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Teaching violence

Corporal punishment, vertical hierarchy, and the reproduction of militaristic values in contemporary Japanese sports

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I have written to you.... a book about soldiers... all of them were boys, and they take to war as boys take to their games, with a mixture of fun and deadly earnest. Like Ulysses, they enjoyed greatly and suffered greatly.

(Sir Henry Newbolt)¹

In 2007, in a shocking and highly publicized incident involving sumo, Japan's national sport, a 17-year-old wrestler named Tokitaizan died after being beaten by senior members (*sempai*) and coaches of his training stable.² Tokitaizan had been physically forced to train through extreme pain, even as he made it clear that he was having trouble breathing. When he tried to escape, his *sempai* dragged him back to their stable and struck him with metal baseball bats and beer bottles and even burned him with cigarettes.³ Japan's national newspapers published gruesome photographs of his bruised and battered corpse. Although Tokitaizan's stablemaster, Tokitsukaze, insisted that the incident was an "accident" and that his body ought to be cremated immediately, Tokitaizan's father demanded a thorough autopsy. Coroners complied, concluding that excessive training had triggered a heightened level of potassium in Tokitaizan's body, and that his death had been no accident. In fact, Tokitsukaze had apparently also hit Tokitaizan with a beer bottle, a specific blow that autopsies determined had contributed to, if not outright caused, Tokitaizan's death.⁴ Tokitaizan's death quickly brought condemnations of sumo's training styles and even sumo culture as a whole.

But Tokitaizan's senior *sempai* and, by definition, more experienced wrestlers, insisted that they had repeatedly thrown Tokitaizan to the ground "to instill toughness" during something called "collision training." They said that "the purpose of their violence was to sanction Tokitaizan," and they added that such punishments were also an example of *kawaiigari*, something done "out of love" for one's apprentice. The term *kawaiigari* refers to the ways in which Japanese grandparents, parents, and other

Looking for the roots of Japanese militarism

Japan began its first great transformation to “modernity” by fully opening its ports to Western traders and restoring the emperor system (Meiji Restoration) in the 1860s. During the Meiji Period (1868–1912), Japan industrialized and militarized quickly and codified many laws styled after those of Western nations. In the Meiji Period, elite Japanese also looked abroad to find ideas for their military and education systems. Yamagata Aritomo (1838–1922), who studied European military systems in the late nineteenth century, was War Minister and twice Prime Minister of Japan. Ultimately, he would come to be seen as the “father of Japanese militarism.” Yamagata was particularly influenced by the Prussian military and by that country’s ability to transform itself from an agrarian society to military power. As Prime Minister, Yamagata encouraged the Emperor of Japan to decree the Imperial Rescript on Education (*Kyōiku chokugo*, 1890), which among other things urged subjects of the Empire to offer themselves courageously to the State in national defense.⁷ Yamagata also established the national conscription system in 1873.

During the same era, sports and physical education were adopted. Initially, the latter was introduced with an emphasis on military gymnastics, following the example of French military academies of the day.⁸ At the time, physical education in much of Europe followed the Prussian style of military drill in which a cadet “learned, foremost, unquestioning obedience to orders,” became “inured to physical hardships,” and “played sports, not as recreation, but to harden his body and learn the meaning of teamwork.”⁹ Military service was thus a rite of passage for almost all young European males.¹⁰

The Japanese borrowed this system of military education, and used sports in schools for a similar militarized purpose. Thompson and Guttmann argue that the samurai domain schools of the Edo Period, many of which survived into the Meiji Period as primary and middle schools, promoted a form of physical education and gymnastics that was essentially “an extension of paramilitary training.”¹¹ In seeking to become a Great Power like those of Europe, it seems that elite Japanese chose to mimic European powers and use sports and physical education to train boys to become soldiers.

