated images: the Imperial Theater, the Mitsukoshi Department Store, and the silk cloth of decorating windows of the Shirokiya Department Store on the one hand, and workers’ houses in Asio and Bannenchō and their blue uniforms tainted with oil on the other.¹⁴⁰ Taira Teizō defined the purpose of the labor movement as establishing a “mutual aid enterprise” for “cultured living based upon everybody’s love for everybody.”¹⁴¹ The class identities of workers and Shinjinkai radicals were expressed as lifestyle, consumption, and educational opportunities. Despite the student radicals’ alternative vision of middling, workers were some distance away from the social center. In other words, the hegemonic status of the educated middle were not easily challengeable from the uneducated, providing a centripetal power to the educated who joined the institutionalized and materialized culture of the educational-employment pipeline.

Middling over the existing liberal-arts ideal also continued. In 1947, the University Council at Tōdai, led by Tōdai president Nanbara Shigeru, decided to establish a Faculty of the Liberal Arts which came into being in 1949. The bastion of liberal-arts education, the First High School, was integrated into this Faculty of the

¹³⁸ Sand, *House and Home in Modern Japan*, 162-202.

¹³⁹ Sakaguchi Yoshiji, “Rōdō Mondai to Gojin no Kakugo,” Shinjinkai, ed. *Demokurashī* 1, no. 6 (1919): 116.

¹⁴⁰ Chiba Yūjirō, “Puroretariya to bunka,” Shinjinkai ed., *Narōdo* 7 (1922): 2.

¹⁴¹ Taira Teizō, “Yūshikisha no jūzokuteki chii,” Shinjinkai ed., *Demokurashī* 1, no.8 (1919): 10.

Liberal Arts.¹⁴² This time, postwar Tōdai leaders were middling themselves over prewar elites and the masses by embracing the vision of the liberal-arts college.

But the nature of self-cultivation remained contested. In 1960, Tōdai undergraduate Ōe Genzaburō won the Akutagawa Prize, showing how cultural activities became professionalized. An undergraduate interviewed by the *Tokyo University News* noted that he would rather be a writer than a “boring” salaried worker. The reporter added that literary writing was becoming “commercialized,” making writers “stars of our time.”¹⁴³ The educational-employment pipeline was a contested space where the class identity of university students, business elites, and educators was created and redefined, and this continues to be so even in the present.

White-collar employment was a critical moment for students, their families, educators, business corporations, and the state. For individual students, employment was the culmination of their long middle-class formation process through higher education. Through the educational-employment pipeline, Tōdai graduates became teachers, doctors, and journalists, and thus became independent from their families, finding themselves “admired as ideal spouses for women... even though the social value of bachelors plummeted.”¹⁴⁴ This accomplishment was also shared by their families. Educational institutions worked as a mediator between students’ aspirations and employers’ need for top elites in Japan, serving Tōdai educators themselves as they enjoyed the privilege of

¹⁴² Tokyo daigaku hyakunenshi hensan iinkai ed., *Tokyo Daigaku Hyakunenshi*, Bukyokushi vol.4 (Tokyo: Tōkyō daigaku shuppankai, 1987), 3-4.

¹⁴³ “Shōsetsu ni Soyogu Gakusei Tachi, Bungaku Būmu Okoru: Medatsu Kigyōsei, Dōjinshi yori Kenjō Ōbo,” *Tokyo daigaku shinbun*, October 15, 1958, 3.

¹⁴⁴ “Shinpan, Akamon Katagi Mangekyō 7: Kekkon no kan,” *IUN*, November 11, 1935, 11.

recruiting the most competitive high school students while business leaders recruiting good applicants and embraced cultured students. The state accepted the white-collar employment of university students as necessary for the health of society, the potential of human mobilization in its war projects, and as a model for distributing blue-collar workers to workplaces.

The historical creation of this pipeline reveals the institutionalization of middle-class formation. The modern self still embodied meritocratic accomplishments, but faced anxieties that the middle class were no longer considered an active agent of “middling.” The idea of the spirited gentleman faded away, and the “salaryman” became an iconic persona for the middle class. As the middle class became the lived reality of the salaryman, this hegemonic life practice produced a variety of socio-economic agendas and contestations. The salaryman was an agent of middling as well as the target of middling by Shinjinkai members and a student who wanted to be a writer, revealing the diversification and expansion of the white-collar world.

Middling took place inside the educational-employment pipeline. The vision of the middle class and middling revived as Japanese society encountered a watershed in 1945. The labor activism initiated by Shinjinkai members was a by-product of this middling, and was joined by workers who defined their class identity as alienated from the educational-employment pipeline. But, the educational-employment pipeline did not lose its status as the centripetal core of middling in modern Japan. Japanese workers entered an expanded version of the educational-employment pipeline during the wartime period. As Sugayama Shinji and Andrew Gordon documented, workers joined corporate politics as decision makers, and consumers of electronic devices, such as televisions. As

mentioned earlier, in 2013 90 percent of the total Japanese populations in 2013 considered themselves middle-class, although only half of the population went to college. In this way, the middle class became a tangible, contested, and coveted social center. As class lines grew blurry, the management of personal life surfaced as a social focus, which in the following chapters I will argue started in Tōdai collegiate society.

Chapter 2

University Students and Consumer Culture: The Red Gate Student Consumer Cooperative and Student Consumers at Tōdai

University students were consumers. “It’s the era of money, money, and money. Unless,” an author of the *Imperial University News* noted, “we attend university, we cannot take high a status and salary. But, if we don’t have money, we cannot attend university.”¹ While attending universities, students had to pay expenses for education and campus life. However, they were jobless. Even if, as one student argued in 1929, they were “economically dependent (*sune kajiri*)” sons of their “middle-class parents,”² and they could not be free from economic pressure. Even at Tōdai, Japan’s top school, some students had to quit for economic reasons.³ Naturally, they were incorporated into the burgeoning art of consumer creation in interwar Japan. The poverty of students’ living conditions on interwar Japanese campuses, sometimes lamented as similar to “slum areas (*hinminkutsu*),”⁴ provided students with a good reason to join this activism. Under these circumstances, students became social activists as well as beneficiaries of their activism. The Red Gate Student Consumer Cooperative (*akamon gakusei shōhi kumiai*, hereafter RSC) served Tōdai students, especially from the Faculties of Law, Humanities, and Economics, both as a cheap store for the necessities of student life and as a political

¹ Teikoku daigaku shinbunsha, *Tōsei Daigakusei Katagi*, 59.

² “Jugyōryō Mondai,” *IUN*, April 29, 1929, 2.

³ In 1932, 204 undergraduate students dropped out of Tōdai, of whom 117, 1.5 percent of the total student body, did so due to their inability to pay tuition. Roughly a thousand students could not pay their tuition by the deadline in early 1931. Dainihon teikoku monbushō, ed., *Nihon Teikoku Monbushō Dai Gojūkyū nenpō (1932-1933)*, Vol.jō (Tokyo: Monbushō, 1933), 200. Kyōto Imperial University had almost the same rate. 75 students dropped out due to impoverishment from a total of 5,000 students. *IUN*, November 2, 1931, p.7

⁴ Abe Isoo, “Daigaku Machi no Gakusei Seikatsu,” *Kaizō* 7, no.7 (1925): 122.

stimulus to improve student welfare.

A consumer cooperative is a consumers' league for economically efficient purchasing through collective purchases. Cooperative members pay a small amount of money as their investment (*shusshikin*) in the cooperative, and in turn enjoy shopping cheaply at the cooperative stores, and may receive a share from the cooperative's profits. The first of this kind of consumer cooperative, the Rochdale Society of Equitable Pioneers, appeared in Britain in 1844, and in the ensuing ten years, one thousand cooperatives emerged in Britain alone and swiftly spread worldwide. The Tokyo Student Consumer cooperative (*Tōkyō gakusei shōhikumiai*, hereafter TSCC), active between 1926 and 1940, was designed for university students, requiring one yen of investment (roughly 20 dollars in today's terms⁵). The RSC, the TSCC's branch at Tōdai, was established in 1928 and dissolved in 1940, at which time it had more than a thousand members, equivalent to 15 percent of Tōdai students. RSC executives worked without salary, giving the RSC a strong price competitiveness over other merchants in selling textbooks, printed notes, and clothes.

A global rise of what scholars call "consumer culture" constituted a backdrop of the activities of the RSC. A consumer culture assumes the rise of the free market and consumers, and the cultural meaning endowed to consumption as an activity of modern citizens.⁶ In this modern setting of consumption, consumers are "heroes" of modernity who express their individuality and cultural prestige by purchasing a commodity and taking a cultural meaning of the commodity. Purchasing has not just individual but social

⁵ I am following Iwase Akira's calculation. Iwase Akira, "*Gekkyū Hyaku En*" *Sararīman: Senzen Nihon no "Heiwa" na Seikatsu* (Tokyo: Kōdansha, 2006).

⁶ Slater, *Consumer Culture and Modernity*.

meanings. Are consumers purchasing commodities they deserve to have and taking their meanings or purchase what they do not deserve and become fashion victims? Are consumers purchasing efficiently, or wasting their resources? Consumer economists and social activists of cooperative consumption developed the idea of “rationality” and “efficiency,” endowing legitimacy to modern consumption. At the same time, their work enabled economically modest citizens to purchase expensive commodities, such as campus life. In this way, consumption became a middle-class value, differentiating efficient consumers from prodigal upper-class people and those who did not purchase commodities to make life better. A consumer culture and consumer cooperative activism, which connected the Japanese middle class to global history of cooperative consumption, served for students’ class formation.

But, the RSC unfolded in a unique context of Japanese history. First, despite the practices of collective purchase in Tokugawa Japan, consumer cooperatives as social activism were a modern importation from the West. Under these circumstances, the leaders of consumer cooperatives were intellectuals and social activists who knew the West and had a strong sense of social service. RSC executives worked without salary, giving the RSC strong price competitiveness over other merchants in selling textbooks, printed notes, and clothes. Based on the sources of their inspirations, the state, student radicals, university authorities, and social activists competed with their own visions of cooperative consumption. Inside the RSC, radicals and non-radical activists, who considered leftwing cooperatives in Russia and the Rochdale cooperative in Britain their respective models, competed for the management strategy, and the professed political predilection of the RSC. Second, the state was the legal and financial supporter and

supervisor of consumer cooperatives in modern Japan. The fledgling consumer cooperatives, along with rural cooperatives, were under the supervision of the Ministry of Agriculture and Forest by means of the Industrial Cooperative Law (*sangyō kumiai hō*) established in 1900, and received a loan from the state when necessary. Also, consumer cooperatives based on schools, such as the RSC, relied on the acknowledgement of school authorities for its institutional survival. The tight relationship between cooperatives and the state allowed RSC activists to ask the state for support, and to join designing state policies, when the state incorporated these visions into controlled economy in response to the war. But at the same time, this made cooperatives vulnerable to suppression from the state, which took the life of the RSC in 1940. In short, intellectual leadership and a tight state-cooperative relation both threatened the RSC and enhanced the social influence of this consumer cooperative activism in modern Japan.⁷

The middle class portrayed in this chapter are social protestors, investors, managers, and reformers in the fledgling capitalist distribution structure, rather than just as passive, anonymous consumers who do not challenge the market in previous research of consumer culture. This perspective partially endorses Marxist scholarship that has portrayed the history of consumer cooperatives as a sequence of conflicts with the state and capitalists.⁸ However, I portray the RSC's conflicts with merchants as less a proletarian class struggle than a contested process of middle-class formation. University students sometimes tentatively had part-time work or identified themselves as

⁷ Young, "Marketing the Modern"; Gordon, "Short Happy Life of the Japanese Middle Class"; Sand, *House and Home in Modern Japan*; Jones, *Children as Treasures*; Andrew Gordon, *Fabricating Consumers: The Sewing Machine in Modern Japan* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2011).

⁸ Yamamoto Osamu, *Nihon Seikatsu Kōdōkumiai Undōshi* (Tokyo Nihon hyōronsha, 1982); Mukōyama Hiroo, *Tōkyō Gakusei Shōhikumiaiishi* (Tokyo: Chūō keizai kenkyūjo, 1988).

proletarian,⁹ but this could not belie their ultimate aspiration to be white-collar. Rather, the blurred class identification of university students reveals expanded opportunities to enter universities, and such on-campus institutions as the RSC helped these social aspirants tighten their budgets and graduate into white-collar professions.¹⁰ In this way, cooperative consumption assisted middle-class mobility and compromised the exclusive access of the wealthy to higher education.

I. The Vision of Cultured Living

Consumption was at the center of the bubbling middle-class discourses in interwar Japan. The rise of a modern idea of consumption was embedded in the institutionalization of middle-class living. Efficient consumption was a tool to realize the dream of modern life, which was called “cultured living (*bunka seikatsu*)” in 1920s Japan. The idea of a legitimate consumption buttressed the middle-class identity as the social paragon Japanese people had to emulate, which bandwagoned the perceptual evolution of the middle class from elites to the masses.

The Cultured Living Research Group (*Bunka seikatsu kenkyūkai*, hereafter CLRG) was the central vehicle for the burgeoning discussion of “legitimate” consumption. The CLRG was established in 1920 by three magnates: Morimoto Kōkichi, the founder of the Tokyo Culture Institution (*Tōkyō bunka gakuen*, Nitobe Community College today)

⁹ This was also the case in early-twentieth-century North America. Axelrod, *Making a Middle Class*; Robert Cohen, *When the Old Left Was Young: Student Radicals and America's First Mass Student Movement, 1929-1941* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2003).

¹⁰ Tōkyō teikoku daigaku gakuseika, *Tōkyō Teikoku Daigaku Gakusei Seikatsu Chōsa Hōkoku*, 9.

and a professor of economics at Hokkaidō Imperial University; Yoshino Sakuzō, a professor of Tōdai Law; and Arishima Takeo, a novelist. Kagawa Toyohiko, a leader of cooperative movements in Japan, also joined the group. The CLRG began to publish mail-order lecture manuscripts, *Study of Cultured Living* in May 1920. The majority of its authors were university professors. Among the 26 authors of the first two lecture books, 11 authors were Tōdai alumni, nine of whom were Tōdai professors. Many of these Tōdai professors were from the Twilight Society (*Reimeikai*), an intellectual group demanding democracy in Japan, close to Yoshino,¹¹ while others, such as Morimoto, were from Hokkaidō Imperial University.¹² After one year of publishing lecture manuscripts, the CLRG began to publish a periodical, *Cultured Living*, in May 1921. The periodical attracted various kinds of authors, university professors, socialists, and feminists, symbolizing the leadership of educated professionals in middle-class discourses.¹³

“Cultured living (*bunka seikatsu*)” was an enigmatic but central idea for these authors. Kawazu Susumu, a Tōdai professor in economics, defined cultured living as materially and mentally “human-like” and “not shameful living as nationals of civilized countries.”¹⁴ Kawazu had a clear predilection for the popularization of cultured living among the middle class. “Although they should enjoy this human-like life, theoretically,” Kawazu noted, “the Japanese middle class are not enjoying it.”¹⁵ Morimoto Kōkichi

¹¹ This group includes Yoshino himself, Takano Iwasaburō, Watanabe Tetsuzō, Hozumi Shigetō, Nagai Hisomu, and Sano Toshikata. Kimura Kyū’ichi was a Twilight Society member but not a Tōdai professor. Yosano Akiko, a female novelist and activist for female suffrage was also from the Twilight Society.

¹² Hoshino Yūzō, Hanzawa Jun, and Matsumura Matsutoshi.

¹³ Takahara Jirō, “Morimoto, Arishima, Yoshino to *Bunka Seikatsu*,” *Bunka Seikatsu Kaisetsu, Sōmokuji, Sakuin* (Tokyo: Fuji Shuppan, 1995), 11. *Bunka Seikatsu Kenkyū*, the lecture manuscript, is preserved at Nitobe Short-term Culture University in Tokyo.

¹⁴ Kawazu Susumu, “Bunkaseikatsu Mondō,” *Bunka seikatsu* 2, no.3 (1922): 31.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*

defined cultured living as a “living in a mentally and materially advanced new era” propped up by efficiency and science.¹⁶ Yoshino Sakuzō understood cultured living as “a basis for most efficiently realizing the completion of human dignity.”¹⁷ To these intellectuals, cultured living was an aim to reach,¹⁸ and was the material cornerstone of modern citizenry in Japan.

Cultured living, however, remained an elusive and amorphous idea even for CLRG members. Kawazu did not clearly discuss what civilized countries and human-like living meant. Neither Morimoto explicitly define what constituted efficiency and modern science was. Some authors of this journal tended less to engage in the definition of cultured living than to just talk of their own version. For Arishima Takeo, cultured living was basically an activity of art, based upon affordability (*yoyū*),¹⁹ while Miyake Yūjirō, an editor of *Japan and the Japanese*, took “trueness, goodness, and beauty” as the core of cultured living.²⁰ For Yamamoto Tadaoki, a Waseda professor of engineering, cultured living could be achieved by electricity,²¹ while Abe Isoo, another Waseda professor, confessed that he was not sure what cultured living meant but added his voice for shortened working hours in the name of cultured living.²² Cultured-living discourses were diverse in their contents as people from various fields participated in the discussion, as were the characterization of their middle-class audience.

The middle class were a central portion of the audience to whom cultured living

¹⁶ Morimoto Kōkichi, “Bunka Seikatsu no Kōkan ni Tsuite,” *Bunka seikatsu kenkyū* 1, no.1 (1920): 1.

¹⁷ Yoshino Sakuzō, “Watashi no Bunka Seikatsu Kan,” *Bunka seikatsu* 1, no.2 (1921): 2.

¹⁸ Morimoto Kōkichi, “Butteki Bunka Seikatsuron: Watashi no Bunka Seikatsu Kan Gigi ni Kotafu,” *Bunka seikatsu* 1, no. 7 (1921): 4, 18. This article reappeared in his *Shinseikatsu Kenkyū* (Tokyo: Bunka seikatsu kenkyūkai shuppanbu, 1922).

¹⁹ Arishima Takeo, “Yoyū to Bunka,” *Bunka seikatsu* 1, no.1 (1921): 3.

²⁰ Miyake Yūjirō, “Bunka Seikatsu no Shuppatsuten,” *Bunka Seikatsu* 1, no. 1 (1921): 13.

²¹ Yamamoto Tadaoki, “Bunka Seikatsu to Denki,” *Bunka Seikatsu* 2, no.11 (1922).

²² Abe Isoo, “Kinmujikan to Bunka Seikatsu,” *Bunka Seikatsu* 2, no.7 (1922): 24.

discourses were propagated. Many authors specified the agents of the lifestyles they suggested as middle-class. For example, Sano Toshikata, a professor of Tōdai engineering, introduced a housing cooperative (*jutaku kumiai*) as “a critical way of protecting the middle class.”²³ Among experts in house construction, “middle-class life (*chūryū seikatsu*)” and “middle-class houses (*chūryū jūtaku*)” became widely-circulated words.²⁴ The economic modesty that defined the interwar middle class strengthened the centrality of the middle class in cultured living discourses. Miyata Osamu, a principal of a higher female school, noted that “the middle class” were “the most desirable agents (...) to taste cultured living,” as well as being the ones who could “save themselves” from unstable economic situations by “managing cultured living (...) more scientifically.”²⁵ Sugita Naoki, a medical doctor, emphasized the centrality of the middle class by emphasizing “a role of the brain” and “mental activities” in cultured living, including social hygiene, nutritious dishes, sports activities, walking, days-off and leisure, appreciation of art, renovation of houses, and introduction of electricity, all of which were essential to soothe overworked brains.²⁶

These voices reflected the modest social status of the middle class and the rise of a middle-class social activism. In 1919, 1,000 salaried workers gathered in the Kanda Youth Association Center and declared the establishment of the Salary-Man Union (hereafter SMU), the first white-collar labor union in Japan, in the tide of salary-increase

²³ Sano Toshikata, “Jutaku Kumiai ni yotte Kensetsuseraruru Jutaku no Kairyō,” *Bunka Seikatsu* 1, no.4 (1921): 19.

²⁴ Bunsoku Nishimura, *Chūryū Seikatsu no Kaizō* (Tokyo: Jitsugyō no nihon sha, 1918), 3; Sakichi Chikama, *Chūryū Jūtaku* (Tokyo: Hakubunkan, 1920).

²⁵ Miyata Osamu, “Iwayuru Chūsankaikyū wo Sukuharubeki Michi,” *Bunka Seikatsu* 3, no.6 (1925): 32-34.

²⁶ Sugita Naoki, “Bunka to Henshitsu,” *Bunka Seikatsu* 2, no.5 (1922): 15-18.

movements. In 1923, the SMU provided the first social survey on the treatment of salaried workers in Japan.²⁷ Cultured-living ideologues Kawazu Susumu and Abe Isoo were the advisors (*komon*) of the SMU.²⁸ In this process, the middle class became less elite members of society but part of the masses struggling to manage their living. Toward the end of the 1920s, the Japanese began to discuss the birth of the “salary-man masses” and their “strategy in managing living” not uncommonly.²⁹ In short, elite culture was no longer just for social elites.

As the focal question of middle-class discourses moved from “what the middle class is” to “how to manage middle-class living,” the nature of the middle-class idea changed. Developing methodologies to enable people to manage middle-class living was more important than addressing who actually were the middle class. Some authors simply did not discuss the issues of class in their essays in *Cultured Living*. Although Nagai Hisomu “joined the suburban club” to commute “between the Kōenji and Ochanomizu Stations,” his home and Tōdai, “in the Shōsen train [省線, JR today],”³⁰ he just purveyed his knowledge in health and eugenics in his essays. In other words, cultured living was not just for the middle class. In the statement for the first volume of *Cultured Living*, Morimoto defined the magazine’s purpose as the dissemination of cultured living to “people had not been able to relish cultured living.”³¹

Naturally, cultured-living ideologues testified also to the burgeoning social

²⁷ Hōkyūsha kumiai SMU chōsabu, ed. *Kaishain Taigū Naikishū* (Tokyo: Shubun shoten, 1923).

²⁸ Takahashi Masaki, “Shakaiteki Hyōshō Toshite no Sararīman’ no Tōjō: Senzen Hōkyū Seikatsusha no Kumiai Undō wo dō Miruka,” *Ōhara shakai mondai kenkyūjo zasshi*, no. 511 (2001): 20.

²⁹ Nagai Shūkichi, *Sararīman no Seikatsu Senjutsu* (Tokyo: Jitsugyō no nihon sha, 1928); For instance, “Hōkyū Seikatsusha Taishū no Seimei Hoken”, *Sararīman* 2, no. 9 (1929): 76.

³⁰ Nagai, “Jigoku no kemu (1)”: 12.

³¹ Bunka Seikatsu Kenkyūkai, *Bunka Seikatsu* 1, no. 1 (1921): 2.

movements beyond the middle class at that time. Cultured-living discourses sometimes became tools of social movements. In *Cultured Living*, Yoshino discussed the “cultural calling (*bunkateki shimei*) of labor movements” to institutionalize universal manhood suffrage,³² while Abe Isoo envisioned crystallizing the agendas of cultured living into shortened working hours for workers as well as professionals so that they could “care more about clothing, diet, and housing.”³³ The dual faces, class-based and classless, of middle-class discourses are reflective of dual functions of middle-class discourses, both as a social agenda to create the middle class, and to elaborate the lived reality of actually-existing middle-class members of society.

This conceptualization eventually culminated into the interwar vision of a mass middle-class society or *sōchūryū* [総中流] society. Kawazu Susumu conceptualized a “middle-class society (*chūryū shakai*)”³⁴ as a society in which all people tried to be middle-class and the middle class themselves tried harder to be more efficient. Addressing that the middle class was “the standard class for all Japanese nationals,” Morimoto Kōkichi argued for the merging of the upper and lower classes” into a middle-class nation.³⁵ In short, the middle class were not only the central audience of cultured-life ideologues but also a boundary to be broken down for the further popularization of cultured living.

IV. Reconceptualization of Consumption and Consumer Creation

³² Yoshino Sakuzō, “Genkin rōdō undō ni taisuru watashi no tachiba,” *Bunka Seikatsu* 2, no. 4 (1922): 3, 9.

³³ Abe Isoo, “Kinmu kikan to bunka seikatsu”: 25.

³⁴ Kawazu Susumu, “Chūryū shakai no appaku,” *Keizaigaku Kenkyū* 1, no.1 (1920).

³⁵ Morimoto Kōkichi, *Horobiyuku Kaikyū* (Tokyo: Dōbunkan, 1924), 196.

Consumption was a keyword in the development of cultured-living discourses. The word *shōhi* (consumption, oftentimes written *hishō*) appeared in Japanese society around 1900 as a term for taxation and a counterpart of production, which simply meant an amount of money to be deducted in the business balance sheets.³⁶ In these early usages, as the Chinese characters *shōhi* [消費] indicate, the focus of *shōhi* as a behavior was set on the expenditure, if not waste, of money rather than the products or commodities the agent procured through consumption. But, in the interwar period, CLRG members began to address individual consumers' rationale, based upon their visions of cultured living. Economists Morimoto Kōkichi and Kawazu Susumu assumed a critical role in this qualitative reconceptualization of consumption based upon individual rationale, while enhancing their academic presence by specializing in the consumption economy.

Their reconceptualization of consumption started with a critique on social prejudices against cultured living, i.e., that cultured living meant a luxury life of elites. Noting that cultured living was not a “luxury of the wealthy (*hai karā*)” and asserting that “luxury life (*shashi seikatsu*)” is a “big enemy of cultured living,” Morimoto Kōkichi explained that consumption based upon “cultured living” would “enlarge utilizable resources” and “make labor wasted for the production of luxury goods” available for meaningful work. According to Morimoto, “perpetrators of luxury are not limited to the

³⁶ The earliest use of this word, *shōhi*, in the collections of the National Diet Library is in 1899, Ōkurasho, *Doitsukoku Satō Shōhizeihō ni Kansuru Hōkoku* and Kuwata Rintarō, *Hakka No Shiori: Seisan Shōhi* (Tokyo: Maekawataiseidō, 1904). One author, Ishikawa Sanshirō discussed the consumption cooperative, but it was a collective purchase of raw materials by producers, not individual consumer's consumption. Ishikawa Sanshirō, *Shōhikumiai no Hanashi: Ichimei Kōbaikumiai* (Tokyo: Heiminsha, 1905).

wealthy,” but “the middle class and the poor committed this luxury.” He connected this new conceptualization of consumption to Yoshino’s *minponshugi*. “It is an unallowable sin that the privileged class prevents social progress by managing luxury life without working,” argued Morimoto, “in recent times when democracy (*minponshugi*) came to have its significance.”³⁷ The rationalization of consumption was never just a suggestion of shopping at the fledgling department stores, which tended to appear expensive.

Throughout the pages of *Cultured Living*, department stores rarely appeared. In this sense, cultured-living ideologues tended to develop economic efficiency even for those who could not shop in department stores, marking a contrast with public professionals’ engagement with department-stores-led research groups in the late Meiji period.³⁸

Criticizing people’s dissipation on the one hand, Morimoto advocated consumerist impetus for cultured living by attacking an “unscientific” suppression on consumerism on the other. According to Morimoto, “primitive and cheap living” let people “save some portion of their living expenses by just rendering life primitive” without much consideration of its efficiency. Denying prodigality and unscientific saving, Morimoto argued for cultured living, an “obligation of modern people” “based on recent knowledge.” In so doing, Morimoto checked the abuse of the term “luxury.” According to him, luxury happened in two kinds of situations: first, when consumption activities cost consumers great amount of money without much benefit; and second, when not-wealthy people purchase expensive goods, “like people lower than the middle class purchasing cars.” “Luxury,” concluded Morimoto, “is not judged by the nature of the consumed, but consumers.” In short, Morimoto talked of a consumption based upon individualized

³⁷ Morimoto Kōkichi, “Norofubeki Futatsu no Seikatsu,” *Bunka Seikatsu* 1, no.3 (1921): 3-4.

³⁸ Sand, *House and Home in Modern Japan*, 98-99.

rationality assisted by the scientific hands of public professionals like himself.³⁹

According to Morimoto, “the revolution of life” was based on “the discovery of individuality,” which could be “facilitated by efficient consumption.”⁴⁰ In the rhetoric of efficiency, consumption is not the opposite of saving. Efficient consumption facilitates not only saving but also future consumption based upon the surplus created by efficiency.

In envisioning individualized consumption, cultured living ideologues, Yoshino, Morimoto, and Kawazu, tried to conceptualize housewives as newly awakened agents of middle-class life. Kawazu, denying any negative implications of consumption, which was “neither better nor worse than production,”⁴¹ put wives at the center of home finance management.⁴² Consumption was no longer the antonym of saving in cultured-life discourses. Saving became more probable only through efficient consumption, and more saving gave individual families stronger purchasing power. The individualization of consumption discourses based on home and housewife confirms previous scholarship, which argued that the home was at the center of middle-class discourses. Interwar public professionals inherited late Meiji discourses for home life and professionalized them with the hands of university professors.

This reconceptualization of consumption paralleled the fledgling methodologies for creating consumers among those whose budgets had been considered insufficient to join consumer culture. Merchants and consumers developed two solutions: consumer credit, mainly initiated by merchants and service providers; and collective purchase,

³⁹ Morimoto, “Norofubeki Futatsu no Seikatsu”: 5.

⁴⁰ Morimoto Kōkichi, “Kosei no Kakken to Seikatsu no Kakumei,” *Bunka seikatsu* 2, no.9 (1922): 2-3.

⁴¹ Kawazu Susumu, “Fujin to Shohikeizai,” *Bunka seikatsu* 2, no.10 (1922): 15.

⁴² Kawazu Susumu, “Fujin to Keizai Seikatsu,” *Bunka seikatsu* 1, no.5 (1921): 3-8.

initiated by consumers themselves, and sponsored and legalized by the state.

Payment by installments was an efficient way to create consumers of expensive commodities. This method expands consumers' purchasing power by mobilizing their future incomes. As documented by Andrew Gordon, consumer credit practices in Japan began in 1901 with Singer Sewing Machine's strategies of door-to-door peddling and payment by monthly installment. Monthly installment practices became a standard method for individual consumers to purchase musical instruments, home appliances, marketable securities, cars, land, and houses in interwar Japan.⁴³

The other means of consumer creation, collective purchase, enabled individual consumers to mobilize their fellows. Cooperative organizations, in fact, were a critical vehicle in the rise of modern businesses. For instance, the Mutual Aid Five Hundred People Society (*kyōsai gohyakumei sha*), one of Japan's earliest consumer cooperatives led by Yasuda Zenjirō, eventually developed into the Yasuda Group, a leading *zaibatsu* in Japan. In interwar Japan, social activists popularized consumer cooperatives, which attracted 200,000 urban members, as a tool to improve the middle-class household economy. For instance, Nii Tsutomu, a journalist and writer from Tōdai Law and founder of the Jōsai Consumer Cooperative,⁴⁴ portrayed consumer cooperative activism as "the most appropriate for the salaried workers." According to Nii, salaried workers "were conscious of new social development," thus "motivated to join this new reform activism," had stable income, thus could be reliable members of a cooperative, and were interested

⁴³ Gordon, *Fabricating Consumers*, 45-46; Tōkyō shōkōkaigijō, ed. *Geppu Hanbai Seido* (Tokyo 1929), 211-28; "Geppu No Hanashi," *Sararīman* 2, no. 3 (1929): 64-69.

⁴⁴ For details, Kawata Yoshiyuki, *Monogatari Jōsai Shōhikumiai: Seikyō Undo no Genryū wo Tsukutta Hitobito* (Tokyo: Rōdōjunpōsha, 1994).

in saving expenses “especially for rice” given the economic pressure they suffered.⁴⁵ The educated but economically modest middle class, in Nii’s portrayal, was the central agent of consumer cooperative activism. The rise and expansion of consumer cooperatives was accompanied by relevant scholarship. In 1921, Honiden Yoshio, the first Tōdai professor specializing in consumer cooperatives, published his work introducing to Japanese citizens the European development of consumer cooperatives.⁴⁶

These two methods of consumer creation were not mutually exclusive. For instance, through the House Cooperative Law (*jūtaku kumiai-hō*), activated in 1921, the state provided househunters a consumer-credit financial service through banks, while the househunters organized a collective purchasing body to lower building prices. Also, insurance companies combined aspects of both consumer credit and consumer cooperatives in their services—consumers alleviated their economic burden by collective installment.⁴⁷

However, until these two methods began to be systematically merged into social insurance plans and controlled economy in wartime, consumer-credit practices and consumer cooperatives had often existed in different political spaces. In interwar Japan, consumer cooperatives were a social protest of the middle class and workers, usually competing with the corporations. Radical visions that understood cooperatives as a political voice against “capitalist exploitation” furthered this bifurcation. While Yoshino

⁴⁵ Nii Tsutomu, “Saraīmanron,” *Chūōkōron* 43, no. 12 (1928): 571.

⁴⁶ Yamamoto, *Nihon seikatsu kōdōkumiai undōshi*, 49; Honiden Yoshio, *Shōhikumiai Undō* (Tokyo: Kokubundō shoten, 1921).

⁴⁷ Mizuno Ryōko, Fujiya Yōetsu, and Uchida Seizō, “‘Jūtaku Kumiai-hō’ no Seiritsu Kara Haiian ni Itaru Made no Jisshi Keii ni Tsuite: Jūtaku Kumiai-hō no Kisoteki Kenkyū,” *Nihon Kenchiku Gakkai Keikaku Kakari Ronbunshū*, no. 532 (2000): 240. 38,000 houses were built based upon the House Cooperative Law; Sano Toshikata, “Jutaku Kumiai ni Yotte Kensetsuseraruru Jutaku no Kairyō,” *Bunka Seikatsu* 1, no.4 (1921), p.19.

Sakuzō defined the purpose of cooperative activism as “saving the middle class,” student radicals considered cooperatives engines of “class struggle.”⁴⁸ The RSC represented both middle-class and radical activism, indicating the contested natures of cooperative consumers.

II. Interwar Social activism the Rise of the RSC

1) Off-Campus Origins

The RSC comprised a wing of interwar middle-class social activism. A consumer cooperative on campus indicates the commodification of higher education, which became a critical vehicle in middle-class mobility and reproduction. In this process, consumer cooperatives, though limited, widened the social gateway to middle-class status, resonating with the social image of the interwar middle class as modest managers of economic life.

Before the interwar period, Japanese consumer cooperatives required considerable wealth to join. A member of the Community Commerce Society (*kyōritsu shōsha*, 1879-1886), one of Japan’s first consumer cooperatives, invested twenty-five yen (7,500 dollars in today’s terms) to join. Members of these cooperatives were wealthy bureaucrats, merchants, and soldiers. The first consumer cooperative for lower bureaucrats “in need of saving,” the Cooperation Society (*kyōdōkai*), was organized in 1901, right after the legislation of the Industrial Cooperative Law, by a lower bureaucrat of the House of Peers,

⁴⁸ “Ninsu wa Fuenagara Kōbaikumiai ga Urenai: Iyoiyo Hageshii Chūryū Seikatsunan,” *Tokyo Asahi Shinbun*, July 26, 1920, 5.

but its initial investment was still thirty-five yen (3,500 dollars) per person.⁴⁹

Japan's first student consumer cooperatives appeared around 1900, but these cooperatives could not survive as business. In 1899, Abe Isoo and his students at Dōshisha established a Dōshisha Purchase Cooperative (*dōshisha kōbai kumiai*), whose initial investment was five yen (500 dollars). However, according to Mukōyama, this cooperative could not cope with a tentative conduct offensive from neighbor merchants and disappeared only in a year.⁵⁰ Also, in 1903, Keiō students living in the dormitory organized a consumer cooperative, which dealt with clothes and books. But as consumers' investment of this cooperative was returned to students in 1904, this organization lost its quality as a consumer cooperative.⁵¹ The survival of a student consumer cooperative required a more stable institutional support.

Popular consumer cooperatives appeared with the rise of the number of white-collar citizens in interwar Japan. A fledgling consumer culture provided the middle class the promise of a “new life,” while creating new consumption demands. Under these circumstances, consumer cooperatives were spotlighted as a tool to improve middle-class home economy.⁵² Yoshino Sakuzō and Kagawa Toyohiko established prominent consumer cooperatives, the Home Purchase Cooperative in 1919, the Kōbe Consumer Cooperative in 1920, the Nada Purchase Cooperative in 1920, and the TSCC. These cooperatives embodied the two distinctive aspects of middle-class social activism—their intellectual leadership and cheap investment. The Home Purchase Cooperative expanded

⁴⁹ Yamamoto, *Nihon Seikatsu Kōdōkumiai Undōshi*, 6, 49, 95-97.

⁵⁰ Mukōyama, *Tōkyō Gakusei Shōhikumiaiishi*, 40-41.

⁵¹ *Ibid.*

⁵² Kawazu Susumu, “Chūryū Shakai to Keizai Seikatsu,” *Bunka Seikatsu Kenkyū* 1, no.7,8,10,11 (1920-1921); Kawazu Susumu, “Shōhi Kumiai no Shimei to Keieisaku: Tōkyō Fujin Shōhi Kumiai no Setsuritsu wo Mite”, *Bunka seikatsu* 4, no.9 (1925): 9-11.

its membership from 1,700 in 1920 to 60,000 in 1940, making this largest cooperative in Japan. The investment was initially thirty yen but fell to six yen (120 dollars) in 1930. Kagawa's cooperatives at Kōbe and Nada attracted a variety of groups, workers, business managers, white-collar citizens, bankers, bureaucrats, and university professors.⁵³ These three organizations were the biggest consumer cooperatives in prewar Japan.

The RSC comprised a wing of Kagawa's movements. In 1926, Kagawa established the TSCC at Waseda University. According to the *Waseda University News*, this cooperative was a welcome solution for "students from the middle class and below to lessen their economic burden for schooling," which would "disseminate educational opportunity." Students had to invest only one yen to join this cooperative.⁵⁴ Soon, Tōdai, Keiō, Meiji, Rikkyō, and Takushoku Universities joined the TSCC. The prices at the RSC store were cheaper than ordinary market prices by roughly 20 percent (see Table 2.1).

Table 2.1: Prices of the Cooperative and in Market in 1928⁵⁵

Items	Market Price	Cooperative Price
Western Clothes	42 yen	30 yen
Suits	48 yen	36 yen
Coats	46 yen	34 yen
Shoes	11 yen 50sen	9 yen 40 sen

2) Intra-Collegiate Origins

The rise of the RSC cannot be thoroughly explained without reference to the intra-collegiate politics at Tōdai. By 1928, when the RSC was established, consumer cooperatives were not a new topic at Tōdai. Shinjinkai radicals, who embraced the idea of

⁵³ Masae Kimura, *Shōhi Kumiai Shōshi: Katei Kōbai Kumiai to Fujita Itsuo Ikōshō wo Chūshin ni* (Tokyo: Gendai kikaku shuppankyoku, 1980); Yamamoto, *Nihon Seikatsu Kōdōkumiai Undōshi*, 161-64.

⁵⁴ *Waseda daigaku shinbun*, April 29, 1926. Recited from Mukōyama, *Tōkyō gakusei shōhi kumiai shi*, 77, 84-91.

⁵⁵ Honiden Yoshio, "Shōhikumiai no kanōsei," *IUN*, November 26, 1928, 3.

mutual aid and the visions of consumer cooperatives from Communist Russia, conceptualized consumer cooperatives as a tool for labor activism.⁵⁶ These radicals, still, led the establishment of a cooperative at Tōdai under Kagawa's patronage. In other words, the RSC settled on campus as an intersection of labor and middle-class social movements.

In March 1918, Yamana Yoshitsuru, a Shinjinkai member and Home Ministry bureaucrat from Tōdai Law, organized steel workers to establish a Tsukishima Purchase Cooperative, Japan's first workers' cooperative, comprising 1,050 members with an initial investment of five yen. This cooperative disappeared around 1923, but workers' consumption cooperatives continued by the Cooperative Work Society (*Kyōdōsha*, established in 1920) and the Kantō Consumption Cooperative League (1926-1938), which employed Kuniya Yōzō, a RSC activist from the Shinjinkai.

Shinjinkai members brought this activism back to their own campus. From 1922, the Shinjinkai developed student welfare systems in order to awaken "a proletarian class consciousness within the minds of petit-bourgeois students" by taking advantage of "the economic downturn of the middle class."⁵⁷ Whatever visions Shinjinkai activists had, their agenda of student welfare procured support from Tōdai students, who, in 1925, established the Mutual Aid Department. Staff of this department helped students get lodgings, part-time jobs, and funding, while managing a dining hall and a university store. At the same time, Shinjinkai radicals envisioned the establishment of an on-campus consumer cooperative. Shinjinkai members were not alone in envisioning this organization. "It is natural that students who are middle-class," a student championed in a

⁵⁶ "Proretariya sensei to shōhi kumiai", Shinjinkai ed., *Dōhō*, Vol.2 (1920), 4-5.

⁵⁷ "Gakusei undō to kojū no ninmu: tōronkai kara no danpin", *Shinjinkaihō*, no.3 (1924). Recited from Kikukawa, *Gakusei Shakai Undōshi*, 249, 251.

student rally in June 1923, “initiate consumer cooperative activism, a social protest of the middle class.”⁵⁸ Students of Honiden Yoshio also showed interest in practicing a student consumption cooperative. Kaku Kōichirō, Honiden’s student from the faculty of Economics, became a student director of the RSC and worked for the cooperative even after graduation. In 1926, the Imperial University Comrade Society (*teidai dōshikai*), whose members were student representatives on the “right,” also spearheaded the establishment of a consumption cooperative for the student representative election campaign.⁵⁹ Soon, student representatives produced a preparatory unit to establish a consumption cooperative as a department in the Gakuyūkai. As for its supervisor professor, students considered Hon’iden Yoshio. Students who assumed a critical role in this process were Kuniya Yōzō, a Shinjinkai radical from the faculty of law, and two students in Economics, Yamaguchi Susumu and Kaku Koichirō, both of whom were Hon’iden’s students. In 1928, the fledgling Consumption Cooperative Preparation Committee (*shōhi kumiai junbikai*) established a temporary store of a consumption cooperative in the Gakuyūkai room.⁶⁰

Ideological conflict interrupted the smooth development of this cooperative. Shinjinkai radicals and sports club athletes came into conflict surrounding the instatement of a Social Science Research Group as a Gakuyūkai department and the potential budget, which finally culminated into a literal brawl in 1928. University authorities dissolved the “leftist” Shinjinkai and the Central Gakuyūkai itself. The Tōdai Athletic Association,

⁵⁸ “Shinkenmi Afureta Dainikai Gakusei Taikai: Manjōicchi Gian Kotogotoku Kaketsu”, *IUN*, June 20, 1923, 3.

⁵⁹ Mukōyama, *Tōkyō Gakusei Shōhi Kumiaishi*, 98.

⁶⁰ “Shōhi Kumiai wo Gakuyūkai no Ichibu ni: Gakusei Iinkai ni Teian Aare Jikai ni Kettei no Hazu,” *IUN*, February 13, 1928, 2.

which had been a Gakuyūkai department before 1928, revived thanks to the support of university authorities. The Mutual Aid Department revived as a Mutual Aid Society. This society, consisting of professors, and students, inherited the mutual aid enterprises from the Central Gakuyūkai. But, as many Shinjinkai members were arrested due to their affiliation with the Japan Communist Party in 1928, the unplugged student consumer cooperative, because of its leftist image, could not receive the official recognition as an intra-collegiate organization by university authorities.

However, students were able to establish the RSC by depending on the network of Kagawa Toyohiko. Ex-student representatives Kaku Kōichirō and Kuniya Yōzō opened a store of the RSC as the second branch of the TSCC, in a back street in front of Tōdai's Central Gate in November 1928. Hon'iden Yoshio published an article in *the Imperial University News* in hope of the prosperity of the cooperative. He emphasized the cooperative's expected role to protect impoverished students and hoped that the cooperative not lose its sincerity in management under the influence of leftist radicals.⁶¹ In this way, student radicals and university authorities worked competitively on student welfare.

Picture 2.1: The RSC Store, circa 1940.⁶²

⁶¹ Honiden Yoshio, "Gakusei Shōhi Kumiai no Kanōsei," *IUN*, November 26, 1928, 2; "Gakusei Seito no Fukuri Shisetsu", Monbushō shisōkyoku ed., *Shisō Chōsa Shiryō*, March 1935, 13; *IUN*, January 27, 1930, 7.

⁶² *IUN*, March 11, 1940, 2.

professors and students as its advisors. As students were excluded from the management of the mutual-aid programs, the control of the First Dining Hall and the First Store was turned over to private merchants, such as Shirokiya, while the supervisorship on-campus merchants was transferred from students to the Student Office.⁶⁴

This process sparked conflict between the RSC and university authorities. The RSC published a public statement and criticized the Student Office for “excluding students” from mutual-aid enterprises, which “tainted student autonomy.” In the statement, RSC activists characterized the RSC as the “savior of students’ interest,” and denounced the loose supervision of the Student Office on on-campus merchants.⁶⁵ RSC leaders were closely following Nii’s understanding of consumer cooperatives as middle-class activism: A critical understanding of the existing capitalist system and the advocacy of student interests.

RSC leaders found their struggle as part of larger collegiate politics. Among the departments of the dissolved Central Gakuyūkai, sports clubs received official recognition from university authorities as legitimate campus organization and thus financial support. However, ‘leftists’, the Oratory Department (*benronbu*), the Culture Science Department (*bunka kagakubu*), the consumer cooperative could not. The RSC initiated a movement for receiving official recognition in alliance with these unrecognized ex-Gakuyūkai departments, also trying to procure more members to put

⁶⁴ “Kyōsaikai Ōana wo Ake Iin Tsuini Sōjishoku Su: Shihonkin Atsume no Kunikusaku no Shippai Kara, Jigyō ha Senpai no Te de Kanri,” *IUN*, October 8, 1928, 2; “Mata mo Fushimatsu Bakuro Shite Kyōsaikai Tsuini Kaizō Saru: Kōbaibu ni Sanzen yo en no Ōana, Gakusei Jichi wo Kegasu,” *IUN*, March 25, 1929, 2.

⁶⁵ “Shin Kyōsaibu no Seitan ni Tsuite Akamon Shōhikumiai no Geki,” *IUN*, April 29, 1929, 2.

strength for this movement.⁶⁶ And they succeeded. The RSC acquired 400 members by March 1929, 600 members by April 1929.⁶⁷ The RSC gained sufficient price competitiveness to lure students. The cooperative dealt with suits, spring coats, shoes and bulkpacks, while also beginning laundry services.⁶⁸ The prices of the Cooperative were cheaper than market prices by 20% to 30%. During the 1930s, RSC leaders continued their efforts to lower their prices by directly producing clothes and notebooks and by relying on cheaper producers like the Settlement Production Center (*jusanjō*) in Tokyo.⁶⁹ The birth of the RSC affected the prices of other merchants. Challenged by the RSC's Photograph Department established in 1932 that took a piece of ID picture for 25 sen, the on-campus photographer lowered the price from 60 to 30 sen for the same service.⁷⁰

As student activists came into conflict with university authorities, the nature of the TSCC itself changed. In a meeting in 1929, TSCC activists decided upon "the liquidation of liberalism," regarded consumer cooperatives as a wing of student radicals on each campus.⁷¹ The RSC became a radical vehicle to revive the Central Gakuyūkai in this vision. After the dissolution of the Central Gakuyūkai in 1928, Tōdai radicals organized an Autonomous Student Association (*jichi gakuseikai*), an underground organization, for this agenda, a part of which was the RSC's confrontation with the

⁶⁶ "Akamon Shōhikumiai ga Kōnin Undō wo Okosu: Gakunai no Katsudō wo Habamare Jūyokka Mazu Taikai wo Hiraku," *IUN*, May 13, 1929, 7.

⁶⁷ "Kōkō Sotsugyōsei ni Sakan ni Senden: Shingakki wo Maeni Tabō na Gakusei Shōhikumiai," *IUN*, March 11, 1929, 3; "Shinnyūsei no Otokui, Isogashii Gakusei no Mise: Kumiaiin ga Roppyaku, Uriage Ichinichi Roppyaku en, Akamon Shōhikumiai," *IUN*, April 15, 1929, 3.

⁶⁸ "Purinto kara Seiyōsentaku Shōhi Kumiai no Tattenburi," *IUN*, January 14, 1929, 2.

⁶⁹ "Jugyōryō mondai," *IUN*, April 29, 1929, 2; "Akamon Shōhikumiai ga Kōnin Undō wo Okosu: Gakunai no Katsudō wo Habamare Jūyokka Mazu Taikai wo Hiraku," *IUN*, May 13, 1929, 7; "Shinnyūsei no Otokui, Isogashii Gakusei no Mise," 3; Tōkyō gakusei kumiai akamon shibu ed., *Tōdai Nyūgaku Annai* (Tokyo, 1937), 90-91.

⁷⁰ Tōkyō gakusei shōhikumiai akamon shibu toshobu, ed. *Tōdai Nyūgaku Annai* (Tokyo: 1936), 87.

⁷¹ Mukōyama, *Tōkyō Gakusei Shōhi Kumiaishi*, 203.

university authorities.⁷² Radical RSC leaders had close ties with underground radicals from the Red Salvation Society (*akairo kyūenkai*) under the banner of the Autonomous Student Association.

On May 24, 1930, radicals from the Faculty of Law held an un-licensed student rally at which they demanded a discount on the affiliation fee of the Green Society (*midorikai*, the faculty level Gakuyūkai of Tōdai Law), and the reinstatement of the Central Gakuyūkai. Soon, Green Society radicals organized another demonstration, this time in collaboration with the RSC. Their target was Shirokiya, which had taken over the control of an on-campus dining hall in 1929 but whose food, according to a RSC survey, was expensive and unhygienic. In June 1930, RSC and Green Society radicals held a rally demanding the expulsion of Shirokiya and the RSC's control of the dining hall. University authorities responded by expelling the RSC president and suspending all student executives of the Green Society, not to mention ignoring the RSC's demand.⁷³

This was not just a story of collision. Noteworthy here is the RSC's pressure on on-campus merchants. The discount of the Gakuyūkai fee and meals became reality by 1930. The Green Society decided to lower its fee from six to five yen. After conducting its own price survey, the Student Office ordered on-campus merchants including Shirokiya to lower their prices twice in 1930. Between 1929 and 1934, students' average expenses for meals per month plummeted from 22.23 yen to 16.57 yen. Amidst

⁷² In 1930, students at Kyōto Imperial University created a student consumption cooperative and made connections with the Kyōto Proletariat Consumption Cooperative and the Kyōto Home Consumption Cooperative. Mukōyama, *Tōkyō Gakusei Shōhi kumiaiishi*, 205.