By WWI, Japanese militarists insisted that the IJA was “a family,” and, under the name of “familialism” (*kateishugi*), much was expected of soldiers. Superior officers demanded total obedience to orders and commanded regulations, and required the learning of proper discipline, hygiene, and etiquette. The social lives of soldiers were routinized through what was known as “spiritual training” (*seishin kyōiku*), and much of the violence in the Japanese military was “private sanction” (*shiteki seisai*) aimed at cultivating this spirit. For example, an anonymous soldier left the

following diary in 1933, recalling a culture of fear that pervaded his daily life:

“Hey, you! Do you have what it takes?! Do you have the determination?! I had just woken up to see Corporal Iwamura yelling so loud his teeth rattled. I didn’t move, but I prepared my body to punch. Somehow, I didn’t. Then, he slowly came toward me.”¹²

How Bushidō was romanticized and spread

While Japan was militarizing, the powerful symbol of the samurai was leveraged to strengthen associations between nationalism, Japanese culture, masculinity, discipline, and sport, and to show the world’s Great Powers who Japan was and what it stood for.¹³ The sociological theory of “social constructionism” holds that we construct, create, and invent our communities, societies, and nations with everything we do, and especially with the symbols we produce and reify.¹⁴ When Japanese militarists and nationalists in sport reified the samurai as hero and the *Bushidō* as life and battle philosophy, they raised these feudal mercenaries to a pedestal, remembering them as exemplars of a once isolated “lost Japan,” and compelling young Japanese to follow their lead.

As a matter of historical fact, the ethical code of *Bushidō* is actually a relatively recent idea, dating no earlier than the nineteenth century. Samurai, or *bushi*, existed between the ninth and nineteenth centuries, warriors whose sole occupation was battle. While the social rank of *bushi* disappeared with the collapse of the Edo Shogunate and the Meiji Restoration in the late nineteenth century, the spirit of the *bushi* who existed in Japan for over 1,000 years continued to carry considerable influence in modern Japan. In fact, this group of mercenaries, who constituted just 6 percent of the population during their existence, came to exert powerful symbolic influence over all of modern Japan.¹⁵

Various writers romanticized the samurai’s achievements.¹⁶ Nitobe Inazo (1862–1993), who wrote a book called *Bushidō* in 1899, was at the fore, but he was neither alone nor first in suggesting that the samurai be considered a separate group from the rest of the Japanese. As far back as the seventeenth century, when the Tokugawa Shogunate pacified the country, consolidated its rule, and forced samurai out of their warrior roles and into bureaucratic roles, scholars such as Hayashi Razan and Yamago Soko were arguing that the samurai constituted a separate and elevated social class. They dubbed their physical and ethical model “*shidō*.” Later, the term “*shidō*” would be combined with the term for samurai, *bushi*, to produce the term “*Bushidō*.”¹⁷ These and other authors painted an ideal picture of who the samurai had been, why they were remarkable, and why they should be emulated by modern Japanese. After Japan’s opening to the

world, *Bushidō* came to represent a sort of “national ethic” for modern Japanese.

Wartime Bushidō

As an ideology, *Bushidō* spread through the process of building the “national structure” (*kokutai*), constructing the notion of a Japanese “national essence,” and through the cult of the emperor, but it was also spread through sports such as baseball.¹⁸ In the lead up to WWII, *Bushidō* became a “propaganda tool,”¹⁹ consciously shaped and manipulated as part of the effort to forge a unified, modern nation out of a fundamentally feudal society, and to build a modern national military made up of conscripts from all tiers of society. For example, the Imperial Rescript to the Military, issued by the Emperor Meiji in 1882, proclaimed that *Bushidō* “should be viewed as the reflection of the whole of the subjects of Japan” (*Gunjin chokuyū*).²⁰ That is to say, warrior values such as loyalty and obedience were held to be the essence of Japanese-ness itself, unifying traits of character common to all classes.²¹

The Japanese military’s appropriation of *Bushidō* therefore played a significant role in *Bushidō*-ifying Japanese national values. The Ministry of War’s 1871 instructions to the troops had included seven character traits that soldiers were expected to strive for: loyalty, decorum, faith, obedience, courage, frugality, and honor. Similarly, the 1882 *Gunjin Chokuyū* noted five traits—loyalty, decorum, courage, faith, and frugality—and these instructions undoubtedly spread *Bushidō*’s tenets. Even the ideal of an honorable death, which was part of samurai lore, was used to motivate soldiers. The *Hagakure*—a guidebook for samurai that offered them practical and spiritual advice—was passed among the officers of the Imperial Japanese Army. Its opening line, “I have found that the way of the warrior is to die,” was used to inspire *kamikaze* pilots and help them overcome their fear of death.

Reviving Samurai rhetoric in post-war sports

After WWII, American occupation forces sought to rebuild Japan, and a democracy that would never allow men to become violent again. The war victors added an article to the new Japanese Constitution, Article 9, to ensure Japan never again used force or the threat of force to settle international disputes. And, in the following decades, Japan grew strong once again, and again with epic pace, but this time most citizens agreed that peace was a better means to the achievement of prosperity. Yet in dark, forboding vans that blasted nationalist rhetoric through Japan’s urban streets, and among groups of tough, disciplinarian Japanese sports coaches not unlike the aforementioned Tokitsukaze, proud and conservative Japanese nationalists continued to romanticize *Bushidō* just as their forefathers did in WWII.

Militarized *Bushidō* was now sportified *Bushidō*. Today, some authors, including some Japanese scholars, write about the “traditional” way that sports are battled in Japan, noting how Japanese athletes play and coaches coach sports like samurai.²² Japan’s National Baseball Team is simply called “Samurai Japan,” and the Japan’s Men’s National Soccer Team has been dubbed “Samurai Blue.” Japan’s contemporary sports culture is clearly shaped by rhetoric that elevates *Bushidō* to the status of national religion, and this rhetoric rarely distinguishes between loyal pre-Meiji Period defenders and aggressive Showa Period militarists. It is also no different from rhetoric that was used before WWII.

While some young Japanese today question the relevance of *Bushidō* in their daily lives, the straying power of the *Bushidō* myth has proved inimitable in Japanese sports. Perhaps this is because Japan is forbidden to engage in war by Article 9, which means that Japanese men can really only “fight” on fields and in gymnasiums. Perhaps this is why the samurai ideal continues to hold influence over many Japanese sports coaches, too. As in America, where many young boys, even those who grow up in the city, continue to admire cowboys, many young men in Japan continue to admire the samurai for their strength, honor, and sacrifice. Many of these young Japanese are athletes, and if showing off one’s samurai spirit requires enduring strict training and corporal punishment, so be it.

Finally, the enduring rhetoric of *Bushidō* in Japanese sport has allowed militarist values such as toughness and endurance, obedience to authority, vertical hierarchy, hard training, and the idea of using violence to solve problems to be reproduced there, so the teaching of violence continues, even long after “official” war training has ended. In this sense, romanticizing *Bushidō* has offered modern Japanese with a heroic model, but it has also taught dangerous forms of nationalism and xenophobia.

Learning militarist values through contemporary sport

During the pre-modern period, foreigners actually considered the Japanese “lazier” in their child-rearing,²³ so militarist values—in sport and out—must be a modern phenomenon and they must be learned. Young people who receive corporal punishment, and particularly those who believe its use is a sign of *kawigarari*, learn that this practice is “valuable” and leads to individual or group growth. Often, the athlete who is “chosen” to be the recipient is the most gifted or talented, or is perceived to “have the most potential” to become a successful athlete or leader, so Japanese athletes may come to associate corporal punishment with hard training, growth, and success. Thus, when parents, teachers, and coaches use corporal punishment, they reproduce the idea that violence is okay and that it can solve problems.

At the time of Tokitaizan's tragic death, I was living near his training stable, investigating Japanese sports culture, the samurai warrior tradition, the Imperial Japanese Army (IJA), and its growth and expansion across Asia during the Showa Period. I was also observing a college basketball club in Tokyo and researching the subjects of discipline, corporal punishment, and violence in Japan's schools and sports. During this fieldwork, my informants told me that in high school they had experienced "hard training" (*hazado toriningu*) of the kind that Japanese soldiers might have once endured. With few exceptions, most of these players attended so-called "powerhouse high schools" (*kyōgyōkōkō*), famous for their nationally-ranked excellence in sports, and in many cases, these high schools were also famous for their militarist coaches.