⁷³ "Midorikai no Sasshinpa Gakuseika e Oshikaku Nijūyokka Totsujo Taikai wo Hiraite Gakubukai no Sasshin Undō," *IUN*, May 26, 1930, 7; "Midorikai no Zen Iin Jūninichi Totsujo Kainin Kiru Funkyū Tsuzuku Daiichishokudō Jiken," *IUN*, June 15, 1931, 2; "Bunbōgurui wa Kumiai ga Mottomo Yasui, Nōto, Pen wa Shika yori Takai Kōnai Baiten," *IUN*, June 30, 1930, 2; "Shokudō Keiei Mōshikomi wo Gakushō Mokusatsu Saru," *IUN*, August 4, 1931, 2.

competition between the RSC and the Student Office, expenses for campus life dramatically decreased. RSC members grew in number from 263 to 1,928 between 1928 and 1931.⁷⁴

However, conflicts with university authorities eventually caused trouble for RSC activities. After 1931, the RSC procured fewer new members as school authorities discouraged their graduates from joining the RSC. From 1931 to 1933, total turn-over decreased from 42,500 yen to 17,900 yen. In this situation, the potential for the RSC to gain official recognition from Tōdai authorities by enlarging its membership diminished. Other TSCC branches suffered similar problems. The sales of the Waseda branch decreased from 3,000 yen in 1932 to 1,400 yen in 1933. Because of the suppression by university authorities, branches at Rikkyō University, Meiji Gakuin, and Takushoku University disappeared in 1932, 1933, and 1935 respectively. Between 1932 and 1936, the TSCC lost 2,400 members.⁷⁵

In all, RSC radicals showed a radical version of middling on campus. They brought the practice of cooperative consumption as a means to defend “students’ interest,” claiming legitimacy in consumer culture over university authorities. They, as Nii pointed out, defined their political role in social reform for economically modest

⁷⁴ “Tasū Kaiin no Yōbō de Midorikai Kaihi Goen ni: Iinkai de Nesage ni Kettei,” *IUN*, December 22, 1930, 3; “Gakunai no Kaku Baiten ga Heikin Ichiwari wo Nesage Kinshuku Nesage Jidai wo Han’ei Shite Jihatsutekini Mōshidezu,” “Gakusei Shokun no Kibō ni Sofu: Shirokiya Gakusei Dan,” *IUN*, January 13, 1930, 2; “Gakunai Kaku Baiten Sarani Ichiwari Nesage: Shokudō Niwa Kaizen wo Yōkyū,” *IUN*, September 22, 1930, 7; “Daiichi Shokudō ga Futatabi Sanshoku Zenbu Nesage: Asa Jūsen, Hiru Jūgosen, Yū Nijūsen ni: Raishun Hayabaya kara Jisshi,” *IUN*, December 22, 1930, 3; Tōkyō teikoku daigaku gakuseika, ed. *Tōkyō Teikoku Daigaku Gakusei Seikatsu Chōsa Hōkoku* (Tokyo: 1935), 12; “Gakusei Seikatsu Chōsa no Shūkei,” *IUN*, March 4, 1935, 2; Mukōyama, *Tōkyō Gakusei Shōhikumiai shi*, 249-250.

⁷⁵ “Uchitsuzuku Appaku de Shinnyūin Heru: Akamon Gakushō Senden ni Tsutomu,” *IUN*, June 13, 1932, 7; Mukōyama, *Tōkyō Gakusei Shōhi Kumiai shi*, 320; Nisseikyōsōritsu Gojūshūnen Kinen Rekishi Hensan Iinkai, ed. *Gendai Nihon Seikyō Undōshi*, vol. jō (Tokyo: Nihon seikatsu kyōdō kumiai rengōkai, 2002), 67.

students. Their middle position was a political one, fiercely competing with university authorities over the initiative of student welfare programs. But, they were not the only middling agents in cooperative activism. As RSC activists eventually suffered damage from their collision with university authorities, an alternative middling strategy replaced radical protests.

IV. Contested Reconciliation: Middle-Class Consumption Practice as a Source of a Controlled Economy

In 1934, TSCC staff decided to concentrate on the sales and membership rather than engaging in radicalism. The trigger for this change was the arrest of Yamagishi Akira, a standing director of the TSCC in July 1933, for his affiliation with the illegal Japan Communist Party.⁷⁶ In a TSCC general meeting in September 1933, Kagawa Toyohiko, asking the resignation of Yamagishi, the TSCC president, asked TSCC staff “not to go ideologically,” and to “cut its tie with the Japan Proletarian Consumer Cooperative Association (*nihon musansha shōhikumiai renmei*),” a national league of leftist cooperatives. Kagawa repeatedly emphasized the danger of radicalization in managing consumer cooperatives.⁷⁷ Kagawa’s advice gained support. In January 1934, TSCC leaders articulated their management-oriented vision (*keieishugi*) of cooperative activism, by denouncing radicalism. “Christain, liberal socialists had been alienated or denounced from cooperative activists. The TSCC was dominated by the so-called leftists,” went the TSCC business report in 1933, “and as a wing of leftist student activism, the TSCC, to

⁷⁶ A testimony of Yamagishi himself. Recited from Mukōyama, *Tōkyō Gakusei Shōhi Kumiai shi*, 435.

⁷⁷ *IUN*, November 2, 1936, 9.

students, seemed to consider its primary purpose, i.e., economizing student life only the secondary purpose... So, TSCC staff concentrated on the management of the cooperative.” But, they talked of the cooperative ideal. “However, is managerialism everything we have to keep in mind? The TSCC does not aim to take profit.”⁷⁸

Cooperative activists continued to claim legitimacy as a reformer of consumer practice by differentiating the TSCC from profit-taking merchants.

This decision promptly affected the TSCC’s strongest branch, the RSC. In its in-house publication, *Twilight*, the RSC tried to change its leftist image. According to its author, “the stigma of ‘left-wing’ is a big river between the RSC and student masses,” but regarding the RSC just as leftist was “unfair.” “Considering the original duty of the RSC to deliver cheap and high-quality goods directly from producers to consumers,” argued the author, “there is no reason to stigmatize the RSC as leftist.”⁷⁹

This new line was expressed with its new building and enterprises. Kagawa’s connection with the state helped. In September 1934, Kagawa helped the RSC borrow 2,000 yen from the Industrial Cooperative Central Depository (*sangyō kumiai chūō kinko*), Ministry of Agriculture and Forest, and the RSC moved its store to a more accessible location on Hongō Street. The RSC began to sell new books discounted by ten percent, which the bookstore of the Tōdai Living Cooperative, the postwar successor of the RSC, is still doing today, and dealt with used books. The book enterprise was a big

⁷⁸ “Gakusei Shōhikumiai Undō no Enkaku to Gensei,” in Monbushō shisōkyoku, *Shisō Chōsa Shiryō*, no. 26 (1935): 39-41.

⁷⁹ “Keieishugi wo Saiyō, Kunan no Gakushō Sōdaikai: Aratani Senden ni Noridasu,” *IUN*, January 29, 1934, 9; “Gakusei Shōhi Kumiai no Enkaku to Gensei,” Monbushō shisōkyoku, *Shisō Chōsa Shiryō*, no. 26 (1935), : 71; Tōkyō gakusei kumiai toshobu (akamon shibu henshū), *Toshō Hyōron*, No.3 (1935): 14 (I am using Toshohyōron fukkōkuban kankō iinkai, ed. *Toshohyōron (No.1-No.21)*, vol. (Tokyo: Kasumigaseki shuppan kabushiki kaisha, 1979); “Tōhoku, Kyōdai e Nōto wo Haikyū: Gakushō no Katsuyaku”, *IUN*, February 12, 1934, 7; Yūgen sekinin kōbai kumiai tōkyō gakusei shōhikumiai akamon shibu, ed. *Reimei*, special volume (Tokyo: 1934), 2-3.

success, raising RSC sales from 17,510 yen to 25,680 yen between 1933 and 1934. Its sales reached 45,000 yen in 1935.⁸⁰

However, the RSC's conversion did not solve its conflict with the Student Office. In 1934, the Student Office still took precautions with the RSC, a "culture ground of the left." This judgment was not unfounded. At the center of student communists was Kuniya Yōzō, an RSC founder and Communist Party member, who, according to the Student Office, was "stretching out his red hands to students through the RSC."⁸¹

Neither did the conversion of the RSC soothe its relations with merchants. The RSC was approaching the cooperative ideal of combining production and delivery for middle-class consumers, sacrificing small merchants. The RSC established a factory for shoes and clothes for the vertical integration of production and delivery. A bookstore manager criticized the RSC's discount on new books, but they rebuffed the protest. RSC activists openly denigrated the on-campus merchants. In a guidebook for campus life the Cooperative distributed, RSC activists denigrated the private managers of the First and the Second Dining Halls, Sudachō Diner and Fuji Icecream respectively, for the "extremely bad quality" of their meals. Pointing out that Sudachō Diner had opened its new franchise store in Shinjuku and Fuji Icecream had enlarged its Ginza franchise Store ten times, the author of the pamphlet lamented, "Students grow thinner, whereas

⁸⁰ "Nigiyaka ni Hongō Tōri e Gakushō Shinshutsu, Shinsō de Tōka kara Kaiten", *IUN*, September 3, 1934, 2; "Gakushō no Shinshutsu ni Nokinami Shoten no Nayami: Purinto Waribiki Mondai ni Karande Hanmoku Yōyaku Hyōmenka," *IUN*, November 12, 1934, 9; "Omote Tōri Banzai: Gakushō no Uriage Daizōka," *IUN*, October 29, 1934, 9; Mukōyama, *Tōkyō Gakusei Shōhikumiishi*, 246-247, 318-319, 476.

⁸¹ Tōkyō teikoku daigaku gakuseika, ed. *Shōwa Kyūnen Chū ni okeru Hongakunai no Gakusei Shisō Undō no Gaikyō* (Tokyo: 1935), 1, 3.

merchants take on flesh!”⁸² A competition with merchants was embedded in middling RSC students’ efficient consumption of higher education and campus life.

The on-going conflicts the RSC experienced were not just local anecdotes, but part of the larger transformation in Japanese economic system. As a countermeasure to the Great Depression, the Japanese government began to establish a controlled economy under the catchphrase of economic rehabilitation (*keizai kōsei*) in 1932. A key strategy of this initiative was to reorganize Industrial Cooperatives (*sangyō kumiai*) in rural Japan to a basic unit to respond economic, cultural policies of the state. Clearly conscious of their role as reformers of entire Japanese economic system, cooperative activists joined the state to constructing a controlled economy. Already in 1934, TSCC president Kagawa Toyohiko argued for a “national renovation” by establishing a “cooperative nation (*kumiai kokka*),” linking consumers and producers.⁸³ RSC activists embraced this initiative. When the RSC challenged Hongō bookstores by discounting new books, the manager of Ikuseido, a bookstore on Hongō Street, protested to the RSC with a complaint that “the RSC is cruel only to small merchants, not big capital.” RSC activists understood this protest as an anti-cooperative activism (*hansan undō*), a challenge to legitimate “economic rehabilitation” connecting producers and consumers.⁸⁴ In their opinion, the RSC was not pressuring small merchants since their calamity was derived from the excessive number of similar traders and the entrance of department stores into the

⁸² “Uriagedaka Sarani Zōka Gakushō Yōfuku Kōjō wo Shinsetsu,” *IUN*, January 16, 1939, 11; “Gakushō no Shinshutsu ni Nokinami Shoten no Nayami: Purinto Waribiki Mondai ni Karande Hanmoku Yōyaku Hyōmenka,” *IUN*, November 12, 1934, 9; Tōkyō gakusei shōhikumiai akamon shibu toshobu ed., *Tōdai nyūgaku annai*, 75.

⁸³ Kagawa Toyohiko, *Kumiai Kokka wo Ronji Kokka Kaizō ni Oyobu* (Tokyo: Tōkyō gakusei shōhi kumiai shuppan, 1934).

⁸⁴ “Gakushō no shinshutsu ni nokinami shoten no nayami,” 9.

business. RSC activists suggested small merchants join consumer cooperatives as a solution for this situation.⁸⁵ By 1934, the RSC was on the same side as the state's, and in 1936, RSC leaders defined their role as "completing the social enterprise called delivery (*haikyū*)" by defying "merchants in charge of delivering products."⁸⁶ The RSC established a factory for shoes and clothes, approaching a vertical integration of production, delivery, and consumption.⁸⁷

The delivery system has tended to be considered an emblem of devastated wartime Japan in its last stage, but delivery had been an old issue in Japan from before the activation of the National Mobilization Law in 1938. When the National Mobilization Law passed the Diet in 1938, cooperative activists envisioned connecting rural producers and urban consumer cooperatives.⁸⁸ By 1938, one author of the *Imperial University News* characterized the RSC as "following national policies,"⁸⁹ which, given its conflict the state in the early 1930s, marks a dramatic change in the image of the RSC. In this way, middle-class social activism for consumer cooperatives provided a model for the delivery system, which was defined as "a vertical integration of the production, delivery, and consumption organizations"⁹⁰ by a state official in 1941.

Although commodity prices seriously rose during the wartime period, the function of the RSC was challenged but persisted. In 1938, price increases became inevitable. The prices of some commodities such as leather-made shoes rose by 55

⁸⁵ Tōkyō gakusei shōhikumiai akamon shibu toshobu, *Tōdai nyūgaku annai*, 88.

⁸⁶ Tōkyō gakusei shōhikumiai toshobu (Akamon shibu ed.), *Tosho hyōron*, No.15 (1936): 32-33.

⁸⁷ "Uriagedaka Sarani Zōka Gakushō Yōfuku Kōjō wo Shinsetsu," *IUN*, January 16, 1939, 11.

⁸⁸ Kasai Yoshio, *Nōson Sangyō Kumiai to Toshi Shōhi Kumiai no Renkei ni Tsuite* (Tokyo: Kyōdō kumiai kenkyūjo, 1938).

⁸⁹ "Setsuru Heisa, Gakugai Dantai Saisei e," *IUN*, January 1, 1939, 7.

⁹⁰ Matsumura Hisayoshi, *Haikyū to Shōhi wo dō Suruka: Kokudo Bōei Ka no Seikatsu Saihensei* (Tokyo: Taisei yokusankai sendenbu, 1941), 21.

percent.⁹¹ In this chaos, the price competitiveness of the RSC was significantly challenged. According to an RSC price survey in 1938, some items turned out to be more expensive in the RSC store than in the stores of nearby merchants (see Table 2.2).⁹² However, Tōdai students still liked the RSC. Although the RSC could not maintain its competitiveness for all items, its prices for backpacks were overwhelmingly cheaper than those of other merchants. From 1936 to 1939, the RSC's membership and sales marked a steady increase from 2,112 to 2,560 and from 47,426 yen to 53,500 yen respectively.

Table 2.2: The RSC Price Survey in 1938⁹³

	RSC	On-campus Sanseidō	On-campus Second Store	Off- campus Sanseidō	Off- Maruzen	Off- Itōya
Letter Paper	15-18 sen	12-22 sen	12-15 sen	15-20 sen	25-45 sen	20-28 sen
Envelope	5-10 sen	6 sen	13-18 sen	6-12 sen	6-12 sen	8-9 sen
Toothpaste	17 sen	18 sen		20 sen		20 sen
Soap (Ka ō)	10 sen	8 sen	8 sen	10 sen		
Sock	20-50 sen	30-39 sen		30sen-2yen		
Leather Belt	90sen- 1.1yen	1.02-2.23 yen		90 sen-3 yen	2.0-2.3 yen	2.4-6.0 yen
Sack	10-12 yen	17 yen				16-20 yen
Notebook	40 sen	38 sen	35 sen			
Essay paper	28 sen	18-22 sen				

The prosperity of the RSC was in concert with national boom of consumer cooperatives. From 1936 to 1940, the number of consumer cooperatives grew from 184 to 242, with more than 400,000 members, while their sales rose from 32,000,000 yen to

⁹¹ A pair of the cheapest loafers (*bokkusu tanka*) were 6 yen 50 sen, but became 10 yen after May 1938. "Kutsugawa mo Daiyōhin: Kyōsai Iinkai de Kyōka," *IUN*, October 2, 1939, 11.

⁹² "Uriagedaka Sara ni Zōka: Gakushō Yōfuku Kōjō wo Shinsetsu," *IUN*, January 16, 1939, 11.

⁹³ "Izen Renka wo Hokoru: Gakushō de Shika Chōsahyō Happyō," *IUN*, October 24, 1938, 11.

74,000,000 yen. The cooperatives of Yoshino and Kagawa experienced a high-speed growth in this period. From 1935 to 1942, the Home Purchase Cooperative tripled its members (from 7,345 to 25,683) and quadrupled its sales (from 1,386,000 yen to 5,665,000 yen), while the Kōbe and the Nada cooperatives doubled their sales and members (for Kōbe, 4,000 to 9,000 people, 500,000 to 880,000 yen, Nada, 5,000 to 10,000 people, 1,050,000 to 2,070,000 yen).⁹⁴

The role of existing consumer cooperatives in the wartime delivery system cannot be overestimated. The wartime cooperative state embraced middle-merchants who organized commercial cooperatives (*shōgyō kumiai*) to link producer and consumer organizations in the wartime delivery system, rather than creating additional consumer cooperatives. Existing consumer cooperatives were few in number.⁹⁵ Among consumer cooperatives in Tokyo, only the Home Purchase Cooperative served as a rice deliverer (*haikyūjo*).

However, this fact cannot overshadow the centrality of the cooperative vision in wartime Japan. The streamlining of the distribution system and the solution of conflicts between cooperatives and middle-merchants were the steadfast agendas of the wartime Japanese state.⁹⁶ Honiden Yoshio led this development as the Economic Policy Director of the Imperial Rule Assistance Association,⁹⁷ while Kagawa Toyohiko served as an architect of a national health insurance system.

Tōdai also became a cell in the system. The RSC was dissolved in 1940. But, in

⁹⁴ Kagawa Toyohiko and Yamasaki Benji, *Sangyōkumiai Dokuhon* (Tokyo: Shunjūsha 1938), 231; Nisseikyōsōritsu gōjūshūnen kinen rekishi hensan iinkai ed., *Gendai nihon seikyō undōshi, jō*, p.68.

⁹⁵ Kikusawa Kenzō, *Kumiai Keizai to Haikyū Keizai* (Tokyo: Ganshōdōshoten, 1944), 6-7.

⁹⁶ Shōwa kenkyūkai jimukyoku, ed. *Wagakuni Haikyū Kikō Kaikaku Shian* (Tokyo: 1940), 33.

⁹⁷ “Yokusankai Hitori Hitogotoba, Keizai Seisakubuchō Honiden Yoshio,” *Tokyo asahi shinbun*, November 14, 1940 (yūkan), 3.

1941, the Student Office officially engaged in the administration of delivery by establishing a Delivery Unit (*haikyū han*). Staff at the Student Office chose the Prioritized Student Diners (*gakusei yūsen shokudō*) to provide students with meals, but by 1943 they also distributed shoes for students in a long queue.⁹⁸ Despite the dissolution of the RSC in 1940, Tōdai students were incorporated into the cooperative wartime social order. In this sense, cooperative activists settled their agenda in wartime Japan, though in a quite different context.

V. RSC Activities in Economic and Political Terms

By 1937, the RSC were 12 sections dealing with commodities or services: books, used books, western clothes, hats, shoes, stationary stuffs, printing, book-binding, bulkpicks, laundry service, hairdressing, glasses, photographs, and two other sections: the Mutual Aid Section (*kyōsaibu*), which provided students with information for cheap lodgings and a moving service, and the Culture Section (*bunkabu*), the Culture Section published *the Book Review (Tosho hyōron)* and *the Guidebook for Entering Tōdai (Tōdai nyūgaku annai)*. The contents of RSC activities show how the RSC conceptualized higher education as a commodity and served students' class formation regardless of their tentative radicalization.

From its very beginning, the most central RSC enterprise was selling necessary but expensive commodities for taking class. The RSC established the Coursepack Section

⁹⁸ Tōkyō daigaku hyakunenshi henshū iinkai ed., *Tōkyō Daigaku Hyakunenshi, Bukyokushi*, Vol.4 (Tokyo: Tōkyō daigaku shuppankai, 1987), 1130-1131.

(*purintobu*) in 1929 and produced bulkpacks at a ten percent cheaper rate than others.⁹⁹ By 1937, the RSC organized the Teidai Coursepack League with student note-providers, the Red Gate Bookstore (a print shop on Hongō Street), and itself, to produce bulkpacks for almost all courses in Humanities, Economics, and Law at Tōdai. In this way, the handwritten notes of Tōdai courses, with which Tōdai students easily borrow money from pawnshop when they could not pay the beer in “old days,” lost its value.¹⁰⁰ As already explored, the RSC began to sell textbooks with discounted prices by six to ten percent in 1934. The sales of books steadily increased, sometimes reaching 4000 yen per month in 1936.¹⁰¹ The RSC sold used books, notebooks, ink, desk lamps, and pens. The RSC produced notebooks in cooperation with the Mutual-Aid Society of the Faculty of Law and Humanities at Kyūshū Imperial University.¹⁰² These services were with an energy of social reform. The RSC collected students’ reviews of on-campus diners and stationary stores during the campus life, which legitimated the RSC’s denunciation of merchants. In this way, the RSC incorporated expensive but necessary commodities for taking class into a “rational consumption life of students.”¹⁰³

Other RSC services contributed to students’ cultural distinction in living and appearance. The RSC provided freshman students with the Tōdai uniform, sold graduates suits, their white-collar uniform, and shoe and hats to complete their white-collar outfit.

⁹⁹ “Purinto kara seiyōsentaku shōhi kumiai no hattenburi”, *IUN*, January 14, 1929; *Tosho hyōron*, no.3 (1935), p.20; *Tosho hyōron*, no.9 (1935), p.25; Tōkyō gakusei kumiai akamon shibu ed., *Tōdai nyūgaku annai* (Tokyo, 1937), p.93. Nagamine Shigetoshi, *Tōdaisei wa Donna Hon wo Yonde Kitaka: Hongō, Komaba no Dokusho Seikatsu 130 Nen* (Tokyo: Heibonsha, 2007), 122-123.

¹⁰⁰ Around the Tōdai campus were 40 pawnshops that lended money to Tōdai students. Teikoku daigaku shinbunsha, *Tōsei daigakusei katagi*, 68-69.

¹⁰¹ *IUN*, January 14, 1929; *Tosho Hyōron*, no.3, (1935): 20.

¹⁰² *Tosho Hyōron*, no.9 (1935): 25; *Tosho Hyōron*, no.3 (1935): 14; Tōkyō gakusei kumiai akamon shibu ed., *Tōdai Nyūgaku Annai*, 1937: 90-97.

¹⁰³ Tōkyō gakusei kumiai akamon shibu ed., *Tōdai Nyūgaku Annai*, 85.

The RSC's Photograph Section took pictures students used when applying for jobs, while making name cards for the fledgling white-collar workers. New comers could rely on the Mutual Aid Section for information about available housing and a moving service, and could purchase western style furniture in the RSC store.¹⁰⁴ The RSC also took the pictures students used when they applied for white-collar jobs.

The RSC also aided students' entrance to Tōdai. The RSC published and distributed *the Guidebook for Entering Tōdai* to high schools all over Japan to introduce skills for Tōdai's entrance exams. The RSC's attitude toward higher education facilities was paradoxical. The author of *the Guidebook for Entering Tōdai* criticized that "most students coming to universities consider university as a job search institution."¹⁰⁵ But at the same time, the author explained how students should prepare for the entrance examination and manage their lives after matriculation. Although not affirming that universities were becoming a job-search institution, students' matriculation and lives were important for the RSC. The critique on higher education did not exclude the RSC from supporting students' promotion to the middle-class.¹⁰⁶

The RSC depended on connections among students for its reproduction. Since students went back to their hometowns and visited their *alma maters* during vacation, RSC leaders tried to attract high school students through these links, encouraging RSC members "to lure [their] friends, seniors and juniors from [their] *alma mater*."¹⁰⁷ The RSC organized high-school-alumni subunits (*kōkōbetsu shijidan*) to initiate an anti-

¹⁰⁴ An advertisement of the RSC, *IUN*, September 4, 1931, 8; Tōkyō gakusei kumiai akamon shibu ed., *Tōdai Nyūgaku Annai*, 90-97.

¹⁰⁵ Tōkyō gakusei kumiai akamon shibu ed., *Tōdai Nyūgaku Annai*, 1-2.

¹⁰⁶ *Ibid.*

¹⁰⁷ *Tosho hyōron*, no.15 (1936): 34-35.

authority campaign in 1930 during the Green Society Incident.¹⁰⁸ This connection also served for the dissemination of consumer cooperatives at high schools, although these were often suppressed by school authorities. Access to universities was important not just for students' promotion to the middle class, but also for the RSC's own reproduction.

The RSC also helped students' leisure life, another critical agenda in middle-class discourses in interwar Japan. The RSC established the Entertaining Room (*gorakushitsu*), equipped with Japanese Chessmen, a *go* board, and Majhong pieces. Also, the RSC held baseball games and organized a picnic for its members.¹⁰⁹ By 1937, the RSC sold goods for students' summer leisure while at "sea and mountains."¹¹⁰ Moreover, the RSC distributed discounted tickets (from 30 to 20 sen) for Hongōza, a theater.¹¹¹ In its 10th anniversary celebration, the RSC held music and theatrical performances, many of which were at the New Tsukiji Theater (*shin tsukiji gekijō*), a famous venue for leftist playwrights.¹¹² In other words, student radicals, by utilizing their connections with leftist playwrights, contributed to students' leisure life. Also, the RSC sold phonographs and music recordings to respond to student needs.¹¹³ In this way, the RSC served students for their matriculation, employment, and student life as a transitional period between them.

In solely economic terms, the benefits of the RSC were not gigantic. For instance, in 1936, the RSC's sales reached 47,000 yen, and it had 2,112 members, who spent an

¹⁰⁸ "Gakusei Shōhi Kumiai Shobun ni Kōkōbetsu Shijidan Naru," *IUN*, November 23, 1930; "Danatsu ni Kōshite Gakushō wo Mamore: Shijikai wo Kessei Seyo," *Nihon Kyōsan Seinen Renmei Tōdaishibu* ed., *Akamon Senshi*, No.42 (1931): 1.

¹⁰⁹ Tōkyō teikoku daigaku gakuseika, *Shōwa Kyūnen Chū ni Okeru Hongakunai no Gakusei Shisō Undō no Gaikyō*, 14; *Tosho Hyōron*, No.5 (1935): 28.

¹¹⁰ *Tosho Hyōron*, No.21 (1937): 44.

¹¹¹ *Tosho Hyōron*, No.5 (1935): 28.

¹¹² *Tosho Hyōron*, No.9 (1935): 26.

¹¹³ *Tosho Hyōron*, No.15 (1936): 31.

annual average twenty-three yen per person. Excluding tuition, Tōdai students on average used roughly 500 yen a year between 1934 and 1938.¹¹⁴ Therefore, given an average discount rate of 20 percent for commodities at the RSC store, the RSC enabled its members to save 4.6 yen (94 dollars in today's terms) per person annually. This amount, apparently, was not sufficient to liberate poor students from part-timing. However, a 4.6-yen saving without labor cannot be said insignificant for RSC members. In capitalist Japan, there was no easy way of saving big money, which could be achieved through a meticulous management of living.

More significant is the RSC's political impact on student life. As student life became a focus of social contestation, the Student Office developed welfare systems for impoverished students, providing them with part-time jobs and funding opportunities. These student welfare systems spread to other universities in the 1930s and strengthened Japanese universities' functions of producing the middle class.

In October 1938, the Home Minister ordered the dissolution of the RSC, a "radical organization."¹¹⁵ The RSC ceased to exist in early 1940. Despite its conversion to "managerialism," the RSC could not save itself from its leftist image. In national politics, many converted-left bureaucrats were arrested in 1941, and their agenda, the separation of owners from management of corporations, was suspended until 1945. The stigmatization of the converted leftists remained a common tactic to frustrate their agendas in political arenas.

¹¹⁴ Tōkyō teikoku daigaku gakuseika, *Tōkyō Teikoku Daigaku Gakusei Seikatsu Chōsa Hōkoku* (1939), 34; Tōkyō teikoku daigaku gakuseika, *Tōkyō teikoku daigaku gakusei seikatsu chōsa hōkoku* (1935), 42.

¹¹⁵ "Daigaku Seikyō No Rekishi Kara Manabu Mono," *Univ. COOP*, no. 134 (1983): 42-43.

The RSC reveals how a consumer culture unfolded in the lived reality of Tōdai students. Consumer economists envisioned the idea of modern consumption as a means of expressing consumers' individual visions of living, and promoted efficiency in consumption to make consuming expensive commodities legitimate and possible. Consumer economists and social activists provided consumers and their "cultured living" through the consumption of commodities with social legitimacy over the prodigal old elites and blindly-saving uneducated. By promoting the modernity of efficiency, the RSC buttressed this fledgling consumer culture. They gave students an economic gain and rendered higher education to be a more affordable commodity for middling students on the educational-employment pipeline. In this process, the idea of the middle class itself was reconstituted in the lived reality of consumer culture. The RSC represented the middling energy of the architects of consumer culture, but at the same time, it worked as an assistant for the struggle of the culturally elite but economically modest. In this sense, the idea of consumer culture, consumption practice, and the middle class were co-constituted through this consumer cooperative activism.

Moreover, the social implication of the saved money was much bigger than it seemed. RSC members challenged the existing economic structure by having their own shop. The middle class did not remain as anonymous, passive consumers, but tried to reform the economic structure itself. Despite the apparent limit resulting from their minority status, their initiative in cooperativization of consumers was powerful enough to transform the economic structure in wartime Japan. As a war against China and the United States broke out, cooperative activists and scholars joined the state to constructing controlled economy with cooperative activism. But, this does not mean cooperative

activism was inherently associated with controlled economy in wartime Japan. After the war, in 1946, Tōdai students re-established an on-campus consumer cooperative whose president was Nanbara Shigeru, the first postwar president of Tōdai. Student cooperatives at other universities swiftly revived and organized a National School Cooperative League in 1947, which has been providing students with cheaper commodities to this day. The legislation of the Consumer Cooperative Law followed in 1948. Honiden Yoshio was purged by the SCAP authorities after the war, but still suggested cooperative movements in the name of “the democratization of economy (*keizai minshuka*).”¹¹⁶ The streamlining and reorganization of distribution and consumption was an unchallengable agenda in wartime Japan and beyond. Consumer cooperative activism took firm root also in extracollegiate society. By March 2005, half of the total Japanese population had joined a certain kind of consumer cooperative, whose number exceeded 1,000.¹¹⁷

As middle-class formation became boiled down to institutional support and middle-class institutions socially diffused, middle-class lifestyle became classless. During the wartime period, not only collegiate middle-class citizens but Japanese people in general were incorporated into a delivery system and social insurance programs under the guide of cooperative activists. The expansion of this middle-class institution did not immediately bring about a mass middle-class society, but widened pathway to consumer culture even for people outside the educational-employment pipeline.

¹¹⁶ Honiden Yoshio, *Keizai no Minshuka* (Tokyo: Nihon hyōronsha, 1946).

¹¹⁷ Kōsei rōdōshō seikyōseido minaoshi kentōkai, “Shōhi Seikatsu Kyōdōkumiai no Genjō ni Tsuite,” 4. <http://www.mhlw.go.jp/shingi/2006/07/dl/s0721-6c.pdf>

Chapter 3

Between the Proletarian and the Bourgeois: Student Welfare at Tōdai

The rise of institutional welfare appeared following the birth of the educational-employment pipeline and labor legislations in modern Japan. In late nineteenth-century Japan, business leaders developed a corporate welfare system for white-collar workers. As a corporate bureaucracy took shape, so did the welfare perks of salaried workers in the form of corporation-based social insurances and financial support from the employers.¹ Following the establishment of the Factory Law in 1912 which stipulated the duty of employers to provide welfare benefits to workers, social reformers and the state tried to extend this welfare to workers. Japanese word *fukuri* [福利] came to mean a welfare benefit in 1920s Japan. Tōdai collegiate society was part of welfare Japan. Students and university authorities, inspired and affected by the two extra-collegiate worlds of welfare, gradually developed student welfare systems in part-time work, housing, and funding.

Student welfare at Tōdai embodied both merit and social security, reflecting the lived reality of middle-class mobility. On the one hand, Tōdai students achieved “welfare” by excelling on the educational employment pipeline. Their skills of studying, as testified to through their affiliation with Japan’s top school, attracted employers and funding supporters. On the other hand, Tōdai students begged welfare protection. They needed housing in expensive Tokyo, part-time jobs and funding opportunity to

¹ During the 1890s and early 1900s, the big corporations became small universes of social insurances in medicine and disaster, and welfare perks of housing, night snack, the language programs, military service, etc. For Mitsui Engineering’s case, Mitsui bussan gōmei kaisha, ed. *Genkō Tatsurei Ruishū, Meiji Sanjū Hachi Nen Ichigatsu Teisei Zōho* (Tokyo: 1905). Courtesy of the Mitsui bunko (P Bussan 90-1).

supplement their living. The two faces of aspiring students as culturally elite but economically modest were engraved on the mechanism of student welfare.

The hybrid nature of student welfare at Tōdai was the product of the evolving visions for middle-class formation. When business leaders and university authorities provided funding opportunities to excelling students, student welfare was not a critical agenda of Tōdai collegiate society. But, in the 1920s, jobless students came to receive welfare support, which the Tokyo City Social Bureau, Home Ministry, established in 1919, managed for the urban poor.² Professors and student radicals brought student welfare to the fore as a central agenda at Tōdai, and led the establishment of a Mutual Aid Department (*kyōsaibu*) under the Central Gakuyūkai to help students get part-time jobs, housing, and funding support. In this sense, the mutual aid enterprises that focused on the provision of part-time jobs and housing at Tōdai emulated the Social Bureau programs within the university campus. Student funding opportunities were originally developed as a link between students and their prospective employers, but in the 1930s the provision of student funding also carried a sense of aid for poor students. The production of the middle class at Tōdai surfaced as a focus of social policies, blurring student identity between the proletarian and the bourgeois.

These two faces of student welfare at Tōdai were closely intertwined with the formation of the Japanese middle class, which compels us to reconsider the nature of the “Japanese-style” welfare. Until recently, scholars had understood the “Japanese-style” welfare, in which the state developed welfare policies in health and pensions late and still

² Tōkyōshi shakaikyoku, *Tōkyōshi Shakaikyoku Nenpō*, vol. 1 (Tokyo: Tōkyōshi shakaikyoku, 1920).

relied on corporations and families in managing welfare programs, as backward.³

Following Japan's economic success, scholars of the ensuing generation challenged this understanding in two ways. First, they reconceptualized "Japanese-style" welfare from a deviation to variation, if not a success model, of welfare regimes around the world, by exploring social politics operating for the "Japanese-style" welfare.⁴ Second, they discovered that Japanese state was not quite unique, by comparing the contents of welfare policies in Japan and other "advanced countries," and by exploring transnational diffusion of policy ideas around the world.⁵ This chapter joins this discussion by addressing the historical formation of this "Japanese-style" welfare system on the route of the educational-employment pipeline. In so doing, I argue that Japanese society shared the visions and practices of social welfare around the world, but welfare resources were inherently concentrated on "winners" on the educational-employment pipeline. I pay attention to business leaders and part-time employers who provided Tōdai students with a variety of welfare opportunities, which paradoxically rendered "welfare" as a trophy from academic excellence.

In so doing, this chapter argues that welfare programs were the driving force in the rise of the middle class. Scholars have explored why the middle class supported social

³ For instance, Jon Woronoff, *Japan as Anything but Number One* (New York: M. E. Sharpe, 1991). Tachibanaki Toshiaki, *Anshin no Keizaigaku: Raifusaikuru no Risuku ni dō Taikō Suruka* (Tokyo Iwanamishoten, 2002).

⁴ For instance, Maruo Naomi, *Nihongata Fukushi Shakai* (Tokyo: Nihon hōsō shuppan kyōkai, 1984); Shidan hōjin shakai keizaikokuminkiagi et al., *Nihongata Kigyō Fukushi: Seisansei to Hatarakigai No Chōwa* (Tokyo Sanrei shobō, 1984); Kent Calder, *Crisis and Compensation: Public Policy and Political Stability in Japan, 1949-1986* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1988); Sheldon Garon, *Molding Japanese Minds: The State in Everyday Life* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1997).

⁵ Gregory Kasza, *One World of Welfare: Japan in Comparative Perspective* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2006), chapter seven; Hans Martin Krämer, "Historical Origins of a Welfare-State Regime: Unemployment Protection in Japan, 1919-1949," *Social Science Japan Journal* 16, no. 1 (2013).

welfare. According to these researchers, the middle class were not just reactionaries objecting to social insurances but the beneficiaries of social welfare, who supported a social solidarity to protect themselves against unexpected risk.⁶ Based on this insight, historians clarified that “classes may be defined by more than their relations to the means of production.”⁷ This chapter, by historicizing the rise of the middle class itself, marks one step further from the current discussion on the middle class and social welfare. Student radicals at Tōdai collegiate society shows how the aspiring middle class were created by receiving welfare benefits during their class formation. In other words, the ideas of social welfare and the middle class were co-constituted on campus. They were not just the recipients of benefits but also the social reformers, whose vision transformed the nature of middle-class formation from a privilege to right.

VIII. The Laboring Middle Class: The World of Part-time Jobs

The prewar terminology for part-time jobs in Japanese, *naishoku* [内職], implies work within the home, i.e. the part-time jobs a housewife could do at home. As documented by historian Andrew Gordon, Education Ministry bureaucrats and business leaders began to encourage wives to take on extra work as a means to supplement their household economy from around WWI. During the 1920s, this type of work became commonplace among middle class families.⁸ As the terminology suggests, *naishoku* was

⁶ Robert E. Goodin and Julian Le Grand, *Not Only the Poor: The Middle Classes and the Welfare State* (London: Allen & Unwin, 1987); Peter Baldwin, *The Politics of Social Solidarity: Class Bases of the European Welfare States, 1875-1975* (Cambridge, U.K.: Cambridge University Press, 1990).

⁷ Baldwin, *The Politics of Social Solidarity, 1875-1975*, 48.

⁸ Gordon, *Fabricating Consumers*, 76-78.

a heavily gendered activity. According to a survey conducted by the city of Tokyo in 1932, 99.25 percent of the total 4,701 homeworkers in Tokyo were women.⁹

However, this survey did not count students, another large group of part-timers. Part-timing was a good option for covering higher-education students' tuition fees. The economic burden on Tōdai students was not negligible. In 1921 annual tuition fees for Tōdai were 75 yen, (roughly equivalent to 300,000 yen today) increasing to 125 yen in 1929. Already in 1915, however, part-timing was a lived reality to many Tōdai students. If part-time jobs were unavailable, students had to resort to be "parasites (*kisei*)," which means they relied on random patrons to provide a room, meals, and clothes.¹⁰ The development of Social Bureau-style programs at Tōdai responded to the already existing needs of students, who symbolized the reconceptualization of the middle class as in need of protection, with part-time jobs the means to reinforce the weakened economic status of "the middle class and below (*chūryū ika*)."¹¹ In this process, students began to earn money even before their graduation, becoming, as an author of the *Imperial University News* noted, "members of society (*shakaijin*)."¹²

The institutionalization of the support for students' part-time work accompanied the transformation of Tōdai collegiate society after the Great Kantō Earthquake in 1923. As the Earthquake damaged the Hongō area, Tōdai students led by Suehiro Izutarō, a professor of Tōdai law, organized an Imperial University Relief Society (*teidai kyūgodan*), serving for the 3,000 refugees on campus and 8,000 refugees at the Ueno

⁹ Tōkyōshi shakaikyoku, ed. *Naishoku ni Kansuru Chōsa* (Tokyo, 1932), 1.

¹⁰ "Tōkyō Teikoku Daigaku Ni Gakusei Taru Aida No Shohiyō," *Seikatsu* 3, no. 6 (1915): 46-47.

¹¹ Koyama Kidō, *Gekkyū Seikatsusha no Fukugyō* (Tokyo Ōsakayagō shoten, 1919), 2.

¹² "Gekka Suru Naishokusen: Aware wo Yameru Bunkakei," *IUN*, April 28, 1935, 11.

Park by providing food and medical services.¹³ Also, Suehiro and students organized a Tōdai Disaster Information Bureau (*jōhōkyoku*), which conducted surveys on damage, casualties, and refugees, and created a map of damage.¹⁴ The energy of this relief activity also pointed to students themselves. Led by “young professors of the Faculty of Engineering,” the Imperial University Relief Society established a Provisional Student Consultation Center (*rinjigaksei sōdanjo*) in 1923 and helped students “who lost the source of funding” due to the Earthquake get part-time jobs of home-tutoring, translating, and, for students of engineering, drawing.¹⁵ As Tōdai collegiate society became a social community taking care of student’s living, students’ part-time work came to be institutionally managed.

The transformation of Tōdai collegiate society joined another group of on-campus social reformers of the organization of Tōdai collegiate society itself. In student rallies just after the Great Kantō Earthquake in 1923, Tōdai students passed the Shinjinkai’s reform plans, which included the affiliation of all Tōdai students with the Central Gakuyūkai, and students’ participation in university administration based upon students’ election of their representatives. Under these circumstances, student welfare surfaced as a focal issue. After 1925, student welfare was under the newly-emerged Mutual Aid Department (*kyōsaibu*) in the Central Gakuyūkai, which introduced students lodging houses, part-time jobs, and managed dining halls and laundry services.¹⁶ In this process, mutual-aid organizations that Shinjinkai members managed at labor unions were

¹³ “Eikyū ni Kioku Saru Beki Tōdai Gakusei no Daikatsudō,” *IUN*, November 8, 1923, 2.

¹⁴ “Jōhōkyoku no Henshin Sanman Gosen wo Toppasu,” *IUN*, November 8, 1923, 2.

¹⁵ “Shokugyō Shōkai no Tame Gakusei Sōdanjo wo Mōku,” *IUN*, November 8, 1923, 3.

¹⁶ “Daiichi Shokudō wo Kyōsaibu Keiei ni: Jūnigatsu Shōgo Tetsuzuki Kanryō,” *IUN*, June 25, 1925, 3.

imported to Tōdai campus. Shinjinkai radicals were interested in leading mutual-aid enterprises in pursuit of awakening “a proletariat class consciousness in the minds of Petit-bourgeois students taking advantage of “the economic downturn of the middle class.”¹⁷ In 1923, Kikukawa Tadao, a Shinjinkai leader, took the leading role in establishing a Gakuyūkai-managed dining hall.¹⁸ Gakuyūkai staff temporarily consulted the Home Purchase Cooperative, whose president was Yoshino Sakuzō, about the circulation of goods.¹⁹ By 1925, the Central Gakuyūkai was joining social networks of middle-class institutions in managing welfare programs.

Statistical science buttressed and guided the fledgling welfare institution for part-time job search. Mutual Aid Department staff conducted surveys on student life, prices of stores in the Hongō area, and created statistics of their own welfare programs. In December 1925, the Mutual Aid Department of the Central Gakuyūkai, in pursuit of information “about funding, housing, health, leisure of students,” which would be a reference for checking the efficiency of mutual-aid programs and a reference for the future action.²⁰ Although only four students were from workers’ family, the analyst of the survey discovered that 877 sons of landlords or merchants and 607 sons of bureaucrats and salaried workers could not necessarily be called “middle-class or above.”²¹ Among the 2287 students who responded this survey, only 1673 students could fully rely on their

¹⁷ “Gakusei Undō to Kojin no Ninmu: Tōronkai kara no Danpin”, *Shinjinkaihō* 3 (1924). Recited from Kikukawa, *gakusei shakai undōshi*, 249. The Gakuren also tried to “plant students a consciousness as proletariat” through on-campus movements. Kikukawa, *gakusei shakai undōshi*, 251.

¹⁸ Smith, *Japan’s First Student Radicals*, 155-156.

¹⁹ “Shuho mo Dekiru Shinshokudō: Ukeoisei wo haishi Gakuyūkai no Chokuei,” *IUN*, November 16, 1923, 3.

²⁰ Tōkyō teikoku daigaku gakuyūkai kyōsaibu, ed. *Tōkyō Teikoku Daigaku Gakusei Seikei Chōsa* (Tokyo: 1926), 1.

²¹ “Sōgaku Kanarazushimo Shinroku ni Arazu: Sūji ni Arawasareta Gakuseiseikatsu no Samazama, Kyōsaibu Seikei Chōsa Happyō,” *IUN*, February 15, 1926, 3.

familial support. 183 students were doing part-timing, revealing that part-time work was already a not-insignificant way of earning the educational expense.²² In this way, students' part-timing began to be statistically monitored and institutionally managed.

By 1927, the part-time job search program had become a prospering enterprise of the Mutual Aid Department of the Central Gakuyūkai. In that year, 255 students found part-time jobs through the Mutual Aid Department. Private tutoring was the most popular job taken by 120 students. Mutual Aid staff found that harsh competition among university entrants in the late 1920s, often characterized as “examination hell (*shiken jigoku*),” fuelled the increasing demand for student tutors. In this sense, the expansion of middle- and high-school education eventually compromised the privileged social status of university students by enlarging their number, but at the same time, it provided successful students with a buffer against economic pressure.²³

Despite the dissolution of the Central Gakuyūkai in 1928, the part-time search program was not quite distracted. The popularity of this part-timing search program can be seen in the number of applicants and the hired through this program. Between 1927 and 1940, applications rose from 328 to 990. In 1938, the number of the hired student part-timers reached 534, 8 percent of the total student body at Tōdai. Given that private tutors were employed largely through personal connections, the actual number of part-timers could be much more than official figures given by the Student Office²⁴ (see Table 3.1). This service continues to this day.

²² “Kyōsaibu no Seikei Chōsa,” *IUN*, March 15, 1926, 3.

²³ “Teidai no Gakusei wa Katei Kyōshi Muki: Shōwa Ninendo ni Ageta Kyōsaibu Jisseki no Kazukazu,” *IUN*, April 30, 1928, 7.

²⁴ *Ibid.*; “Rika Keitō Izen Kōritsu: Gakuseika Naishoku Shōkai Seiseki Happyō,” *IUN*, May 14, 1934, 9; “Shūshokuritsu Koko mo Jōshō: Toppu wa Kō, Medatsu Seizu no Zōka, Gakuseika Sakunendo

Table 3.1: Student Part-timers mediated by the Student Office, 1927-1943²⁵

	Applicants	Employers' Calls	The Employed
1933	785	449	318
1938	816	623	534
1940	990	608	490
Early Half 1943	343	136	121

The Student Office did not just mediate between employers and students, but also tried to create jobs, especially short-term jobs during vacations. For instance, Student Office staff created part-time offers for students during the summer vacation in 1929, by negotiating with department stores and the post office in front of Tōdai. In 1932, Student Office staff created part-time jobs for students printing salutation remarks on new-year greeting cards (*nengajō*). In the summer of 1937, 137 students earned money through the mediation of the Student Office.²⁶ Student Office staff estimated that roughly 100 students were working during the winter as well, although these statistics were not included in their reports of part-timers.²⁷ According to an author of the *Imperial University News*, Student Office staff were “guided by the Tokyo City Social Bureau”²⁸ in creating part-time jobs, testifying to the fact that Tōdai campus became a critical point

Naishoku Shirabe,” *IUN*, May 22, 1939, 11; “Kyūshokusha wa Unaginobori Chūmoku Saru Bun no Shinshutsu to Kō no Tenraku, Shūshokusha Sōsū Yonhyakukyūjū Mei: Sakunendo Naishoku Tōkei,” *IUN*, May 19, 1941, 7; “Akamon Saijiki Ihen: Kashima Hanran Gohyaku Ken, Hon ya Nōto wa Tentō ni Kyaku Matsu Akubi, Ōkaze Ikka no Kan, Hongōgai,” *IUN*, November 8, 1943, 3. The tables subsequently provided later in this chapter are based upon these articles.

²⁵ *Ibid.*

²⁶ “Fuyu no Naishoku ni Nengajō no Omotegaki: Kaitaku ni Fushin no Kyōūsai Kakari, Tanomite wa Arimasenka,” *IUN*, December 5, 1932, 7; “Tanomu nara Teidaisei: Kaki Naishoku Hipparidako,” *IUN*, September 20, 1937, 11.

²⁷ “Nengajō no Hikkō ni Naishoku Ōatari: Uriko Musume ni wa Motenu”, 9.

²⁸ “Kyūjin Kaitaku ni Shijō e Noridasu Monbushō kara Homerarete Kyōsaikai Ōwarawa de Katsuyaku,” *IUN*, April 14, 1930, 11.

of intersection between middle-class formation and the Social Bureau programs for workers. Tōdai's success swiftly became a model for other imperial universities. In 1930, the presidents of the four Imperial Universities in Japan made an inspection trip to the Student Office at Tōdai.²⁹

The economic benefits of part-timing were not insignificant. According to the official standard set by the Student Office in 1930, students could earn 15 to 20 yen a month by teaching two sessions a week as private tutors. Given that the annual tuition fee for Tōdai was 120 yen in 1930, six to eight months of part-time work could provide for a whole year's tuition. Also, sometimes there was an option for boarding in the client's home (*sumikomi*), in which the client provided meals and a room to stay. Other jobs were less lucrative, but still generously remunerated. A Tōdai student could earn 1.5 yen per day as a clerk in a department store.³⁰ Even work during the summer vacation allowed students to earn up to one-third of the annual tuition fee (see Table 3.2.1).

Table 3.2.1: Pay for Part-time Jobs in 1932³¹

Home Tutoring	Commuting	A two-hour-long session a week: more than 10 yen per month Two sessions a week: more than 15-20 yen per month Three sessions a week: more than 20-25 yen per month The transportation fee considered separately
	Home-Stay	Meals and a room provided, the transportation fee to Tōdai considered separately
Translating	European to Japanese	At least 30 sen per 400 characters of the translated text in Japanese
	Japanese to European	At least 70 sen per 400 characters of the Japanese text.
Transcribing	Pen	6 sen per 400 characters, 1 yen 50 sen per 100 pieces

²⁹ *Ibid.*

³⁰ “Nengajō no Hikkō ni Naishoku Ōatari.”