Among the female team members I observed, five—Sara, Kai, Mei, Michi and Yoh—all went to a powerhouse high school whose coach was emphatically described as a "strict" (*kibishii*). Kai said,

There were lots of rules and strict vertical relations (*kibishii jōgekankei*) on his teams. If you did not follow these rules, you simply would not play. Many of the rules were made by the coach but lots of rules were made by superiors (*sempai*), too.

Rui came from a powerhouse high school in Aichi Prefecture. There, Rui experienced confined dorm life—she lived in one room with six other girls—in which there were also "strict vertical relations." She felt great pressure to abide by the dorm rules set by coaches and senior members of her team. The team often began practices at 6am and finished at 10pm. During summer vacations, her high school team practiced four times a day. She learned to endure any practice, explaining, "At some point it is my mind that is practicing and what keeps me going, not my body. My body feels like jelly. But I think to myself, 'I have done all of this before.'" Such strict hierarchies—and corporal punishment—are not as uncommon in Japanese women's sports as one might think. One female player, Sara, told me that during her tenure on a famous high school basketball team she was consistently struck by her "extremely strict" (*sōtō kibishii*) coach in a ritual called "baseball butt bar" (*ketsu batto*). At high schools like these, hard training practices, communal dorm living, and strict hierarchical relations make comparisons with the military tempting; indeed, some university players did describe their high school basketball teams and coaches in that way by using the term, *gunjiteki*, which literally means "like the army" or "militaristic."

The members of the men's team at this university said their training was even stricter, and often included corporal punishment and senior-to-junior hazing. Their "strict" and "authoritarian" coaches allowed a "severe" vertical hierarchy to develop between senior and junior members of the team,

which allowed the seniors to discipline and punish younger players in severe ways. They said that corporal punishment was an "everyday" (*nichijōteki*) occurrence in their physical education classes and in middle/high school sports clubs, especially soccer, basketball, volleyball, and baseball. One informant described his high school coach as being "extremely strict, like an old-style (*mukashinagara*) coach" who used "the law of the fist" (*teken seisai*). He said corporal punishment and strict hierarchy were "traditional" aspects of Japanese sports coaching pedagogy, and that both coaches and senior teammates struck him often.

Another, called Yuji, attended his "powerhouse" high school, called Hokuriku, as a boarding school. He lived with two teammates in a small room arranged for students studying too far away from their parents' homes to commute. The landlord of this dorm slapped Yuji and his roommates with slippers when they missed curfew. As an underclassman, Yuji had to carry the bags of his *sempai* wherever they went, and Yuji was required to remain silent if his *sempai* told a lie. His *sempai* even refused to let him wear certain brands of basketball shorts or shoes, and the length of his shorts was strictly enforced. Once, after he was forced to collect every basketball after practice but did not complete the task swiftly enough, all junior players were lined up and forced to sit in *seiza*, then punched and kicked repeatedly. These "strict" "senior/junior" (*sempai/kohai*) relationships were so deeply ingrained in Yuji that he always made sure he "read his *sempai*'s mind" so he could better serve them. If a *sempai* unwrapped a rice ball for lunch, he would immediately take the plastic wrapping from him and throw it away. He said he might have been beaten if he did not. Yuji concluded that he had been trained to be the *sempai*'s "slave" (*dorei*), teaching me a catchy phrase to illustrate his point: "Fourth-year emperor, third-year god, second-year commoner, first-year slave" (*yon'nen tenno, san'nen kamisama, ni'nen beinin, ichinen dorei*).

Interestingly, it does not appear that Japanese sports coaches most directly control the lives of young Japanese athletes; rather, it is upperclassmen, just as Tokitaizan had been beaten most often by his senior wrestlers. The coaches at Hokuriku, Yuji explained, handed the practice "menu" to the captain, remained silent most of the practice, and only spoke up if the team made a serious mistake. (In games, coaches spoke—and yelled—more.) Otherwise, upperclassmen ran practices almost all by themselves, disciplining underclassmen as they saw fit.