³¹ “Katei Kyōshi ga Kū En, Honyaku ga Sanjū Sen: Naishoku Hōshūkijun Kimaru,” *IUN*, April 25, 1932, 7.

		of envelope, postcards, 3 yen 50 sen for transcribing a notebook.
	Brush	12 sen per 400 characters
	Pencil	20 sen per sheet of photocopy paper
Mechanic Drawing	30 sen per working hour	
Research, Editing, Serving as Clerks etc.	By negotiation	

Tōdai part-timers were a privileged group in terms of both pay and productivity. According to the 1932 Social Bureau Survey on Tokyo part-timers, only 478 among 4,701 earned more than 15 yen a month. Labor intensity was generally high; 70 percent of part-timers in Tokyo worked more than 15 days a month. In 1932 an exceptional housewife could earn 37.5 yen a month by sewing for ten hours a day. Her hourly compensation for this labor was 12 sen³² (see Tables 3.3 and 3.4). In contrast, Tōdai part-timers earned more money in less time. Tōdai tutors worked for eight hours a month to earn 10 yen, providing Tōdai tutors with an average wage rate of 1.25 yen per hour, more than ten times that of the diligent housewife sewer. Other jobs, such as mechanical drawing and translation, guaranteed at least two to four times the hourly wages of the housewife seamstress. Furthermore, attitudes of employers were also more hospitable to Tōdai students. For instance, in 1935, Onozuka Kiheiji, the then-president of Tōdai, paid the students producing his greeting cards a flat rate of 10 yen plus a piece of pork, although, according to the Student Office's wage standards, the job warranted only three yen 50 sen.³³ Also, the wage standards for Tōdai part-timers elastically rose in response

³² Gordon, *Fabricating Consumers*, 75.

³³ "Nengajō no Hikkō ni Naishoku Ōatari."

to wartime inflation. Between 1930 and 1940, part-time pay rose by 50 percent and a series of perks were given to tutors such as additional compensation for transportation fees. Moreover, it became possible for private tutors to teach more than three sessions a week, reflecting the heated competition over entrance to higher-level schools. If teaching every day, students could earn at least 45 yen, which was more than one third of 120 yen, the annual tuition fee at Tōdai, a month.³⁴ (See Table 3.2.2)

Table 3.2.2: Pay for Part-time Jobs in 1940³⁵

Home Tutoring	Commuting	A two-hour-long session a week: 15 yen per month Two sessions a week: 20 yen per month Three sessions a week: 25 yen per month Four sessions a week: 30 yen per month Five sessions a week: 35 yen per month Six sessions a week: 40 yen per month Everyday: 45 yen per month Employers pay students' transportation fees
	Home-staying	Meals, a Room to stay, and students' transportation fees provided, and small amount of allowance considered separately.
Translation	European to Japanese	At least 50 sen per 400 characters of the translated text in Japanese
	Japanese to European	At least 1 yen per 400 characters of the Japanese text.
Transcription	Pen	10 sen per page in Japanese 15 sen per page in Classical Chinese 15 sen per page in European language

Table 3.3: Working Hours of Part-timers in Tokyo, 1932³⁶

Working days	1-3 days	4-5	6-10	11-15	16-20	20-31	Total
Homeworkers	2	93	441	762	1,438	1,964	4,700
Ratio (%)	0.04	1.97	9.38	16.21	30.59	41.78	100

Table 3.4: Pay for Part-timing in Tokyo, 1932³⁷

Monthly pay	0-1yen	1-2	2-3	3-5	5-7	7-10	10-15	15-	Total
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³⁴ “Koko de mo Neage: Naishoku Hōshū no Shin Kijun,” *IUN*, February 19, 1940, 11.

³⁵ *Ibid.*

³⁶ Tōkyōshi shakaikyoku, ed. *Naishoku ni Kansuru Chōsa* (1933), 18-37.

³⁷ Tōkyōshi shakaikyoku, *Naishoku ni Kansuru Chōsa*, 38-71.

Homeworkers	145	618	817	1,021	550	683	369	478	4681
Ratio (%)	3.09	13.2	17.45	21.81	11.75	14.59	7.88	10.21	100

The variety of jobs among student part-timers testifies to their blurred class identity. Not only did some students take jobs that would be traditionally conceived of as working-class, such as rice delivery or gardening,³⁸ but contracts for live-in private tutors (*sumikomi*) were similar to those of indentured servants. Basically home-stay tutoring was “parasiting” plus tutoring. Other part-time work, particularly as clerks at department stores and salespersons in corporations, stirred within students a feeling of exploitation. Some students did not hesitate to express their frustration at “capitalist exploitation,” such as arbitrary wage cuts.³⁹ The students’ leftist inclinations were embedded during the roughened path of middle-class formation, leaving many students both middle-class and sympathetic to left-leaning activists. Welfare benefits were not evenly distributed even among Tōdai students.

But, part-timing became a widely shared culture of the self-made man on the educational-employment pipeline. The mutual-aid program for student part-timing also appeared at Kyōto Imperial University and Kyūshū Imperial University, around 1927. The institutionalization of student part-timing was a common phenomenon at Imperial Universities in Japan’s colonies as well. Roughly 10 percent of students at Keijō Imperial

³⁸ “Kaku Hōmen de Hataraita Gakusei no Mure: Seiseki Ryōkō de Ōyorokomi no Gakuseika Kyōsai Jigyō Kakari,” *IUN*, September 8, 1930, 7; “Sokuryō, Hoken, Teishi: Kyōsai Jigyō Natsu no Naishoku,” *IUN*, June 13, 1932, 7.

³⁹ “Yonjūnichi no Rōdō de Wazuka ni Goen Nari no Namidakin: Kōkatsu na Shihonka Katagi wo Bakuro Saru, Kaki Rōdō no Zadankai,” *IUN*, October 6, 1930, 7; “Naishoku Zadankai, Gakuseika de Kaisai,” *IUN*, January 14, 1935, 9.

University, colonial Seoul, and at Taihoku (Taipei) Imperial University, worked part-time in 1938⁴⁰ (see Table 3.5).

Table 3.5: Source of Student Funds for University Expenses, 1938⁴¹

	Part-timing only	Familial Support & Part-timing	Total Respondents
Imperial Univ.	53 (1.25%)	149 (3.54%)	4209
Public Univ.	65 (1.42%)	276 (6.95%)	4564
Private Univ.	6 (0.57%)	35 (3.53%)	992
Total	124(1.27%)	460(4.71%)	9765

In 1938, almost six percent of university students in Japan supplemented their incomes through part-time work, either as a sole source of income or in combination with familial support. This shows that other university students enjoyed almost the same opportunity as Tōdai students for part-timing. High school students also joined the culture of part-time labor. According to a survey on higher-school life conducted by the Education Ministry in 1938, 1 percent of total respondents paid their tuition totally by part-timing while 2 percent of students funded their higher-school education both from part-timing and familial support. Of these part-timers, the vast majority worked as home tutors.⁴²

Deserving of attention here is the marginality of middle-school part-timers that might have been a key for mass advancement from elementary to middle schools. Middle

⁴⁰ “Kyōsaibu de Shōkai Shita Rusui, Honyaku: Kyūjin Rokujū ni Kyūshoku Hyaku Gojūnin,” *Kyōto Teikoku Daigaku Shinbun*, August 5, 1928, 7; “Kakushu Nichiyōhin wo Anka ni Teikyō: Kyōsaibu no Jigyō, Rokugatsu Gejun kara Hajimeru,” *IUN*, June 18, 1927, 3; Keijō Teikoku Daigaku Gakuseika, ed. *Keijō Teikoku Daigaku Gakusei Seikatsu Chōsa Hōkoku, Shōwa Jūsan Nen Jūichigatsu Genzai* (Keijō: Keijō teikoku daigaku gakuseika, 1939), 22-23; Taihoku Teikoku Daigaku Gakuseika, ed. *Taihoku Teikoku Daigaku Gakusei Seito Seikatsu Chōsa, Shōwa Jūsan Nen Jūichi Gatsu Genzai* (Taihoku: Taihoku teikoku daigaku gakuseika, 1939), 46-47.

⁴¹ Kyōgakukyoku, ed. *Gakusei Seito Seikatsu Chōsa, Shōwa 13 Nen 11 Gatsu Chōsa* (Tokyo: Kyōgakukyoku, 1939), 64-65.

⁴² “Koko ni kōkō seikatsu no jissō! Kenjitsu no ittenbari: Seikatsu chōsa shūkei naru”, *IUN*, September 25, 1939, p.8.

school students were expected to learn from higher-school or university students, not to teach anybody themselves. In this structure, middle-school students had to rely solely on their families for their educational expenses. The student welfare systems at Tōdai and its social dissemination improved student life at universities, but this did not extend to the bottleneck in the Japanese educational system between elementary and middle schools.

Compulsory middle-school education after 1947 opened this bottleneck and stimulated an impressive market for part-timers at early postwar Tōdai and beyond as the job market for home-tutors grew fast. In 1949, the Tōdai authorities established the Student Part-time Work Committee (*gakusei arubaito iinkai*) and resumed the enterprise of facilitating the search for part-time work, a common situation within universities nationwide. By 1958, 38 percent of all university students in Japan were working part-time. The number of Tōdai part-timers grew, which enabled students to endure the rapid inflation in the early postwar period (see Table 3.6).⁴³

Table 3.6: Part-time Jobs at Early Postwar Tōdai, 1949-1958⁴⁴

Year	Part-timers	Home Tutors
1949	2870	80
1952	5311	400
1955	3521	881
1958	3603	1447

IX. Managing Student Housing

⁴³ Tōkyōdaigaku gakusei arubaito iinkai, ed. *Tōkyō Daigaku Gakusei Arubaito Jūnenshi* (Tokyo: Tōkyōdaigaku gakusei arubaito iinkai, 1959), 277, 260.

⁴⁴ Ibid.

Housing surfaced as a critical issue in middle-class experience in modern Japan. The demand for housing in Tokyo skyrocketed around WWI, which stimulated the suburbanization of white-collar dwelling. But in crowded 1920s Tokyo oftentimes the demarcation between downtown, suburbs, and rural areas blurred. Houses designed for white-collar workers were interspersed among workers and small peasant farmers.⁴⁵ The government-built Dōjunkai apartments at Yanagishima, for instance, were surrounded by a working-class neighborhood. There were efforts to alleviate this housing crisis. Between 1921 and 1938, 35,000 houses were built nationwide under the House Cooperative Law (*jūtaku kumiai hō*), often promoted, according to Sano Toshikata, a professor of Tōdai Engineering, “as a way to save the middle class.”⁴⁶ The Tokyo City Social Bureau also managed housing programs, such as the construction of housing facilities and the management of workers’ collective house (*gasshukujo*). However, these measures were not sufficient to meet the increasing demand for housing units. As noted by historian Jordan Sand, the middle class and workers suffered in the housing shortage together.⁴⁷ The more realistic program was to provide information about cheap housing facilities to those in temporary accommodation who were suffering “unfair rents.”⁴⁸ In 1925, the Tokyo City Social Bureau mediated 3,737 contracts. Most of these clients were white-collar: salaried workers, bankers, and bureaucrats.⁴⁹ In this way, white-collar

⁴⁵ Sand, *House and Home in Modern Japan*, 253.

⁴⁶ Sano Toshikata, “Jutaku Kumiai ni Yotte Kensetsuseraruru Jutaku no Kairyō,” *Bunka seikatsu* 1, no. 4 (1921): 19.

⁴⁷ Sand, *House and Home in Modern Japan*, 173.

⁴⁸ Tōkyōshi shakaikyoku, *Tōkyōshi shakaikyoku nenpō* 1 (Tokyo: Tōkyōshi shakaikyoku, 1920), 75.

⁴⁹ Tōkyōshi shakaikyoku, *Tōkyōshi shakaikyoku nenpō* 6 (Tokyo: Tōkyōshi shakaikyoku, 1925), 182-190.

populations joined the housing programs of the state which were originally designated for workers.

Student housing at interwar Tōdai was also a serious issue because Tōdai did not have dormitory facilities. Tōdai initially had dormitories. In 1877, Tokyo University had dormitories in the Hongō and Kanda areas. But as Tōdai expanded, these dormitories naturally turned to classrooms or disappeared in the late nineteenth century.⁵⁰ Whereas Kyōto Imperial University built a big dormitory facility, called the “Kyōto Culture Apartment Hotel (*Kyōto bunka apātomento hoteru*)” even equipped with an elevator in 1930, high land prices in Tokyo did not allow Tōdai or its donors to follow suit.⁵¹ In this situation, incoming Tōdai students had to search for accommodation around the university every year.

However, the vision for a suburban boarding university continued to inspire Tōdai professors and students. Inoue Tetsujirō, a professor of philosophy at Tōdai Humanities, argued for the construction of a suburban university city that would vitalize local economy and contribute to the building of “students’ character building.”⁵² Miura Kinnosuke, a professor of Tōdai medicine, provided a description of dormitories at American universities, especially of their “study rooms, bedrooms, nurse’s offices, and good salons, music halls, and libraries.”⁵³ Students supported this vision. In a student rally in June 1923, a student demanded the construction of a student dormitory.

⁵⁰ Tōkyō daigaku gakuseibu, ed. *Tōkyō Daigaku Gakuryō 15 Nenshi, 1945-1960* (Tokyo: Tōkyō daigaku gakuseibu, 1961), 22-23.

⁵¹ “Geshukunan no Gakusei ni Apātoshiki Kishukusha: Kyōdai no Keikaku ni Shigeki Sarete Hongaku Gakuseika no Kuwadate,” *IUN*, April 21, 1930, 7. The Kyōdai dorm rooms were 16 *jo* with a rent of 6 yen per month in 1938. Teikoku daigaku shinbunsha, ed. *Teikoku Daigaku Annai* (Tokyo: Teikoku daigaku shinbunsha, 1937), 186.

⁵² Inoue Tetsujirō, “Gakuseiseikatsu to Daigaku Toshi Kensetsu,” *IUN*, April 12, 1923, 1.

⁵³ “Beikoku no Kaku Gakkō: Miura Hakushi no Kichōdan,” *IUN*, June 12, 1923, 3.

“Education doesn’t just mean,” argued the student, “the construction of good classrooms. A sweet home is indispensable at school as a locus of character building.”⁵⁴ Students, professors, and alumni organized a Dormitory and Playground Building Committee and were pushed this agenda in 1923.⁵⁵

The Great Kantō Earthquake triggered the birth of a housing policy at Tōdai. As the earthquake damaged the Hongō and Kanda areas where student lodgings densely existed, the Dormitory and Playground Building Committee asked university authorities to build a tentative dormitory in the site of the collapsed library.⁵⁶ Although it was not beautifully built, sometimes called “a refugee camp (*juyōjo*),”⁵⁷ this “high-quality barrack-style” dormitory embodied the visions of residential university and cultured living. This building had a central hall and stove, which, according to Suehiro Izutarō, “took the strength of American student life.”⁵⁸ Also, beds at this dormitory worked as multipurpose furniture, which was introduced as part of “cultured living” in Sano Toshikata’s *House*.⁵⁹

The survey of the Mutual Aid Department stimulated further activism. According to a survey in 1925, only 42 percent of respondents did not have to look for places to dwell.⁶⁰ Given a total student body of 6,133 students in 1925, roughly 3,500 students can be assumed to have been searching for lodgings in this period. School authorities decided

⁵⁴ “Shinkenmi Afureta Dainikai Gakusei Taikai: Manjōicchi Gian Kotogotoku Kaketsu,” *IUN*, June 12, 1923, 3.

⁵⁵ “Kishukuryō oyobi Undōjō Kensetsu Iinkai Hirakaru,” *IUN*, June 12, 1923, 3.

⁵⁶ “Suehiro Kyōju Kōan no Kanbin na Kishukusha Nyūryō Mōshikomi Sattō Shite Tachimachi Man’in,” *IUN*, November 8, 1923, 3.

⁵⁷ Teikoku daigaku shinbunsha, *Tōsei Daigakusei Katagi*, 81.

⁵⁸ “Suehiro Kyōju Kōan no Kanbin na Kishukusha Nyūryō Mōshikomi Sattō Shite Tachimachi Man’in”, 3.

⁵⁹ *Ibid.*; Sano Toshikata, *Jūtakuron* (Tokyo: Bunka seikatsu kenkyūkai, 1926).

⁶⁰ Tōkyō teikoku daigaku gakuyūkai kyōsaibu, *Tōkyō Teikoku Daigaku Gakusei Seikei Chōsa*, p.6.

to demolish this tentative dormitory as they rebuilt the playground and the central library. In response, dormitory students initiated a movement to build a new dormitory in September 1926. In their petition to the Student Proctor (*gakuseikan*), students noted the economic insecurity of Tōdai students based on the Gakuyūkai survey and argued for building a new dormitory, “the only shelter from economic insecurity.”⁶¹ Although a new dormitory could not be built, Student Office staff successfully negotiated with the Dōjunkai regarding student housing. The Dōjunkai was a Home-Ministry-sponsored foundation established in 1924 in order to build apartment buildings in the damaged areas from the Earthquake, and two professors of Tōdai Engineering, Sano Toshikata and Uchida Yoshikazu were serving as its executives. The Dōjunkai responded the request of the Student Office to help students enter the Dōjunkai apartments in Fukagawa, Tokyo, in 1930. The Dōjunkai apartments had a dining hall and medical clinic, and rents were similar or slightly less than average lodgings in the Hongō area.⁶² Economically modest students were saved, once again, by the privileged connections of their school.

While envisioning a student dormitory, students tried to control the rents of lodgings. The number of professional lodging houses in the Hongō area, whose managers organized a Hongō Lodging House Union (*hongō geshuku kumiai*), reached 350 in the late 1920s. Moreover, some families called non-professional lodgings (*shirōto geshuku*), chose to rent a room for student for extra-cash. In order to prevent lodging managers from taking undeserving profits from students, Mutual Aid staff conducted a survey in

⁶¹ “Kishukuryō no Sonpai Mondai de Ryōsei Kessoku Shite Tatsu,” *IUN*, September 27, 1926, 5.

⁶² “Dōjunkai Apāto, Riyō no Michi Hiraku: Ken’an no Kishukusha no Daiyō ni Gakuseika no Kōshō Seiritsu Su,” *IUN*, September 22, 1930, 7. The average monthly rent of an apartment unit was two yen per *jo*. But, the rent of a four-*jo* Dōjunkai unit was between 5.5 yen and 10 yen.

1927 and decided to “punish” “lodgings taking excessive profits.”⁶³ They planned to endow official approval certificates to “proper” lodgings in their standard. In so doing, the Mutual Aid Department at Tōdai led to organize a league of the Mutual Aid departments of universities and vocational schools in Tokyo, which came into being on January 27, 1928. The mutual-aid organizations at Keiō University, Waseda University, Meiji University, the Japan Dentist Association, the First High School, and the Tokyo Higher Engineering Vocational School joined Tōdai.⁶⁴ A plethora of anonymous letters came to the Gakuyūkai, while some lodging managers requested an official certification.⁶⁵ In this way, students surfaced as reformers of the housing market for students, who were trying to save the expenses on the educational-employment pipeline.

After the dissolution of the Central Gakuyūkai, the Student Office inherited the efforts to lower the rent of commercial housing facilities for students. In November 1929, after conducting a price survey of lodging houses, the Student Office extracted a promise from the Lodging House Union for a 10-percent reduction in rents in the Hongō area.⁶⁶ However, some lodging managers refused to lower their prices, “capitalizing on students’ busy schedule for taking final examinations.”⁶⁷

As an efficient counterblow against tenacious lodging managers, in April 1930, the Student Office began to introduce students to lodgings in suburban Tokyo, mainly Sugamo, Nakano, and Suginami. Thanks to the development of mass transportation, the

⁶³ “Geshukuya no Bōri wo Tekihatsu Shi Iyoiyo Seibatsu ni Chakushu Su,” *IUN*, January 23, 1928, 5.

⁶⁴ “Yoi Geshuku ni wa Kōnin no Kanban wo,” *IUN*, January 30, 1928, 5.

⁶⁵ “Geshukuya Seibatsu ni Tadaï no Hankyō: Fusei Tekihatsu no Tōsho ga Zokuzoku to Kyōsaibu ni Kuru,” *IUN*, February 13, 1928, 5.

⁶⁶ “Geshukuryō Tsuini Nesage Dankō,” *IUN*, December 9, 1929, 7.

⁶⁷ “Geshukuryō wo Sagenu Ōbō wo Kyūdan: Morikawachō Bōkan to, Funō Dōmei de Taikō,” *IUN*, January 13, 1930, 2.

suburbanization of student housing surfaced as a strategy to encounter lodging managers. Lodging managers in the suburbs were not commercial (*shirōto geshuku*) and provided rooms cheaper than their professional counterparts in Hongō, attracting an enthusiastic response from students.⁶⁸ The recently developed the Odakyū Line and the Shōsen line (JR today) served the commuting needs of professors and students from these areas to Tōdai.⁶⁹

The image of the commercial (professionally-managed) lodgings (*kurōto geshuku*) suffered a significant deterioration. The Student Office initiated and publicized a price survey of lodgings by having students submit a report card about their lease contracts. This survey revealed the relatively expensive rents of commercial lodgings in Hongō. The Education Ministry added its voice, declaring a need for the “salvation” of students from “dismal lodgings.”⁷⁰

This process coincided with the large increase in non-professionally-managed rentals even by “the well-off middle class,” increasing the overall supply of lodgings. According to the Student Office, the Great Depression compelled even wealthy families

⁶⁸ The economic benefits of suburban lodging were significant. One of the cheapest lodgings in suburban Tokyo cost students only 18 yen for a six-*jō* room, with two meals and electricity included in the rent. According to the price survey of the *Imperial University News*, June 1930, students paid between 9 and 18 yen for a six-*jō* room, and an additional 18 yen to 36 yen for three meals a day. In other words, students had to pay 21 yen plus utilities in the Hongō lodgings (even though the provider allowed tenants to have a meal plan for two meals a day with two thirds of the price for a three-meals-a-day plan in a common contract.). “Taku Yori Ippan ni Takai Hongō no Bukka: Geshukudai, Ranchi, Bunbōgurui no Honsha no Nedan Shirabe,” *IUN*, June 30, 1930, 2.

⁶⁹ In 1941, half of commuter students were taking the Shōsen line. Ōmuro Teiichirō, “Aru Hi no Daigakusei, Jō: Kinō no Seikatsu Chōsa wo Shūkei Shite,” *IUN*, September 8, 1941, p.5.

⁷⁰ “Kōka na Shinai Geshuku wo Kihi Shite Kōgai e: Teiren Naru Kashima no Mōshikomi Sattō Shi, Shōkai Kakari Tenteko Muhi,” *IUN*, April 14, 1930, 11; “Kyūma Kādo de Geshuku Chōsa Aratani Kyōsai Kakari de Hajimu,” *IUN*, September 15, 1930, 7; “Taku Yori Ippan ni Takai Hongō no Bukka,” 2; “Toka Gakusei no Tame ni Gakusei Kaikan Setsuritsuan, Monbusho ga Kuwadatsu,” *IUN*, June 20, 1932, 2.

with 19-room houses to pursue secondary income through the provision of lodgings.⁷¹

The pursuit of secondary income among the middle class overlapped with students' struggles to lower their expenses.

The emergence of collective housing facilities, called apartments, also threatened the monopolistic status of commercial lodgings. In 1930, the Dōjunkai apartments became cheaply available to Tōdai students while Christian and Buddhist groups constructed apartment-style dormitories for the faithful in Sugamo and Nakano respectively, suburban areas where Tōdai students looked for cheaper prices.⁷² Also five apartment facilities sprang up in Hongō by 1934.⁷³ The cheapest rooms in these facilities, four-and-a-half *jō* apartments, generally cost students 12-15 yen per month, while the rent for Maruyama Apartments, designated for "student aristocrats (*gakusei kizoku*)" was set at 20 yen per month.⁷⁴

By September 1930, the suburbanization of student housing became evident with the downturn of commercial lodgings in Hongō. By July, 1930, the 299 lodging houses of Hongō housed 3,600 students (including 1,100 from Tōdai) compared to its maximum capacity for 5,300 students. But, after the new lease contract in September, only 900 Tōdai students remained in Hongō. One lodging, called Hōraichō Tōkan, lost ten tenants

⁷¹ "Kashima, Kyūma no Shōkai Ichijirushiku Zōka: Medatsu Chūryū Ijō kara no Mōshikomi, Tabō na Kyōsai Jigyō Kakari," *IUN*, May 5, 1930, 2.

⁷² "Apāto Shiki Kishukusha Gakugai Tokorodokoro ni Kikaku Saru: Mazu Bukkyō, Kirisutokyō Kankeisha de Gakuseika de mo Chakuchaku Susumu," *IUN*, May 5 1930, 2.

⁷³ They were Nezu Toyama, Neo, Akatsuki Apāto, Fuji Hausu, and Maruyama Sō.

⁷⁴ "Seikatsu Annai, Chōchūban no Santai Shoseki Koso wa Koibito Shokushu wa Ginza, Asakusa e mo," *IUN*, April 16, 1934, 7.

out of the building's twelve rooms.⁷⁵ In January 1934, the number of lodging houses in Hongō fell to 280 (full capacity, 4,977 people).⁷⁶

Table 3.7: Student Housing at Tōdai, in 1934⁷⁷

	Family's House	Relative's House	Acquaintances' House	Rented House	Professional Lodging Houses
Number	1836	425	227	69	804
Average Budget for Campus Life	33.15	44.93	45.65	72.95	59.90
Non-Professional Lodging Houses			Dormitories	Rented Room	Apartment
945			327	415	128
59.22			52.13	51.05	67.16

The 1934 survey on student life shows the temporary downturn of commercial lodging houses. In this year, 2,351 students lived with their parents, relatives, or acquaintances, while 3,051 students dwelled in on- and off-campus housing facilities. Among those 3,051 students who had to look for commercial dwelling facilities, only 812 students chose to dwell in professional lodgings. This number is even smaller than 954 students in non-professional lodgings. Besides these non-professional lodgings, the fledgling private dormitories and apartment facilities absorbed 535 students, while 420 students chose studios.

The suburbanization of student housing can be displayed regionally. Commercial lodgings were slow in accommodating student demands in suburban Tokyo. Among the 812 students dwelling in commercial lodgings, 653 students were in Hongō. The second

⁷⁵ “Gakuseisō no Hinkonka ni Geshuku Garaaki Jidai: Kurōtoya no Kyakusū Gekigen Su,” *IUN*, September 22, 1930, 7.

⁷⁶ “Seikatsu Annai, Chōchūban no Santai Shoseki Koso wa Koibito Shokushu wa Ginza, Asakusa e mo”, 7.

⁷⁷ Tōkyō teikoku daigaku gakuseika, ed., *Tōkyō Teikoku Daigaku Gakusei Seikatsu Chōsa Hōkoku* (1935), 48-49.

most popular area for professional lodgings was Shibuya, around the Komaba campus, where 36 students lived. Lodging houses in Nakano and Koishikawa, which were being developed as students' suburbs, absorbed only 50 students between them. Non-commercial lodging houses, dormitories, rented studios, and apartment facilities reflected the trend of suburbanization more elastically. Among the total 954 students in non-commercial lodging houses, only 488 students were in Hongō or Shibuya (see Table 3.8).

Table 3.8: Student Housing in 1934⁷⁸

	Rented House	Dormitory	Professional Lodgings	Non-Pro Lodgings	Rented Studio	Apt. Facilities
Hongō	13	132	653	402	279	62
Shibuya	4	32	36	86	15	6
Koishikawa	7	93	19	89	28	5
Nakano	15	19	31	100	13	19
Suginami	13	16	19	67	7	9
Yodobashi	11	6	6	28	6	6
Toyoshima	3	44	5	28	10	0
Setagaya	1	2	10	41	6	3
Other	28	59	33	123	56	22
Total	95	403	812	954	420	132

The challenged status of professional lodgings allowed students to take the initiative in renegotiating lease contracts to their advantage. Professional lodging houses discounted 50 percent of the rent while students returned to their hometowns during the summer vacation.⁷⁹ Average student rents decreased dramatically from 11 yen 96 sen in 1929 to 9 yen 56 sen in 1934⁸⁰ (see Table 3.9).

⁷⁸ 414 students dwelled in rented studios, but only 294 were in Hongō and Shibuya. As for apartment facilities, 68 lived in Hongō and Shibuya among the total 132, while as for dormitories 164 out of 403.

⁷⁹ "Natsu no Rusuichū wa Madai wo Hangaku ni: Kyūkachū no Nimotsu Hokan Hōhō wo Kyōsai Kakari de Kōryochū," *IUN*, June 9, 1930, 7.

⁸⁰ Tōkyō teikoku daigaku gakuseika. *Tōkyō Teikoku Daigaku Gakusei Seikatsu Chōsa Hōkoku* (1935), 12; "Gakusei Seikatsu Chōsa no Shūkei," *IUN*, March 4, 1935, 2.

Table 3.9: The Average Expenditure of Students in Commercial Housing Facilities⁸¹

	Total (Yen)	Rent	Meals	Studying	Others
1929	61.66	11.96	22.23	12.78	14.69
1934	48.52	9.65	16.57	8.92	13.47
1938	51.82	10.17	17.19	11.14	11.82

A similar survey in 1938 revealed the resurgence of commercial lodgings.

Commercial lodgings enticed 958 students in 1938, marking a 146-student increase from 1934, while non-commercial lodging houses had 805 students, losing 149 students compared to their record in 1934. Compared to the situation in 1934, 127 more students were dwelling in professional lodgings in Hongō. In all, the overall flow of students between 1934 and 1938 can be summarized as the move of roughly 240 students from non-commercial lodgings and rented studios to commercial lodging houses, apartment facilities, and rented houses⁸² (see Table 3.10).

Table 3.10: Comparison of Student Housing in 1934 and 1938⁸³

	Rented House		Dormitory	Professional Lodgings	Non-Pro Lodgings	Rented Studio	Apartment Facilities
	Year 1	2					
Hongō	13/27		132/107	653/780	402/372	279/216	62/118
Shibuya		4/9	32/17	36/3	86/31	15/3	6/11
Koishikawa		7/8	93/124	19/31	89/85	28/31	5/29
Nakano		15/9	19/16	31/38	100/64	13/11	19/8
Suginami	13/13		16/19	19/38	67/96	7/6	9/16
Yodobashi		11/3	6/11	6/10	28/15	6/2	6/2
Toyoshima		3/8	44/33	5/4	28/29	10/8	0/3
Setagaya		1/4	2/4	10/4	41/15	6/0	3/4

⁸¹ Tōkyō teikoku daigaku gakuseika, *Tōkyō Teikoku Daigaku Gakusei Seikatsu Chōsa Hōkoku* (1935), 12; Tōkyō teikoku daigaku gakuseika, *Tōkyō Teikoku Daigaku Gakusei Seikatsu Chōsa Hōkoku* (1939), 10.

⁸² *Ibid.*, 14-15.

⁸³ *Ibid.*

Others	28/36		59/78	33/50	123/118	56/64	22/46
Total	95/117		403/399	812/958	954/805	420/331	132/237

Expenses for student housing were well-controlled during this period. Between 1934 and 1938 students' average expenses for housing rose slightly, from 9 yen 65 sen to 10 yen 17 sen. Given the rapid inflation in Japan at this time, this increase actually reveals a real decline in rents. All in all, Tōdai students took housing in Hongō professional lodgings and non-professional suburban lodgings without spending much money (see Table 3.11).

Table 3.11: Student Housing in 1934 and 1938

	Total	Parents	Relative	Acquaintance	Rented house	Inofficial Dorm
1934	5402	1929	429	228	95	403
1938	5403	2051	342	163	117	399
	Pro-Lodging	Non-pro Lodging	Rented Studio	APT		
1934	812	954	420	132		
1938	958	805	317	237		

State policies in this period supported price control. In 1939 the government issued a price control ordinance, often called the September 18 Stop Order (9.18 *sutoppu rei*), which aimed to keep the prices of goods, rents, wages, and salaries at their current levels. Rent increases for student housing were officially prohibited. However, rents eventually rose to threatening levels for students. Between 1937 and 1939, rents for student housing rose twice by an average of 1 yen in March 1937 and by a further one yen 50 sen in February 1939. Even after the September 18 Stop Order some managers tried to raise rent illegally by two to five yen through so-called “dark raise (*yami tōki*)” tactics, charging for use of the bathtub or by raising the prices of meal plans, for

example.⁸⁴ According to a survey by the Student Office, illegal rent raises were routinely two to three yen, and sometimes as much as seven yen.⁸⁵ In another survey on student life conducted in 1941 (samples for analysis were from the faculties of Law and Engineering), student housing expenses rose from ten to thirteen yen. This 30 percent increase in the expenses of housing was relatively modest compared to the 58 percent increase in meal prices, but the limits of price control policies on student housing were apparent.⁸⁶

In this situation, dormitories resurfaced as a potential solution. On May 6, 1941, all members of the Tōdai University System Temporary Evaluation Committee agreed on the necessity of a dormitory to mitigate “the instability of student life pressured by inflation.” But, this vision was not just for saving money. Student Supervisors of imperial universities considered dormitory a “training camp (*dōjō*)” where students could deepen their understanding of the “emergency” of Japan.⁸⁷ This vision was partially realized in March 1942 when Tōdai collegiate society managed to build a dormitory for students of the newly established Second Faculty of Engineering.⁸⁸ Although not all engineering students could enter the dormitory, this marked an important precedent for the postwar development of student housing. The Second Faculty of Engineering and its dormitory, located in Inage, Chiba prefecture, represented the suburbanization trend. The Shōsen

⁸⁴ “Hontō Suru Geshukuryō ni Himei Ageru Gakusei: Kyōsai Jigyō Inkaide Taisho Sen,” *IUN*, April 15, 1940, 11. The Director of the Housing Section of the Welfare Ministry shied away from this issue, addressing that “He is busy taking care of workers’ housing,” leaving this issue to the negotiation between the Student Section, Police, and the Lodging Union.

⁸⁵ “Ikkyō, Ko no ‘Yami’ Madai,” *IUN*, May 13, 1940, 11.

⁸⁶ “Yarikuri 76 yen, Hōkōkasei Ikkagetsu no Gakushi: Dainiji Seikatsu Chōsa,” *IUN*, November 24, 1941, 7. Due to different number of students answered each question in the 1941 survey, the averaged sum of each category does not make the averaged total expense. In the 1941 survey, the half of students added their budget for “special activities,” implying an enlarged gap between students.

⁸⁷ “Gakusei no Fukuri Kakuho e: ‘Kishukusha’ ron Taitō Su, Gakushin de Gutaian wo Kōkyū,” *IUN*, May 13, 1940, 2; “Gakusei no Chōsho wo Nobase, Kaku Teidai ni Kishukusha wo Shinsetsu: Gakusei Shuji Kaigi Owaru,” *IUN*, September 12, 1938, 9.

⁸⁸ Tōkyō daigaku gakuseibu, *Tōkyō Daigaku Gakuryō 15 Nenshi*, 26.

line connected Inage and Hongō.⁸⁹

The early 1940s saw another turn of fortunes in student housing. After the massive conscription in 1943, the intensity of students' competition for lodging houses significantly diminished.⁹⁰ Moreover, though air-raids in 1944 and 1945 destroyed student housing facilities they also created an opportunity for the construction of dormitories under the vision of a “dormitory university (*gakuryō daigaku*)” championed by the first postwar Tōdai president, Nanbara Shigeru. Between 1945 and 1947, Tōdai received donations of land and buildings to open nine dormitories. As 400 students entered the new dormitories, competition for lodgings decreased in intensity, although this was not sufficient to alleviate the problem altogether.⁹¹

X. Creating Consumers of Higher Education: Distributing Student Funding

Funding support is the most direct and engaging benefit for the consumers of higher education. While institutional support for part-timing opportunities and cheaper student housing helped students earn money or save expenses for themselves, funding support was to give students money. But, giving money to students is not necessarily a welfare support. If a funding supporter chooses the valedictorian of a class to reward, this support may properly be called just an merit-based incentive. Student funding as a welfare support assumes that students receives funding support also because they are economically straitened. In other words, the student funding system as a welfare

⁸⁹ “Ima wa Nushi wo Matsu Bakari: Dai ni Kōgakubu, Shukusha, Shokudō, Baiten mo,” *IUN*, March 9, 1942, 5.

⁹⁰ “Akamon Saijiki Ihen,” 3.

⁹¹ Tōkyō daigaku gakuseibu, *Tōkyō Daigaku Gakuryō 15 Nenshi*, 26.

institution was a historical construct that mirrored the evolving notion of higher education from a privilege to a right, and a prioritized resource distribution to the educational-employment pipeline.

Tōdai was the birthplace of student funding in modern Japan. According to the *Annual Report of Tōdai* in 1886, Tōdai had two kinds of student funding. First, university authorities nominated the Special Treatment Students (*tokutai gakusei*) with “excellent academic performance and good behavior,”⁹² who were exempted from paying tuition. This reward was hardly a welfare benefit, given the strictly meritocratic qualifications of its recipients. Second, university authorities and certain corporations provided student loans (see Table 3.12). The qualifications of these loans were both “students who need special protection,” “with excellent academic performance and good behavior.”⁹³ The students who received loans had to repay the money monthly after graduation along with interest set at 1.6 percent. This system reveals that Tōdai education was a commodity covered by an early form of monthly installment or consumer credit in Japan.⁹⁴ Besides these opportunities, there existed scholarships (*kyūhi*) for eligible students. For instance, Local prefecture governments and the Navy Ministry would also pay tuition fees for some students. For instance, Hiraga Yuzuru, a student of Tōdai Engineering, became a Navy Shipbuilding Student (*kaigun zōzen gakusei*) in 1899 and received support for

⁹² Teikoku daigaku, ed., *Teikoku Daigaku Ichiran* (Tokyo, 1887), 62-63.

⁹³ *Ibid.*

⁹⁴ Tōkyō teikoku daigaku, ed., *Tōkyō Teikoku Daigaku Ichiran* (Tokyo, 1901), 68-69.

tuition.⁹⁵ The army paid tuition for 27 students from the Faculty of Medicine in the Hygiene Department, Army University, to have them study at Tōdai Medicine.⁹⁶

Table 3.12: Private Student Loans in 1895

Student Loans	Recipient Affiliation	Number of Students
Mitsubishi Company Loan	All	13
Furukawa Ichihyōe Loan	Faculty of Engineering	4
Sumitomo Kichisaemon Loan	Faculty of Engineering	9
Hara Ryōzaburō Loan	Faculty of Humanities	2
Kashima Iwazō Loan	Faculty of Engineering	2
Yasuda Zenjirō Loan	Faculty of Engineering	1
Late Shibayama Masahide Loan	Faculty of Medicine	1
Ōkubo Toshimichi Loan	Faculty of Agriculture	15
Pharmacist Loan, etc.	Faculty of Medicine	unknown

Funding support of these kinds brought the intention of the funding supports to the fore. Through these loans, business leaders supported their potential employees. Hara Ryōzaburō, a publisher, supported humanities students, while Furukawa, Sumitomo, Yasuda, and Kashima, all leading construction and mining businesses, made loans to engineering students.⁹⁷ The obligation for students to repay the loan within three years of graduation⁹⁸ could also work as an incentive to find employment with the creditor corporation. School authorities supported excelling students. The military supported students who would work for the military. Some faculty-level student loans were aimed at “students” in “need of special protection,” but student funding as welfare was a marginal idea.

⁹⁵ Naitō Hatsuho, *Gunkan Sōchō Hiraga Yuzuru* (Tokyo: Bungei shunjūsha, 1987), 15.

⁹⁶ Teikoku daigaku, ed., *Teikoku Daigaku Ichiran* (Tokyo, 1895), 62; Teikoku daigaku, ed., *Teikoku Daigaku Ichiran* (Tokyo, 1910), 392.

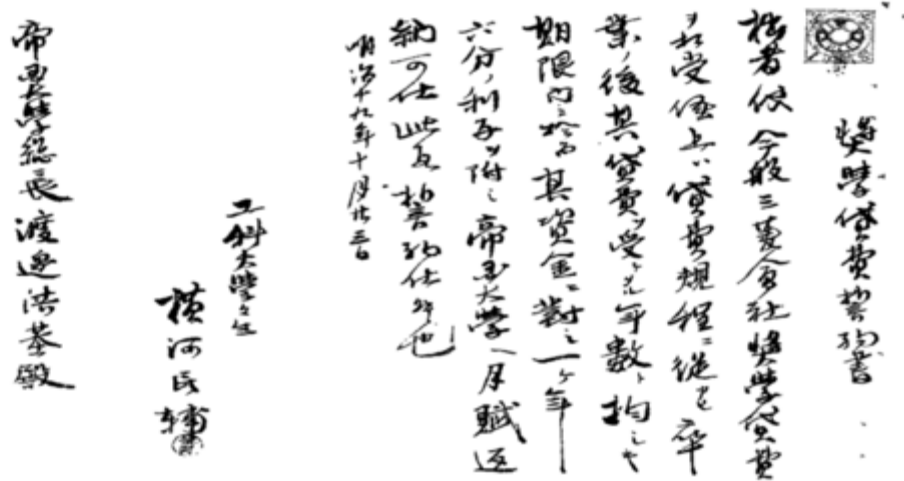
⁹⁷ Teikoku daigaku ed., *Teikoku Daigaku Ichiran* (1895), 62.

⁹⁸ Tōkyō teikoku daigaku, ed. *Tokyo Imperial University Calendar* (Tokyo: Tōkyō Teikoku Daigaku, 1922), 92.

Also, the academic environment before WWI cannot be considered hospitable to poor students. Tōdai's annual tuition fee in 1895 was 25 yen (roughly 500,000 yen today), but only 87 "excellent" students, 5 percent of a total of 1,620 students, could capitalize on student loans. Moreover, in the 1900s the number of available student loans from the university authorities steadily diminished. Only 28 students in 1900 and 14 in 1905 received student loans from the university.⁹⁹ The reason of this decline is unclear, but the market situation favorable to students can be considered. Students had many options on the market in the late nineteenth century, which attenuated the efficiency of this system for business leaders. For instance, none of the recipients of the Mitsubishi student loans in the 1886 academic year entered Mitsubishi between 1887 and 1889. Yokogawa Tamisuke from Tōdai Engineering received a student loan from Mitsubishi in 1886 (see picture 3.1), but, after graduation, ended up becoming a dedicated architect for Mitsui.

⁹⁹ Teikoku daigaku, ed., *Teikoku Daigaku Ichiran* (1895), 68-71; Teikoku daigaku, ed., *Teikoku Daigaku Ichiran* (1900), 64-71; Teikoku daigaku, ed. *Teikoku Daigaku Ichiran* (1905), 74-77; Teikoku daigaku, ed. *Teikoku Daigaku Ichiran* (1910).

Picture 3.1: Yokogawa Tamisuke's Student Loan Contract: "Shōgaku Kashihi Keiyakusho," 1886 (Courtesy of the Mitsubishi Economics Research Institute, Tokyo)



The number of extra-collegiate funding sources increased, from eight in 1895 to 259 in 1930, including new kinds of funding for book purchase and equipment for experiments for certain departments. Business leaders donated money for buildings on campus, such as the Yasuda Hall. Tōdai developed literal scholarships that students did not need to repay after graduation. Professors, in their respective faculty meetings, decided that the recipients of student loans and scholarship funding would receive up to 25 yen per month.¹⁰⁰ However, the number of increasing funding sources did not keep pace with the increasing number of students. In 1886, Tōdai had 437 students, but the student body grew to 1,256 in 1895, 4,273 in 1920, and 7,201 in 1930. Notwithstanding the increased opportunities for student funding, the concurrent increase in student population led to a highly competitive environment for scholarships and funding by the interwar period. The survey on student life conducted by the Mutual Aid Department of

¹⁰⁰ Teikoku daigaku, ed., *Teikoku Daigaku Ichiran* (1920), 100.

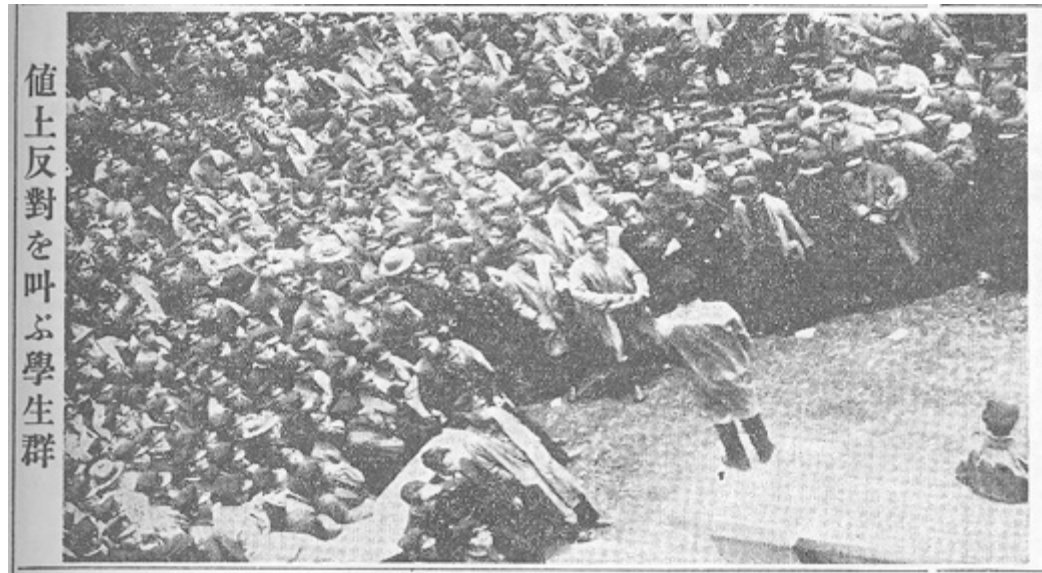
the Central Gakuyūkai provided students with information about the status of student funding.

In this situation, an increase in tuition fees from 100 to 120 yen in 1929 sparked students' strong antipathy and eventually an unprecedented riot on the Tōdai campus. In response to this tuition increase, a student found this increase as a threat to middle-class reproduction process. "Many of us students are completely dependent on our parents anyway. And our parents are not people of big wealth at all. Usually," argued the student, "they belong to the categories of bureaucrats, public officials taking modest salaries or the petit bourgeoisie (*shōshimin*), thus belonging to the middle class. What path will this middle class follow during the economic recess? (...) Many of us students are already experiencing it. (...) I demand university authorities consider student life, students livelihood, and their parents."¹⁰¹ Some students protested. On May 15, 1929, students held a rally to demand the cancellation of the tuition increase (see Picture 3.2). Photographs taken during the rally and associated newspaper commentary attest to its massive popularity and the subsequent physical confrontation between students and janitors.¹⁰² Statistics evidenced students' plight. The number of drop-outs among Tōdai undergraduates who were unable to pay their tuition reached 200 in 1932, 2.7 percent of the entire student body at Tōdai.

¹⁰¹ "Jugyōryō mondai," *IUN*, April 29, 1929, 2.

¹⁰² "Uppun Bakuhatu Shite Gakusei to Junshi to Shōtotsu: Jugyōryō Neage Hantai Undō kara Hongaku Kiyū no Funjō," "Komogomo Ishigaki ni Agari Tōkyoku Kyūdan wo Sakebu: Shii Undō wo Okoshite Gakuseika e Oshikaku," *IUN*, May 20, 1929, 2.

Picture 3.2: A Student Rally Against the Tuition Increase, May 15, 1929.¹⁰³



As student impoverishment surfaced as a social issue, the state and school authorities embraced the idea of student welfare. In 1932, the Student Office institutionalized a tuition waiver for 200 poor students for “equal opportunity in education.”¹⁰⁴ This rhetoric became a catchphrase not just for the expansion of higher education but also for welfare and consumer cooperatives of university students. This tuition waiver represents a change in the nature of academic funding. In interwar collegiate politics this scholarship funding came to be understood more as “a part of student welfare,” “for equal opportunity in education” and the popularization of higher education, than just as a reward for exceptional students.¹⁰⁵ This tuition waiver at Tōdai

¹⁰³ Ibid.

¹⁰⁴ “Hinkon no Nihyakumei ni Jugyōryō wo Menjo: Gakusei Fukuri Shisetsu ni Hongaku Senben wo Tsukeru,” “Sōsū no Ichiwari wa Hinkon Gakusei, Ninsū wa Kaku Gakubu ni Anbun”, *IUN*, April 11, 1932, 2.

¹⁰⁵ Ibid. But, its qualification includes “excellent performance and good behavior (*seiseki ryōkō to hinkō hōsei*).”

reveals the uneven resource distribution. No other institutions in Japan provided this kind of a mass tuition waiver based on the support from the state.

This welfare benefit reveals a new role of the state, which was expanding the coverage of its welfare programs from workers to students. The state engagement in social welfare began for workers. The Cooperation Society (*kyōchōkai*), an advisory organization for the Cabinet established in 1919 for labor relations, translated Employers' Welfare Work, a survey of the Ministry of Labor, the United States, in 1920, and published its national survey on Mutual Aid Societies among workers.¹⁰⁶ Students were the next target. In 1931, the Student Bureau of the Ministry of Education conducted a national survey on student welfare. In 1935, the Ideology Bureau of the Education inherited the role, which indicates that student welfare became a counter-measure against student radicalism.¹⁰⁷

In this renewed policy orientation the Student Office began to manage student funding in earnest from 1933. Through a survey the Student Office clarified the number of the actual recipients of student funding for the first time: 716 students (nine percent) among the total student body at Tōdai, 7,920. The average amount of funding in 1933 was 24 yen 9 sen per month. Receiving funding support from more than two different sources was strictly prohibited (see Table 3.13).¹⁰⁸

Table 3.13: Monthly Amount of Student Funding at Tōdai, 1933

¹⁰⁶ Beikoku rōdōshō, ed. *Beikoku Shokōjō ni okeru Fukuri Zōshin Shisetsu* (Tokyo: Kyōchōkai, 1920); Kyōchōkai, ed. *Kyōsai Kumiai Kisokushū* (Tokyo: Kyōchōkai, 1921); *Honpō Sangyō Fukuri Shisetsu Gaiyō* (Tokyo: Kyōchōkai, 1926).

¹⁰⁷ Monbushō gakuseibu, ed. *Gakusei Seito Fukuri Shisetsu* (Tokyo: Monbushō, 1931); Monbushō shisōkyoku, ed. *Gakusei Seito Fukuri Shisetsu* (Tokyo: Monbushō, 1935). Also, "Netsu wo Undō ni Mukete Shisō no Akka wo Fusegu: Mikka ni Wataru Gakuseikan Kaigi de Dhisō Torishimari Taisaku Naru," *IUN*, May 21, 1928, 2.

¹⁰⁸ "Igai ni Ōi Kyūhi Gakusei," *IUN*, April 16, 1934, 2.