Although senior-to-junior discipline was extremely strict, and as a former I cringed when I heard about it, Yuji looked back on his high school team with great nostalgia. He explained:

We had to think about what our *sempai* were doing at every moment. The point of it, I think, was to get us to learn how to deal with people that are neither our family nor our friends. *Sempai* are not friends;

they are *sempai*. Most of the time we use *tameguchi* [literally, “words that are neither polite nor degrading”] with our friends, but we cannot use these with *sempai*. We learned to always treat them with a greater respect.

He said that communal living and shared struggles helped to build team camaraderie, illustrating his point with a rhetorical question: “Don’t you love it when you just look at your teammate on the court and know exactly what he is thinking?” He noted that Hokuriku had been successful because there had been no selfish “ball hogs.” Everyone had bought into the “team system.” In this respect, Yuji was contrasting Hokuriku with his MU team, which he said had too many “individuals.” To Yuji, *sempai/kobai* relations and the term *kibishii* were associated with a strong “sense of team-ness” (*chinu-ite kamiji*) and he suspected that the lack of “team-ness” on MU was the reason the team was not winning as often as Hokuriku had. For Yuji, strictness “worked,” in the sense that it helps teams and individual athletes grow. Yuji had come from a long line of basketball players; both his parents had been industrial league players. In his senior year, Yuji’s team won the national championship. Yet he attributed his success to his training, not his genes.

This sense of “team-ness” suggests a common desire that many Japanese athletes—indeed, many Japanese people—have: to belong to an orderly, harmonious team in which one’s role is clearly defined and everyone grows together. This is perhaps why “strict hierarchy,” even when it includes corporal punishment, is not often perceived in a negative light, and why the practice of corporal punishment continues even though it is technically illegal.²⁴ So long as an individual feels that their presence within the group has purpose, they will be content or at least willing to obey the orders of their seniors.

Conclusion

“Strict vertical hierarchy” is common on Japanese sports teams, and its existence appears to correlate with the existence of corporal punishment.²⁵ Where there is one, there may likely be the other. In the IJA, corporal punishment was officially prohibited, and the IJA claimed it didn’t use corporal punishment because it wanted the public to support the war effort. In fact, *taibatsu* was used commonly. The official policy was that corporal punishment was a crime, but in fact soldiers used it as a “private sanction” (*shiteki seisai*). The “private sanctions” of WWII were simply a form of bullying or hazing that was as “common as everyday rice.”²⁶

In this regard, today’s strict sports teams appear to have a culture quite like that of the IJA. Indeed, to scholar Masumoto Naofumi, today’s school sports clubs connect a “rank and file” philosophy and “winning is everything” mentality with the “spirit culture of the fighting body” (*tatakai*

shintai no seishin bunka) of Japan’s IJA.²⁷ Ohama agrees, arguing that while “appalling” private sanctions characterized all divisions of the IJA, these sanctions are the origin of the “corporal punishment problem” Japanese sports such as sumo face today. He argues that the methods of discipline used in Japanese education and sport today have the “distinct odor of the Emperor’s Army.”²⁸

Sports training and military training both teach fighting and strength, offense and defense. Yet militaristic training in sport is perceived to achieve the end of instilling “Japanese values,” and, since order in Japan represents a central value of the Japanese way of life, it continues in Japanese sport. Yamagata Aritomo and others who have followed him, such as Tokitsukaze, have believed that maintaining such order requires teaching young Japanese to be tough, disciplined and obedient to authority. Indeed, these continue to be attributes expected of Japanese men, and also, in some cases, Japanese women, even if they could have never been real samurai.

By 2008, one stablemaster and three senior sumo wrestlers had been found guilty of causing Tokitaizan’s death. However, the judge was lenient in his sentencing of the latter three, writing, “It was extremely difficult for them to oppose the instructions given by the former stablemaster.”²⁹ The judge delivered suspended sentences of three, three, and two and one-half years, respectively, noting that violence was common at this stable, and as a result, the “three wrestlers were unable to exercise self-control and avoid the use of violence.” In 2009, stablemaster Tokitsukaze was convicted to a six-year sentence for ordering the use of violence and “grossly disrespecting the victim’s human dignity.”³⁰ After an appeal, however, his sentence was cut to five years. The court forced Tokitsukaze to pay Tokitaizan’s family a total of 64.6 million yen.