School/Dept.	Total Amount	Recipients/Total	Average	Ratio
Law	6,609 yen	261/2324	25.32 yen	11%
Medicine	1,680 yen	59/658	28.47 yen	9%
Engineering	2,288 yen	87/1028	22.99 yen	8%
Humanity	2,755 yen	121/1238	22.77 yen	9%
Science	975 yen	38/372	25.66 yen	10%
Agriculture	1,222 yen	60/1050	20.37 yen	6%
Economics	2,074 yen	90/1250	23.04 yen	7%
Total	17,603 yen	716/7920	24.09 yen	9%

Student funding at Tōdai made remarkable progress throughout the wartime period. Compared to the situation in 1933, student funding in 1937 showed a series of remarkable developments. The number of recipients sharply increased from 717 to 898 students, reaching 1,070 in 1939. The number of scholarship recipients also increased; while in 1933 there were 65 student loans, 22 scholarships and 7 combined forms of the two, by 1938 the number of scholarship recipients, 450, far exceeded the number of student loans, 360 (see Tables 3.14, 3.15, 3.16).¹⁰⁹ This trend at Tōdai echoes student funding outside Tōdai. Student Office staff at other universities initiated fund-raising and created their own student funding systems.¹¹⁰ In 1942, 8 percent of all students at higher educational facilities, that is, middle schools, higher schools, specialization schools, and universities in Japan, were receiving financial aid. This was only slightly lower than the 11-12 percent at Tōdai in the late 1930s.¹¹¹

Table 3.14: Recipients of Student Funding at Tōdai in 1937

Faculty	Loan Recipients	Scholarship Recipients	Recipients of Both	Total Recipients / Total Students	Ratio	Average Per person
Law	159	116	41	316/2489	13%	27.92 yen

¹⁰⁹ Tōkyō teikoku daigaku gakuseika, ed. *Shōwa Jūninen Tōkyō Teikoku Daigaku Shōgakukin Jukyū Gakusei ni Kansuru Chōsa* (Tokyo: Tōkyō teikoku daigaku gakuseika, 1938), 1-2.

¹¹⁰ For instance, Kyōto Imperial University built a similar system beginning in 1930. Monbushō shisōkyoku, *Gakusei Seito Fukuri Shisetsu* (1935), 15.

¹¹¹ Nihon Ikueikai, ed. *Nihon Ikueikai Nijūnen Kinenshi* (Tokyo: Nihon Ikueikai, 1964), 4.

Medicine	38	72	23	133/690	19%	44.46 yen
Eng.	79	62	28	169/1056	16%	32.33 yen
Hum	45	25	5	75/1409	5%	24.60 yen
Sci	14	23	5	42/440	10%	32.73 yen
Agri	29	29	4	62/753	8%	26.51 yen
Econ	39	47	15	101/1241	8%	26.87 yen
Total	403	374	121	898/8078	11.11 %	30.93 yen

Table 3.15: Comparison between Student Funding in 1933, 1937, and 1938

Year	Student Loans	Scholarships	Combination	Total Amount/Recipient	Per Capita
1933	65	22	7	17603 yen/ 717 students	24.09 yen
1937	109	49	4	27730 yen/ 898 students	33.93 yen
1938	360	450	132	29042 yen/942 students	30.83 yen

Table 3.16: The Number of Recipients and the Amount of Funding in the 1930s¹¹²

	1933	1934	1935	1936	1937	1938	1939
Recipients	717	848	908	952	898	942	1070
Per Capita (Yen)	24.09	?	?	?	33.93	30.83	22.70

Simultaneously, a national student funding system appeared in Japan. During the session of the 74th Diet in February 1939, five Diet representatives, led by Morita Shigejirō from Aomori, submitted a “Proposal concerning Equal Educational Opportunities for Property-less Superior Students (*mushiryoku yūryōji*),” which was seconded unanimously. They organized the Representative League of Promoting National Education (*kokumin kyōiku shinkō giin dōmei*, hereafter LPE) in February 1941 and, during the 79th Diet session in December 1941, submitted a proposal for the establishment of a Student Funding Depository (*ikuei kinko*). LPE members wanted to

¹¹² “Gensenshugi ni mo Kakawarazu Kasha Kyūhi Gakusei Zenzōsu: Gakuseika Chōsa Jūkyū Jōtai,” *IUN*, December 5, 1938, 11; “Kashikyūhisei Yōyaku Fue, Kenjitsu na Seikatsu ni Kurai Kage,” *IUN*, April 29, 1940, 11.

borrow money from an insurance company to fund student loans for 200,000 students at middle schools, 10,000 at specialist colleges, and 10,000 students at high schools and universities. The proposed interest rate was 3.6 percent per annum.

The outbreak of the war with the United States served as a catalyst to realize this vision. LPE members named the fund the Prosperous Asia Student Funding Depository (*kōa ikuei kinko seido*) and designed it to provide “leaders all over East Asia.” Within their proposal they highlighted the problem of marginal advancement for higher educational facilities. “Although no fewer than 2,500,000 students graduate National Schools (*kokumin gakkō*) every year,” they argued, “among them, students who advance to middle schools, higher level girls’ schools (*kōtō jogakkō*), and other middle-level vocational schools (*jitsugyō gakkō*) comprise only fifteen percent of the total.” “Furthermore,” they continued, “students advancing from middle schools to higher schools or specialist schools are no more than 38,000. When it comes to students going to universities after graduating from higher schools, the number is less than 20,000.” This number, to LPE members, was not sufficient “for leading peoples in Greater East Asia.”¹¹³ The problem of marginal number of recipients of higher education implies a significant change in the emphasis of educational policy in Japan. Whereas, in 1935, the state established Youth Schools (*seinen gakkō*) for students who could not advance to middle schools, in 1942 the LPE was trying to provide them an opportunity to take middle-school education.

Responding to this proposal that was passed in the Diet, the Ministry of Education produced its own draft bills. Finally, in February 1943, although the amount of funding

¹¹³ Nihon Ikueikai ed., *Nihon Ikueikai nijūnen kinenshi*, 6-7.

was significantly less than originally proposed, the Government finalized the establishment of an incorporated foundation, the Greater Japan Student Funding Society (*dai nihon ikueikai*) based upon the budget of the Finance Ministries (see Table 3.17). The net number of state-led loan recipients in 1943 is not impressive. The 1,773 recipients are far fewer than the 7,351 recipients of student loans and scholarships in public schools in 1942. However, the number of recipients rose seven times in the final two wartime years. And, in the initial five postwar years the number jumped ten times more, keeping pace with the expansion of higher education in Japan (see Tables 3.18 and 3.19). In this way, the educational-employment pipeline came to be protected by the state finance.

Table 3.17: Operations of the Greater Japan Student Funding Society, 1943¹¹⁴

	Number of Recipients	Monthly Amount	Average Tuition
University Students	326	60 yen	120 yen
Higher Schools/ University Preparatory	278	50 yen	80 yen
Specialization Schools/ Female Specialization Schools	443	50 yen	80 yen
Middle Schools Female Middle Schools	726	20 yen	55 yen
Total	1773		

Table 3.18: The Amount and Recipients of Student Loans, 1943-1960¹¹⁵

Year	Amount of Loans (yen)		Number of Loan Recipients			
	Temporary	Cumulative	Total	Old	New	Cumulative
1943	283,720	-	1,773	-	1,773	1,773
1944	2,592,731	2,876,451	7,404	1,660	5,744	7,517
1945	3,915,530	6,791,981	12,423	5,642	6,781	14,298
1946	9,705,900	16,497,881	12,527	10,994	10,533	24,831
1947	103,391,684	119,889,565	46,379	14,521	31,858	56,689
1950	1,511,223,416	3,049,452,427	111,004	44,205	66,799	190,530
1953	3,325,236,400	11,672,876,576	200,089	109,837	90,252	446,935

¹¹⁴ Ibid, 40.

¹¹⁵ Ibid., 107.

1956	4,412,542,700	24,242,732,996	226,799	135,857	90,942	726,588
1960	5,141,466,500	43,540,811,496	231,528	156,646	74,882	1,054,690

Table 3.19: Students at Middle Schools, High Schools, and Universities, 1946-1965¹¹⁶

Year	Middle School	High School	University	
1946	707,878	29,038	82,861	(2 year)
1947	4,594,534	30,562	89,543	
1948	4,789,502	1,203,791	95,835	
1949	5,186,397	1,633,982	210,900	
1950	5,322,515	1,935,070	216,819	83,625
1955	5,883,692	2,592,001	531,039	78,646
1960	5,899,973	3,239,416	626,421	83,457
1965	5,956,630	5,073,882	937,556	147,563

Despite the severe wartime inflation, student finances at late-1930s Tōdai were on track to stabilization. One sign is the plummeting number of late-payers of tuition fees. In 1930, 1,000 students did not pay tuition in time for the first spring semester, but only 308 students in 1935, and 158 students (except from the Faculty of Medicine) in 1939. The number of undergraduate drop-outs also fell markedly. In 1932, 117 students left the Tōdai programs for economic reasons but this number fell to 33 in 1935 and 18 in 1939¹¹⁷ (see Table 3.20). In 1941, 6.19 percent of Tōdai students were funding themselves completely without the support of their family.¹¹⁸ In this way, Tōdai collegiate society became a community beyond students' families.

¹¹⁶ Monbushō, ed. *Monbushō Nenpō* (Tokyo: Monbushō, 1946-1965). This table does not count schools under the Old School System such as Specialization Schools, Higher Female Schools, etc. The smaller number of students at higher schools in 1946 than its university counterparts does not reveal that students at high-school-level education were smaller than its university level counterparts. 230,724 students, ten times more than at higher schools, were attending specialization schools in 1946.

¹¹⁷ "Jugyōryō Tainōsha Sennin: Sakunen ni Hishi 3 % mo Zōka Shi Kinrai ni Nai Daifuseiseki, Daiikki Nōfu Jōtai," "Gakuseisō ni Arawareta Sekai Kyōkō: Hikigeki Samazama," *IUN*, November 2, 1931, 7; "Sakunen Yori Haruka ni Ryōkō: Izen Bungakubu ga Saiaku, Daiikki Jugyōryō Minōritsu," *IUN*, December 2, 1935, 2; "Kashikyūhisei Yōyaku Fue: Kenjitsu na Seikatsu ni Kurai Kage," *IUN*, April 29, 1940, 11; *Teikoku Daigaku Ichiran*, 1932, 1935; "Kashikyūhisei Yōyaku Fue: Kenjitsu na Seikatsu ni Kurai Kage."

¹¹⁸ *IUN*, July 6, 1942, 5.

Table 3.20: Undergraduate Drop-outs and Deceased, 1928-1945¹¹⁹

Year		1928	1929	1930	1931	1932	1933	1934	1935	1936
Drop Outs	Family Needs	90	75	60	74	63	77	64	82	49
	Disease	16	13	7	12	17	22	11	21	32
	Tuition	92	96	75	104	117	82	56	33	54
	Academic Under-Performance		2		1	4	-	9	-	6
	Inadequate Behaviors	6	6	9	14	1	1	1	1	2
	Transfer	2		3		2	-	2	-	-
	Total Drop-outs	206	192	194	205	204	182	143	138	143
Deceased		66	51	64	60	55	49	59	46	55
Total Failures		272	243	258	265	259	231	202	184	198
Year		1937	1938	1939	1940	1941	1942	1943	1944	1945
Drop-Outs	Family Needs	48	29	30						
	Disease	26	13	15						
	Tuition	38	40	18						
	Academic Under-Performance	4	3	-						
	Inadequate Behaviors	4	2	1						
	Transfer	-	42	22						
	Total Drop-outs	120	129	86						
Deceased		48	47	48						
Total Failures		168	176	134	146	122	182	174	175	

The sustaining of student life does not equate to student affluence, but Tōdai's function to produce university graduates strengthened in wartime. The average monthly amount of funding support fell to 20 yen in 1939. The increasing number of part-time student workers represents student impoverishment and their response to this pressure.¹²⁰

¹¹⁹ Information in this table is from *Nihon Teikoku Monbushō nenpō*, 1928-1944.

¹²⁰ "Kashikyūhisei Yōyaku Zōka: Kenjitsu na Seikatsu ni Kurai Kage."

However, the overall failure of Tōdai undergraduates fell to 122 students in 1941 despite the war. The rising number of failures after 1942 reveals increasing student casualties in the battlefield, but this figure nevertheless remained lower than its interwar equivalent.

The welfare programs at Tōdai were operated by the interplay among students, university authorities, the state, and those who wanted students' skills and money. University authorities and business leaders took the lead in a marginal number of funding opportunities in the late nineteenth century, but student welfare remained largely in the hands of students themselves and the market for their money and skills, which shaped and were shaped by the fledgling educational-employment pipeline in modern Japan. The educational-employment pipeline created new businesses of home-tutoring and lodging. Aspiring students were consumers, service providers, and social reformers at the same time on this market. They sold their skills to go through university entrance examinations, consumed lodging services, and organized the Gakuyūkai in order to support their welfare and to change the notion of welfare from the individual to the social. Soon, university authorities began to systematically manage students' part-timing and housing, while the state and politicians embraced the idea of social welfare and created a state-financed student funding system in wartime Japan.

In this process, higher educational experience was closely intertwined with the evolving idea of welfare. Tōdai students were under economic pressure because they wanted to go through the educational employment pipeline. But at the same time, Tōdai

students procured welfare only by climbing the educational-employment pipeline.¹²¹

Aspiring middle-class citizens at Tōdai were beneficiaries, winners, and reformers of the practice of student welfare. In modern Japan, where modern education, business, and the state bureaucracy were born almost at the same time, welfare was a product from as well as an engine in the rise of the middle class.

By lowering the perspective from the state to Tōdai collegiate society, this chapter naturally answers a perennial question—Why the middle class supports social welfare? Tōdai students did not consider themselves on the same side with “people of big wealth,” and organized a welfare institution of their own on campus. The social aspiration of economically modest Tōdai students inherently created a social need of welfare support. Students and university authorities imported the Social-Bureau welfare programs designed for workers to their campus, revealing the compromised social demarcation between workers and aspiring students.

Equally noteworthy is a paradox of these welfare programs. The well-paying part-time jobs supported economically modest university students, thus widening the gateway to the educational-employment pipeline. However, the expansion of university students eventually compromised the scarcity of the skills university students could sell, and increased the competition of apartment hunting among students. Student welfare buttressed the social gravity of middle-class mobility that attracted social aspirants to higher educational institutions, but eventually losing its efficiency as the social gravity of higher education strengthens.

¹²¹ Gøsta Esping-Andersen, *The Three Worlds of Welfare Capitalism* (Princeton Princeton University Press, 1990), 64.

However, this paradox does not compromise the centrality of universities in welfare institutions in Japan. Even after the Japanese welfare state emerged during the transwar social transformation, university students remained as the most privileged beneficiaries of welfare programs. Despite the destructive influence of the war itself, educational opportunities expanded during the war, and students were able to get many part-time jobs and a national system of student funding. The war heavily affected students themselves, but barely touched the safety net for campus life. Student welfare systems emerged and prospered throughout wartime and thereafter, with the same institutions still serving current Tōdai students in their project to become middle-class.

Chapter 4

Purifying Leisure: The Evolution of Amateur Sports at Tōdai

Leisure activities were not unknown in nineteenth-century Japan, but, following the modern fate of Tokugawa Japan, leisure surfaced as a new culture for middling elites. Frederick William Strange, an English teacher at the First Higher Middle School, held the first athletic festival (*undōkai*) at Tōdai and the First Higher Middle School in 1883, marking the earliest event of this kind in Japan. Kikuchi Dairoku, who probably met Strange in the late 1860s during his study abroad in London at University College School, an English public school, helped Strange to manage this event.¹ In organizing this event, Strange encouraged team sports and criticized Japanese students for not “taking enough physical exercises.”² Soon, sports culture acquired moral significance. In 1898, Kikuchi, who became the Tōdai president, gave a lecture to students entitled “The Spirit of Exercise,” in which he talked of sportsmanship and fair play as “the spirit of impartiality, and the rejection of the use of despicable means,” which he likened to the “way of samurai.”³ In this way, Japan’s modern elites joined a global culture of modern leisure in pursuit of their physical and moral distinction from old elites.

Tōdai was a critical space where a middle-class identity of leisure emerged and evolved in early twentieth-century Japan. Tōdai boasted the oldest sports club in Japan,

¹ Abe Ikuo and J. A. Mangan, “‘Sportsmanship’-English Inspiration and Japanese Response: F.W.Strange and Chiyosaburo Takeda,” in *Sport in Asian Society: Past and Present*, ed. J. A. Mangan (London: Frank Cass, 2003), 99-100; Abe Ikuo, *Kindai Supōtsumanshippu no Tanjō to Seichō* (Ibaraki: Tsukuba daigaku shuppankai, 2009), 258.

² Frederick William Strange, *Outdoor Games* (Tokyo: Maruie Zenshichi shuppan, 1883; repr., Tokyo: Bēsubōru magajinsha, 1980), 2.

³ Recited from Abe, “‘Sportsmanship’-English Inspiration and Japanese Response,” 108.

the Tōdai Athletics Association (hereafter TAA), which was established by alumni and foreign educators in 1886. By the 1930s, half of Tōdai students were members of the TAA and ten percent were members of its seventeen athletic clubs. The Red Gate Athletic Association (hereafter RAA), an alumni organization established in 1927 by TAA graduates who were influential in the business community, academia, and journalism, supported TAA activities. Tōdai alumni shared an elitist amateurism which they tried to institutionalize in the management of sports in Japan. By exploring the Sports Purification Movement led by RAA activists, this chapter examines how Tōdai alumni and students fashioned and transformed a middle-class identity of leisure in modern Japan.

In the nineteenth century, amateurism was a class-based idea. In 1866, the British Amateur Athletics Club defined “amateurs” as “gentlemen who play neither against professionals nor for money.” Amateurs “do not teach sports skills as a job and cannot be craftsmen nor workers.” Working-class athletes were considered as non-amateur, or “professional,” given that “their manual labor helped them increase muscle power.”⁴ This idea was powerful and enduring. Until 1974, Olympic athletes had to be amateurs in non-sport careers and could not leave their job for more than four weeks for sports training. Japanese sports leaders accepted this idea as part of their self-identification as educated elites.

Sports were one of many leisure activities available to Tōdai students in the interwar period. Tōdai students were clients at the fledgling cafés in Kanda, Hongō, and Komagome, where they drank coffee, chatted with friends, and found dating

⁴ H. F. Wilkinson, *Modern Athletics* (London: Frederick Warne and Col., 1868), 16; Eugene A. Glader, *Amateurism and Athletics* (West Point, New York: Leisure Press, 1978), 17, 100-01.

opportunities with waitresses. Tōdai students could drink beer for which they could easily borrow money, ten or twenty yen (40,000 or 80,000 yen today), by pawning their notebooks, books, and clothes to the 40 pawnshops around the Tōdai campus.⁵ They learned to dance in the newly established Tōdai dancing club, joined the Tōdai orchestra led by Watanabe Tetsuzō, a professor of Economics, and travelled to Korea and Manchuria which were popular destinations in the interwar period.⁶

However, sports were the most acknowledged and privileged leisure activity. Sports enjoyed institutional support at Tōdai. Tōdai professors and students annually used 30,000 yen (60,000,000 yen in today's standard) for the TAA in the 1930s, while other leisure activities were not institutionally supported. Moreover, some leisure activities such as dancing or going to cafés were considered inadequate by university authorities. Student Office staff asked dance-club members to withdraw from the club,⁷ while journalists and social reformers argued that the police should regulate "students' morality" to prevent students from going to cafés as "absurd (*yokei*)."⁸ Under these circumstances, sports were considered a legitimate alternative to these "inadequate" leisure activities. In 1925, Abe Isoo argued for the establishment of athletic facilities in order to save students from "insalutary pleasures," where Tōdai students also paid visits.⁹ In this way, sports took root as a legitimate leisure activity in Tōdai collegiate society.

⁵ Teikoku daigaku shinbunsha, *Tōsei daigakusei katagi*, 68-69.

⁶ *Ibid.*, 49.

⁷ In contrast, Tōdai dance club members had to suffer the hostile response of the Student Office right after the appearance of the club in 1932. Student Office Staff planned to persuade members to disaffiliate from the clubs. "Sanka Gakusei wa Koko ni Settokeu Suru: Kyōkō ni Deru Gakuseika," *IUN*, December 12, 1932, 7.

⁸ Chiba Kameo, "Gakusei Kifūron," *Kaizō* 7, no. 7 (1925).

⁹ Abe Isoo, "Daigakumachi no Gakuseiseikatsu," *Kaizō* 7, no. 7 (1925); Teikoku daigaku shinbunsha, *Tōsei daigakusei katagi*, 4-8.

The Sports Purification Movement was the RAA leaders' attempt to defend the dignity of this legitimate leisure activity and its amateurism in the face of professionalizing collegiate sports. As intercollegiate sports prospered at higher educational facilities, star athletes stood out for their privileged status on campus and in the job market. Just as the leaders of Japanese amateur sports owed much to the West, the anti-professionalization reform activists were inspired by the anti-professionalization activism of Carnegie Foundation researchers.¹⁰ TAA alumni problematized the "professionalization of student sports," which, they claimed, adversely affected academic performance, and initiated an administrative reform to restore an "amateur identity" to collegiate sports.

In this way, RAA activists embraced the idea of "proper" leisure in amateur sports, created the TAA in which students of modest means could enjoy sporting opportunities, and propagated this middle-class idea and practices of leisure beyond the walls of the university. Amateur sportsmen differentiated middle-class citizens at Tōdai from old elites by endowing sports with a spiritual quality, known as "sportsmanship" or the idea of "fair play," while they also differentiated themselves from workers by separating leisure from work. These middling citizens eventually transformed the idea of amateur sports itself, making sporting opportunities available to people beyond the walls of the university.

Changing definitions of the middle class and university students set the stage for the Sports Purification Movement. In late nineteenth century Japan, ideas of a middle

¹⁰ Ashida kōhei, "Genkaku na Kisoku to So no Unyō ga Kanyō," *IUN*, June 23, 1930, 192.

class spurred cultural visions for new elites, such as the notion of the “gentleman.”¹¹ By the interwar period, as white-collar populations pursuing culturally elite status grew, economic anxiety came to define this class. Those in the middle class were cultural elites who enjoyed “cultured living,” but were also under economic pressure. The Sports Purification Movement reveals both the strength of class-based campus culture and its crisis. Collegiate sports demonstrated that Japanese university students were not just future middle-class citizens but already enjoyed middle-class culture on campus. Universities were a cultural ground for middle-class citizens where students experienced class culture to advance to the next stage of their life. Under these circumstances, sports were considered strictly as leisure, not career activities. But, students remained economically modest and sometimes turned to sports to earn money. The battle line of sports purification was drawn between the two faces of the middle class at play: amateurs as cultural elites versus economically distressed students as professional athletes.

This chapter challenges the focus of previous scholarship on the role of the state in Japanese sports.¹² The Sports Purification Movement reveals less the unilateral statist control of student identity than a negotiation between self-regulating middle-class citizens and bureaucrats. At the center of this negotiation was the class identity of RAA leaders and their anxiety toward the changing boundaries of the middle class itself.

¹¹ Roden, *Schooldays in Imperial Japan: A Study in the Culture of a Student Elite*, p.43. Sand, *House and Home in Modern Japan*.

¹² Kishino Yūzō, *Kindai Nihon Gakkō Taiikushi* (Tokyo: Tōyōkan shuppansha, 1959); Irie Katsumi, *Nihon Fuashizumu Ka no Taiiku Shisō* (Tokyo: Fumaidō shoten shuppan, 1986); *Shōwa Supōtsu Shiron: Meiji Jingū Kyōgi Taikai to Kokumin Seishin Sōdōin Undō* (Tokyo: Fumaidō shuppan, 1991); *Taishō Jiyū Taiiku no Kenkyū* (Tokyo: Fumaidō shoten shuppan, 1993); Sakaue Yasuhiro, *Kenryoku Sōchi to Shite no Supōtsu: Teikoku Nihon no Kokka Senryaku* (Tokyo: Kōdansha, 1998).

I. Middle-Class Sports before State Control

Until the interwar period, there was an institutional barrier that rendered sports as class culture. In 1909, Kanō Jigorō, a Tōdai alumnus who founded Kōdōkan Judo, became the first International Olympic Committee member from Asia in 1909. In 1911, together with sports leaders at Tōdai, Keiō, and Waseda, he created the Japanese Amateur Athletic Association (hereafter JAAA) to promote Japan's participation in the Olympics. Basing their ideas of amateurism on concepts imported from the West, JAAA leaders restricted eligibility for its sports events strictly to “people who are not shamed as students and gentlemen,” i.e. to “graduates from middle schools or higher.”¹³ In 1921, JAAA staff classified players into three categories, “normal players,” “coaches,” and “semi-professional players.” “Drivers, mail deliverers, milk distributors, fish market workers, and rickshaw drivers” were included in the last category. In 1922, the JAAA called for a distinction between “normal” and “semi-professional” athletes in all sporting events and officially prohibited “people whose jobs help[ed] themselves prepare for the games they play” from international sports.¹⁴

The rarity and expense of sporting opportunities also limited the agents of sports to the middle class, especially students at higher educational institutions. The privileged status of the TAA itself reveals how only a limited population could enjoy sports until the interwar period. The TAA emerged at the same time that Tokyo Imperial University was established in 1886. The establishment of sports clubs in the early 1880s was led by

¹³ Dainihon taiiku kyōkai, ed. *Dainihon taiiku kyōkai shi*, vol. jō (Tokyo: Dainihon taiiku kyōkai, 1936), 15, 168.

¹⁴ “‘Amachua’ Mondai no Kaiketsu,” Dainihon taiiku kyōkai, *Asurechikkusu* 1, no. 1 (1922): 131.

foreign professors employed at Tōdai, including Strange. According to an article in the *Imperial University News*, these foreign professors taught cricket, soccer, tennis, baseball, competitive rowing, and swimming, and held the first sports meeting at Tōdai, then Tokyo University, in 1883.¹⁵ This meeting became the Autumn Athletic Meeting after 1886. Boat racing was already popular among Tōdai students, which was represented by the establishment of rowing clubs in the Faculties of Medicine and Engineering. In 1886, Tōdai collegiate society got its own official sports club, the TAA, whose structure paralleled the structure of Tōdai collegiate society. The TAA president was the Tōdai president himself, and each faculty could elect one representative (*kanji*) to the Central Committee, which consisted of six representatives who managed the general affairs of the TAA. Below the Central Committee were twenty-four committee members (*iin*) elected from each faculty, who served the Central Committee members. The TAA had three sections—rowing, swimming, and track and field games. Its affiliation fee was 30 sen (10,000 yen today) a year. Since alumni and professors, as well as Tōdai students, could be its members, the TAA worked as a greater Tōdai leisure community. The fund for TAA activities was created with a gift from the Meiji Emperor and Tōdai professors, 7,459 yen in 1886, along with membership fees.¹⁶ In 1898, when the TAA became a corporate judicial body (*shidan hōjin*), the TAA came to cover seven events: rowing, track and field games, ball games, swimming, judo, fencing, and archery.¹⁷ In short, the Tōdai sports community was a rare intersection of foreign contacts and support from the state and

¹⁵ “Undō no Ippanka wo Mokuhyō to Shite Doryoku, Sōgyō Furuki Undōkai: Toshi to Tomo ni Sakahete Jūshichibu ni,” *IUN*, April 15, 1929, 3; Tōkyō daigaku hyakunenshi hensan iinkai, ed. *Tōkyō Daigaku Hyakunenshi: Tsūshi* 1 (Tokyo: Tōkyō daigaku shuppankai, 1984), 894-896.

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, 901.

¹⁷ “Undō no Ippanka wo Mokuhyō to Shite Doryoku, Sōgyō Furuki Undōkai,” 3.

university authorities, revealing the difficulty for non-educated people to enjoy sports.

The fledgling sports culture at Tōdai was not just for physical health or fun. According to Abe Ikuo, Strange articulated the spiritual benefit of sports, which was not just for “physical discipline” but also for “learning (*kuniku*).”¹⁸ The spiritual connotation of sports was stipulated in the TAA’s statement of purpose. In 1890, TAA leaders defined the purpose of the TAA as “to promote friendship among its members by disciplining the body and the spirit.”¹⁹ The idea of spiritual training was swiftly intertwined with the class-based idea of character training and amateurism. For instance, in 1923, Takeda Chiyosaburō understood the purpose of sports as “producing a man of valor and wisdom, of virtue and righteousness, who should pursue a gentlemanly performance that one is unable to buy with money.”²⁰ The idea of sportsmanship was applied to life beyond leisure. In 1929, the author of a TAA pamphlet lamented the lack of “sportsmanship” in the malfunctioning Japanese Diet, and envisioned “the universalization of sportsmanship” by the TAA.²¹

In the interwar period, Tōdai students’ leisure activities became more diversified and institutionalized. The TAA transformed itself into the Gakuyūkai of Tokyo Imperial University, a general student organization at Tōdai, in 1920. The Gakuyūkai was basically a leisure organization, now additionally including four clubs: the Literary Club, the Music Club, the Tennis Club, and the Skiing Club.²² With the rise of the Central

¹⁸ Takeda Chiyosaburō, “Honpō undōkai no onjin sutorēnji shi wo omofu 2”, *Asurechikkusu* 2, no. 3 (1923): 125-126. Recited from Abe, *Kindai Supōtsumanshippu no Tanjō to Seichō*, 263.

¹⁹ Teikoku daigaku undōkai, *Teikoku Daigaku Undōkai Kisoku* (Tokyo: Teikoku daigaku, 1890), 1.

²⁰ Takeda Chiyosaburō, *Riron, Jikken Kyōgi Undō* (Tokyo: Hakubunkan, 1904), 607, 615.

²¹ Tōkyō teikoku daigaku undōkai, *Shōkai Panfuretto* (Tokyo: Tōkyō teikoku daigaku undōkai, 1929), 1.

²² Tōkyō daigaku hyakunenshi hensan iinkai, ed. *Tōkyō Daigaku Hyakunenshi: Tsūshi* 1, 905.

Gakuyūkai in 1923, five clubs were added: horse-riding, shooting, soccer, oration, and skating. In 1924 and 1925, along with the Mutual Aid Department and the Newspaper Department, four additional leisure clubs were established: hockey, rugby, sumo, and travelling.²³ The importance of leisure activities in the entire Gakuyūkai enterprise was more than apparent. In 1924, its first fiscal year, sports clubs and the Music Department spent 13,686 yen 32 sen, which was more than one-third of the total expenditure of the Central Gakuyūkai budget of 32,779 yen 40 sen.²⁴ In other words, students' Gakuyūkai fees of five yen per member in 1924 were used primarily for leisure activities. A fever for leisure activities rose after 1925, despite a shrinking budget. Encouraged by their increasing popularity, sports clubs demanded 37,051 yen and 2 sen, which was more than the total expenditure of the Central Gakuyūkai in 1924. Although the Gakuyūkai budgets forced clubs to cut their budget by two-thirds from the originally proposed levels at 11,105 yen sports club budgets were almost half of the total expenditure.

Student leisure at Tōdai was based on strong institutional support, which extra-collegiate society rarely provided until the interwar period. Not to mention playgrounds and pools the economic value of the three vacation villas at Tōdai symbolized the privileged status of Tōdai students in suburban leisure culture. The oldest one was the Toda House (*todaryō*), in Numazu on the Izu Peninsula, Shizuoka, whose site was originally an undeveloped Bakufu terrain (*tenryō*). In 1898, Tōdai constructed a summer house and swimming facilities along the coast of Toda village as a training ground for the Tōdai Swimming Club and as a venue for the inter-high-school swimming competition

²³ The itinerary of the Tōdai Tour Club was not just domestic, reaching Manchuria and Korea. "Nazo no Kagi, Hatashite Toruka: Gakuyūkai Ryokōbu no Mansen Ryokō no Keikaku," *IUN*, July 6, 1925, 7.

²⁴ Teikoku daigaku kōgakubu, *Teiyūkai zasshi* 7 (1925): 119-120.

during the 1920s.²⁵ The house was also open to students who were not affiliated with the Swimming Club. The second villa was Yamanaka House at Yamanaka Lake village, Yamanashi, contiguous to Mount Fuji. Horiuchi Tetsuji, the president of the Sanroku Railroad Company, and the Yamanashi Prefecture authorities asked Hatoyama Hideo, a professor at Tōdai Law and head of the Tōdai Tennis Club, to build Tōdai facilities in the area. In 1925, Tōdai and Gunma Prefecture signed a twenty-year, renewable lease for an area of 100,000 *tsubo* (330,580 square meters).²⁶ The newly-established Central Gakuyūkai organized a student labor corps to proceed with the construction of the house.²⁷ This house was designated for students who wanted to enjoy rowing, baseball, or tennis, or just to study for the Civil Examination.²⁸ The Tōdai authorities created another grounds for horseback-riding in 1935.²⁹ The third villa was Tanikawa House, Minakami village, Gunma. A lawyer donated 2,000-*tsubo* of land with hot springs and a skiing ground in Minakami village in 1930. Tōdai authorities decided to build a vacation villa for skiing. In the fall of 1931, Tanikawa House was finally open and began to accept students. In December 1930, the Tōdai Mountaineering and Skiing Club purchased 20 pairs of skis and began to lend them to student skiers.³⁰ By 1933, these three vacation

²⁵ Tōkyōdaigaku todaryōshi hensan iinkai, ed. *Tōkyōdaigaku Todaryōshi Hachijūnenshi* (Tokyo: Tōkyōdaigaku todaryō shi hensan iinkai, 1976), 19-20.

²⁶ Yamanakaryōshi hensan iinkai, ed. *Tōkyōdaigaku Yamanakaryō Nanajūnenshi* (Tokyo: Yamanakaryōshi hensan iinkai, 1998), 9-12.

²⁷ “Shojochi Kaitaku ni Konka Gakusei no Arubaito,” *IUN*, July 6, 1925, 7.

²⁸ “Yama to Mizuumi to ni Hahete Yamanaka ni Kishukusha Shinsetsu: Konka made ni Jitugen no Mikomi, Hisho Benkyōsha mo Dai ni Kangei,” *IUN*, April 25, 1927, 5.

²⁹ Yamanakaryōshi hensan iinkai ed., *Tōkyōdaigaku Yamanakaryō Nanajūnenshi*, 21-31.

³⁰ The price for the check-out was two yen for TAA members and three yen for non-member Tōdai students. Given that a pair of ski was around 13 or 14 yen in the market, this was a good opportunity for Tōdai students to enjoy skiing. “Sanzenyen no Yosan de Kishukusha Kensetsu: Undōkai de Nyūshu no Minakami e, Tōki Sumi Shidai Chakkō no Hazu,” *IUN*, June 9, 1930, 7; “Tanigawa Onsen no Kishukusha Iyoiyo Kenchiku ni Chakushu: Rokusen’en no Yosan de Sukī Setsubi mo Sonafu,” *IUN*, June 23, 1930, 7; Azuma Ryūtarō, “Sōsetsu Tōji no Omoide” in *Tōkyōdaigaku tanigawa ryōshi*

villas provided students with a cheap opportunity to enjoy suburban leisure life. In prewar Japan, hotels were only for privileged cultural visionaries or foreigners. A traveler had to pay more than twenty yen during the 1930s, which was twenty times as expensive as one yen, the price for staying at the vacation villas at Tōdai.³¹ (See Picture 4.1)

Picture 4.1: The Tanikawa House³²



Tōdai students' privileges were not limited to spatial aspects. Tōdai sports clubs were equipped with expensive sporting goods. By 1929, the Boat House of the Tōdai

hensan iinkai, ed. *Tōkyō Daigaku Tanigawaryō Gojūnenshi* (Tokyo: Tōkyōdaigaku tanigawa ryōshi hensan iinkai, 1982), 17-18; "Gakunai Sukī Taikai wa Minakami Onsen de Nigatsu Jūgonichi ni Kyokō," *IUN*, February 2, 1931, 7; The Advertisement of Nagashimahiko Honten, *IUN*, December 2, 1929, 8; "Sukī no Kashidashi," *IUN*, December 8, 1930, 7; "Hakuun Waku Kyōkoku ni Iyoiyo Tanigawaryō Hiraku: Shichigatsu Chūjun ni wa Setsubi Kanryō," *IUN*, June 15, 1931, 7; Tōkyōdaigaku tanigawa ryōshi hensan iinkai, *Tōkyō Daigaku Tanigawaryō Gojūnenshi*, 215.

³¹ Morinaga Takurō, *Bukka no Bunkashi Jiden: Meiji, Taishō, Shōwa, Heisei* (Tokyo: Tenbōsha, 2008), 370.

³² Tōkyō daigaku tanikawaryō gojūnenshi henshūiinkai, ed. *Tōkyō daigaku tanikawaryō gojūnenshi*, (Tokyo: Tōkyō daigaku tanikawaryō iinkai, 1982).

Rowing Club owned thirty boats equipped with oars. By joining the Tōdai Baseball Club, students could play with bats, gloves, protective equipment, and baseballs, which were still expensive in the interwar period. According to the price list of a sporting goods shop in 1921, a baseball was two yen,³³ two percent of the monthly salary of office workers at Mitsubishi. Tōdai Horseback Riding Club students could ride horses at the privileged Army College (*rikugun daigaku*), an educational institution for army elites.³⁴

Various links between student leisure at Tōdai and extra-collegiate society came into being when collegiate sports events were institutionalized. First, the TAA developed official links with its alumni members. Before 1924, sports clubs at Tōdai included graduated members, but as the Central Gakuyūkai defined its membership as incumbent students before graduation, the graduate members organized a society for support and amity for each club. For instance, a support society for the Track and Field Club emerged in December 1924.³⁵ In May 1927, these support societies were officially integrated into the Red Gate Athletic Association (*akamon undōkai*, RAA), a support society of graduate members for the TAA.³⁶ The RAA had many powerful members, such as Hatoyama Ichirō who served as the Education Minister in the early 1930s.

The TAA was one of the most systematic and complete sports clubs, but it was not the only club in Japan. Collegiate sports clubs increased their social presence in the sports leagues of middle schools, high schools, universities, and corporations in the mid-1920s. Soon after the birth of the TAA, the First Higher Middle Fraternity Society (*daiichi*

³³ Kyōgakukan, “Undōgu Teikahyō” (1921).

³⁴ “Undō no Ippanka wo Mokuhyō to Shite Doryoku,” 3.

³⁵ “Akamon Rikujōkai no Tanjō: Kyōgibu Senpai no Shinmoku Kikan to Shite,” *IUN*, December 22, 1924, 2.

³⁶ “Akamon Undōkai no Sōritsu,” *IUN*, May 9, 1927, 5.

kōtōchūgakkō kōyūkai, the First Higher Middle School changed its name to the First High School in 1894) was established in 1890. Throughout the 1890s, sports clubs spread widely in high schools and led to the development of extra-curricular sports activities. Sports clubs at the First High School began to develop reciprocal ties with clubs at other institutions for inter-collegiate games. The First Middle Higher Judo Club had games with their rival at the Second Middle High School in Sendai. The First Higher Middle School had baseball games with Hitotsubashi, Keiō, and Waseda, which were not universities until 1918. After the establishment of the Central Gakuyūkai at Tōdai in 1923, the TAA organized intercollegiate leagues among high schools and imperial universities. In 1924, the Central Gakuyūkai at Tōdai and the Central Gakuyūkai at Kyōto Imperial University (hereafter Kyōdai) began to hold the Tōdai-Kyōdai Games. By 1940, all imperial universities in the Japanese Empire, except Taihoku (Taipei) Imperial University, had bilateral ties for annual matches, modeled on the Tōdai-Kyōdai Games (Hokkaidō Imperial vs. Tōhoku Imperial, Kyūshū Imperial vs. Keijō [Seoul] Imperial, and Osaka Imperial vs. Nagoya Imperial). In 1925, the Tōdai baseball club joined the Tokyo Big Six University Baseball League (hereafter TBSL. Its members included Tōdai, Waseda, Keiō, Meiji, Rikkyō, Hōsei), which developed out of a Waseda-Keiō baseball game played since 1903. Intercollegiate games among high schools became institutionalized by the League of Imperial University Baseball Clubs, which jointly held the inter-high-school games after 1925. Inter-high-vocational games of other events were swiftly institutionalized. For instance, the Imperial University Baseball Club League (*teikoku daigaku yakyūbu renmei*), which consisted of Tōdai, Kyōdai, and Tōhoku Imperial and

Kyūshū Imperial Universities, held the Inter-high-vocational Games.³⁷ The Tōdai Basketball Club held the National Inter-high-school Basketball Games starting in 1927.³⁸ Intercollegiate sports games spread swiftly, since by definition every player needed partners.

The social influence of collegiate baseball games eventually led to the rise of a league of alumni players. Star players of the TBSL had to procure jobs after graduation, but the social demand to see them play did not easily disappear. The fledgling games among baseball clubs of corporations and state bureaucracy responded to this need. In 1927, the *Tokyo Nichinichi Newspaper* began to hold the Japan Intercity Baseball Tournament (*nihon toshi taikō yakyū taikai*) in Jīngū stadium. The participants represented twelve cities in the Japanese Empire: Tokyo, Yokohama, Sapporo, Sendai, Nagoya, Ōsaka, Kōbe, Kure, Moji, Fukuoka, Dairen (Manchuria), and Keijō (Korea). Each city was represented by a company, a state bureau, or a league of companies: the South Manchurian Railway Company Baseball Club represented Dairen, the Keijō Railway (*keijō ryūtetsu*) for Keijō, the Nagoya Railway Bureau (*nagoya tetsudōkyoku*) for Nagoya, the Fukuoka Kyūtetsu Stock Company (*fukuoka kyūtetsu kabushiki kaisha*) for Fukuoka, Sapporo Wagonna for Sapporo, local players at Kōbe for Kōbe, local players in Osaka, local players in Yokohama, the Tokyo Club for Tokyo, the Sendai Railway Bureau for Sendai, the Moji Railway Bureau for Moji, and local players in Kure for Kure.³⁹ In this sense, collegiate sports stimulated the institutionalization of leisure

³⁷ Teikoku daigaku yakyūbu renmei, ed. *Kōtōsenmon Gakkō Yakyū Taikaishi: Jūshūnen Kinen* (Tokyo, 1933).

³⁸ “Zenkoku Kōkō no Rōkyū Taikai: Shichigatsu Gejun ni Kyokō,” *IUN*, May 9, 1927, 5.

³⁹ Nihon shakaijin yakyū kyōkai and Mainichi shinbunsha, ed. *Toshi Taikō Yakyū Taikai Yonjūnenshi* (Tokyo: Mainichi shinbunsha, 1969), 6.

activities along a path of middle-class mobility from middle schools to corporations. The connection indicated the constant interest of the white-collar population in playing and watching sports activities. In the interwar economic recession, these connections worked usefully for school athletes who were beloved new comers to corporations. This network of leagues offered high-profile sporting opportunities for students at institutions of higher education to the exclusion of all others.

II. Thought Control and Agitation in the Sports Community

The sporting world was shaken up when the state began using sports to suppress radicalism in 1928. Following the mass arrest of student communists, student proctors at Japan's imperial universities turned to sports to dampen radicalism. According to these proctors, sports would "prevent the injection of dangerous thoughts by distracting students' fever."⁴⁰ A pseudo-medical explanation followed. Kita Toyokichi, the Athletic Director of the Education Ministry, argued that "many students with extreme ideology" have "problems of some kind in their bodies," and that "abnormal ideas like radicalism usually blossom among weaklings and mental deviates."⁴¹ This new idea coincided with the rise of a new discipline, mental hygiene. In 1920, school doctors (*gakkōi*) and school hygiene proctors (*gakkō eisei shuji*) organized the Imperial School Hygiene Association

⁴⁰ "1928 nen no Kaiko Bunka Kagakukai, Shisō Zendō Kōza," *IUN*, January 1, 1929, 4.

⁴¹ "Netsu wo Undō ni Mukete Shisō no Akka wo Fusegu: Mikka ni Wataru Gakuseikan Kaigi de Shisō Torishimari Taisaku Naru," *IUN*, May 21, 1928, 2; *Kyōiku Shūhō* 158, May 26, 1928, 2 (Recited from Sakaue, *Kenryoku Sōchi to Shite no Supōtsu*, 87); *Monbujihō* 280, July 1, 1928, 2 (Recited from Sakaue, *Kenryoku Sōchi to shite no Supōtsu*, 88); Kita Toyokichi, "Taiiku Undō to Shisō Mondai," *Gakkō eisei* 8, no. 10 (1928): 4.

(*teikoku daigaku eiseikai*).⁴² In 1929 they published *Mental Hygiene*, in which they related poor physical health to mental instability, suggesting rest, sports, and nutritious meals for students.⁴³

Business leaders endorsed this idea. Around 1930, health surfaced as a key value on the job market. A personnel director in Takashimaya Japanese Clothes identified “sportsmen” as desirable, while he listed neurotic breakdown, myopia, and radical ideas as undesirable traits for applicants.⁴⁴ Because of school athletes’ popularity, a member of the Tōdai Fencing Club in 1930 was jokingly accused of “doing fencing while on the job market.”⁴⁵

Student radicals, however, were not just victims. They produced a counter-rhetoric to this sports ideology. In June 1928, Tōdai radicals began to demand “sports popularization.”⁴⁶ In 1931, a Japan Communist Youth League activist criticized athlete-centered school sports and the opaque handling of gate receipts by the Tōdai Baseball Club from the TBSL.⁴⁷ In short, they challenged the marginalization of sporting opportunities for non-athletes and condemned the suspected financial misappropriation of the for-profit TAA.

⁴² Nomura Yoshikazu, “Teikoku Gakkō Eiseikai no Setsuritsu Keii ni Kansuru Kenkyū,” *Tsukuba Daigaku Taiiku Kagaku Kakari Kiyō* 17 (1994).

⁴³ Monbushō teikoku gakkō eiseikai, *Seishin Eisei* (Tokyo: Monbushō, 1929), 85.

⁴⁴ Jūmoku, *Shūshoku Senjutsu*; “Saiyōshagawa ni Kiku,” *IUN*, June 6, 1932, 3; Matsumoto Shintarō, “Naze Watashi wa Supōtsuman wo Saiyō Suruka,” *Sararīman* 4, no. 4 (1931): 72-74; “Kajihara kun wa Sumitomo e: Undōbu Senshu no Shūshoku,” *IUN*, March 11, 1935, 9. Already in 1924, the Waseda University News reported the 100 percent employment of baseball athletes by corporations. (*Waseda daigaku shinbun*, January 25, 1924, 3).

⁴⁵ Tanaka Sadaji, “Warui Dentō wo Nuge,” *IUN*, February 17, 1930, 8.

⁴⁶ Kishino Yūzō, ed. *Kindai Taiiku Supōtsu Nenpyō* (Tokyo: Daishūkan shoten, 1973), 149; Tōkyō teikoku daigaku gakuseika, ed. *Saikin ni okeru Hongakunai no Sayoku Gakusei Soshiki to So no Undō no Gaiyō* (Tokyo: 1932), 1-2, 4.

⁴⁷ Nihon kyōsan seinen dōmei tōdai saibō ed., *Akamon Senshi*, October 24, 1931, 2; *Akamon senshi*, May 30, 1932, 1.

By 1929, sports popularization became a buzz word among high-school radicals as well. In January 1929, Niigata High School students blamed school athletes as they lobbied the school authorities and used 2,000 yen from the fraternity fund to remodel the sports club building.⁴⁸ In June 1929, students passed a reform plan to open sports facilities to non-athlete students and abolish school athletes and intercollegiate games.⁴⁹ Also, radicals objected to cheerleading squads. As high school students routinely played intercollegiate games, sports clubs organized pep squads and collected cheerleading expenses from students. In 1928, student radicals problematized the practice of coercively collecting cheerleading expenses.⁵⁰ In May 1928, students at the Fourth High School abolished their pep squad,⁵¹ which was emulated by students at several high schools.⁵²

TAA leaders joined this discussion as they found sports becoming less a bourgeois leisure activity than a tool for employment, moneymaking, and order. The primary concern of TAA leaders, who followed the Carnegie Foundation Report on the professionalization of collegiate sports,⁵³ was the compromised class identity of athletes or the “professionalization” of collegiate sports. Ashida Kōhei, the manager of the Tōdai Baseball Club, understood the professionalization of student athletes as a “big problem” directly related to “the dignity of athletes.” One author lamented that school authorities

⁴⁸ “Supōtsu Shōrei ni Hankō Undō: Niigata Kōkō Ugoku,” *IUN*, January 28, 1929, 4.

⁴⁹ “Kōyūkai no Kaikaku ni Chikaku Seito Taikai: Senshu Hantai no Sakebi Niigata Kōkō ni Agaru,” *IUN*, June 3, 1929, 6; “Kōyūkai Kaikakuha Awafuku Katsu: Daironsen wo Shita Niigata Kōkō Seito Taikai, Sate Kōchō no Taido ga Mimono,” *IUN*, June 17, 1929, 6. However, this reform initiative failed due to the lack of funding afterward.

⁵⁰ Hisatomi Tatsuo, “Undō Kyōgi wa Yoi Mono de Aru: Undōbu wa Kigu to Setsubi wo Kaihō Se yo,” *IUN*, July 1, 1929, 8.

⁵¹ “Shikō Sossen Shite Ōendan wo Haishi Su: Tadachi ni Taihachikōsen Yori Jisshi,” *IUN*, May 14, 1928, 4.

⁵² “Undōbu no Taishūka Mondai,” *IUN*, June 17, 1929, 8.

⁵³ Hasegawa Nyozeikan, “‘Supōtsu Kyōka’ to So no Shokugyōka,” *IUN*, June 23, 1930, 8.

used athletes as “signboards” of the schools, making them not students but “popular actors.”⁵⁴ Beneath this discussion lay the class identity of TAA leaders as white-collar professionals, not actors or “professional” players.⁵⁵

III. The Sports Purification Roundtable Discussion and TAA Reform⁵⁶

The RAA surfaced as a channel for the developing discussion. In November 1930, a group of RAA members appeared in the Sports Purification Roundtable Discussion hosted by the *Imperial University News*. Participants included Tōdai professors, journalists, JAAA staff, and leaders of amateur athletic organizations from the TAA (see Table 4.1). RAA members had white-collar careers while serving as leaders of amateur sports.

Table 4.1: Discussants of the Roundtable and Their Job Titles

Discussants of the Sports Purification Roundtable	Selected Job Titles
Chiba Shirō (1896-1975)	Tōdai Engineering Member of the Tōdai Rowing Club (1920) Founder and President of Yokohama Yacht (1922) Coach for the Tōdai Rowing Club (1929) Author of books about golf skills
Kayama Shigeru (1894-1969)	The Founder of the Tōdai Rugby Club (1921) Executive of the Greater Japan Chemical Fertilizer (1927) The Manager of the Pan-Japan Rugby Team (1930) The President of the Japan Rugby Association (1947)
Tabata Masaji (1898-1984)	Journalist of the Tokyo Asahi Newspaper (1924) General Manager of the Japanese Swimming Team in the Olympic Games (1932)

⁵⁴ “Ōku no Nanmon wo Fukumu Genka no Undōkai: Itazura ni Supōtsu wo Reisan Sezu Mazu Tadashiki Hatten wo Kise,” *IUN*, December 2, 1929, 8.