The problem with Japan’s strict vertical hierarchy—an “inverted V” as Nakane put it³¹—is that it can be difficult to stop the group after it, or its leader, decides to do something, such as physically discipline a young wrestler like Tokitaizan. The “inverted V” structure also depends upon ageism and sexism and the benevolence of older people, often men, which is not always given. In WWII, older male militarists sat atop this “inverted V” (with the Emperor as a figurehead) and gave orders, which the IJA generally fought with complete dedication. Soldiers were prohibited from becoming POWs. It took the Atomic Bombs dropped on Hiroshima and Nagasaki in the summer of 1945 to convince the Emperor to urge his people to surrender.

The number of sacrificed lives in Japanese sport may today be fewer than in the IJA, but they are still occurring too often. More Japanese sportspeople today are skeptical of so-called “traditionally Japanese” approaches that are militaristic. My main informant from my research, a basketball coach called Coach K who did not use corporal punishment, rejected the idea of *Bushidō* entirely. His “scientific” pedagogy was constructed to be opposite of what

he perceived-to-be an “old” and “traditionally Japanese” coaching pedagogy, which he said involved *Bushidō* but by which he often meant violent and militaristic.³² There is now great debate in Japan about how best to coach young athletes. Leading scholars suggest that athletes in various sports are now eager to “turn away from the austere asceticism characteristic of the martial arts and samurai baseball,” because “interscholastic and intercollegiate sports have become ruthlessly competitive.... Fewer young people want to subject themselves to the kind of Spartan discipline demanded to represent their schools.”³³

Still, the vestiges of Japan’s militaristic past remain. The Japanese can change course, not likely by eliminating *Bushidō*, which will likely remain a powerful symbol of Japanese-ness itself, but by separating the idea of *Bushidō* and militarism in people’s minds and by better remembering how militarists appropriated and corrupted its ideal. Japanese must reject any hierarchy that allows or encourages violence, hazing, or what some Japanese now increasingly call “power harassment.” Only a hierarchy that protects space for loving, mutually beneficial senior-to-junior relationships should be condoned. Finally, Japanese need more nonviolent education in their sports worlds. Unless all adults, Japanese or otherwise, can learn to control our impulse to strike children, unless senior athletes everywhere can refrain from treating younger human beings as subordinates, and unless we all can learn to choose to use words instead of violence to discipline or admonish, our children will continue to learn the value of violence, and our worlds will continue to be wrought with pain. The order of our adult world begins with the violence—or peace—that we model for our children. Imagine what the order of that world would look like if we started each day with a vow to never strike a child, no matter their “offense.”

Notes

- 1 Sir Henry Newbolt, “A Letter to a Boy,” in *The Book of the Thin Red Line* (London: Longmans/Green, 1915), v.
- 2 “Wrestler’s Death Leads Sumo to Probe Training,” *Kyodo News*, October 24, 2007; see also Norimitsu Onishi, “Japan Wrings Its Hands Over Sumo’s Latest Woes,” *New York Times*, October 19, 2007.
- 3 “Rikishi shikyu de moto tokisukaze oyakatara yonin wo taihō e,” *Nikkan Supōsu*, January 29, 2008.
- 4 “Former Stable Master Gets Six Years for Young Wrestler’s Hazing Death,” *Japan Times*, May 30, 2010.
- 5 Personal communication with Professor Victor Kobayashi, October 27, 2008.
- 6 “Rikishi shikyu jiken kara ichinen...kinete naku konran tsudzaku kyōkai,” *Sankei Shinbun*, June 27, 2008.
- 7 The Imperial Rescript reads:

Ye, Our subjects, be filial to your parents, affectionate to your brothers and sisters; as husbands and wives be harmonious, as friends true; bear yourselves in modesty and moderation; extend your benevolence to all; pursue

learning and cultivate arts, and thereby develop intellectual faculties and perfect moral powers; furthermore, advance public good and promote common interests; always respect the Constitution and observe the laws; should emergency arise, offer yourselves courageously to the State.

- 8 Atsuo Sugimoto, “School Sport, Physical Education and the Development of Football Culture in Japan,” in *Football Goes East: Business, Culture and the People’s Game in East Asia*, John Horne and Wolfram Manzenreiter eds. (London: Routledge, 2004), 103.
- 9 John Moncreau, *Forging the King’s Sword—Military Education between Tradition and Modernization: The Case of the Royal Prussian Cadet Corps, 1871–1918* (New York: Peter Lang, 1993), 20. See also Allen Gutman and Lee Thompson, *Japanese Sports: A History* (Honolulu, HI: University of Hawaii Press, 2001), 91.
- 10 Varda Burstyn, *The Rites of Men: Manhood, Politics, and the Culture of Sport* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1999), 66–67.
- 11 Allen Gutman and Lee Thompson, “Educators, Imitators, Modernizers: The Arrival and Spread of Modern Sport in Japan,” in *Europe, Sport, World: Shopping Global Societies*, ed. J.A. Mangan, (London: Routledge, 2001), 40.
- 12 Tetsuya Ohama, *Tennō no guntai* (Tokyo: Kyōikusha rekishi shinsho, 1978).
- 13 Thomas S. Blackwood, “Bushido Baseball? Three ‘Fathers’ and the Invention of a Tradition,” *Social Science Japan Journal* 11 (2008): 223–240.
- 14 Roger Goodman, Imoto Yuki, and Tuukka Toivonen, *A Sociology of Japanese Youth: From Returnees to NEETs* (London: Routledge, 2012).
- 15 Donald Roden, “Baseball and the Quest for National Dignity in Meiji Japan,” *American Historical Review* 15 (1980): 511–534; see also Kam Louie and Morris Low, eds. *Asian Masculinities: The Meaning and Practice of Manhood in China and Japan*. (London: Routledge, 2005).
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- 17 Koichi Kiku, “The Development of Sport in Japan: Martial Arts and Baseball,” in *Sport Histories: Figurational Studies in the Development of Modern Sports*, eds. Eric Dunning, Dominic Malcolm, and Ivan Waddington (London: Routledge, 2004), 159–160.
- 18 Blackwood.
- 19 Karl F. Friday, “Bushidō or Bull? A Medieval Historian’s Perspective on the Imperial Army and the Japanese Warrior Tradition,” *History Teacher* 27 (1994): 342.
- 20 See Hashimoto Minoru, *Bushidō Kōwa* (Tokyo: Yūkōsha, 1942), 276.
- 21 Minoru, 283–87.
- 22 Aaron L. Miller, “From Bushidō to Science: A New Pedagogy of Sports Coaching in Japan,” *Japan Forum* 23 (2011): 385–406.
- 23 Aaron L. Miller, *Discourses of Discipline: An Anthropology of “Corporal Punishment” in Japanese Schools and Sports* (Berkeley, CA: Institute of East Asian Studies, University of California at Berkeley, 2013), 166.
- 24 *Ibid.*, 47–64.
- 25 *Ibid.*, 139–144.
- 26 Fumio Shitomaru and Yoshinobu Endo, “Military Education and National Education (II): A Study on the ‘Book of the Interior Administration and Discipline in the Barracks,’” *Chiba University Faculty of Education Digest* 1 (1975): 83–100.
- 27 Naofumi Masumoto, “*Buketstu wa Domo yō na Shintai Bunka uo Saisetsan Shitekitia Bunka Sōchi na no ka?*” in *Taika Kyōku uo Manabu Hito no tame ni*, ed. Atsuo Sugimoto (Tokyo: Sekai Shisōsha, 2001), 277.

- 8 Tetsuya Ohama, *Tennō no guntai*. (The Emperor's Army). Kyōnikusha rekishi shinsho, 1978; Tetsuya Ohama, "The Features of Private Sanctions in the Japanese Army: Decoding the Roots of Corporal Punishment, *Manabito Web Magazine*, www.nichibun-g.co.jp/column/manabito/history/history061/.
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- 10 "Former Stable Master Gets Six Years for Young Wrestler's Hazing Death," *Japan Times*, May 30, 2009.
- 11 Che Nakane, *Japanese society* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1970), 40.
- 12 Miller, "From Bushidō to Science."
- 13 Gutman and Thompson, *Japanese Sports*, 2001, 228.

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