⁵⁵ “Supōtsu no Kansei 4: Bakuro Sareta Jujitsu, Kanshin na Senpai, Gakusei Yakyū no Anei Kan,” *IUN*, October 6, 1930, 8.

⁵⁶ All quotes in this section are, unless noted otherwise, from “Undōkai no Akukeikō to So no Kyōsei no Michi wo Kiku: Honsha Shusai Supōtsu Jōka Zadankai,” *IUN*, November 20, 1930, 8-9.

	President of the Japan Swimming League (1946) IOC Chief Committee Member (1973)
Nagai Ryōkichi (1893-1979)	Tōdai Rowing Club Member The President of the Imperial Restoration League (1932)
Nozu Yuzuru (1899-1973)	Medical Doctor Tokyo City Hygiene Technician (<i>eisei gishi</i>) A Founder of the Tōdai Soccer Club (1920) A Member of the Japanese Soccer Team in the Far Eastern Games in Shanghai (1921) A Founder of the inter-high school League of Soccer held by Tōdai (1924) A Director of the JAAA (1925) IRAA National Life Guide Vice Director (1941)
Ōmura Ichizō (1884-1944)	Engineer of the Takarada Petroleum Company (1912) Manager of various Middle School Baseball Clubs Founder of a sports journal, the <i>Athletic World</i> (<i>undōkai</i>) (1920) Founder of the Tōdai Sumo Club (1926) Vice President of Teikoku Petroleum (1942)
Yamaoka Shin'ichi (1894-?)	Manager of the Japanese Track Team in the Olympic Games (1932) Journalist of the Osaka Mainichi Newspaper
Gō Takashi (1894-1944)	President of the Southern Ocean Trade (<i>nanyōbōeki</i>) Member of the Tōdai Rowing Club (1920) Director of the Japanese Rowing Association (1922) Director of the JAAA (1926) General Director of the Japanese Rowing Team in the 1928 Olympic Games (1928) Chief Director of the Greater Japan Athletic Association (1942)
Azuma Ryūtarō (1893-1983)	Member of the Tōdai Rowing Club Professor of Medicine at Tōdai Navy Chief Medical Director (<i>kaigun shisei chokan</i> , 1943) Director of the TB Prevention Society (1942) President of the JASA (1947-1959) IOC member (1950-1968) Governor of Tokyo City (from the LDP, 1959-1967)
Ashida Kōhei (1894-1940)	Pitcher of the First Higher Baseball Club (1915) Lecturer at Tōdai Manager of the Tōdai Baseball Club (1926) Chief Director of the Tokyo Big Six University League (1930)
Kiyose Saburō (1902-1989)	Member of the Tōdai Rugby Club Staff at the Japan Softball League, the Japan Rugby-Football Association, and the Japan Softball Tennis League Chief Director of the JASA (1946) Founder of the Japan National Sports Games (1946)

	Member of the State Security Committee
Kishi Michizō (1900-1962)	Member of the Tōdai Rowing Club Standing Director of the Meiji Cookie (1931) Premier Secretary of the First Konoe Cabinet (1937) Committee Member (<i>sanyo</i>) of the General Planning Bureau (1945) Vice President of the Dōwa Mining Company (1947)
Hisatomi Tatsuo (1898-1968)	Journalist of the Tokyo Nichinichi Newspaper (1934) Propaganda Director of the IRAA (1940) Vice Director of the Cabinet Information Bureau (1940) President of the Japan Publication Association (1940?-1945) President of the National Stadium Association.
Suehiro Izutarō (1888-1951)	Member of the Tōdai Swimming Club President of the Japan Swimming Association (1927) Professor of Law at Tōdai (1914, Full Professor in 1921) Director of the JAAA, the Japan Athletic Association, and the JASA Participated in producing Labor legislations with the SCAP President of the Central Labor Committee (1947)

Amateurism was at the core of the discussion. Discussants generally agreed that “amateur” students should not neglect their academic duties or receive material compensation for sports activities. According to these discussants, people who “situated sports at the center of their life” had to be considered professional athletes. Their definition of amateur collegiate sports as money-free and student-like represented the “othering” of professional athletes, which was based on their own career trajectories as educated white-collar and amateur sports leaders.

In fact, the discussants’ emphasis on amateurism represented their anxiety about sports capitalism. The TAA profited from games. In 1930, the Tōdai Baseball Club collected 24,943.33 yen from the TBSL, almost two-thirds of the total TAA revenue for the year. The TAA’s economic reliance on the TBSL continued throughout the 1930s (see Table 4.2). At the same time, the popular Waseda and Keiō baseball clubs

purportedly collected an annual 100,000 yen from the TBSL. In November 1930, Tokyo city authorities even tried charging the TBSL a Baseball Watching Tax, which, if realized, would have threatened the TBSL's claims to amateur status.⁵⁷

Table 4.2: The Amount of Gate Receipts from the TBSL distributed to the TAA and its Percentage in the Total TAA Revenue, 1934-1940⁵⁸

Year	Total Revenue (Yen) (A)	Membership Fees	Gate Receipts (B)	Previous Year Transfer (C)	Percentage (B/(A-C))
1933	62,703.26	4,698.00	40,119.99	12,333.76	79.65%
1934	73,227.90	5,182.50	32,040.07	19,347.60	59.47%
1935	93,158.66	5,232.50	39,718.90	22,282.43	56.04%
1936	89,055.61	5,740.00	40,161.22	22,108.34	59.99%
1937	90,174.77	6,690.00	38,589.18	27,819.43	61.89%
1938	80,539.94	7,338.00	35,564.18	31,248.79	72.15%
1939	88,481.65	8,397.00	30,013.92	30,993.55	52.20%

A majority of discussants tentatively endorsed gate receipts, but they demanded state regulation. On the one hand, they criticized Education Ministry bureaucrats for using sports as “thought guidance” for students. According to Suehiro Izutarō, a Tōdai professor of law, “the significance of sports games lies in the games themselves.” Discussants shared the “amateur” idea of sports as a space distinct from both work and reality. At the same time, they desired state support. Journalist Hisatomi Tatsuo envisioned a state subsidy, while Suehiro advocated the administrative oversight of intercollegiate games by the Ministry of Education.

⁵⁷ “Yakyū wo Goraku to Mite Kondo wa Kenbutsunin kara Chōzei: Genshū ni Yowamatte Fuzeeiin no Sōan,” *Tokyo Asahi Shinbun*, November 5, 1930, 7.

⁵⁸ Tōkyō teikoku daigaku undōkai, *Undōkaihō* 1 (1934), 91; Tōkyō teikoku daigaku undōkai, *Undōkaihō* 2 (1935), 99; Tōkyō teikoku daigaku undōkai, *Undōkaihō* 3 (1936), 82; Tōkyō teikoku daigaku undōkai, *Undōkaihō* 5 (1938), 127; Tōkyō teikoku daigaku undōkai, *Undōkaihō* 6 (1939), 108; Tōkyō teikoku daigaku undōkai, *Undōkaihō* 7 (1940), 65.

RAA activists swiftly initiated TAA reform. In November 1930, TAA administrators granted the TAA General Affairs Department, and not individual clubs, the exclusive right to collect gate receipts. Also, a departmental Judging Committee came to determine which TAA clubs could participate in what games.⁵⁹ TAA athletes could no longer participate in events that collected gate receipts, except in TAA-sanctioned leagues.⁶⁰

Individual clubs also initiated reforms. In 1930, baseball athletes agreed to play without coaches. According to a contributor to the *Imperial University News*, this would prevent corruption resulting from paid managers. In 1931, club alumni founded an organization to help the club with administration and training. The Tōdai Judo Club also joined this reform activism. Until 1930, it had operated under the Kōdōkan, which was established by Kanō Jigorō in 1882 and became a hub of Japanese judo culture and industry. The Kōdōkan issued certificates of rank, hosted games, and published magazines. The Tōdai Judo Club learned judo from a Kōdōkan coach, and Kōdōkan coaches refereed intercollegiate games. In 1930, however, club leaders cut all ties with the “professional organization” Kōdōkan and turned, instead, to club alumni for training and matches.⁶¹

IV. Pushing the State: The Baseball Regulation Order, 1932

⁵⁹ “Kazen Akamon Undōkai Undōjōka ni Noridasu,” *IUN*, December 1, 1930, 7.

⁶⁰ “Gakusei no Kinsen Shūshi wo Sake Kane wo Toru Shiai wo Seigen: Atarashii Supōtsu Hoken mo Teian, Akamon Undōkai no Shinketsugi,” *IUN*, May 4, 1931, 7.

⁶¹ “Supōtsu Jōka Undō Oioi Gutaika Su: Yakyūbu no Jishuka to Jūdōbu no Heifū Issō,” *IUN*, December 15, 1930, 7; “Yakyūbu Senpai ga Dantai wo Soshiki: Teidai Kurabu to Meimei,” *IUN*, June 1, 1931, p.7.

RAA members' special relationship with the Education Ministry distinguishes the Japanese Sports Purification Movement from its American counterpart. According to John Thelin, Carnegie Foundation researchers who spearheaded intercollegiate game reform, lacked a "connection with any organizational mechanism," while the National Collegiate Athletic Association did not produce any meaningful regulations on slush funds or non-academic recruitment.⁶² By contrast, the RAA lobbied the Ministry of Education for reform. The institutional link between sports purification activists and the Ministry of Education was the Athletic Council (*taiiku undō shingikai*). The council was established in 1929 as an advisory body for the Minister of Education, and boasted 45 members from amateur sports organizations, educational institutions, and the state bureaucracy.⁶³ In early 1930, the council created a special committee to answer the Education Minister's charge "to encourage the rational development of sports."⁶⁴ RAA activists Azuma Ryūtarō and Ashida Kōhei joined this committee.⁶⁵

The reform plans of the Athletic Council overlapped nicely with the RAA's agenda: the bureaucratic control of student sports, separation of students from money, and reinstatement of academic work over leisure.⁶⁶ These items were crystallized in the

⁶² John R. Thelin, *Games Colleges Play: Scandal and Reform in Intercollegiate Athletics* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1994), 60-61, p.65.

⁶³ Monbushō, *Dainihon Teikoku Monbushō Nenpō 1929-1930* (Tokyo: Monbushō, 1931), 4; Yamakawa Takeshi, *Yakyū Tōsei no Hanashi* (Tokyo: Monbushō, 1932), 5. For the roster of committee members, see Monbushō, *Monbu Jihō*, no. 333 (1930), 22.

⁶⁴ *Ibid.*

⁶⁵ *Ibid.*

⁶⁶ "Mondai Ōi Yakyū no Seidō wo Shimesu: Taiiku Shingikai no Jōkaan," *IUN*, October 26, 1931, 7; "Supōtsu Jōka no Taikō Naru: Taiiku Shingikai no Tōshin," *IUN*, February 8, 1932, 7.

Baseball Regulation Order of the Ministry of Education in March 1932.⁶⁷ Through its ties with the Education Ministry sports purification activism came to affect all schools.

The Regulation Order tried to restore athletes' identity as amateurs and students, making the school experience a prerequisite for participating in intercollegiate games. Student amateurs were prohibited from playing with professionals and from receiving money for their athletic performance. The order also reaffirmed the centrality of "student duty" in leisure by forbidding middle-school athletes who failed a grade from participating in intercollegiate sports.

The control arm of the Ministry of Education was the prefecture-level Athletic Association. All educational institutions required sanction from these associations to participate in intercollegiate games, for which they had to submit budgets to and settled accounts with the Education Ministry. In defense of "student duty," this order tried to limit the number of games that students could play. Middle-school athletes could play in the National Middle School Championship Tournament and the National Middle School Selective Tournament, but only one other local tournament.⁶⁸

The Baseball Regulation Order did not fundamentally challenge sports capitalism. It tried to regulate the number of tournaments, but did not challenge the core of sports capitalism: commercial sponsorship and gate receipts.⁶⁹ It did not control the number of games that intercollegiate institutions, such as the TBSL, could host. It left the question of how to control the most popular sports events such as the TBSL games unaddressed.

⁶⁷ Yamakawa, *Yakyū tōsei no hanashi*, 8-9, 16-18; Hatoyama Ichirō, "Yakyūtōsei narabi ni Shikō ni Kansuru Kunrei," *Monbushō Kunrei* No.4, March 1932.

⁶⁸ Ōmura Ichizō, "Ippo Susumu mo Naho Imadashi no Kan: Yakyū Tōseian ni Tsuite," *IUN*, March 21, 1932, 8; Yamakawa, *Yakyū Tōsei no Hanashi*, 192-193.

⁶⁹ Yamakawa, *Yakyū Tōsei no Hanashi*, 24.

Given that the Ministry of Education's supervisory power was limited to students, the order could not control students' post-graduate careers. It could not, for example, keep TBSL athletes from joining the professional baseball league organized in 1935. Finally the order did not mention fans, who were at the forefront of professionalizing leisure.⁷⁰

In short, the Baseball Regulation Order reveals both the accomplishments and limitations of sports purification activism. It reaffirmed "student duty" at the core of amateurism and institutionalized the separation of students from money, but it did not engage fans, athletes' post-graduation careers, or the management of intercollegiate leagues.

V. Reforming Intercollegiate Leagues

While lobbying the Ministry of Education, RAA activists began reforming the TBSL, a symbol of Japanese sports capitalism. In 1931, Ashida Kōhei persuaded the league authorities to prohibit the trading of athletes and oblige league authorities to assume financial responsibility in order to separate athletes from money.⁷¹ The next step

⁷⁰ In the eyes of Tōdai alumni, sports fans were invisible gate receipt payers who challenged the amateur identity of student athletes. Tōdai students themselves were big sports fans, in the late 1930s, watching TBSL games 30,000 times a year, roughly four times a year per person. However, an author in the in-house TAA bulletin still argued that watching sports was not a good way to enjoy sports (Kobayashi Goichi, "Yakyū ni Tsuite," Tōkyō teikoku daigaku undōkai, ed. *Kaihō* 1 (Tokyo, 1934), 67-68). This kind of belief was widely shared in the Japanese sports community. For instance, Ōta Shigeru, a baseball journalist, argued that "All sporting events were created to be played, not to be watched... The joy of watching sports should be a cornerstone of the joy from doing sports." According to Ōta, the difference between doing and watching sports was similar to the contrast between "eating and watching dumplings." *IUN*, December 4, 1933, 10.

⁷¹ "Roku Daigaku Rīgu Daikaikaku wo Okonafu: Shinnyū Senshu wa Ikkanenkan wa Rīgusen e Derarenu," *Tōkyō Asahi Shinbun*, February 25, 1931, 3; "Gakusei Supōtsu Jōka, Teidai Isseki wo Tōzu: 'Mazu Kinsen wo Gakusei kara Hanase' to Rokudai Rīgu ni Teian," *Tokyo Asahi Shinbun*, May 3, 1931, 7.

was to decrease the number of league games. Before 1933, TBSL teams played four games a year (two games each in the spring and fall) against each of its five league rivals. RAA activists proposed a one-match system instead, where each club would play only one match a year against each league competitor. The number of league games would decline from 60 to 15. RAA leaders considered the old program too extensive to permit adequate “student duty.”⁷²

The Ministry of Education swiftly enacted this policy. In an effort to forestall Tokyo city plans to tax the TBSL, in October 1932 the Athletics Department of the Ministry of Education hoped to reaffirm the TBSL’s amateur status by shortening the season of league games and limiting gate receipts. Ministry bureaucrats, therefore, welcomed the RAA’s proposal for a one match system. In December 1932, Athletics Director Yamakawa Takeshi urged the six league universities to adopt a one-match system to strengthen the “student duty” of “general students, not to mention athletes.” The presidents of the six athletic associations adopted the new system in 1933.⁷³

Unfortunately, this one-match system had little effect on “student duty.” One critic of the new policy argued that training continued year-round and that athletic skills declined due to the small number of games.⁷⁴ Another critic complained that lower gate

⁷² “Rīgusen no Kikan Sankagetsu wa Nagasugiru: Sekkyokuteki ni Gaitō Shinshutsu, Shīzun Tōrai Jōka Undō Susumu,” *IUN*, September 19, 1932, 7; “Senshu no Daraku wa Fuan n Imo Tsumi Ari’: Taiiku Rengō Monbutōkyoku to Kyōgi,” *IUN*, September 26, 1932, 7.

⁷³ “Hito Shīzunsei Teishō ni Sō Kei Tei San’i wo Hyōsu, Ta Sankō wa Sanpi wo Ryūho: Yakyū Rīgu Kaizen Kyōgikai,” *Tokyo Asahi Shinbun*, December 15, 1932, 11; “Roku Daigaku no Tōshin Atsumaru: Monbushō no Yakyū Rīgu Kaizōan,” *Tokyo Asahi Shinbun*, December 18, 1932, 3; “Roku Daigaku Yakyū Senpaidan Futa Shīzun wo Shiji: Chikaku Sekkyokuteki ni Undō,” *Tokyo Asahi Shinbun*, January 24, 1933, 7; “Rīgusen Futa shīzunan Monbushō Isshuku,” *Tokyo Asahi Shinbun*, January 26, 1933, 2; Ōmura Ichizō, “Doko e Iku, Rīgu,” *IUN*, March 23, 1934, 4.

⁷⁴ Nagayo Matarō, “Ikkisei ni Tsuite,” *IUN*, June 5, 1933, 10; Ōta Shishū, “Ko no Kekka wo Miyo: Baka Naru Ikkisei no Tatari,” *IUN*, February 26, 1934, 10; Ōmura Ichizō, “Nikisei to Haibunkin Mondai,” *IUN*, March 30, 1935, 8.

receipts threatened the athletic associations that relied on the receipts.⁷⁵ The Ministry of Education officially revived the old system in 1935, under the condition that gate receipts not exceed 60,000 yen and that two-game days should fall only on weekends. League authorities justified the revival as “making athletes’ training more meaningful.”⁷⁶ The Ministry of Education still limited the league season and gate receipts,⁷⁷ but this accentuated the special status of training athletes, compromising sports purification activism itself. The structure of sports capitalism was clearly much stronger and more powerful than Ministry of Education bureaucrats and RAA activists had envisioned.

By contrast, RAA activists successfully uprooted sports capitalism in the Inter-high-vocational Baseball Games, a national baseball competition among high schools (*kōtō gakkō*) and vocational schools (*senmon gakkō*) hosted by the Four Imperial University Baseball Leagues. The crux of this reform was to eliminate competition between high schools and vocational schools and to eradicate commercial sponsors. As skillful middle-school athletes generally entered vocational schools rather than high schools, high-school teams had been placed at a disadvantage.

While the Four Imperial University Baseball League hosted the Inter-high-vocational Baseball Games, two commercial sponsors, Osaka Asahi Newspaper and Kōshien Stadium owner Hankyū Railroad, paid the entire 6,000 yen expenses.⁷⁸ The RAA looked to the Ministry of Education and high schools to effect a separation. In September 1933, RAA activists, Athletics Director Yamakawa, and TAA athletes

⁷⁵ Koide Hideyo, “Nyūjōryō kara Mita Yakyū Ikkisei,” *IUN*, June 12, 1933, 12.

⁷⁶ “Tōkyō Daigaku Yakyū Rīgusen Nikisei Iyoiyo Fukkatsu: Rijikai Manjōicchi Kaketsu,” *Tokyo Asahi Shinbun*, December 20, 1934, 3.

⁷⁷ “Sōdai no Mondai mo Kaishō, Rīgusen Hatsuka Kaimaku: Taibō no Futa Shizen de,” *Tokyo Asahi Shinbun*, April 6, 1935, 11.

⁷⁸ “Kōsen to Kōkō wo Kubetsu Shite Okonahe,” *IUN*, August 7, 1933, 3.

gathered for a roundtable discussion on the matter. One athlete addressed the “considerable gap in baseball skills”⁷⁹ between high school and vocational school players, which had culminated in three straight victories by the vocational school team. RAA activist Ōmura Ichizō added that high schools and vocational schools “diverged in their respective dignity (*fūkaku*)... Although the skills of high school athletes are underdeveloped, high-school students are energetic, thus making spectators feel very good.”⁸⁰ A TAA soccer player criticized vocational school attitudes as unsportsmanlike and becoming “lethargic when at a disadvantage in games.”⁸¹ Sports spread across the fault-line of Japanese education, but class identity revived when high school teams began losing. To cover the additional expense of separation and avoid gate receipts and commercial sponsorship, discussants decided to collect a fee from participating high schools and to establish a high-school baseball league.⁸²

After the discussion, TAA directors decided to separate high and vocational schools in all events except Judo, fencing, and volleyball which did not have many high school teams,⁸³ and urged this change on the staff of the three other imperial university baseball clubs. However, the separation in baseball did not go easily. Leaders of the Kyōdai baseball club, who created the Inter-high-vocational Baseball Games by having the two magnet sponsors, did not easily accept the Tōdai reform. In January 1934, staff from four imperial universities compromised. Tōdai succeeded in splitting the games into

⁷⁹ “Intāhai Kaikaku no Tame ni: Honsha Shusai Zadankai,” *IUN*, September 18, 1933, 5.

⁸⁰ *Ibid.*

⁸¹ *Ibid.*

⁸² *Ibid.*; “Intāhai Kaikaku no Tame ni (2): Honsha Shusai Zadankai,” *IUN*, September 25, 1933, 5; Ōmura Ichizō, “Kōsen Yakyū Mirubeki Kaikaku: Kōkōgawa kara Taikai Shijihi,” *IUN*, July 2, 1934, 10.

⁸³ “Mazu Kōsen no Bunri wo Ketsugi: Intāhai Kaikaku,” *IUN*, September 25, 1933, 9.

two separate tournaments (high and vocational-school teams), while Kyōdai kept the two old sponsors while promising future efforts for financial independence from commercial sponsors. They decided to make up the missing part of the budget by charging gate receipts for the final matches among specialist school teams at Kōshien Stadium. Local preliminary competitions continued as Tōhoku Imperial staff demanded.⁸⁴ Class identity was institutionalized in this 1934 reform, with TAA leaders and high school athletes on the one side and specialist school athletes on the other, while the last resort of charging gate receipts had been limited to the final matches between vocational schools.⁸⁵

This compromise did not last long, however. The final accounts report for the games in 1934 could not clarify how 12,000 yen was spent during the preliminary competition. In November 1934, high-school principals decided to do away with commercial sponsors in the Inter-high Baseball Games. Tōdai staff declared the dissolution of the Four Imperial University Baseball League, which the other three baseball clubs accepted in April 1935. The high school authorities established the High School Baseball League as a host of the high school baseball games in May 1935.⁸⁶

In this way, RAA activists replaced commercial sponsorship with Ministry of Education subsidies and high school participation fees. Tōdai and the ministry also

⁸⁴ “Hantai wo Osakiri Bunri wo Shuchō: Hongakugawa Saigo no Funtō,” *IUN*, January 15, 1934, 9; “Hongaku no Teian Kantetsu, Kō, Sen Bunri ni Kettei: Zaisei wa Chikuji Dokuritsu wo Hakaru,” *IUN*, January 22, 1934, 9.

⁸⁵ “Kōsen Taikai Buji Owaru,” *IUN*, August 6, 1934, 3.

⁸⁶ “Yūryō Kyōgikai ni wa Izen Sanka Fuka: Rinji Kōkōchō Kaigi de Ketsugi,” *IUN*, November 19, 1934, 5; “Shiteidai Renmei wo Kaisan, Hongaku Dokuji de Kaisai: Kyōdai no Zaiseiteki Fuseii ni Hongaku Yakyūbu Kanzen Okotsu”; “Renmei Honbu Kyōdai Yakyūbu no Sorō na Kessan Hōkoku: Kōkōchō kara mo Nanshoku,” *IUN*, February 4, 1934, 2; Kamei Itsuo, “Kaisan Shita Shitei Renmei: Kōkō Yakyū no Atarashiki Shuppatsu,” *IUN*, March 30, 1935, 8; “Kōkōyakyūmondai: Ichikō ga Chūshin de Kōkō Renmei wo Kessei,” *IUN*, April 8, 1935, 2; “Kōkōyakyū Renmeian Jitsugen Hotondo Kakujitsu: Mori Ichikō Kōchō kara Gen’an Teiji, Kōkōchōkaigi Hirakaru,” *IUN*, May 27, 1935, 5.

strengthened their status as supervisors of amateur student sports. The winner of the Inter-high Baseball Games held the championship flag and cup for one year, which were donated by the Education Minister and TAA, respectively.⁸⁷ Through this separation, the TAA and high school teams built a fortress of amateurism isolated from the professionalizing vocational-school clubs.

VI. The Rise of Professional Baseball and the Splendid Underdog

Sports purification activists used their middle-class identity as a means of resisting the professionalization of sports, but their efforts paradoxically stimulated the rise of professional baseball. During the streak of Japanese losses against visiting American Major League All-star teams in 1932 and 1934, business leaders saw the prospect of great financial gains in the enthusiasm of the Japanese people. Baseball leaders dreamt of stronger Japanese teams competing with Americans on equal terms.⁸⁸ The Baseball Regulation Order that prohibited games between professionals and amateurs paradoxically spurred the rise of professional baseball. Student athletes who played against professionals, such as Waseda Center fielder Fuma Isami, lost their amateur status and were compelled to leave school to join the fledgling professional clubs.⁸⁹ Also, the one-sided results of those 18 games, which were considered to derive from the limited dedication of amateur athletes, sparked a call for the professionalization

⁸⁷ “Komon ni Go Shi wo Yōshi Kisoku Zenbu Kimaru: Yūshōkō ni wa Tōdai Sōchōhai Juyo,” *IUN*, June 24, 1935, 5.

⁸⁸ Dennis Frost, *Seeing Stars: Sports Celebrity, Identity, and Body Culture in Modern Japan*, (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Asia Center, 2011), 159-165.

⁸⁹ “Nikisei Fukkatsu ka,” *Tokyo Asahi Shinbun* (yūkan), December 28, 1934, 4.

of baseball.

Marxist social critic Tosaka Jun portrayed the revival of the two-match system and the rise of professional baseball as the “bankruptcy of the Education Ministry’s ideas” about intercollegiate sports. According to Tosaka, the focus of social interests had diverged from the students’ affiliation to “pure sports skills,”⁹⁰ which was the driving force for professionalization. Now the school athletes majored in baseball skills and received “wages (*chingin*)” as “research funds (*kenkyūhi*)” for the major. In addition, the baseball clubs at those institutions became “the operations division of corporate universities (*eigyōdaigaku no jigyōbu*),” and the league authorities became a “commercial corporation (*kōkōshutai*)... As sport accomplishes capitalistic development and escapes from the format of incomplete bourgeois sports such as student sports (*gakusei supōtsu*) or physical education (*taiiku*),” concluded Tosaka, “the Education Ministry’s concept of sports goes bankrupt.”⁹¹

But, a majority of sports purification activists welcomed the idea of professional baseball. A group of these critics wanted stronger players. Hashido Shin, a journalist from the Waseda Baseball Club, articulated his rationale in supporting the professional league. According to Hashido, amateur athletes were handicapped in competing against

⁹⁰ Tosaka’s assumption here can be tangentially substantiated with other intercollegiate leagues in Tokyo. The Eastern Tokyo University Baseball League (*tōto yakyū rīgu*), another intercollegiate baseball league in Tokyo, suffered from its low popularity, and thus insufficient gate receipts still in 1936. The universities affiliated with this league tried to join the privileged and popular TBSL, but to no avail. The popularity of a baseball club depended not only on the skills of its players but also on the fame of the institutions themselves. Also, the somewhat modest popularity of early professional baseball in Japan can be explained in this way. Ōmura Ichizō, “Gakusei Yakyū no Hondō: Godaigaku no Kanyū Undō,” *IUN*, March 31, 1936, 12; Tobita Suishū, “Kanshū no Miryoku Sukunai Shokugyōdan no Kaobure: Tōbei Senshu ni ‘Misemono Shiki Tare,’” *Tokyo Asahi Shinbun*, March 15, 1936, 4.

⁹¹ Tosaka Jun, “Gakusei Yakyū Tōseirei no Mujun: Monbushōteki Kannen wa Hasan Suru,” *IUN*, April 28, 1935, 12; Tosaka Jun, “Supōtsu no Sōshitsu to Fuan no Hassei: Shokugyō Yakyūdan to Jingū Taikai,” *IUN*, October 28, 1935, 12.

American professional players. The “misery” of the one-sided games that the Japanese amateur players lost to the American players aroused motivation within baseball administrators, athletes, and fans.⁹² Ōta also endorsed the desire of Japanese professional clubs to compete with their American counterparts.⁹³

Advocates of sports purification also endorsed the rise of professional baseball, which would contribute to the recovery of amateurism in collegiate baseball. Yokota Kisaburō, a professor of law at Tōdai, characterized the establishment of a professional baseball club as a way to “purify student baseball.” According to Yokota, professional baseball games would take on the popularity of the TBSL, thus solving the issues of student baseball deriving from its popularity.⁹⁴ Ōta Shigeru also provided a clear-cut message welcoming professional baseball in defense of amateurism. According to him, “the thorough purification of student baseball can only be accomplished by the advent of professional baseball.” In short, for these authors, professional baseball clubs were a bomb squad to save amateur sports from commercialization as well as a potential strong man who could beat American players.⁹⁵

These expectations faded, however, when Waseda alumnus Mihara Osamu joined the professional Yomiuri Giants in 1935. From this time onward, TBSL players from private universities comprised the majority in professional clubs, enlarging the career

⁹² Hashido Shin, “Shutsugen wo Kitai Su: Nankan wa Soshiki to Keiei,” *IUN*, November 19, 1934, 12.

⁹³ “Shokugyō Yakyūdan Naru: Mazu Tobeisen,” *Tokyo Asahi Shinbun*, February 27, 1934, 3.

⁹⁴ Yokota Kisaburō, “Shokugyōyakyūron,” *IUN*, December 28, 1935, 12.

⁹⁵ Ōta Shigeru, “Hensokuteki Kyūdan no Seiritsu,” *IUN*, November 19, 1934, 12. These authors still had a strong antagonism toward the professionalization of amateur sports. Ōta equated professional sports with sports to watch, which was a “weird way of enjoying sports.” To Tōbita Suishū, another leader of the Japanese baseball community from Waseda, “legitimate Japanese baseball (*Seitō nihon yakyū*)” was “amateur baseball, especially student baseball.” Tobita Suishū, “Yakyūdō no Ichi Henka, Seitōha no Tenraku: Senshu Baishū Kōfun no Hei,” *Tokyo Asahi Shinbun*, March 16, 1936, 5.

boundaries of the educated.⁹⁶ In 1939, even baseball players who had not yet attended graduation ceremonies entered professional clubs, which became an issue in the baseball world.⁹⁷ After retirement, Mihara managed several professional baseball clubs and became the president of the Nihon Ham Fighters, blurring the line between blue-collar pro-athletes and white-collar team managers.⁹⁸ Although students championed amateurism while in middle school and at college, economically modest players became professionals for the money after graduation. According to his father, legendary pitcher Sawamura Eiji joined a professional team “to pay his brother’s education expenses.”⁹⁹

In this process, private universities became a stepping stone for professional baseball players as well as for other professional and salaried jobs. Although the professional league was not strong enough to create their own department in universities as was realized in the late twentieth and early twenty-first centuries, sports stars procured a controversial, but highly visible status in the area of university education, earning more than middle-class level salaries.

On the other hand, Tōdai athletes differentiated themselves from their private university rivals by rarely going professional and being consciously thrifty. In 1931, the TAA reincorporated the Tōdai baseball club, which had survived on TBSL gate receipts since 1927, into the general TAA budget. University authorities, in other words, revoked

⁹⁶ “Shokugyō Yakyūdan Tanjō Chikashi: Mihara, Yamamoto Kanyū,” *Tokyo Asahi Shinbun*, June 29, 1934, 3.

⁹⁷ “Puro Iri wa Sotsugyōshiki Ato ni Se yo,” *Tokyo Asahi Shinbun*, March 11, 1939, 8.

⁹⁸ “Mōretsu na Senshu Sōdatsu: Kaku Chūtōsenshu no Shinro,” *Tokyo Asahi Shinbun*, March 2, 1936, 4.

⁹⁹ Frost, *Seeing Stars*, 158.

the independent financial status of the Tōdai Baseball Club.¹⁰⁰ This reform enabled the TAA to control spending on baseball athletes. In 1933, the TAA baseball club suffered a “purification budget cut,” which forced athletes to wear a twenty-*sen* uniform made from imported Russian fiber. The Waseda and Keiō uniforms cost fifty to sixty *sen*.¹⁰¹ Under these circumstances, Tōdai baseball won less than 30 percent of TBSL games played, avoiding the lowest rank only twice between 1933 and 1945. In 1941, an RAA leader lamented the general underperformance of TAA clubs, a situation that continues to this day.¹⁰²

VII. Sports Popularization as Sports Purification

Another strategy employed by TAA leaders against sports capitalism was sports popularization, which became an urgent aim by 1929. The TAA needed greater student affiliation fees to avoid dependence on TBSL gate receipts, but only half of Tōdai students were affiliated with the TAA.¹⁰³ Beginning in 1929, therefore, “sports popularization” was included in the TAA’s statement of purpose.¹⁰⁴ By 1929, in other words, TAA leaders had sufficient reason to endorse the radicals’ call for sports popularization.

¹⁰⁰ “Ken’an no Yakyūbu mo Ippan Kaikei ni Hennyū Su: Yaku Yonsenen no Dai Bōchō wo Shimeshita Undōkai no Rainendo Yosan,” *IUN*, February 23, 1931, 7.

¹⁰¹ “Yakyūbu Nayamu,” *IUN*, February 27, 1933, 7.

¹⁰² Uno Shōji, “Teidai no Fushin wo Haku,” *IUN*, February 3, 1941, 7.

¹⁰³ “Tetsumon Kurabu wa Kesshi, Teiyūkai wa Mitei,” *IUN*, February 18, 1929, 2; “Undōkai Honnendo no Kanyūritsu wa Gowari Sanpun,” *IUN*, May 20, 1929, 7.

¹⁰⁴ “Teidai Undōkai Kisoku,” *IUN*, January 14, 1929, 2.

During the multilateral debate on sports with the state, radicals, and business recruiters, RAA activists incorporated the idea of sports popularization into their sports purification activism. In 1929, Ashida identified TAA athletes as the advance guard of sports popularization. He envisioned a restoration of “the dignity of athletes” as students’ representatives in sports and the popularization of sports by athletes’ contributions to non-athletes’ sporting activities.¹⁰⁵ In 1931, Azuma Ryūtarō defined sports purification activism as the key to correcting an overconcentration of athletes in TAA activities, also expecting athletes to assist with non-athletes’ sports activities.¹⁰⁶

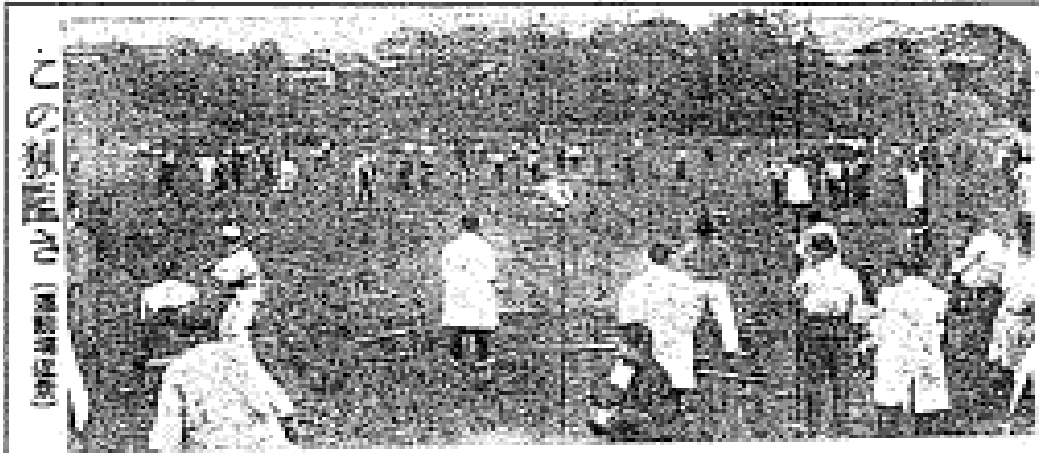
This call was joined by non-athletes. In November 1931, engineering students who were critical of the meager sporting opportunities for non-athletes due to the TAA athletes’ monopoly over sports facilities demanded that TAA revenue be made public.¹⁰⁷ Through this, they hoped to equalize the distribution of resources to non-athletes. According to the publicized TAA revenue of 1931, non-athletes paid 4,588 yen in TAA affiliation fees, but received only 431 yen in support for non-athlete events. Inadequate sports facilities at Tōdai also became an issue. (See Picture 4.2)

¹⁰⁵ Ashida Kōhei, “Undōbu no Taishūka Mondai,” *IUN*, June 17, 1929, 8; Howard J. Savage, *American College Athletics* (New York: The Carnegie Foundation for the Advancement of Teaching, 1929).

¹⁰⁶ Azuma Ryūtarō, “Kareji Supōtsu no Honshitsu to Igi,” *IUN*, April 13, 1931, 12.

¹⁰⁷ This issue was not limited to the TAA. The Keiō Athletic Association experienced a similar protest from non-athlete students over their marginalized sporting opportunities on campus despite their compulsory affiliation with the association (“Taiikukai Tsui ni Bunrestu ka: Yotsuya no Shinshutsu to Hiyoshi Iten ga Keiki, Saienseru Kaihi Mondai,” *Mita Shinbun*, May 19, 1933, 5).

Picture 4.2: Eight Games in One Playground during the Intra-Collegiate Baseball League, 1931¹⁰⁸



In response to this protest, the TAA authorities promised to “do their best for the amateur,” including the construction of sports facilities such as an “amateur tennis court,” and more intramural sports events for non-athletes.¹⁰⁹ TAA clubs joined this initiative. For instance, in pursuit of “the popularization of rowing,” the Tōdai Rowing Club held a “coaching week” for first-year students and an intramural rowing competition exclusively for the non-athlete “amateur.”¹¹⁰

In the process, the term “amateur” acquired another meaning. In the Sports Purification Roundtable Discussion, the use of the word “amateur” was a form of self-identification for middle-class athletes who separated earning from leisure. In contrast, the label “amateur” in sports popularization meant non-athletes who were deprived of

¹⁰⁸ Tōdai’s playground was only 2,000 *tsubo*, while its Kyōdai and Kyūshū Imperial counterparts were 10,000 *tsubo*. (“Nōgakubu no Iten wo Ki ni Gutaiteki Keikaku ni Chakushu: Kakubu yori Gurando Iin wo Senshutsu,” “Ichikō Ato ni Kensetsu no Sōgōteki Dai Taiikukan: Jukendōjō wa Toshokan Soba ni,” *IUN*, December 12, 1932, 7).

¹⁰⁹ “Amachua no Tame ni Zenryoku wo Sosogu: Sōmubu Takayama Shi wa Kataru,” *IUN*, November 30, 1931, 7.

¹¹⁰ For another example, the qualification for the intramural swimming competition held by the Tōdai Swimming Club was limited to “non-athlete amateur players.” *IUN*, November 4, 1933, 13.

sporting opportunities due to athletes' monopoly of sports facilities. In this process, sport became a welfare item.

The TAA began to increase its budget for non-athletes in 1932. The budget reached 780 yen 50 sen that year. Between 1934 and 1938, the intercollegiate leagues TAA clubs engaged continued and more clubs hosted intramural competitions. By 1939, more students enjoyed stays in Tōdai's three vacation villas. The promotion of non-athlete events continued even under wartime budgetary pressures. After full-scale war broke out in 1937, the TAA decided to cut its budget by ten percent. In response to the inflation TAA standing directors decided to use Japanese-made sports equipment to cut their budget.¹¹¹ But, the intramural sports events steadily increased in number. By 1939, almost all clubs held intramural competitions. The Tōdai Table Tennis Club began to host intramural competitions right after its establishment in 1937. The Tōdai basketball club enjoyed greater popularity toward the late 1930s. In 1942, the Discipline Department of the Tōdai Zengakukai held intramural competitions in rowing, track, fencing, judo, archery, tennis, water polo, baseball, rugby, American football, horseback-riding, shooting, skating, hockey, basketball, volleyball, table tennis, gliding, yachting, and karate.¹¹²

Also, the TAA lent tennis and baseball equipment to students,¹¹³ while constructing sports facilities. From 1932, the TAA constructed a pool, baseball stadium, basketball and volleyball courts, Judo hall, and a sports complex. The TAA donated 3,000

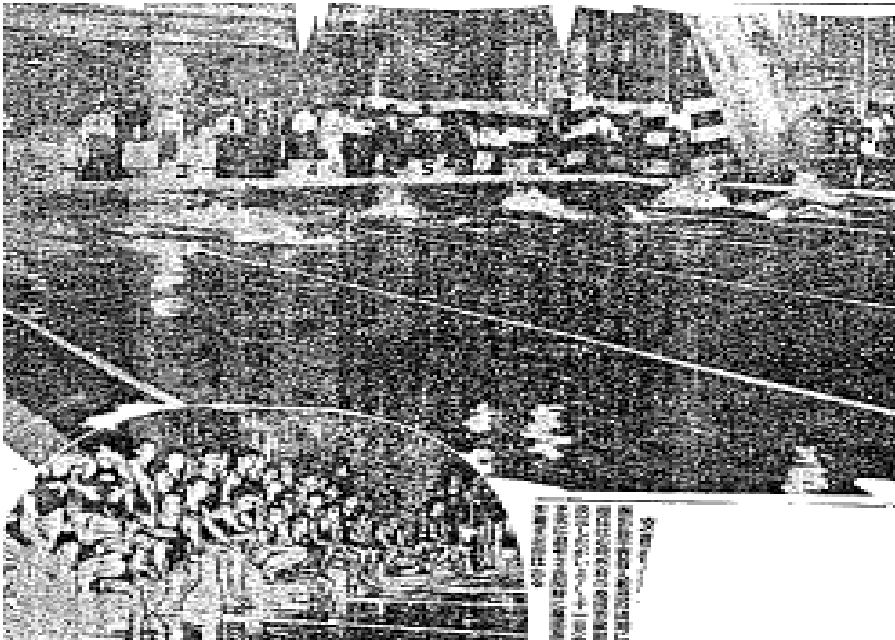
¹¹¹ "Bukka Kōtō ni Taiō, Undōgu wa Kokusan," *IUN*, January 24, 1938, 11.

¹¹² "Zengakukai Meinendo Kikakuan Naru," *IUN*, September 14, 1942, 5.

¹¹³ The number of check-outs reached 12,399 times in 1937. Teikoku daigaku undōkai, ed., *Undōkaihō 5* (Tokyo, 1938), 106.

yen for the basketball and volleyball courts,¹¹⁴ 20,000 yen for the pool (see Picture 4.3),¹¹⁵ and 5,000 yen for the baseball stadium (Picture 4.4).¹¹⁶ Given that these funds came largely from the TBSL, these projects show how the professionalization of sports was actually helping popularize sports among non-athletes at Tōdai. The professional and the amateur were not as separate as sports purification activists considered.

Picture 4.3: The New Pool at Tōdai, 1935¹¹⁷



¹¹⁴ “Shin Hai, Rōkyū Kōto wa Shigatsu kara Ippan ni Kaihō: Ju, Ken, Kyūdōjō ni mo Chakkō,” *IUN*, February 19, 1934, 9.

¹¹⁵ “Shingakusei Shokudō Chikai ni Gōka Pūru Shinsetsu,” *IUN*, May 21, 1934, 9; “Taibō no Pūru Nanoka kara Kaihō: Mikka ni Shieishiki Kyokō,” *IUN*, September 2, 1935, 2.

¹¹⁶ Shimizu Yukishige, “Shin Yakyūjō wo Kataru,” *IUN*, October 4, 1937, 12.

¹¹⁷ *IUN*, September 9, 1935, 11.

Picture 4.4: The New Baseball Stadium at Tōdai, 1938¹¹⁸

TAA membership and budget statistics also show the health of non-athlete TAA activities. The number of TAA members gradually increased, reaching 4,543 in 1939. As the campus-wide student organization revived as the Zengakukai in 1941 and the TAA became its Discipline Department, the Tōdai athletic organization finally embraced all Tōdai students. The 1941 budget for the Zengakukai shows a very strong emphasis on the physical training of non-athletes. The Discipline Department was given 59,000 yen and, despite a shortage of materials, Discipline Department directors decided to invest 6,000 yen in equipment for baseball, tennis, skiing, and soccer for non-athletes.¹¹⁹

VIII. The Transformation of Sports Discourse

¹¹⁸ Issekai, *Tōkyō daigaku yakyūbu kyūjūnenshi* (Tokyo: Issekai, 2010).

¹¹⁹ “Undō Zengakuka ni Jūten,” *IUN*, March 31, 1941, 11.

Sports popularization activism gained an unexpected boost from the impact of the Berlin Olympic Games and the war. After 1936, more diverse agents called for sports popularization with an emphasis on sport for health, which entailed the eventual realization of the de-capitalization and state control of intercollegiate sports, the first and second goals of sports purification activism.

Health had already been embedded in TAA activities before 1936. From its very establishment, the purpose of the TAA was the “discipline of bodies and minds” of its members. The Education Ministry and the JAAA also defined the social significance of sports in terms of the improvement of health. However, despite radical challenges to the centrality of athletes around 1930, the hegemonic sports discourse in the Sports Purification Roundtable Discussion was “sports for sports,” not “sports for health.” After 1932, TAA clubs tried to fully include non-athlete members in their activities, and non-athlete TAA members procured a central status as amateurs alongside athletes in the backdrop of the Sports Purification Movement.

The Army and some JAAA staff joined in criticizing this athlete-centrism in the late 1930s. In 1936 Koizumi Chikahiko, the then Chief of the Medical Bureau of Army Ministry, who would be the Welfare Minister the following year, criticized the overconcentration on athletes in the Japanese sports scene. “The [erstwhile] promotion of sports in pursuit of physical and mental improvement,” argued Koizumi, “was no more than the cultivation of athletes,” who concentrated only on their “record.” Koizumi further concluded that “sport is [was] a meaningless waste of physical strength.” The evidence for his argument was the deteriorating data in the Military Health Test during

the 1930s.¹²⁰ The TAA call for sports popularization found an ally in the army who wanted healthy soldiers. JAAA staff echoed this call. In 1936, JAAA staff decided to transform the JAAA into an engine of a national health regimen.¹²¹ Suehiro Izutarō assumed the position of chief of the Athletics Promotion Survey Committee (*taiiku shinkō chōsa iinkai*) of the JAAA and initiated the transformation of the JAAA into a state machine managing physical strength tests in the state bureaucracy as well.¹²² When the Welfare Ministry was established in 1938, the JAAA established the National Physical Strength Promotion Society (*kokumin tairyoku shinkōkai*), an auxiliary organization of the Physical Strength Bureau (*tairyokukyoku*) of the Welfare Ministry, and joined the health regimen of the Welfare Ministry. This reveals an important change in the nature of the JAAA from middle-class to class-neutral.

Tōdai collegiate society was ready to accept this transition in sports discourse. Sports purification activists were generally harsh critics of the utilization of sport for ideological purposes. But, at the same time, many people at Tōdai did not object to the Ministry of Education and JAAA staff who understood sports as *taiiku* [体育], i.e. physical education. For instance, in 1929, the faculty supervisor of the Tōdai Judo Club provided three possible rationales for joining the TAA: physical fitness, sports spirit for “friendship,” and health as an engine for “desk work.”¹²³ Also, Tōdai collegiate society produced sports medicine specialists. In 1929, under the sponsorship of the Jiji

¹²⁰ Koizumi Chikahiko, “Seinendanchō ni nozomu,” *Gun’idan Zasshi*, no. 287 (1937). Recited from Takaoka Hiroyuki, “Dainihon Taiikukai no Seiritsu: Sōryokusen Taisei to Supōtsukai,” in *Kan No Tōkyō Orinpikku to So No Jidai: Senjiki No Supōtsu, Toshi, Shintai*, ed. Inoue Yasuhiro (Tokyo: Seikyūsha, 2009), 204.

¹²¹ “Taikyō Sōtaikyaku no Okimiyage, Kokumin Hoken ni Hitohada: Supōtsu Nihon no Anei wo Nugufu, Hankan Hanmin no Iinkai,” *Tokyo Asahi Shinbun*, October 30, 1936, 13.

¹²² Dainihon Taiiku Kyōkai, *Dainihon Taiiku Kyōkaishi*. Vol.hoi. 78.

¹²³ Yasaku Eizō, “Nyūkai Daisansei,” *IUN*, February 25, 1929, 2.

Newspaper, Tōdai professors and alumni in medicine, including Azuma Ryūtarō, Gō Takashi, and Ogasawara Michio, established a Sports Medicine Research Group.¹²⁴ In 1932, the student medical center at Tōdai established a sports medicine section, whose doctors took care of sporting students.¹²⁵ The doctor of this section began to teach sports medicine courses, such as “Theory of Training,” at Tōdai in 1934.¹²⁶ The alarming deterioration of student health appeared at Tōdai already in October 1934, before Koizumi revealed his apprehension on the health issue of the Japanese population.¹²⁷ In this frame of mind, in terms of institution and information, Tōdai collegiate society was ready to receive the call for “sports for health” replacing “sports for athletes.”

In 1936, the RAA also confirmed the centrality of non-athlete students in sports administration and lobbied the state for it. On November 9, 1936, RAA leaders had a meeting and asked the Education Ministry to upgrade the Athletics Department to the Athletics Bureau, which finally happened in 1941, since the Athletics Department could not manage both sports and national health administration. RAA leaders added the need for “overcoming athlete-centrism (*senshu chūshinshugi*)” and for working on sports for non-athlete students.¹²⁸ The initiative began to be institutionalized as inter-institutional cooperation among the Tōdai authorities, the TAA, and the Tōdai student medical center,

¹²⁴ “Supōtsu wo Igakuteki ni Kenkyū: Takagi Kyōju, Kawamoto, Azuma Jokyōjutō ga Supōtsu Iji Kenkyūkai wo Setsuritsu,” *IUN*, January 14, 1929, 2.

¹²⁵ “Supōtsu Shinryō Kaishi,” *IUN*, January 11, 1932, 7.

¹²⁶ “Shigatsu kara Shinsetsu no Supōtsu Igaku Kōza: Ippan Gakusei ni Kaihō Suru,” *IUN*, January 22, 1934, 2.

¹²⁷ “Hongaku Gakusei no Shibōsū, Maitoshi Gojūmei ni Tassu: Teika Suru Kenkō, Bunfu wo Odorokashi,” *IUN*, October 8, 1934, 2.

¹²⁸ “‘Sennin Gakusei Shuji wo Mōke Undōkai Kōjō wo Hakare’, Monbushō ni Taiikukyoku Sōsetsu wo Shinsei Su: Akamon Undōkai Jōka ni Okotsu,” *IUN*, November 9, 1936, 11.

which became the Hygiene Athletics Council (*eisei taiiku iinkai*) in 1937.¹²⁹ In this process, the TAA came to work more on improving and examining the physical strength of non-athletes, for instance through on-campus physical tests.

This change in sports discourse paralleled a reflection on middle-class identity and amateurism in sports discourse through the international engagement of the Japanese sports community. In 1936, two renowned professional tennis players from America, Bill Tilden and Ellsworth Vines, visited Japan and provided Japanese “amateur” players with coaching. Although this encounter seemed natural, these two professionals’ coaching was suspected to violate the Education Ministry’s principle of professional-amateur separation. However, the Japan Tennis Association acquiesced to this coaching without penalizing the amateur players.¹³⁰ Also, in 1936, the IOC prohibited ski teachers who were endorsed as amateur by the International Ski Federation (hereafter FIS) from participating in the upcoming Sapporo Winter Olympic Games in 1940. In this situation, the FIS decided not to join the Sapporo Games. Since skiers usually earned their income by serving as ski teachers in Northern Europe, the FIS could not easily accept the IOC’s decision to exclude ski teachers from the Olympic Games. Japanese IOC members and Japan Ski League staff (*nihon sukī renmei*) tried to persuade IOC members to withhold the exclusion of ski teachers for another four years, but conflict between the IOC and the FIS did not end until the Tokyo and Sapporo games were finally cancelled in 1938.

Noteworthy here is that Japanese sports leaders were compromising class-based

¹²⁹ “Tōitsu Kikan wo Mōkete Taiiku Gyōsei wo Kyōka: Eisei iinkai, Gakuseika, Undōkai ga Kyōryoku, Hoken Taisaku Iyoiyo Honkakuteki,” *IUN*, November 16, 1936, 2; “Raishun kara Zengakuteki ni Re Sen Kensa wo Jisshi: Daiikkai ‘Eisei Taiiku iinkai’ Hiraku, Hoken Taisaku Iyoiyo Honchōshi,” *IUN*, July 12, 1937, 11.

¹³⁰ “Teikyū Kōchi Mondai,” *Tokyo Asahi Shinbun*, November 16, 1936, 8; “Kotoshi no Undōkai Kaiko (jō): Kaizō Tojō no Shodantai,” *IUN*, December 14, 1936, 12.

amateurism to include the FIS.¹³¹

In 1939, a similar discussion occurred in regards to the Meiji Shrine Games. In reviewing the exclusion of boxing and *sumo* from the Meiji Shrine Games mainly due to the existence of professional players in those two events, an author in the *Imperial University News* pointed out the blurred demarcation between the professional and the amateur. According to him, sumo players in the Meiji Shrine Games, whose athletes were not paid despite their professional status, reflected the “amateur” performance of professional athletes. The author reached the conclusion that the professional and the amateur could not be clearly defined by “the conception of modern sports.”¹³²

By 1940, the JAAA had endorsed a qualitative change in the meaning of amateur. According to historian Takaoka, JAAA leaders envisioned a role for the JAAA in the rise of the “high level defense state (*kōtō kokubō kokka*),” and listed five critical reforms in August 1940. In this vision, gate receipts surfaced as an object of reform to be abolished, and as they were at early 1930s Tōdai, amateur athletes were re-conceptualized from agents of sports for sports’ sake to the representatives and teachers of the masses. The centrality of practicing sports over watching sports was re-confirmed. Now the scope of popularization expanded from the campus to the entire nation. The connotation of being amateur also changed. In 1930, being amateur was the mirror image of white-collar mobility through Tōdai. Sports purification activists wanted to keep the middle-class identity of student athletes against the professionalizing leisure industry. In 1940, the focal point of being amateur was the masses who were supposed to learn how to

¹³¹ “Sukī no Bunri Enki ni Renmei Nidan Kamae e no Jin,” *Tokyo Asahi Shinbun*, October 31, 1936, 8; “Kaizō Toshō no Shodantai,” *IUN*, March 22, 1937, 12.

¹³² Kojima Rokurō, “Kokumin Seishin to Supōtsu: Ama, Puro Mondai no Honshitsu to Keishiki,” *IUN*, June 12, 1939, 12.

discipline their bodies and spirit from amateur athletes, their representatives. As Takaoka documented, this stance, agreed to by many RAA and JAAA staff members including Gō Takashi, joined the Imperial Rule Assistance Association (hereafter IRAA) and the JAAA became the Greater Japan Athletics Association (*dainihon taiikukai*) as a governmental organization, becoming the standard view on sports of the early 1940s state.¹³³

IX. Sports Purification and Popularization in Transwar Japan

During the war, sports purification activists made significant progress with the help of the state. First, they built a unified administrative body for student sports. When the Ministry of Education organized a National Service Corps (hereafter NSC) in all schools in 1941, collegiate sports clubs became the Discipline Department of each of these organizations on campus. The ministry organized a coordinating body for student sports, the Student Athletics Promotion Association (*gakuto taiiku shinkōkai*) which aimed to “improve student health and discipline” in all schools.¹³⁴ In 1942, this institution hosted the Inter-high Games and assumed control from the TBSL in 1943. In this way, the RAA dream of state supervision of collegiate sports finally came true. And the de-commercialization of sports envisioned by RAA activists partially came to pass. In 1941, the TAA, now the Discipline Department of the Zengakukai, incorporated all Tōdai students and enjoyed the full support of the Zengakukai. In 1942, the Tōdai Discipline

¹³³ Takaoka Hiroyuki, “Dainihon Taiikukai no Seiritsu,” 220.

¹³⁴ “Shūren no Chūsūteki Tōkatsu ni Gakuto Taiiku Shinkōkai: Taiikukyoku de Gutaisaku Kōkyū,” *IUN*, July 7, 1941, 6.

Department fulfilled an old dream of the RAA by declining TBSL gate receipts.¹³⁵

The state also supported the construction of sports facilities nation-wide. From 1939 to 1943, the Welfare Ministry funded new sports facilities in each prefecture. While RAA leaders and student radicals criticized athlete-centered sports popularization at Tōdai, in the early 1940s JAAA staff, army officials, and Welfare Ministry bureaucrats tried to popularize sports for a healthier mass public. With all the construction, higher educational institutions were no longer the only places to pursue sports. As sports became a tool of health politics, the middle-class idea of “sports for sports’ sake” lost its meaning. Although RAA activists had tried to fashion a middle-class identity in leisure they ultimately diluted the class-based nature of sports.¹³⁶ After the war, the resurgent Japanese sports community finally hosted the Olympic Games in 1964, and kept constructing sports facilities, which according to the 2004 Education Ministry Survey reached 239,660 nationally.¹³⁷ The share of public facilities reached 23.6 percent of the total in 2002, indicating that sporting opportunities were no longer monopolized by students.

Material shortages late in the war and military defeat, would, of course, mark another turning point in Japanese sports history. Intercollegiate games stopped in 1943. While spurring sports purification activism, the war damaged sporting activities themselves. The hiatus of intercollegiate games, however, lasted only two years. The Occupation authorities revived the TBSL and professional baseball and abolished the

¹³⁵ “San, Rokukō no Yon Yūshō: Hajime no Zenkoku Kōkō Taiiku Taikai,” *IUN*, August 10, 1942, 1; “Hongaku Rīgusen Haibunkin wo Jitai: Kyūkai ni Okuru Shinpū Ichijin,” *IUN*, April 20, 1942, 5.

¹³⁶ Kōseishō Kenminkyoku Tanrenka, *Kokumin Tanren, Tanren Shisetsu, Tanren Yōgu* (Tokyo, 1943), 116.

¹³⁷ Monbu kagakushō, *Wagakuni no Taiiku Supōtsu Shisetsu: Taiiku, Supōtsu Shisetsu Genkyō Chōsa Hōkoku* (Tokyo: Monbu kagakushō, 2002), 3, 255-61.

Baseball Regulation Order in the name of the “democratization of baseball.”¹³⁸ The athlete recruiting system was revived within higher education. TAA leaders returned to TBSL gate receipts to manage the TAA, ending its brief independence from the “commercial” TBSL. The RAA’s challenge of sports capitalism ended with military defeat, leaving sports popularization and state support for sports as a legacy for postwar Japan.

RAA leaders pursued a legitimate distinction by embracing the amorphous but class-based idea of amateurism, sportsmanship, and fair play. Supported by the state, missionaries, and university authorities, the TAA surfaced as a sporting community in the late nineteenth century. Under these circumstances, Tōdai students and alumni became middling agents in leisure by endowing a spiritual meaning to sports which were basically the mirror image of their white-collar life.

RAA activists’ influence was not confined to Tōdai collegiate society. They fashioned a middle-class identity of leisure in Japan and drove the reform of sports clubs, intercollegiate leagues, and sports administration in modern Japan. Based on the TAA, they tried to authenticate and popularize amateur leisure culture at Tōdai and beyond. These middle-class citizens even pushed the state to manage sports administration in Japan.

Their reforms created the structure of sports administration in Japan, but could not uproot sports capitalism as leisure became the focus of popular enthusiasm and new

¹³⁸ *Tokyo Asahi Shinbun*, April 16, 1946, 2. For details, see Sayuri Guthrie-Shimizu, *Transpacific Field of Dreams: How Baseball Linked the United States and Japan in Peace and War* (Chaper Hill: North Carolina University Press, 2012).

career opportunities. This social transformation, as seen through the career of Mihara Osamu, gradually compromised the iron-clad demarcation between blue and white collar. In other words, sporting activities started as the leisure of university students, but as leisure activities themselves became professionalized universities began to produce another kind of white-collar. In this process, amateurism lost its erstwhile authority. In 2005, staff of the Japanese Amateur Sports Association decided to delete “amateur” from the name of the organization, changing its name to the Japanese Sports Association.

The TAA provided students with sporting opportunities and stimulated the rise of sports culture in lower-level schools and corporations, making sporting opportunities affordable throughout middle-class mobility. As a member of the TBSL and a host of the inter-high games, the TAA assumed a critical role in creating a sports culture that was visible to the mass public beyond the boundary of the middle class. In this process, educational experience became embedded in sports. Without being a good middle-school student, a person could not join the privileged intercollegiate leagues and clubs. Also, the TAA profited from the TBSL and contributed to the construction of sports facilities at Tōdai, linking the professionalizing sports culture and sporting non-athletes. At the same time, TAA leaders were the biggest fans of class-based amateurism, which motivated them for an extensive range of sports reform projects. Their fight for athletes’ dignity brought about a visible accomplishment in the TBSL and inter-high reform; the establishment of the bureaucratic control, and nation-wide construction of sports facilities. In this process, the TAA was a bastion of the amateur strongly resisting the professionalization of leisure as well as a critical agent leading the perceptual transformation of the amateur from athletes to the masses. Given that a mass middle-class

society is based on general equity in salary as well as shared cultural assets,¹³⁹ the TAA contributed to mass middle-class culture by diluting class-based amateurism and diffusing sports.

¹³⁹ Marina Moskiwitz, “‘Aren’t We All?’ Aspiration, Acquisition, and the American Middle Class,” in *The Making of the Middle Class: Toward a Transnational History*, ed. A. Ricardo López and Barbara Wienstein (Durham: North Carolina Duke University Press, 2012).

Chapter 5

Beyond Subsistence: Health and Middle-Class Mobility

The practice of medicine underwent two critical transformations in the modern world. First, while establishing their occupational control, medical practitioners gradually tried to expand their influence in people's everyday lives with their expertise in preventive medicine.¹ This transformation assumed new roles for medical doctors and patients in confronting disease. In interwar Japan, public professionals began to purvey their knowledge of how to be healthy, while social aspirants began to consider health as a resource for their work. In this process, health did not just mean the absence of physical disease but was a levelled, graded, and evaluated qualification for social aspirants. The state, which had already demonstrated interest in improving the health level of prospective military conscripts, fully endorsed this process. Second, medical services became gradually cheaper because of the efforts of the state and social activists. The state and corporations tried to prioritize certain groups of the Japanese population on whom they wanted to rely—soldiers, students, and office workers—and established measures for these groups, such as corporate welfare, the conscription health test, and school

¹ Paul Starr, *The Social Transformation of American Medicine: The Rise of a Sovereign Profession and the Making of a Vast Industry* (New York: Basic Books, Inc., Publishers, 1982); Ikai Shūhei, *Byōin no Seiki no Riron* (Tokyo: Yūhikaku, 2010). For a more general discussion of professionalism beyond medicine, see J.A. Jackson, ed. *Professions and Professionalization* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1970); Margali Sarfatti Larson, *The Rise of Professionalism: A Sociological Analysis* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1977); Harold Perkin, *The Rise of Professional Society: England since 1980* (London: Routledge, 1989).

doctors (*gakkōi*).² Also, beginning in the 1910s, the state and social activists began to establish charity hospitals and cost-price hospitals for impoverished citizens in Japan.³

These two directions of medical history in early twentieth-century Japan were embedded in the rise of the middle class through higher education. In Japan, the modern state, higher educational institutions, and preventive medicine appeared almost at the same time. Medical professionals cooperated with state bureaucrats and educators in establishing a health administration system at schools, whose students were professionals and future middle-class citizens. Their vision of healthy students naturally distinguished them and their audience from old elites and the uneducated, who were, according to an author, generally of “small build” compared to “big” Westerners.⁴ Thus, Japanese middle-class citizens became the primary audience of the health discourse of a “proper” lifestyle during their years at higher educational institutions. Salaried workers, the icon of the interwar middle class, whose “physical health is the only resource for livelihood,”⁵ surfaced as critical recipients of health discourse. Moreover, schools provided middle-class citizens with access to affordable medical services. Student medical centers worked as a propagator and cheap provider of medical knowledge and services. As health began to be defined by lifestyle, the management of health came to be a class value. The middle class and health as a middle-class value were co-constituted in this process. The common assumption of medical sociology that people’s fixed class belonging determines their

² Sabine Frühstück, *Colonizing Sex: Sexology and Social Control in Modern Japan* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2003), 50-51; William Johnston, *The Modern Epidemic: A History of Tuberculosis in Japan* (Cambridge Mass.: Harvard University Asia Center, 1995); Kobayashi Takehiro, *Kindai Nihon to Kōshū Eisei: Toshi Shakaishi no Kokoromi* (Tokyo: Yūsankaku, 2001).

³ Aoyagi Seiichi, *Shinryō Hōshū no Rekishi* (Kyōto: Shibunkaku shuppan, 1996), 340-80.

⁴ For instance, Matsue Kaoru and Sawata Junjirō, *Kenkōron* (Tokyo: Tōadō shobō, 1913), 31.

⁵ Akagami Yoshitsugu, “Saraīmangaku Dai Isshō,” *Saraīman* 4, no. 4 (1931): 17-18.

patterns of behavior on the issue of health,⁶ in this sense, cannot easily be applied to the Japanese experience.

Tōdai students were at the center of this interwar social politics of health. From the birth of Tōdai, Tōdai students had access to a fledgling health discourse. Also, from the interwar period, Tōdai students enjoyed affordable medical service at the Tōdai Student Medical Center (TMC) established in 1925. Students' need for cheaper medical service was a driving force in the establishment of student medical centers in the 1920s. The TMC was a variation of cost-price hospitals and charity hospitals, but was different from ordinary charity hospitals in its function as an axis of hygiene administration and a propagator of class values in health at Tōdai. The TMC supervised physical examinations, distributed pamphlets containing medical knowledge, controlled food hygiene, and participated in the wartime health administration at Tōdai. Furthermore, Tōdai students were agents in the creation of the school hygiene administration and the social dissemination of medical services. Not only did they create the academic field of school hygiene, but Tōdai students also served in the social dissemination of medical services. This chapter traces the rise of a health culture at Tōdai by exploring the TMC and its social dissemination in the interwar and wartime periods.

The TMC both parallels and diverges from student medical centers at other universities. For instance, Waseda University authorities established the Waseda Student Medical Center (WMC) in 1925,⁷ almost at the same time as the birth of the TMC. The

⁶ Eero Lahtela, "Health and Social Stratification," in *The Blackwell Companion to Medical Sociology*, ed. William C. Cockerham (Malden Blackwell Publishing, 2001).

⁷ "Niman no Gakuto no Tame ni Kenkōsōdanjo no Secchi: Shitsubyō Kenkō Shindan no Motome ni

WMC also carried out on-campus student physical tests from 1935. However, the TMC had longer working hours, produced more statistics than other institutions such as the WMC,⁸ and employed state-of-the-art medical facilities as soon as they were developed. The TMC, thus, assumed a leading role in developing and managing student health administration in Japanese higher educational institutions.

Modern Japanese historians have approached Japanese medical history from two angles: social control and the dissemination of medical services.⁹ In these two analytical frameworks, the state and social activists received in-depth scholarly attention as agents of history. However, the recipients of medical services often slipped from these narratives. William Johnston, who analyzed the popular reception of tuberculosis, characterized the efforts of health bureaucrats in social hygiene as “negligible” among people’s lives in interwar Japan.¹⁰ Frühstück and later historians challenged this simple state-society bifurcation by exploring the diverse agents popularizing knowledge and services—academics, medical-doctors, and social activists—but the recipient side remains unclear and the role of the wartime state has been over-emphasized.

By focusing on middle-class citizens at Tōdai, this chapter tries to de-center the role of the state in Japanese medical history. Tōdai collegiate society was a critical space where health procured a complicated set of meanings for students’ middle-class mobility,

Ōji Oioi Byōin mo Tateru,” *Waseda Daigaku Shinbun*, April 22, 1925, 3. “Gakusei ni Fukuon! Kenkō Sōdanjo Jōsetsu: Mainichi Gogo Niji kara Yoji Made Senmonbu Shinkōsha Kaika,” *Waseda Daigaku Shinbun*, May 15, 1935, 2.

⁸ “Gakusei Kenkō Chōsa Kaishi: Senmonbu de no Shinkikaku,” *Waseda Daigaku Shinbun*, May 22, 1935, 2; “Senmonbu Gakusei no Chōsa Shiryō Iyoiyo Naru: Hitori Musuko, Sōgaku Hansū, Ijōbyō to Jibi ga Sōtō Ōi, Shumi wa Danzen Eiga,” *Waseda Daigaku Shinbun*, January 15, 1936, 2.

⁹ Johnston, *The Modern Epidemic*; Frühstück, *Colonizing Sex*; Sugaya Akira, *Nihon Iryō Seidoshi* (Tokyo: Harashobō, 1976); *Nihon Iryō Seisakushi* (Tokyo: Harashobō, 1977); Ikai, *Byōin no Seiki no Riron*.

¹⁰ Johnston, *The Modern Epidemic*, 5, 181, 251.

which eventually spread beyond the walls of universities. Tōdai students were, in other words, less simple disciplined subjects than incentive-following middle-class citizens. Middle-class citizens were agents in the social diffusion of medical values and practices, which blurred the demarcation of state and society and eventually compromised the class-based nature of health culture.

In the same vein, labor service receives reconsideration in the context of the hygiene regime. Labor service in wartime Japan has been stigmatized as a symbol of “exploitation” performed by the war-mongering state. By exploring how the voluntary work of Tōdai students for their own villas developed into compulsory labor mobilization toward the end of the war, this chapter argues that the state did not trigger this nationwide labor service, and that the quest for health as well as the lingering elitist self-identification of Tōdai students were the hidden driving force of labor service in medicine beyond the university walls.

I. The Rise of School Hygiene and a Middle-class Health Discourse

From the beginning of modern education in Japan, student health at Tōdai was a target of social attention. Matsuyama Seiji, proctor of the Preparatory School for Tokyo University, published his *Discourse on School Hygiene* published in 1883 where he expressed concern about students’ neglect of their mental and physical health. Matsuyama’s sources included several works by European specialists in school hygiene and school architecture as related to health and physical and mental discipline.

Matsuyama was not alone in doing so.¹¹ Fukuzawa Yukichi addressed students' poor health at Tōdai, which, according to him, was a “slaughterhouse of boys' health,”¹² and introduced calisthenics at Keiō. State politicians shared this idea. Mori Arinori, the first Education Minister in modern Japan, pointed out the bad health of students and introduced military calisthenics to the school curriculum in 1886. Noteworthy here is that none of them were medical professionals themselves.

During the 1890s, the idea of school hygiene began to be fleshed out as the state and medical practitioners built a national network. Mishima Michiyoshi, a Tōdai Bachelor in Medicine, became a visiting researcher for the Education Ministry in 1891 and investigated school hygiene, which was, according to his language, the “source of national wealth and strength,” and initiated a nation-wide survey tour.¹³ In 1896, Mishima became the School Hygiene Proctor (*gakkō eisei shuji*), which marked the beginning of the student hygiene administration in modern Japan. In 1897, the Education Ministry revived physical tests at schools which had been administered since 1888. Soon, a national network of school hygiene emerged thanks to the lead of Mishima. By 1898, all levels of schools hired medical practitioners as school doctors (*gakkōi*). Toward the late 1890s, statistics regarding student health taken through the physical test at schools became a tool of analysis in this field. The School Hygiene Proctor developed a nationwide network of prefecture-level school hygiene director meetings (*fuken gakkō eisei shuji kaigi*) and local networks of school doctors. By 1920, the School Doctor

¹¹ Matsuyama Seiji, *Gakkō Eisei Ron* (Tokyo, 1883), 1.

¹² Keiō Gijuku, *Fukuzawa Yukichi Zenshū* vol.7, 234-235, 286-287.

¹³ Mishima Michiyoshi, “Gakkō Eisei Shōgen Kogoto: So no Ichi, Eisei to Keizai,” *Kyōiku jiron*, no. 325 (1893): 10; Michiyoshi Mishima, *Gakkō Eiseigaku* (Tokyo: Hakubunkan, 1893), 2.

Society (*gakkōikai*) stretched to almost every corner of Japan.¹⁴

While organizing a school hygiene administration, Mishima wrote a book defining the purpose of this new field: proper school architecture and the mental and physical discipline of students.¹⁵ Mishima's recommendations were almost the same as what Matsuyama had compiled previously. Mishima explained the importance of good locations for schools, the proper structure of school buildings and classrooms, lighting, ventilation, and heating. Also, Mishima emphasized proper methods of calisthenics and athletics, while addressing the adequate balance of work and rest. Compared to Matsuyama's previous discussion, this book emphasized the role of medical practitioners in managing student health. Mishima argued for the establishment of school doctors who would supervise the physical tests. Almost at the same time, Mishima's advisor at Tōdai added his weight to this fledgling field. Miyake Hiizu, professor of Tōdai Medicine and the founding father of mental hygiene in Japan, began to lead this fledgling field. In his lecture on school hygiene published in 1896, Miyake discussed how to prevent students from suffering "school diseases (*gakkōbyō*)" such as neurotic oversensitivity (*shinkei kabin*).¹⁶ In these two works, health became a target of management through the proper investment of available resources under the guidance of medical professionals.

The growing specialty of school hygiene gradually developed into an academic field. In 1920, Iwahara Taku, a Kanagawa Prefecture Student Hygiene Director from

¹⁴ Mishima Michiyoshi, *Zōtei Gakusei Seito Shintai Kensa Kokoroe* (Tokyo, 1897), 1; Shibuya Tomomi, *Risshin Shusse to Kahanshin: Danshi Gakusei no Seitēki Shintai no Kanri no Rekishi* (Tokyo: Rakuhoku shuppan, 2013), 442; Tsuboi Jirō, *Gakkō Eiseisho* (Tokyo: Kinkōdō, 1899); Monbushō, *Zenkoku Gakkōikai Jōkyō* (Tokyo: Monbushō, 1920).

¹⁵ Mishima, *Gakkō Eiseigaku*.

¹⁶ Miyake Hiizu, *Gakkō Eisei Kōgi* (Tokyo: Tōbunkan). The publication year is unidentified, but this lecture was originally published in *Tōkyō meikeikai zasshi*, from vol.185 to 200, 1896 to 1897).

Kyūshū Imperial University Medicine, proposed the establishment of an Imperial Hygiene Society (*teikoku eisei kai*), which procured unanimous support from his fellow directors. Soon, Tōdai professors Miyake Hiizu, Nagai Hisomu, and Miyake Kōichi took leading roles in organizing this research group, which came into being in December 1920.¹⁷ Leaders of this Imperial Hygiene Society defined the purpose of school hygiene as the “improvement of the physical strength and health of Japanese nationals.”¹⁸ In this new formulation, health was conceptualized as an object of management and improvement and schools became a critical venue in the health management of future citizens.

The development of school hygiene paralleled the anti-prostitution movement on campus. Just as discussions on the definition of “gentleman” criticized contemporary political leaders who frequented brothels, similar voices appeared against Tōdai students frequenting prostitutes. As historian Shibuya Tomomi documented, 1880s educators, Kinoshita Hiroji, proctor at First Higher Middle School and lecturer at Tōdai Law, Fukuzawa Yukichi, and Tokutomi Sōhō began to criticize brothel-going students and denigrated promiscuity. These educators conceptualized prostitution as an obstacle to students’ social aspirations and a scandal to foreigners,¹⁹ embedding sexual morality in students’ cultural identity. By the interwar period, this anti-prostitution rhetoric was integrated into the field of school hygiene. In the pages of the journal *School Hygiene*, “sexual degeneration” was likened to tuberculosis “decaying the marrow of human

¹⁷ “Honkai Sōritsu Kiji,” *Gakkō Eisei* 1, no. 1 (1921): 78.

¹⁸ “Honkai Sōritsu kiji,” *Gakkō Eisei* 1, no. 1 (1921): 1.

¹⁹ Shibuya, *Risshin Shusse to Kahanshin*, 147-284.

beings and exhausting stamina.”²⁰ By the interwar period, this voice converged with calls for student sports. As noted in chapter four, in 1925, Abe Isoo suggested the establishment of athletic facilities while lamenting the lack of proper leisure facilities that pushed students “to pleasure quarters.”²¹

In interwar Japan, these voices were integrated into larger middle-class discourses. As the scientific and efficient management of living became the focus of middle-class identity, the idealized healthy lifestyle envisioned in school hygiene became the foundation for the imagination of middle-class living. In 1918, an author characterized middle-class life as a painful “struggle” not to fall downward, and discussed how the middle class could improve its fortunes by means of proper meals, clothing, and the geometry of dwelling space.²² Nukada Yutaka, a medical doctor from Tōdai, applied his research in nutrition to developing cheaper as well as healthier meals for the “economically modest” middle class.²³ Ochi Shinitsu, a professor of Kyoto City Medical College, and his wife proposed a complete program of health management. Defining their audience mainly as “the knowledge class and students... interested in cultured living,” the Ochis explained the proper way of white-collar life and ideal family performance from the perspective of eating, dwelling, and clothing. The Ochis’ discourse included suburban commuting, and supporting children’s studying for examinations with nutritious lunchboxes. Also he emphasized the benefits of athletics for health, although he discouraged excess in sports and its “professionalization.” Family performance was at the center of the Ochis’ discourse. Endorsing Westerners’ evaluation that “there is a house

²⁰ Shimoda Jirō, “Sei no Eisei Kyōiku,” *Gakkō Eisei* 3, no. 5 (1923): 10-11.

²¹ Abe Isoo, “Daigakumachi no Gakusei Seikatsu.”

²² Nishimura, *Chūryūseikatsu no Kaizō*, 1, 12-18.

²³ Nukada Yutaka, *Shinseikatsuhō* (Tokyo: Jitsugyō no nihon sha, 1919).

but no home in Japan,” the Ochis envisioned families as a unit for leisure and childrearing, denouncing prostitution as causing venereal diseases. The other parts explained proper routines—getting up, bathing, cleaning, organizing furniture space, eating, sleeping, childrearing, and gardening.²⁴ In this way, Western health discourses became a source of the middling of the Ochis and their audience.

II. The Rise of the Student Medical Center at Interwar Tōdai

The development of school hygiene paradoxically reveals the absence of comprehensive medical facilities to actually cure ill students. The establishment of a fully-equipped student medical center was an imperative agenda of the state because students who physical tests revealed to have health problems had to receive treatments. Without state or charitable support for medical services, students could not easily use expensive extra-collegiate medical facilities. In 1925, Education Ministry bureaucrats, inspired by the early development of student medical centers in Cambridge and Woolwich in Britain in 1907, expressed interest in establishing a student medical center, but without extensive governmental investment.²⁵

The prices of medical services remained high in interwar Japan. According to the price regulations of the Miyazaki Prefecture Medical Association (*miyazakiken ishikai*) in 1913, a patient had to pay at least 50 sen to receive a diagnosis. Oral medication cost a

²⁴ Ochi Shinitzu and Ochi Chiyoko, *Igakujō yori Mitaru Risōteki Bunka Seikatsu* (Tokyo: Chūgai shuppan kabushikikaisha, 1922), 1, 58, 64, 194-95, 250-58, 393-413.

²⁵ Monbudaijin kanbō gakkō eiseika, “Gakkō Shinryōjo ni Tsuite,” *Gakkō Eisei* 6, no. 2 (1926): 41, 44-45.

patient an additional 12 *sen* per day.²⁶ 62 *sen* in 1913, roughly 5,000 yen in today's standard, could be too much for a casual hospital visit even for middle-class citizens. Moreover, during the 1910s, medical-service prices rose markedly and continued to be high until the late 1930s. In 1920, the Miyazaki Prefecture Medical Association raised the price for a diagnosis to one yen. According to a 1936 survey on the medical expenses of middle-class households, a diseased salaried worker in Osaka had to spend an average of 12 yen per month, roughly 24,000 yen in today's standard, marking a significant economic burden.²⁷

Under these circumstances, cheaper medical services surfaced as a key agenda of middle-class social politics. In the 1910s, the state began to establish charity hospitals. Right after the Great Treason Incident in 1911, the emperor published the so-called Imperial Rescript on Practicing Medicine (*shiyakukyūryō no daishō*) which envisioned the “widening the path of saving lives through medicine.”²⁸ The emperor himself established the Saving Life Society (*saiseikai*), the first charity hospital in Japan. Also in 1911, the Home Ministry, by the approval of the Navy Ministry, established the Tokyo City Charity Hospital just beside the Navy Medical School at Kyōbashi, Tokyo. Navy doctors agreed to treat people at the facility. By 1920, more than 10,000 citizens, both workers and white-collar citizens, visited this hospital.²⁹

Social activists joined the state. In 1915, Katō Tokijirō and Suzuki Umeshirō, social-activist-cum-medical-doctors, established the Cost-price Medical Service Center (*jippi shinryōjo*). These two founders defined the customers of the center as “a kind of

²⁶ Aoyagi, *Iryō Hōshū no Rekishi*, 388, 452.

²⁷ Kyōtoshi shakaika, *Hōkyū Seikatsusha Iryō Jōkyō Chōsa* (Osaka Kyōtoshi shakaika, 1936), 28.

²⁸ Recited from Sugaya, *Nihon Iryō Seidoshi*, 176.

²⁹ Naimushō shakaikyoku, *Naimushō Shakaikyoku Nenpō* 1 (1920), 17-18.

pauper belonging to the lower middle class, including lower bureaucrats, office workers, clerks, teachers, policemen, craftsmen, apprentices, and workers.”³⁰ Members of “this class,” the founders noted, were “between paupers and the middle class, and have to keep face.” Already in 1915, medical practitioners expressed concern about the spread of this movement among “middle-class members of society,” in their words, “seduced by” cheaper services.³¹ The center’s prices were generally about one-third of other practitioners’.

Table 5.1: Comparison of Prices between the Actual-price Medical Service Center and Doctors in the Miyazaki Prefecture³²

Items	Actual Price Center	Miyazaki Doctors
Diagnosis	Below 10 sen	At least 30 sen
Prescription	Below 10 sen	At least 30 sen
Eye Drop	Below 10 sen	At least 1 yen
Surgery		
Major	3-10 yen	10 to 30 yen
Medium	50 sen to 3 yen	30 to 10 yen
Minor	5 to 50 sen	30 sen to 3 yen
Internal Medicine	Below 6 sen	At least 12 sen
External Medicine	Below 6 sen	5 to 20 sen

The TMC constituted a wing of activism for cheaper medical services. The demand for medical services by students, who comprised roughly 10 percent of the visitors to this center,³³ began to be met by student medical centers at universities, including Tōdai, after the Great Kantō Earthquake. Before 1925, there had been a Student Proctor Medical Center (*gakuseikanshitsu ikyoku*) at Tōdai, but not enough medical practitioners attended the Center. In 1925, Central Gakuyūkai staff asked Tōdai Hospital to dispatch “at least one specialist each in medical check-up, internal medicine, surgery,

³⁰ Recited from Sugaya, *Nihon Iryō Seidoshi*, 350-351.

³¹ “Jippi Shinryō no Kaiketsuten,” *Ijikōron*, January 25, 1915, 1.

³² Sugaya, *Nihon Iryō Seidoshi*, 356-57.

³³ *ibid*, p.357.

ophthalmology, dentistry, and otolaryngology.” Also, Gakuyūkai staff asked for longer hours of operation of the Center until 6 pm so students could visit after class; the establishment of a pharmacy inside it; and “the cost-price sale of medicine to students.”³⁴ Tōdai authorities seem to have accepted the petition of the Central Gakuyūkai, and the Student Proctor Medical Center was expanded to become the TMC. As already noted, this development at Tōdai paralleled similar but relatively modest moves at other universities. In 1925, Waseda University authorities created the WMC, with three medical doctors from the Medical Vocational School at Waseda and received student patients once a week.³⁵

The TMC was part of a rising network of these centers. Student medical centers began to appear in all levels of educational institutions from 1926. The first Education Ministry-sponsored student medical center was established in Saint Luke’s International Hospital, Tsukiji, Tokyo, in 1926, and it took care of students who were identified as being in bad health in physical tests and propagated knowledge about hygiene to students’ families.³⁶ In the following years, student medical centers were established in 513 elementary schools, 38 middle-level schools, and 16 normal schools, with 475 doctors, 206 dentists, and 319 nurses.³⁷ The TMC and these intra-school medical centers differed from the British student medical centers which were based on municipal support,

³⁴ “Gakuseikanshitsu Ikyoku Kakushin no Koe Agaru: Chūōbu yori Sōchō e, Gutaian wo Teishutsu,” *IUN*, October 5, 1925, 2; Tōkyō Daigaku Hyakunenshi Hensan Iinkai, *Tōkyō Daigaku Hyakunenshi: Tsūshi* 2, 454-456.

³⁵ “Niman no Gakuto no Tame ni Kenkōsōdanjo no Secchi: Shitsubyō Kenkō Shindan no Motome ni Ōji Oioi Byōin mo Tateru,” *Waseda Daigaku Shinbun*, April 22, 1925, 3. “Gakusei ni Fukuon! Kenkō Sōdanjo Jōsetsu: Mainichi Gogo Niji kara Yoji Made Senmonbu Shinkōsha Kaika,” *Waseda Daigaku Shinbun*, May 15, 1935, 2.

³⁶ Monbudaijin kanbō gakkō eiseika, “Gakkō Shinryōjo ni Tsuite,” *Gakkō Eisei* 6, no. 2 (1926): 41, 44-45.

³⁷ “Gakkō Shinryōjo Shisetsu Zenji Zōka,” *Tokyo Asahi Shinbun*, December 19, 1927, 2.

because all staff were from the Tōdai Hospital and thus salaried by the state.

TMC doctors practiced medical services for students for free, and received the actual price of medicine if applicable. Students responded to the establishment of the TMC with frequent visits. Between 1925 and 1931, the number of annual visitors to the TMC increased from 1,422 to 4,793, and the number of their visits from 2,416 to 15,086. In other words, more than half of the total student body at Tōdai visited the TMC three times a year on average, which continued throughout the 1930s. In 1940, an author characterized the TMC as a “heavenly salvation” for students.³⁸

Table 5.2: Visitors and Visits to the TMC³⁹

Year	Number of Visitors	Number of Visits
1925	1,422	2,416
1927	2,452	6,284
1931	4,793	15,086
1939	4,821	13,499

Table 5.3: The TMC Schedule, 1932⁴⁰

Section	Hours		Reception (Until)	Practitioner
Internal	Monday	2-3 PM	2 PM	Dr. Kase
Internal	Tuesday	12-1:30PM	12-1:30 PM	Dr. Mozai
Internal	Tuesday	3-4 PM	2 PM	Dr. Kodama
Internal	Wednesday	2-3 PM	2 PM	B.A. Hamabe
Internal	Thursday	2-3 PM	2 PM	Dr. Kase
Internal	Friday	12-1:30 PM	Noon	Dr. Mozai
Internal	Friday	3-4 PM	2 PM	Dr. Kodama
Internal	Saturday	12-1 PM	Noon	B.A. Hamabe
External & Dermatology	Tue, Thu, Sat	1-2 PM 2:30-3:30	1 PM	B.A. Kobayashi

³⁸ “Shiga Shikkan ga Saikō,” *IUN*, March 4, 1940, 11; “Hoken e no Kanshin Zōka, Yagai Undō Dairyūkō: Sugata wo Kesu ka, ‘Interigata’ Taiku,” *IUN*, May 27, 1940, 11.

³⁹ “Gakuseikanshitsu Ikyoku Kakushin no Koe agaru: Chūōbu yori Sōchō e, Gutaian wo Teishutsu,” *IUN*, October 5, 1925, 2; Kōshi Mozai Akira, “Gakuseikan Ikyoku wo Riyō Se yo,” *IUN*, February 27, 1928, 3; “Kokyūki Byō ga 10 pācento,” *IUN*, January 18, 1932, 7.

⁴⁰ Tōkyō teikoku daigaku kōgakubu, “Tōkyō Teikoku Daigaku Kōgakubu Binran,” (Tokyo 1932), 39-40.

		PM		
Ophthalmology	Mon, Wed, Fri	1-2 PM	1 PM	Dr. Hasegawa
Otorhinolaryngology	Mon, Wed, Fri	1-2 PM	1 PM	Dr. Yuasa
Dentistry (First visit)	Mon to Fri	1-2 PM	Noon	Dr. Saitō B.A.Tazawa
Dentistry(Returning)	Everyday	1-2 PM	Noon	Same as above
Roentgen Rays	Mon, Wed, Fri	2-3 PM	1 PM	Dr. Aikawa
Sports Medicine	Friday	After 3PM		Dr. Mozai Dr. Saitō

As student health surfaced as a key point for sports and thought control from 1928, student proctors began to further reinforce the TMC. In 1929, the TMC purchased an X-ray facility. Tuberculosis, which was considered the most serious disease resulting from a “weak body,” received the most impressive attention in this process. The efforts to eradicate tuberculosis at Tōdai symbolize the centrality of the higher educational experience in enabling the nexus of middle-class values and practices, marking a precedent for mass tuberculosis diagnosis under the National Fitness Law during the war.

The economic value of this facility was significant. According to the *Imperial University News*, a diagnosis with an X-ray facility cost the patient ten yen in extra-collegiate hospitals (20,000 yen in today’s standard), but students could use this X-ray facility for free for diagnosis, paying the expense for the film, which was one yen fifty sen, only if they took pictures for treatment. This diagnosis took only ten minutes. Roughly seven students used the X-ray facility daily in 1931. Naturally, when the Student Supervisors (*gakusei shuji*) at Imperial Universities decided to strengthen the Student Medical Center (*ikyoku*) in 1930, the TMC, which was the only place that had X-ray facilities, became a “model for other universities.” In April 1930, the presidents of other

Imperial Universities made an inspection trip to the TMC X-ray facility.⁴¹

III. Scoring Health for Middle-class Mobility

Under the Education Ministry's order on the physical test for students in 1897, Tōdai's Student Proctor Medical Center, the predecessor of the TMC, carried out physical tests. However, the test remained unpopular and suffered from a low participation rate, which, in 1924, was still "a source of headache for university authorities." An author suspected students of "acting like gentlemen" (*shinshiburu*), i.e. shying away from exposing their bodies, as a cause of the low turn-out, which symbolized the imperfect incorporation of health culture into elites at interwar Tōdai.⁴²

Tōdai authorities began to gradually change the situation by incorporating the physical test into the entrance examination. From 1925, the Faculty of Engineering at Tōdai allotted 30 points for the physical examination out of the full credit, 220 points, for the admission competition. The Faculty of Medicine also declared that "weak students cannot enter," and "students should discipline their bodies during high school years."⁴³ According to university authorities, athletic students got 25 points out of the full-credit of

⁴¹ "Kenkō Sōdanjo de Ekusu Sen wo Sōchi: Kugatsu kara Shiyō Shite Shindan wa Subete Muryō," *IUN*, June 24, 1929, 7; "Kōhyō no Ekusu Sen Shinryō: Maikai Jūmei Naigai no Mōshikomi," *IUN*, October 14, 1929, 7; "Haisen no Shindan ni Kōken Suru Ekususenka: Mainichi Jūnin Naigai wa Riyō Shi, Kanja ni Daifukuon," *IUN*, January 27, 1930, 7; "Kokyūkibyō ga Jū Pāsento: Gakuseika Ikyoku no Tōkei Naru," *IUN*, January 18, 1932, 7; "Gidai wa Shu to Shite Taiiku no Zōshin wo: Kajitsu no Gakusei Shuji Kaigi," *IUN*, April 21, 1930, 2; "Yonteidai Sōchō ga Hongaku wo Shisatsu: Gakusei Shokudō, Baiten wo Hajime Kenkō Sōdanjotō wo," *IUN*, April 10, 1930, 2.

⁴² "Taikaku Kensa, Reinen no Gotoku Shikō," *IUN*, May 2, 1924, 5.

⁴³ "Kyojakusha wa Ko no Mon ni Hairu Bekarazu: Sōten Nihyaku Nijūten Chū Taikaku Sanjūten no Kōgakubu," *IUN*, March 16, 1925, 3.

30 points, while students in general averaged 15 points.⁴⁴ In other words, engineering students could gain a ten-point advantage by being athletic at this critical phase of middle-class mobility. This system, perhaps for the first time in Japanese history, converted the level of students' health into scores, which was the culmination of the long-term efforts of school hygiene specialists and cultured-living ideologues' discourse of individual health management.

Also, as white-collar employers began to require their applicants to submit a physical test certificate (*taikaku kensashō*) in 1928, the physical test became popular among third-year students on the job market. The number of examinees dramatically increased. In 1929, 1,648 students took the examination, but the number reached 2,500 students in 1930, roughly one-third of the total student body.⁴⁵ In this process, the TMC became an administrative gatekeeper of hygiene on middle-class mobility throughout Tōdai. The intense competition for middle-class mobility provided students with a good reason to manage their own health.

⁴⁴ Ibid.; "Shūren ni Yoru Taikaku: Kore ga Taikaku Kensa no Jūten, Kōkō Jidai ni Kitaheyo," *IUN*, April 22, 1929, 6.

⁴⁵ "Kizukazu ni Iru Kokyūki Kanja ga Ōi: Ippan ni Eiyō wa Kōjō Shita, Saikin Taikaku Kensa no Kekka," *IUN*, July 9, 1928, 5; "Shinkei Suijakushō Kanja wa Bungakubu ni Ichiban Ōi: Shindan wo Ukeru Hito wa Nennen Zōka, Kenkō Sōdansha no Chōsa," *IUN*, June 3, 1929, 7; "Hongaku Gakusei no Taishitsu Izen to Shite Hinjyaku: Senbyōshitsu no Mono ga Hijō ni Ōi," *IUN*, July 7, 1930, 7.

Picture 5.1: Physical Test at the TMC⁴⁶

IV. Tōdai as a Laboratory of Food Hygiene

Simultaneously, Tōdai collegiate society embraced the quest for scientific and healthy food suggested by late nineteenth-century and interwar medical practitioners. This eventually culminated in a TMC food-control system at on-campus dining halls at Tōdai. This process was led largely by Shimazono Junjirō, a professor of medicine at Tōdai specializing in beriberi, and student radicals. Middle-class hygiene was a negotiated agenda between professional researchers, student activists, and Tōdai authorities, whose interplay made Tōdai collegiate society a pioneer in food administration in modern Japan.

⁴⁶ *IUN*, March 17, 1930, 2.

Shimazono shows how professionals pushed the TMC to enlarge its control in Tōdai collegiate society. In 1928, Shimazono proposed using whole rice, which contained B vitamins and was cheaper, in the First Student Dining Hall. For Shimazono, Tōdai was not only a workplace for producing knowledge, but also a laboratory of food reform. His proposal attracted wider consideration as students questioned the “quality, quantity, and price” of the food provided by the commercial manager of the dining hall, Shirokiya. He publicized an in-depth study in 1930 for the information of Student Office staff who supervised on-campus dining halls.⁴⁷ In April 1930, the Student Office polled Tōdai students on what kinds of rice to sell in the dining halls. According to the analysis of Student Office staff, students were persuaded either by the fledgling beriberi scholarship or intrigued by the “unknown kind of food,” and voted overwhelmingly for the use of whole rice.⁴⁸ The Student Office distributed a pamphlet summarizing Shimazono’s talk, “The Flaw in Japanese Food,” and, in May 1930, decided to serve a combination of 80 percent whole rice and 20 percent white rice in the First and Third Dining Halls. Students generally welcomed whole rice. Shimazono presented this experiment at Tōdai at an academic conference in May 1930.⁴⁹

⁴⁷ “Shokudō no Jiyō wo Haigamai de Kairyō: Shimazono Hakushi no Teian ni yori Kyōsaikai de Kōryochū,” *IUN*, November 5, 1928, 7; “Shimazono Kyōju ga Noridashite Shokudō no Eiyō wo Chōsa: Chikaku Ranchi wo Shishoku Kensa Shite Gakuseika no Sankō ni Suru,” Shimazono Junjirō kyōju dan, “Ippan ni Miru Tanbakushitsu no Ketsubō,” *IUN*, December 2, 1929, 2; “Fukushoku ni Yochi Nakereba Shushoku wo Haigamai ni: Shokudō no Eiyōka Ketsubō ni Kangami, Shimazono Kyōju Taisaku wo Happyō,” *IUN*, February 24, 1930, 5.

⁴⁸ “Ippan Tōhyō no Kekka wa Haigamaitō ga Yūsei: Sara ni Aratamete Iken wo Kiku,” *IUN*, April 21, 1930, 2; Shimazono Junjirō, “Haigamai no Suishō: Gakusei Shokudō no Shokuji Chōsa ni Tsuite,” *IUN*, April 21, 1930, 3.

⁴⁹ “Gakusei Shokudō no Shushoku, Kyō kara Haigamai ni: Daitasū no Sanseiron ni Ugokasare Gakuseika de Dankō ni Kessu,” *IUN*, May 12, 1930, 7; “Haigamaishoku wa Danzen Kōhyō: Shikashi Fukushoku ga Warui to Kaku Hōmen kara Kujōzokushutsu,” *IUN*, May 26, 1930, 7; “Gakusei Shokudō no Eiyōka wo Igakukai ni Happyō de Nigiwafu: Hatsuka no Tōkyō Igakukai Reikai,” *IUN*, May 19, 1930, 7.

In 1931, food control at Tōdai was furthered once more by student activism. In December 1930, more than ten students who dined at the First Dining Hall of Shirokiya suffered a typhoid infection. One student died and others were hospitalized. The Student Office and the First Dining Hall initially denied the causality between the food and the outbreak of typhoid, but Shimazono responded to this easy conclusion by dissuading students from eating “raw oysters.” The Student Office officially cautioned on-campus Dining Halls against high prices and hygienic inattention, but students’ discontent continued. In pursuit of the “subjugation of the Dining Hall” on June 3, 1931, roughly 40 students gave speeches in turn criticizing the bad quality of the food and tableware, and read a protest statement written by RSC leaders who wanted to replace Shirokiya, the company managing the First Dining Hall. Students openly supported the expulsion of Shirokiya and endorsed RSC leaders’ demand for an official acknowledgement of the RSC as an intra-collegiate organization. University authorities and professors of law dissolved the student representative league and suspended all representatives of the Green Society, but at the same time the Student Office cautioned Shirokiya once more. Students’ opinions varied on the RSC’s replacement of Shirokiya, but were generally cold to Shirokiya in general. Shirokiya eventually resigned its control of the First Dining Hall. In September 1931, the Mutual Aid Enterprise Committee of the Student Office decided to establish a post of the hygiene inspector (*eiseikensa kakari*) for each on-campus dining hall. The first hygiene inspector, Yanagi Kintarō, a medical doctor affiliated with the Shimazono Research Team of internal medicine at Tōdai, institutionalized a nutrition test

and food inspection.⁵⁰

V. Medicalizing Student Life

In 1932, TMC staff, in a pamphlet titled *Guidebook on Student Health*, explained how to stay healthy and cope with disease. The pamphlet covered the proper way of living—cold-water bathing, sun-bathing, masticatory movement, physical recreation, and adequate meals—while also articulating the causes of and solutions for tuberculosis, neurotic breakdown, and venereal disease.⁵¹

Neurotic breakdown, often called “civilization disease” (*bunmeibyō*), was at the center of the middle-class hygiene promoted by TMC doctors. Characterizing neurotic breakdown as a white-collar male disease resulting from intensive “mental labor,” TMC doctors pointed to students who suffered examination stress as its common victims. Also, TMC doctors linked retinal health and sleeping to this middle-class disease. Here, one symptom was retinal discomfort that affected the reading ability of patients. Retinal

⁵⁰ “Nenmatsu Gakusei no Aida ni Chibusu Kanja Zokushutsu: Hatsubyōki Hotondo Onajiku, Genin wa Shokudō ni Ari Tomo Torizata,” “Densenkeitō ga Gakunai to wa Omohenu: Kenritsu wa Kongo Genjū ni Kantoku Suru, Gakuseika de wa Kataru,” “Junibun ni Chūi, Daiichishokudō Benmei,” Shimazono kyōju dan, “Namagaki Nado wa Kuhanu ga Yoi,” *IUN*, January 1, 1931, 7; “Kōnai Shokudō ni Eiseijō no Chūi: Gakuseika kara Ataheta Mune wo Kyōsai Iinkai de Hōkoku,” *IUN*, January 26, 1931, 7; “Daiichishokudō Mondai, Kazen Zengaku ni Hakyū Su: Gakubukai Rengō Iinkai wo Hiraki, Chikaku Taisaku Kettei Sen,” “Yaku Yonjūmei ga Totsujo Shokuji Kōgeki no Aji: Mikka Dai Shokudō no Chūji,” *IUN*, June 8, 1931, 7; *IUN*, June 15, 1931, 2; “Shirokiya Funin, Gakushō Kōnin wo Dō Miru,” “Midorikai no Zeniin Jūninichi Totsujo Kainin Saru, Funkyū Tsuzuku Daiichi Shokudō Jiken,” “Tshuhini Ryūkai, Shokudō Mondai Taisaku no Rengō Iinkai Seiritsu Sezu,” “Daiichi Shokudō ni Taishi Genjū Chūi no Koto: Kyōsaijigyōiinkai de Kettei,” *IUN*, June 15, 1931, 2; “Tōka, Midorikai no Zeniin Nijūgomei Shobatsu Saru: Ichimei, Nijūyonmei Hongaku Nengan Teigaku, Hongaku Mizōyū no Daishobun,” “Mondai no Shirokiya Tsui ni Shokudō Baiten no Keiei wo Jinin,” *IUN*, July 13, 1931, 2; “Kaku Shokudō Baiten e Eisei Kensa Kakari wo Oku: Nijūgonichi no Kyōsai Jigyō Iinkai de Shimazono Naika no Yanagi Hakushi ni Shokutaku,” *IUN*, September 28, 1931, 7.

⁵¹ Tōkyō teikoku daigaku gakuseika, ed. *Gakusei Kenkō no Shiori* (Tokyo: Tōkyō teikoku daigaku gakuseika, 1932).

fatigue could cause neurotic breakdown, but in students the cause and effect were more often reversed: neurotic breakdown disabled its sufferers from managing their white-collar life. In so defining the disease, TMC doctors endorsed the pseudo-medical language of Education Ministry bureaucrats, arguing that students concentrating on intellectual education and neglecting their physical education were prone to neurotic breakdown. TMC doctors suggested “proper” work, leisure, and rest as a solution.⁵²

The TMC doctors’ attitude toward tuberculosis, which was often called “student disease” (*gakuseibyō*),⁵³ also shows how student hygiene was connected to white-collar routines and leisure. TMC doctors explained that cleanliness of desks, chairs, handkerchiefs, and bed sheets, which were recommended commodities for “cultured living,” could prevent the contagion of this disease. Emphasizing the importance of fresh air, these doctors pointed out the weakness of concrete construction in ventilation, and as a precaution, again encouraged sports, play, and walking outdoors.⁵⁴

RAA activists were generally harsh critics of Education Ministry bureaucrats’ superficial encouragement of sports for health. Nor were all Tōdai professors in medicine happy with the Ministry’s vision. In a newcomer-welcoming party at Tōdai Medicine, a professor said that “sporting men” actually “die sooner.”⁵⁵ But, as explored in chapter four, Tōdai collegiate society was also the home of sports medicine specialists. In 1932, the TMC established a sports medicine section, whose doctors took care of sports injuries

⁵² Tōkyō teikoku daigaku gakuseika, *Gakusei Kenkō no Shiori*, 21-25, 27-30, 2-3; Miyake Kōichi, Miyakawa Yoneji, Murayama Tatsuzō, *Igaku jōshiki 2* (Tokyo: Tōzai igakusha, 1929), 11.

⁵³ “Osorubeki Kekkakubyō, Igai Kotoshi wa Genshō, Ippan ni Kenkō Jōtai mo Kōjō wo Shimesu: Nyūshi Taikaku Kensa no Kekka,” *IUN*, March 21, 1936, 2.

⁵⁴ Tōkyō teikoku daigaku gakuseika, *Gakusei Kenkō no Shiori*, 37.

⁵⁵ “Undō Suru Yatsu wa Sōshi Suru: Sasuga Isha, Tetsumon Kurabu,” *IUN*, May 1, 1933, 9.

and provided consultation.⁵⁶ Building on this institutional base, TMC doctors began to teach sports medicine courses in 1934.⁵⁷ In all, TMC doctors incorporated professionalized knowledge about leisure in the prevention and treatment of tuberculosis.

Venereal diseases also were a target of TMC doctors' class-based concerns. Venereal diseases were apparently a stigma among the middle-class. Characterizing Tōdai students as "cultured gentlemen" (*kyōyō aru shinshi*),⁵⁸ TMC doctors expressed relief that only a small number of students visited the TMC for venereal disease. However, despite their belief that Tōdai students did not need this information, given that "venerated gentlemen who [were] occupying significant social statuses [were] suffering venereal disease," TMC doctors provided their academic knowledge on these issues.

Their analysis of the infection routes of syphilis, soft chancre, and gonorrhea resembled the language of the class-based anti-prostitution ideologues. Considering sexual contact to be critical in infection from these diseases, TMC doctors warned students not to have sex with "café waitresses, lodging maids, visiting housekeepers, and revue dancers." Also, their language included consumerist advice on new commodities, such as condoms, for contraception.⁵⁹

Taken together, TMC doctors' discourses on these three kinds of diseases show how the middle-class identity of Tōdai students was defined. They were not only respected gentlemen who were supposed to stay away from prostitutes, but also mental

⁵⁶ In 1929, under the sponsorship of the Jiji Newspaper, Tōdai professors and students in medicine, including Takagi Kenji, Azuma Ryūtarō, Gō Takashi, and Ogasawara Michio, established a Sports Medicine Research Group. "Supōtsu wo Igakuteki ni Kenkyū: Takagi Kyōju, Kawamoto, Azuma Jokyōjutō ga Supōtsu Iji Kenkyūkai wo Setsuritsu," *IUN*, January 14, 1929, 2; "Supōtsu Shinryō Kaishi: Gakuseika Ikyoku no Shinkeikaku," *IUN*, January 11, 1932, 7.

⁵⁷ Tōkyō teikoku daigaku gakuseika, *Gakusei Kenkō no Shiori*, 38; "Shigatsu kara Shinsetsu no Supōtsu Igaku Kōza: Ippan Gakusei ni Kaihō Suru," *IUN*, January 22, 1934, 2.

⁵⁸ Tōkyō teikoku daigaku gakuseika, *Gakusei Kenkō no Shiori*, 52.

⁵⁹ *Ibid.*, 57, 60.

workers who had to endure intense desk labor by a proper way of life. Moreover, they were protected citizens with access to cutting-edge medical facilities, a description that shows the significance of universities as a social space in which these culturally elite but economically straitened citizens could procure knowledge.

VI. Production of Statistics and On-campus Hygiene Activism

The creation of the TMC resulted in the collection of statistics on student health at Tōdai. From 1929, the TMC published its annual records of visitors and their diagnoses. In these statistics, tuberculosis confirmed its status as the main enemy of the TMC. In 1929, TMC doctors diagnosed 723 students (2,559 times) suffering respiratory diseases, 80 of whom turned out to be seriously infected. In May 1930, the Tōdai president, professors, and Student Office staff planned to establish a sanatorium, but to no avail because of financial problems. Instead, in 1932, the TMC invested 2,000 yen in artificial sunlight for the recovery of early tuberculosis patients. Also, in 1932, Student Office staff initiated a hygienic calisthenics program on campus during lunch time for students with limited sporting opportunities.⁶⁰

Table 5.4: Diseases of TMC Visitors in 1929⁶¹

Faculty	Law	Engin.	Econ.	Science	Hum.	Med.	Agri.	Staff	Total
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⁶⁰ “Kōgakubu Gakusei ni Ōi Kokyūkikei no Kanja,” *IUN*, January 27, 1930, 7; “Gakusei Hoken no Tame Ryōyōjo Secchi ni Kessu: Raigetsu Chūjun ni Shingikai wo Hiraite Gutaian ni Tsuki Kyōgi,” *IUN*, September 15, 1930, 2; “Kokyūkibyō Zetsumetsu ni Taiyōtō wo Tsukafu: Sanaroriumu ni Kawaru Gakuseika Ikyoku no Shinkeikaku,” *IUN*, February 8, 1932, 7; “Kokusan no Taiyōtō: Iyoiyo Shigatsu Kaisetsu,” *IUN*, March 14, 1932, 7; “Hiruyasumi ni Toshu Taisō: Kefu kara Gakunai de Kaishi,” *IUN*, January 25, 1932, 7; “Toshu Taisō wo Issō Shōrei Suru: Kyūgaku Shibōsha no Chōsa mo Hōkoku, Kokonoka no Eisei Iinkai,” *IUN*, March 14, 1932, 7.

⁶¹ “Gakusei Kenkō Sōdanjo Gakubu Betsu Kanjahyō, Shōwa Yonen Ichigatsu – Jūnigatsu,” *IUN*, January 27, 1930, 7.

Respiratory	262	117	116	44	88	42	6	27	702
Lung	8	2	4	3	3	0	1	0	21
Stomach	122	32	45	16	26	9	0	22	272
Nervous	103	29	45	8	40	9	3	6	243
Urinary	6	3	3	1	9	2	0	4	28
Locomotorium	5	2	2	2	0	2	0	0	13
Circulatory	5	4	2	0	1	0	0	0	12
Beriberi	33	6	8	4	5	3	0	3	62
Entire body	3	0	1	1	0	0	0	2	7
Skin	151	44	65	11	50	16	4	16	357
Retinal	354	191	222	53	185	63	19	63	1150
Surgery	276	59	53	14	43	14	3	11	473
Dental	368	162	162	52	118	289	5	46	1202
Physical Check-up	280	86	83	30	66	40	3	22	610
Total	1976	737	811	239	634	489	44	222	5152

Statistics from the early 1930s show that these efforts were insufficient in eradicating tuberculosis. The number of respiratory patients gradually decreased from 1931 to 1933, but the number of those with tuberculosis increased. TMC doctors and Tōdai authorities treated the fact that roughly 10 percent of Tōdai students were suffering respiratory diseases with apparent alarm. In 1934 and 1935, Tōdai authorities expanded the scope of the survey to the number of deceased students and those temporarily absent because of illness, and discovered that fifty Tōdai students passed away every year and 5 percent of all Tōdai students were on leave because of disease.

As Tōdai's ill students attracted social attention, the Education Ministry revived its own survey on student health at high schools, specialist schools, and universities, which had been inactive since 1928. In this survey, roughly 10 percent of students at public universities, high, specialist, and middle schools, or 6,348 students out of a total student body of 65,000, were deceased, or permanently or temporarily on leave from their institution in 1934. Almost half of these ill students were suffering or had suffered from

respiratory diseases.⁶² According to the statistics between 1931 and 1933, roughly 0.5 percent of the total student body at 34 high schools passed away because of disease and 6 percent of all students had to withdraw or be on leave because of disease.⁶³

In January 1935, this issue became a hot topic in Tōdai collegiate society. Professors and students of Tōdai Medicine demanded that Tōdai president Nagayo Matarō construct of an on-campus sanatorium as a solution for the deteriorating student health. In response to the demand of medical students, Student Office staff decided to make the annual physical test compulsory for second- and third-year students. The state endorsed the on-campus hygiene activism at Tōdai. An Athletic Department bureaucrat expressed optimism for Tōdai's initiative given that "Imperial Universities have faculties of medicine." Also, he articulated the necessity of a student facility for nursing tuberculosis patients, because, according to him, students were no longer exclusively "from rich families."⁶⁴ In other words, the state understood the issue of student hygiene as a social issue for modest middle-class citizens, and entrusted Tōdai to engage the issue in 1935.

In response to this demand, Tōdai authorities tried to include X-ray imaging in the entrance examination. In 1935, because of the additional expense for films, a fee of two yen was charged per examination. Only students of medicine, who enjoyed support from the Faculty of Medicine, were given X-ray examinations. But, beginning in 1936, Tōdai

⁶² "Hongaku Gakusei no Shibōsū, Maitoshi Gojūmei ni Tassu: Teika Suru Kenkō, Bunfu wo Oodorokashi," *IUN*, October 8, 1934, 2; "Kekkaku no Bakko, Jōkyū wa Toku ni Furyō: Gekō Suru Kōkōsei no Kenkō," *IUN*, April 15, 1935, 5.

⁶³ "Hongakugakusei no Shibōsū, Maitoshi Gojūmei ni Tassu", *IUN*, October 8, 1934, 2.

⁶⁴ "Gakusei no Kenkō wa Gakusei no te de Mamore: Kekkaku no Nai Gakuen Kensetsu ni Igakubu Gakusei Yūshi Okotsu," "Kenkō Akka ni Kangami Taikaku Kensa wo Kyōsei: Gakuseika no Kenkō Taisaku," *IUN*, "Yūigi na Kokoromi: Monbushō Taiikukachō," *IUN*, January 28, 1935, 9.

standardized the content and date of the physical test for all applicants. Internal medicine practitioners at the Tōdai Hospital and the Faculty of Medicine at Tōdai led by Shimazono Junichirō, now the Tōdai Hospital president, participated in this pan-campus physical test.⁶⁵

The management of tuberculosis students also became more systematic. From 1936, the TMC unified the criteria of the entrance examination physical test for all faculties at Tōdai. In 1936, two hundred students suspected to be tuberculosis patients were X-rayed, and two of them turned out to be in inadequate health condition for studying and socializing. TMC doctors informed the faculties these two students had applied to about their health.⁶⁶ But the treatment for ill students differed from one faculty to another. Administrators of the Faculty of Medicine placed six newly-admitted students “on recovery leave” (*yushi kyūgakusei*) to rest until they recovered. The Faculties of Medicine and Law allowed students to enter on the understanding that they should be on recovery leave, while the Faculty of Engineering failed those applicants. Less seriously ill students received a “warning” (*chūi*) to be on leave. The Faculty of Science admitted tubercular students on the understanding that they should be on leave for a year. In 1936, two applicants were rejected because of tuberculosis.⁶⁷

The growing significance of the hygiene administration culminated in the integration of that function at Tōdai. On November 14, 1936, RAA members and Tōdai

⁶⁵ Sakaguchi Yasuzō, “Kekkaku to Yobō: Hongaku Gakusei no Taikaku Kensa (jō),” *IUN*, June 1, 1936, 2; “Genjū ni Naru Taiken: Tōdai de wa Zengakubu wo Tōsei,” *IUN*, February 10, 1936, 8; “Taikaku Kensa wo Jujitsu Shi Kenkō Kōjō ni Noridasu: Nyūshi de mo Kyūbu Kensa wo Jūshi, Eisei Iin mo Zōen Su,” *IUN*, March 4, 9.

⁶⁶ “Osorubeki Kekkakubyō, Igai Kotoshi wa Genshō: Ippan ni Kenkōjōtai mo Kōjō wo Shimesu, Nyūshi Taikaku Kensa wo Kekka,” *IUN*, March 21, 1936, 2.

⁶⁷ Sakaguchi Yasuzō, “Kekkaku to Yobō: Hongakugakusei no Taikaku Kensa (jō),” *IUN*, June 1, 1936, 2.

president Nagayo Matarō agreed on the administrative integration of sports clubs and hygiene, which would strengthen the function of the TMC and the TAA for student health. In this meeting, they envisioned a transition in the purpose of the TMC from the “passive” treatment of diseases to a more “proactive” promotion of student health. In June 1937, they transformed the Hygiene Committee of the Provost into the Hygiene Athletics Committee (*eisei taiiku iinkai*).⁶⁸ The vision of sports for health crudely suggested by Education Ministry bureaucrats in 1928 was eventually institutionalized at Tōdai.

This trend converged with sports purification activism. In 1936, TAA athletes tried to institutionalize greater participation of non-athletes in sporting events. In preparation for the pan-campus hygiene administration, the TAA began to provide statistics about the number of TAA members, users of on-campus sports facilities, hiring sports equipment, and people staying at vacation villas. To improve student health, the TAA created a “sporting week” during the fall break to encourage sporting activities, while envisioning the construction of a sports complex and dormitories. A coaching week was added in 1937.⁶⁹

The newly established Hygiene Athletics Committee upgraded the TMC physical test in 1938, expanding the X-ray test, which had been conducted only for medicine and engineering students, to students from all faculties at Tōdai. The generalization of the X-

⁶⁸ “Tōitsu Kikan wo Mōkete Taiiku Gyōsei wo Kyōka: Eisei Iinkai, Gakuseika, Undōkai ga Kyōryoku, Hoken Taisaku Iyoiyo Honkakuteki,” *IUN*, November 16, 1936, 2; “Raishun kara Zengakuteki ni Re Sen Kensa wo Jisshi: Daiikkai Eisei Taiiku Iinkai Hiraku, Hoken Taisaku Iyoiyo Honchōshi,” *IUN*, July 12, 1937, 11.

⁶⁹ “Zengaku Iinkai Mezashi Shiryō Shūshū ni Chakushu,” *IUN*, January 11, 1937, 11; “Warerani Undōshūkan wo: Ippan Gakusei no Shidō wo Shugan ni Undōkai no Shinhōshin Kimaru,” *IUN*, January 25, 1937, 11.

ray test was made possible by technical innovation in the test. In 1938, Koga Yoshihiko, a professor of medicine at Tōhoku Imperial University developed a new X-ray procedure called “indirect photographing (*kansestu satsuei*),” which enabled a student to have an X-ray image taken in one minute at the cost of only five sen. After a test on students at the Second High School,⁷⁰ this innovation was swiftly imported to Tōdai. From 1939, all Tōdai students could have X-ray photographs in the annual physical test.

Also late in 1937, the TMC published a lecture series on hygiene, or the “health improvement lecture” (*zōken kōza*) in the pages of the *Imperial University News*. In the lectures, students raised questions about the physical test and issues of disease. For instance, in response to the question of a student on why he was classified at B level in the test although he got an A in the test during his high school years, TMC doctors explained the criteria of the test in lung capacity, nutrition, vision, etc.⁷¹ Furthermore, in October 1938, TMC doctors initiated the Hygiene Athletics Survey (*eisei taiiku chōsa*). Through this survey, Tōdai authorities could learn of students’ self-reported health levels.

Social enthusiasm for hygiene and physical strength has been considered as being mainly a result of the war. But TMC doctors initiated the improvement of student health and X-ray photographing among Tōdai students before 1937. Middle-class citizens at Tōdai invested in facilities, produced statistics, and created a hygiene administration. In other words, the driving force of the rise of a health management system at Tōdai was a

⁷⁰ “Raishun kara Zengakuteki ni Re Sen Kensa wo Jisshi: Daiikkai Eisei Taiiku Inkaei Hiraku, Hoken Taisaku Iyoiyo Honchōshi,” *IUN*, July 12, 1937, 11; “Jōkyūsei Hodo Kyōjaku, Kyūgakusha ga Gekizō: Igakubu no Kenkō Chōsa,” *IUN*, March 4, 1935, 9; “Sannenkan ni Kyūgakusha Hangan,” *IUN*, July 12, 1937, 11; “Teiren Katsu Kantan, Wazuka Gosen de Kekkaku Tōshi, Ippunkan de Pachiri! Zengakutekina Re Sen Kensa ni Hiyaku,” *IUN*, October 3, 1938, 11.

⁷¹ “Gakusei Taii no Seitai, Eisei Chōsa wo Shikō: Ikyoku, Taii Kōjō ni Mata mo Ippo, Jūgatsu Chūjun Zengakusei ni,” *IUN*, September 20, 1937, 11.

middle-class interest in health, not the war. A similar origin can also be shown in the case of the labor service program, which has been considered a symbol of the tyranny of the wartime state.

VII. Labor Service for Health

The idea of labor service entered Japan after the birth of the Nazi labor service program in 1933 as a countermeasure against unemployment. In 1934, the Social Bureau at the Education Department, Tokyo City, published a pamphlet, *The Legal Principle of the Labor Service System* which introduced the labor service program in Germany as a reference material for the employment crisis in Japan at that time.⁷² Toward the early 1940s, the German and Japanese labor service programs evolved into systems for the rear-service of war.

But, when initiated at Tōdai, labor service was neither a countermeasure against unemployment nor a support service for war. In 1925, the Central Gakuyūkai organized a student labor corps to construct the Yamanaka Villa beside Mount Fuji. In 1941, a participant in this project remembered it as the beginning of labor service in Japan, even earlier than Hitler's labor service program. In 1936 and 1937, the TAA initiated a labor service summer program for the construction of a playground at the Yamanaka Summer Villa. From July 10 to August 10, 1936, 301 students worked from 10 am to noon everyday. This initiative was for the construction of a playground, in pursuit of sports

⁷² Tōkyōfu Gakubumu Shakaika, *Rōdō Hōshi Seido No Hōritsu Genre: Rōdō Hōshi Seido no Hōritsuteki oyobi Dōtokuteki Kisokeishiki to Shite no Jihatsuteki Rōdō Hōshi Seido* (Tokyo: Tōkyōfu gakubumu shakaika, 1934).

popularization and health improvement at Tōdai.⁷³ The focus of labor was on the object of construction—a playground for student health and sporting opportunity for non-athletes.

In 1938, the labor service programs became a campus-wide project beyond the TAA. The Student Office took the helm of the labor service program to construct a playground at the newly-procured ground in Kemigawa, Chiba. The TAA provided student volunteers with meals and dormitory rooms. Also, the Student Office designated a farm labor program at the Yatsugatake Discipline Farm, Nagano prefecture. As Student Office staff member Takekoshi pointed out, the Yatsugatake program differed from the Kemigawa construction program in that it focused on the physical discipline of students. According to Takekoshi, this program was an emulation of the Uchiwara training program for emigrants to Manchuria.⁷⁴ In other words, with the beginning of the Yatsugatake program, the labor service programs at Tōdai procured another meaning—an opportunity for collective discipline. While the Kemigawa project represents sports popularization for the improvement of student health, the Student Office defined the purpose of the Yatsugatake project as “discipline based on communal life” at the farm.⁷⁵ Still, this was not the exploitation of students by the state, but a voluntary opportunity for students to experience manual labor for communal discipline. In 1938, 69 students at

⁷³ “Shojochi Kaitaku ni Konka Gakusei no Arubaito,” *IUN*, July 6, 1925, 7; “Yamanaka Ryō yori Kemigawa Nōjō e, Gakusei Kinrō Sagyō Zadankai 1,” *IUN*, March 3, 1941, 7; “Gakusei no Rōdōhōshi de Yamanaka ni Shin Undōjō,” *IUN*, May 25, 1936, 11.

⁷⁴ “Natsu no Taiken wo Kataru 1: Genjitsu no Seikatsu ni Akitarazu Kanzen Rōdō no Senrei, Kemigawa, Yatsugatake no Shūkaku,” *IUN*, September 12, 1938, 11.

⁷⁵ “Gakuseika mo Noridashi, Rōdō Hōshi Iyoiyo Kidō e: Undōkaian, Jōmu Iinkai de Shōnin, Yatsugatakean mo Gutaika Su,” *IUN*, May 23, 1938, 11.

Tōdai volunteered for the labor service program at Yatsugatake.⁷⁶ In 1938, other universities were also managing voluntary labor service programs in the name of physical discipline. The Education Ministry estimated that “the labor service programs in pursuit of improvement in health and the cultivation of labor spirit” attracted 100,000 university students in 1938.⁷⁷

In 1938, the state began to use this student labor program for extra production in agriculture and industry. In May 1938, Education Minister Kido Kōichi envisioned students’ labor service as a basis on which to “initiate educational reform.” Kido’s vision swiftly came true. In 1938, 72 percent of high school students participated in the labor service summer programs at schools. In February 1939, the Education Ministry tried to have universities, high schools, specialist schools, and middle schools acknowledge labor service programs as an official curriculum and put them into practice all year long. In April 1939, the Education Ministry ordered these higher educational facilities to establish a semi-official curriculum (*junseika*) of labor service programs. By this order, labor service came to exist not just in the summer and winter vacations but all year long.⁷⁸

In 1939, however, the voluntary nature of labor service at Tōdai did not change. The Kemigawa program lasted for one month. The slogan of the Kemigawa labor service program was “our playground by our own work.” An author writing in the *Imperial University News* was doubtful about the efficiency of students’ labor, but found meaning in the Kemigawa program in the “reconstruction of students’ selves by physical

⁷⁶ “Yatsugatake, Futsuka de Teiin Chōka,” *IUN*, June 13, 1938, 11.

⁷⁷ “Kakudai Kinrō Hōshi no Seika,” *IUN*, September 20, 1938, 9.

⁷⁸ “Rōdō Hōshi wo Kyōchō: Kido Monshō Kunji Yōshi,” *IUN*, May 30, 1938, 8; “Sankaritsu Shichiwari Niho Naiyō Kore ni Tomohazu: Kōkō Kinrō Hōshi no Seika,” *IUN*, October 10, 1938, 8; “Kinrō Hōshi Gimusei e: Hongaku de wa Konnanshi, Gutaian de Ikinayami ka,” *IUN*, January 30, 1939, 11; “Kinrō Hōshi Junseika ni: Monbushō Kakkō ni Tsūchō,” *IUN*, April 10, 1939, 8.

discipline.” In the summer of 1939, 1,124 students, 15 percent of Tōdai students, participated in the Kemigawa program.⁷⁹

However, the Education Ministry gradually superscribed statist purposes onto labor service programs. In 1939, the ministry began to dispatch three thousand students and youths to Manchuria, Mongolia, Xinjiang, and Northern China for “the construction of national defense” (*kokubō kensetsu*) and “cultural operations” (*bunka kōsa*). In this project, the Education Ministry began to mobilize students according to their specialization. For Manchuria, the Education Ministry sent students of medicine and agriculture, while dispatching students from all backgrounds to Northern China, Xinjiang, and Mongolia.⁸⁰

The nature of the Kemigawa program began to change in 1939. Tōdai students not only leveled the ground and constructed dormitories for the potential playground, but also built roads.⁸¹ In this process, the focus of labor service changed from a playground built by students to students’ discipline and their products. Students joined the state’s program by adding what the state requested to their own labor service program whereas the state encroached on students’ summer vacation for its war efforts.

Through this negotiation, labor service at Tōdai eventually evolved into two forms. The first was farm labor. In February 1941, the Zengakukai Discipline Department decided to turn the Kemigawa ground under construction into a farm. According to the

⁷⁹ “Kemigawa Kinrō Hōshi, Danzen Kotoshi mo Yaru,” *IUN*, May 29, 1939, 11; “Manshi ni, Kemigawa ni Shikenki Sugita Kinrōjin,” *IUN*, June 5, 1939, 11; “Nobi Jin’in wa Sen Hyakumei: Ase no Kesshō wo Monogataru Jūni Bei no Shindō, Kemigawa Kinrō no Seika,” *IUN*, September 15, 1939, 11.

⁸⁰ “Kinrō Hōshi Ichidan Kyōka, Konka Taikyo Dairiku e: Monbushō Sanzen Yo Mei wo Haken,” *IUN*, June 5, 1939, 9.

⁸¹ “Manshi ni, Kemigawa ni Shikenki Sugita Kinrōjin,” *IUN*, June 5, 1939, 11

new plans, 300 students were supposed to work on the farm all day. In order to mobilize students every week, Zengakukai staff tried to organize a faculty-level Labor Corps, while entertaining laboring students by holding a Tōdai Orchestra concert at the farm. Chiba city authorities provided lunchboxes for student laborers and the Zengakukai paid the transportation fees between the campus and the farm. The farm's produce would be sold in the market to alleviate the deficiency of food in Japan. This labor program began in April 1941 and continued to the end of the war. [See Picture 5.2]⁸² In 1943, student labor at Kemigawa came to be “ordered” by the state.⁸³ The second new focus of labor service was rear service of war in medicine. Labor service for medicine was a statist version of student activism, which had been active already for fifteen years by 1938.

Picture 5.2: Students' Labor Service at Kemigawa, 1938, 1941.⁸⁴

⁸² “Uchifurufu Kyōshin Rikuryoku no Joshō: Kemigawa de Nōkōbu Kinrō Sagyō Hajimaru,” *IUN*, April 21, 1941, 7.

⁸³ “Shingakunen kara Kokusaku Rōdō, Kemigawa de Shokuryō Zōsan: Ongakubu mo Ichiyaku, “Hogaraka Ensō,” *IUN*, February 3, 1941, 1; “Shūkakubutsu wa Shijō e: Sasaki Nōkōbuchō ga Shidō,” *IUN*, February 24, 1941, 7; “Kemigawa ni Hajime no Kyōryokurei,” *IUN*, October 25, 1943, 1.

⁸⁴ Tōkyō daigaku kemigawa sōgō undōjō yonjūnenshi hensan iinkai, ed. *Tōkyō daigaku kemigawa sōgō undōjō yonjūnenshi* (Tokyo: Tōkyō daigaku kemigawa sōgō undōjō. 1978).



昭和13年7月 第1回目の勤労奉仕団



昭和16年 学生による農耕作業

VIII. The Labor Service of Student Doctors

The main channel through which Tōdai students of medicine served under-cared neighbors was the Tokyo Imperial University Settlement (TS). The TS was a voluntary organization of Tōdai students, whose origin was the Tōdai Earthquake Student Relief Organization in 1923. The TS was a part of the world-wide settlement activism which had its origin in Toynbee Hall, a voluntary service organization of Oxford and Cambridge University students established for workers' education and welfare in 1884,⁸⁵ a movement also known as a university extension work. Settlement activism was imported to Japan by Kagawa Toyohiko, founder of the Honjō-ku Settlement (1923), Suehiro

⁸⁵ J. A. R. Pimlott, *Toynbee Hall: Fifty Years of Social Progress, 1884-1934* (London: J .M. Dent and Sons Ltd., 1935).

Izutarō, Anesaki Masaharu, and Toda Teizō, professors of law, humanities, and sociology respectively and founders of the TS.⁸⁶ The TS founders defined its purpose as “saving proletarian citizens (*musan shimin*) and improving their living standards,” and “providing educational opportunity.” By 1937, the TS had ten departments: baby care, children, library, social survey, medicine, legal consultation, worker education, citizen education, juvenile education, and consumer cooperative.⁸⁷

The history of the TS Medical Department reaches back to the Great Kantō Earthquake in 1923. Hayashi Susumu, a medical student who participated in the relief work after the earthquake, his two fellow medical students Masuda Nagamune and Kishi Yajirō, and Azuma Yōichi, a surgeon at the Tōdai Hospital, initiated the establishment of the department in 1924. After the TS House was constructed in Yanagishima, Tokyo, in June 1924, these activists established a clinic in the house in November 1924. These activists paid visits to Hayashi Haruo, the dean of Tōdai Medicine, Shioda Hiroshige, the president of the Tōdai Hospital, professors of Tōdai Medicine, the director of Hygiene Department of Tokyo City, and cooperative activists including Kagawa Toyohiko, to solicit support. The TS enjoyed the support of the state and professors. The Imperial Household Ministry (*kunaishō*) and the Tokyo City Social Bureau donated money for this social enterprise. Professors of medicine supported TS activities by donating medical appliances.⁸⁸ Hayashi Susumu introduced the TS Medical Department in the Faculty Bulletin of Tōdai Medicine and recruited “settlers” among fellow medical students. By

⁸⁶ Shiga Hidetoshi, ed. *Tōkyō Teidai Yanagishima Setsurumento Iryōbushi: Igakusei no Senzen Shakai Undō Reimeiki no Kiroku* (Tokyo: Shinnihon igaku shippansha, 1979), p.176.

⁸⁷ Toshio Ōmori, ed. *Tōkyō Teikoku Daigaku Setsumento Jūninenshi* (Tokyo: Tōkyō teikoku daigaku setsumento 1937), 49.

⁸⁸ Tōkyō teikoku daigaku setsurumento ed., *Nenpō* 1 (1924), p.33.

1932, the TS Medical Department had 42 practitioners, 40 undergraduate settlers, and 59 nurses. TS practitioners received only the roundtrip train tickets between the campus and Yanagishima for their work in 1924, but could receive five yen per month beginning in late 1925.⁸⁹

The TS Medical Department had three kinds of activities, which were precursors to the late wartime state-led medical activism. First, the TS Clinic provided medical services, in line with social activism for cheaper medical services. In 1929, fifteen patients paid visits to the TS Clinic. TS settlers initiated an annual year-end free medical treatment event. Also, TS practitioners provided free vaccine shots and conducted physical tests for children of the area. Second, TS settlers initiated social surveys. Medicine settlers published a survey on the medical facilities in Japan in 1926,⁹⁰ and frequently conducted smaller-scale surveys on the medical fees and diseases of Yanagishima residents.⁹¹ Third, the TS produced a pioneering organization of regional health care. The TS established the Yanagishima Consumer Cooperative in 1926, and tried to reorganize each department into cooperative organizations. TS settlers in medicine supported this initiative. In 1927, TS medical activists exempted members of this cooperative from paying fees for diagnosis and medical documents.⁹² By 1932, this system developed into the Health Society (*kenkōkai*), which collected monthly fees from its members and provided them with medical services at discounted prices. TS activists

⁸⁹ Ōmori, *Tōkyō Teikoku Daigaku Setsumento Jūninenshi*, 129-31, 134, 137.

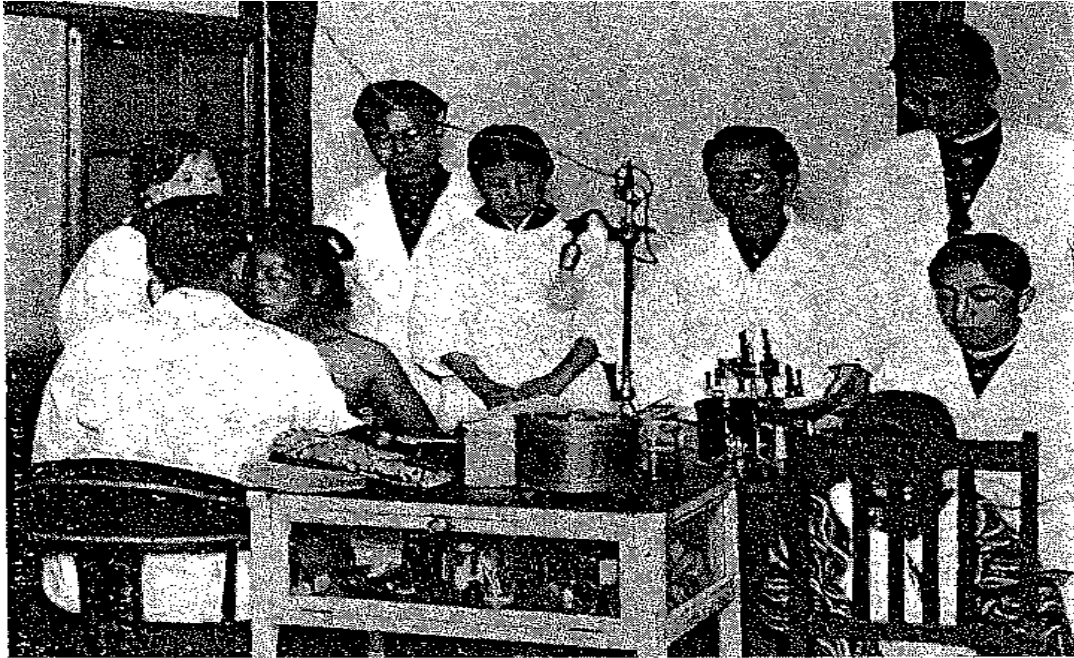
⁹⁰ Tōkyō teikoku daigaku gakuyūkai nai shakai igaku kenkyūkai, *Iryō no Shakaika* (Tokyo: Dōjinsha shoten, 1926).

⁹¹ Shiga, *Tōkyō Teidai Yanagishima Setsurumento Iryōbushi*, 60-61.

⁹² *Ibid.*, 62.

remembered the Health Society as a forerunner of the national health insurance.⁹³

Picture 5.3: TS Medical Practitioners, circa 1928.⁹⁴



The TS program was a variation of labor service, but was different from the Kemigawa program in that students served according to their specialties. In the TS, law students served as legal consultants, whereas medical students worked as practitioners. In short, Tōdai students acted as junior-professionals. In the elongated process of middle-class formation at Tōdai, students had to struggle for economic security for campus life. But, this does not mean that students struggled only for their own bread and butter. Hayashi Susumu, a founder of the TS Medical Department, led a group of students creating a map of the district damaged by the Great Kantō Earthquake in 1923. Hayashi procured 7,000 yen by selling the copyright of this map to Osaka Mainichi and Tokyo

⁹³ Ibid., 155.

⁹⁴ Tōkyō teikoku daigaku setsurumento, ed. *Nenpō*, no.5 (Tokyo, 1929).

Nichinichi, and invested this money in the establishment of the TS.⁹⁵ Another difference between the TS and the late-1930s labor service programs was the type of institutional support. While the Kemigawa program enjoyed the support of Tōdai authorities and the TAA, TS Settlers lost their initial support from university authorities and the state in the late 1930s. Education Ministry bureaucrats characterized the TS as “a hotbed of leftists,” and the Special Higher Police understood the TS as “inseparable from the leftists.”⁹⁶ In 1938, after a meeting between TS emeritus president Hozumi Shigetō, a professor of law at Tōdai, and Education Ministry bureaucrats, Tōdai authorities changed the name of the TS to the University Neighbor Aid Hall and suspended all of its enterprises except baby care, medical service, and legal consultation. Student engagement in these enterprises was forbidden unless these works were considered helpful to students’ academic performance.

From 1938, a new volunteer organization and the state-led labor service programs replaced the role of the TS Medical Department. In order to enable students to join the Summer Student Militia in Manchuria and Mongolia, in July 1938 the Faculty of medicine at Tōdai organized a Continental Hygiene Research Group (*tairiku eisei kenkyūkai*; CHG). Tōdai Hospital president Sakaguchi assumed the role of CHG leader and dispatched 16 students to Manchuria and Mongolia. CHG members initiated surveys on hygiene in housing, the atmosphere, clothing, water, food, and the physical strength of

⁹⁵ Okada Yasuo, *Kishi Yajirō: So no Ashiato* (Tokyo1990), 3.

⁹⁶ “Setsuru, Saisei e Sutāto: ‘Daigaku Rinpōkan’ to Kaishō, Gakusei, Zensen yori Shirizoku,” *IUN*, January 31, 1938, 11; *Tokkō Geppo*, February 1938, recited from Shiga, *Tōkyō Teidai Yanagishima Setsurumento Iryōbushi*, 227.

the residents in Manchuria.⁹⁷

In June 1939, the Education Ministry decided to dispatch 3,000 youths to the continent. For its plan called “Building Asia Youth Labor Corps,” the ministry notified educational institutions that 3,000 students were needed for the project, including 1,460 from universities, high schools, and specialist schools. Tōdai was allotted 80 students. The Student Office at Tōdai began to recruit volunteers for the program in June.⁹⁸ The labor service of medical students in Japan’s frontier continued after this. In this labor service program, Tōdai students were junior professionals spreading medical services in Japan’s colonies.

IX. Making Middle-class Hygiene Classless

The transformation of medical practice in wartime Japan can be epitomized in two key phrases: the social dissemination of medical services and the rise of state control. These innovations included the creation of the public health center in 1937, the establishment of the National Health Insurance in 1938, the National Physical Strength Law (*kokumin tairyokuhō*), the National Medical Service Law (*kokumin iryōhō*), and the Greater Japan Medical Service Corporation (*dainihon iryōdan*) in 1942. This statist development in medicine and hygiene assumed four prerequisites: The expansion of

⁹⁷ The Greater Japan Youth Association (*dainihon rengō seinendan*), the Welfare Ministry, the Colonial Ministry, the Emigration Association (*ijūkyōkai*), and the Rural Rehabilitation Association (*nōson kōsei kyōkai*) sponsored the program. “Gakusei Giyūgun ni Sanka: Tetsumon Tairiku Eisei Kenkyūkai Kessei Saru,” *IUN*, June 6, 1939, 11; The CHG published these surveys. For instance, Tōkyō teikoku daigaku igakubu tairiku eisei kenkyūkai ed., *Tairiku Eisei 2*, no. 4 (1940).

⁹⁸ “Kinrō Hōshi Ichidan Kyōka, Konka Daikyo Dairiku e: Monbushō Sanzen Yo Mei wo Haken,” *IUN*, June 5, 1939, 9; “Tairiku e Hachujūmei (hongaku yotei jin’in),” *IUN*, June 5, 1939, 11.

medical facilities, cooperative activism, the conformity of medical doctors to the state, and a social consensus on the dissemination of medical services beyond the boundaries of the middle class.

Cooperative activists led this development based on their interwar efforts. In the early 1930s, Kagawa Toyohiko envisioned cooperatives as collective bodies for purchasing medical services.⁹⁹ Kagawa fleshed out this vision by establishing the Tokyo Medical Service Cooperative (*tōkyō iryō riyō kumiai*; TMSC) in 1931. The founders of the TMSC defined its purpose as the provision of medical services to people who were alienated from “medical services managed as businesses.” The establishers of the TMSC included medical doctors, Tokyo City Social Bureau staff, Christian activists, and cooperative activists.¹⁰⁰ TMSC members were supposed to invest ten yen in the cooperative and could enjoy cheaper medical services at the TMSC hospital at Nakano. TMSC members paid the roughly same amount of money as ordinary patients who were affiliated with corporate health insurance plans. In 1937, 9,307 people joined this cooperative.¹⁰¹

This effort coincided with the state’s vision of national health insurance. The state created the Health Insurance Law (*kenkō hokenhō*) in 1922 and the Social Bureau of the Home Ministry took up the mantle of state health insurance. This law was a follow-up legislation to the Factory Law, and thus a part of the labor policies of the Japanese state.

⁹⁹ Kagawa Toyohiko, *Nōson Shakai Jigyō* (Tokyo: Nihon hyōronsha, 1933); *Kumiai Kokka wo Ronji Kokka Kaizō ni Oyobu*.

¹⁰⁰ “Chūmusan Kaikyū no Okakahe Isha: Jūgonichi kara Jigyō wo Hiraita Tōkyō Iryō Riyō Kumiai,” *Tokyo Asahi Shinbun*, September 17, 1932, 7.

¹⁰¹ “Yūgen Sekinin Tōkyō Iryō Riyō Kumiai Setsuritsu Shuisho,” recited from *Tōkyō iryō seikyō gojūnenshi hensan iinkai, Tōkyō Iryō Seikyō Gojūnenshi* (Tokyo: Tōkyō iryō seikatsu kyōdō kumiai, 1982), 1-3, 89.

The law forced workers and miners under the supervision of the Factory Law to be affiliated with this state health insurance. In this process, health care practices diffused from white-collar to blue-collar. By 1935, state health insurance membership reached 3,000,000.¹⁰²

From 1934, Home Ministry bureaucrats began to envision the expansion of this worker version of health insurance in a nationwide program. These bureaucrats produced a draft of the National Health Insurance Law, which planned to include 70 percent of the population of Japan.¹⁰³ This cooperative solution for the dissemination of medical services encountered a serious objection from the Greater Japan Medical Doctor Society. Practitioners' counterarguments focused on the fact that patients could choose doctors to serve them, which would stimulate undesirable competition among doctors for providing cheaper and easier treatments. Staff of the medical doctors' society argued for the freedom of medical practitioners in choosing what kind of treatments to try.¹⁰⁴ As late as 1935, they justified their position in the name of the protection of patients and the "sacred nature" of medicine.¹⁰⁵ This confrontation ended as war compelled late 1930s Japan to produce a mobilization system for human resources. In 1938, the National Health Insurance Bill passed the Diet. National Health Insurance Cooperatives were supposed to include all residents based on administrative units and workplaces. These cooperatives consisted of two kinds, the Ordinary National Health Insurance Cooperatives of regional residents and the Special National Health Insurance Cooperatives of workplaces. As of

¹⁰² Zenkoku kokumin kenkō hoken dantai chūōkai, *Kokumin Kenkōhoken Nijūnenshi* (Tokyo: Zenkoku kokumin kenkō hoken dantai chūōkai, 1958), 93-100.

¹⁰³ Ibid., 126-130.

¹⁰⁴ Ibid., 134.

¹⁰⁵ Shūkan iji eisei henshūbu, *Ikai wa Naze Seifu to Tatakahaneba Naranuka: Hihokensha no Tame, Igaku no Shinsei no Tame* (Tokyo, 1935).

1938, the first part of this system for regional residents was semi-compulsory—only when two-thirds of regional residents became affiliated with an Ordinary National Health Insurance Cooperative could the regional administrator order all residents of the region to join the cooperative.¹⁰⁶ The nature of this bill was clear. Only people whose monthly incomes were less than 100 yen, a perceptual demarcation between the lower and middle classes, could join an Ordinary Health Insurance Cooperative. Also, this bill ordered workers and clerks whose work place had more than ten workers to join the cooperative. But, salaried workers were also a target of insurance administration by the Welfare Ministry. Although they were in a separate category of the white-collar health insurance, Welfare Vice-Minister Okada Fumihide stated that the Welfare Ministry was interested in protecting salaried workers who did earn slightly more but had to spend more money on clothes and other attributes of middle-class life.¹⁰⁷ In 1941, in a revision to the bill, a statistically lower middle class, whose income was less than 150 yen and workers whose workplaces that had more than five workers, came to be eligible for this system. Local administrators could order residents to join the cooperatives regardless of the number of the existing cooperative members. By 1943, 95 percent of the Japanese population had joined the National Health Insurance Cooperatives.¹⁰⁸

While embracing an absolute majority of the Japanese people in these National Health Insurance Cooperatives, the state began to duplicate the middle-class health and hygiene administration at Tōdai in extra-collegiate society. In 1936, bureaucrats of the

¹⁰⁶ Zenkoku Kokumin Kenkō Hoken Dantai Chūōkai, *Kokumin Kenkōhoken Nijūnenshi*, 199-208.

¹⁰⁷ Okada Fumihide, *Kokumin no Kōfuku to Kenkō* (Tokyo: Shakai kyōiku kyōkai, 1939), 36-39.

¹⁰⁸ Kōsei kenkyūjo, ed. *Kokumin Iryōhō to Iryōdan* (Tokyo: Kenshinsha, 1942), 69-71; Zenkoku kokumin kenkō hoken nanajūnenshi hensan iinkai, ed. *Kokumin Kenkōhoken Nanajūnenshi* (Tokyo: Kokumin kenkō hoken chūōkai, 2009), 13.

Hygiene Bureau, within the Home Ministry, created the Public Health Center Law (*hokenshohō*). From 1937 to 1939, the state envisioned the establishment of 550 local public health centers whose medical practitioners would propagate knowledge in “preventive medicine regarding clothes, meals, and routines,” for local people. From 1937 to 1941, the state established 134 public health centers, and in 1941, the Welfare Minister, who had inherited health center administration from the Home Ministry after 1938, held the National Public Health Center Chiefs’ Conference.¹⁰⁹ Although these public health centers remained unpopular among medical practitioners even after the war, the number of centers markedly increased, reaching 7,830,000 by 1955.¹¹⁰ Also, the state created the National Physical Strength Management System (*kokumin tairyoku kanri seido*) in 1940, primarily for war preparation, the extermination of tuberculosis, and the systematic management of the physical condition of the Japanese people.¹¹¹ This legislation institutionalized the extension of collegiate health culture to extra-collegiate society. As TMC doctors had promoted individual health by the management of everyday life, wartime administrators talked of national health through proper living.¹¹²

The physical tests and anti-tuberculosis campaigns already established at Tōdai were applied nationwide by the National Physical Strength Law (*kokumin tairyokuhō*) in 1940. According to this law, all male and female persons between the ages of 15 and 19

¹⁰⁹ “Hokenshoh Ōan Naru: Kekkaku Yobōhō mo Kaisei,” *Tokyo Asahi Shinbun*, December 24, 1936, 2; “Hokensho Seido no Shimei,” *Tokyo Asahi Shinbun*, March 28, 1937, 3; “Zenkoku Hokenshochō Kaigi,” *Tokyo Asahi Shinbun*, April 8, 1941, 2; “Kokumin no Tairyoku Zōshin e: Hokensho wo Riyō Shimashō,” *Tokyo Asahi Shinbun*, May 22, 1941, 4; Okada, *Kokumin no Kōfuku to Kenkō*, 9-10. According to the *Imperial University News*, the Public Hygiene Center at Tokyo Imperial University would support these new institutions. “Zenkoku ni Senroppyaku Ko no Hokensho wo Mōku: Denken kara mo Sekkyokuteki ni Ōen,” *IUN*, November 23, 1936, 2.

¹¹⁰ “Kirawareta Hokensho, Isha Nisennin ga Fusoku,” *Tokyo Asahi Shinbun*, May 2, 1955, 7.

¹¹¹ Yoshitake Nodoka, *Kaisei Kokumin Tairyokuhō Kaisetsu* (Tokyo: Ōsawa Tsukichi shoten, 1942), 34-35.

¹¹² For instance, Sugimoto Kōichi, *Kenkō Zōshin to Ishokujū* (Tokyo: Ryūginsha, 1939).

were included in an annual physical test on November 30. The test was administered for various groups by different officials, such as school principals for students, employers for workers, and local administrators for other categories of persons. Testers nominated a National Physical Test Medical Practitioner (*kokumin tairyoku kanrii*). In 1942, by the revised National Fitness Law, males between the ages of 20 and 25 were also included in this test. The physical test, like that at Tōdai, included an anthropometry investigation, functional test, and disease screening. Tester practitioners were supposed to check if subjects had tuberculosis, venereal diseases, and mental disorders, which were the primary foci of the TMC hygiene program. In 1940, tuberculin testing and X-ray photographs were included in the test. The indirect X-ray photographing test at Imperial Universities spread also to extra-collegiate society.¹¹³

In this system, the supply of medical practitioners mattered. State bureaucrats problematized the urban-centered development of Japanese medical systems. According to a survey in 1939, the number of medical practitioners in Japan reached 64,000, and the number of hospitals, 4,037. However, as for the regional distribution of medical facilities, “it became hard to open a new hospital; the number of doctorless villages was increasing.”¹¹⁴ Ten percent of all hospitals in Japan were in Tokyo, while only 19 hospitals existed in Yamanashi. At this point, 3,600 villages, towns, and cities, 33 percent of the total for Japan, remained doctorless. This fact alarmed bureaucrats given that the number of doctorless administrative units had increased from 2,800 to 3,600 from 1927

¹¹³ Johnston, *The Modern Epidemic*, 282-285; Yoshitake Nodoka, *Kaisei Kokumin Tairyokuhō*, 78-79, 157-159, 164, 167.

¹¹⁴ Kōsei kenkyūjo, *Kokumin Iryōhō to Iryōdan*, 34-36.

to 1939.¹¹⁵

In response to this situation, Welfare Ministry bureaucrats created the Japan Medical Foundation (*dainihon iryōdan*) to establish and reinforce medical facilities based on the National Medical Service Law (*kokumin iryōhō*). This law stipulated the state's approval of medical practitioners in opening hospitals, clinics, and maternity centers. The state could order medical practitioners to work for certain medical facilities in need of medical practitioners for the initial two years of their careers. The Japan Medical Foundation was a special legal entity funded by a governmental investment of 100 million yen for five years.¹¹⁶

Tōdai students' labor service filled the gaps in this fledgling mass hygiene administration. From 1941, students of Tōdai Medicine also participated in domestic labor service projects. In 1941, seventy students from Tōdai medicine joined the Summer Medical Student Tuberculosis Prevention Corps (*kaki igakuto kekkaku yobō jitsumuhan*) to diagnose office and factory workers in Gunma, Ishikawa, and Ibaraki. This activity was jointly sponsored by various state and social organizations. The two main organizers were the Tuberculosis Prevention Society (*kekkaku yobōkai*) and the Greater Industry Patriotic Society (*dainihon sangyō hōkokukai*, hereafter Sanpō); and the Welfare and Education Ministries also sponsored this activity. Prefecture authorities, university hospital authorities, and the Labor Science Research Center (*rōdō kagaku kenkyūjo*) provided their staff for this enterprise. Including Tōdai, eight universities participated in the project and initiated a nationwide program of diagnosis and treatment. Nozu Yuzuru, the Sanpō welfare director and RAA activist, highly praised this "social expansion of

¹¹⁵ Ibid., 37.

¹¹⁶ Ibid., 34-36, 73, 75.

medical education.”¹¹⁷

This project was followed by another medical labor service program. In 1941, the Education Ministry, the Welfare Ministry, the Imperial Rule Assistance Association (*taisei yokusankai*; IRAA), and the Cabinet Planning Board (*naikaku kikakuin*) organized a Medical Student Patriotic Association (*igakuto hōkoku kyōkai*; MPA). This MPA recruited 500 medical students from 23 institutions and dispatched them to 100 doctorless villages. The Harada Charity Foundation (*harada sekizenkai*) paid the expenses for this enterprise, while the Welfare Ministry prioritized the delivery of medical supplies to this project. The documents these students produced would be the basis for subsequent policy-making by the Welfare Ministry. Twenty Tōdai students participated in this service trip to Nagano and Mie.¹¹⁸ This project continued until the end of the war. In 1942, the MPA went to doctorless rural villages, factories, and hospitals. In 1943, the MPA went to Saitama and Nagano. In Nagano in 1942 Tōdai MPA students diagnosed and treated residents of doctorless villages, and administered physical tests. Also, they held hygiene roundtable discussions to enable village staff to purvey knowledge in hygiene.¹¹⁹

One of the villages Tōdai MPA students worked for had a medical practitioner who received 1,200 yen per month until 1941, but the village became doctorless in 1942. This state-led health regime did not pay medical practitioners enough to lure them to settle in rural areas permanently. But, the state could mobilize students in medicine to

¹¹⁷ Kekkaku yobōkai and dainihon sangyō hōkokukai, ed. *Kaki Igakuto Kekkaku Yobō Jitsumuhan Hōkokusho* (Tokyo 1942), 2.

¹¹⁸ “Muison ni Shinryō no Te: Konka Igakuto Gohyakumei wo Haken,” *IUN*, June 16, 1941, 6; “Muison ni Shinryō no Te: Hongaku wa Nagano, Mie e,” *IUN*, July 7, 1941, 7.

¹¹⁹ “Muison ni Natsu no Kaihō: Kotoshi mo Zenkoku de Igakuto Dōin,” *IUN*, July 6, 1942, 5; “Muison e Shuppatsu, Igakuto Hōkokutai: Kakuhan, Nōson Chōsa mo Susumu,” *IUN*, August 2, 1943, 3.

cover the loopholes.¹²⁰ In this process, though precariously, the health regime for gentlemen or desk workers at Tōdai spread to extra-collegiate society in the early 1940s.

X. Transwar Continuity and Discontinuity

The TMC program served as a gatekeeper to middle-class mobility, saving economically modest students from heavy medical expenses and propagating middle-class hygiene as applied to neurotic breakdown, tuberculosis, and syphilis. This function continued throughout the war. TMC doctors kept working, treating students at the clinic. Between April and June, 1942, under the National Fitness Law, the TMC checked the physical condition, athletic capability, and potential diseases of students under the age of 25. Also, in March 1942, the TMC continued the erstwhile physical test under the supervision of the Education Ministry and issued health certificates for students who were applying for jobs, admissions, and funding opportunities.¹²¹

Tōdai authorities developed middle-class hygiene in more specific disciplines through the lecture series of the Welfare Department of the Zengakukai in student health. Lectures repeated the contents of the 1932 pamphlet, *Guidebook on Student Health*. These lecturers also explained the proper way of preventing tuberculosis, syphilis, and neurotic breakdown, while providing guidance on how to manage desk work, meals, and leisure. For instance, Uchimura Yūshi, a professor in mental hygiene, emphasized the necessity of moderate care especially for the brains of “the knowledge class,” which were

¹²⁰ Igakuto hōkoku kyōkai, ed. *Shōwa Jūshichi Nendo Igakuto Hōkokutai Nōsonhan Hōkoku* (Tokyo 1943), 178-79.

¹²¹ Tōkyō teikoku daigaku zengakukai rigakubukai, ed. *Tōkyō Teikoku Daigaku Rigakubu Binran* (Tokyo: 1942), 87-88.

easily susceptible to mental disorder.¹²² The focus of the management was, still, neurotic breakdown. Likewise, Shōji Yoshiharu, an eye specialist at Tōdai, talked of how to maintain retinal health during desk work. Kagawa Shōzō explained the most efficient way of eating for students, i.e., how to take a large number of calories for a small amount of money during the war. Tamiya Takeo explained how to prevent epidemics such as tuberculosis through vaccination. Hirayama Takashi, an engineering professor at Tōdai, explained how to arrange the amount of sunshine and control the quality of air. Also, Takahashi Akira at Tōdai clarified how to prevent venereal disease.¹²³ Compared to the discourse of TMC doctors in 1932, these lecturers rarely implied that their audience was middle-class in explaining how to prevent tuberculosis and venereal diseases. However, TMC doctors were functionally guarding middle-class citizens at Tōdai, and Tōdai students remained the most privileged and supported consumers of medical services and knowledge in wartime Japan.

As the state disciplined and mobilized students for fighting, these citizens' middle-class lives were destroyed. Students served as manual laborers (still supposedly for “physical discipline”) longer than the length of time originally specified for that purpose. By 1943, the spirit of noble obligation in labor service became challenged as the state ordered students to produce rice and potatoes. Another form of noble obligation, students' provision of medical treatment, made medical services available to populations

¹²² Uchimura Yūshi, *Gakusei Seikatsu to Zunō no Hoken* (Tokyo: Tōkyō teikoku daigaku zengakukai, Unidentified), 5-12.

¹²³ Shōji Yoshiharu, *Senji Ka ni Okeru Me no Hoken* (Tokyo: Tōkyō teikoku daigaku zengakukai, Unidentified); Kagawa Shōzō, *Gakusei to Eiyō No Jissai* (Tokyo: Tōkyō teikoku daigaku zengakukai, Unidentified), 51-54; Tamiya Takeo, *Densenbyō to Yobō Sesshu* (Tokyo: Tōkyō teikoku daigaku zengakukai, Unidentified); Hirayama Takashi, *Sumikata no Chishiki* (Tokyo: Tōkyō teikoku daigaku zengakukai, Unidentified); Takahashi Akira, *Seibyō no Igakuteki Chishiki* (Tokyo: Tōkyō teikoku daigaku zengakukai, Unidentified).

hitherto alienated from the modern medical system, but this program also did not work properly toward the end of the war. In October 1943, MPA students came to learn military medicine and worked in military hospitals afterward. In March 1944, the Tōdai MPA organized three units and worked in army and navy hospitals in Tokyo and Yokosuka. In July 1944, the Education Ministry once more ordered medical students to work in military hospitals for two months. In October 1944, first- and second-year students were summoned to take care of the health of fellow (non-medical) students doing labor service in factories.¹²⁴ From late 1943, students in humanities, economics, and law lost the privilege to suspend their military services during college years and were sent to the battlefield, which was, in a sense, the culmination of their labor service. The war accelerated the development of a nationwide hygiene administration, but toward its end, it also destroyed middle-class citizens, the very agents of the process.

Japan's defeat and the beginning of the Occupation marked another turning point in the administrative history of health in Japan. After the defeat, the Japan Medical Foundation and the labor service program became stigmatized as agents of the state's exploitation and were dismantled by SCAP authorities in the name of "democratization." The National Health Insurance Cooperatives included 95 percent of the total population, but their affiliation rate fell drastically after the defeat, and recovered only in the late 1970s.

Despite the institutional discontinuity across 1945, however, the social consensus

¹²⁴ "Gunigaku wo Jisshū: Ikagakuto Hōkokutai Yōkō Naru," *IUN*, October 25, 1943, 1; "San Han de Gun Byōin e: Yonenjisei Sanshūkan Shutsudō," *IUN*, March 6, 1944, 3; "Hyakuyonjūmei Shutsudō, Chūjun kara Nikagetsu," *IUN*, July 11, 1944, 1; "Chikaku Igakuto mo Shutsudō, Teigakunensei Kenkōkanri ni Ichiyaku wo Kahi, Kefu Monbushō Daigakugawa de Gutaiteki Shingi," *IUN*, October 11, 1944, 1.

on the necessity of health insurance was not scrapped. The hospitals created by the Greater Japan Medical Foundation were handed over to civil managers but remained as a vendor of medical services for members of the National Health Insurance Cooperatives. As historian Ikai Shūhei pointed out, a relatively large number of Japanese medical doctors tended to open their own hospitals, but medical services became a public good, the consumption of which the state promoted beyond the boundaries of the middle class.

The efforts of Tōdai and the wartime state for health management contributed to the standardization and dissemination of student health centers at Japanese universities. Until 1937, even some privileged universities, such as Tōhoku Imperial University, did not have a student medical center. But, under the National Physical Strength Law, all student medical centers at universities began to attend to their students' physical condition so that they could be good white-collar workers and soldiers. Although the Japan Medical Foundation disappeared after 1945, student medical centers at universities continued to manage student health.

Tōdai collegiate society was a critical space in the birth of the health idea as a middle-class value. Tōdai had intellectuals who knew Western languages and introduced knowledge of European hygiene practices to Japan, and produced medical practitioners who could produce medical knowledge and construct a school hygiene administration system. Also, Tōdai had the most privileged medical facilities and practitioners who supported the management of the TMC. Moreover, Tōdai students claimed their access to the fledgling health culture. Central Gakuyūkai staff and student radicals asked for the establishment of the TMC and, by fighting the university authorities surrounding

Shirokiya, facilitated the birth of a food hygiene administration. In this way, Tōdai professors and students worked both as agents of middling and social reformers, making Tōdai a fortress of class-based health culture.

The rise of health culture at Tōdai actually coincided with the birth of the other persona of the middle class. The Tōdai community had students in the process of middle-class mobility, who needed cheaper medical services, as did the lower-class population. They surfaced as the recipients of middle-class activism for the accessibility of medical services. The TMC represented the intersection of these privileged resources and the on-campus vision for actual-expense clinics. Tōdai students had an ambiguous class status between the privileged and the protected in the elongated process of middle-class formation. In this way, health management became a welfare benefit in Tōdai collegiate society.

Having taken root in Tōdai collegiate society, the TMC began to institutionalize health as a class value in middle-class mobility through Tōdai. TMC practitioners evaluated students' health when they tried to enter Tōdai and get jobs. In so doing, they inculcated students in how to manage living as mental-worker "gentlemen," in coping with tuberculosis, venereal diseases, and neurotic breakdown. In this process, TMC practitioners produced statistics about the health condition of Tōdai students, which immediately stimulated further investment in facilities of Tōdai authorities for the TMC. The statistics further stimulated Tōdai authorities to develop a hygiene campaign of on-campus calisthenics, sports, and labor service from the late 1930s. In this way, students' health was also statistically gauged and institutionally managed.

Tōdai collegiate society also provided the model and the human resources for the

rise of the wartime health regime. Students of Tōdai Medicine participated in the TS program and experimented with a predecessor program of National Health Insurance. As the state negotiated with Tōdai students over the nature of labor service, Tōdai students' voluntary labor service programs became the model of state-led labor service programs that incorporated people beyond the walls of higher educational institutions. Also, by joining in the state's initiatives to disseminate medical services and health management programs, Tōdai students of medicine provided medical services to residents in doctorless villages in early 1940s Japan.

The war stimulated the dissemination of medical services and practices, but the bombs falling over Japan checked this development. The labor service program finally came to focus on the exploitation of students' manual labor and military medicine from late 1943. However, the destructive two years between 1943 and 1945 could not shake the social consensus on the necessity of cheaper health and better medical care.

Throughout the transwar period, Tōdai authorities and the Japanese state reinforced and standardized services at student medical centers. Tōdai students were among the biggest initiators and beneficiaries of this process, making the Japanese middle class healthier and diluting the class-based nature of health culture.

Conclusion: Higher Education and the Middle Class in Modern Japan

By focusing on student life, this dissertation has shown how Tōdai became a critical site of middle-class formation in modern Japan. In this small universe, professors and students developed middle-class institutions of education, consumption, welfare, leisure, and health. Capitalizing on their linguistic access to a fledgling global middle-class culture, professors, alumni, and students embraced the middle-class vision of a liberal-arts and professional education and created an educational-employment pipeline, the RSC, student welfare programs, the TAA, and a student medical center. In so doing, they claimed a legitimate distinction from old elites and the uneducated by creating notions of efficiency and propriety in the management of living.

In this process, the experience of higher education surfaced as a critical gateway to middle-class culture. By going to university, students could receive a liberal-arts and professional education, purchase books cheaply, take privileged part-time opportunities, cheaper housing, student funding, join sports clubs, systematically manage their health, and join white-collar professions. The reverse was also true. Middle-class institutions of consumption, leisure, health, and welfare enabled students to advance to the next stage of their life—higher level schools or white-collar employment. In this way, the nexus of middle-class values and practices at Tōdai were closely intertwined in students' lived reality at higher educational institutions.

Paying attention to the birth of this nexus of middle-class values and practices at Tōdai, this dissertation has shown how the middle class and Japanese social politics were co-constituted. Middle-class values were a critical source in creating the legitimate

distinction of middling citizens who tried to create institutional support for their middle-class formation. Tōdai collegiate society was the symbolic locus in the birth of these social politics. Tōdai students embraced the idea of efficient consumption, created the RSC, and saved expenses for higher education and campus life that enabled students to become middle-class. Tōdai students and professors embraced the idea of preventive medicine, created a student medical center, and managed their health as they progressed through higher education and white-collar employment. Tōdai students and university authorities embraced a vision of middle-class welfare, created welfare programs, and economically supplemented the budgets of students. Tōdai alumni and students embraced the idea of amateur sports, managed the TAA, and provided students with sporting opportunities. In other words, middle-class values and practices were driving forces in the making of the middle class, as well as products of the fledgling middle class. The middle class has never been a fixed social category, but was constantly reinvented by students' legitimate distinction of middle-class values.

The birth of middle-class social politics directly stems from Tōdai students, alumni, and professors—the core of the Japanese middle class whose proficiency in Western languages enabled them to embrace the fledgling global middle-class culture. The visions of professional and liberal-arts training, consumer cooperatives, student welfare, amateur sports, and the student medical center were imported from the West. Tōdai collegiate society, which was connected to the West through human exchange and academic research, was a critical laboratory of middle-class institutions. In this vein, Tōdai collegiate society was part of the global culture of the middle class as it developed a middle-class culture in the Japanese context.

In this process, Tōdai students and professors proved to be a source for social transformation. The idea of the consumer cooperative was developed in the social insurance programs and controlled economy of wartime Japan. The vision of amateur sports and preventive medicine became the source of the health regime in wartime Japan. The across-the-board state influence in this transition paradoxically reveals the absence of the state and the centrality of middle-class citizens in interwar class politics. Tōdai professors and students led social reform in Tōdai collegiate society in the interwar period, and joined the state in expanding middle-class institutions beyond the walls of the university during the wartime. In short, the middle class were the creators, beneficiaries, and reformers of middle-class visions, making the middle-class practices of student welfare relevant to people beyond the walls of the university as well.

I. Transwar Education Reform

As middle-class values were institutionalized as proper principles of living and welfare benefits became thought of as necessary for everybody, the uneven and limited access to higher education began to be questioned and revised. In pre-1945 Japan, the biggest obstacle that constrained the expansion of higher education was the multi-track school ladder which allowed only middle-school students, who comprised only 15 to 20 percent of the total student population at elementary schools, to advance to high schools and universities. Also, only a limited number of middle-school students entered high schools and universities. Even after the expansion of high school education in interwar Japan, only one to two percent of the total student population entered universities.

As explored in Chapter one, from the beginning of the nineteenth century politicians and educators envisioned shortening the school year, expanding middle schools, and integrating vocational and high schools into universities.¹ Voices for gender equality in higher education had existed already in the 1880s,² and in the 1920s this vision began to be crystallized as a reform plan within education circles. In 1928, the Imperial Capital Education Society (*teito kyōikukai*) demanded identical access to educational institutions for both sexes, even high schools and universities.³ In the 1930s, party politicians joined this discussion. In 1934, Seiyūkai and Minseitō politicians advocated equality of educational opportunity and shortening the length of education.⁴ In pursuit of these agendas they envisioned the incorporation of high schools, vocational schools, and universities into a single category of university.⁵

Tōdai collegiate society had also been a leading locus of the discussion on education reform by the 1930s. As noted in chapter one, many members of the 1916 Temporary Council of Education were from Tōdai, but they were resistant to the expansion of higher education. But, in 1916, they endorsed the expansion of high-school education, and during the early 1930s some Tōdai professors envisioned the reform of the school system during the wartime period. In 1930, Abe Shigetaka, a professor of the Education Department of Tōdai Humanities, organized an Education Research Group

¹ “Gakunen Tanshuku Mondai Kakutei Su,” *Kyōiku Jiron* 341 (1894). Kubota Yuzuru, “Gakusei Kaikaku Mondai no Suisei,” *Kyōiku Jiron* 607 (1910), 7; Monbushō, *Gakusei Kaikaku Shoan*, 1-16.

² During the 1880s, the Third High School proposed to the state a plan, to no avail, to admit female students. Yukawa Tsugiyoshi, *Kindai Nihon no Josei to Daigaku Kyōiku: Kyōiku Kikai Kaihō wo Meguru Rekishi* (Tokyo: Fuji shuppan, 2003).

³ In 1913, for the first time in Japanese history, female students exceptionally entered an Imperial University at Tōhoku. In the interwar period, calls for the equal access to higher educational institutions became not uncommon. For instance, Hiranuma Yoshirō, “Joshi no Kōtō Kyōiku to Daigaku no Kaihō,” *Kyōiku Jiron* 1225 (1919); Monbushō, *Gakusei Kaikaku Shoan*, 17.

⁴ Monbushō, *Gakusei kaikaku shoan*, 79.

⁵ Monbushō, *Gakusei kaikaku shoan*, 80-81, 84-85.

(*kyōiku kenkyūkai*), which would function as a key organization in wartime education reform. Also, the *Imperial University News* published a series of discussions among Tōdai professors on the nature of higher education and education reform.⁶

Soon, a bigger platform of education reform was taking shape in the late 1930s. In 1937, Abe Shigetaka led the upgrading of the Education Research Group to the Education Reformer Society (*kyōiku kaikaku dōshikai*), an auxiliary organization to the Shōwa Research Group and an unofficial advisory organization for the Konoe Cabinet. Gotō Ryūnosuke, a leader of the Shōwa Research Group, Abe Shigetaka, a professor of Tōdai Humanities, Tazawa Yoshinobu, a leader of the Greater Japan Youth Association (*dainihon seinendan*), Kimura Masayoshi, a Seiyūkai politician, and Nishimura Fusatarō, a leader of the Association of Middle-school Principals, joined Abe. This Council produced a reform proposal in 1937 which envisioned the establishment of a three-level education system, i.e. elementary schools, middle schools, and universities. Within this, compulsory middle-level education would help with the “character building of the masses” and their vocational training.⁷ Soon, this group gained access to the official decision making process. The Konoe Cabinet established the Educational Council (*kyōiku shingikai*), a cabinet advisory council for education reform.⁸ Members of this organization, consisting of bureaucrats, party politicians, education scholars, and school principals, envisioned the equal opportunity of education, vocational education, the improvement of normal schools, the establishment of student funding, and shortening the

⁶ Teikoku daigaku shinbunsha henshūbu, *Daigaku no Unmei to Shimei*; Teikoku daigaku shinbunsha, ed. *Gakusei Kaikakuron* (Tokyo: Teikoku daigaku shinbunsha, 1934); Teikoku daigaku shinbunsha henshūbu, ed. *Kyōiku Shintaisei no Kenkyū* (Tokyo: Teikoku daigaku shinbunsha, 1944).

⁷ Monbushō, *Gakusei Kaikaku Shoan*, 133-148.

⁸ “Sannensei Chūtō gakkō,” *Tokyo Asahi Shinbun*, November 19, 1938, 2; “Sannensei Chūgakkō Iyoiyo Jitsugen Sen: Ippan Jōkyū Gakkō e Renraku,” *Tokyo Asahi Shinbun*, November 26, 1938, 2.

length of education.⁹ In this way, the middle-class vision of higher education and its expansion took root as an agenda of wartime social politics.

These reform plans could not easily be realized due to financial reasons and the objections of those affected by the plans. Educators at high schools strongly objected to reductions in the length of high-school education.¹⁰ The decrease in the length of middle-school education encountered the firm objections of middle-school principals as well.¹¹ Educational institutions were not just a ladder for social aspirants but the workplace of numerous teachers and educators whose interests lay in keeping their white-collar jobs. Neither did these proposals receive unanimous support from educational reformers. Abe Shigetaka himself was cautious about concentrating reformers' energies in shortening the length of middle-school education given that only a limited portion of middle-school students advanced to high schools in prewar Japan.¹² Kawai Eijirō, a professor of Tōdai Economics, argued against shortening the length of high-school education on the grounds that it would not provide sufficient character-building during high-school years.¹³ Last but not the least, the power of education reformers in the 1930s was not sufficient to overcome the resistance of these interested educators and push this reform through.

⁹ “Konponteki Kaikakuan Juritsu ga Kyūmu,” *Tokyo Asahi Shinbun*, April 9, 1938, 2; “Shihankō Kaizen Yōkō Naru, Shūgyō Nengen wa Sannen,” *Tokyo Asahi Shinbun*, November 11, 1938, 2.

¹⁰ When Ministry of Education bureaucrats tried to shorten the length of high school education from three to two years, high-school principals showed collective dissent against this initiative. “Daigaku Yokaan Hantai: Kōkōchōkaigi,” *Tokyo Asahi Shinbun*, August 30, 1931, 2; “Kōkō Ninensei, Zettai Fuka,” *Tokyo Asahi Shinbun*, May 17, 1934, 2; “Gennaikaku no Kitosuru Gakusei Kaikaku ni Isshi: Zenkoku Kōkōchō Kaigi Owaru,” *IUN*, May 21, 1934, 5.

¹¹ “Chūgaku Yonen Hantai, Kōchō Daihyō Chinjō,” *Tokyo Asahi Shinbun*, July 6, 1935, 2; Instead, they demanded the abolition of high schools and the expansion of middle-school education from five to six years. Hyakuhachijū shichi chūgaku kōchō, “Gakusei Kaikaku ni Kansuru Kengi,” *Kyōiku Jiron*, no. 1075 (1915): 21. Ozawa Tsuneichi, “Zenkoku Chūgakukōchō Kyōkai no Gakusei Keitō Kaiseian no Hihan,” *Kyōiku jiron*, no. 1600 (1929): 5; Monbushō, *Gakusei Kaikaku Shoan*, 95-100.

¹² Teikoku daigaku shinbunsha, *Gakusei Kaikakuron*, 62-63.

¹³ Kawai Eijirō, “Kōtōgakkōron: Nengen Tanshukuron no Gobyū,” *IUN*, March 4, 1935, 3.

The critical momentum for educational reform came only in the early 1940s when the swift production of “human resources” became an urgent agenda in Japan. In pursuit of more soldiers in October 1941, the government decided to shorten the length of university education by up to six months. Students were to be conscripted immediately after graduating from universities or vocational schools.¹⁴ At Tōdai, the graduation ceremony in 1941 was scheduled for December, two months earlier than the previous year. In order to maintain the quality of education, the Ministry of Education envisioned the abolition of the summer vacation.¹⁵ The length of high- and middle-school education was shortened as well. In December 1941, the Ministry of Education decided to cut six months from the three-year-long high school education by decreasing the length of the summer vacation by 66 percent.¹⁶ In August 1942, the Ministry of Education further cut the length of high-school education to two years, while the length of middle-school education was also cut from five to four years, with these changes to be applied from the academic year of 1943.¹⁷ This initiative brought an unexpected consequence for the expansion of universities; from 1947, students who entered middle schools in 1942 and 1943 would apply for high schools together. The Ministry of Education planned for the establishment of additional universities to digest this expected increase in the number of university applicants.¹⁸

¹⁴ “Gakuto no Kokubō Dōin ni Zaigaku, Shūgyō wo Tanshuku,” *IUN*, October 20, 1941, 1.

¹⁵ “Yūkan Tsuihō Shita Natsuyasumi,” *IUN*, December 8, 1941, 7.

¹⁶ “Kōkō Ichi Nen wo Nigakkisei ni,” *IUN*, December 8, 1941, 6.

¹⁷ “Kakkiteki Gakusei Kaikakuan Naru, Kōkō, Daigaku Yoka wa Ninen, Chū Tōkō wa Yonen ni Tanshuku,” *Tokyo Asahi Shinbun*, August 22, 1942, 1.

¹⁸ “Daigaku no Kakuchō wo Yōi: Jū Fuku no Kōkō Sotsugyōsei Kyūshū ni,” *IUN*, September 7, 1942, 1.

This initiative met an unexpected opportunity under the Occupation authorities after Japan's defeat in 1945 when the structure of the school system was streamlined to support the equality of educational opportunity. As the Occupation authorities invited education reform specialists such as the U.S. Education Mission in 1946, these U.S. educators began to discuss a basic agenda with Japanese educators in March 1946. Before meeting U.S. educators, Japanese educators led by Nanbara Shigeru, the first postwar president of Tōdai, produced their own reform plans (see Table C.1).¹⁹ Nanbara, in place of Abe Shigetaka who passed away in 1939, led an intra-collegiate reform organization called the Tōdai Education System Research Committee, consisting of Tōdai professors such as Toda Teizō.²⁰ This group produced their own reform plan, which followed the 5-3-3-4 system, i.e. five years of elementary-school education, three years of middle-school education, three years of high-school education, and four years of university education, which was similar to Nanbara's own plans.²¹

Table C.1: Roster of the Japanese Educators Committee (*nihon kyōikuka iinkai*)²²

Name	Selected Job Titles
Amano Teiyū (1884-1980)	Professor at Kyōto Imperial University Principal of the First High School
Ariga Sanji (??)	Principal of Tokyo Ohira Youth School
Andō Masatsugu (1878-1952)	Professor at Taihoku Imperial University President of Taihoku Imperial University
Ueno Naoteru (1882-1973)	Professor at Keijō Imperial University, Professor at Kyūshū Imperial University Principal of the Tokyo Institution of Art
Ōshima Masanori (1890-1947)	Tōdai Professor of Philosophy Chief of the Education Bureau, Tokyo City Director of the Imperial Education

¹⁹ Yamaguchi Shūzō, *Nanbara Shigeru to Sengo Kyōiku Kaikaku* (Tokyo: Tōshindō, 2009), 14.

²⁰ Tōkyō daigaku hyakunenshi hensan iinkai, *Tōkyō Daigaku Hyakunenshi: Tsūshi 3*, 18-28.

²¹ Yamaguchi, *Nanbara Shigeru to Sengo Kyōiku Kaikaku*, 16.

²² Recited from Yamaguchi, *Nanbara Shigeru to Sengo Kyōiku Kaikaku*, 256.

	Association Director of the Association of Education for Overseas Japanese
Ochiai Tarō (1886-1969)	Professor at Kyōto Imperial University
Kakinuma Kōsaku (1892-1952)	Tōdai Professor of Medicine
Kawai Michi (1877-1953)	Standing Director of the Japan YWCA Founder of the Keisen Women's University, High School, Middle School
Kawahara Shunsaku (1890-1971)	Advisor at the Privy Seal
Kosaki Michio (1888-1973)	Studied at Columbia and Yale Christian Preacher at Japan Kumiai Church Chairperson of the National Christian Council, Japan
Kido Mantarō (1893-1985)	Professor at Hōsei University Director of the Education Studies Section, Education Research Center Professor at Hokkaidō University
Hasegawa Nyozeikan (1875-1969)	Social Critique Journalist at Osaka Asahi Founder of the National Middle School Baseball Tournament Founder of Magazines (e.g. <i>We</i>)
Hayashi Kimio (1883-?)	Deputy of the President of Waseda University
Hoshino Ai (1884-1972)	President of the Tsudajuku Women's Vocational school
Mutai Risaku (1890-1974)	President of Tokyo College of Arts and Science (Tokyo Education College today)
Kumaki Suteji (?-?)	Principal of the First Tokyo Normal School
Kurahashi Sōzō (1882-1955)	Professor at Tokyo Female Normal School
Kobayashi Sumie (1886-1971)	Professor at Keiō
Komiya Toyotaka (1884-1966)	Principal of the Tokyo Institution of Music
Sano Toshikata	Emeritus Professor at Tōdai Engineering

(1880-1956)	CLRG member
Sawanobori Tetsuichi (?-?)	Principal of the Fifth Tokyo Middle School
Shiono Naomichi (1898-1969)	Principal of the Kanazawa Higher Normal School
Takagi Yasaka (1889-1984)	Tōdai professor of Law
Toda Teizō (1887-1955)	Tōdai professor of Sociology
Torikai Risaburō (1887-1976)	President of Kyōto Imperial University
Nanbara Shigeru (1889-1974)	Tōdai President
Yanagi Muneyoshi (1889-1961)	President of the Japan Folk Arts Museum
Yano Tsuraki (1886-1974)	President of Meiji Gakuin Vocational school
Yamagiwa Taketoshi (?-?)	Principal of Tokyo Nishida Elementary School

Originally the U.S. Education Mission, led by George Stoddard, did not intend to change the existing school system in Japan, which consisted of six years of elementary schooling and five years of middle school or equivalent, such as youth schools. However, in his meeting with George Stoddard, Nanbara Shigeru proposed a simplified 6-3-3-4 system. Nanbara advocated this reform initiative in defense of “equality of educational opportunities.” Soon, Nanbara and Takagi Yasaka, a fellow Tōdai law professor, had another meeting with Robert Hall of the Civil Information and Education Section (CI & E) of the General Headquarters, and together they produced the six basic agendas of education reform (see Table C.2).²³

Table C.2: Six Agendas produced by Nanbara and Hall, March 25, 1946²⁴

²³ Gary Hoichi Tsuchimochi, *Education Reform in Postwar Japan: The 1946 U.S. Education Mission* (Tokyo: University of Tokyo Press, 1993); Yamaguchi, *Nanbara Shigeru to Sengo Kyōiku Kaikaku*, 9-10.

²⁴ *Ibid.*, 11.

1. Educational reform for massification (<i>taishūka</i>) and popularization (<i>minshūka</i>)
2. The abolition of existing high schools, and introduction of a unilinear school system
3. The abolition of the gap between vocational schools and universities
4. The establishment of research institutions at all universities
5. Nine years of compulsory education, and the integration of all middle-level institutions into middle schools
6. Three schools: Six years of elementary education, six years of middle-level education, and universities.

Soon, these plans were forwarded to the Education Renovation Committee (*kyōiku sasshin iinkai*), which was established in August 1946 and was also led by Nanbara. The plans were swiftly institutionalized from 1948. As middle-school education became compulsory, the bottleneck between the compulsory education and higher education in prewar Japan finally disappeared. The simplification of the school system, an old dream of education reformers in prewar Japan, was finally achieved through the assistance of the Americans. The entire Japanese population was now eligible to compete to enter the arena of higher education and achieve white-collar status.

This reform accompanied the establishment of a Fundamental Law of Education (*kyōiku kihon hō*) in 1947. The law defined the purpose of education as “character training for the building of a peaceful and democratic nation and society,” and the purpose of university education as “building the high-level liberal arts and professional skills...which will contribute to social development.”²⁵ Also, the law stipulated the principle of equality of educational opportunity. This law prohibited any kind of discrimination in educational opportunity based on race, ideology, gender, social and economic status. Student funding was provided as a countermeasure against economic barriers to education for the poor. Private universities were supposed to assume a critical

²⁵ Monbushō, *Kyōiku Kihonhō*, Tokyo: Monbushō, 1947.

role in the popularization of university education. The eighth article of this law stipulated the “important role” private schools were to assume in the context of the popularization of education. In this way, a group of privileged national universities including Tōdai, and some private universities admitted social aspirants. Following the Japanese empire, this pattern appeared also in colonial and postcolonial Korea and Taiwan.

II. Class Formation at Tōdai: A Snap Shot in 1955 and 1960

Why did students apply to Tōdai? To answer this question, one author at the *Tōdai Student Newspaper* consulted a questionnaire distributed by the National Student Culture League (*zenkoku gakusei bunka rengō*) in 1955. According to students’ answers to this questionnaire, 35 percent of students simply said “because it’s a good school.” 28.1 percent noted that the “school that fit their individuality.” 16.4 percent responded with, “schools that do not cost much,” while nine percent noted the “easy employment.” This author noted that Tōdai met three qualifications which explained the high rate of competition to enter Tōdai namely “goodness,” deriving from good professors and facilities, cheaper costs, and easy employment. In the early 1950s, there were usually seven or eight applicants per position available.²⁶ In other words, Tōdai was “good,” cheap, inspiring, and privileged enough to attract student applications, acutely serving social aspirants who were economically modest but coveted white-collar status. As this author assumed, in 1955, Tōdai boasted a high employment rate, 93 percent, which may

²⁶ Recited from “Akamon no Iriguchi to Deguchi,” *Tōkyō Daigaku Gakusei Shinbun*, May 30, 1955, 9.

have contributed to this attraction.²⁷ The social aspiration for white-collar employment through a university education, stimulated by compulsory middle-school education and a high rate of advancement from middle to high schools, buttressed the popularization and universalization of university education. In Japan, 15 percent of the total age grade entered university in the 1960s, and increasing to 50 percent in the 2000s, which educational sociologist Martin Trow considered a descriptor of mass and universal higher education respectively.²⁸

It is noteworthy that more than one-third of responses were tautological. Applicants applied to privileged universities because they were “good.” In other words, the privilege of Tōdai began to be taken for granted in this process, which other universities could hardly challenge. A high school student noted that “everybody blindly follows the name of Tōdai...For high-school students like us, Tōdai is an absolute.” Another student questioned “why do they say Tōdai, Tōdai? Human ability cannot be evaluated by the result of test scores...However, when considering my future, I envy Tōdai entrants.”²⁹ In the eyes of researchers at the Student Issue Research Center (*gakusei mondai kenkyūjo*), students “did not consider individuality.” 88 percent of newcomers to the Faculty of Liberal Arts (*kyōyō gakubu*) at Tōdai who responded to this survey had information about the difficulty of the entrance examinations, 85 percent learned of the recruitment criteria, and 65 percent the prospective employment of graduates. But, only 20 percent of students learned about “the content of the departments

²⁷ Ibid.

²⁸ Martin Trow, *Twentieth-Century Higher Education: Elite to Mass to Universal* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2010), 94.

²⁹ “Juken ni Yugamu Tōdaikan: Mazu Gōkaku ga Kōkōsei no Koe”, *Tōkyō Daigaku Gakusei Shinbun*, November 21, 1955, 8.

they entered.”³⁰ This blind application can also be found in employment practices.

University students, including Tōdai students, generally tended to apply for big corporations. In 1955, the Student Department of the University Research Bureau at the Ministry of Education, conducted a survey of 403 students (144 undergraduate students and 259 graduate students) to find out what kind of jobs students wanted. Most students hoped to enter big corporations in Tokyo and Yokohama without much reflection.³¹

By 1960, a system whereby students graduated into white-collar status through their Tōdai education had taken firm root in Japanese society. The *Tōdai Newspaper* explained to students how to fund and enjoy campus life through part-time work, scholarship opportunities, and the student medical center.³² Scholarships, support from families, and part-timing were considered three pillars of a “life based on student discounts (*gakuwari jinsei*),”³³ a neologism that points to the widespread discount privileges for students. The number of employers grew dramatically during the early 1950s, and finally the employment rate at Tōdai reached almost 100 percent as the market became favorable to applicants (*urite shijō*). The diversification of employers for Humanities students finally became systematized. In 1961, 35 companies approached the Faculty of Humanities in pursuit of job applications.³⁴ Students of Law and Economics enjoyed competitive recruitment from roughly 200 companies and the support of

³⁰ “Tōdaisei no Uketa Nyūshi Shidō,” *Tōkyō Daigaku Shinbun*, June 24, 1959, 6.

³¹ “Gakugakubu no Kyūnin Jōkyō,” *Tōkyō Daigaku Gakusei Shinbun*, September 19, 1955, 9; “Dai Kigyō Shibō ga Attōteki: Shūshoku Jōkyō Chōsa Okonawareru,” *Tōkyō Daigaku Gakusei Shinbun*, November 21, 1955, 2.

³² “Gaidansu,” *Tōkyō Daigaku Gakusei Shinbun*, March 25, 1957, 5.

³³ “Gakuwari Jinsei wo Sasaeru,” *Tōkyō Daigaku Gakusei Shinbun*, March 25, 1957, 3.

³⁴ “Shūshoku Shūkei Matomaru, Zengakubu Hobo 100%,” *Tōkyō Daigaku Shinbun*, November 16, 1960, 5; “Kyūninsaki wa Chūshōkigyō Chūshin: Kōchō na no wa Shakai, Shinri Gakka,” *Tōkyō Daigaku Shinbun*, July 10, 1961, 1; “Urite Shijō no Shūshoku Sensen,” *Tōkyō Daigaku Shinbun*, July 10, 1961, 1.

university authorities who advised on job searches.³⁵ By 1960, a sense of leisure could be found in the consciousness of Tōdai students. In 1960, an author at the *Tōdai Newspaper* observed that students were less-motivated in the classroom based on the consideration that they would be “salaried workers” however they did academically.³⁶ White-collar status was no longer a monopoly of the “winners” of educational credentialism. This was also true at other universities. The performance of graduates from universities and lower-level schools was closely monitored by the Ministry of Education which conducted an annual survey (*gakkō kihon chōsa*) since 1948. According to this, from the 1960s to the 1980s, roughly 80 percent of university graduates landed white-collar jobs immediately after graduation. Along with the “disappearance of working-class identity,” a phenomenon in which workers denied their working-class status and cooperated with white-collar staff in the workplace rather than advocating for the interests of the working class,³⁷ the expansion of the white-collar population and their culture constituted a driving force in the rise of a mass-middle-class society, or a classless nation with a shared middle-class identity, in postwar Japan.

III. Education Defining the Middle Class

Tōdai was a critical locus in the formation and evolution of the idea of the middle-class in modern Japan. Credentials from Tōdai became the ticket to both new

³⁵ “Kakugakubu no Kyūnin Jōkyō,” *Tōkyō Daigaku Gakusei Shinbun*, September 19, 1955, 1.

³⁶ “Dōsei Sararīman,” *Tōkyō Daigaku Shinbun*, February 10, 1960, 3.

³⁷ Andrew Gordon, “Conditions for the Disappearance of the Japanese Working Class Movement,” in *Putting Class in Its Place: Worker Identities in East Asia*, ed. Elizabeth J. Perry (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1996).

class culture and to white-collar careers in the late nineteenth century. The typical middle class persona—the gentleman and the salaried worker—assumed an experience of higher education which built character and provided preparation for jobs. From the beginning, the middle-class ideal had a strongly meritocratic connotation, and thus, in itself, was fluid. These two components of elite status, i.e., gentlemanly character and a white-collar career, were social values that the masses could pursue mediated by their meritocratic competition to enter educational institutions.

In this process, class-formation became more and more important in class experience. The rise of the educational-employment pipeline at Tōdai created a standardized life path of middle-class citizens, which made being and becoming middle-class a life-long pursuit. Social aspirants had to invest a good amount of money into their higher education in order to become members of the middle-class, in order to reproduce their class-identity in the life of their children. The years spent in education institutions comprised a quarter of the expected lifespan of salaried workers who graduated from universities. Now the status of cultural elites was an object of consumption for which social aspirants had to mobilize their resources and capitalize on the assistance of middle-class institutions at universities and extra-collegiate society.

If students relied on student loans during their college years, oftentimes students struggled to pay back the loans over many years. In 1960, the Tōdai newspaper featured the plans of three students to pay back their student loans.³⁸ An anonymous student at Tōdai law received a student loan of 20,000 yen for his fourth year, which he planned to pay back in twenty years (although he found that he had only four years according to the

³⁸ The following stories are from “Shōgakukin to Iu Shakkin: Sannin no Henkan Keikaku wo Kiku,” *Tōkyō Daigaku Shinbun*, January 13, 1960, 3.

terms of the loan). His idea was to save his bonus. Another student at the Faculty of Humanities received loans from a corporation, the Japan Student Funding Society, and his relatives. He got a job as a newspaper journalist, a well-paying job compared to other white-collar jobs, but he felt that his repayment burden of roughly 50,000 yen per year was too much. He expected his life before repaying the loans to be tough. A fourth year female student at Tōdai Humanities whose father had passed away before her entrance to the university received a student loan of 66,000 yen and became an editor at a publishing company. Her salary was 168,000 yen per year, which was relatively modest in comparison to that of male workers, but she was planning to pay everything back in four years. She considered that repaying the loan was a prerequisite for an equal relationship with her potential husband. Tōdai was open to both sexes, but gender mattered for female students. To hasten the speed of repayment she did part-time work and tightened her budget during her college years. But, paying back the loans was a challenge for university graduates. Roughly ten percent of student loans were not paid back, according to the Japanese Student Funding Society.³⁹ To these students, the class-formation process did not end with their graduation. Under these circumstances, the interwar version of the middle-class ideal, economically modest but culturally elite, was further strengthened. Education was an essential ticket to white-collar status, but it was an expensive ticket that rendered its consumers economically modest and striving for class status for a long time in their lives. In this way, education was becoming an essential part of the formation of the middle class, and eventually the single most distinctive feature of white-collar life.

³⁹ Ibid.

IV. Education and a Declassified Lifestyle

While educational opportunities became divorced from class status, education itself also blurred the distinction of the middle class. The expansion of higher education gave birth to two different effects. The expanding educational-employment pipeline embraced jobs involving manual labor, shaking up the hierarchy of the social classes. As noted in chapter four, some students took on manual labor, i.e., sports, as their job. Some blue-collar jobs paid more than their white-collar counterparts. As sports purification activists sensitively noted, sporting celebrities earned more money in corporations. Also, some blue-collar skills came to require the complicated knowledge taught in schools. First-class pilots (*ittō hikōshi*) who had graduated from pilot schools, passed the second-class pilot test, and gained flight experience for longer than 100 hours received more than 200 yen per month from their employers, such as newspaper companies who were establishing a news production system in the 1930s.⁴⁰ The birth of educated, well-paid pilots reveals that these working-class jobs could actually create educational institutions. In postwar Japan, the prosperous sporting community came to have universities dedicated to sports, such as the Japan Sport Science University, established in 1949.

As the educational-employment pipeline incorporated both white- and blue-collar jobs, the institutional differentiation between these two worlds was also compromised. More students with modest means entered the educational-employment pipeline and embraced the welfare programs which were originally designated for workers, sometimes performing manual labor to lessen their economic burden. At the same time, the practice

⁴⁰ Jūmoku, *Shūshoku Senjutsu*, 371.

of paying wages as a salary had spread, by 1928, even to a clerk at fish shops (*sakanaya*), which was considered a working-class job. In short, the type of remuneration no longer distinguished educated salaried workers from blue-collar workers.⁴¹ During the war, workers were incorporated into the corporate welfare system and the salary gap between blue- and white-collar steadily decreased during the early postwar period, as did the cultural gap across the collar line.⁴²

This social integration entailed the dissemination of middle-class values in consumption, education, leisure, health management across the collar line. The spiritual connotation of the gentleman and the amateur faded away, and the management of middle-class living of all people became statistically gauged and institutionally managed. Also, during the wartime period, the lifestyle-management skills and values which had previously developed primarily on campus spread beyond the walls of the university. The war provided the momentum for middle-class institutions to begin to serve the whole nation, making efficient consumption, welfare, health, and education to be necessary values for engaging in the war. Paradoxically, the idea of the middle class almost disappeared from public discussion in wartime Japan, but its institutions surfaced as an urgent social agenda in wartime Japan.

V. The Crisis of the Japanese Middle Class

⁴¹ Maeda, *Sararīman Monogatari*, 2.

⁴² Ishikawa Akihiro, “Misekake no Chūryū ishiki”, in *Hirogaku Chūryū Ishiki*, ed. Hara Junsuke (Tokyo: Nihon tosho centā 2008), 145-46.

The social integration of the middle-class life course and culture produced a thick layer of people who consider themselves middle-class. Already in the 1960s, more than 80 percent of the Japanese identified themselves as middle-class. From the 1960s to the 2000s, the number of university entrants steadily increased and hit 50 percent of the total student population. In the 1950s the dissemination of three important home appliances—the television, refrigerator, and washing machine—enabled consumers to save time for reproductive labor and enjoy mass culture and leisure. Now wealth no longer seemed to keep people away from the middle-class lifestyle of the Japanese people.

However, a mass middle-class society is not without its headaches. Economic inequality and a malfunctioning social redistribution system surfaced as key topics in contemporary academia, while the health of the middle class is a key issue in election campaigns.⁴³ Since Tachibanaki Toshiaki raised the alarm about the “decline” of social equality in 1998,⁴⁴ scholars of Japan also have discussed the health of middle-class society.⁴⁵ Education, which had been considered a driving force in the birth of a mass middle-class society in postwar Japan, was at the center of this debate. Some scholars, including Kariya Takehiko, questioned the equality of educational opportunity by exploring a gap in incentives between the wealthy and the poor, which led to harder access to privileged universities for the poor.⁴⁶ Others pointed out the malfunctioning educational-employment pipeline. More than one-third of university graduates suffer

⁴³ Thomas Piketty, *Capital in the Twenty-First Century*, trans. Arthur Goldhammer (Cambridge, Mass.: Belknap Press, Harvard University, 2014). For the case of U.S. politics, see James and Greenberg Carville, Stan *It's the Middle Class, Stupid!* (New York: Plume, 2013).

⁴⁴ Tachibanaki Toshiaki, *Nihon No Keizai Kakusa: Shotoku to Shisan kara Kangaeru* (Tokyo: Iwanamishoten, 1998).

⁴⁵ For instance, Chūō kōron henshūbu, ed. *Ronsō, Chūryūhōkai* (Tokyo: Chūō kōronsha, 2001).

⁴⁶ Kariya Takehiko, *Kaisōka Nihon to Kyōiku Kiki: Fubyōdō Saiseisan kara Iyoku Kakusa Shakai e* (Tokyo: Yūshindō, 2001).

“non-stable (*hiseiki*)” employment, which means a deepening gap in income and lifestyle among the educated. The “freeter (*furītā*),” a person who does only part-time work even after graduating from a university, surfaced as a social symbol of the challenged function of universities as a locus of middle-class formation in Japan.⁴⁷

But, this is not the entire description of the current status of middle-class society in contemporary Japan. In the *Survey on Living Standards* conducted by the Cabinet in August 2013, 92 percent of the Japanese answered that they belonged to the middle class.⁴⁸ The share of the self-reported middle class in 2013 did not significantly change from that of the 1980s when 88 or 89 percent of the Japanese identified themselves as in the middle class. Despite the increasingly challenging economic situation in recent years, people’s self-identification as middle-class does not easily change. In short, middle-class consciousness cannot be explained only by one certain aspect of living in 2013.

Nor does the level of satisfaction for the current standard of living explain this high share of the self-reported middle-class population. In 2013, in response to the aforementioned survey, more than 30 percent of the Japanese said that they were not satisfied with their current standard of living. Throughout the post-1945 period, only 60 or 70 percent of the Japanese considered their living standards satisfying, which is far less than the 90 percent of the Japanese who identify themselves as in the middle class. In 2013, 43.7 percent reported that they were “satisfied” with their income, 38.7 percent with their property and saving, 72 percent with consumer durables, 86.5 percent with food, 78.7 percent with housing, 57.8 percent with leisure, and 56.1 percent with self-

⁴⁷ Kosugi Reiko, *Furītā to Iu Ikikata* (Tokyo: Keisō shobō, 2003); Mizuki Shōdō, *Kōgakureki Wākingupua: Furītā Seisan Kōjō to Shite no Daigakuin* (Tokyo: Kōbunsha, 2007).

⁴⁸ <http://www8.cao.go.jp/survey/h22/h22-life/2-1.html>

improvement. As Sudo Naoki pointed out, it is difficult to read why people consider themselves middle-class.⁴⁹ The economic hardship of these people, in other words, does not necessarily make them drop their middle-class consciousness.

In this setting of an institutionalized middle-class life, the middle class does not mean a certain living standard, but rather a certain lifestyle supported by a series of ubiquitous middle-class institutions. Are an absolute majority of the Japanese still embodying the modern living ideals of education, consumption, leisure, welfare, and health? As this dissertation explored, the focus of middle-class politics following the birth of the educational-employment pipeline was set on “how” to be the middle class. The middle class, like the *tennōsei* ideology, is a nexus of institutions for modern life. A mass middle-class society, in this sense, does not mean that everybody is actually “enjoying” a certain level of society. In this vein, whether the middle class is in crisis or not is not a meaningful question. From the birth of an institutionalized middle-class life course, the middle class, under economic pressure in pursuit of cultural distinction, has been struggling to create its supporting institutions, and will do so in the future in a new dynamism of social politics.

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B. Magazine

Asurechikkusu

Bunka seikatsu

Bunka seikatsu kenkyū

Chūō kōron

(*Shinjinkai*) *Demokurashī*

(*Shinjinkai*) *Dōhō*

Gakkō eisei

Gakusei

Gakushikai geppō

Ijikōron

Juken to gakusei

(*Tōkyō teikoku daigaku undōkai*) *Kaihō*

Kaizō

Kyoiku jiron

Kyōiku shūhō

Mitsubishi shashi

Monbujihō

Monbushō nenpō, 1946-1965.

Nihon Teikoku Monbushō nenpō, 1928-1944

Naimushō shakaikyoku nenpō

(Shinjinkai) Narōdo

Nihon teikoku monbushō nenpō

Sararīman

Seikatsu

Seikō

(Shinjinkai) Senku

Shinjinkaihō

(Monbushō shisōkyoku) Shisō chōsa shiryō

Tairiku eisei

Tōkyō shi shokugyō shōkaijo nenpō

Tōkyōshi shakaikyoku nenpō

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